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'Shadowbosses' Undermine American Freedom *New Book Investigates Threat of Monopolistic Government Unionism*

Because of the special legal privileges they now wield under the labor statutes of roughly three-quarters of the 50 states, government union officials exercise enormous power over public servants, taxpayers, and citizens who depend on public services. This has been the case for decades.

And the National Right to Work Committee has long striven to keep its members and supporters informed about how government union excesses

are hurting taxpayers, driving states and localities into penury, sharply diminishing the quality of public services, and trampling the freedom of conscientious employees.

Government Unions Long Escaped Public Scrutiny

But until recently the vast majority of other Americans, including even many who were

generally well-informed about public affairs, paid little attention to government unions, how pervasive they are, and how they operate.

That began to change in early 2011, when the national media decided to give intense coverage to the Wisconsin protests orchestrated by Big Labor in response to Badger State Gov. Scott Walker's move at that time to roll back union monopoly bargaining in the public sector.

Nowadays Americans who follow the news are far more likely than they were in the past to know that the percentage of state and local government employees who are unionized is far greater than in the private sector (specifically, *5.5 times* as great).

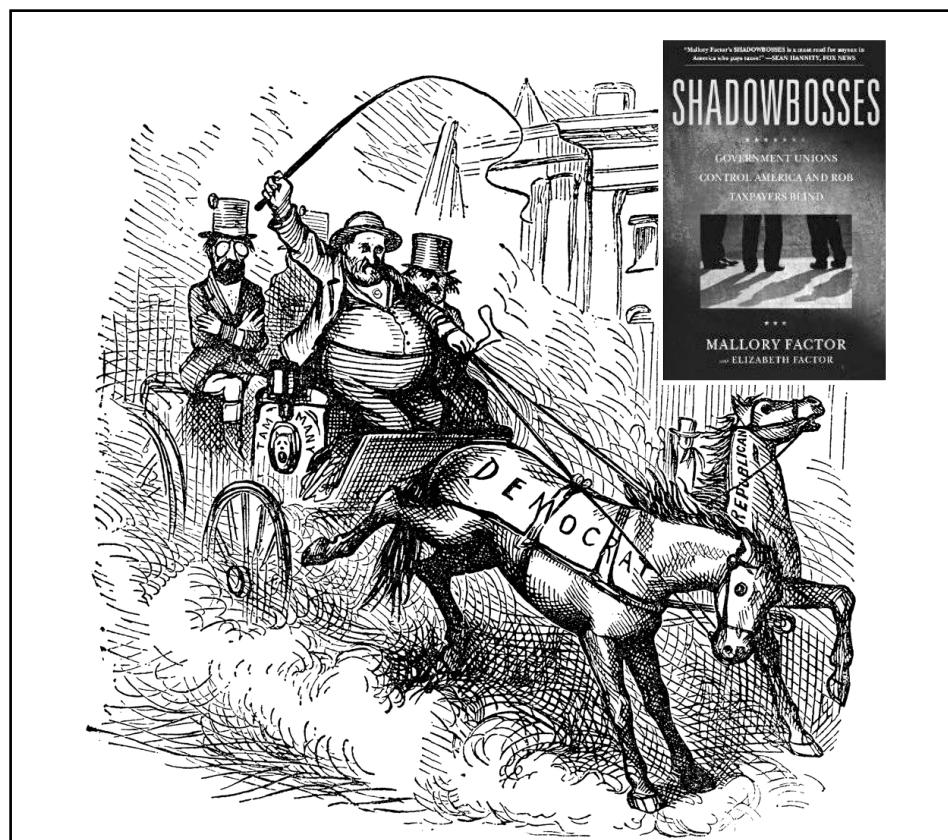
But too little attention is still being paid to the root of the problem: state statutes and executive orders that grant union officials forced-union-dues and "exclusive bargaining" privileges over public servants like teachers, police officers and firefighters.

Forced Dues and Fees Are 'the Gold Mine That Fuels the Government Union Movement'

That's one reason why *Shadowbosses* is such a valuable contribution to the ongoing public discussion over how to keep taxpayer costs for government employee compensation from spiraling out of control and improve the quality of schools and other government institutions.

Shadowbosses, subtitled *Government Union Bosses Control America and Rob Taxpayers Blind*, is an explosive new book by political and economic editor and journalist Mallory Factor,

See Themselves First page 2



CREDIT: THOMAS NAST

During the 1870's, Americans were concerned that Tammany Hall's Boss Tweed was holding the reins of the

Democratic Party. *Shadowbosses* shows how government union bosses have become the "new Tammany Hall."

