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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. remarks	Political (Partial) (2 pages)	02/21/1994	b(6)
002. list	Political (Partial) (2 pages)	02/21/1994	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Political Affairs
 Joan Baggett
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FOLDER TITLE:

[AFL-CIO Briefing Book] [loose] [1]

2013-0306-F

jm1238

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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FEBRUARY 18, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: CHRIS ULRICH/MIKE BURTON/MICHELA ALIOTO

SUBJECT: AFL-CIO BRIEFING BOOK

Enclosed is your final briefing book for the AFL-CIO events. This book contains details not included in your preliminary briefing book. In addition to the general information you have already received, you will find materials on the AFL-CIO executive council leadership, labor issues arising from the National Performance Review, and international issues of interest to organized labor. You will note that this book contains a broad range of subject matters intended to give you a strong grasp of the various issues union leaders might raise. **Bob Lehman wanted you to see the talking points for your meeting with the AFL-CIO Executive Council which been inserted in the front pocket of the briefing book.**

This book contains:

GENERAL INFORMATION

- Strategy Memo Highlighting Suggested Themes
- Copy of the President's Speech from the AFL-CIO Convention in San Francisco on October 4, 1993.
- Economic Outlook Sheet from CEA
- List of Clinton-Gore Accomplishments (Brag Sheet for Organized Labor)
- AFL-CIO Executive Board Members bio's and a preview of each members political concerns.
- Last Visits/Meetings with AFL-CIO Leaders

ORGANIZED LABOR/AFL-CIO

- Fact sheet on Union Memberships and wages
- List of Former Union Officers now serving in the Administration
- NLRB Update
- 1993 Committee on Political Education (COPE) Report

AGJ AND LABOR

- Overall Committee on Political Education on you
- Report on Senate-Era work on Labor(Primarily on Plant Closings)
- VP Labor Correspondence

NATIONAL PERFORMANCE REVIEW

- Davis Bacon Act of 1931
- Buy American
- Government Printing Office
- Ensuring Workplace Safety and Health
- One Stop Centers for Career Management
- National Partnership Council
- Commission To Review the U.S. Maritime Industry
- Railroad Retirement Board

INTERNATIONAL ISSUES AFFECTING LABOR

- Japanese Trade Sanctions
- Malaysia (GSP)
- GATT-- Workers Rights Provision
- NAFTA Implementation
- Poland and AFL-CIO
- Immigration

SPECIFIC LABOR ISSUES

- Transportation Issues- ISTEA & Mass Transit Formula grants
- Health Care and Labor
- Welfare Reform and Public Sector Replacement.
- Re-employment Act of 1994
- Reinventing Unemployment Insurance
- Sticker Replacement
- Enforcement
- Lead Exposure
- OSHA: Ensuring work place safety and Health
- Testimony by Secretary Reich on OSHA Reform
- The Commission on the Future of Worker-Management Relations
- The Secretary's Task Force on Excellence in State and Local Government
- Office of Labor Management Standards: Labor Management forms Revision and Special Briefings

Talking Points
for
Vice President Al Gore
at
AFL-CIO Executive Council
Bal Harbour, FL
Feb. 21, 1994

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS FROM ADVANCE)

I. I'm here for two reasons.

* First, to celebrate. This has been the best year for working people and unions since I went to Congress -- with the help of many people in this room.

* Second, to make sure we work together so the years ahead are even better.

II. Last October, when the President talked to the AFL-CIO Convention, he said this:

"I became President in part because I wanted a new partnership for the labor movement in America."

That theme of partnership has guided all our efforts to help working families this year. And we've had some real accomplishment.

II. Some people don't see how much happened in 1993. But just think back to the mood at Bal Harbour two years ago.

* Then we had an economy losing 9400 jobs a month. Now we're creating 164,000 jobs a month and that's a victory for working people.

* We created more private sector jobs in 12 months -- 1.7 million -- than the Bush Administration did in 4 years, and that's a victory for working people.

* Unemployment dropped to 6.4% in December -- a three year low and that's a victory for working people.

III. Remember George Bush trying to veto unemployment benefits? This time President Clinton supported it in Congress and couldn't wait to sign it into law, keeping 300,000 unemployed Americans each week from falling through the safety net.

IV. Remember those 1% growth rates? We had a 2.9% growth rate in 1993 -- and that was a victory for working people.

V. This was not only a good year for working families. It was a good year for the great extended family that is the American labor movement -- and not just because so many of the President's Cabinet are made up of friends of labor, whether Robert Reich or Henry Cisneros or Donna Shalala..

* Organized labor is a partner in every important policy discussion in this Administration, whether from Joan Baggett (Bricklayers) or Joe Valasquez (AFL-CIO) in the White House ... Jack Otero (Transportation-Communications Union) or Geri Palast (SEIU) at Labor ... Jerry Kleppner (AFSCME) at HHS ... or dozens of others.

* That's why we saw so many initiatives that had been on our wish list for years .. become law.

1. Family and Medical Leave
2. Tax cuts for 20 million working families
3. Hatch Act Reform

VI. And let me tell you about something that makes me really proud: guided by John Sturdivant we've formed labor-management partnerships.

* For the first time in 30 years -- since President Kennedy allowed unions to organize in the federal workplace - employees and their representatives are empowered to move this government from red tape to results.

* We'll create a flexible hiring system ...reform the general schedule classification system ... let employees design their own performance management systems.

* Will these partnerships work? They will because they are working.

a. They're working at the United States Mint where it and the AFGE have an agreement on ways to resolve a wide range of issues.

b. They're working at Department of Labor where Agency Reinvention Teams have union members working as full partners.

c. They're working at IRS, where it and the National Treasury Employees Union signed a Total Quality Organization Partnership Agreement.

* In this administration we want to bring workers into the process -- not lock them out.

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VI. We have a lot more to do.

* OSHA Reform: We support the Kennedy-Ford bill and we'll work hard to see it passed.

* Striker Replacement: We support legislation to ban scabs and the President will sign it the moment it reaches his desk.

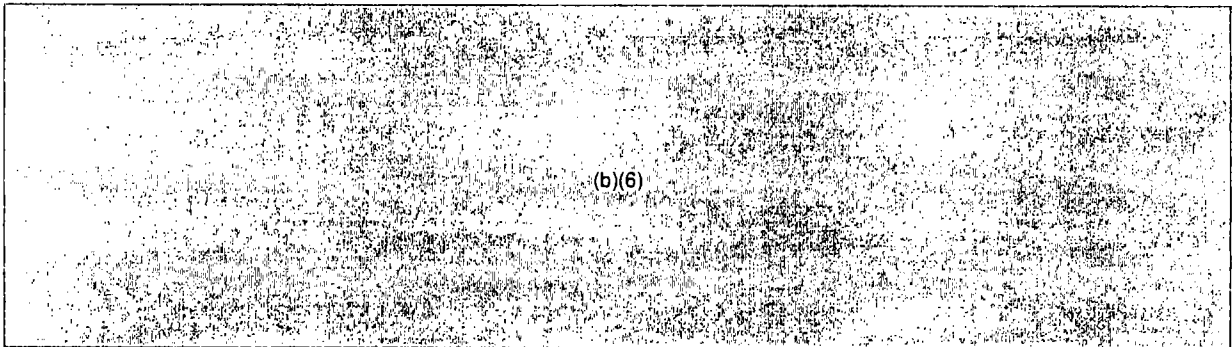
* HEALTH CARE: There are those who say there's no health care crisis. Tell that to the

-- 40 million without coverage

-- people locked into jobs because of preexisting conditions

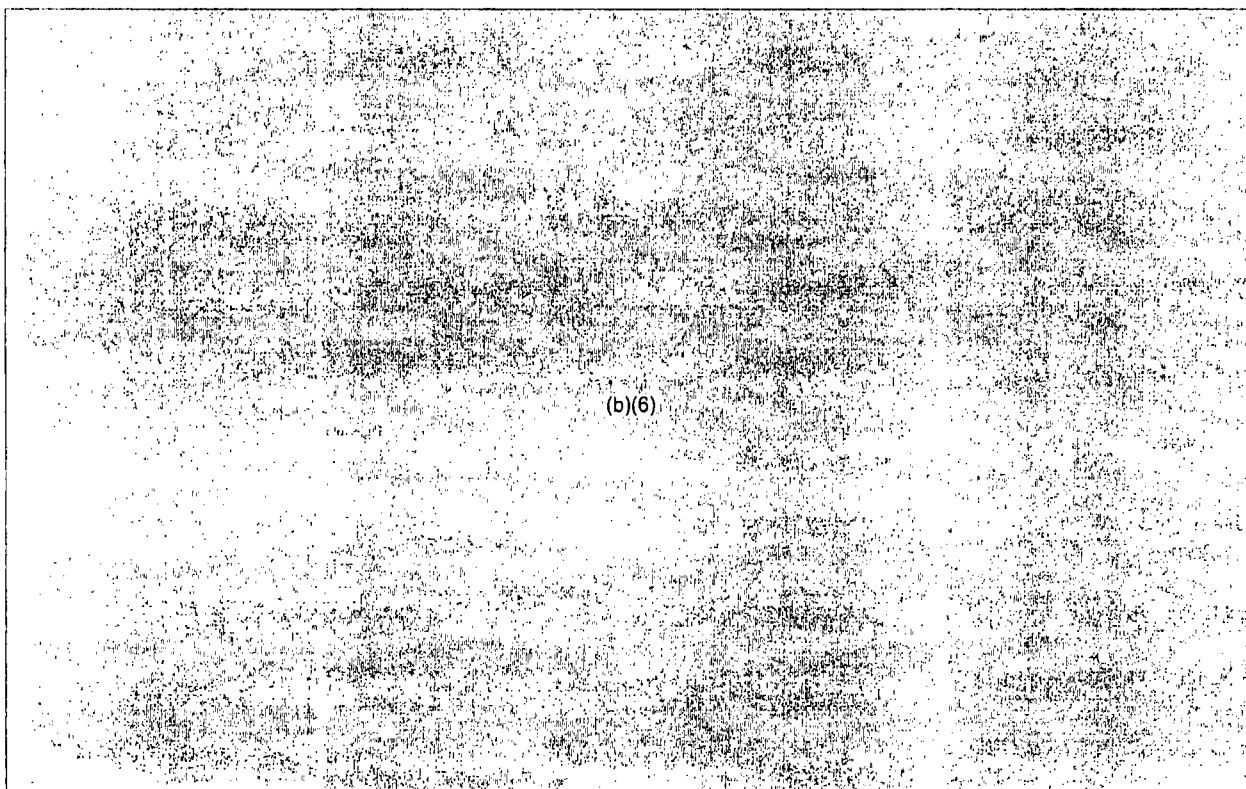
-- Working people who have seen insurance premiums triple.

* We're going to work with you to make sure a bill passes by November, 1994 that gives health care to every American.



(b)(6)

[001]



VIII. Let me finish by quoting the President once more:

"For most of the 20th Century the union movement in America has represented the effort to make sure that people who worked hard and played by the rules were treated fairly, had a chance to become middle class citizens, raise middle class kids and give their children a chance to have a better life than they did."

That was your mission. And that is your achievement.
Now we'd like to work as partners with you, to make
sure we do that in the century that lies ahead.
We want to work with you for jobs.
For growth.
For working families.
For a better America.

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Strategy Memo

Divider Title: _____

STRATEGY MEMORANDUM

Your appearance at Bal Harbour offers a unique opportunity to emphasize the natural bonds between this Administration and organized labor. Although the NAFTA debate caused a great deal of friction, there are more lasting forces that will inevitably re-establish this important alliance. More than anything else, union members want to ensure that the United States has a growing market of good jobs--and they need to know the Administration holds this goal as one of its most basic missions. The more forcefully we present our common vision, the more rapidly we will heal any wounds that might remain from last November.

As you know, this Administration created far more private sector jobs in the first twelve months than the Bush Administration created in its entire four year term of office. The reason is that, for the first time in many years, we have a team in the White House that is willing to grapple with real economic issues. We are cutting wasteful spending and reducing the deficit. Moreover, this Administration is willing to take an active role in promoting economic growth--not by giving tax breaks to the rich, but by promoting U.S. exports, training people for productive careers, transferring publicly funded research to commercial production, and leading the nation into a new world of high-tech manufacturing technology. The result, so far, is the creation of 1.7 million new jobs in the private sector, and emerging patterns of economic strength that promise even greater job growth.

Because we stand behind organized labor in nearly all the bread-and-butter issues its members care about, the AFL-CIO readily applauds the Administration in those areas where we have stood together, despite past quarrels on NAFTA. We agree on OSHA reform, labor law reform, and striker replacement. We have worked together to gain significant achievements on family and medical leave, Hatch Act reform, emergency unemployment benefits, Motor-Voter legislation, and deficit reduction. Finally, the Administration and organized labor will clearly need each other to make sure that Congress passes a comprehensive healthcare reform package--we cannot do it without labor, and they cannot do it without us.

The native affinity between this Administration and organized labor resides in a common effort to build a strong and growing economy that creates good jobs for working families. Without economic progress, other gains become moot. This Administration is tenaciously seeking ways to join with labor in a partnership to create American jobs. The results so far show value of this alliance: The economy is growing and people are going back to work. Our present task is to remind members of the AFL-CIO that we are ready to join their struggle--not just as a matter of convenience, but as a matter of deeply shared principle. They should know that this Administration will stand behind U.S. workers at home or abroad to help all Americans thrive in the global economy.

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The President's Speech

Divider Title: _____

February 18, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL BURTON
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT CLINTON'S SPEECH TO 1993 AFL-CIO CONVENTION

Attached is a copy of the speech President Clinton delivered on October 4, 1993, at the AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco. He gave the speech shortly before the NAFTA debate became heated. The thrust of these remarks has been incorporated into your talking points for Bal Harbour.

SEVEN KEY POINTS

1. In an ever-changing economy, America needs a *re*-employment system, not an *un*-employment system.
2. To have productive workers, we must allow people to be good parents and good family members. The Family and Medical Leave Act helps them do that.
3. We must empower workers through partnerships--between labor and management, as well as between labor and the public sector.
4. The government can play a positive role in encouraging work by making sure working families are not punished for earning a paycheck (as the Earned Income Tax Credit makes possible) and by making education available to everyone (as student loan reform and Goals 2000 will allow).
5. Defense conversion and accessible government labs encourage good jobs here at home as we move forward toward innovative manufacturing and consumer technologies (as with the Clean Car initiative).
6. In order to ensure that U.S. goods have access to the widest possible world marketplace, we need to negotiate strong trade agreements, and when that fails, we must be willing to impose tough trade sanctions.
7. We must provide our citizens with security from violent crime, from the prospect of losing their health insurance, from injury in the workplace, and from the possibility they will have their jobs taken from them just for participating in a legal economic strike.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(San Francisco, California)

For Immediate Release

October 4, 1993

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE AFL-CIO 20TH CONVENTION

San Francisco Hilton
San Francisco, California

11:30 A.M. PDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. President Kirkland, distinguished platform guests, and to the men and women of the American labor movement, let me tell you first I am glad to be here. I feel like I'm home and I hope you feel like you have a home in Washington. (Applause.)

For most of the 20th century the union movement in America has represented the effort to make sure that people who worked hard and played by the rules were treated fairly, had a chance to become middle class citizens, raise middle class kids, and give their children a chance to have a better life than they did. You have worked for that. You have done that.

For too long, in the face of deep and profound problems engulfing all the world's advanced nations, you have been subjected to a political climate in which you were asked to bear the blame for forces you did not create, many times when you were trying to make the situation better. I became President in part because I wanted a new partnership for the labor movement in America. (Applause.)

Before I get into the remarks that I came here to make about all of our challenges at home and the economic challenges facing us, I have to make a few remarks this morning about developments in the world in the last 48 hours.

The labor movement has been active, particularly in the last few years with the end of the Cold War, in the effort to promote democracy abroad, to guarantee the right of people freely to join their own unions, and to work for freedom within their own countries. In that context, most of you, I know, have strongly supported and looked with great favor on the movement towards democracy in Russia.

The United States continues to stand firm of its support of President Yeltsin, because he is Russia's democratically-elected leader. (Applause.) We very much regret the loss of life in Moscow, but it is clear that the opposition forces started the conflict, and that President Yeltsin had no other alternative than to try to restore order. It appears as of this moment that that has been done. (Applause.) And I have no, I have as of this moment absolutely no reason to doubt the personal commitment that Boris Yeltsin to let the Russian people decide their own future, to secure a new Constitution with democratic values and democratic processes, to have a new legislative branch elected with democratic elections, and to subject himself, yet again, to a democratic vote of the people. That is all that we can ask.

I think also, most of you know that in a military action yesterday, the United States sustained the loss of some young American soldiers in Somalia. I deeply regret the loss of their lives. They are working to ensure that anarchy and starvation do not return to a nation in which over 300,000 people

MORE

have lost their lives -- many of them children -- before the United States led the U.N. mission there, starting late last year. I want to offer my profound condolences to the families of the United States Army personnel who died there. They were acting in the best spirit of America.

As you know, the United States has long had plans to withdraw from Somalia and leave it to others in the United Nations to pursue the common objectives. I urged the United Nations and the Secretary General in my speech at the United Nations a few days ago to start a political process so that the country could be turned back over to Somalis who would not permit the kind of horrible bloodshed and devastation to reoccur. And I hope and pray that that will happen.

In the meanwhile, you may be sure that we will do whatever is necessary to protect our own forces in Somalia and to complete our mission there.

From the struggle against communism in Eastern Europe to the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, the union movement in America has always answered the challenges of our time. It must be a source of great pride to you to see these elections unfold, to see the remarkable movement toward a genuine multiracial society within a democratic framework in South Africa. (Applause.) It must, likewise, be a source of continuing frustration to you to see that even as the ideas and the values that you have espoused now for decades are being embraced around the world, here in our country and virtually every other wealthy country in the world, middle class workers are under assault from global economic forces that seem beyond the reach of virtually any government policy.

We now know that every wealthy country in the world is having trouble creating jobs. We now know that in the last several years, inequality of income got worse in every major country. We know that we had more growing inequality in America than anyplace else because we actually embraced it. I mean, the whole idea of trickle-down economics was to cut taxes on the wealthiest Americans, raise taxes on the middle class, let the deficit balloon, and hope that the investment from the wealthy would somehow expand opportunity to everybody else.

We know that didn't work, and it made the situation worse. It left us with a \$4 trillion debt. It left us with a deficit of over \$300 billion a year. It left us with a legacy of weakened opportunities for workers in the workplace, too little investment, a paralyzed budget, and no strategy to compete and win in the global economy, and more inequality in America than any of the other wealthy countries. But we also know that the same problems we have are now being found in Germany, in Japan, in all of Europe, in the other advanced nations.

So we have to face the honest fact that we are facing unprecedented challenges in our own midst to the very way of life that the labor movement has fought so hard to guarantee for others around the world for decades. And therefore, it is important that we think through these issues, that we take positions on them, that we agree and that we disagree in the spirit of honest searching for what the real nature of this world is we're living in and where we are going.

The most important thing to me today is that you know that this administration shares your values and your hopes and your dreams and the interest of your children, and that together -- (applause.) And that I believe together we can work our way through this very difficult and challenging time, recognizing that no one fully understands the dimensions of the age in which we live and exactly how we are going to recreate opportunity for all Americans who are willing to do what it takes to be worthy of it.

MORE

The labor movement, historically, has always been on the cutting edge of change, and the drive to empower workers and give them more dignity on the job and in their lives. Almost a half a century ago, at the end of World War II, labor helped to change America and the world. At home and abroad, labor helped to create a generation of prosperity and to create the broad middle class that we all cherish so much today.

Now we have to do it again. We're at a time of change that I am convinced is as dramatic as the dawning of the Industrial Age. We can no longer tell our sons and daughters -- we know this now -- that they will enter a job at the age of 18 or 21, enjoy secure paychecks and health benefits and retirement benefits for the rest of their working lives, and retire from the same job with the same company at the age of 65 or 62.

Our changing economy tells us now that the average 18-year-old will change work seven times in a lifetime even if they stay with the same company and certainly if they change; that when people lose their jobs now, they really aren't on unemployment, they're looking for reemployment; that most unemployment today is not like it used to be -- when people got unemployed for decades, it was because there was a temporary downturn in the economy. And when the economy turned up again, most people who were unemployed were hired back by their old employer. Today, most people who are unemployed eventually get hired back usually by a different employer for a different job. And unless we are very good at what we do for them, often at lower wages and less benefits.

So it is clear that what we need is not an unemployment system, but a reemployment system in recognition of the way the world works today. (Applause.)

We know, too, that most American working people are working harder than they ever have in their lives; that the average work week is longer today than it was 20 years ago; that real hourly wages adjusted for inflation peaked in 1973, and so most people are working harder for the same or lower real wages than they were making 20 years ago.

We know that in the '80s there was a dramatic restructuring of manufacturing; that being followed in the '90s with a dramatic restructuring of the service industries. We know that for the last 12 years, in every single year, the Fortune 500 companies lowered employment in the United States in six figures; and that in the years where we have gained jobs, they've come primarily from starting new businesses and from companies with between, say, 500 and 1,000 workers expanding -- as the whole nature of this economy changes.

