

# **Improving Union Financial Transparency**

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## Improving Union Financial Transparency<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

Financial transparency has assumed a prominent role in most sectors of the economy. Corporations are required by Sarbanes-Oxley to provide extensive disclosure of their financial activities. Candidates for political office have to adhere to Federal Election Commission regulations as well as provisions of the new McCain-Feingold bill. The Internal Revenue Service collects taxes from citizens and ensures compliance through audits.

The union sector, however, with assets of approximately \$15 billion, was, until 2005, mostly exempt from any regulation that required detailed financial disclosure.

The first major piece of legislation designed to compel union financial disclosure was the Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act, better known as the Landrum-Griffin Act (LMRDA). The law was passed in 1959 and followed more than two years of Senate investigations into widespread corruption in the organized labor movement, particularly in major unions such as the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, United Mine Workers, and International Longshoremen Workers Union. Organized labor's behavior at the time was so egregious that the bill gained overwhelming bipartisan support, passing the Senate by a vote of 95-2 and the House of Representatives by a 352-52 margin. Few pieces of labor law reform since Landrum-Griffin have received this level of approval.<sup>2</sup>

Title II of the LMRDA was written with the intention of requiring greater union transparency. While labor unions were compelled to file financial reports before the Act's passage, these reports were not made public and were of virtually no help in holding unions accountable to their members.<sup>3</sup> Even Robert Kennedy, who was involved in the Senate investigations of organized labor, acknowledged that the union financial forms then in place were ineffective.<sup>4</sup>

The first substantive regulations on union financial reporting requirements were issued by Secretary of Labor James Mitchell in 1960. These required unions with \$20,000 or more in total annual receipts to submit to the Department of Labor their financial information on a "Form LM-2." The filing threshold was gradually raised until it reached \$200,000 in 1994.

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<sup>1</sup> The author is grateful for the research assistance of Xiuyue Zhu, Bryan O'Keefe, Andrew Brown, and Ryan Tang. All errors are her own.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Yager and Phillip B. Wilson "Comments on Notice of Proposed Rulemaking Labor Organization Annual Financial Reports," Labor Policy Association, January 24, 2003. Available at: [http://www.hrpolity.org/memoranda/2003/03-09\\_LMRDA\\_Comments.pdf](http://www.hrpolity.org/memoranda/2003/03-09_LMRDA_Comments.pdf)

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Kennedy, The Enemy Within (1960) 30-31.

The great hope at the time of LMRDA's passage was that the new financial disclosures would empower rank and file union members and ensure that unions were more accountable to their membership, and, as a result, less corrupt overall.

Unfortunately, the type of reforms that LMRDA envisioned never fully materialized.<sup>5</sup> There have been several reasons for this failure.

First, some unions attempted to make sure that the financial information contained in the forms was never disclosed to the rank and file, much less widely disseminated to members. Some even took steps to ensure that their dues-paying members did not have proper notification about the existence of the LM-2 data. For example, the International Association of Machinists was involved in litigation for years over this issue. The union claimed that a one-time notification issued in 1959 was sufficient to comply with the LMRDA's notification requirements. The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals eventually disagreed with this reasoning, but these types of roadblocks were commonplace in the years after LMRDA's passage.<sup>6</sup>

Furthermore, the old regulations and LM-2 forms did not require detailed information that properly reflected the complex financial world of today's labor unions.<sup>7</sup> Large amounts of funds – in the millions of dollars – were reported by unions on the forms as “other,” “expenses,” or “miscellaneous.” Information was deliberately vague and could be grouped into broad categories, allowing labor unions to escape the type of scrutiny faced by corporate and other non-profit entities.

Secretary of Labor Elaine Chao argued for more detailed LM-2 forms saying that,

The forms no longer serve their underlying purpose because they fail to provide union members with sufficient information to reasonably *disclose to them the financial condition and operation[s]* of labor organizations . . . . [I]t is impossible for union members to evaluate in any meaningful way the operations or management of their unions when the financial disclosure reports filed . . . simply report large expenditures for broad, general categories. The large dollar amount and vague description of such entries make it essentially impossible for anyone to determine with any degree of specificity what union operations their dues are spent on, without which the purposes of the LMRDA are not met.”<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Yager and Wilson, 4.

<sup>6</sup> See *Thomas v. Grand Lodge, International Association of Machinists & Aerospace Workers*, 201 F.3d 517 (4<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2000)

<sup>7</sup> For a general idea of the financial complexity of today's unions, see Marick F. Masters *Unions at the Crossroads: Strategic Membership, Financial, and Political Perspectives* (1997) Westport, CT: Quorum.