Union Bigwigs Put Themselves First

Continued from page 1

being published this month by Center Street/Hachette.

Mr. Factor's new book, which he wrote with his wife Elizabeth, and assisted by some of today's leading experts on labor policy (including several staff members of the National Right to Work Committee and the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation), puts the focus exactly where it should be.

As *Shadowbosses* explains, for private-sector and government union bosses alike, the "highest priority" in negotiating contracts is a so-called "union security" provision "that allows the union to collect dues and fees" from every front-line worker in a business, "union member or not."

Mr. Factor emphasizes: "This is the gold mine that fuels the government union movement."

'I Don't Know What Buttons To Press, But G-, Memphis Is Going to Burn'

The second pillar of unwarranted government union power is properly characterized as monopoly bargaining.

In Mr. Factor's words, in states that authorize this system, if a majority of employees in a public agency favor a particular union, it can acquire "the power to negotiate for all these workers against their government employer over working conditions, salary, and benefits (unless set by law)"

"Even many Big Labor critics naively assume the only ill purpose for which government union bosses seek monopoly power is to obtain 'excessive' pay and benefits for union members," noted Mark Mix, president of the National Right to Work Committee.

"Unfortunately, that's just not so. Union contracts that force taxpayers to pay above-market compensation for public employees are definitely a problem. But union bosses put themselves first, often at workers' expense."

In its capsule history of how government unionism became so pervasive across America today, *Shadowbosses* drives home this point.

One key incident is then-American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) President Jerry Wurf's appallingly cynical exploitation of the 1968

assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

At the time he was murdered, Dr. King was in Memphis, Tenn., to support an AFSCME-backed strike by the city's sanitation workers.

He supported AFSCME bosses' efforts to get monopoly-bargaining power over these workers, even though he knew about U.S. unions' long and at that time still not-fully-repudiated history of sanctioning racial discrimination in employment.

Apart from the mere fact that it occurred in Memphis, the King assassination was not connected to the sanitation workers' strike. But it gave Jerry Wurf an opportunity to "end the strike on terms favorable to AFSCME."

"On the very evening of the murder," writes Mr. Factor, Mr. Wurf "placed a call from his home in Washington, D.C., to William Welsh, then an assistant to Vice President Hubert Humphrey and later to become AFSCME's political director."

Unless "the White House quickly intervened to settle the strike" according to his preferred terms, Mr. Wurf warned, "violence would be the rule of the day. I don't know what buttons to press," he warned Mr. Welsh, "'but g-, Memphis is going to burn.'"

Improving Sanitation Workers' Job Conditions Obviously Wasn't AFSCME Bosses' Goal

After Mr. Wurf got the heavy-handed White House intervention he sought, and the monopoly-bargaining and automatic dues-deduction powers he and other AFSCME officials craved, the strike was settled.

But little about the miserable job conditions of Memphis sanitation workers, which Big Labor spokesmen had decried to gain public sympathy for government unionism, changed.

For roughly 13 years after AFSCME's triumph, Memphis sanitation workers "continued to lug tubs with forty to fifty-five gallons of trash through people's backyards for low pay, but were now represented exclusively by the local AFSCME union complete with dues checkoff," reports *Shadowbosses*.

By 1968, technology had already been available for decades to make sanitation workers' jobs less onerous



CREDIT: RICHARD COBLEY/AFSCME COMMUNICATIONS DEPT.

Government union czar Jerry Wurf exploited the King assassination to build his empire.

and dangerous, as well as more productive and better compensated.

But it took another 13 years, "until late 1981, for the city of Memphis and the AFSCME Local union to eliminate the back-breaking tubs with the introduction of curbside collection and wheeled garbage bins."

"Improving Memphis sanitation workers' lot obviously wasn't AFSCME bosses' goal," Mr. Mix explained.

"Even today, AFSCME chiefs regard Memphis 1968 as a huge victory, not because workers' benefits and job conditions improved much, but because it paved the way for more government union power grabs in that same city and nationwide."

'Today, the Democrat Party Party Is a Subsidiary Of the Labor Movement'

Mr. Mix continued: "After acquiring special legal privileges over public servants in most regions of the country, government unions exploited those privileges to become an unparalleled political powerhouse."

