THE IMPACT OF ELECTIONS ON LABOR LAW, UNIONS, & THEIR MEMBERS

Labor Law History and Department of Labor Enforcement & Compliance Initiatives

James M. Heinzman, CPA, CFE

Agenda

• Labor Law History
• About the Department of Labor – Structure and responsibilities
• Impact of Presidential appointments on DOL, NLRB, PBGC, and courts
• Anticipated future agenda items of DOL, NLRB, PBGC
• Key points to share with others
National Labor Relations Act of 1935 (aka: Wagner Act)

- Guarantees workers rights to organize, bargain collectively, take collective action, and strike.
- Excludes Independent Contractors, domestic workers, and farm workers.
- Created Employer Unfair Labor Practices (ULP) Against employers.
- Created the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB).
  - Independent agency which regulates relationships between the Union, its workers, and employers.
- Outlawed “Yellow Dog” contracts.
- NLRB vs. Jones & Laughling Steel Corp (1937).
- Several hundred bills introduced to amend/repeal... until 1947...

Impact of the Wagner Act

- Union Representation
  - Within 18 months - 3 million new union workers
  - Within 36 months - 8 million new union workers
  - By the end of 1940s – one third of American workers were unionized
- Unleashed workplace democracy for women and African-Americans
- Motivated Vance Muse to create Right-to-Work laws

- Amends Wagner Act
- Passed over Truman’s veto by Republican controlled Congress
- Restricts activities and power of labor unions
- Added unfair labor practices (*against unions*)
- Rights of employers to oppose unions
- Gave NLRB power to seek injunctions against either employers or unions
- Prohibited jurisdictional strikes, wildcat strikes, secondary boycotts, mass picketing, closed shops, monetary donations by unions to federal political campaigns
- Authorized individual states to outlaw union security clauses by passing right-to-work laws
- Imposed rules and standards for benefit funds (“Taft-Hartley Funds”)
- Prohibits transfer of ANYTHING of value from employer to any employee representative


- Governs internal Union affairs
- Regulates day-to-day activities of Unions
- Promotes labor union and labor-management transparency
- Enforced by the United States Department of Labor (“DOL”), namely the Office of Labor-Management Standards
- Components of LMRDA
  - *Union Members Bill of Rights
  - *Reporting requirements
  - *Safeguards for Labor Organizations
  - *Trusteeships
  - *Elections
  - *Miscellaneous
Department of Labor Organizational Chart

Department of Labor Secretary – Eugene Scalia – Replaced (Alexander Acosta) confirmed September 2019
OLMS is an independent agency reporting directly to the Secretary of Labor
Acting OLMS Director – Andrew Auerbach - Replaced Arthur F. Rosenfeld, who was appointed by Secretary of Labor in July 2018 (no congressional approval required)
EBSA Director – Preston Rutledge – Confirmed by Senate December 22, 2017

Office of Labor Management Standards (OLMS)

- Enforces most provisions of LMRDA
- Regulates relationship between the Union and it’s members
- Election and financial Investigations
- Education and Compliance assistance
- Public disclosure of reports
OLMS Public Disclosure of Reports

- LM2, LM3 & LM4
- LM-10 – Employer report
- LM-30 – Labor Organization Officer and Employee report
- CAP Audits (investigations)
- Criminal enforcement actions
- Forms available on line at:  
  https://www.dol.gov/olms/regs/compliance/rrlo/lmrda.htm

Recent Labor Department Appointees

“Trump Taps ex-labor Board Member Acosta to be Labor Secretary”  Politico, February 16, 2017
- Acosta started his law career as a clerk for justice Samuel Allito. He was appointed by President George W. Bush to the National Labor Relations Board. He resigned in 2019 due to controversy surrounding a “sweetheart plea deal” with Epstein.

“Labor-Management Office gets a Director at Long Last”  Bloomberg News, July 9, 2018
- Arthur Rosenfeld was appointed to head the Office of Labor Management Standards. Mr. Rosenfeld returns to the Department of Labor, where he previously held top labor positions under the George W. Bush administration.

“Right to Work Alum Tapped for DOL Union Auditing Office”  Bloomberg News, August 7, 2018
- Geoffrey MacLeay will serve as policy advisor to OLMS. Mr. MacLeay formerly served as an attorney at the National Right to Work Foundation, whose stated mission is to “combat the evils of compulsory unionism.”
Recent Labor Department Appointees

“Trump Taps Scalia’s son for Labor Secretary” Politico, July 18, 2019
- Scalia previously served as chief legal officer for the Labor Department during the George W. Bush administration. As management-side attorney argued on behalf of Walmart against a Maryland law that would have required the retail giant to spend more health care money on its employees,...

