

COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO, CLC
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2015 BARGAINING JOBS AND FAIRNESS



In 2015: It's Our Turn Bargaining, Jobs and Fairness

oday, the top 1 percent is booming. Their lives, their families, their standard of living couldn't be better. They have more than recovered from the Great Recession that started in 2008. Share prices have hit record highs since crashing six years ago, yet wages

> and the standard of living for the 99% are stagnant.



The CEOs of our major employers are doing well. The average CEO makes almost 400 times as much as a front line

CWA's largest employers, in every industry group, are booming, and management compensation has benefitted directly from higher share prices with free stock options and other linked bonuses. In 2015, we bargain with it's a fact. most of them-including AT&T, Verizon, United Airlines, American Airlines and GE.

We also negotiate for 50,000 public workers in New Jersey, one of the nation's wealthiest states, where the 1 percent also is doing very well. Public workers, however, are fighting another grab by Gov. Chris Christie, who reneged on state payments to the pension plan after hiking our members' contribution to 8 percent!

In 2015, CWA bargaining teams will be negotiating for more than 200,000 workers covered by 180 contracts. We've put all of our employers on notice: It's our turn. CWA families need a raise. We want secure, sustainable jobs, real improvements in our standard of living, and above all a fair deal based on the state of the employer and an end to the race to the bottom.

Directly related is our fight for fair trade, and an end to trade policy that literally guarantees corporate profits at the expense of working families in all nations. In the weeks ahead, we will mobilize like never before against fast track authorizing legislation and the Trans-Pacific Partnership. Every call center job, every manufacturing job in this country is at risk. That's not an overstatement,

Employers already are lining up to move manufacturing production to Vietnam. They're looking ahead to when the Philippines joins the TPP group to expand the more than 900,000 call center jobs already operating there for U.S. customers.

We will push members of the House of Representatives and the Senate to stand for jobs, fairness and our communities. A majority of the House Democratic Caucus already is committed to opposing fast track, which would give away Congress's right to review and amend trade deals like TPP, but we have to keep pushing.

We will build alliances with other groups that can put pressure on more Republican elected officials, as well. Our polling shows at least 20% of our members vote Republican, and we are counting on those members to help lead this fight in key Republican House districts.

We believe in trade. But it must be fair trade that gives workers' rights, environmental issues and other concerns the same standing as corporate profits. At the start of the New Year, we're standing up and fighting back.



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NOT SO FAST USA TODAY

CWA President Cohen responded to USA Today's endorsement of the Trans-Pacific Partnership. The following column ran in USA Today on Nov. 13, 2014.

We need to stop "fast track" and reject the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TTP). This deal is not about trade; it is about foreign policy and about protecting the profits of multinational corporations. Citizen rights are an afterthought, just as they have been in every trade deal since the North American Free Trade Agreement 20 years ago.

First, in trying to move the Vietnamese government a step closer to U.S. policy than to the Chinese, U.S. workers and consumers are exposed to a government that tramples the rights of its 90 million people, with a 28cent hourly minimum wage and little protection for the rights of workers, the environment or public health.

U.S. companies and multinational corporations can't wait to move our remaining manufacturing jobs to a nation where the government will protect multinational investment. Then, U.S. and other workers will be told to compete with wages half the rate of Mexico, Central America and China.

This deal is not about trade; it is about foreign policy and about protecting the profits of multinational corporations.

If any of the 12 and growing number of TPP nations improves worker rights or environmental protection, or legislates anything that threatens the profits of investors, a multinational corporation can sue that nation in a secret arbitration tribunal for any loss of future profits due to legislative action.

This is not science fiction. There are 500 such cases pending from 20 years of similar deals since NAFTA: Philip Morris suing Uruguay and Australia for warnings on cigarette packaging; transportation giant Veolia suing Egypt for raising its minimum wage; and Swedish energy giant Vattenfall suing Germany for limiting nuclear energy in the wake of Fukushima.

If fast track were enacted for TPP, the TPP deal itself would get only an upor-down House and Senate vote, without amendment. And Congress would consider fast track before knowing the content of TPP. Our nation and voters, no matter our party identification, want open and transparent government. We support fair trade for the 21st century, but it must balance our imports and exports, lead to job growth and protect our rights, not just those of the 1%.