We know that the cost of health care has increased so much that millions of American workers who kept their jobs never got a pay raise because all the increased money went to pay more for the same health care. We know that some of our most powerful industrial engines, especially in industries like autos and steel have shown breathtaking increases in productivity with deep changes in the work force supported by the labor movement, and still are having trouble competing in the world, in part, because their health costs may be as much as a dime on the dollar more than all of their competitors.

We know, as I said at the beginning, that all the wealthy countries in the world are now having trouble creating jobs. If you look at France, for example, in the late 1980s, they actually had an economy that grew more rapidly than Germany's, and yet their unemployment rate never went below 9.5 percent.

So what are we to do? It seems to me that we clearly have to make some changes in the way we look at the world and the way we approach the world. And in order to make those

changes, we have to ask ourselves, what do we have to do to make the American people secure enough to make the changes? One of the things that has really bothered me in the late, latter stages era that we're moving out of is that so few people have been so little concerned about rampant insecurity among ordinary American middle-class citizens. It is impossible for people in their personal lives to make necessary changes if they are wildly insecure.

You think about that in your own life. You think about a personal challenge you faced, a challenge your family has faced -- the same thing is true in the work place. The same thing is true of a community. The same thing is true of a team. The same things is true of our country. We have to struggle to redefine a new balance between security and change in this country because if we're not secure, we won't change, and if we don't change, we'll get more insecure, because the circumstances of the world will continue to grind us down.

And that's what makes this such a difficult time, because we have to rethink so many things at once. I ran for President because I was tired of 20 years of declining living standards, of 12 years of trickle-down economics and antiworker policies, and rhetoric that blamed people who are working harder for the problems that others did not respond to. And because I believe that we needed a new partnership in America -- a new sense of community. Not just business and labor and government, but also people without regard to their color or their region or anything else. I thought we didn't have anybody to waste, and it looks to me like we were wasting a lot of people and that we needed to pull together. I thought the country was going in the wrong direction and we should turn it around. But I was then and am now under no illusions that we could do it overnight, or that I could do it, unless we did it together.

The beginning of the security necessary to change, I think, is in having a government that is plainly on the side of working Americans. (Applause.) I believe that any of your leaders who work with this administration will tell you that we are replacing a government that for years worked labor over with a government that works with labor. (Applause.) We have a Secretary of Labor in Bob Reich who understands that, at a time when money and management can travel across the globe in a microsecond, our prosperity depends more than anything else on the skills and the strengths of our working people. No one can take that away from us. And our people are still our most important asset, even more than they were 20 years ago. (Applause.)

We have nominated a chair of the National Labor Relations Board in Bill Gould, and a new member, Peggy Browning, who believe in collective bargaining. (Applause.) We have a Director of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration in Joseph Dear who comes from the labor movement and believes that workers should be protected in the workplace. (Applause.) We have two people in executive positions in the Labor Department in Joyce Miller and Jack Otero who were on your Executive Council. (Applause.) We have two people in the SEIU in executive positions in Karen Nussbaum and Jerry Polas who are leading us to make progress. (Applause.)

This administration rescinded President Reagan's order banning all reemployment of PATCO workers forever. (Applause.) And we rescinded President Bush's orders with regard to government-funded contracting and one-sided information given to workers in the workplace. (Applause.) And this week I will sign the Hatch Act Reform Act to give government employees political rights they have denied for too long. (Applause.)

One week ago yesterday, on a Sunday morning, I came in from my early morning run, and I turned to my right as I walked into the White House, and I saw a family standing there --

MORE

a father, a mother, and three daughters, one of whom was in a wheel chair. And the person who was with them who worked for me said, "Mr. President, this little girl has got terminal cancer and she was asked by the Make A Wish Foundation what she wanted to do and she said she wanted to come to the White House and visit you. So we're giving her a special tour." (Applause.)

So I went over and I shook hands with them and apologized for my condition, and told them I'd get cleaned up and come back and we'd take a picture. And a few minutes later I showed up, looking more like my job. (Laughter.) And I visited with this wonderful child, desperately ill, for a while. And then I talked to her sisters and then I talked to her mother. And I talked to her father. And as I turned around to go off, the father grabbed me by the arm and he said -- he said, "Let me tell you something. If you ever get to wondering whether it makes a difference who's the President," he said, "look at my child. She's probably not going to make it and the weeks I've spent with her have been the most precious time of my life. And if you hadn't been elected, we wouldn't have had a Family and Medical Leave law that made it possible to be with my child in this time." (Applause.)

Now, I believe, in short, that it ought to be possible to be a good parent and a good worker. I believe that it ought to be possible for people to make their own judgments about whether they want to be organized at work, or not, and how they're going to be -- (applause.) And I believe if we're really going to preserve the America workplace as a model of global productivity, we have to let people who know how to do their jobs better than other people do have more empowerment to do those jobs and to make those changes in the workplace.

That's why, as we work on the Vice President's reinventing government initiative, we work so closely with federal employees and their unions. When the Vice President spoke with business leaders and workers who had changed their companies, they all said the same thing -- you've got to have the workers; you have to have them do it, tell you how to do it, tell you how to make the companies more productive.

Now, that's why yesterday I signed an executive order -- on Friday -- creating a national partnership council. For the next several months the leaders of federal employee unions, including John Sturdivant, the President of the American Federation of Government Employees, who is here today, will work with the leaders of our administration to make our government more effective, cost less, and more importantly, to make the jobs of the rank and file federal employees more interesting, more stimulating, more customer-oriented, by doing things that they have been telling us they should be able to do, but the system has not permitted them to do in the past. I applaud John and the other people in the unions representing federal employees for what they have done. This is an unprecedented partnership that I think will benefit every American. (Applause.)

We want to make worker empowerment and labor management cooperation a way of life in this country, from the factory floor to the board room. We've created a commission on the future of labor and management relations, with leaders from labor, business and the academy, chaired by former Labor Secretary John Dunlap. And I've asked Secretary Reich to create a commission to study and improve relationships in government workplaces at every level -- at the state and county and local level, as well as at the federal level.

I believe this is something that a person like Bob Reich is uniquely situated to do. And it's the kind of thing that we ought to be promoting because we have to use this opportunity we have to try to take what has worked for workers and their businesses and spread it around the country.

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For the last 12 years we've had a lot of finger-pointing and blame-placing, and we've got these stirring examples of success that we could be trying to replicate. That's what we ought to be doing -- taking what works. And it always is a workplace in which workers have more say. And we're going to do what we can to get that done. (Applause.)

Now, on the security issue, let me just mention some other things. In addition to the Family Leave Act, the budget bill which passed by such a landslide in the Congress -- (laughter) -- contained what may well be the most important piece of economic reform for working people in 20 years, by expanding the earned income tax credit so that you can say to people, if you work 40 hours a week and you have children in your home, you will not be poor. We are bringing new hope and new dignity into the lives of 15 million working families that make \$27,000 a year or less. They'll no longer be taxed into poverty. There won't be a government program to try to lift them out of poverty. Their own efforts will lift them out of poverty because the tax system will be changed to reward them. And there will never again be an incentive for people to be on welfare instead of work because the tax system will say, if you're willing to go to work and work 40 hours a week, no matter how tough it is, we will lift you out of poverty.

That is the kind of pro-work, pro-family policy this country ought to have. (Applause.)

Something else that was in that bill that most Americans don't even know about yet that will benefit many, many of you in this room and the people you represent is a dramatic reform of the student loan system that will eliminate waste, lower the interest rates on student loans, make the repayment terms easier so that young people can repay their loans no matter how much they borrow as a percentage of their incomes, limited so they can repay it. Even though we'll have tougher repayment terms, they'll be able to do it. We'll collect their money, but people will be able to borrow money and pay it back at lower interest rates, at better repayment terms, and therefore, no one will ever be denied access to a college education because of the cost. (Applause.)

When you put that with our Goals 2000 program, the education reform program for the public schools, and the work that the Education Secretary Dick Riley is doing with Secretary Reich to redo the worker training programs in the country, you have a commitment to raise standard in education and open opportunities to our young people.

We need higher standards in our public schools. Al Shanker has long been a voice for that. He now has allies in the NEA and other places in the country who are saying let's have national standards and evaluate what our kids are learning and how our schools are doing.

I believe we need to give our young people more choices within the public school system and I have advocated letting states try a lot of things within districts. Let kids choose which schools they attend. Let school districts decide how they want to set up and organize schools. I think that a lot of changes need to be made in a lot of school districts. But let me say, that we don't want to throw out the baby with the bath water. There are also a lot of school districts that are doing a great job under difficult circumstances. There are a lot of schools within school districts that are performing well under difficult circumstances.

And if we've learned anything, we've learned that the best way to increase the quality of education is to find better principals, get better leaders among the teachers, let them have more say over how school is run, and evaluate them

based on their results rather than telling them how to do every last jot and tittle of their job every day.

We have learned these things. And if I might, since we're in California, say a special word -- therefore, I believe that having worked for 12 years for higher standards, more choices and greater changes in public education, I'm in a little bit of a position to say that if I were a citizen of the state of California, I would not vote for Proposition 174, The Private Voucher Initiative. (Applause.)

Now, and let me tell you why. Let me tell you why. First of all, keep in mind a lot of the schools out here are doing a good job. I can say -- you know, I never was part of the California education system. I have studied this system out here for more than a decade. They have undertaken a lot of very impressive reforms and many of their schools are doing a good job. I was interviewed last night by two people from a newspaper in Sacramento, and one of them just volunteered that he had two children in the public schools there and they were getting a terrific education.

This bill would start by taking \$1.3 billion right of the top to send a check to people who already have their kids in private schools, and who didn't need any government money to do it, and taking it right of the top away from a school system that doesn't have enough money to educate the kids it's got in it in the first place. (Applause.)

Second thing it would do is to impose no real standards on the quality of the programs which could be funded: Who could set up a school, what standards they'd have to meet, what tests the kids would have to pass. Just take your voucher and who cares whether a private school is a legitimate school or not. That is a significant issue. And all you have to do is to work in this field for a few years to understand that that is a significant issue.

Wouldn't it be ironic that at the very moment we're finally trying to find a way to measure the performance and raise the standards of the public schools, we turn around and start sending tax money to private schools that didn't have to meet any standards at all. (Applause.) When we're trying to get one part of our business, we're going to make the other part worse.

And finally, let me just say, I have always supported the notion that American schools ought to have competition, and the fact that we have a vibrant tradition of pluralistic education and private schools and religious private schools was a good thing, not a bad thing for America. But all the years when I grew up, and all the times I saw that, and for a couple years of my life when I was a little boy, when I went to a Catholic school, when my folks moved from one place to another and we lived way out in the country and didn't know much about the schools in the new area where we were -- no one ever thought that the church would want any money from the taxpayers to run their schools. In fact, they said just the opposite, we don't want to be involved in that. That's what the First Amendment is all about.

So I think we have to really think through -- I have spent 12 years before I became President overwhelmingly obsessed with reform of the public school system, wanting more choices in the system, wanting more accountability, wanting more flexibility about how schools were organized and established and operated. But I can tell you that this is not the way to get it done and the people will regret this if they pass it. I hope the people of California don't do that. (Applause.)

Now, you can educate people all you want -- and I wanted to say a little more about that. The Labor Secretary and I are working on trying to take all these 150 different

MORE

8
government training programs and give local communities and states the power to consolidate them, working with you, and just fund the things that work on a state-by-state basis, and to set up a system of lifetime education and training.

I don't know how many of you saw the television program I did last night in California, but one man, looked to be in his early 50s, saying, we need a training program that gives my company some incentives to retrain me; not just people who are 25, but people who are 55. And we are trying to do that. We're trying to set up a lifetime education and training program that starts when young people are in high school, so if they want to work and learn in high school they can work and learn in high school. So that we can have the kind of school-to-work transition that many of our competitors have for all those kids that won't go to college and won't get four-year educations. We've got to do that.

But if you do all that, you still have to have someplace for people to work. We can educate and train people all we want, but we have to be able to create more jobs. How are we going to do that at a time when the government is not directly funding the defense jobs that have kept America's job base up for so long?

Well, the first thing we've got to do is make up our mind we're going to be serious about defense conversion. Last year when I was a candidate for President -- (applause) -- last year when I was a candidate for President, I went all over the country -- and I wasn't in the Congress and didn't have a vote -- pleading with the Congress to pass the defense conversion bill. They did it, and the previous administration absolutely refused to spend \$500 million to help convert from a defense to a high-tech domestic economy. So we have released the money. And we're going to try to get up to \$20 billion spent on defense conversion and reinvestment in the jobs of tomorrow over the next five years. It is very important. (Applause.)

We have got over 2,800 proposals in this country for technology reinvestment initiatives, to match with what will soon be about a billion dollars in government money that can create hundreds of thousands of jobs in America. People are brimming with ideas out there to create new jobs.

I was at McClellan Air Force Base yesterday, and the airbase is working with people in the local community and the local universities and with the federal defense labs -- they have made new electric cars; they have made new manufacturing component parts to try to come up with economical ways to do it and allow those parts to be made in America. And they are targeting things that are now made overseas and imported here. That's the sort of thing that we can use our high-tech defense base to do, and we should be doing it. It's going to make for more jobs for America.

They have developed a prototype car that gets 80 miles per gallon at 55 miles per hour on the highway, goes to 60 miles per hour in 12 seconds, has a maximum speed of 100 miles an hour. That's not bad. If we can just figure out how people can afford it we can put people to work making them. (Laughter.) But it's a good beginning.

We announced last week that ground-breaking project with the UAW and Ford, Chrysler and General Motors are working with the defense labs and all the government labs on a project to triple the average mileage of American autos within the next 10 years. If they do that, that will create untold numbers of new jobs here, and we'll be selling cars to people overseas who want that instead of the reverse.

And by the way, I want to compliment the UAW. You know, this year we have regained a lot of our market share in

MORE

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America. People are buying more American cars in America, and we should compliment them for it. (Applause.)

So we have to find ways to create these new jobs. Now, I want to talk a little about health care, but before I do, I want to mention something we disagree on in the context of the trade issue. And listen to this. Since 1986, a significant portion of America's net new jobs have come from trade growth. That's something we can all find from the figures. In California, where we now are, a lot of that has come from Asia, which is the fastest growing part of the world. Asia growing faster than any other part of the world; Latin America the second fastest growing part of the world. Everybody knows that is true.

That's why, when I went to Tokyo and met with the leaders of the G-7 -- the seven big industrial countries -- we made an agreement that we should dramatically reduce tariffs on manufactured products around the world in ways that all analysts agree would generate a lot of new manufacturing jobs here in America. There was virtually no dispute about that. Because we were largely in competition with other countries that were paying the same or higher wages with the same or better benefits, with high-tech and other manufacturing products that we wanted to sell everywhere. And we're working like crazy to get that done between now and the end of the year.

What is the difference between that and the trade agreement with Mexico? And let's talk about that just a minute, because it's very important, not so you'll agree with me, but so you will know what I want you to know, which is that I would never knowingly do anything to cost an American a job. That's not the business I'm in. (Applause.)

I was a governor during the last 12 years, when the Maquilladora system was in place. What did it do? It created a border zone on the other side of the border in Mexico in which people were free to set up plants, operate them by the standards that were enforced there -- or not enforced, as the case may be -- on labor and environmental issues, and then send their products back into this country, produced at much lower labor costs with no tariffs. That was the system set up to try to foster growth there.

But in the 1980s, because of all the economic problems we had, and because of the climate that was promoted in this country that the most important thing you could do was slash your labor costs and who cared about your working people anyway, you had the movement of hundreds of plants down there. And you didn't like it worth a flip. (Laughter.) And you were right to be upset about what happened.

Now, I was a governor of a state that lost plants to Mexico. And my state was so small that when people lost their jobs I was likely to know who they were. (Laughter.) This was a big deal to me. I'm also proud of the fact we got one of them to come back before I left office. I'm proud of that, too. But I understand this.

Now, that is the system we have. You also saw this system, ironically, accelerating illegal immigration. Why? For the same reason that a lot of the Chinese boat people were coming over here after they moved to the coastal towns in China, got a job where they made a little more money than they did before, but didn't much like their life so they got enough money to try to come here. That's what was happening along the Maquilladora area. A lot of people would come up there, work for a while, then come on up here.

So I understand what the American working people don't like about the present system. The real issue will the trade agreement make it worse or better. You think it will make it worse. I think it will make it better. And I'll tell you --

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I think you're entitled to know why I think that. Because there are no question that, no matter what you think of the adequacy of the side agreements, they will raise the cost of labor and environmental investments above the point where they are now. There is no question that the agreement lowers domestic content requirements in Mexico, so that we'll go from selling say 1,000 to 50,000 or 60,000 American cars down there next year. There's no question that their tariffs are two and a half times higher than ours. And there's no question that we have a trade surplus there, as compared with a \$49 billion trade deficit with Japan, an \$18 billion trade deficit with China, a \$9 billion trade deficit with Taiwan.

We've got a trade problem, all right. It is that the Asian economies are not as open to us as we are to them. That's our huge trade problem. And we're going to have to do better there, because that's where a lot of the money is. So my reasoning is that if their tariffs are higher than ours and their costs go up faster than they're otherwise going to go up, and they're already buying \$350 a person worth of American goods, second only to Canada -- replaced Japan as the number two purchaser of manufacturing products this year -- and we got a \$5.8 billion trade surplus, it will get better, not worse.

Is it a perfect agreement? No. But I don't want to make the perfect the enemy of the better. I think it is better than the present.

There are two other points I want to make. If the deal is not made with the United States, and instead it's made with Germany or Japan, we could lose access to an 80-million person market and cost ourselves more jobs. And if the deal is made, it could lead to further similar agreements with the emerging market economies of Latin America. And no one believes that anybody's going to invest in Argentina, for example, to export back to the American market. So all barrier dropping the further you get away from here because of transportation costs will lead to more jobs in America through greater trade.

So that's why I think it makes it better, not worse. You're entitled to know that. I don't ask you to agree, but I ask you to make the same arguments inside your own mind, because I would never knowingly do anything to cost America jobs. I'm trying to create jobs in this country. (Applause.)

Now, I'll tell you what I really think. What I really believe is that this is become the symbol of the legitimate grievances of the American working people about the way they've been worked over the last 12 years. That's what I think. And I think those grievances are legitimate. And I think that people are so insecure in their jobs, they're so uncertain that the people they work for really care about them, they're so uncertain about what their kids are looking at in the future, that people are reluctant to take any risks for change.

And so let me close with what I started with. I have got to lay a foundation of personal security for the working people of this country and their families in order to succeed as your President, and you have to help me do it. We have got to reform the job training system of this country, to make it a reemployment system, not an unemployment system, and to give it to kids starting when they're in high school.

We have got to have an investment strategy that will create jobs here. And that's why we removed all those export controls that were Cold War relics on computers and supercomputers and telecommunications equipment, opening just this month \$37 billion worth of American products to exports. That is important.

That's why I want to pass a crime bill to put 50,000 more police officers on the street, pass the Brady bill and take

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these automatic weapons out of the hands of the teenagers that are vandalizing and brutalizing our children in this country. (Applause.)

And, my fellow Americans, that is why we have got to pass a comprehensive health care bill to provide security to all Americans. And we've got to do it now. (Applause.)

How many Americans do you know who lost their health insurance because they lost their jobs? Who never got a pay increase because of the rising cost of their health care? Who can never change jobs because they have a sick job? Millions of them. How many companies are represented in this room who could be selling more everywhere across the board, more abroad and more at home, if their health care costs were no greater than their competitors around the world?

Let's face it folks, we're spending over 14 percent on health care. Canada's at 10. Germany and Japan are under nine. The Germans went up toward nine percent of their income on health care, they had a national outbreak of hysteria about how they were losing control of their health care system. And yet they all cover everybody and no one loses their health insurance. And when I say we can do that and we can do it without a broad-based tax increase, people look at me like I have slipped a gear. (Laughter.)

But I have spent over three years studying this system. And the First Lady and her task force have mobilized thousands of experts in the most intense effort to examine social reform in my lifetime. (Applause.) And they have recommended that we adopt a system which, first of all, builds on the system that you enjoy -- an employer-based system where the employer contributes and, in some cases, the employee does, and some not. A system that is focused on keeping what is good about American health care -- doctors, and nurses, and medical research and technology -- and fixing what is wrong -- not covering everybody, kicking them off after they have a serious illness, not letting people move their jobs, having some people in such tiny groups of insurance that 40 percent of their premium goes to profit and administrative costs, and spending a dime on the dollar -- a dime on every dollar in a \$90 billion system goes to paperwork that wouldn't go in any other system in the world -- \$90 billion a year on that alone. Never mind the fraud and the abuse, and the incentives in this system to churn it, to perform unnecessary procedures just because the more you do the more you earn.

We can do better than that. So I want to just say, this system will be a good one. Everybody will get a health care security card like this. I feel like that guy in the ad -- I'm supposed to say, "Don't leave home without it," when I pull it out. (Laughter.) But I want everybody to have a health care security card like this. Just like a Social Security card. And I want people to have their health care access whether they're working or unemployed, whether they work for a little business or a big one.