"As one of Mr. Factor's sources told him, 'Today, the Democrat Party is a subsidiary of the labor movement.'

"I am optimistic that the publication of *Shadowbosses* will help the American public fight back against the grave threat of monopolistic government unionism."

(Visit <http://www.nrtwc.org> to order your copy of *Shadowbosses*. The publication date is August 21.)

Monopolistic Unionism Hurts Talented Employees *Union Officials Tacitly Concede Workers Are Captive Passengers*

Regular readers of the National Right to Work Newsletter are undoubtedly familiar with the single rationalization Big Labor most commonly offers for laws and legislation authorizing union officials to force employees to pay union dues, or be fired. In simple English, union bosses' excuse is that ALL employees who are subject to monopolistic union representation in the workplace "benefit" thereby.

Union propagandists do not generally claim, in blunt words, that every single unionized worker earns higher pay, gets better benefits, or has more job security as a consequence of the efforts of his or her union monopoly-bargaining agent. Stated directly, that would be too obviously false.

Instead, in contending for forced union dues and fees, Big Labor apologists simply assume workers who are under a union monopoly owe a debt of gratitude to the monopolists, and hope no one examines the assumption.

This debating tactic has never worked well with American citizens, who polls show have overwhelmingly supported Right to Work laws prohibiting forced union membership and dues as a condition of employment for decades.

Bid to Enable Unionized Firms To Raise Workers' Pay Without Big Labor Permission Thwarted

But all too many politicians in both major parties have historically been willing, for self-serving reasons, to



CREDIT: TEAMSTERS LOCAL 174

As Jim Hoffa all but admits, Big Labor stands in the way of higher compensation for many employees.

swallow Big Labor's "ALL workers benefit" assumption whole.

A recent roll-call vote in the U.S. Senate, however, will make it harder for union-label and union boss-appeasing politicians to get away with parroting this tired excuse for forced unionism.

On June 21, all of the chamber's Democrats as well as Big Labor Independents Joe Lieberman (Conn.) and Bernie Sanders (Vermont) and pro-forced unionism Republican Lisa Murkowski (Alaska) voted to kill an amendment to the Senate version of this year's farm bill (S.3240). The amendment, sponsored by pro-Right to Work Sen. Marco Rubio (R-Fla.), consequently died, 45-54.

The Rubio amendment, also known as the Rewarding Achievement and

Incentivizing Successful Employees (RAISE) Act, would have allowed employers subject to union monopoly-bargaining agreements to reward their best workers with pay increases based solely on their merit, without first receiving union officials' permission.

"Incredibly, under current federal law, employers may not pay individual workers more than the union contract specifies unless union officials agree," explained National Right to Work Committee Vice President Mary King.

Firms Mustn't Be 'Allowed' To Hike Wages 'Unilaterally'

Ms. King continued: "Under the RAISE Act, unionized employers would have only to establish that employees are receiving extra pay based on their demonstrable accomplishments, and that all employees have the opportunity to secure such rewards by meeting the same standards. If these conditions were met, union bosses could no longer be a roadblock to higher pay."

"Top union officials vociferously opposed the RAISE Act, and that is undoubtedly why it failed. Teamster chief Jim Hoffa's explanation for his opposition was typical.

"The RAISE Act, he bitterly complained, would 'allow employers to grant wage increases unilaterally to employees of their own choosing.'

"The union bosses were determined to prevent unionized employers from having the discretion to reward employees in a way that maximizes the business's profits, productivity and value. On June 21, they prevailed.

"But in the process of defeating the RAISE Act, union bosses also effectively conceded they are standing in the way of higher compensation for many unionized employees.

"What rationalization, then, do people like Jim Hoffa have left for retaining laws that authorize Big Labor to force all unionized employees to pay union dues, or be fired?

"National Right to Work backed the Rubio Amendment and will continue to fight for the RAISE Act. One not insignificant point in its favor is that it exposes the hollowness of Big Labor's phony 'free rider' excuse for forced unionism." 

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Right to Work State Economies Grow Faster

Private-Sector Employees and Employers Alike Reap Major Benefits

Today, American employees and employers across the country are working hard and using their ingenuity to help their businesses recover from the severe 2008-2009 recession.

Unfortunately, an array of laws and regulations imposed by the U.S. Congress and federal bureaucrats are hindering the efforts of workers, managers, and business owners.

And the federal policies that authorize the firing of roughly six-and-a-half million private-sector employees should they refuse to pay union dues or fees as a job condition are among the very worst, if not the worst, obstacles to economic recovery.