“Union Oversight Agency Adds Staff Entrenched in Labor Opposition” Bloomberg News, February 4, 2020
- Rusty Brown and Trey Kovacs quietly added to the Labor Department. Brown was involved in a massive campaign to decertify a union representing 27,000 home care workers....
- Kovacs has publicly urged the Department to treat more entities as labor unions, requiring them to file detailed financial information and subject them to additional oversight and has accused the Department of “dragging their feet” on pending regulations to expand financial disclosures.

OLMS LM REPORTING TIMELINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Administrator</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Eisenhower</td>
<td>LMRDA requires Union reporting. Initial forms designed and implemented.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>GW Bush</td>
<td>Proposed major revision to LM filings. LM-2 requires details of revenue and expenses &gt; $5,000, break out expenses by 5 categories. Online filing required.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>GW Bush</td>
<td>Major revision to LM-2 filings implemented.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Obama</td>
<td>Delayed and withdrew expanded LM-2 reporting requirements. On his first day of office! Withdrew proposed expanded LM-10 and LM-30 reporting requirements.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Forms LM-10 & LM-30

**Form LM10 – Employer Report**
- Reports things of value given to Union Officers and Employees

**Form LM30 - Officer and Employee Report**
- Personal filing
- Reports things of value received by Union Officers and Employees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
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<td>2014</td>
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<td>2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2019</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Form T-1**
- A Form T-1 is a financial report enacted by the DOL on March 6, 2020.
- Filed by Labor Organizations with $250,000 or more in annual receipts that, acting alone or with other unions, either
  (a) appoints or selects a majority of the members of the trust’s governing board or
  (b) contributes more than 50% of the trust’s receipts. Contributions under a collective bargaining agreement are considered contributions by the union.
- A separate Form T-1 report is required for each Trust.
- Due 90 days after the Labor Organization’s year end.
- Registered PAC Funds and Funds that file Forms 5500 are excluded.
Entities for which T-1’s may be required

- Apprenticeship Training Funds
- Scholarship Funds
- Cooperative Trusts
- Building Corporations
- Credit Unions
- Employer Joint Funds
- Job Targeting Funds

The T-1 is Back, maybe for real this time?

- Dec 2002: T1 Proposed as part of the LM2 major changes
- Nov 2003: AFL-CIO sues Secretary of Labor Elaine Chao
- Sep 2006: Revised T1 Rule proposed
- Jan 2009: President Obama inauguration
- Dec 2010: T-1 Rule officially rescinded
- May 2019: T1 Proposed rules published in Federal Register

- Sep 2003: Final rule published establishing and enacting Form
- May 2005: DC Circuit court finds in favor of AFL-CIO, vacating the T1 Rule
- July 2007: AFL-CIO sues Secretary of Labor Elaine Chao
- June 2009: DC Circuit court again finds in favor of AFL-CIO
- Jan 2017: President Trump inauguration (Largest crowd ever!)
- April 2020:
Draft Form T-1
All set up and ready to go! - Look Familiar?

Estimated Costs of Form T-1

Federal Register estimates:
Estimated average annual cost per T1 filing: $8,000
Estimated average annual cost per affiliated Union: $16,000-$24,000
National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)

• Monitors practices between employers, Unions, and their workers (including hiring hall, organizing activities, and dues checkoff)

• The Board:
  ◦ Composed of 5 positions with 5 year terms
  ◦ Must have three members for a quorum
  ◦ 3 positions currently filled by Trump appointees with 2 vacancies (the last Democrat’s term expired in December 2019)

General Counsel:
  ◦ Independent
  ◦ 4 year term
  ◦ Appointed by President (currently Peter Robb)

“Right to Work”

Generally refers to laws that prohibit an agreement between an employer and union that requires all employees who benefit from the contract to contribute to the cost of union representation—often called “Union Security Agreements”.

