NATIONAL RIGHT TO WORK NEWSLETTER

VOLUME 60, NUMBER 9 www.nrtwc.org September 2014

Vexing *Enmons* Decision Again Under Scrutiny

Violence Committed For 'Legitimate' Union Goals Isn't Extortion??

This summer, pro-Right to Work U.S. Sen. David Vitter (R-La.) introduced in Congress's upper chamber an important legal reform known as the Freedom from Union Violence Act (S.2535).

Along with U.S. House companion legislation (H.R.2021) introduced last year by Georgia GOP Rep. Paul Broun, also a staunch forced-unionism foe, S.2535 would close a gaping, judicially-created loophole in the Hobbs Act, which penalizes the use of extortionate threats and violence in interstate commerce.

S.2535 and H.R. 2021 would hold union officials who plan, commit or foment extortionate violence against a firm's employees or owners to the same standard as business rivals, gangsters, or anyone else who does the same.

If the Vitter/Broun legislation is enacted, power-hungry, win-at-any-cost Big Labor barons will no longer be able, without fear of federal prosecution, to resort to violence as a union "bargaining" tool.

Mark Mix, president of the National Right to Work Committee, vowed to continue mobilizing more and more members and other citizens to contact their federal elected officials to express their strong support for this legislation.

CREDIT: RON TARVER/PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

Federal prosecutors charge that Philadelphia union bosses repeatedly resorted to violence and sabotage, including the torching of steel beams at a Quaker meetinghouse construction site, as "organizing tools."

It's 'Extraordinarily Difficult' to Prosecute Union Lawbreakers

Mr. Mix explained: "In today's America, prosecutions of Big Labor arson, assaults, death threats and other serious crimes are, with relatively few exceptions, extraordinarily difficult.

"Such prosecutions are frequently hindered because of the loophole in federal law that exempts extortionate violence from prosecution when it is committed pursuant to so-called 'legitimate union objectives.'

"And one objective that prosecutors often seem to regard as 'legitimate' is the acquisition of a deal with the employer providing for the termination of front-line employees who refuse to pay dues or fees to the union.

"Time and again, federal prosecutors have amassed extensive evidence that Big Labor bosses have orchestrated, authorized, and/or ratified violence, vandalism and threats for the purpose of securing forced-dues contract clauses or other union demands.

"Nevertheless, because of the pro-union violence loophole in the federal Hobbs Act, extortion investigations of the implicated union officials rarely result in an indictment."

Scope of *Enmons* Loophole at Issue in Pennsylvania Case

It was in its controversial 1973 *Enmons* decision, Mr. Mix explained, that a divided U.S. Supreme Court exempted threats, vandalism and violence perpetrated to secure "legitimate" union goals.

"Understandably enough," he added, "many ordinary Americans find it difficult to believe a five-justice majority on the High Court could ever have foisted such a bizarre interpretation on the Hobbs Act.

"After all, this measure's lead congressional sponsor declared on the

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House Hearing Sought on H.R.2021

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floor of the House that it is 'grounded on the bedrock principle that crime is crime, no matter who commits it,' and 'covers whoever in any way or degree interferes with interstate or foreign commerce by robbery or extortion.'

"But professional jurists know that, as strange as it seems, the 'legitimate union objectives' loophole in the Hobbs Act is established case law.

"As recently as this summer, for example, while ruling on a motion in a case related to construction union violence in eastern Pennsylvania, U.S. District Judge Michael Baylson stated that the use of 'strike-related violence' to secure 'legitimate' union contract demands does 'not constitute Hobbs Act extortion.'

"At the same time, Judge Baylson contends that *Enmons* does not protect the kind of violence allegedly orchestrated by Philadelphia ironworkers union chief Joe Dougherty and his cohorts, because the employees and businesses targeted were nonunion.

"But thanks to extensive media coverage of the indictment of 10 Ironworkers Local 401 bosses and militants early this year, and union lawyers' so-far unsuccessful efforts to use *Enmons* to get the charges dismissed, this controversial precedent is now facing renewed public scrutiny."