One indicator of the damage wrought by the pro-forced unionism provisions in the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) and the Railway Labor Act (RLA) is state-by-state Gross Domestic Product (GDP), reported by the Commerce Department's Bureau of Economic Analysis.

According to the BEA, from 2001 to 2011 the combined real output of the 22 states that then had Right to Work laws protecting employees from the forced-union-dues provisions in the NLRA grew by 20.6%.

That's a full 8.3 percentage points more than the combined 2001-2011 growth of the 28 states that did not protect employees from forced union dues. (Late this winter, the number of forced-dues states fell to 27 when Indiana's new Right to Work law took effect.)

To put it another way, had the entire country grown by as much as the Right



CREDIT: HARRY HAMBURG/AP

Sens. Rand Paul (right) and Jim DeMint want every senator on the record concerning Right to Work.

to Work states did over just this 10-year period, by 2011 our national GDP would have been \$13.706 trillion in constant, "chained" 2005 dollars, roughly \$600 billion above the actual figure.

Forced Dues Not Justified, Morally or Economically

National Right to Work Committee Vice President Matthew Leen said that the BEA data, which were updated in June, should embolden members of the U.S. Senate and House to support national Right to Work legislation in their respective chambers.

"The Senate and House Right to Work Bills [S.2173 and H.R.2040]

would abolish the federal labor-law provisions that force workers to pay dues to an unwanted union, or be fired," noted Mr. Leen.

"To be genuine, the right to do something must be accompanied by a corresponding right to refrain."

"As long as the law of the land explicitly denies employees the right not to associate with or financially support a union, all Americans' freedom will be threatened."

"Even most forced-unionism apologists recognize the strength of this moral argument. That's why they typically try to change the subject to economics."

"But BEA and other government data keep undercutting this gambit."

Two Senators Seek Roll-Call Floor Vote On Forced-Dues Repeal

Mr. Leen added that Right to Work states' growth advantage is even wider when it comes to private-sector employees' wages and salaries than it is with regard to GDP:

"From 2001 to 2011, inflation-adjusted BEA statistics show wage and salary disbursements to employees by private businesses grew by 12.5% in Right to Work states."

"Meanwhile, in forced-unionism states, real private-sector wage and salary disbursements increased by only a quarter as much."

Mr. Leen happily noted that as the 2011-2012 Congress draws to a close two senators are avidly seeking an opportunity to put all members of their chamber on the record concerning forced-dues repeal.

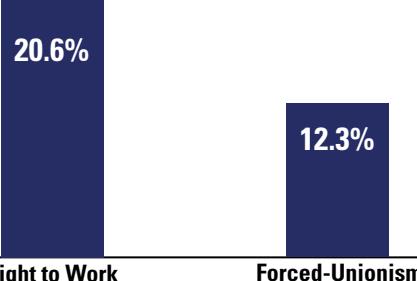
"A recorded vote on S.2173 will require every current senator to take a stand, either with the nearly 80% of Americans who support Right to Work, or with Big Labor," he said.

"Even if union lobbyists muster sufficient votes to defeat S.2173, getting the whole chamber on the record for or against compulsory unionism will pave the way for federal forced-dues repeal in a future Congress."

"I commend S.2173's two lead sponsors, Jim DeMint [R-S.C.] and Rand Paul [R-Ky.], for their determined push for floor action on this measure." 

Real GDP Growth, 2001-2011

Source: BEA



Bottom Seven States

- 50. Michigan
 - 49. Ohio
 - 48. Maine
 - 47. Missouri
 - 46. New Jersey
 - 45. Illinois
 - 44. Connecticut
- (all forced-unionism)

All of the seven slowest-growing states from 2001-2011 lack Right to Work protections for employees. Overall,

Right to Work states' real GDP growth was 8.3 percentage points greater than that of forced-unionism states.

'We're Absolutely on the Right Track'

Indiana Economy Has Strengthened Since Right to Work Law Passed

Over the course of the first decade of the new millennium, forced-unionism Indiana was by several key measures one of the worst economic performers in America.

For example, from 2000 to 2010 private-sector payroll employment in Indiana, as measured by the U.S. Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), fell by a dismaying 9.1%. Just two states (neither of which has a Right to Work law) experienced more severe employment declines over the same period.

Indiana's poor record was sadly typical of Midwestern forced-unionism states from 2000 to 2010. In fact, they experienced an aggregate private-sector job decline of 9.8%.