• Private employees - Governed by State law
• Public employees – “Right to Work” rules apply (Janus v. AFSCME)
• 27 States are currently right to work, mostly in the South, Midwest, and interior Western States
• National right to work law introduced in 2017, never got out of committee
• Right to work laws allow “free riders”. These are employees who benefit from collective bargaining, but do not have to pay any dues, fees, etc.
• Supreme Court Janus v. AFSCME decision opened up public sector unions to Free Riders in every State
• Momentum continues to build as states take up Right to Work laws (5 new states in last 7 years)
Union Security

- Union security agreements were made law in 1935 by the Wagner Act, which allowed that if a majority of workers voted in favor of Unionizing, all workers were bound to the Union.

- Taft Hartley Act of 1947 weakened these laws (outlawed required Union membership), and allowed States to enact Right to Work Laws.

- 22 States have not enacted right to work legislation and remain Union Security States.
Union Security Under Attack

• 1988 - *Communication Workers of America v. Beck*  Supreme Court rules that in a Union Security Agreement, unions are authorized to collect from non members only those fees necessary to perform duties as a collective bargaining representative.

• 2018 - *Janus v. AFSCME*  Supreme Court decision opened up public sector unions to Free Riders in every State

• 2/22/19 NLRB Memo - Changes notice requirements to members and non-members and dictates when dues authorization revocation requests must be honored.

• 12/16/19 NLRB Ruling – Valley Hospital Medical Center – Employers are not required to withhold union working dues after expiration of CBA. *This ruling reverses two prior rulings requiring withholding.*

NLRB 2/22/19 General Counsel Memo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIOR TO FEBRUARY 2019 MEMO</th>
<th>POST FEBRUARY 2019 MEMO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Notice of right to be non member required to be provided annually.</td>
<td>Notice of right to be non member required to be provided annually, and may not be “hidden in a lengthy publication.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notice of Beck adjustment provided when person objects.</td>
<td>Notice of Beck adjustment required before an employee is required to make a membership decision.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Estimate is allowed if Union does not have any current Beck objectors</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dues authorization revocation requests by members need to be honored at next available revocation period and may not include unnecessary impediments (certified mail, unclear CBA language.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Companies can prohibit employees from encouraging coworkers to support unionization during working time.

Employee disciplined for talking to a coworker for several minutes about a union election.

Overrules prior NLRB precedent allowing minimal discussion about union organizing.

“The proposed budget would, the White House says, “restore the Office of Labor-Management Standards’ investigative workforce, which has fallen by more than 40% during the past 10 years. The Budget would strengthen protections for union members by supporting more audits and investigations to uncover flawed officer elections, fraud, and embezzlement.”

17% increase in 2020 Budget
United States Department of Labor
Criminal Enforcement Actions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indictments</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convictions</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL - LAST 20 YEARS 96%

OLMS
Compliance Audit Program (CAP)

Year | # of Audits
-----|----------
2006  | 163
2007  | 268
2008  | 654
2009  | 616
2010  | 356
2011  | 309
2012  | 213
2013  | 203
2014  | 142
2015  | 141
2016  | 225
2017  | 188
2018  | 171
2019  | 183

Resurrected in 2006
Selection Process
- Failure to file
- Discrepancies in reporting
- Member complaints
- Random
End Results
- Agree to comply in the future
- Amend filings
- Possible criminal enforcement
- Results are public

2020 budget anticipates 400 audits with 315 criminal investigations.
DOL Compliance Audit Findings

Based on a review of approximately 400 audits

• Average 4 findings per audit
• Findings letters with all details posted on the internet
• Most common deficiencies:
  • Lack of salary, bonus, allowance approval
  • Failure to maintain adequate documentation
  • Lack of receipts (including details of meals, those present, and purpose of meeting)
  • Failure to record disbursements to officers and employees
  • Failure to report receipts and disbursements
  • Failure to file bylaws
  • Failure to file timely
  • Issues with signature stamps and/or authorized signers
  • Inadequate bonding

Analysis of CAP Audit Findings
Union Best Practices

How to be prepared for a CAP Audit

• Attend Officer Institute, Secretary Treasurer Class
• Send Trustees to Trustee Training

Review most recent LM-1

• Update By-Laws if needed

Court Appointees

Supreme Court

◦ Neil Gorsuch and Brett Kavanaugh

Federal Judge Appointments

◦ Since 2017 Trump has appointed 198 Federal Judges (1 in 4)
◦ Twice as many as most other presidents
◦ 85% white, 75% male
◦ These are lifetime appointments
◦ Direct result of Mitch McConnell’s refusal to accommodate 106 of Obama’s appointments
◦ Many are members of the Federalist Society (Nationalist Organization Founded in 1982)
◦ Already flipped Second (CT, NY, VT), Third (NJ, PA, DE), and Eleventh (AL, GA, FL) Circuit Court of Appeals
◦ The Supreme Court hears approximately 70 cases/year out of approximately 7,000