The federal indictment, to which multiple counts were added in late July, accuses Local 401 business manager Dougherty, Local 401 business agent Ed Sweeney, and their cohorts of resorting again and again to assault and vandalism to bring union-free employees and employers into line.

Nonunion Employees Were 'Allegedly Assaulted With Baseball Bats' by Union Goons

The original indictment specified:

"These actions include assaulting nonunion employees with baseball bats, slashing the tires of vehicles, smashing vehicles with crowbars, cutting and changing the locks on construction sites, filling the locks with superglue, damaging construction equipment, [and] stealing construction materials . . . ."

Union goons' alleged targets include a site where a Quaker meetinghouse was being built and workers building a toy store.

As a February 24 Philadelphia *Inquirer* news story explained, investigators used electronic surveillance to collect "dozens of texts and conversations" in which Mr. Dougherty, Mr. Sweeney, and other union officials "allegedly congratulated one another for pulling off acts of vandalism."

For example, the day after three defendants allegedly inflicted roughly $500,000 in damages by setting a crane on fire and cutting steel beams and bolts supporting the Quaker meetinghouse then under construction with union-free ironworkers' participation, Mr. Sweeney sent the arsonists the text message: "Nice hit."

Mr. Mix commended Judge Baylson for rejecting union lawyers' contention that *Enmons* must be applied even to extortionate violence committed against nonunion business owners and managers who aren't legally required to negotiate with union bosses over anything.

But he also noted that, should Joe Dougherty and other Ironworkers Local 401 bosses be convicted on some or all of the racketeering charges they now face, they would still be able to file an *Enmons*-based appeal, based on the claim that the district judge interpreted this precedent too narrowly.

Freedom From Union Violence Act Would Close *Enmons* Loophole

"One positive aspect of *U.S. v. Joseph Dougherty*," said Mr. Mix, "is that it is helping raise public awareness about the 'license to extort' granted union scofflaws by *Enmons*.

"Fortunately, since *Enmons* was a matter of statutory, rather than constitutional, interpretation, Congress retains the power to overturn it legislatively and hold union bosses who orchestrate threats and violence accountable under the Hobbs Act. That's exactly what S.2535 and H.R.2021 would do.

"National Right to Work leaders, members and supporters are now calling on Congressman Bob Goodlatte [R-Va.], chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, to allow a hearing on H.R.2021.

"The silver lining of the outrageous legal strategy ironworkers union lawyers have used this year in federal court to try to get alleged union racketeers off scot-free is that it highlights the need for Congress to close the *Enmons* loophole.

"But without a House hearing on H.R.2021, it will be almost impossible for us to take advantage of this opportunity. That's why the Committee is urging members nationwide to call Mr. Goodlatte at 202-225-5431 and ask him to hold a hearing on this important reform."

CREDIT TO: ALEJANDRO A. ALVAREZ/PHILADELPHIA DAILY NEWS

One day after union militants allegedly committed arson and vandalism causing an estimated $500,000 in damages, ironworkers union business agent Ed Sweeney (pictured) commended them in a text message: "Nice hit."

Compulsory Unionism Drives Away Breadwinners

Number of 35-54 Year-Olds in Forced-Dues States Falling Sharply

Because, as a group, they already have plenty of work experience, but are still able to put in a lot of hours on the job, the 84.2 million Americans who were aged 35-54 in 2013 are commonly characterized by economists as being in their "peak earning years."

Unfortunately for the 26 states that continue to lack Right to Work laws today, millions of their residents in this age bracket have gone missing.

Census Bureau data show that, from the late 1950's through the late 1970's, 58.6% of all U.S. births occurred in the states where compulsory unionism was still permitted as of 2013. But in 2013, just 54.5% of all 35-54 year-olds lived in these non-Right to Work states.