Under the system we have proposed, if you've got a better deal now, you can keep it. If your employer pays 100 percent of benefits now, you can keep it. And we don't propose to tax any benefits that are above the minimum package. (Applause.) We told those who wanted that to give us 10 years before we put that provision in because within 10 years we'll have the minimum benefit package we start with, plus full dental benefits and full mental health benefits and full preventive care benefits, so it will be as good or better than any package now offered by any employer in America. Then, if somebody wants to buy something over and above that, we can talk about it. But we are not going to take anything away from you, you have.

What we are going to do is two things for you, if you have a good policy. We're going to make it easier for your

employer to keep these benefits you have now by slowing the rate of health care cost inflation -- not by cutting health care spending, by slowing the rate of inflation in health care cost -- and by removing the enormous burden of retiree benefits from our most productive companies. That will stabilize the health care benefits of working people and good plans.

The other thing we're going to do for you is to limit what can be taken away from you, which is worth something. So by saying that for people who don't have any insurance now, their employer will pay 80 percent and the employees will pay 20, we are saying that no matter what happens to you, there's a limit to what can be taken away from you. So it will be easy for you to keep -- easier for your employer to keep what you've got, and for you, and there will be limit to what can be taken away.

Is it fair to ask all those employers and employees who don't have any coverage now to contribute something? You bet it is. Why? Because your premium's higher than it otherwise would be because you're paying for them now. (Applause.)

Can we do that without bankrupting small business? Of course, we can. We have a plan that gives a significant discount to smaller new businesses, and to smaller established businesses with lower wage employees that are operating on narrow margins.

How are we going to pay for this? Two-thirds of it will be paid for by employers and employees contributing into the system that they get a free ride in now. One-sixth of it will be paid for with a cigarette tax and with a fee on very large companies who opt out of the system so they can pay for the cost of insuring the poor and the discounts to small business, and most important, for the health education and research that makes us all richer because we are going to pay for that and for expanded public health clinics.

And one-sixth of it will come from slowing the rate of growth. When you hear people say, oh, Clinton wants to cut Medicare and Medicaid -- let me tell you something folks, we're cutting defense. We've held all domestic investment that's discretionary flat, which means if I want to spend more money on job training, on defense conversion, or on Head Start, I have to go cut something else -- dollar for dollar for the next five years. That's what we've done. We've cut defense as much as we possibly can right at the edge, held everything else flat.

You know what Medicare and Medicaid are doing? They're going up at three times the rate of inflation. What have I proposed to do? Let them go up at twice the rate of inflation. They say in Washington I can't do it. I don't talk to a single doctor who understands what we're going to do who doesn't think we can achieve those savings without hurting the quality of health care. If we can't get down to twice the rate of inflation from three times the rate of inflation, there's something wrong somewhere.

Now, that's how we propose to finance this. And I am pleading with you to help me pass this bill. No matter how good your health care plan is now, don't you believe for a minute you could never lose it, or at least get locked into your present job. And I am pleading with you to do it so we can give to the rest of America, as well as to you and your families, the kind of personal security we have got to have to face the bewildering array of challenges that are out there before us. (Applause.)

You know as well as I do -- (applause.) You know as well as I do that we are hurtling toward the 21st century into a world that none of us can fully perceive. But we have to imagine what we want it to be like. We want it to be a world in which the old rules which you grew up believing in apply in a new and more exciting age; in which, if you don't have job security, you

at least have employment security; in which the government puts the people first; and in which people have security in their homes, on their streets, in their education benefits, in their health care benefits so that they are capable of seizing these changes and making life richer and more different and more exciting than it has ever been.

That is the great challenge before us. And if we don't adopt the health care reform, we won't get there. If we do, it will open the way to the most incredible unleashing of American energy that we have seen in more than a generation. Together we can do it and I need your help.

Thank you very much and God bless you. (Applause.)

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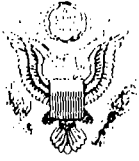
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Economic Sheet

Divider Title: _____



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

THE CHAIRMAN

February 18, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: BILL DICKENS, SENIOR ECONOMIST
ROBERT WESCOTT, SENIOR ECONOMIST *RW*

THROUGH: LAURA TYSON

SUBJECT: Talking points on Labor Market and Economy

The Economy

- A broad set of economic data confirm that the economy is on an expansionary path with increasing incomes, rising employment, and a strengthening manufacturing sector. Meanwhile inflation remains modest.
- Several ingredients for sustainable economic growth that had been missing in 1991 and 1992, such as a rebound of consumer confidence and a broad-based increase in factory orders, have now emerged and support the view that the expansion should continue for some time to come.
- Real GDP growth accelerated steadily over the course of 1993, and posted the best average annual growth rate--2.9 percent--since 1988.
- Nonfarm payroll employment increased by 1,843,000 over the January 1993 to January 1994 period, or an average of 154,000 jobs per month. Factory workweeks and overtime hours are at postwar highs. This suggests that pressures are building on employers to add new workers. The economy generated less than 1 million jobs over the entire four years of the Bush Presidency.
- Inflation remains subdued, even as the economy expands. Consumer prices (CPI) in 1993 posted their smallest increase since 1986. The core CPI (which excludes food and energy) showed the smallest increase since 1972 (3.2%).
- **The Economic Outlook for 1994** We expect roughly 3 percent real GDP growth for 1994, although extremely harsh winter weather may temporarily depress activity in the first quarter of the year. Consumer spending should remain healthy because of gains in employment and real disposable

income, and investment spending should continue to increase because of low interest rates and increasing levels of demand. Low interest rates will also continue to support housing and business structures investment. Another positive factor is that inventories are extremely lean--the inventory to shipments ratio is at an all-time record low. This means that manufacturers will be under pressure to add to production.

- The biggest factor behind the low level of long-term interest rates continues to be the sharply lower profile for the Federal budget deficit, which has been due to the Administration's 5-year deficit reduction package.
- **Business investment is now surging.** Over 1993, spending for producers' durable equipment has expanded at the fastest pace since 1972. Lower interest rates have probably had a positive impact.
- **Housing has now clearly begun to accelerate.** After housing starts averaged about 1.20 million (annual rate) over the second half of 1992 and the first half of 1993, they began to jump upward in August. By December they had reached a 1.54 million annual rate--up 25 percent from their July rate. Starts of single-family homes in December were at their highest level since December 1978.
- **Automobiles and light trucks in 1993 have been selling at the highest rate since 1990.** Sales of domestic light vehicles were 8 percent higher in 1993 than they had been in 1992.

The Labor Market

- The unemployment rate fell 0.9 percentage point from December 1992 to December 1993.
- When the election was held in November of 1992 the unemployment rate in Florida stood at 7.2%. According to our most recent figures that rate is now 6% and heading down.
- High rates of job displacement combined with rising inequality mean greater uncertainty and less income security for U.S. workers. This Administration has moved to address the problem of security by:
 - Proposing the Health Security Act which will mean that workers no longer will have to fear losing their health coverage if they lose their job.

- Pioneering a system of screening and special job search assistance for those likely to be unemployed for long periods of time. The system has been proved effective in a series of controlled experiments (the system was put in place when we extended EUI last Fall).
- Moving away from an unemployment system and moving towards a reemployment system which provides income support and training for dislocated workers.
- Recent accounts have suggested that unemployment can not be reduced below 6.8% (new CPS 6.2% old CPS) without rekindling inflation. After an extensive review of all available information the CEA has concluded that there is no evidence of any recent increase in the rate of unemployment consistent with low inflation (the so called "natural rate" or NAIRU). The CEA estimates the NAIRU to be at or below 6.1% (new CPS 5.5% old CPS). This is consistent with the estimates used by major commercial forecasters.
- We are not becoming a nation of hamburger flippers. Although most new jobs are in services (broadly defined), growth in low paying service provider jobs has been more than offset by growth in high paying managerial and professional jobs so that the average net job created over the last year (and the last ten years) pays more than the average job in the economy. We are not becoming a nation of hamburger flippers -- we are becoming a nation of computer programmers, health technicians, designers, marketers, planners, and consultants. As machines do more of the actual work of production, people are needed to figure out what machines should be doing and what to do with what the machines make.
- Productivity growth is not costing us jobs. Employment growth was slow up until this last year, but that is mainly because GDP growth was slow. Given output growth, employment growth is low, but not inconsistent with past experience. When increases in productivity make possible employment reductions in one industry, the increased incomes that result from the rise in productivity create demand for products (and therefore jobs) in other industries.

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Clinton / Gore Accomplishments AFL-CIO

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CLINTON-GORE ADMINISTRATION ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND ORGANIZED LABOR:

JOBS AND THE ECONOMY

- The Clinton Administration has created more private sector jobs in its first twelve months (1.7 million) than the Bush Administration did in its entire four years (only 1 million over four years). The economy has generated 164,000 new payroll jobs per month -- four times the average pace over the previous four years.
- Unemployment dropped to 6.4 percent in December, 1993 -- a three year low.
- The Administration has developed a National Export Strategy, eliminating export controls on \$37 billion worth of American high-tech products that support high-wage American jobs.
- President Clinton signed the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act of 1993, extending unemployment benefits for up to 26 weeks for victims of the recession and providing \$4 billion in emergency unemployment compensation to approximately 1.9 million unemployed American workers. Quick action on the unemployment benefits bill kept 250,000 to 300,000 unemployed Americans each week from falling through the safety net.
- Secretary Reich and the Department of Labor have taken the first step toward redirecting the unemployment insurance system into a re-employment insurance system by implementing the new Unemployment Insurance (UI) Profiling program signed into law by the President on March 4, 1993. Profiling authority allows the states to identify dislocated workers early, and move them quickly into re-employment programs.

MAJOR INITIATIVES

Health Care Reform

- The President in November introduced the Health Security Act of 1993, a comprehensive plan to reform the nation's health care system to guarantee every American comprehensive health benefits that can never be taken away. The solution is a system of guaranteed private insurance. It will guarantee every American health security, simplify our system by reducing paperwork and cracking down on fraud, achieve savings, protect and expand our choices of doctors and health plans, improve the quality of care and ask everyone to take responsibility.

OSHA Reform

- The Administration supports the Kennedy-Ford OSHA reform bill and is working closely with Chairman Kennedy on strategy for its passage through Congress.

Labor Law Reform

- The Administration has appointed a bipartisan panel of labor, business and academic leaders (chaired by former Secretary of Labor John Dunlop) to look at the nation's labor laws and labor management relations. This commission has been at work for several months.

Family and Medical Leave

- This bill requires employers to provide up to 12 weeks of unpaid job-protected leave for employees to care for family members. No longer will Americans face the impossible choice of caring for their families or keeping their jobs. Administration agencies have been moving quickly to implement the new law.

Tax Cuts for Working Families (EITC)

- The Clinton Administration and the Congress expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit by \$21 billion over five years to reward work over welfare. This year, 14 million families will receive \$13 billion in benefits from the EITC. When fully implemented, more than 20 million households with incomes of \$27,000 or less will benefit.

Hatch Act Reform

- Hatch Act Reform legislation was signed into law October 4th. The bill corrects antiquated rules governing political behavior of public employees, and gives them back the right to express their opinion through work on campaigns and active support of partisan candidates; just like every other American.

Striker Replacement

- The Administration supports legislation to ban employers from permanently replacing striking workers, and the President will sign such legislation if it reaches his desk.

Motor Voter

- The National Voter Registration Act of 1993 mandates that states make available voter registration forms where ever people may apply for a driver's license and at all social service agencies.

National Performance Review

- The National Performance Review calls for the establishment of a National Partnership Council that would give public employee labor unions more input in their negotiations with government management.

G-7 Jobs Conference

- The President will soon meet with the leaders of the G-7 nations to discuss international economic cooperation and job creation.

Executive Orders

- President Clinton has issued a number of orders signaling an end to the previous administration's anti-labor policies. He rescinded punitive orders prohibiting federal contractors from entering into project agreements with labor organizations and requiring federal contractors to post one-sided notices about the use of union dues. He also rescinded President Reagan's order banning the re-employment of PATCO workers.

LABOR DISPUTE RESOLUTION

The White House, the Departments of Labor and Transportation, the National Mediation Board, and the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service have all worked with labor and management to resolve several important strikes:

1. American Airlines (President Clinton personally intervened, helping Bob Crandall and the striking attendants union to agree to accept binding arbitration)
2. United Airlines (DOT and DOL assisted).
3. Coal Miners Strike (Secretary Reich hired former Secretary Bill Usury, who negotiated a settlement).

4. Teamsters strikes: The Administration has been working with the Teamsters to help resolve a strike at the Diamond Walnut plant in California and one against the United Parcel Service.

NLRB APPOINTMENTS

President Clinton has nominated Bill Gould as chair of the National Labor Relations Board, Margaret (Peggy) Browning and Chuck Cohen as members of the Board, and Fred Feinstein as General Counsel. These appointments signal this administration's support for an NLRB which will be fair for a change.

LABOR DEPARTMENT INITIATIVES

The New American Workplace

- The Department of Labor has established an Office of the New American Workplace to encourage more productive worker-management relationships and to highlight how new workplace strategies can help workers, employers and the economy

Enforcement of Existing Labor Law

- Making good on our commitment to better jobs means enforcing laws that block the "low road" of competition through inferior wages and working conditions. After years of non-enforcement, the Clinton Administration has begun to hold companies accountable to the law. Millions of dollars in fines and criminal penalties have been assessed, and more than \$100 million has been recovered directly for employee benefit plans.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION INITIATIVES

- Secretary Pena worked with Congress to enact a FY94 budget that provided increased funding for transportation infrastructure. The funding levels create, directly and indirectly, approximately 600,000 quality jobs.
- Funding for transportation infrastructure reaches unprecedented levels in the FY95 budget proposal, and will create over 650,000 quality jobs.
- Secretary Pena has worked with the President, the National Economic Council and others in the Administration to advance the Maritime Security Plan, which will allow the U.S. to maintain a modern merchant fleet, provide sealift capacity for national emergencies, ensure a continuing American presence in the transport of international commerce, and preserve American jobs in the maritime industry.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF SALE OF U.S. AIRCRAFT TO SAUDI ARABIA

- A you well know, the government of Saudi Arabia decided to find replacement aircraft for the Saudi Airlines civilian fleet of approximately 50 planes. King Fahd has decided to purchase the entire replacement fleet from American companies -- specifically, from Boeing and McDonnell Douglas.
- This purchase, which will be financed by the U.S. Export-Import Bank, will total almost \$6 billion and will support tens of thousands of American jobs in California, Washington State, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Utah and elsewhere.
- This purchase is a vote of confidence in American quality, American workers, and the competitiveness of American exports. The President's message is simple: this Administration will work hard, at home and abroad, to help all American workers thrive in the global economy.

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Executive Board Members

Divider Title: _____

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBERS

February 21, 1994

AL SHANKER -- PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

- ✓ 800,000 members. Broad interests. Focused on elevation of standards for teachers. The Union has grown dramatically and steadily. He is the longest serving council member. Interests include labor law reform, training and international affairs. Early Clinton supporter.

LENORE MILLER -- PRESIDENT, RETAIL, WHOLESALE, AND DEPART. STORE UNION

- ✓ Merging with United Food and Commercial Workers. Union has 80,000 members. Concerned about nitty gritty union issues. Early Clinton supporter.

LINDA CHAVEZ-THOMPSON -- VICE PRESIDENT, AFSCME

- ✓ Elected to the council last year. Gregarious and bright.

GENE UPSHAW -- PRESIDENT, FEDERATION OF PROFESSIONAL ATHLETES

- ✓ He has not been to too many of the council's meetings. Represents professional football players.

JAY MAZUR -- PRESIDENT OF INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION

- ✓ 140,000 members. Steep decline in membership largely due to imports. Preoccupied with trade issues. But also concerned about industrial homework which is syphoning off his membership. He will give a thorough presentation on these issues, particularly the need to build our job base. Membership is almost exclusively garment related. In merger talks with Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers.

OWEN BIEBER -- PRESIDENT, UNITED AUTO WORKERS

- ✓ 750,00 members. Union membership has declined dramatically from 1.2 million in 1981. His main concern is the loss of auto jobs. Very active against NAFTA and for voluntary import restraints. Has been skillful at balancing

union's role in improving auto productivity while fending off militants with the union who want to take the hard line against auto companies. Loss of auto parts to Mexico a big issue. Very detailed and descriptive in his questions and comments. Very concerned about permanent replacements of striking workers.

JACK SHEINKMAN -- PRESIDENT, AMALGAMATED CLOTHING AND TEXTILE WORKERS UNION

- ✓ 180,000 members. Major decline in the 1980s but has leveled off primarily due to aggressive and effective organization strategies. Major player on trade issues. Former attorney. Union represents workers at Xerox in Rochester, NY which is recognized by some as a model in healthy labor-management relations. Likely to talk about labor reform law and trade assistance, perhaps industrial policy and health care.

LYNN WILLIAMS -- RETIRING PRESIDENT, UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA

- ✓ He will be replaced in March by George Becker, a Williams ally but more of a traditional trade unionist. Williams retirement is a major loss for the AFL-CIO as he is most articulate, visionary, and non-parochial in his concerns. Membership down to 500,000 from about one million. He has been instilling an organizing culture into his union but it is tough sledding. Most members no longer in basic steel. Very innovative in bargaining strategy. Concerned about striker replacement but even more about labor law reform. Receptive to new ideas about employee representation.

GEORGE KOURPIAS -- PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

- ✓ 600,000 members, down from one million. Airline mechanics, Boeing, other manufacturing, some retail and truck mechanics. Striker replacement is key for him, as was NAFTA. Pleased with the Administration's handling of United Airlines buyout and the Saudi Arabian airplane deal.

FRANK HANLEY -- PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OPERATING ENGINEERS

- ✓ 600,000 members. Mostly construction employees. Membership down. Construction safety bill, improving laws to thwart union shop and double breasting employers, are likely subjects for him to raise.

BOB GEORGINE -- PRESIDENT, BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT OF THE AFL-CIO

- ✓ Interested in construction safety and strengthening laws to deal with open shop and double breasting. Davis-Bacon enforcement is critical for him and for all

building trades.

SIG LUCASSEN -- PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS

- ✓ 450,000 members. While still heavily construction, more than 1/3 in manufacturing. May broach labor law reform. His election is under Labor Department review.

BILL WYNN -- RECENTLY RESIGNED AS PRESIDENT, UNITED FOOD AND COMMERCIAL WORKERS

- ✓ Will be replaced on the Executive Council by the new President of UFCW, **Doug Dority**. Dority was the union's organizing director. This is a good organizing union, very sophisticated and practical in dealings with employers both when they are cooperative and when they are ruthless (in the union's view.) Hostile takeovers, leveraged buyouts have hurt the UFCW over the past decade. **Very interested in labor law reform**. Represented major food chains, meat packers.

MORTY BAHR -- PRESIDENT, COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA

- ✓ 550,000 members. Lost 100,000 members at AT&T alone post divestiture and thousands more at regional Bell companies but the union has been able to maintain its numbers. Innovative bargainer, pragmatic, accepts technological change and adapts to it. **Labor law reform, training, trade and health care big issues**. Will raise jobs issue in telecommunications reform and information superhighway. You will be meeting with him individually after your session with the AFL-CIO executives and drop by of the COPE meeting

JACK BARRY -- PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS

- ✓ 800,000 members. Very professional organization, 1/3 construction and 2/3 manufacturing. Slow membership decline. Construction safety and construction organizing issues are key. **Apprenticeship and training issues might be raised along with Davis-Bacon**. You will most likely be meeting with him individually after your session with the AFL-CIO executives and drop by of the COPE meeting

MARVIN BOEDE -- PRESIDENT, UNITED ASSOCIATION OF PLUMBERS AND PIPEFITTERS

- ✓ 300,000 members. Nearly all in construction. **Apprenticeship and training are key interests** (he chairs the council's subcommittee on apprenticeship and training) but he rarely speaks out at these meetings.

ARTHUR COIA -- LABORERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION

- ✓ 450,000 members. Succeeded Angelo Fosco a little more than a year ago. Construction and big public sector membership. **Trying hard to change the union's image and reputation.**

RICH TRUMKA -- PRESIDENT, UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

- ✓ 80,000 members. **Retiree health insurance is a big issue as well as mine safety and health and labor law reform.** Likely to speak on any of these issues. Young (45 or so), articulate, a lawyer. Secretary Reich helped settle a nasty strike between the UMWA and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) by bringing in former Secretary of Labor Usery as special mediator. This was very important to the UMWA.

RON CAREY -- PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS

- ✓ 1.4 million members -- the AFL-CIO's largest affiliate. In the second year of a five year term. Was elected in union's first-ever direct election of its officers by its members. Previously officers were elected by the convention delegates. The election by members was ordered by the federal courts as part of the government's takeover of the Teamsters. Carey has spent his life fighting corruption in the union and is trying to clean out the bad players. **Interested in labor law reform, organizing and striker replacement.** NAFTA was a huge issue with Teamster members.