◦ The remaining 6,930 cases are decided by the lower courts!
Expanded LM-2 reporting
- Breakout of “Other Revenue”
- Additional information on officers/employees
- Breakout of employee benefits by person
- Breakout of airfare by person
- Breakout of hotel by person

Return to expanded LM-30 requirements
- Required for Officers and employees (clerical employees may be excluded)
- Expanded 2 page form to 9 pages
- Require Shop Steward to comply (even if not a union officer)
- Certain personal financial information may be reportable
- Increased enforcement

Intermediate bodies rule
- Would require public sector unions with any private employees to file LM reports. For example, the NEA (National Education Association) files an LM report because it represents a mix of private and public sector employees. Certain NEA affiliates that represent only public sector employees are currently exempt. The Intermediate bodies rule would sweep in all affiliates if the parent (International Union) is subject to LMRDA. Notice published December 17, 2019, comments were due by February 18, 2020. Comments currently under review.
Sweep Work Centers/Issue campaigns under LMRDA reporting
- Would expand the definition of Labor Organization to include any organization that engages with employers on behalf of employees. Non-Profits like “Fight for $15” or “Count me in” may be required to file LM reports.

Expanded the “Compliance Audit Program”
- Increased investigations of Labor Unions

Pension Benefit Guarantee Corp (PBGC):
- Proposal to “Save” the PBGC and defined benefit pension funds by:
  - Mandating lower assumed interest rate to 6%
  - Increasing premiums 1100% (from $30pp to $330pp)
**OSHA**

**Occupational Safety & Health Administration (OSHA):**

- Responsible for U.S. workers health and safety
  - Decreased average annual OSHA inspections:
    
    | Year   | Inspections |
    |--------|-------------|
    | 2001-04 | 38,143      |
    | 2005-08 | 38,686      |
    | 2009-12 | 40,393      |
    | 2013-16 | 35,793      |
    | 2017-19 | 32,611      |
  - Funding has been reduced so that it would take the agency more than 150 years to visit every workplace under its jurisdiction.
  - Repealed electronic reporting requirement of workplace injuries (to be used to target investigations of unsafe workplaces).

**NLRB**

**The Plan:**

- Continue to act on top 10 corporate wish list published by Chamber of Commerce in 2017.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Chamber of Commerce Top 10 Wish List Published in 2017</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Overturn Specialty Healthcare to give employers more say in bargaining unit determinations.</td>
<td>✔ Completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Weaken rules that were adopted in 2015 to streamline representation election process.</td>
<td>In process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-a</td>
<td>Overturn Browning-Ferris decision on joint employer.</td>
<td>✔ Completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-b</td>
<td>Allow employers to force employees into arbitration and disallow class or collective claims.</td>
<td>✔ Completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Change the standard so employers can push more disputes into arbitration.</td>
<td>In process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Change rules on “management rights” clauses to give employers more power to make unilateral changes and undermine the collective bargaining process.</td>
<td>✔ Completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Allow employers to undermine the bargaining process by unilaterally imposing discretionary discipline without bargaining with the union.</td>
<td>In process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Allow employers to deny employees use of the employer email system for communication with co-workers about workplace issues.</td>
<td>✔ Completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Allow employers to fire or discipline workers for profane or offensive language, even if it interferes with protected NLRA activity.</td>
<td>In process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Allow employers to keep their investigations confidential and gag employees from talking with each other about pending employer investigations.</td>
<td>✔ Completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Allow employers to keep employees and their supporters off the employer’s property to discuss and publicize their views on workplace issues.</td>
<td>✔ Completed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Impact of Elections on Labor Unions

• When electing a President, you elect an entire Administration with an agenda that will impact your Union.

• Governmental Agencies overseeing Unions, their members, and employers are managed by persons appointed by the President of the United States.