If the number of 35-54 year-olds living in forced-unionism states today were perfectly proportionate to those states' share of births from 1959 to 1978, there would have been, as of 2013, 49.4 million residents in that age bracket, instead of the actual figure of 45.9 million

That suggests forced-unionism states' deficit of residents in their peak earning years is roughly 3.5 million.

Americans in Their Working Years 'Vote With Their Feet' For Right to Work

National Right to Work Committee Vice President Greg Mourad observed:

"It's really no mystery what's happened to these working-age Americans. Millions have fled states where Big Labor wields the power to force employees to pay union dues, or be fired. In effect, they have 'voted with their feet' in favor of Right to Work laws.

"And the correlation between Right to Work laws that prohibit forced union dues and fees and net in-migration of breadwinners is very robust."

From 2003 to 2013 alone, Mr. Mourad pointed out, the number of 35-54 year-olds nationwide fell by 700,000 as a consequence of the "baby bust" of the 1970's:

"But nine states still managed to chalk up gains of more than 3% in their peak-earning-year population over the same period. And all nine of those states -- Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Nevada, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas and Utah -- have longstanding Right to Work laws.

"Meanwhile, among the 11 states suffering the steepest declines in their 35-54 year-old population since 2003 -- Alaska, Maine, Michigan, Montana, New Hampshire, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, West Virginia and Wisconsin -- not one had a Right to Work law prior to 2013. With the exception of Michigan, all remain forced-unionism today."

Breadwinners Favor States Where They Can Provide Better For Their Families

Since 18% of all 35-54 year-olds across the U.S. are immigrants, some readers may wonder if immigration could explain Right to Work states' aggregate increase of 5.1% in 35-54 year-olds since 2003.

But immigration has on average had less impact on Right to Work states than on the rest of the country. According to Census Bureau data, in 2011 immigrants constituted 14.2% of the total forced-unionism state population, compared to 11.1% of the total Right to Work state population.

"The obvious and correct explanation for the Census Bureau data is that breadwinners, along with their families, are moving in droves to Right to Work states," said Mr. Mourad.

"Working men and women find that they can provide better for their families in Right to Work states, with their generally higher real incomes and lower living costs."

He noted that U.S. Commerce Department data, adjusted for regional differences in cost of living with an index calculated by the nonpartisan Missouri Economic Research and Information Center, show that, in 2013, nine of the 10 states with the highest per capita disposable income had Right to Work laws.

"Union bosses know full well," he added, "that compulsory-unionism states like California, New York, and New Jersey are far more expensive than the national average, but conveniently forget about this whenever they are debating living standards in Right Work vs. non-Right to Work states.

"And what's hardest of all for union propagandists to explain away is the fact that, when they have a choice, working-age people clearly prefer to live in Right to Work states."

Biggest Gainers and Losers of Residents In Their Peak Earning Years, 2003-2013

Top Nine		Bottom Nine	
Utah	**+19.8%**	Vermont	-14.2%
Nevada	**+16.8%**	Rhode Island	-12.3%
Texas	**+13.2%**	Maine	-11.8%
Arizona	**+10.5%**	Ohio	-9.8%
North Carolina	**+8.5%**	New Hampshire	-9.3%
Georgia	**+7.2%**	Montana	-8.5%
Florida	**+6.5%**	Alaska	-8.3%
Idaho	**+6.1%**	Pennsylvania	-8.2%
South Carolina	**+3.9%**	West Virginia	-7.9%

Right to Work States Compulsory-Unionism States

Indiana and Michigan, which became Right to Work in 2012 and 2013, respectively, are excluded

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

Despite the national impact of the "baby bust" of the 1970's, nine states experienced gains of more than 3% in their population aged 35-54 from 2003 to 2013. All nine have Right to Work laws.

Wisconsin Justices Rebuff Union Monopolists

Mark Mix: Decision Should Encourage Legislators Across the Nation

Government union bosses have spent more than three years and millions of dollars trying to get Wisconsin's Act 10, which restricts their compulsory-unionism privileges, overturned in court.