JIM HATFIELD -- PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF GLASS MOLDERS, POTTERY, PLASTICS AND ALLIED WORKERS

- ✓ 100,000 members. **Striker replacement** is number one with him. Major membership decline.

WAYNE GLENN -- PRESIDENT, PAPERWORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION

- ✓ 200,000 members. **Striker replacement** is the big issue as well. International Paper strike is one of the big causes that led to pressure to abolish permanent replacements. Declining at much the same rate as all manufacturing unions.

JACK JOYCE -- PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF BRICKLAYERS AND ALLIED CRAFTSMEN

- ✓ 85,000 members. Down from approximately 145,000 in the mid-70s. Smart, articulate and respected leader. **Davis-Bacon, training and other building trade issues would top his list.**

JOHN STURDIVANT -- PRESIDENT, SERVICE EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL UNION

- ✓ 50,000 members. He has taken a leadership role on the National Partnership Council and in promoting the work of the Vice President's National Performance Review. As you know, he has been working closely with the Administration. Well liked by his colleagues on the Council. **Interested in all issues affecting federal government workers.**

JOHN SWEENEY -- PRESIDENT, SERVICE EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL UNION

- ✓ 950,000 members. Major growth in public sector (about 1/2 of his members) but also very successful in private sector organizing. Smart, aggressive union with a lot of young and innovative staff. Sweeney chairs the AFL-CIO's Organizing and Health Care Reform committees. **Labor law reform and health care are number one issues with him.**

GERRY MCENTEE -- PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES

- ✓ 1.2 million members. After rapid growth, membership declined in '92 for the first time in many years. **Extremely close to the Administration and an early Clinton supporter. Health care reform, labor law (something to help state and local employees), OSHA coverage for public workers (Administration supports in Kennedy and Ford OSHA reform bills) and welfare reform all important issues.** Smart, aggressive, innovative, politically active union. McEntee will speak his mind.

JIM NORTON -- PRESIDENT, GRAPHIC COMMUNICATIONS INTERNATIONAL UNION

- ✓ 125,000 members. Newspaper industry -- typesetters, mailroom. Membership has held fairly stable. Recent Council member. **Striker replacement is a big issue.**

FRANK HURT -- PRESIDENT, BAKERY, CONFECTIONERY AND TOBACCO WORKERS UNION

- ✓ 100,000 members. Food processing, tobacco. Membership fairly stable. Hurt was formerly in charge of the union's organizing. Health care is a big issue.

BILL BYWATER -- PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRONIC, ELECTRICAL, SALARIED, MACHINE AND FURNITURE WORKERS

- ✓ 175,000 members. Vocal and unequivocal. Striker replacement and trade are his issues. Was the most vocal labor opponent on NAFTA. GE and Westinghouse are major employers.

MOE BILLER -- PRESIDENT, AMERICAN POSTAL WORKERS UNION

- ✓ 250,000 members. Federal employee issues are important. Doesn't typically participate.

VINCENT SOMBROTTO -- PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS

- ✓ 210,000 members. Interested in federal employee issues and a broad range of general labor issues. Outspoken.

MIKE SACCO -- PRESIDENT, SEAFARERS INTERNATIONAL UNION

- ✓ 80,000 members. Main interest is maritime industry preservation.

GLORIA JOHNSON -- VICE PRESIDENT OF THE IUE (BYWATER'S UNION) AND PRESIDENT OF THE COALITION OF LABOR UNION WOMEN

- ✓ Elected to the Council last year. Outspoken advocate on issues affecting women in the workplace.

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Last Visits w/ AFL-CIO Members

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[AFL-CIO Briefing Book] [loose] [1]

2013-0306-F
jm1238

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

LAST VISITS WITH MEMBERS OF THE AFL-CIO

February 21, 1994

Following is a list with the dates and names of members of the AFL-CIO you have either met with or seen since you have taken office.

JANUARY, 7 1994 **Morton Bahr** -- Mr. Bahr is vice president of the AFL-CIO and a member of the Labor Advisory Committee on Trade Negotiations for USTR. Mr. Bahr is on the Executive Council.

DECEMBER 6, 1993 **Frank Montanaro** -- Mr. Montanaro is the President of the Rhode Island AFL-CIO. [REDACTED] (b)(6) [REDACTED]

[002]

OCTOBER 18, 1993 **Thomas Donahue** -- Mr. Donahue is the Secretary Treasurer of the AFL-CIO. You participated in a discussion regarding the PCSD's task force report on sustainable communities. Mr. Donahue was one of the speakers on this panel.

JUNE 1, 1993 **Eldon Cooper, Bob Greene, Jack Watkins** -- Eldon Cooper, the Current Colorado AFL-CIO President, Bob Greene, Colorado AFL-CIO President-Elect, and Jack Watkins, Colorado State COPE President all greeted you upon your arrival at the Denver Airport.

MAY 4, 1993 **AFL-CIO, Executive Council** -- You, the President, and Secretary Reich, met with the 35 union presidents who make up the AFL-CIO Executive Council to thank them for their support of the economic plan and to continue to lay the groundwork for them to support the health care package. The AFL-CIO was one of the first supporters of the economic plan and actively lobbied Congress for its passage, particularly the jobs package.

MAY 20, 1993 **Al Shanker and the President's of the Local Union** -- You and the President met with the American Federation of Teachers' Executive Council. Al Shanker was present and is the President of the AFT. He participated in the Presidents Labor/CEO press conference in March in support of the stimulus package and attended the AFL-CIO Executive Council Meeting on May 4. Also present at this event are the Presidents of the Local Union. Mr. Shanker is presently on the Executive Council.

APRIL 6, 1993

Jerry McEntee and Donald Wasserman -- You met with Jerry McEntee, International President of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), and Donald Wasserman, Director of Organizing, AFSCME, to discuss REGO. More precisely, the discussion was on how the AFSCME could help your NPR project. As the International President of the AFSCME, Jerry McEntee oversees about 1.3 million members of the AFSCME. Mr. McEntee is on the Executive Council.

MARCH 1, 1993

Jack Reihl -- Mr. Reil is the President of the Wisconsin AFL-CIO. You has a very short meeting with approximately 15 local officials at the University of Wisconsin at Madison

MARCH 11, 1993

Jim McCasland -- You had a short airport greeting with several Texas state representatives [REDACTED] (b)(6) in Dallas before departing for Austin. Mr. McCasland was a representative of the AFL-CIO in Texas.

FEBRUARY 2, 1993

Lane Kirkland -- You and the President met with Lane Kirkland to bring him on board with the economic package. The AFL-CIO had its Executive Council meeting in Bal Harbour, FL last year right after this meeting on February 17.

FEBRUARY 5, 1993

Lane Kirkland -- Mr. Kirkland was invited to the signing of the Family Medical Leave Act.

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Memberships & Wages

Divider Title: _____

UNION MEMBERSHIP AND WAGES

February 21, 1994

MEMBERSHIP

After 14 years of decline, the number of union members in the United States increased during 1993.

- √ There are presently about 16.6 million workers who are members of labor unions.
- √ A recent BLS report showed that virtually all of the modest growth in union membership was in the public sector, as private industries continued for the most part, to show a decline in union membership.
 - Those belonging to a union remained at about 15.8% in 1993.
- √ Total employment rose at about the same rate as union membership.

WAGES

The wages of union members in the United States remains higher than those of their non-union counterparts.

- √ In 1993, the median wage of union members was \$575 a week, compared to \$426 a week for non-union members

MINIMUM WAGE

The Administration's position

In Putting People First, and during the campaign, this Administration pledged to index the value of the minimum wage without specifying what level it would be indexed. In October, Secretary Reich announced that the minimum wage could be increased by a moderate amount without negative consequences on employment, but that the Administration would wait to make any decisions on the minimum wage until the implications of health care reform were more clearly known. The Secretary also recently announced that the Administration would revisit the minimum wage decision this summer.

Value

The value of the minimum wage is well below its traditional level. The minimum wage stayed at \$3.35 an hour from 1981 to 1989. President Bush

vetoed one minimum wage bill and then signed a bill raising the minimum wage in two steps, to \$4.25 an hour as of April 1991. If the value of the minimum wage were to have the same purchasing power in 1994 as it averaged in the 1970s, it would need to equal about \$5.55 an hour. Its inflation-adjusted value is now 24 percent lower than it was that decade.

Employment effects

The employment effects of the minimum wage are typically overstated. A series of studies of recent minimum wage increases found that these increases did not have a negative impact on employment. In summarizing these studies, Richard Freeman of Harvard University stated: "At the level of the minimum wage in the late 1980s, moderate legislated increases did not reduce employment and were, if anything, associated with higher employment in some locales."

MINIMUM WAGE Q & A

Question: Low-wage workers have been hit hard by economic trends during the past two decades. How are we taking steps to improve their economic prospects?

Answer: DOL pushed through a path-breaking expansion of the EITC, the popular tax credit for low-income workers. And this year they will pass legislation to extend health insurance to all workers, regardless of income. They are also improving the upward mobility paths of low-wage workers through our School-to-Work initiative and expansions in programs such as the Job Corps.

Answer: The low level of the minimum wage, recent research on its employment effects, and the importance of maintaining adequate working standards all underscore the importance of the minimum wage. However, it makes sense to assess the nature and impacts of health care reform before making any decisions on the minimum wage. Accordingly, we expect to revisit the minimum wage issue this summer.

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Former Union Officers now in the Administration

Divider Title: _____

FORMER UNION OFFICERS SERVING IN THE ADMINISTRATION

February 21, 1994

Joan Baggett	Former political director for the Bricklayers.
Joe Valesquez	Former director of Community Services for the AFL-CIO.
Geri Palast	Former legislative/political director for SEIU. She is presently Assistant Secretary for Congressional and Intergovernmental Affairs at DOL.
Jack Otero	Former Vice President of Transportation-Communications Union and AFL-CIO Vice President. He is currently Deputy Under Secretary at DOL.
Joyce Miller	Former president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and AFL-CIO Vice President. She is Executive Director of the Glass Ceiling Commission.
Jerry Klepner	Former legislative director at AFSCME. He is currently Assistant Secretary for Congressional Affairs at HHS.
Steve Rosenthal	Former administrative assistant to the president of CWA. He is currently Associate Deputy Secretary at DOL.
Chuck Richards	Former field director for the AFL-CIO Public Employee Department. He is currently Deputy Assistant Secretary for the American Workplace at DOL.
Karen Nussbaum	Former director of SEIU's 9 to 5. She is presently Director of the Women's Bureau at DOL.
Michael Kerr	Former Assistant Director for Legislative Affairs at AFSCME. He is presently Executive Secretary to Secretary Reich.
Meredith Miller	Former Deputy Director of Benefits for the AFL-CIO. She is currently Deputy Assistant Secretary for Pension and Welfare Benefits at DOL.

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NLRB Up-date

Divider Title: _____

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

February 21, 1994

The main issue for the National Labor Relations Board is the Administration's nominations and the idea that the Administration supports the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively. President Clinton has nominated the following individuals as members of the board: Bill Gould, Chairman; Margaret Browning, member; Chuck Cohen, member; and Fred Feinstein, General Council.

APPOINTMENT UP-DATES

- The President appointed Dan Silverman as Acting General Counsel and recess appointed John Truesdale as a member of the Board, both of whom served during the interim while the economic package was being completed.
- Bill Gould (D), the President's nominee for Chairman of the Board, was previously voted out of committee and awaits Senate floor action.
- Meetings have been arranged with the Senate Labor Committee minority staff for Peggy Browning (D), Charles Cohen (R) (the two remaining Board nominees) and Fred Feinstein (the President's nominee for General Counsel), for Wednesday, February 16th. These sessions are part of the joint Kennedy/Kassebaum effort, initiated by the White House, to avoid having to hold formal hearings on these nominees, thereby speeding-up confirmation of the entire package.
- So far, no member of the Labor Committee has requested a hearing on the remaining nominees, and Senator Kassebaum's staff has said that they are fairly confident they will be able to persuade the other Republican members to go along.
- If a hearing can be avoided, the goal is to present the Browning, Cohen, and Feinstein nominations to the Senate Labor Committee for mark-up on Wednesday, February 23rd (one week after their meetings with minority staff). This is the operative plan currently in effect and agreed to by both Kennedy's and Kassebaum's staffs.
- It is unclear when, after mark-up, the package of nominees will go to the Senate for floor action. There have been discussions about scheduling a vote by the full Senate on Friday, February 25 or for the week of Monday, February 28th. However, at this stage, people are more focussed on the mark-up (the timing of which is not absolutely certain) than they are on the final vote.

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1993 COPE Report

Divider Title: _____

February 16, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL BURTON
SUBJECT: AFL-CIO COPE REPORT FOR 1993

Attached is a copy of the 1993 COPE "Report on Congress."

As you know, this annual AFL-CIO summary reviews the major issues on labor's legislative agenda and presents their view of congressional voting records. This year's "Report" begins with Lane Kirkland's analysis of 1993 legislative action. Kirkland writes, "Despite some of the best success in more than a decade for labor's overall legislative agenda, the first session of the 103d Congress will be remembered primarily for what we did not achieve--and that is the defeat of the North American Free Trade Agreement."

It should be noted, however, that the large majority of the report discusses other "Majors Issues," and the AFL-CIO agrees with the Administration on nearly all these issues. Indeed, Kirkland applauded the Administration's many achievements during the 103d Congress, including--

- o Family and Medical Leave;
- o Hatch Act Reform;
- o Emergency Unemployment Benefits;
- o Motor-Voter;
- o The Deficit Reduction bill; and
- o The Administration's joint effort with organized labor to build low-income housing.

For the future, the AFL-CIO wants to end the filibuster preventing action on Striker Replacement legislation. And it wants to pass health care: "President Clinton has

introduced legislation that was enthusiastically endorsed by the AFL-CIO Convention October, and we will be his most reliable troops in the upcoming effort to win congressional passage."

MAJOR ISSUES IN CONGRESS--1993

Extended Unemployment Benefits. Legislation to provide up to 26 weeks of additional federal benefits beyond basic state benefits and it extended the program through October 1993. AFL-CIO supported this legislation. After passing the House, Senator Hank Brown offered a means-testing amendment, which the AFL-CIO opposed on principle (even though it would have affected only those who made more than \$120,000 the previous year). The Brown amendment was approved, but dropped in conference. Also during Senate consideration, Senator Gramm offered an amendment to mandate by statute the Administration's proposed reduction of 252,000 federal employees, which the AFL-CIO opposed. The amendment failed on a motion to recommit. President Clinton signed the bill into law.

Hatch Act Reform. This legislation will change Hatch Act restrictions to allow federal and postal workers to participate in a wide range of currently prohibited political activities. The AFL-CIO supported this legislation. It passed Congress and was signed into law.

Stimulus Package. Lane Kirkland said of the stimulus package, "[T]his country desperately needs the jobs this package would provide." The AFL-CIO supported this legislation. It passed the House, but cloture could not be reached in the Senate.

Striker Replacement. The Workplace Fairness bill will prohibit the hiring of permanent replacement workers during a legal economic strike. The AFL-CIO supports this legislation. It has passed the House, but the Senate has not yet acted.

National Service. The AFL-CIO was concerned about the inclusion of a "union concurrence" provision to the National Service bill; they wanted to ensure that existing workers would not be replaced by National Service volunteers. An amendment to this effect was offered in the House by Rep. Cass Ballenger. The AFL-CIO supported this amendment, but it failed to pass.

ERISA Preemption. Reform of ERISA would prevent the use of federal statute to preempt stricter state labor laws (in wage laws, apprenticeship regulations, and mechanic's lien laws). The House has passed this legislation, but the Senate has yet to act.

NAFTA. COPE writes, "President Clinton backed NAFTA, but said he would try to alleviate labor's concerns through a set of side agreements on worker rights and the environment. He also offered a dislocated worker program. When completed, those provision provided little, if any, help for workers and citizens on either side of the border, and the dislocated worker program was grossly inadequate." The AFL-CIO opposed NAFTA; the Administration supported it. NAFTA passed the Congress and was signed into law.

Family and Medical Leave. The Family and Medical Leave Act allows workers of firms of 50 or more employees up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave without risk of job loss. The AFL-CIO supported the legislation. It passed the Congress and was signed into law.

Motor Voter. This legislation requires states to establish procedures permitting voter registration at state and federal offices as well as to establish mail-based registration. The AFL-CIO supported this legislation. It passed Congress and was signed into law.

Budget Reconciliation. COPE calls the Budget Bill "the centerpiece of President Clinton's five-year plan to slash almost \$500 million from the federal deficit." The AFL-CIO supported this legislation. It passed the Congress and was signed into law.

Davis-Bacon/Helpers. The FY 1994 Labor-HHS appropriations bill included a provision to prevent enforcement of Bush-era regulations allowing for low-wage "helpers" on Davis-Bacon projects, and in the Senate, an amendment was proposed to eliminate this provision. The AFL-CIO opposed this amendment. The amendment failed.

Cargo Preference. An amendment was offered in the Senate to the FY 1994 Transportation appropriations bill that would have had the effect of allowing federal cargo to be transported on non-U.S. flag vessels if shipment on those vessels would be less than half the cost of U.S. flag vessels. The AFL-CIO opposed this amendment. *The National Performance Review has proposed review of cargo preference.* The amendment was tabled.

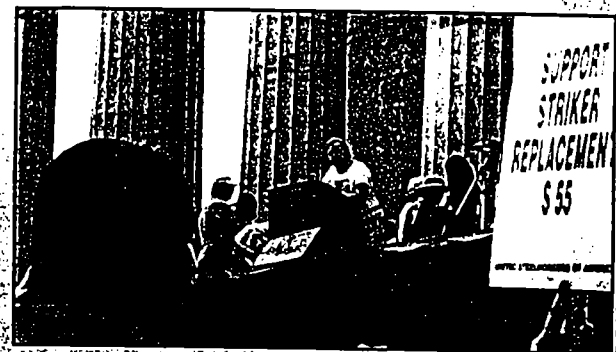
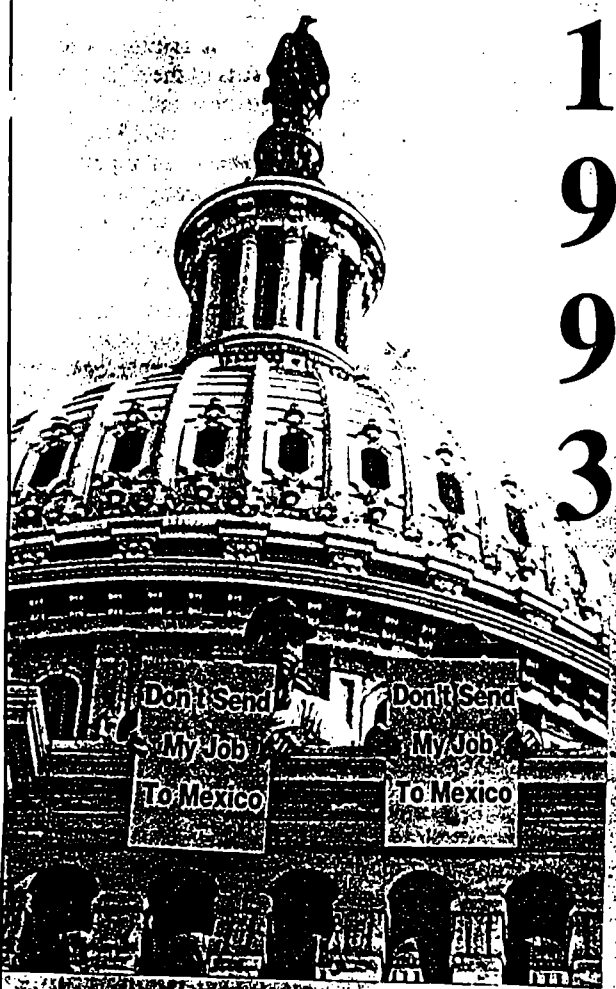
Goals 2000. Goals 2000 would establish educational performance standards, and as COPE writes, the program would "include labor participation in developing some of those standards." The AFL-CIO supports this legislation. It passed the House, but the Senate has not yet acted.

Penny-Kasich. COPE calls the proposed Penny-Kasich amendment to November recisions/ReGo bill "a draconian \$90 billion budget slashing scheme." The AFL-CIO opposed this amendment. It failed in the House in November of last year.

Campaign Finance Reform. The AFL-CIO believes that "small contributor PACs afford the only the only opportunity for working people to effectively participate in the funding of campaigns in the absence of public financing." In the Senate, an amendment was introduced to ban PAC donations, which the AFL-CIO opposed. The amendment was approved and the bill was passed; it now awaits conference.

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Report on Congress



From the Lincoln Memorial (above) to the streets of San Francisco (below), union members marched and rallied for pro-labor legislation from Workplace Fairness to health care to jobs.

While the fight against NAFTA took the spotlight at the end of 1993, the first session of the 103rd Congress was marked by some of labor's biggest legislative victories in more than a decade. Above, these two union workers summed up what millions of others told Congress in phone calls, telegrams and letters. Below, union workers at the annual labor day parade in Cincinnati play the same tune.