Meanwhile, private-sector jobs in the five Midwestern states with Right to Work laws on the books prohibiting the termination of employees for refusal to pay dues or fees to an unwanted union actually increased by an average of 0.5%.

For years, one argument made by proponents of passing a Hoosier Right to Work law was that such a statute could help turn around the state economy.

Grass-roots activists in Indiana and their allies in the national Right to Work movement contended that adopting a ban on compulsory union dues and fees would help bring more employment and higher income growth to the Hoosier State.

Early this year, the Indiana Legislature finally heeded the pleas of freedom-loving citizens when it sent a Right to Work measure to Republican Gov. Mitch Daniels' desk. Mr. Daniels signed the Right to Work Bill into law on February 1. It took effect in mid-March.

Right to Work Passage Shows State's 'Commitment to Promote Growth and Job Creation'

Early indications are that Indiana's new Right to Work law has given the state economy a major boost, just as proponents hoped it would.

During the first three full months after the law took effect, private-sector payroll employment in Indiana jumped up by nearly 73,000, or 3.0%, according



Mark Mix: The record shows Right to Work laws are economically beneficial. But that is not their fundamental

purpose. The aim of such laws is "to protect the employee's personal freedom of choice."

to the BLS estimate. Indiana's gain is well above the national average of 2.3%.

In June, the head of the Indiana Economic Development Corporation reported that 47 companies had told his organization that enactment of Right to Work would "factor into their decision-making process of where to locate current projects."

Forty of these projects, the IEDC chief continued, "have progressed to the pipeline stage and account for the potential of . . . more than \$895 million in investment," according to a June 29 report in the *Fort Wayne Business Journal*.

A number of business leaders regard Right to Work as so important that they have been willing to incur the wrath of Big Labor bosses and their militant followers by publicly commanding the state for banning forced unionism.

For example, in July Nick Busche, the CEO and president of a machining firm, announced his company's plans to expand operations and add up to 120 jobs in its Albion, Ind., facility by 2015.

Mr. Busche commented: "The recent passage of the [Right to Work] law was just another example of the strong commitment by this state to promote growth and job creation."

"Indiana legislators who voted for Right to Work are justifiably proud about the good economic news their state has been receiving lately," said Mark Mix, president of the National Right to Work Committee.

Right to Work Movement Is Driven First and Foremost By Moral Concerns

"In June, for example, pro-Right to Work state Sen. Brandt Hershman [R-Buck Creek] exulted that 'the comments that have been made from new businesses that have [expanded or] relocated here in recent months . . . suggest that we're absolutely on the right track,'" Mr. Mix continued.

"But it remains important to remember that Indiana Right to Work supporters were never motivated solely by a desire to make their state more economically successful. The Right Work is a matter of principle as well as economics.

"Right to Work laws' fundamental purpose is to protect the employee's personal freedom of choice.

"In fact, I doubt very much that the nearly decade-long grass-roots battle to make Indiana a Right to Work state would have succeeded had it not been driven primarily by moral concerns." 

Bureaucratic Gerrymanders Empower Union Bosses

Principled U.S. House Leadership Can Block Obama NLRB Power Grab

Over the next couple of months, the U.S. House will have the opportunity to turn back a Big Labor-inspired bureaucratic rewrite of the procedures through which union officials acquire monopoly-bargaining privileges under the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA).

If self-avowedly pro-Right to Work House leaders and rank-and-file members blow this opportunity to overturn union power grabs such as the August 2011 *Specialty Healthcare* decision, another one won't come along for a long time.

In *Specialty Healthcare*, ex-union lawyers Mark Pearce and Craig Becker, two radical forced-unionism proponents installed on the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) by President Barack Obama, joined up with Wilma Liebman, a third ex-union lawyer whom Mr. Obama had appointed to the board chairmanship.