But in late July, a 5-2 majority on the Badger State's Supreme Court may finally have put a stop to union lawyers' schemes to circumvent the voting public and reinstate forced union dues and wide-ranging union monopoly bargaining in the government sector.

In early 2011, Gov. Scott Walker (R) infuriated union officials when he successfully advanced the measure now known as Act 10. Act 10 abolished forced union dues for teachers and many other public employees and also greatly narrowed the scope of government union monopoly bargaining in other ways.

In June 2012, Wisconsinites went to the polls in special "recall" elections orchestrated by Organized Labor.

Despite spending millions of dollars, mostly forced dues and fees exacted from workers, union bigwigs failed to unseat Gov. Walker and Lt. Gov. Rebecca Kleefisch in retaliation for their drafting and winning legislative approval of Act 10. In the November 2012 general elections, Wisconsin voters again rebuked the union brass, handing the Republican leaders responsible for Act 10 an 18-15 majority in the state Senate and retaining a large GOP majority in the state House.

CREDIT:RICK MCKEE/AUGUSTA (GA.) CHRONICLE

Thanks to Act 10, Wisconsin taxpayers have saved roughly $3 billion since 2011. Meanwhile, the ability of school districts and other government employers to reward outstanding employees appropriately has improved.

Monopoly Bargaining 'Remains a Creation of Legislative Grace'

In addition to pouring vast sums of forced-dues money into electoral politics to punish Act 10 proponents, union officials have also repeatedly gone to court to get back all of their monopoly-bargaining and forced-dues privileges.

But while Big Labor has been able to use the legal system to keep Act 10's future cloudy for several years, none of the significant contentions union lawyers arguing against the statute in federal and state court has ultimately been upheld.

In the most recent federal ruling concerning Act 10, for example, a unanimous three-judge appeals court panel in Chicago found this spring that Act 10 does not interfere with union bosses' First Amendment right to advocate for their members.

The panel specifically found that no First Amendment rights are affected when a state bans municipalities from negotiating with monopolistic unions, or drastically shortens the list of issues that may be negotiated.

With regard to state litigation, the majority opinion penned by Wisconsin Supreme Court Justice Michael Gableman in *Madison Teachers, Inc. v. Walker* likely represents the final word on the constitutionality of Act 10.

Try as they might, concluded Jusice Gableman, union lawyers could not get around the fact that neither the U.S. nor the Wisconsin Constitution mandates public-sector union monopoly bargaining.

"No matter the limitations or 'burdens' a legislative enactment places on the collective bargaining process," he reasoned, "collective bargaining remains a creation of legislative grace . . . ."

Positive Developments in Wisconsin Already Inspiring Reformers in Other States

Even before this year's federal appeals court and Wisconsin Supreme Court rulings derailed years of Big Labor efforts to get Act 10 judicially overturned, more and more elected officials and candidates in other states were publicly acknowledging that this statute's success was encouraging them to push for parallel reforms.

National Right to Work Committee President Mark Mix commented:

"Nonpartisan analysts essentially agree with Gov. Walker that Act 10 has saved taxpayers roughly $3 billion since it took effect. Meanwhile, the ability of the state and its localities to recruit and reward good public employees has actually improved.

"School districts, for example, no longer have to waste millions and millions of dollars buying overpriced health insurance from a teacher union subsidiary, because they no longer need teacher union bosses' acquiescence to change their insurance providers.

"Teachers can thus get better health insurance at a lower cost, and the savings can be used for better purposes such as rewarding good teachers or reducing taxes.

"And now that Act 10, which grass-roots Right to Work advocates in Wisconsin helped enact and which National Right to Work Foundation attorneys have helped defend, has withstood Big Labor's court challenges, I'm optimistic legislators nationwide will be encouraged to seek adoption of similar measures."

How Can Illinois Get Back on Its Feet?