Best Session in Years Ends on Sour Note with NAFTA

By Lane Kirkland

Despite some of the best success in more than a decade for labor's overall legislative agenda, the first session of the 103rd Congress will be remembered primarily for what we did not achieve—and that is the defeat of the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Responding to the overwhelming sentiment of union members across the country, the AFL-CIO and its affiliates coordinated an immense grassroots effort to convince members of Congress that NAFTA is a bad deal for working people throughout North America.

Though Congress' approval of NAFTA was a bitter disappointment, *it certainly was not a defeat for organized labor.* The trade union movement was opposed by the entire power structure of the country, which had huge amounts of private and public funds available to air the pro-NAFTA message and to win votes in Congress. We have every right to be proud of our effort.

... 1993 was a year when the logjam broke for a number of labor-backed bills that for years had been stalled in Congress by presidential vetoes and threats of vetoes...

Despite the outcome, labor accomplished something quite remarkable during the NAFTA debate. For the first time, trade policy moved out of the backrooms of the elite and into the living rooms of average Americans. Never before have so many Americans written, called and petitioned their representatives to oppose a trade agreement. Such progress will surely enhance our future efforts on behalf of working people, their families and their communities.

Furthermore, 1993 was a year when the logjam broke for a number of labor-backed bills that for years had been stalled in Congress by presidential vetoes and threats of vetoes.

With the support of a new, Democratic administration, Congress got off to a fast start early in the year by passing the Family and Medical Leave Act, which President Clinton quickly signed into law. The new law allows workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave of absence for the birth or adoption of a child or the serious illness of a family member, and it requires the continuation of the worker's health benefits during the leave. Though the new benefits are not as generous as those provided in other industrial countries, passage of this law is a giant step toward protecting working Americans from being forced to choose between a job and the health and well-being of their families.

Another major victory for labor came later in the year when President Clinton signed into law a Hatch Act reform bill that had been first proposed nearly two decades ago. The legislation, which restores some measure of political rights to more than three million federal and postal employees, had twice been vetoed by Republican presidents—most recently by George Bush in 1990.

President Clinton also signed two emergency unemployment benefits extension bills and a "motor-voter" bill to expand the electorate, each of which has been the target of veto threats by his predecessor. In addition, Congress enacted the President's five-year, \$500 billion deficit reduction plan, backed by the AFL-CIO, that begins the task of restoring

a measure of equity to the tax system by asking those who benefited substantially from the tax cuts of the 1980s to bear their fair share of the burden of government.

Also enacted into law was a labor-supported housing initiative that authorizes the federal government to provide up to \$100 million over five years in assistance for low-income housing programs that use pension funds as a source of financing. The authorization is a key component of the AFL-CIO Housing and Building Trusts' National Partnership for Community Investment, a program that will build affordable housing in 33 cities while creating 20,000 union jobs.

Another success in 1993 was congressional passage of one-year bans on Davis-Bacon regulations that would expand the use of low-wage, untrained helpers in construction trades and on regulations governing apprenticeship programs.

Among the other positive changes accomplished by the new president in his first months in office was his swift reversal of his predecessor's insulting and oppressive executive orders which were designed to undermine collective bargaining and to harass and intimidate trade unions and their members. President Clinton also rescinded Ronald Reagan's lifetime ban on federal employment for striking members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Association (PATCO).

But major economic stimulus programs, designed to create 500,000 jobs to put Americans back to work and help speed the recovery, fell victim in the Spring to a filibuster launched by Senators who sanctimoniously donned the mantle of "fiscal responsibility." As a result, the unemployment rate remained stubbornly high for most of the remainder of the year.

... The fight for health care reform will not be an easy one. Those who profit handsomely under the current, inequitable health care system are already spending millions to spread distortion and create public confusion about health care reform...

High priority
Unfortunately, the filibuster—the last bastion of minority rule—is also standing in the way of labor's goal of enacting legislation to ban the permanent replacement of workers who exercise their legal right to strike. The Workplace Fairness Act will continue to be one of the AFL-CIO's top priority issues. Having already passed the House by a large margin in the first session, our challenge will be to find the 60 Senate votes necessary to overcome the Republican-led effort to kill the bill.

Another high-priority issue in the second session will be the comprehensive reform of our health care system. President Clinton has introduced legislation that was enthusiastically endorsed by the AFL-CIO Convention last October, and we will be his most reliable troops in the upcoming effort to win congressional passage.

The fight will not be an easy one, to be sure. Those who profit handsomely under the current, inequitable health care system are already spending millions to spread distortions and create public confusion about health care reform. Meanwhile, congressional opponents of real reform are pushing

so-called "alternatives," which can be more appropriately described as what to do *instead* of a health care plan. Opponents, including the insurance industry, some doctors' groups, conservative Democrats and most Republicans, will surely mount a rear-guard action against genuine health care reform—cloaked, of course, with a cloud of jargon about the ultimate wonders of the free market, sweet charity and the healing powers of "tax-free medical accounts."

We know, of course, that nothing short of full-scale restructuring will cure what ails our health care system, and the labor movement will be calling on its most vital resource—our millions of members, retirees, family members and friends—to help the universal, comprehensive health care plan carry the day in Congress.

Among the other items on labor's legislative agenda for 1994 is the goal of overhauling the Occupational Safety and Health Act for the first time in two decades. We've learned the hard way that it's one thing to have OSHA laws on the books, but ensuring their effectiveness in reducing job-related deaths is another story. With minimal fines and inspections, it's no wonder that more than 10,000 people die each year at the workplace—one worker for every hour of every day.

The Senate will also take up two major education bills, one establishing skill and performance standards for students and a "School-to-Work" bill to help non-college-bound students. Both are supported by the AFL-CIO and have been passed by the House.

Congress and the Clinton administration will face a wide variety of policy challenges as they attempt to set America on the right course for the remainder of the decade and into the 21st Century. Among them will be sustaining the economic recovery and providing jobs for all who want to work, helping Americans make their streets safer and the communities stronger and more vibrant, restoring the vitality of the middle class and reversing the growing disparity between rich and poor, and bringing the light of democracy to areas of the world where oppression and intolerance still prevail.

Through political and legislative action, union members across the country will work to inspire their elected leaders to do the right thing on each of these issues as they come to the fore. Hardly a sparrow falls, here or abroad, that we do not take within the jurisdiction of the trade union movement. And no group of Americans has longer and more vigorously relied on their basic democratic rights than those who have come together, down through the generations, under the banner of trade unionism.

This 1993 AFL-CIO Report on Congress will help you determine which elected representatives stand with us in the pursuit of our vision for the future.

We have tremendous challenges before us.

But if we mobilize our people—if we get the word out to our members and encourage them to become active in their communities—we can win these battles and get the job done for America's working families.

Major Issues In the House of Representatives

1. Extended Unemployment Benefits

Early in 1993, some 300,000 out-of-work Americans were exhausting their normal 26 weeks of unemployment benefits every month and the problem of long-term unemployment was expected to continue through the year. In fact, the jobless rate remained above 6.5 percent through November.

As the Bush recession continued to take its toll on the U.S. economy and its workers. In fact, the number of unemployed was higher in early 1993 than in July 1990 when the recession began.

The AFL-CIO supported legislation (H.R. 920) to continue an emergency extended federal unemployment benefits program for workers who had run out of their 26 weeks of state benefits without finding new work. The program began at the height of the Bush recession in 1991 and was extended several times when the employment picture did not brighten. It was set to expire March 4.

H.R. 920 provided up to 26 weeks of additional federal benefits beyond basic state benefits and extended the program through October 1993. The House passed the bill February 24 by a 254-161 vote. It was later signed into law.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

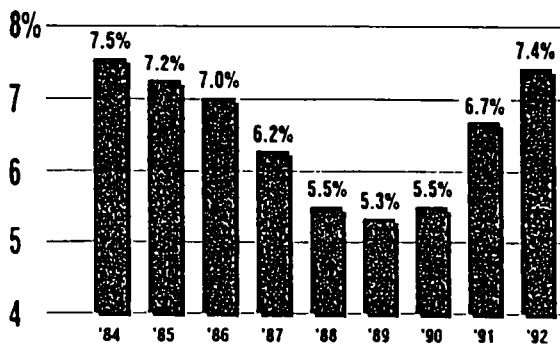
2. Hatch Act Reform

Since 1939 the Hatch Act has denied federal and postal employees the same political and Constitutional rights other Americans enjoy and exercise in the political process. Hatch Act reform legislation (H.R. 20), backed by the AFL-CIO, would, for the first time in 50 years, allow these workers to participate in a wide range of political activities—on their own time and away from the job.

Under Hatch Act regulations, postal and federal employees are prohibited from participating in a variety of political ac-

Jobless rate hits 8-year high

All civilian workers - yearly average



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

Good paying jobs continued to disappear throughout 1992 even as the nation's economic turnaround bottomed out. Employers slashed nearly 360,000 jobs in manufacturing, mining, transportation, utilities, and wholesale and retail trade. Although there was a payroll pickup of 694,000 in the lower-paying service sector, many of the jobs were part-time.

AFL-CIO NEWS SERVICE

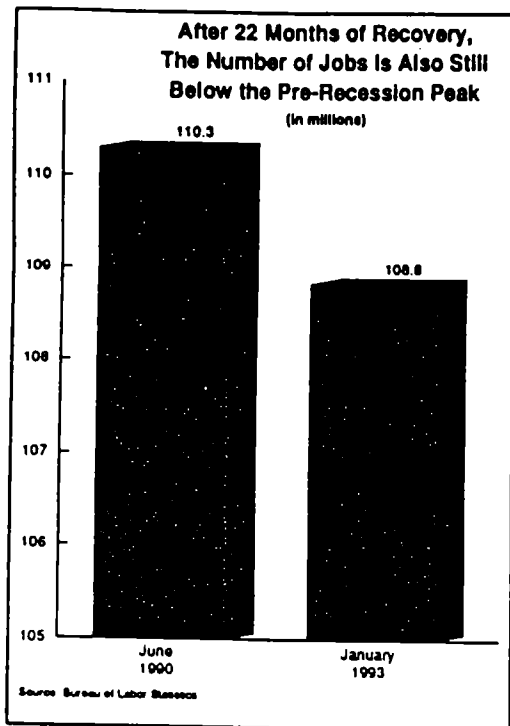
tivities not just on the job, but during the workers' free time as well. For example, such workers could not hand out campaign literature, solicit votes or hold office in a political party.

But H.R. 20 lifts many of the Hatch Act's political restrictions. Federal and postal workers will have the freedom to endorse political candidates, organize phone banks to urge their election, distribute campaign literature, solicit political contributions and engage in most other political activity.

The legislation continues the ban against engaging in these activities while at work, prohibits government and postal workers from using official influence or information for partisan political purposes and bans them from wearing political campaign buttons while on duty and in government buildings.

The House approved H.R. 20 March 3 by a 333-86 vote. Hatch Act reform was later signed into law.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG



3. Stimulus/Jobs

When he first took office, one of President Clinton's major goals was to stimulate a stalled economy and create new jobs. He submitted AFL-CIO-backed legislation (H.R. 1335) aimed at quickly creating jobs through infrastructure investment and other projects.

The economic stimulus plan was designed to create some 500,000 new jobs. Although some economic indicators were showing slight improvement in early 1993, the job recovery coming out of the recession was far weaker than that of any other recovery period.

"At a time when unemployment remains high, when American industries continue to shed jobs, and when the recession continues to batter millions of working families, the plan provides the necessary short-term economic stimulus that will put people back to work... this country desperately

needs the jobs this package would provide," AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland said.

As proposed, the stimulus bill could have created new jobs—mostly in public works—including a summer jobs program aimed at inner city youth, a program to hire and train 10,000 new police officers, and a new child immunization program.

The House passed the bill March 18 by a 235-190 vote. Later that spring a Senate filibuster killed the stimulus bill.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

4. Workplace Fairness

Since 1935, workers have been assured by federal law that they have a right to take collective action and a right to strike. American labor law tells workers that they cannot be fired for striking.

But a 1938 Supreme Court ruling, rarely used until the past decade, permits employers to "permanently replace" those same strikers that they are forbidden from discharging.

For all practical purposes, the distinction between being fired and being "permanently replaced" is meaningless. Fired or "permanently replaced" workers still lost their jobs and that is a harsh injustice against those who are exercising a right protected by law.

In the past decade, too many employers have come to view collective bargaining not as a means of negotiating wages and working conditions, but as a way to bust unions by forcing a strike and recruiting a new workforce of permanent replacements. A federal government report showed that between 1985 and 1989, businesses hired permanent replacements in almost one in five strikes and threatened to do so in almost one third of all contract negotiations.

H.R. 5, the Workplace Fairness bill, would ban the use of permanent replacements during a legal economic strike. The House passed the bill 239-190 on June 15. The Senate has yet to act.

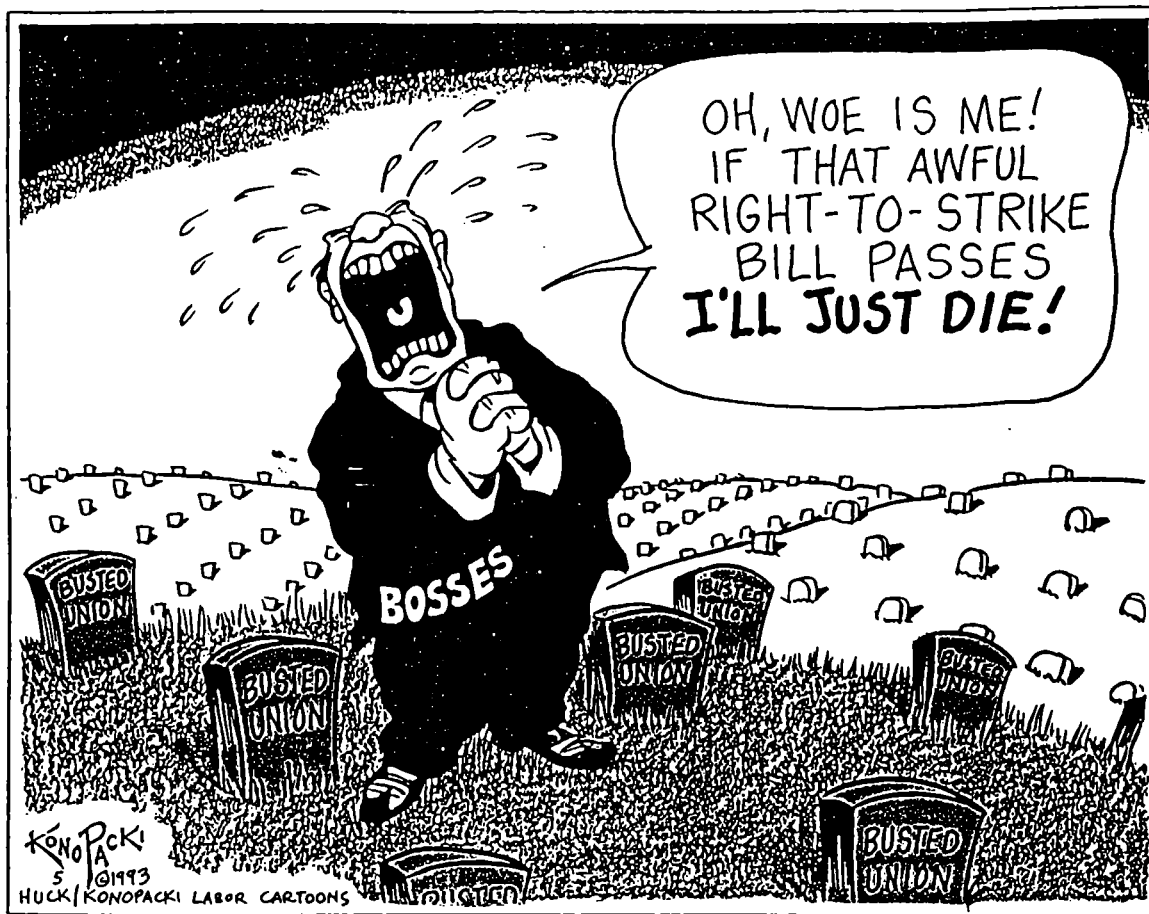
FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

5. National Service/Union Concurrence

The labor movement has a long history of community service. So when President Clinton proposed his national service legislation, H.R. 2010, the AFL-CIO backed the president's goal of assisting and improving community services.

Described as an effort to create a domestic Peace Corps, the legislation provides educational grants and stipends to volunteers in a variety of needed service areas such as public safety, environmental and human needs. Those grants and stipends for higher education and job training would be available to all volunteers, which will assist working families and increase their access to educational resources.

The bill also contains a union concurrence provision which provided that in filling these safety needs, existing workers



would not be displaced by the volunteers. The provision provides for union involvement in program planning to ensure that worker displacement does not occur.

An amendment to strike that provision was offered by Rep. Cass Ballenger (R-NC). It failed July 21 153-276. The bill was passed and signed into law.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

have a devastating impact on tens of thousands of construction and other jobs now contracted for by states.

The House passed H.R. 1036 November 9 by a 276-150 vote. The Senate has yet to act.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

6. ERISA Preemption

Several rulings by Reagan-era federal judges interpreted the federal Employment Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (ERISA) as preempting certain state laws, in effect allowing employers to avoid state prevailing wage laws, apprenticeship regulations and mechanics' lien laws.

The AFL-CIO strongly backed H.R. 1036, which would remedy this problem known as ERISA preemption. It would clarify that those three types of state laws could not be preempted, something which was never intended when ERISA was passed.

ERISA was intended to make sure employee benefit plans such as pension and health and welfare plans met certain standards, were not governed by multiple government regulations and that benefit plan regulations were the exclusive concern of the federal government. It was not intended to preempt states from setting their own terms under which they contract for public works, goods and services.

H.R. 1036 would, in effect, overturn those decisions and clarify that Congress' intent was never to preempt those types of state laws. If those rulings are allowed to stand, they could



7. NAFTA

In the 1980s, a growing number of American manufacturing firms began slamming their U.S. factory doors shut and setting up new plants in Mexico. They took advantage of that nation's inexpensive labor pool and lax enforcement of workers' rights laws and workplace safety and environmental regulations. Several hundred thousand American jobs were lost to the maquiladora program.

However, that was just a preview of what is in store for American workers. In 1991, the Bush administration decided to pursue a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to give greater protection to the investments



As the vote on NAFTA neared, union members around the country organized rallies and demonstrations, such as this one in Seattle, WA, to try to convince their lawmakers to say "no" to NAFTA.

American firms had already made in Mexico; NAFTA offers no such protection for the American workers whose jobs are at stake. Nor does it protect the rights of Mexican workers. It eliminated or reduced tariffs and duties on products made in Mexico (and Canada), giving U.S. firms an even larger inducement to ship their jobs to Mexico. As many as 500,000 U.S. jobs were at stake.

President Clinton backed NAFTA, but said he would try to alleviate labor's concerns through a set of side agreements on worker rights and the environment. He also offered a dislocated worker program. When completed, those provisions provide little, if any, help for workers and citizens on either side of the border, and the dislocated worker program was grossly inadequate.

A massive and heartfelt grassroots campaign against NAFTA led by union members nearly overcame the power of a White House aligned with corporate America. But the House approved the treaty November 17, 234-200. It was later signed into law.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

8. Family and Medical Leave

The AFL-CIO has supported family and medical leave legislation since the first bill was introduced in 1985. Many workers have risked their jobs when forced to take time off for the birth or adoption of a child or care for a sick child or spouse or parent. Unlike all other industrialized nations, the United States had no national policy on family leave. If a worker was not covered by a union contract, he or she had to depend on the whims of the employer for time off for serious family problems.

The Federation, and others, took the view that the family leave standard should be considered a minimum labor standard, similar to wage and hour laws and workplace safety standards. But two successful vetoes and massive resistance

from the business community stalled the legislation for eight years.

The Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 was the first bill introduced in the House in 1993—H.R. 1. Backed by the AFL-CIO, it allows workers at firms of 50 or more employees up to 12 weeks of unpaid but job protected leave—for the birth or adoption of a child, the serious illness of a child, spouse or parent, or the worker's own illness. In addition, the workers retain their health benefits during the leave.

The House passed the bill February 3 by a 265-163 vote. It was signed into law.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

9. "Motor Voter"

Voter turnout has been steadily decreasing for years. In 1990 only 36 percent of eligible voters went to the polls. While the 1992 three-way presidential race generated a slightly higher than usual turnout, most experts considered that an aberration. Most other nations have about an 80 percent voter turnout, but they also have some form of automatic voter registration, which has been shown to increase voter participation.

The AFL-CIO has long backed improvement in federal election laws aimed at improving voter turnout. Almost 40 percent of eligible voters are not registered. The main reason so many are not is the myriad of state regulations.

H.R. 2, the "motor voter" bill, requires states to establish procedures permitting citizens to register to vote when applying for drivers' licenses and various other licenses and permits at state and federal offices, and it also requires states to establish mail-in voter registration.

The House approved the bill February 4 (259-160) and it was signed into law.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

10. Budget Reconciliation

The budget reconciliation bill was a complex and vast piece of legislation that was the centerpiece of President Clinton's five-year plan to slash almost \$500 million from the federal deficit. It centered on cuts in federal programs and an increase on taxes for the wealthy and corporations.