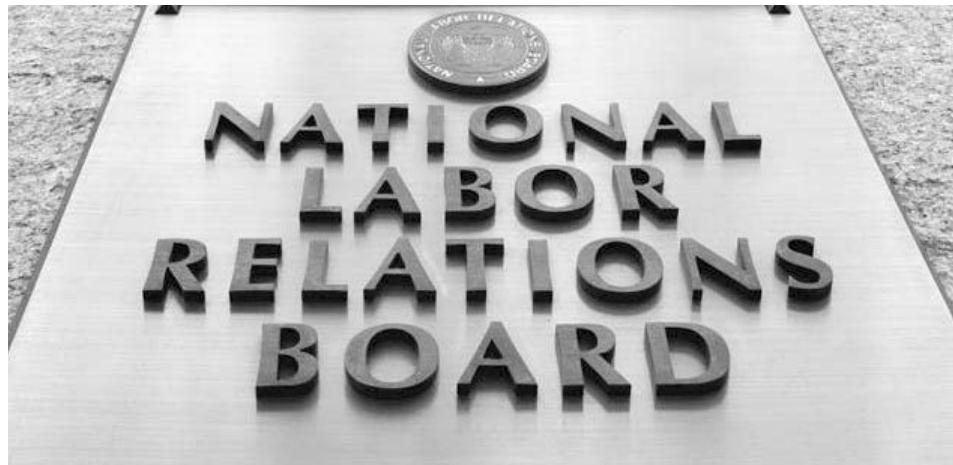
OVERTURNING decades of precedents and contemptuously brushing aside the objections of Brian Hayes, the sole NLRB member at the time who had never been a union lawyer, the Liebman-Pearce-Becker team gave Big Labor enormous latitude to determine which workers will vote in a union organizing election.

Until and unless the *Specialty Healthcare* standard is overturned, union officials in virtually any NLRA-covered industry may now potentially be able to choose whichever "clearly identifiable group of employees" within a business they prefer as union election participants.

To contest successfully union officials' choice, employers will have to demonstrate that additional employees share an "overwhelming community of interest" with those in the unit selected by union strategists.

Union Monopoly Bargaining Hurts Employees and Businesses

Ever since it was adopted in 1935, the NLRA has provided that any union that wins a government-sponsored organizing election becomes the monopoly-bargaining agent of all the employees who were eligible to participate in the vote, including those who voted "no." Officers of that union become employees' sole spokesmen in negotiations with their employer over matters concerning their pay, benefits, and working conditions.



CREDIT: WWW.FREEENTERPRISE.COM

A year ago, President Obama's NLRB gave Big Labor enormous latitude to determine which workers will vote in a

union organizing election. But U.S. House Republicans can stop the NLRB bureaucrats.

Federally-imposed "exclusive" union bargaining typically undermines efficiency and productivity by forcing employers to reward equally their most productive and least productive employees.

The damage is compounded when the employees already hurt by being forced to accept a union bargaining agent opposed to their interests are then forced to pay dues or fees to the unwanted union.

Obama NLRB appointees' bureaucratic rewrite of longstanding NLRB procedures will make it dramatically easier for union chiefs to acquire monopoly-bargaining power over at least some of the employees at thousands and thousands of now-independent businesses.

Fortunately, self-avowedly pro-Right to Work U.S. House Speaker John Boehner (R-Ohio) and the GOP majority caucus he leads retain the appropriations power to undo *Specialty Healthcare* and other dangerous Obama NLRB power grabs -- as long as they stick to their guns.

Soon after the House returns from its late summer recess, the chamber will have the opportunity to consider the FY 2013 Labor, HHS, Education and Related Agencies Appropriations Bill sponsored by Congressman Dennis Rehberg (R-Mont.).

As this Newsletter edition goes to press, this measure contains provisions that will block NLRB bureaucrats from using taxpayer dollars to implement *Specialty Healthcare* and other ongoing schemes to expand union bosses'

monopoly-bargaining privileges.

But over the next few weeks a handful of Big Labor-appeasing Republicans in the House are virtually certain to band with union-label Democrats in an effort to strip these pro-Right to Work provisions from the Labor HHS appropriations bill.

Will U.S. House Stand Up To Big Labor-Controlled White House and Senate?

"Because President Obama and forced unionism-friendly Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid [D-Nev.] will resist efforts by House appropriators to curtail NLRB abuses, some white flag-waving Republicans will claim the House shouldn't even try," explained National Right to Work Committee Vice President Greg Mourad.

"But if the House simply refuses as Election Day draws near to bend to the will of Mr. Obama and Mr. Reid by passing a Labor HHS appropriation that gives NLRB bureaucrats a green light to do their worst, then it's very likely the President and the Senate leader will have to change their tune."

"Big Labor Democrats know the American people don't want federal funding for hospitals and schools cut off simply so union bosses can grab even more monopoly power than they already have."

"I urge Committee members to keep contacting Mr. Boehner at 202-225-6205 to make sure he knows that, too." 