Compulsory Unionism a Major Hurdle to State's Economic Revival

From January 2009, just a few months before the trough of the 2008-2009 recession, through July 2014, seasonally-adjusted nonfarm payroll employment across the U.S. increased by 5.0 million, or 3.8%. By historical standards, this is a very weak recovery.

But by comparison with the record of Big Labor-dominated Illinois, the national recovery looks stellar.

Since January 2009, Illinois Job Growth Has Trailed U.S. Average by Roughly 90%

From January 2009, when union-label Gov. Pat Quinn (D) took office, through this July, Illinois's nonfarm payroll employment grew by less than 0.4%!

Largely because of his extraordinarily poor record on economic and fiscal matters, many political observers now expect Mr. Quinn to be ousted by GOP challenger Bruce Rauner this November.

But the experience of many states indicates it will be far more difficult for Illinoisans who are concerned about their state's future to change its economic trajectory than it may turn out to be for them to change the occupant of the governor's mansion.

Unfunded Government Pension Liabilities Growing By $21 Million a Day

On the campaign trail, Mr. Rauner regularly lambastes Mr. Quinn for a series of policy fiascoes such as the whopping 67% increase in the marginal income tax rate for households and huge 46% increase in the rate for incorporated businesses he signed in early 2011.

Mr. Quinn claimed then that these and other tax increases he pushed through at the time, collectively designed to extract an additional $7.5 billion a year from hardworking Illinoisans, would "put the state back on sound fiscal footing."

Instead, the Prairie State continued sinking further and further into debt. As Kevin Williamson recently reported for *National Review*, Illinois's "unfunded pension liabilities are growing at $21 million a day."

Illinois now has the lowest credit ratings of any of the states, with Moody's at A3.

CREDIT: MEDIA.NBCCHICAGO.COM

Illinois's woes have deep roots, and merely ousting union-label Gov. Pat Quinn (D) won't remedy them.

How did a state with so many talented and industrious residents get in such a deep hole?

Meaningful Spending Reforms Impossible Without Rollback Of Union Monopoly Privileges

The fact is, for decades Illinois has been burdened by labor policies authorizing union monopoly bargaining and forced union dues and fees in the public and private sectors and a tax and regulatory climate that are hostile to private-sector job and income growth.

And unlike in other Midwestern states like Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin, in Illinois there has been relatively little effective resistance up to now to Big Labor control over the policy agenda.

This year, Mr. Rauner, a businessman who is now leading in virtually all polls, has given some encouragement to freedom-loving Illinoisans that, if elected, he will confront union special interests and fight for taxpayers.

During a discussion of the state's bankrupt pension system at one of the GOP primary debates, for example, Mr. Rauner declared, "The government union bosses are at the core of our spending problem in Illinois."

However, Mr. Rauner has so far not commited himself publicly to pushing for an across-the-board Right to Work law protecting all kinds of employees from forced union dues.

"Given Illinois's political climate, it won't be easy for Bruce Rauner, assuming he is elected this November, to make significant positive policy changes to promote private-sector job growth and rein in public spending," said Matthew Leen, vice president of the National Right to Work Committee.

"To have a reasonable chance of success in a Big Labor stronghold state like Illinois, Mr. Rauner should not wait until after Election Day to announce his intent to curtail union bosses' special privileges.

"He needs to begin explaining now to voters why it's both a moral and an economic imperative for the next Prairie State governor to take on compulsory unionism.

"To accomplish that objective, Mr. Rauner need do little more than cite Wisconsin and Indiana as case studies."

NATIONAL RIGHT TO WORK NEWSLETTER

www.nrtwc.org **September 2014**

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Obama NLRB Targets Fast-Food Employees

Union Bosses Aim to Obtain a 'Virtual License to Print Money'

In the latest of a series of bureaucratic reinterpretations of federal labor law that are clearly intended to help union dons secure monopoly control over as many employees as possible, the Obama-appointed top lawyer for the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) is targeting millions of independent franchise employees.

On July 29, NLRB General Counsel Richard Griffin ruled that franchisors may, in many instances, be regarded as "joint employers" along with operators, even though the former aren't involved in deciding how large the workforce is, how much employees are compensated, or how they are hired and fired.