The AFL-CIO supported the bill, H.R. 2264, as a step in moving the nation toward tax fairness. The legislation was aimed at invigorating the U.S. economy through careful deficit reduction, combining selective investments in the public infrastructure with revenue increases from those who are most able to pay.

The legislation raises tax rates on corporations and on individuals with taxable incomes of more than \$140,000. At the same time it expands the Earned Income Tax Credit for low-income taxpayers. It also extends the employee tax exemption for employer-provided education benefits and tightens the tax breaks for "runaway" companies which relocate in Puerto Rico.

The House approved the conference report on the bill August 5 by a 218-216 vote. It was signed into law.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

11. Education/Goals 2000

This major education reform bill, Goals 2000—Educate America Act (H.R. 1804), would for the first time establish national skill and performance standards and include labor participation in developing some of those standards.

The legislation, backed by the AFL-CIO, would establish voluntary national education standards—broad descriptions of the knowledge and skills students should acquire in a particular subject area. The bill also sets student performance standards—what a student must know and be able to do in

order to demonstrate proficiency in the skills and knowledge that the content standards require.

The legislation also establishes a skill standards board which will be charged with studying the national labor market and identifying broad clusters of major occupations that involve one or more industries in the United States. After identifying an occupational cluster, the board would then facilitate the establishment of voluntary labor/business/education partnerships to develop skill standards systems.

The House passed H.R. 1804 October 13 by a 307-118 vote. The Senate has not acted.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

12. Budget Cuts/Penny-Kasich

In late November, the House considered a Clinton administration deficit reduction bill (H.R. 3400) which included appropriations recissions and portions of Vice President Gore's National Performance Review or "Reinventing Government" proposals. But Representatives Tim Penny (D-MN) and John Kasich (R-OH) offered an amendment which would have added a draconian \$90 billion budget slashing scheme.

The amendment contained specified and unspecified cuts that were irresponsible and counterproductive. This plan would have severely undercut the president's proposed health care reform plan, it would have threatened the still-weak economic recovery and it would have narrowed even further the president's opportunities to fulfill his plans for vital investment initiatives.

The Penny-Kasich plan would have pushed domestic discretionary spending to historically low levels and defense spending even below the administration's deep defense cuts.

Backed by conservative Democrats and most Republicans, the amendment failed 213-219 November 22.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

Throughout the year leaders on Capitol Hill met with union members and officials. Here House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-MO) speaks with the AFL-CIO Executive Council including (R-L) President Lane Kirkland, Gephardt, Secretary/Treasurer Thomas R. Donahue and ACTWU President Jack Sheinkman.



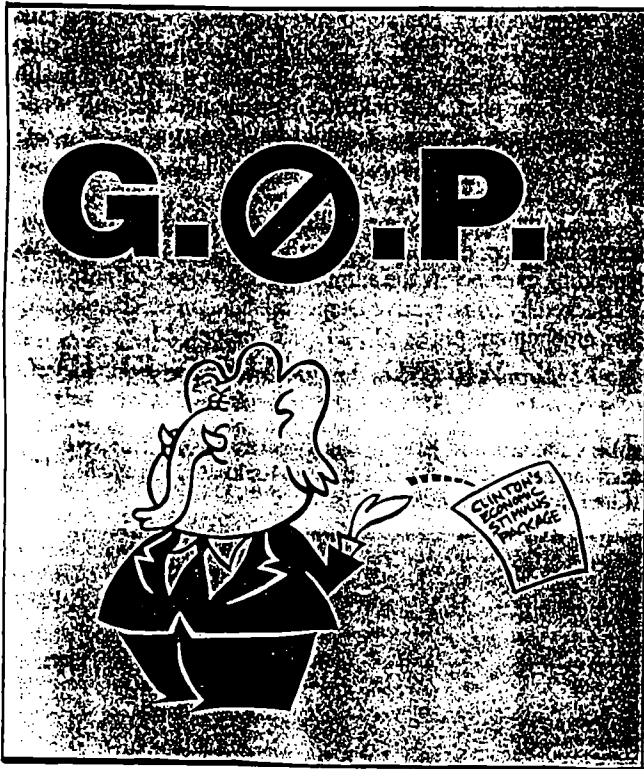
Major Issues

In the United States Senate

1. Stimulus/Jobs

The nation's economy was still suffering the effects of the Bush recession in early 1993. Millions of Americans were out of work and many, many more were jobless for a longer time than in past recessions. While there were some signs of a possible recovery, few new jobs were being created. The toll of trickle-down economics was being paid by American working men and women.

When President Clinton took office, one of his major goals was to stimulate a stalled economy and create new jobs. He submitted, and the AFL-CIO backed, legislation (H.R. 1335) aimed at quickly creating jobs through infrastructure investment and other projects.



As proposed, the stimulus bill would have created up to 500,000 new, mostly public works jobs while establishing a summer jobs program aimed at inner city youth, a program to hire and train 10,000 new police officers, and a new child immunization program.

When the bill reached the Senate after House approval, the Republican minority quickly began a filibuster in an attempt to derail a package that they knew they couldn't defeat on a simple majority vote. Four attempts to achieve cloture and end the filibuster (which requires a three-fifths majority) failed. The fourth and last attempt failed by a 56-43 vote on April 21.

**FOR CLOTURE—RIGHT
AGAINST CLOTURE—WRONG**

2. Hatch Act Reform

Before Hatch Act reform legislation was signed into law in 1993, federal and postal employees had been denied the same political and Constitutional rights other Americans enjoy and exercise in the political process for more than 50 years. Under those Hatch Act regulations, three million postal and federal employees were prohibited from participating in a variety of political activities not just on the job, but during their free time as well. For example such workers could not hand out campaign literature, solicit votes or hold office in a political party.

Hatch Act reform legislation, (S. 185) backed by the AFL-CIO, lifts many of the Hatch Act's political restrictions. Federal and postal workers will now have the freedom to endorse political candidates, organize phone banks to urge their election, distribute campaign literature, solicit political contributions and engage in most other political activity.

The legislation continues the ban against engaging in these activities while at work, prohibits workers from using official influence or information for partisan political purposes and bans government and postal workers from wearing political campaign buttons while on duty and in government buildings.

The Senate passed S. 185 July 20 by a 68-31 vote. It was later signed into law.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

3. Davis-Bacon/Helpers and Apprentices Programs

When introduced, the FY 1994 Labor and Health and Human Services appropriations bill (H.R. 2518) contained language which prohibited the Department of Labor from spending any money to implement two regulations which were promulgated and approved under the Bush administration. The regulations concerned helpers on Davis-Bacon projects and the administration of apprenticeship programs.

The Davis-Bacon Act requires prevailing wages for "laborers and mechanics" (also known as journeymen) on federal and federally-funded construction projects. The first proposed regulation called for a new category of "helpers" thereby creating a new class of workers who, unlike laborers, would have no formal training and toil at low wages with no hope of advancement within the construction industry. The regulations would also result in severely reducing the level of employment for laborers.

The second regulation, if implemented, would weaken and disrupt the long-standing rules governing the operation of state apprenticeship programs. The worst aspect of the apprenticeship regulation would effectively undercut the authority of the state apprenticeship agencies and force them to accept lower federal standards for training programs.

In an attempt to block an expected effort to strip the



Union members at this April rally on the Capitol steps were calling for an extension of the emergency extended unemployment benefits program and for passage of President Clinton's economic stimulus program.

language from the bill, the Senate voted September 28 (60-39) to maintain those provisions. The bill was later signed into law.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

4. Cargo Preference

The U.S. merchant marine has suffered through years of neglect. Always expected to be available in times of a military emergency, such as the Persian Gulf War, the U.S.-flag fleet has seen its support from the government dwindle to almost nothing. The number of ships flying the U.S. flag and the Americans crewing those ships has dropped to an all-time low.

Tens of thousands of jobs have been lost to "flag of convenience" carriers who pay abysmally low wages to third and fourth world crews—usually a small fraction of the U.S. minimum wage, let alone anywhere near what a skilled seafarer earns. Many U.S. government shipments are carried by these flag of convenience ships.

But cargo preference laws require that a certain percentage of foreign aid and military cargos be shipped on U.S. vessels. During consideration of the FY 1994 Transportation appropriations bill (H.R. 2750), an amendment was offered which would have banned the government from using U.S.-flag ships if the costs were more than twice as high as the low-wage flag of convenience ships. The amendment was tabled October 5 by a 50-49 vote.

**FOR TABLING—RIGHT
AGAINST TABLING—WRONG**

5. Extended Unemployment Benefits/Means Testing

While the economy began to show stronger signs of recovery as 1993 came to an end, about a quarter of a million

jobless American workers were exhausting their normal 26 weeks of unemployment benefits every month in the summer and fall of 1993. Long term unemployment was expected to continue to be a major problem.

Job creation was lagging far behind what it had been following the previous two recession low points. Millions of workers were not finding new jobs before their 26 weeks of state unemployment benefits ran out. An extended benefits program granting extra weeks of benefits had been operating since the height of the Bush recession. Extended several times, it expired October 1.

The AFL-CIO supported legislation (H.R. 3167) which would continue the program through March 1994. But action on the bill slowed as the Senate debated controversial amendments.

An amendment offered by Sen. Hank Brown (R-CO) would have established for the first time means testing for a social insurance program by denying benefits to anyone who had earned \$120,000 in the previous year. The AFL-CIO was opposed to the amendment because of the precedent it would set; allowing means testing for a social insurance program. But it was approved October 27 by a 52-43 vote. It was later dropped in conference and the bill was signed into law.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

6. Extended Unemployment Benefits/Federal Workforce Reduction

During consideration of the conference report on H.R. 3167 (see above) Sen. Phil Gramm (R-TX) made a motion to recommit the bill to conference with instructions to add an amendment which had been dropped in conference. The amendment mandated a 252,000 federal workforce reduction.

The AFL-CIO opposed the amendment because it could

seriously damage the federal workforce and the delivery of services. The Clinton administration had called for a similar reduction earlier in the year, but that reduction is expected to be achieved after careful consideration of its impact on the workers involved and the services they provide. The reduction will also follow consultation with the unions involved to develop a program of early retirement and buy outs. The Gramm amendment did not provide the opportunity for any such careful action and could have resulted in wholesale firings.

The motion to recommit failed November 20 by a 36-63 vote.

**FOR RECOMMITMENT—WRONG
AGAINST RECOMMITMENT—RIGHT**



The heart and soul of the grassroots campaign against NAFTA were the tens of thousands of union members who wrote or phoned their senators and representatives and who marched and rallied to try to defeat the jobs-killing trade deal. This rally took place in Dayton, Ohio.

7. NAFTA

In the past decade, hundreds of thousands of American workers have seen their factory doors slammed shut and their jobs shipped to Mexico, where U.S. firms set up new plants to take advantage of that nation's inexpensive labor pool and lax enforcement of workers' rights laws and workplace safety and environmental regulations. In some cases, U.S. workers have been told to crate up their manufacturing machinery and load it onto trucks headed for the border.

Before being voted out of office, President Bush completed negotiations for a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) which gave great protection to the investments American firms had already made in Mexico, while it offered no such protection for the U.S. workers or the political rights of workers in Mexico. It also reduced many tariffs and duties for trade between the three North American nations. That gives American firms an even larger inducement to ship their jobs to Mexico. As many as 500,000 American jobs are at stake.

President Clinton backed NAFTA, but said he would try to alleviate labor's concerns through a set of side agreements on worker rights and the environment and offered a new dislocated worker program. When completed, those provi-

sions provided little, if any, help for workers and citizens on either side of the border. The dislocated worker program was grossly inadequate.

A massive and heartfelt grassroots campaign against NAFTA led by union members captured the headlines of the nation's newspapers and almost overcame the power of the White House and corporate America. But the Senate approved the treaty November 20 61-38. It was later signed into law.

FOR—WRONG AGAINST—RIGHT

8. Family and Medical Leave

Many workers have risked their jobs when forced to take

time off for the birth or adoption of a child or to care for a sick child, spouse or parent. Unlike all other industrialized nations, the United States had no national policy on family leave. If a worker was not covered by a union contract, he or she had to depend on the whims of the employer for time off for serious family problems.

When the first family and medical leave legislation was introduced in 1985, the AFL-CIO stood firmly behind it. Like wage and hour laws and workplace safety mandates, the family leave standard should be considered a minimum labor standard. But two successful vetoes and massive resistance from the business community stalled the legislation for eight years.

The Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 (S. 5) was one of the first bills set for action in 1993. It allows workers at firms of 50 or more employees up to 12 weeks of unpaid, but job protected leave—for the birth or adoption of a child, the serious illness of a child, spouse, parent or the worker's own illness. In addition, the worker's health benefits continue during the leave.

The Senate passed the bill February 4 by a 71-27 vote. It was signed into law.

FOR—RIGHT AGAINST—WRONG

9. "Motor Voter"

The AFL-CIO has long backed improvement in federal election laws aimed at increasing voter turnout. One proven way to do that is to ease voter registration restrictions. Almost 40 percent of eligible voters are not registered. The main reason so many are not is the myriad of state regulations.

Voter turnout has been steadily decreasing for years. While the 1992 three-way presidential race generated a higher than usual turnout, most experts considered that an aberration. Most other nations have about an 80 percent voter turnout, but they also have some form of automatic voter registration.

S. 460 the "motor voter" bill requires states to establish procedures permitting citizens to register to vote when applying for drivers' licenses and various licenses and permits at state and federal offices. It also requires states to establish mail-in voter registration.

Republicans led a filibuster against the bill. A cloture motion, which requires a three-fifths majority to end a filibuster,

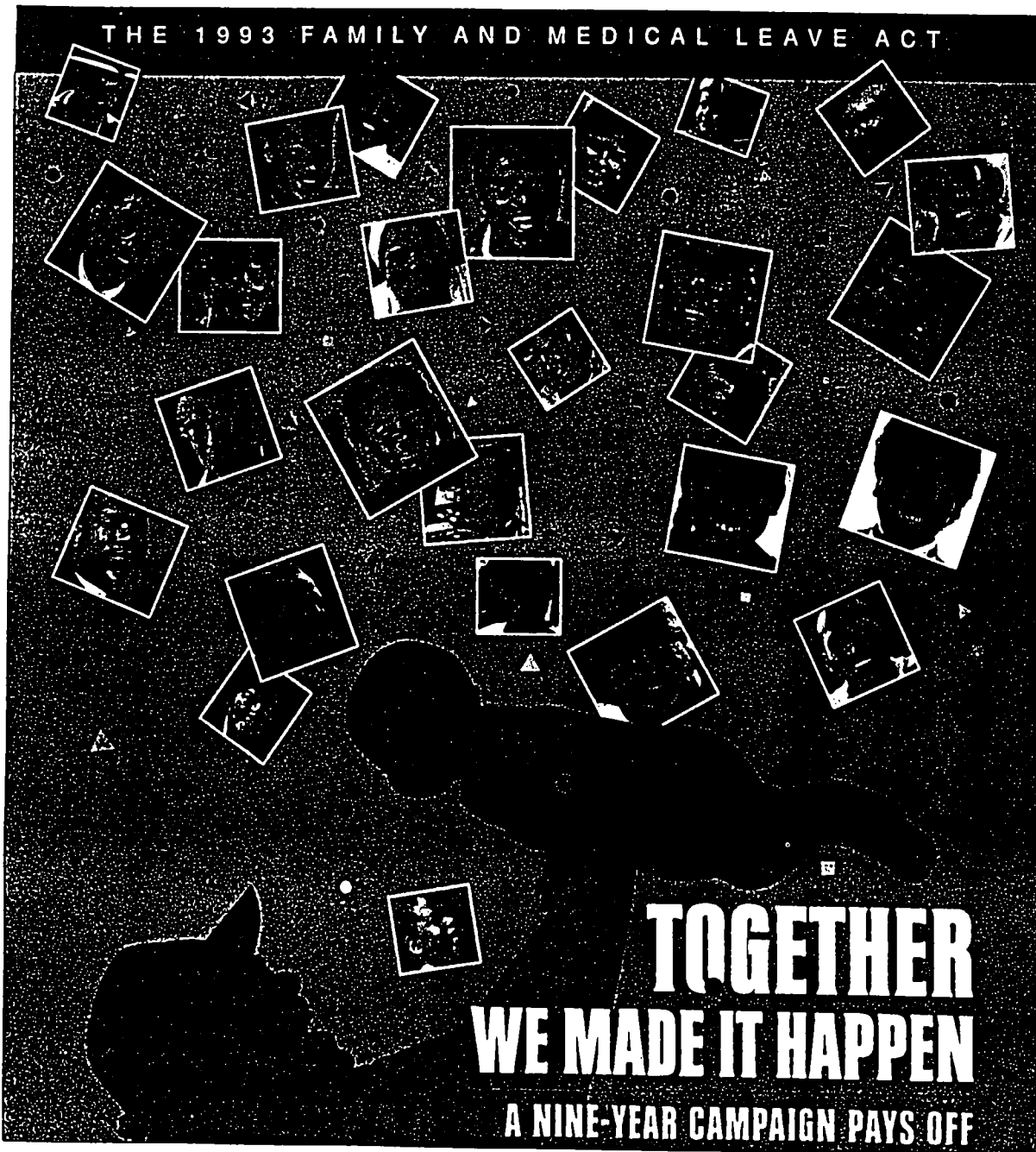
failed March 16 by a 59-41 vote. Cloture was achieved later in the spring and the bill was passed and signed into law.

**FOR CLOTURE—RIGHT
AGAINST CLOTURE—WRONG**

10. Campaign Finance Reform

For years the AFL-CIO has supported efforts to change federal election laws in an effort to clean up the way political campaigns are financed. Some of the reform ideas backed by the AFL-CIO include candidate expenditure and personal contribution limits, developing a public financing formula, closing current loopholes that are used to evade present contribution limits and an overall limit on the amount a candidate is permitted to accept in political action committee (PAC) contributions.