No Other Non-Profits Can Compete

Continued from page 8

Of course, no other type of non-profit organization has sufficient staff to make "in-kind" contributions to political candidates of anywhere near the magnitude unions' "shadow army" of paid officers and staffers is able to make.

And business certainly has no parallel political army, since profit-minded shareholders rarely if ever are willing to release their managers from normal business for months on end so that they can politick full time.

Journal Article Clearly Understated Massive Big Labor Political Spending

Union bigwigs have long valued their completely undeserved status in CRP and mainstream media reports as political "underdogs."

Big Labor does not want the word to get out that, in every campaign cycle, union officials acknowledge on their own LM-2 forms spending three to four times as much money on politics and lobbying as all business and business association PAC expenditures combined.

That's why union propagandists have pushed back hard against the July 10 McGinty-Mullins article in the *Journal*.

Ridiculously, one screed by a union apologist in the *Daily Kos* actually implied a major share of the \$316 million the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions spent in forced-dues treasury money on politics and lobbying in 2011 alone went to buy "bratwurst" to feed Big Labor protesters in Wisconsin's capital!

A more serious quibble is that the article overlooked the possibility that, when a national union sends money to a local subsidiary for lobbying or electioneering purposes, it may get reported as a political expenditure on both unions' LM-2's.

"There may well be some double-counting of Big Labor political and lobbying dollars on LM-2's," responded National Right to Work Committee President Mark Mix. "It is interesting, though, that AFL-CIO spokesmen have yet to point to any examples."

"Anyway, if you look at the larger picture it's plain that the *Journal* understated Big Labor's massive political spending in several ways that would dwarf any potential double-counting."

"To take just one example, reports filed with state regulators show that

state subsidiaries of the National Education Association [NEA] teacher union are nearly as politically active as the NEA itself.

"But the *Journal* looked only at LM-2's and FEC and congressional lobbying reports. Because they purport to have no private-sector members, virtually no NEA state subsidiaries have even to file LM-2's. As a consequence, the *Journal* overlooked the vast majority of their political and lobbying expenditures."

In addition to its extraordinary scale, Big Labor electioneering and ideological spending differs from that of other powerful interest groups in its intense partisanship.

As the *Journal* explained, "[c]orporations and their employees . . . tend to spread their donations fairly evenly between the two major parties, unlike unions, which overwhelmingly assist Democrats."

'President Obama Is The Only Choice'

During the 2008 presidential election year, for instance, "Democrats received 55% of the \$2 billion contributed by corporate PACs and company employees . . ." Meanwhile, of the \$75 million in union PAC contributions that year, "92% went to Democrats."

Of course, union bosses are not required to furnish the political party affiliation of the intended beneficiaries of their far larger forced-dues

ideological expenditures on their LM-2 forms, but there is no reason to suppose they are not similarly lopsided.

"This year by far the single largest object of Big Labor's forced-dues political largesse will be Democratic President Barack Obama's re-election campaign," said Mr. Mix.

"Union chieftains like AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka don't deny that President Obama has presided over the weakest economic recovery of the post-World War II era.

"Neither do Mr. Trumka and company deny that the last three-and-a-half years have been a very trying time for American workers, the people Big Labor purports to represent.

"Nevertheless, the union bosses are unabashedly vowing to deploy their enormous political army on behalf of the Obama-Biden ticket first and foremost. Likeminded politicians running for the U.S. Senate and House and state executive and legislative offices will of course also benefit greatly from Big Labor's campaign.

"Government union chief Gerald McEntee, Mr. Trumka's right-hand man until he retired a few months ago, explained the union elite's motivation with a tip of the hat to 'Occupy Wall Street' radicals: 'President Obama is the only choice of the 99 percent.'

"By far the biggest political army in America is no 'workers' army.' It is an army dedicated to advancing the out-of-touch, anti-free enterprise ideology of 'Occupy Wall Street.' Ordinary, pro-Right to Work Americans who disagree with this ideology are in for the fight of their lives." 



CREDIT: UP/MICHAEL REYNOLDS/POOL

President Barack Obama has presided over the weakest economic recovery of the post-World War II era. But union

bosses like AFL-CIO czar Richard Trumka are nevertheless determined to get Mr. Obama reelected.

Poor-Mouthing Union Political Masters Debunked

Nearly 2000 Union Staffers Worked Primarily on Politics in 2010

In the summer of 2011, a National Right to Work Committee staff member reviewed the contents of the LM-2 reports that all private-sector (and some government-sector) unions with annual revenues exceeding \$250,000 are required to file electronically with the U.S. Labor Department.