• The impact of an Administration on your Union is one of the most important factors to consider when voting.
Impact of Elections on Labor Unions

• Throughout history, laws have been enacted that either promote or weaken Unions
  • Wagner Act - spurred Union growth and equal rights for workers
  • Taft Hartley Act – significantly restricted Union’s rights and gave employers stronger rights to oppose unions. Introduced “right to work”.
  • LMRDA – significantly increased reporting obligations and oversight of Labor Unions and their Officers

United States Department of Labor (DOL)
Office of Labor Management Standards (OLMS)

Agency of the DOL responsible for interpreting, enforcing, and prosecuting provisions of the LMRDA (relationships between Unions and their members).

Secretary of Labor appointed by President of the United States.
United States Department of Labor (DOL)  
Occupational Safety & Health Administration (OSHA)

Agency of the DOL responsible for assuring safe and healthy working conditions for all employees.  
Secretary of Labor appointed by President of the United States.

Who is in charge at the DOL?

**Secretary of Labor (DOL):**
- **Eugene Scalia:** Chief legal officer for the Labor Department during the George W. Bush administration. As management-side attorney argued on behalf of Walmart against a Maryland law that would have required the retail giant to spend more health care money on its employees,...

**Office of Labor Management Standards (OLMS)**
- **Arthur Rosenfeld** – Director to 5/2020. Held several top labor positions under the George W. Bush administration.
- **Geoffrey MacLeay** - Policy Advisor: Served as an attorney at the National Right to Work Foundation, whose stated mission is to “combat the evils of compulsory unionism.”

**Occupational Safety & Health Administration (OSHA)**
- Assistant of Secretary of Labor for OSHA - position remains unfilled since Trump election.
- **Loren Sweatt** – Acting Principal Deputy Asst for OSHA: Served in House of Representatives as Senior Policy Advisor.
National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)


General Council and Board Members appointed by the President of The United States.

Who is in charge at the NLRB?

General Council:
• Peter Robb: Worked at NLRB under President Reagan, and the firing of 11,000 air traffic controllers.

Board Members:
• Composed of 5 positions with 5 year terms (one term expiring each year)
• Must have three members for a quorum
• 3 positions currently filled by Trump appointees with 2 vacancies (the last Democrat’s term expired in December 2019)
About Presidential Appointments

• Presidential appointments often include persons who have previously worked in Government directing specific agendas.

• Recommendations for appointments come from interested persons and/or entities.

• Although many Americans thought they were electing a “political outsider” when voting for Trump, his Administration is packed with many political insiders from prior anti-union Administrations and/or affiliations.

Select Trump Appointments Affecting Unions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appointee</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Past Affiliations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arthur Rosenfeld</td>
<td>Director - OLMS</td>
<td>GW Bush Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Acosta</td>
<td>Secretary of Labor</td>
<td>GW Bush Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugene Scalia</td>
<td>Secretary of Labor</td>
<td>GW Bush Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geoffrey MacLeay</td>
<td>OLMS Field Auditing</td>
<td>National Right to Work Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Robb</td>
<td>NLRB General Council</td>
<td>Reagan Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preston Rutledge</td>
<td>Asst Secretary of Labor</td>
<td>Senior aide to Orrin Hatch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerous</td>
<td>Federal Judges</td>
<td>Federalist Society</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Anti-Union Directives from the Trump Administration Coming from all Sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directive</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expanded LM reporting requirements (Unions and their Officers &amp; Employees)</td>
<td>OLMS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 out of 10 Chamber of Commerce 2017 wish lists items complete, 4 in process</td>
<td>NLRB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadened interpretations of “Labor Organizations” requiring substantial reporting</td>
<td>OLMS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Riders in every State for Public Employee Unions</td>
<td>Supreme Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers not required to withhold dues after expiration of CBA</td>
<td>NLRB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expanded Union reporting for affiliated entities (Form T-1)</td>
<td>OLMS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repealed electronic reporting of workplace accidents</td>
<td>OSHA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased notice requirements encouraging Free Riders</td>
<td>NLRB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significant increase in budget for Union investigations (Compliance Audits)</td>
<td>OLMS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Save the PBGC at the expense of healthy Pension Plans (and their participants)</td>
<td>PBGC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduced workplace inspections</td>
<td>OSHA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no doubt....

That the current Administration
- is run by persons who have an anti-union bias
- has systematically eroded workers’ protections and rights
- intends to increase reporting burdens and costs on Unions and their officers while reducing them for Corporate America
- promotes the “Right to Work” agenda
- **Must be replaced to preserve the working class and keep your Local strong!**
ELECTIONS HAVE CONSEQUENCES!