Franchisors furnish small business owners with uniforms and store designs and set quality standards and operating hours. Under decades of NLRB and court precedents, they have never been regarded as the employers of workers at independently-owned stores.

CREDIT: NATIONALREVIEW.COM

Top NLRB lawyer Richard Griffin (inset) and his fellow Obama appointees on the board itself are giving Big Labor enormous latitude to determine which workers will vote in a union organizing election.

Union Bosses Believe, With Good Reason, That Big Firms Are Easier to Strong-Arm

Union bosses have long desired to overturn all these precedents, because they know from experience that small companies are far more likely to stand up to Big Labor pressure and public vilification and refuse to sell out their employees who wish to remain union-free than are large corporations.

In order to avoid negative publicity generated by union officials and their allies, large corporations often agree to so-called "card check" and "neutrality" deals that actually help Big Labor obtain monopoly-bargaining power over their employees.

By comparison, independent franchise owners and operators tend to be much more difficult to strong-arm.

From the time he became NLRB general counsel last year, union bosses had every reason to believe Mr. Griffin would find a way to facilitate their targeting of fast-food and other franchise employees.

Until 2012, Mr. Griffin was general counsel for the corruption-ridden International Union of Operating Engineers (IUOE). In this capacity, he allegedly helped former IUOE President Vince Giblin retaliate against union whistleblowers.

One key reason why fast-food workers represent such a tempting prospect for union bosses such as the hierarchy of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) is the fact that the average employee stays on the job only for a few months.

Big Labor Could Reap Initiation-Fee Windfall

As Heritage Foundation analyst James Sherk noted in an August commentary for *National Review Online*, in non-Right to Work states, SEIU kingpins collect forced initiation fees ranging from $25 to $100 from low-wage workers.

Since the U.S. franchises of McDonald's collectively employ hundreds of thousands of front-line workers at a time, and turnover is so high, unionizing them in one fell swoop would enable the SEIU elite to "make tens of millions annually just from employee turnover," Mr. Sherk explained.

In short, thanks to Richard Griffin, SEIU bosses may soon obtain a "virtual license to print money."

Even as Mr. Griffin was giving the green light this summer for nationwide bargaining units consisting of hundreds of thousands of fast-food employees, Obama appointees on the NLRB itself approved a unit consisting only of the cosmetics and fragrance employees at a single Macy's store in Massachusetts.

Bureaucratic Gerrymanders Empower Union Bosses

"To a naïve observer," noted National Right to Work Committee Vice President Matthew Leen, "the Obama NLRB moves concerning fast food and department stores may seem inconsistent.

"But to put it bluntly, the Obama NLRB doesn't favor large units or small units; it favors gerrymandering every group of front-line employees to make it as easy as possible for union bosses to acquire monopoly-bargaining power.

"Of course, the Obama NLRB can only proceed with redefining franchisors as 'joint employers' and Balkanizing workplaces to facilitate monopolistic unionization of subgroups when most employees are opposed if Congress lets the bureaucrats get away with it.

"A Congress with principled, pro-Right to Work majorities in both chambers could block pro-forced unionism extremists on the NLRB from using taxpayer dollars to expand Big Labor's special privileges.

"That's why Right to Work members are seeking, in our 2014 federal survey program, to get as many candidates as possible on record as 100% opponents of compulsory unionism prior to the November elections."

Right to Work Helps Taxpayers

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contested races.

National Right to Work Committee President Mark Mix commented: "NTU ratings are the fairest and best numerical assessment of an elected official's record on fiscal issues."

He explained: "As the NTU points out, the 2012 ratings are based on all 274 House votes and all 127 Senate votes affecting federal taxes, spending, debt, and significant regulations that occurred during the last session of the 112th Congress.

"No one can with any credibility accuse the NTU of 'cherry picking' votes to make any elected official look better or worse than he or she deserves."