But the Senate version of proposed campaign finance



Hawaii

Akaka D (D) R R R R R R R R
 Inouye D (D) R R R R R R R R

Idaho

Craig L (R) W R W W W W R
 Kempthorne D (R) W W W W W W R

Illinois

Moseley-Braun C (D) R R R W R R W
 Simon P (D) R R R W W R W

Indiana

Coats D (R) W W W W W W W
 Lugar R (R) W W W W W W W

Iowa

Grassley C (R) W W W W W W W
 Harkin T (D) R R R W R R W

Kansas

Dole B (R) W W W W W W W
 Kassebaum N (R) W R W W W R W

Kentucky

Ford W (D) R R R R R R R
 McConnell M (R) W W W A W W W

Louisiana

Breaux J (D) R R R R R R W
 Johnston B (D) R R R R R R W

Maine

Cohen W (R) W W W R W R R
 Mitchell G (D) R R R R R R W

Maryland

Mikulski B (D) R R R R R R R
 Sarbanes P (D) R R R R R R R

Massachusetts

Kennedy E (D) R R R R R R W
 Kerry J (D) R R R R R R W

Michigan

Levin C (D) R R R R R R R
 Riegle D (D) R R R R R R R

Minnesota

Durenberger D (R) W R R W A W W
 Wellstone P (D) R R R W R R R

Mississippi

Cochran T (R) W W W R W W W
 Lott T (R) W W W R W W W

Missouri

Bond C (R) W W W W A W W
 Danforth J (R) W W W W W R W

Montana

Baucus M (D) R R R W R R W
 Burns C (R) W W W W W W R

Nebraska

Exon J (D) R R R W W R R
 Kerrey R (D) R R R W W R W

R R W R
 R R A R

W W W W
 W W W W

R R W R
 R R W R

R W R W
 W W W W

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ter A (R) W R R R W R W
 ord (D) R R R R R R R

Rhode Island

Chafee J (R) W R W W W R W
 Peil C (D) R R R R R R W

South Carolina

Hollings E (D) R R R R R R R
 Thurmond S (R) W W W W W W R

South Dakota

Daschle T (D) R R R R R R W
 Pressler L (R) W W W W W W W

Tennessee

Mathews H (D) R R R W R R W
 Sasser J (D) R R R R W R R

Texas

Gramm P (R) W W W W W W W
 Hutchinson K (R) I W W W W W W

Utah

Bennett R (R) W W W W W W W
 Hatch O (R) W W W W W W W

Vermont

Jeffords J (R) W R W W A R W
 Leahy P (D) R R R R R R W

Virginia

Robb C (D) R R R R R R W
 Warner J (R) W R W W W W W

Washington

Gorton S (R) W R R R W W W
 Murray P (D) R R R R R R W

West Virginia

Byrd R (D) R R R R R R R
 Rockefeller J (D) R R R R R R R

Wisconsin

Feingold R (D) R R R R R R R
 Kohl H (D) R R R W W R R

Wyoming

Simpson A (R) A W W W W W W
 Wallop M (R) W W W R W W W

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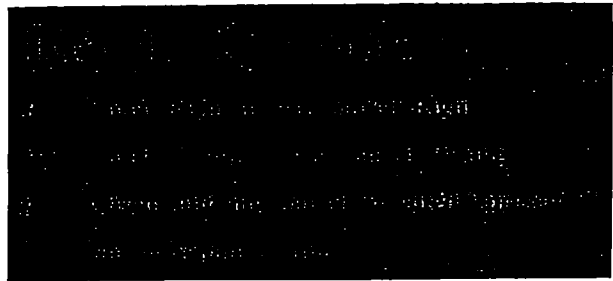
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8 Carr B (T)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
9 Klidde D	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
10 Bonior D	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
11 Knollenbe.	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
12 Levin S (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
13 Ford W (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
14 Conyers J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
15 Collins B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
16 Dingell J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

Minnesota

1 Penny T (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W
2 Minge D (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R
3 Ramstad J (R)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
4 Vento B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
5 Sabo M (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
6 Grams R (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
7 Peterson C (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
8 Oberstar J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

Mississippi

1 Whitten J (D)	R	R	R	W	R	A	W
2 Thompson B (D)	I	I	I	R	R	R	R
3 Montgomery G (D)	W	R	W	W	R	W	W
4 Parker M (D)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
5 Taylor G (D)	W	R	W	W	W	W	R

Missouri

1 Clay W (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
2 Talent J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	R
3 Gephardt R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4 Skelton I (D)	R	R	R	R	A	R	W
5 Wheat A (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
6 Danner P (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
7 Hancock M (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
8 Emerson B (R)	R	R	W	W	W	W	W
9 Volkmer H (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

Montana

1 Williams P (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
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Nebraska

1 Bereuter D (R)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
2 Hoagland P (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
3 Barrett B (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W

Nevada

1 Blübray J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
2 Vucanovich B (R)	W	R	W	W	W	W	R

New Hampshire

1 Zellitt B (R)	W	R	W	W	W	A	W
2 Swett D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

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R	R	R	R	R	100

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W	W	W	W	W	17
R	R	R	R	R	100

R	R	R	R	R	100
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R	R	R	R	R	83
W	W	W	W	W	0

R	R	R	R	R	100
W	W	W	W	W	17

W	W	W	W	W	9
R	R	W	R	W	83

Texas

1 Chapman J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
2 Wilson C (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3 Johnson S (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
4 Hall R (D)	W	R	W	W	W	W	R
5 Bryant J (D)	R	A	R	R	R	R	W
6 Barton J (R)	A	W	A	W	W	W	W
7 Archer B (R)	W	W	A	W	W	W	W
8 Fields J (R)	W	A	W	W	W	W	W
9 Brooks J (D)	A	R	R	R	R	R	R
10 Pickle J (D)	R	R	R	W	R	W	W
11 Edwards C (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W
12 Gera P (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W
13 Sarpalius B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
14 Laughlin G (D)	W	R	R	R	R	W	W
15 de la Garza E (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
16 Coleman R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
17 Stenholm C (D)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
18 Washington (D)	R	R	R	R	A	R	R
19 Combett L (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
20 Gonzalez H (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
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24 Frost M (D)	R	R	R	R	A	R	W
25 Andrews M (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
26 Arney D (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
27 Ortiz S (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
28 Tejeda F (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
29 Green G (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
30 Johnson E (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W

Utah

1 Hansen J (R)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
2 Shepherd K (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
3 Orton B (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R

Vermont

AL Sanders B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
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Virginia

1 Bateman H (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
2 Pickett O (D)	W	R	W	R	R	R	R
3 Scott R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4 Stitsky N (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R
5 Payne L (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	W
6 Goodlatte R (R)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
7 Bliley T (R)	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
8 Moran J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
9 Boucher R (D)	R	R	R	A	R	R	R
10 Wolf F (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
11 Byrne L (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

Washington

1 Cantwell M (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
2 Swift A (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3 Unsoeld J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4 Inslee J (D)	W	R	R	R	R	R	W
5 Foley T (D)	S	S	S	S	S	S	W
6 Dicks N (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
7 McDermott J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
8 Dunn J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
9 Kreidler M (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W

West Virginia

1 Mollohan A (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
2 Wise B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3 Rahall N (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

Wisconsin

1 Barca P (D)	I	I	I	R	R	R	R
2 Klug S (R)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
3 Gunderson S (R)	W	R	W	W	R	R	W
4 Kleczka G (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
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7 Obey D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
8 Roth T (R)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
9 Sensenbrenner F (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W

Wyoming

AL Thomas C (R)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
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W	W	W	W	W	0
W	R	R	R	R	83
W	W	W	W	W	0
W	R	R	R	R	83
W	R	R	R	R	100
W	R	R	R	R	92

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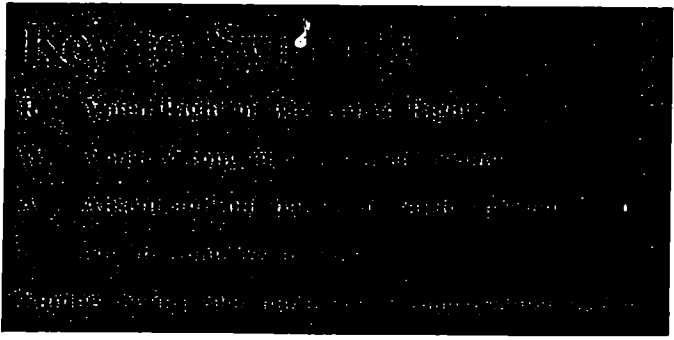
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W	W	W	W	W	17	13
R	R	R	R	R	92	83
R	R	R	R	R	100	84
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R	R	R	R	R	100	100

R	R	R	R	W	83	83
R	R	R	R	R	92	84
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S	S	R	S	R	67	80
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COPE & AGJ

Divider Title: _____

February 17, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL BURTON
SUBJECT: COPE ON AGJ

Your voting record with the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education has been outstanding in recent years.

Since 1977, your COPE ratings have increased steadily. At no time have they fallen below 70 percent. From 1986 onward, your voting record agreed with their agenda at least 86 percent of the time. In 1992, you received a 100 percent rating. (This number should be handled with caution, however, because this figure encompasses the campaign, during which time you only were able to vote on only three of the seven issues they scored.)

A graph showing your COPE ratings is attached.

In your last four years in the Senate, you cast what COPE considered "Wrong" votes on four occasions. The votes were on the following issues: (1) A Dixon amendment to the FSX deal in 1989; (2) increased CAFE standards in 1990; (3) NAFTA Fast Track; and (4) campaign finance reform, also in 1991. You are listed as having no "Wrong" votes in 1992.

AGJ'S "WRONG" VOTES--1989-92

1989 FSX Sale

The Senate rejected a Dixon amendment to FSX legislation that would have banned the transfer of aviation-related technology. Such an amendment would have had the effect of killing the deal. As you recall, the FSX deal was a joint U.S.-Japanese effort to develop a new generation of advanced combat fighter aircraft. The AFL-CIO opposed the deal because the union believed the effort would cost thousands

of American jobs and allow the Japanese to acquire U.S. technology to develop their own aerospace industry

You voted against the highly restrictive Dixon amendment, which the AFL-CIO supported, but which ultimately failed; *however, on a separate vote, you favored overriding a Bush veto of legislation requiring less restrictive prohibitions--this legislation being supported by the AFL-CIO* . The veto override failed.

1990 Increased CAFE Standards.

On the assumption that Senator Bryan's proposed auto fuel efficiency requirements would be so strict as to cause domestic plant closings, the AFL-CIO opposed this measure. You voted to close debate on Bryan's bill; the cloture vote failed.

1991 NAFTA Fast-Track

The AFL-CIO opposed Fast Track for NAFTA; you voted against a Hollings resolution that would have denied this authority.

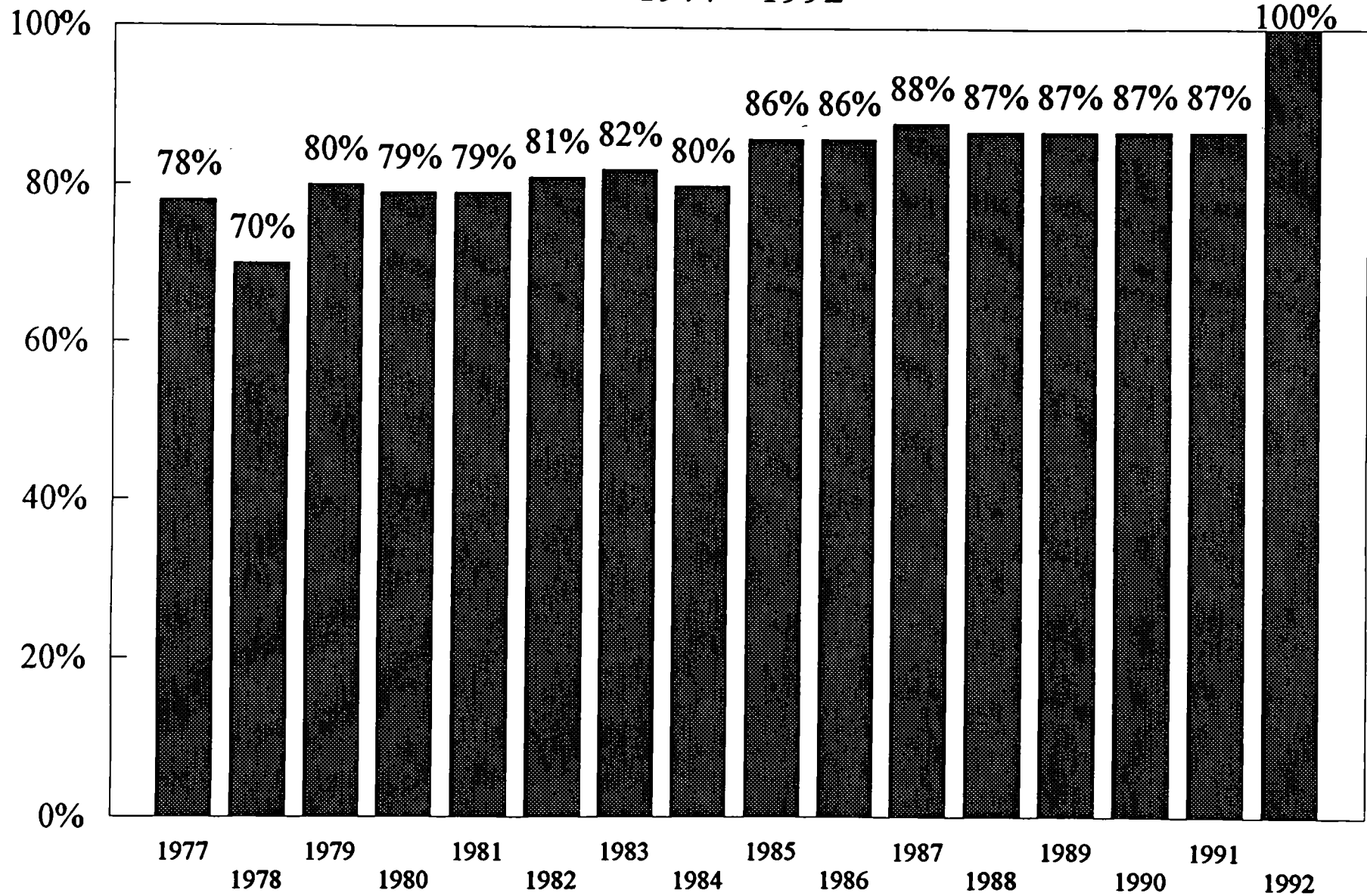
Campaign Finance Reform

The Senate sought to reform campaign finance by, among other things, eliminating PAC contributions. The AFL-CIO views union PACs as a countervailing answer to the massive financial power of wealthy individuals, and thus opposed the bill. You voted in favor of reform.

1992 No "Wrong Votes."

COPE on AGJ

1977 - 1992



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Senate-ERA Work on Labor

Divider Title: _____



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

M E M O R A N D U M

DATE: February 17, 1994
TO: The Vice President
FROM: Bill Mason, Director of Correspondence *BM*
RE: Senate-Era Work on Labor

For your reference, I have attached three items illustrative of your work on behalf of labor during your tenure as Senator.

Most significant of these was your support--as an original cosponsor--of the plant closing bill. Your Congressional Record statement of June 22, 1988, was very well received by labor, and we reprinted it for general distribution. This was considered the biggest labor issue of that year, and the bill passed over strenuous Republican opposition. You returned from the campaign for votes on the bill at the urging of labor.

The letter and press release attached simply illustrate your personal interest in worker issues at the local level in Tennessee.



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 100th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 134

WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 22, 1988

No. 93

Senate

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I am pleased to be an original cosponsor of S. 2527, the Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act, to require advance notification of plant closings and layoffs. This measure is identical to that which both Houses of Congress approved as part of the trade bill earlier this year. I congratulate the distinguished Senator from Ohio (Mr. METZENBAUM) and the majority leader for pushing ahead with this bill, a modest but necessary step toward fair treatment for the working people of this Nation.

I have been a supporter of advance notification from the start. I cosponsored the original legislation, a much stronger version, that was introduced in February of last year. When the trade bill was being considered, the sponsors of the advance notification provision agreed to a much more modest version. Concession after concession was made to meet, I think unfounded, objections.

We shortened the notification period for closings or mass layoffs to just 60 days, down from a much longer period for large companies. We raised the small business exemption; excluded the layoff of seasonal and part-time employees; exempted businesses which were seeking capital or customers to keep going and which feared notification would hurt those prospects; and deleted an information disclosure requirement.

The result was a very mild, and perfectly reasonable, requirement that employers give just 60 days notice if they are going to close down a plant or layoff a huge number of employees. The Senate refused to delete this provision from the trade bill by a 60 to 40 vote. We acknowledged that reasonable advance notification was a matter of basic fairness and common human decency.

But, as we all know, the President of the United States vetoed the trade bill because of this advance notification provision. That veto, for that reason, demonstrates probably more than any other action by this President his contempt for the working men and women of this country. It was a slap in the face to anyone who puts in an honest day's work in the United States of America. This administration spends more time protecting the interests of plant workers overseas than it

does looking after the interests of the people who have made America what it is today. This President will give Noriega all the advance notification he wants, and cut a deal in the process; but he says, "tough luck" to the American garment worker or assembly line employee about to lose his job.

Mr. President, between 1981 and 1986, companies laid off almost 11 million Americans. Production workers all across this Nation—people with bills to pay and dependent families—were suddenly without work in a market woefully lacking in manufacturing jobs. About one-fourth of all workers, blue collar and white collar, receive no notice of a workplace closing. And only 26 percent get more than 30 days' notice. The United States of America is the only major industrialized country without a law requiring employers to notify their employees before closing down a workplace.

A major study published by the Department of Labor recommended a number of procedures for successful re-employment and retraining programs. It is important to note that all successful programs cited by the Labor Department included advance notice of layoffs. The study found almost no evidence of disruptions, theft, loss of customers, or declining productivity after notification.

Mr. President, it is unfortunate that many of the benefits available to American workers are not realized because they do not receive adequate advance notice when a workplace is planning to close. There seems to be a general consensus on the need for more investment in programs for job search services, vocational training, basic education, relocation assistance, adequate unemployment benefits, income support during retraining, and similar efforts. But the resources reserved for such benefits will often go for nought because of the lack of an advance notice requirement.

Clearly, advance notice would contribute to increased participation in various worker adjustment programs, significant declines in unemployment and under-employment for dislocated workers, easier adjustment to what might otherwise be a wrenching change in affected communities, and substantial savings in unemployment insurance costs.

Mr. President, the time has long passed when an employer should be allowed to withhold information simply because the corporation wants to avoid public scrutiny of its decision or public pressure to cushion the impact.

Opponents of advance notification have been active. They even claim that this legislation would prevent them from closing their plants or laying off workers. Of course, that is not true. If business circumstances not reasonably foreseeable occur, a company does not have to comply with the provisions of this bill. No company is compelled to change any business decision. The free-market system is not assaulted. The South is not unfairly penalized, as some have maintained. All that is required is that companies let their employees know what is going to happen to their jobs. I fail to see what is unreasonable about that.

Mr. President, some say that this bill constitutes Government interference. How interesting that is. I doubt that there is a single Member of this body who has not participated in some way in his or her State's effort to recruit a new industry. And we all know what is involved in recruiting a new plant. When the company wants (and gets) a new road, or an industrial park site already equipped with sewer and utility connections, or a property tax break, or State-sponsored training and recruiting programs, or any number of other incentives—that is "good government."

But when a community has invested all of this in a company—indeed when a community has staked its economic future on a plant operation—it is called government interference when it simply asks for 60 days notice that the plant is going to close its doors, fire everybody, throw hundreds of people onto the unemployment rolls, destroy the tax base and the community's disposable income, and disrupt the lives of the employees and their families.

Mr. President, that logic won't wash. The American people overwhelmingly support this measure. It is time for us to do the right thing and pass this advance notification bill.

Legislative Asst:
Bill Mason

News from Senator

ALBERT GORE JR.**(D - Tennessee) SR 393 Russell Building, Washington, D.C. 20510**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
April 14, 1988CONTACT: Bill Mason
(202) 224-4944**GORE ASKS BURLINGTON INDUSTRIES TO HELP MOUNTAIN CITY**

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- U.S. Senator Albert Gore Jr. (D-TN) has asked Burlington Industries to provide a package of employee and community benefits to cushion the impact of the impending closing of the company's Mountain City facility.

In a letter to Frank S. Greenberg, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Burlington Industries, Gore requested "more in the way of benefits and assistance to the individual employees and to the community than what has been offered."

Burlington announced plans late last month to close its Mountain City plant, which manufactures textured polyester apparel fabrics, by the end of September, with 350 employees in Johnson County losing their jobs.

Gore said the plant closing will be "a devastating blow to the community," and the limited benefits available to the employees are not sufficient. Burlington has offered employees some severance pay and their normal retirement allowances, and no help has been offered to the general community.

"Johnson County has an already depressed economy, and the loss of 350 jobs will push the unemployment rate beyond 25 percent," Gore told Greenberg in the letter.

"The loss of income, purchasing power, and the other positive benefits of an industrial operation will also hurt the entire community and services to the people who live there. This plant closing will have an impact on Mountain City well beyond that which might be expected of a facility this size."

For direct employee benefits, Gore suggested generous severance pay, weighted in favor of those with longer service; early retirement for employees in their 50s, "those who have been employed by Burlington for 15-20 years and will have the hardest time finding new employment;" and full protection and provision of all retirement benefits and pension funds.

In the area of medical benefits, Gore requested transitional benefits in the form of group-rate insurance premiums for an extended period for any employee who remains out of work; lifetime coverage for employees over 55; and guaranteed medical coverage for those with pre-existing major illnesses.

To assist with job training and relocation, Gore asked Burlington to provide job training assistance through a retraining allowance; first choice to fill job openings at other Burlington facilities; an aggressive program of job placement assistance; and a relocation allowance.

Gore also requested "professional assistance, including legal help, with the employee petition for Trade Adjustment Assistance (TAA), which provides extended unemployment benefits for workers who lose their jobs because of import pressures.

Even though Burlington does not plan to sell or lease the Mountain City plant, Gore urged Burlington to find another company to occupy the facility and provide new jobs.

"I would, of course, like to see Burlington return, but the economic situation in Johnson County makes the prospect of an empty facility an undesirable one," Gore said.

The Senator also asked for reasonable payments, including property taxes and utility allowances, to make up for lost revenues to the city and county; and a continuation of United Way contributions for such organizations as the Boy and Girl Scouts and the Red Cross.

Gore noted that he cannot require Burlington to make any concessions, and he said he does not question the business decision to shut down the plant. Burlington has faced increased import pressures, and it carries a heavy debt burden after a recent takeover battle.

But Burlington is a Fortune 500 Company, well able to step up to its responsibilities to Mountain City, which has "provided a good climate and enthusiastic support for Burlington over the past two decades," he said.

#####

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 25, 1986

Mr. Mike Stanley, President
United Rubber Workers, Local 878
P. O. Box 584
Union City, Tennessee 38261

Dear Mr. Stanley:

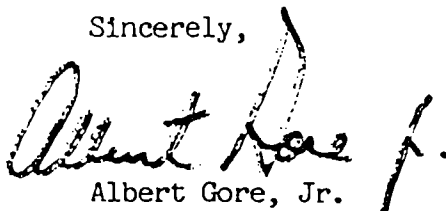
Thank you for stopping by my office to discuss the possible takeover of the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company and to deliver a petition from the employees at the Union City plant. I agree that acquisition of the company by the Goldsmith group would raise serious concerns not only about the jobs directly affected in Tennessee, but also about the nation's economic structure and security.

Apparently, the Goldsmith takeover attempt has been averted by Goodyear. It is my understanding that the company bought out Goldsmith's holdings for \$616.3 million and will now proceed with a restructuring program -- including the sale of three subsidiaries, an early retirement program, and wide-ranging cost cuts. Officials at Goodyear have told me that there is no direct threat to the employees at Union City in terms of layoffs in the foreseeable future.

While I am pleased that the Tennessee operation will continue, I remain concerned about the situation. Goodyear is a successful and highly competitive company. The unfriendly takeover attempt forced Goodyear to spend a huge amount of money to buy stock, sell off profitable subsidiaries which provide a "buffer" against the uncertainties of the automobile industry, and concentrate on short-term rather than long-term policies for growth and expansion.