A year ago this month, the Committee Newsletter reported that this review had confirmed, unimpeachably, that Big Labor spends more than a billion dollars on politics and lobbying per federal campaign cycle.

Of course, Right to Work members and supporters had long known that ideological and electioneering-oriented union spending was at least of that magnitude.

But poor-mouthing union officials and supposedly nonpartisan monitors of political spending like the Washington, D.C.-based Center for Responsive Politics (CRP) have continued to foster a false impression

that Big Labor spends less on politics and lobbying than Big Business.

Fortunately, it is gradually getting harder for union propagandists to keep up the charade.

'Political Spending by Unions Far Exceeds Direct Donations'

On July 10, the Wall Street *Journal* published a front-page article by Tom McGinty and Brody Mullins entitled, "Political Spending by Unions Far Exceeds Donations."

It explained that accounts of Big Labor political activity by groups such as the CRP encompass "what they spend supporting federal candidates through their [PACs], which are funded with voluntary contributions, and lobbying Washington, which is a cost borne by the unions' own coffers."

These types of Big Labor spending, which "unions report to the Federal Election Commission [FEC] and

Congress, totaled \$1.1 billion from 2005 to 2011"

That's no mean sum.

But union officials' LM-2 reports "capture an additional \$3.3 billion that unions spent over the same period on political activity."

The vast majority of this \$3.3 billion came straight from union treasuries. And union treasuries consist primarily of dues and fee money. It is estimated that 82% of union dues and fees are compulsory: If workers refuse to pay, they get fired.

The Big Labor political and lobbying expenditures reported on LM-2's cannot legally go straight into federal candidate or federal PAC coffers in the form of contributions.

But forced dues-fueled union treasuries can pay for political phone banks, get-out-the-vote drives, propaganda mailings, and much more.

'A Shadow Army Much Larger Than President Barack Obama's Current Re-Election Staff'

As Mr. McGinty and Mr. Mullins reported, a large share of Big Labor's forced dues-funded political war chest is spent "paying teams of political hands to contact members [and their families]"

The political hands' job is browbeating all the voters in union households into agreement with union official positions on election issues and "trying to make sure they vote for union-endorsed candidates."

Though the *Journal* article didn't mention it, a second important function of forced dues-bankrolled union political operatives is to push up turnout in neighborhoods where Big Labor calculates a very high share of voters will cast their ballots for union-endorsed candidates.

Overall, in 2010, "politics and lobbying accounted for at least 50% of the hours worked by [nearly 2000] union employees; 940 employees spent all their time on politics, the unions reported."

Mr. McGinty and Mr. Mullins concluded that the millions of hours "spent by union employees working on political matters were equivalent to a shadow army much larger than President Barack Obama's current re-election staff."

See Other Non-Profits page 7

Union Political/Lobbying Expenditures Reported to Labor Department, 2005-11

Union	Political/Lobbying Expenditures
Service Emp. Int'l Union -- Nat'l	\$320,174,659
American Fed. of State, County & Municipal Emp. -- Nat'l.....	\$316,958,887
AFL-CIO -- Nat'l.....	\$282,401,199
Nat'l Education Ass. -- Nat'l	\$238,948,776
American Fed. of Teachers -- Nat'l	\$138,087,603
Service Emp. Int'l Union -- Local 1199	\$105,069,027
Service Emp. Int'l Union -- Leadership Council (Calif.).....	\$76,921,324
United Auto Workers -- Nat'l.....	\$63,046,569
Int'l Brotherhood of Teamsters -- Nat'l.....	\$54,522,188
United Steelworkers -- Nat'l.....	\$48,737,468
Int'l Ass. of Fire Fighters -- Nat'l.....	\$47,056,918
American Fed. of Teachers -- Local (N.Y. State).....	\$43,942,336
United Food & Commercial Workers -- Nat'l.....	\$42,483,455
Laborers Int'l Union of North America -- Nat'l.....	\$41,625,086
Service Emp. Int'l Union -- Local 32 (N.Y. City).....	\$36,454,336

Sources: Wall Street *Journal*, U.S. Labor Department

Over just the past three-and-a-half campaign cycles, union bosses have reported to the Labor Department

spending a total of \$3.3 billion on politics and lobbying. Big Labor's top 15 spenders are shown here.