GOOD JOBS & GOOD V

It's Our Turn

For the vast majority of workers, real wages have declined or remained stagnant since 1979. That's true for workers with a college education and those who don't have one. CWA and other union members have done better overall, because we're able to bargain for some improvements. But bargaining has gotten harder.

During the 2008-2009 Great Recession, nearly 4 million mid-wage jobs, with annual earnings of about \$40,000, were lost. Fewer than 1 million have come back. It's the same story for higher wage jobs, those paying above \$44,000. Nearly 2 million low wage jobs, paying less than \$28,700, have been gained in the economic recovery. Clearly, workers are losing ground.



BIG FORCES ARE PUSHING DOWN WAGES AND DESTROYING GOOD JOBS

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING COVERAGE LOWER THAN EVER

Just 6 percent of U.S. private sector workers have bargaining rights, and public workers are under attack in the states.

What's the Connection?

Without bargaining rights, millions of U.S. workers have no way to gain their fair share of a company's profits. For union members, it's as if all the nonunion workers in our industry are sitting across the bargaining table from us, helping our employers push down our wages.

CORPORATIONS MAKE MORE MONEY AND EXERT MORE CONTROL OVER **OUR DEMOCRACY**

Since the 1970s, corporations and the 1 percent have been grabbing a growing share of productivity gains. Today, the gap between average weekly earnings and increased productivity is the widest it's ever been.

What's the Connection?

This disconnect between wages and productivity means that corporations and the 1 percent keep even more money. And what are they doing with it? They're spending a chunk of those dollars to elect politicians who support policies like tax breaks for the rich, bad trade deals and attacks on collective bargaining.

BAD TRADE DEALS REWARD INVESTORS AND PUSH WAGES DOWN

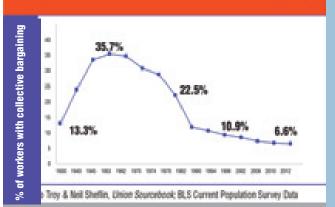
We've seen 20 years of bad trade deals like the North American Free Trade Agreement - NAFTA. The proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership is even worse. TPP would affect manufacturing and service sector work, like our call center jobs. And it would give huge advantages to corporations and

What's the Connection?

As corporations send more jobs offshore, that puts pressure on bargaining for wages and working conditions. Some corporations use these trade deals to threaten U.S. workers by saying: "we can always move these jobs overseas.'

Corporations already are lining up to take advantage of the 28-cent an hour minimum wage in Vietnam, one of the TPP partner countries.

The Rise & Fall of Private Sector Collective Bargaining

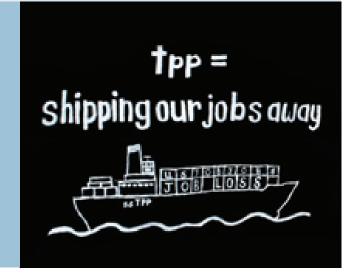


Corporations' Return on Their Political Contributions

2007-201<u>2</u> \$4.4 TRILLION **Resulted in** \$5.8 MILLION

CONTRIBUTIONS OF AMERICA'S MOST POLITICALLY ACTIVE CORPORATIONS

FEDERAL BUSINESS AND SUPPORT TO THOSE CORPORATIONS Source: Sunlight Foundation, "Fixed \$ Fortunes," Nov. 2014



NO FAST TRACK NO TPP AFIGHT WE CAN WIN

CWA activists and partners are gearing up for the fight of our lives. In the next few weeks, the new Congress will take up the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal. **We're standing up and fighting back.**

SPECIAL TREATMENT FOR CORPORATIONS

TPP isn't really about trade. The 29 chapters of TPP cover subjects like intellectual property rights and patents and especially, investor rights. It's a way to guarantee fat profits for multinational corporations. Every trade deal since NAFTA has guaranteed the profit rate on investment.

How? Through the Investor State Dispute Settlement process, that gives any multinational corporation the right to sue any participating government in a private tribunal, to protect its "future expected profits."