Reported Big Labor Contributions Just the Tip of the Iceberg

"That's why the NTU ratings, combined with Big Labor PAC data and election results data, show clearly how the union political machine targets key races with the intent of forging pro-Big Government Senate and House majorities," Mr. Mix continued.

"And reported union PAC and 'Section 527 group' political expenditures, totaling $106 million in the 2011-2012 election cycle, are far from the predominant means through which Big Labor assists its chosen candidates.

"The same candidates who receive union PAC cash almost always also receive far greater and forced dues-funded unreported Big Labor contributions in the form of partisan phone banks, get-out-the-vote drives, propaganda mailings, and PAC maintenance.

"Such contributions aren't reported to the Federal Election Commission.

"However, a 2013 NILRR analysis, based on data in reporting forms filed by union officials themselves with the U.S. Labor Department and other federal and state agencies, conservatively estimated that Big Labor spent $1.7 billion on politics and lobbying just over the course of 2011 and 2012.

"And the vast majority of this slush fund comes from union dues and fees that workers are forced to pay, or be fired, under federal and state laws.

"In a closely divided Congress, strategically deployed Big Labor forced-dues money is maintaining Tax & Spend politicians' operational control over the legislative branch of America's federal government."

Politicians Who Get the Least Big Labor Support Are Less Free-Spending

The anti-taxpayer impact of the government labor policies that authorize and promote forced unionism is really driven home when one focuses on the records of elected officials who accept little or no money from union bosses.

The 20 current elected senators who got the least PAC support from Big Labor from 2007-2012 received an average of just $8713 apiece. And their mean NTU rating in 2012 was 80, or double the average for the chamber.

In the House, 42 current elected members received no union PAC contributions at all in 2011-2012. Their mean 2012 NTU rating was 79; that's 29 points higher than the House average of 50.

"Both because the share of public-sector employees who are under union monopoly-bargaining is five times greater than the share of private-sector workers who are unionized, and for ideological reasons, union bosses favor bigger government," observed Mr. Mix.

"And, over the long haul, bigger government is what we're getting. The fact is, the problem of excessive taxation and public spending cannot be resolved without first eliminating the coercive federal labor-law provisions that fuel the Big Government lobby."

Legislation now before Congress, known as the National Right to Work Act, or S.204/H.R.946, would repeal all the provisions in federal labor law that authorize the firing of employees for refusal to pay dues to an unwanted union.

This reform would empower workers to refuse to bankroll the campaigns of Tax & Spend politicians simply by resigning from their union and withholding their dues.

"Exit poll data show that roughly 40% of union members, their spouses, and other adult members of their households regularly vote against the Tax & Spend politicians Big Labor bosses support," said Mr. Mix.

"Therefore, if enacted, S.204/H.R.946 would force union kingpins to curtail drastically their political activism, or face massive defections of union members.

"To rein in Big Government, it is necessary first to dry up the $1.7 billion forced-dues slush fund that is its breeding ground. That's one key reason why the Right to Work Committee keeps fighting to secure roll-call votes on forced-dues repeal before this November's elections."

CREDIT: GARY DWIGHT MILLER/NEA

Teacher union bosses like Dennis Van Roekel wield their forced dues-fueled political clout to push for more government spending across the board -- and not just in the education sector that employs their members.

Big Labor Loves Tax-Grabbing Politicians

Top Recipients of Union-Boss Largesse Back Big Government Agenda

This year, according to the Washington, D.C.-based Tax Foundation, Americans will fork over $3.0 trillion in federal taxes and an additional $1.5 trillion in state and local taxes. Taxes at all levels are expected to consume 30.2% of total income.

Even this vast sum of money won't come close to covering the cost of government expenditures. Consequently, this fiscal year's federal budget deficit is expected to reach $500 billion. From 2009 to 2012, the federal deficit exceeded $1 trillion every year.

How did American government, which for the better part of our country's history was relatively modest in scope, get so bloated and intrusive?