Legislation probably will be considered sometime next year to limit or prohibit unfriendly takeovers of this type. I intend to study closely the provisions of any such proposals, and I will bear this episode in mind. I appreciate your assistance and support, and I look forward to working with you in the effort to protect the best interests of Tennessee's working men and women.

Sincerely,



Albert Gore, Jr.
U. S. Senator

AG/wem

GORE RECORD ON LABOR

- Gore cosponsored the Family and Medical Leave Act.
- Voted to expand appropriations for Head Start, child support enforcement, family violence prevention, and Pell Grants.
- Voted for the Workplace Fairness Act to ban permanent replacement of striking workers and preserve the collective bargaining process.
- Voted for Unemployment Compensation which provides an additional 13 weeks of extended benefits to unemployed workers.
- Cosponsored the Child Welfare and Preventive Services Act which amends the titles of the Social Security Act to establish innovative child welfare and family support services in order to strengthen families.

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VP Labor Correspondence

Divider Title: _____



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

M E M O R A N D U M

DATE: February 17, 1994
TO: The Vice President
FROM: Bill Mason, Director of Correspondence *BM*
RE: Labor-Related Correspondence

Organized labor does not generate a great deal of correspondence to the Office of the Vice President. The one exception concerned the Railroad Retirement program, which is discussed below. Even the mail on NAFTA had a small fraction specifically geared to labor concerns about the agreement. (Environmental concerns were more prominent.) Actual figures on NAFTA mail since October 1:

general concerns about NAFTA/pro and con	2,585
praise of the VP's NAFTA debate performance	1,015
environmental concerns about NAFTA	263
** labor objections to NAFTA	139
** concerns about NAFTA sending textile jobs to Mexico	82

So the letters we have received on NAFTA specifically geared to organized labor have been very few, slightly more than 200 total.

As for other, more generalized, labor issues, the mail also has been very light. Actual figures on other labor-oriented mail since October 1:

concerns about American plants going overseas	122
specifically about a plant closing in the community	73
general pro-growth letters, "we need jobs"	57
striker replacement bill - con	19
striker replacement bill - pro	10
general support for unions	8

So this was a very small percentage (4/10s of 1%) of the nearly 75,000 letters we produced in this period.

Two very specific labor issues have generated correspondence to this office: 1) the Railroad Retirement Board issue, and 2) concerns about the effect of the federal recycling standards on paper mills in Maine.

(more)

Labor Mail Memorandum
Bill Mason
page 2

The issue of reforming the Railroad Retirement Program has generated a huge volume of mail, virtually all of it opposed to the NPR proposal on this issue. Much of this was in the form of company-and union-organized mail campaigns. To date, we have responded to 17,079 letters on this issue, by far one of the biggest issues of your Vice Presidency. (Attached is some related correspondence and a labor position paper.)

Much smaller in volume, we have responded to 257 letters from members of the United Paperworkers International Union in Maine, all of whom were concerned about the effect of the federal recycling order if recycled waste sawdust was not allowed to meet the requirements for content. Partly through the intervention of Senator Mitchell, the final order allowed paper manufactured from waste sawdust to be considered a recycled product, provided that the sawdust would otherwise be disposed of in a landfill (as determined by the state). This had the effect of removing any threat to the union jobs at the Maine papermills.

Also attached for your reference are sample letters from labor. We have generally responded with letters reinforcing your support for labor and assuring the writers of the intentions of this Administration to pursue "policies that promote the shared goals of American workers and management and which strengthen the ability of our businesses and industry to compete successfully in the world's economy."

NATIONAL RAILWAY LABOR CONFERENCE

1901 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036/AREA CODE: 202-862-7200 FAX: 202-862-7230

OCT 13 1993

CHARLES I. HOPKINS, Jr.

Chairman

G. F. DANIELS
Vice Chairman

D. P. LEE
Vice Chairman and
General Counsel

R. P. ORIGER
Director of Labor Relations

September 24, 1993

The Honorable Albert E. Gore
Vice President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Vice President:

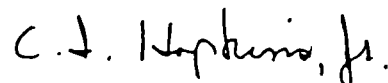
As chief negotiator for rail management's bargaining arm, the National Railway Labor Conference, I write to express our deep concern over those recommendations of the National Performance Review Committee directed to the operations of the Railroad Retirement Board. These operations represent the financial life line for most rail workers at the conclusions of their active railroad careers as well as providing an indispensable safety net for many workers confronted by sudden and often prolonged economic adversity during their work life. Threats to these systems are of deep concern to rail management as well as, I am sure, rail labor.

Therefore, we urge with all the force at our command that there be no effort to act on such recommendations, at this time. Rather, that there be a full and fair opportunity for the analysis, study and input by the affected parties that they deserve and that have not been allowed to date. Indeed, the recommendations are so unclear in many respects as to amount only to ideas rather than legislative proposals, stemming we presume from certain fragments of the reports of the prior Commissions. There is nothing to indicate that any of them will save and not cost taxpayers' money or avoid burdening the industry or severely impacting retired or unemployed railroad workers. The recommendations on railroad retirement, taken to the extreme, could add billions to the federal deficit and sink the industry with an immediate liability of more than \$30 billion.

We must oppose recommendations that have not been subjected to thoroughgoing analysis by anyone, least of all the affected parties, and that hold the potential for undermining venerable and venerated statutory guarantees. At the same time we do not consider ourselves as opposed to change or to initiatives to cut the cost of government. Rather, the industry supports the goal of cutting government waste.

We ask that you give these concerns most serious consideration.

Yours very truly,



C.I. Hopkins, Jr.

UTU AND RAIL LABOR'S VIEW

- * MR. VICE PRESIDENT, RAIL LABOR IS OUTRAGED. WE REPRESENT AN OUTRAGED MEMBERSHIP. THEY FEEL BETRAYED.
- * WE WENT TO THE MAT AND PUSHED OUR MEMBERSHIP TO GET THE CLINTON/GORE ADMINISTRATION ELECTED.
- * IN RETURN, YOU DID NOT GIVE US THE MEREST DECENCY OR COURTESY OF AN OPPORTUNITY TO RESPOND ON OUR RETIREMENT ISSUE BEFORE YOU ISSUED YOUR REPORT.
- * WE WILL OPPOSE THIS PLAN ON THE HILL WITH EVERY MEANS AT OUR DISPOSAL. THAT WILL HURT THE ENTIRE NPR. THAT IS TRAGIC.
- * THIS RAILROAD RETIREMENT PROPOSAL MAY BE FRESH AND NEW TO YOU. NOT TO US. WE'VE LIVED WITH IT FOR 12 YEARS - SO HAVE THE PEOPLE WHO SOLD THE IDEA TO YOU. IT'S CALLED REAGANOMICS, PURE AND SIMPLE.
- * MR. VICE PRESIDENT, YOUR PLAN ATTACKS THE MOST CHERISHED ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE ENTIRE HISTORY OF RAIL LABOR -- OUR RETIREMENT PLAN.
- * OUR STATUTORY PLAN - WHICH WE PAY FOR - WORKS. IN ITS PLACE YOU PROPOSE AN UNWORKABLE CONCOCTION WHICH IS \$34 BILLION IN THE HOLE. IT WILL LEAD TO BENEFIT REDUCTIONS DOWN THE ROAD -- WE BOTH KNOW THAT.
- * WE KNOW THERE'S NOT TWO-CENTS OF SAVINGS, NO EFFICIENCY, OR ANY OTHER BENEFIT. YOU'RE PUTTING 1.5 MILLION PEOPLE AT RISK FOR A DROP IN THE OCEAN OF CHANGE. THE IMBALANCE IS UNCONSCIONABLE.
- * MR. VICE PRESIDENT, FOR MANY IN RAIL LABOR, ACTIVE AND RETIRED, THIS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT FIGHT OF OUR LIVES -- WE NEVER THOUGHT IT WOULD HAVE TO BE FOUGHT AGAINST THIS ADMINISTRATION.

INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF

Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators

OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

BRIEN CASEY
PRESIDENTJOHN BISHOP
SECRETARY TREASURERJ. SCOTT SMITH
BUSINESS REPRESENTATIVE

LOCAL



NO. 631

1206 33RD STREET
ORLANDO, FLORIDA 32805(407) 422-2747
FAX: (407) 843-9170

April 26, 1993

Mr. Albert Gore
Vice President of the United States
Blair House
1700 Jackson Place NW
Washington, DC 20019

Dear Vice President Gore:

As I am sure you know, the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators (IASTE) represents employees throughout the entertainment industry. Here, in Orlando, I.A.T.S.E., Local 631 represents such employees in the Central Florida area.

Recently, numerous employees of Universal Studios Florida approached Local 631 about organizing the Universal facility in Orlando. Universal responded with a vicious anti-union campaign. The National Labor Relations Board is currently prosecuting Universal for its pervasive violations of the act. A copy of the governments complaint is attached for your review.

Out of deference to you, and in recognition of your long record at supporting working people and their labor organizations, local 631 elected not to picket or handbill Universal Studios while you were there. However, because your visit to Universal Studios, at the same time the Federal Government is prosecuting Universal Studios for extensive unfair labor practices, could be misinterpreted, we respectfully request that you write and tell us about your position in this matter.

We thank you in advance for you support.

Respectfully,

James Scott Smith
Business Representative

JSS/smr

LOCAL 715

SEP 22 1993

RAY WISEMAN - PRESIDENT
 GUY WOODBURN - VICE PRESIDENT
 HERB ANDERSON - SECRETARY
 ERIN DALLAS - TREASURER

P. O. BOX 237
 WOODBURN, INDIANA
 TELEPHONES
 219-632-4816
 219-632-4348

September 15, 1993

Albert Gore
 Vice President United States
 Capitol Bldg.
 Washington, DC 20510

Dear Vice President Gore,

Enclosed you will find a copy of the message that was directed to Michelin, the membership of URW Local 715, and the General Public, which was written by Ray E. Wiseman, President of URW Local 715.

URW Local 715 represents the wage workers at the Uniroyal Goodrich Ft. Wayne, Indiana Tire Plant and is a party to the Master Language which covers the 1,800 wage employees at the Uniroyal Goodrich Ft. Wayne, Indiana Tire Plant, the 2,000 wage employees at the Uniroyal Goodrich Tuscaloosa, Alabama Tire Plant, and the 1,800 wage employees at the Uniroyal Goodrich Opelika, Alabama Tire Plant.

In 1989, the Uniroyal Goodrich Tire Company, which is headquartered in Akron, Ohio, was purchased by the Michelin Groupe, a French owned company. The enclosed communication from President Wiseman details what has happened to the Uniroyal Goodrich employees and the factories that they work or worked in, since the French owned Michelin Groupe purchased the North American Uniroyal Goodrich Tire Company.

If you can be of any assistance, in helping to combat what the French owned Michelin Groupe is doing to the American worker and to the Unionized Uniroyal Goodrich Tire Plants in North America, please contact URW International President Kenneth L. Coss, at URW International Headquarters located at 570 White Pond Drive, Akron, Ohio 44320-1156 or phone 216-869-0320, or contact URW Local 715 President Ray E. Wiseman at P.O. Box 237, Woodburn, Indiana 46797 or phone 219-632-4816.

We are asking for any assistance that you may be able to provide us, in our quest for fair and equitable treatment. I thank you in advance for any help that you may be able to provide us.

Very truly yours,

Ray E. Wiseman
 Ray E. Wiseman, President
 U.R.C.L.P.W.A. Local 715





Local 336
I.B.E.W.

JAN - 6 1994

1319 Butterfield Rd., Suite 504
Downers Grove, Illinois 60515
(708) 960-4466
Fax No. (708) 960-9607

January 5, 1994

ALBERT J. FRANZEN
President-Business Manager
DONALD L. MOSELEY
Vice President
LARRY J. MOELLER
Recording Secretary-Treasurer
IRA DEAN SPENCER
Financial Secretary

The Honorable Albert Gore
Vice President of the United States
Capitol Building S-212
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Vice President Gore:

I listened with interest to your address to the National Press Club concerning the new information superhighway and the need to protect universal service and simultaneously address the needs of business. You also spoke about the need for free and open competition under legal, regulatory and financial restraints.

As the President-Business Manager of Local 336, I.B.E.W., I represent approximately 6,000 members employed in the telecommunications industry including members employed by various cable television companies. I have supported deregulation of the telecommunications industry and expressed my views to the FCC and Congress (copy enclosed).

It is and has been your position that deregulation and the need for the information superhighway will be good for our nation, inasmuch as it will stimulate the U.S. economy as a whole and will result in high tech, well paying jobs. I agree.

However, the convergence of voice and video could, in fact, jeopardize essential and the proposed enhanced universal service if regional holding companies are not allowed to play a part in cable and interactive services. Cable companies and Competitive Access Providers have, since the divestiture of AT&T, demonstrated that they are only interested and have only selected the most lucrative markets. As more competition enters the communication market, they will inevitably reduce the profitability, and therefore, the ability of the regional holding companies to invest in the existing network. Long term, existing plant will deteriorate and the inability or unwillingness of Regional Holding Companies to invest in new outside plant could force them to lease facilities for telephone service from an "unregulated subsidiary" or other providers at an unregulated rate, thus driving up the cost of basic service to all.

Vice President Gore
January 5, 1994
Page 2

If deregulation/re-regulation does not occur in the near future, existing telephone companies will be forced into a position that would require them to create separate "unregulated subsidiaries" to accomplish that end. And the very people who have brought the benefits of telecommunication for the last hundred years, will be left in the dust. As these new enterprises build the necessary infrastructure--the RHCs will not continue to invest capital in the plant, but lease facilities from these new providers for current and future telecommunications needs, potentially causing loss of job and wages to these "new providers". Communities perceived as remote or undesirable could be left behind, or worse, would not be able to be serviced or maintained by telephone companies who will no longer have the capital to improve or maintain their plant due to the inevitable market share loss in the more lucrative markets. However, if the existing RHCs provide these services, it will secure current jobs into the future and additional individuals will enjoy the benefits negotiated for them into this bright bold future. If separated, companies could choose to serve only markets of their choice, and your vision of universal access to these superhighways to all Americans could vanish.

Unbundling the existing network would not restrict competitors from building their own network, but would allow other providers an opportunity to participate, and encourages RHCs not to abandon the current network, and in effect, (abandon) their current employees. Unbundling the networks, further provides the synergies of using the capacity of fiber to its fullest and access to any service providers, including the regional holding companies, who choose to enter the cable television, telephone, or Info Service markets, on an equal basis.

You appropriately drew the analogy of the information highway to harbors, railroads and highways. Just as it is impractical and uneconomical to create more right of way for rail or roadway then necessary, it is equally impractical and uneconomical to replicate a fiber network for each provider, which would return us to the chaos of 100 networks in the same city, as was the case in the early telephone years, that lead us to current regulation. Similarly, lack of regulation in the early days of railroading lead to monopolistic abuse and later stifling regulation which ended in deregulation of a gutted industry. It is important that we not repeat the mistakes of history. We should enhance the current networks as opposed to creating new separate network(s).

Creating a new network, the inability to provide a network, or limited access to the necessary "right of way" for other competitive networks could freeze many potentially great information providers out of the picture.

Vice President Gore
 January 5, 1994
 Page 3

Providing access to existing network through Network Interface Device, as current regulation requires, along with the unbundling that the "Ameritech Customer First" plan provides would open the network to all interested parties on an equal basis.

RHCs creating their own Info Service, Cable Television networks should be required to use the same network and not be allowed to bypass their own pipe, through a separate subsidiary, as many regional holding companies are currently doing, essentially and unnecessarily replicating outside plant facilities, undermining universal service and existing labor agreements.

We are finally at a point in our history where advanced technology has the potential of creating many well-paying jobs in America as opposed to reducing the work force, as we have already experienced. Let's not make the mistake in which regulation structures the way our industries must enter these markets, that could result in lower-paying jobs than those that exist today where the work that will be performed is similar, if not identical, in nature.

Your goals as stated:

1. Encourage private investment
2. Promote and protect competition
3. Open Access
4. Avoid a society of haves and have nots
5. Encourage the flexibility that will allow access to who want the ability to do so
6. Universal Access

Conclusion: Require local operating companies to provide the network to the Network Interface Device and offer access on an unbundled equal access basis. This will serve our country, the various providers, business and citizens well, as well as assure the continued employment of people currently employed and provide for additional opportunity for other service providers.

It is important that you and the Legislature recognize the enormous technological, economic, competitive, political and regulatory changes in the telecommunications industry.

Without relief from regulation, local exchange telephone operations will be forced by financial considerations to abandon being full service information age providers to provide utility based POTS (Plain Old Telephone Service) only.

All businesses survive on their communication services which are vital to make their business prosper; which will expand

Vice President Gore
January 5, 1994
Page 4

employment as well as impact the quality of education, health care and everyone's home life in the U.S.

6,000 members of our local are employed and have invested their lives in the world's finest communication business. If these companies abandon further investment into new products and services, it will result in the loss of jobs as well as slowing technical advances in the industry.

It is important that telephone companies in U.S. be allowed to offer services unrestricted by regulation for the betterment of the home and business environments which will allow faster deployment of new technologies as they evolve.

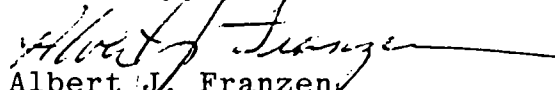
The existing local exchanges have proven themselves as the best communication network in the world; don't restrict them with regard to enhanced services which they can provide and cripple the U.S.' communication advantage with continued regulation.

The companies need the flexibility to use their existing structure to pursue future opportunities without regulatory restraints. It is essential that the ability of the telephone companies to compete effectively, to attract investment, to maintain quality service at reasonable rates, to extend the full benefits of the Information Age in the U.S., and provide continued employment at decent wages, should be a priority of all legislators.

On behalf of our membership I ask your support on this important issue and would appreciate and share your point of view on this issue with them.

If you need any clarification as to my reasoning, please contact me. I would consider it a privilege to do so.

Sincerely,



Albert J. Franzen
President-Business Manager

AJF:co

Encl.

cc: FCC Chairman, Reed Hundt
Telecommunication and Finance Subcommittee Chairman, Ed Markey
IBEW Int'l President, J. J. Barry
IBEW 6th Dist. V.P., James Conway



Local 336
J.B.E.W.

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ALBERT J. FRANZEN
President-Business Manager
DONALD L. MOSELEY
Vice President
LARRY J. MOELLER
Recording Secretary-Treasurer
IRA DEAN SPENCER
Financial Secretary

June 8, 1993

Secretary
Federal Communications Commission
1919 M. Street, NW
Washington, DC 20554

Re: *In the Matter of a Petition for a Declaratory Ruling and Related Waivers to
Establish a New Regulatory Model for the Ameritech Region.*

Dear Sir:

Local 336, IBEW, represents 5973 members employed in the telecommunications industry.

Regulation reform is a matter of serious concern for our members employed by Illinois Bell, Indiana Bell and Ameritech among others.

We continue to see an ever increasing number of competitors entering every market niche in the services we provide. Our regulated business is being bypassed by alternate providers of: high capacity services; private lines; pay phone; cellular; personal communication networks; 800 service; intraLATA long distance; equipment features; and yes, even plain old dial tone.

These communications services are now being offered by a wide variety of companies, many of which have the technology, knowledge and financing to become dominate players in the information age.

Our companies are required to provide service to anyone within their service area; yet, regulators allow these alternate providers to serve only those customers and markets they select, and they are selecting only the most profitable markets.

Current Regulation and the subsequent lack of pricing flexibility places our companies at a distinct disadvantage as we attempt to service those same markets.

It is imperative that our companies be allowed to be competitive, dynamic, and at minimum, be provided equal treatment that will potentially allow us to maintain the business we have served for 100 years.

Certainly, we currently have a healthy industry and a healthy company in the forefront

Secretary, FCC
Page 2

June 8, 1993

of technology today; but we can fall behind if regulation doesn't keep pace. Thirty-five states have already modified traditional Regulation in some way.

The question isn't "Will new services and technologies be offered" but "by whom and how quickly". We have been here and we're ready now. This is and has been our life's work.

This issue is not only about jobs maintained but jobs to be created. We telecommunications people in the I.B.E.W. have dedicated our careers to making our industry the best in the world. We should not be restrained from sharing in the bright bold future of the information age that we have made possible.

It is in the best interest of the public, our members and our companies, that we be allowed to compete on a equal basis, and we encourage you to support us in this effort. We have served our communities well and should be allowed fair access to the very customers we serve today. It is imperative that our companies and, therefore, we the craft and clerical forces who have brought telecommunications to what it is today, be principal players in this bright, bold, clearly emerging information age.

We have the expertise and ability to deliver if the Regulatory Commission and the Federal Government will permit us to do so.

We must be advocates of regulation reform: it is in our country's , our communities', and our members' mutual best interest.

Sincerely,



Albert J. Franzen
President-Business Manager

AJF:co

cc: Peggy Retzel, Common Carrier Bureau
ITS, Inc.