Multinational corporations can sue if a country raises its minimum wage, like Egypt did, or acts to protect the health of its citizens, like Australia has done. More than \$3 billion has been paid out to foreign investors under U.S. trade and investment treaties, while over \$14 billion in claims are pending.

We need 21st Century trade deals that work for all of us, not deals that are designed to guarantee the profits of the world's largest and wealthiest corporations.



COMMUNITIES

Trade deals have devastated our communities. In Detroit, for example, free trade deals resulted in hundreds of auto plants closing, with those jobs going to Mexico and China. Citizens lost their jobs and wages, they couldn't afford to buy anything, tax revenues declined, the price of housing dropped, and the city eventually filed for bankruptcy, slashing public services. We can't afford to have that happen in our cities.



NO MORE BUY AMERICAN

TPP would ban Buy American laws, requirements for nation of origin labeling on food and other provisions. Any law that gives preference to American produced goods and services, from steel for bridge repair to customer service support for state and local governments would be challenged by any nation signing on to TPP. TPP negotiators are giving away billions of dollars in government procurement that has produced good jobs and energized our economy.



COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

TPP affects our jobs, our pay, and our total compensation. Management is always comparing the cost of our employment with the cost of moving somewhere else. As one CEO said recently, "It's like gravity. The low wages and low costs of jobs in Central America and Asia move the jobs out of the U.S. to these low wage countries."

We've had enough of this race to the bottom. We need to stop fast track and TPP now.

SECRECY



Why are the trade talks secret? I actually have had supporters of the deal say to me, 'They have to be secret, because if the American people knew what was actually in them, they would be opposed.'

—Senator Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.)

It's hard to keep a secret. But U.S. trade negotiators have kept most of the Trans-Pacific Partnership a secret from workers, consumers, environmentalists, even members of Congress for years now, as they keep pushing for a deal.

What we do know of this deal is that investors and multinationals would gain new rights and the ability to challenge U.S. laws; the rest of us will lose out.

Through leaks, we learned that big drug companies are pushing for rules throughout Asia that will raise prices on medicines for consumers and governments. The U.S. wants long monopolies for biotech drugs; that will make the latest cancer-fighting drugs out of reach for millions of people.

We learned that TPP has no mechanism to enforce environmental standards. The environment section is weaker than any language included in a U.S. trade deal since 2007.



U.S. JOBS

For the past 20 years, since the North American Free Trade Agreement, the U.S. has lost millions of jobs. Our trade deficit with other nations is \$10 trillion. That's a lot of lost jobs.

Negotiators promise jobs, but instead, jobs are leaving the country, caused by a flood of imports. TPP is no different. Companies already are lining up to send manufacturing jobs to Vietnam, where the average wage is about 75 cents an hour and there are no worker rights and no environmental standards.

TPP is worse because it will affect service sector jobs too, like call center and information technology work. At least 25 percent of U.S. jobs are tradeable, meaning they can be moved offshore.

THE U.S.- KOREA FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (KORUS)

70,000 JOBS PROMISED 40,000 JOBS LOST



NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (NAFTA)

200,000 JOBS PROMISED 682,900 JOBS LOST



ARE YOU READY TO STAND UP AND FIGHT BACK?

Learn more about how Fast Tracking the TPP will hurt U.S. working families and workers overseas, reward Vietnam's violation of human rights, lead to even more offshoring, endanger America's food safety, raise the cost of life-saving drugs and more, at www.StopTheTPP.org.

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2015 BARGAINING: It's Our Turn

In 2015, CWA bargaining teams will be negotiating 180 contracts covering more than 200,000 CWA members across our industries and sectors. We want increased wages, jobs and fairness in our workplaces. Many of our employers are among the most profitable in their industries, and it's time that workers get a fair share of those profits.

With our members' help, many of our employers recovered from bankruptcy and the economic downturn of the 2008 Great Recession. We're putting them on notice: it's our turn.