Senators Who Got the Most Big Labor Cash Voted With Taxpayers 11% of the Time

Public opinion certainly doesn't favor the current state of affairs. Indeed, a solid majority of Americans have consistently opposed the so-called "Affordable Care Act" of 2010, the single greatest expansion of government since the 1960's, ever since it was rammed through Congress four-and-a-half years ago.

A new analysis by the National Institute for Labor Relations Research suggests that the disproportionate political influence wielded by a relative handful of union officials, gained through legislatively-granted coercive power, is perhaps the single most important reason why government has expanded so profusely.

The analysis by NILRR draws on Federal Election Commission (FEC) reports compiled by the Center for Responsive Politics. The analysis also relies on a nonpartisan assessment of U.S. senators' and representatives' voting records made by the National Taxpayers Union (NTU).

In both the Senate and the House, the politicians receiving the most in reported contributions from Big Labor PACs typically share two characteristics: 1) They favor Big Government, Tax & Spend policies. 2) They face at least potentially close races.

The 20 current senators raking in the most cash from union-boss PACs between 2007 and 2012 received an average 2012 NTU rating of just 11 out of 100, indicating they almost always vote against taxpayers' interests. (See the chart below for more information.)

Even in the spendthrift Senate of 2012, whose average NTU rating of 40 was 17 points lower than its 1995 peak of 57, members receiving the most reported financial support from Big Labor were roughly a quarter as likely to side with taxpayers as the average member.

And the 10 senators who got the most lavish union PAC contributions won their most recent general-election campaigns with an average vote share of 54%, compared to the Senate average of 60%.

Vulnerable 'Tax & Spenders' Propped up by Union Brass

It's largely the same story in the U.S. House of Representatives. Among current House members who were already in office in 2012, the 40 who raked in the most from union-boss PACs for their most recent campaigns averaged a measly NTU rating of 19. The House average was 50.

And seven of the top 20 recipients of Big Labor largesse won an average fall 2012 vote share of 55% or less, compared to the House average of 65% for incumbents seeking reelection in

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Union-Label U.S. Senators Vote For Higher Taxes

(Top U.S. Senate recipients of union-boss PAC money in 2007-2012 and how often they voted to protect taxpayers in 2012. Only sitting members who ran for office at least once during the years cited and have 2012 voting records are included. Sources: National Taxpayers Union, Center for Responsive Politics)

Senator	Union PAC Cash	Support for Taxpayers	Senator	Union PAC Cash	Support for Taxpayers
Kirsten Gillibrand (D-N.Y.)	$827,750	7%	Jon Tester (D-Mont.)	$376,850	11%
Patty Murray (D-Wash.)	$471,075	8%	Jeanne Shaheen (D-N.H.)	$374,500	10%
Harry Reid (D-Nev.)	$465,800	10%	Robert Casey (D-Pa.)	$361,950	14%
Sherrod Brown (D-Ohio)	$465,500	9%	Bill Nelson (D-Fla.)	$361,250	10%
Joe Manchin (D-W.Va.)	$462,000	23%	Tim Johnson (D-S.D.)	$345,750	8%
Mark Udall (D-Colo.)	$429,750	13%	John ("Jay") Rockefeller (D-W.Va.)	$328,500	7%
Claire McCaskill (D-Mo.)	$426,250	18%	Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.)	$328,500	7%
Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.)	$405,600	7%	Mary Landrieu (D-La.)	$327,900	16%
Jeff Merkley (D-Ore.)	$399,300	11%	Debbie Stabenow (D-Mich.)	$327,200	12%
Al Franken (D-Minn.)	$387,600	7%	Amy Klobuchar (D-Minn.)	$320,000	11%

In 2012, the 20 senators raking in the most union-boss PAC cash voted to protect taxpayers only about one-quarter as often as the average senator, according to the National Taxpayers Union's assessment. Meanwhile, the 20 senators receiving the least Big Labor PAC money were twice as apt as the typical senator to side with taxpayers.