MORE THAN 200,000 CWA MEMBERS BARGAIN IN 2015

American Airlines Passenger Service New Unit 14,000 UNITED Flight Attendants Amendable in 2015 24,000 Amendable in 2015 17,000 The passenger Service Amendable in 2015 17,000 April 2015 August 2015 21,400 New Jersey State Employees June 2015 43,000 GE Imagination at work IUE-CWA July 2015 9,300 NYNE and Mid-Atlantic August 2015 August 2015 26,500	Employer	Unit	Contract Expiration	CWA Representation
Legacy T and Midwest April 2015 17,000 at &t Southeast August 2015 21,400 New Jersey State Employees June 2015 43,000 GE imagination at work IUE-CWA July 2015 9,300	American Airlines 🔪	Passenger Service	New Unit	14,000
Southeast August 2015 21,400 New Jersey State Employees June 2015 43,000 GE imagination at work IUE-CWA July 2015 9,300	UNITED	Flight Attendants	Amendable in 2015	24,000
New Jersey State Employees June 2015 43,000 UE-CWA July 2015 9,300	at&t	Legacy T and Midwest	April 2015	17,000
GE imagination at work IUE-CWA July 2015 9,300 26,500	at&t	Southeast	August 2015	21,400
26 500	New Jersey	State Employees	June 2015	43,000
verizon NYNE and Mid-Atlantic August 2015 26,500	GE imagination at work	IUE-CWA	July 2015	9,300
	veri <mark>zon</mark>	NYNE and Mid-Atlantic	August 2015	26,500

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RICAN AIRLINES/US AIRWAYS

14,000 Workers Bargaining

Increase in corporate profits since 2009: 9.6 percent.

US Airways filed for bankruptcy in 2002 and 2004, and American filed in 2011. CWA passenger service members at US Airways made sacrifices during those bankruptcies to keep their airline operating. Today, wages are still lower than their pre-bankruptcy level. Agents at American lost jobs, pay and retirement security as that airline outsourced their work. Homebased agents saw their wages and benefits cut.

The two airlines merged in 2013. Last September, after 19 years of determination and organizing, American agents won a CWA voice. With their colleagues at US Airways, they are negotiating a first contract.

AT&T MIDWEST, LEGACY T AND SOUTHEAST

38,400 Workers Bargaining

AT&T is a very profitable company, with a CEO who was paid \$20.6 million in 2013. CWA members want to continue to stay ahead of inflation with real wage increases and want focus on job growth and working conditions.



9,300 Workers Bargaining

Increase in corporate profits since 2009: 16.3 percent.

GE is a very profitable corporation, and it pays its CEO very well. For 2013, GE's CEO was paid \$19 million. That's 491 times as much as an average worker, according to a Bloomberg analysis.

In 2014, GE sold its Appliance Park facility in Louisville, Ky., to Swedish-company Electrolux. We will fight to make sure that the Louisville workers have contract protections.

VERIZON COMMUNICATIONS NORTHEAST AND MID-ATLANTIC

26,500 Workers Bargaining

Increase in corporate profits since 2009: 215 percent.

Verizon is a very profitable company and its CEO shares in those profits, with a 2013 compensation package of \$15.8 million.

CWAers want to expand and keep good jobs, and gain a fair share of Verizon's profits. Also bargaining are VZ Wireless retail store workers in Brooklyn, who last year stood up for bargaining rights and a CWA voice, and VZW technicians in New York.



EW JERSEY

43,000 State Workers Bargaining

New Jersey is one of the nation's wealthiest states and the 1 percent is doing well. Under Governor Chris Christie, who's big on corporate tax breaks and giveaways to the wealthy, the top 1 percent pay just 7 percent of their income in taxes.

Christie fought hard to strip workers' bargaining rights over health care and retirement security. In 2011, he pushed through big cuts in public workers' pensions but pledged that the state would begin to make bigger payments each year to the pension system. Last year, Christie reneged on that deal and grabbed \$2.5 billion earmarked for workers' pensions.

State workers also face the threat of privatization that will destroy good jobs and critical public services.

24,000 Flight Attendants Bargaining

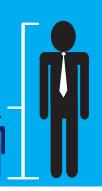
Increase in corporate profits since 2009: 161.2 percent.

United Airlines filed for bankruptcy in 2002, cutting thousands of jobs across the company. Flight Attendants endured wage cuts, health care cost shifting, work rule changes, and termination of their pensions. AFA-CWA members fought back and doubled the amount the company would contribute to the 401k plans, from 3 percent to 6 percent as the airline exited bankruptcy.

The airline has fully recovered from its bankruptcy and in October 2010 merged with Continental and Continental Micronesia. Flight Attendants are bargaining for a single contract at the new United that would finally merge the operation and allow all 24,000 to access the benefits of the merger and share in the airline's profitability.

CEOs Pay Keeps Going Up

The **average CEO** that of the average worker.



The average CEO

that of the average worker.



average worker.

The **average CEO** that of the



Playing Defense - Playing Offense

Fighting Back Against the Attack on the NLRB

Lamar Alexander (R-Tenn.), in line to head the Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee's already on record with his plan to cripple the National Labor Relations Act.

Of course, he isn't calling it that. Instead, Alexander, with the support of Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky., the next Senate majority leader) has introduced an NLRB "Reform" bill that's anything but reform. In fact it will ensure that the Board can't function. Alexander's plan would add a sixth board member to the current five, with a makeup of three Democrats and three Republicans. The bill would require that all decisions be reached by at least four members, pretty much assuring that very few decisions would be reached.

It would restrict the authority of the board's chief prosecutor and cut the operating budget of the agency if cases weren't decided in a timely manner, after making it nearly impossible for cases to be resolved.

"The NLRB won't be able to do anything—and that's exactly what the Republicans want," said CWA President Larry Cohen.

"Apparently these Senators never read the preamble to the National Labor Relations Act, which clearly states that the purpose of the Act is to promote collective bargaining. The bipartisan drafters of the law—confirmed by every generation of Republicans except the current leaders—absolutely understood that government needed to be pro-collective bargaining or management interests would trample workers. In the first ten years of the NLRB, 10 million workers achieved collective bargaining rights. Alexander and McConnell are guilty of a total fabrication of what the law says."

Without a functioning NLRB, the more than 80 million workers who don't have union representation will have no path at all to workplace justice. Workers who want a union voice will never have justice for the illegal firings and other law violations under the Alexander-McConnell plan.

CWAers will mobilize and fight back against this attack on workers' rights.

Fighting for Workplace Scheduling Rights Legislation

Two champions of working families, Reps. George Miller (D-Calif.) and Rosa DeLauro (D-Conn.), introduced a bill to help working families better balance their work lives and their family responsibilities. The "Schedules that Work" Act establishes federal guidelines to make sure that employers provide fair, flexible and reliable schedules for workers.

"This bill is all about people and fairness. It includes a 'circuit breaker' for collective bargaining, so that unions can continue to improve on working conditions," Miller said. "It's a way to ensure that workers can earn a decent living and meet family responsibilities," he said.

In a number of CWA sectors, like passenger service agents, workers can swap shifts in order to make a child's doctor appointment or meet some other obligation. But in many non-union workplaces, like T-Mobile, for example, swapping is banned.

The bill also will:

- Give employees the right to request more flexible or more predictable schedules, more or fewer work hours and ask for minimal fluctuations in scheduling.
- **K** Give employees with specific needs, like child care, elder care or health conditions, more protections.
- **X** Protect workers from retaliation: Employers would be prohibited from punishing workers for their work requests.
- Require at least four hours of reporting pay for workers who are called in to work, then sent home or put on call without pay.
- Require at least one hour of call-in pay for employees who are required to call in less than 24 hours before a shift and are not allowed to work for at least four hours.
- \mathcal{K} Require split-shift pay for workers who are required to work nonconsecutive hours.
- Require employers to provide advance information about hours and scheduling and to notify workers in advance of changes. Short-notice changes would require additional pay.

The American Public Supports Fairness

Raising wages and improving the standard of living for working families is a winning political issue.

In the November 2014 elections, voters approved increases in the minimum wage, paid sick leave and other economic gains for working families in many states.

Voters in the states of Alaska, Arkansas, Nebraska and South Dakota, and cities of Oakland and San Francisco, Calif., approved increases in the minimum wage.

Paid sick leave also was approved by voters in Massachusetts, Trenton and Montclair, N.J., and expanded in Oakland, Calif.

RECOVERY FOR WITOW?

Cumulative Change in REAL Annual Wages by Wage Group



ECONOMIC POLICY INSTITUTE

From 2009 to 2012, the 1 percent captured 95 percent of all income gains.