<sup>8</sup> <http://pacer.cadc.uscourts.gov/docs/common/opinions/200505/04-5057a.pdf>, pg 15.

In order to solve this problem, the Department of Labor proposed new rules to update the Form LM-2, including a requirement that all unions with receipts in excess of \$200,000 file their disclosure forms electronically.

Additionally, the new rules require eligible unions to disclose detailed membership status information on the form's Schedule 13. Historically, unions would report inconsistent numbers for their membership totals and not differentiate between the many different classes of union members such as active, associate, retired, agency-fee payers, etc. The new class system mandated by Schedule 13 allows the rank and file to discern the exact composition of their union.

Arguably the most important addition to the new LM-2 forms is the requirement that unions detail specific expenditures in more narrow categories than before on Schedules 14-19. Schedules 14-19 demand itemized expenses for all expenditures over \$5,000 in these schedules and categories. Specifically, other receipts are detailed in Schedule 14, representational activities in Schedule 15, political activities and lobbying in Schedule 16, contributions, gifts and grants in Schedule 17, general overhead in Schedule 18, and union administration in Schedule 19. These new forms would be displayed on the Department of Labor website, thus allowing any rank and file union member instant access to the data in the new forms and compelling union leaders to list both their salaries and the percentage of time spent on various union-related activities.

After comments were incorporated, the rules were issued in late 2003. Almost immediately, the AFL-CIO protested the changes, publicly claiming that the new LM-2 forms would impose an impossible burden on the unions. Amongst these burdens, the AFL-CIO cited the supposedly high cost of accounting that would be associated with tracking expenditures as well as an inability to comply with the Department's requested time frame for the new forms. In their legal pleadings against the new rules, the federation also disputed Secretary Chao's authority to issue the broad new regulations that she proposed.<sup>9</sup>

The labor federation won a minor court battle in January 2004 when U.S. District Court Judge Gladys Kessler ruled that the Department of Labor had to give unions more time to comply with the new rules. But Judge Kessler, a Clinton appointee to the bench, eventually said that the new rules themselves were appropriate and legal. The AFL-CIO was still not satisfied and appealed Judge Kessler's decision. In May 2005, the Federal Circuit Court in the District of Columbia upheld the new rules in a 2-1 decision.

Despite the AFL-CIO's legal challenges and public complaints about the law, it was clear from the court rulings that the new LM-2 forms would become mandatory for labor unions.

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<sup>9</sup> See legal case.

In September 2005 new data on union financial activities were published by the Department, and more data are continually being added to the database. It is vital for both union members and the public at large that these data are analyzed and put into an easily accessible format. Union members have the right to know what is being done with their dues, especially since the Supreme Court's *Beck* decision gave them the right to ask for the return of funds that were not used for collective bargaining.

## **The Analysis**

Since the new LM-2 forms were officially put into place, the Department of Labor has received approximately 5,000 LM-2 forms. Table 1 summarizes the important new provisions of the LM-2 forms which will help improve financial transparency.

As Table 1 shows, under the final rule, effective on July 1, 2004, disbursements are to be allocated into five clearly identified categories: Representational Activities; Political Activities and Lobbying; Contributions, Gifts, and Grants; Union Administration and General Overheads; and Strike Benefits. Unions must also state the percent of each union employee's time spent on these new categories.

The publication of these new data provides a major new opportunity for research. This monograph analyzes these new data on union expenditures. It documents the top, median, and bottom unions in terms of spending on the five new categories, namely representational activities; political activities and lobbying; contributions, gifts, and grants; union administration and general overheads; and strike benefits. It will classify large, medium and small unions in terms of spending on these items and present the information in readily-available tables.

These new LM2 forms have allowed much greater visibility of the organized labor movement's activities. Specifically, several common myths that unions have promoted in the last 40 years now appear to be either grossly misleading or downright wrong. Using the new LM2 forms, we will now examine several of these myths in greater detail.

### **Myth 1: Unions Represent Labor**

The long-held assumption of journalists, conference organizers, and those in charge of government hearings is that organized labor represents the voice of American workers. When a representative for workers is needed to give a speech, participate on a panel, or give testimony to Congress, either a representative from the AFL-CIO or AFL-CIO-funded institute is almost always called.

In reality, as we can see from LM-2 and BLS data, organized labor represents a small and shrinking proportion of the American workforce. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics' (BLS) latest figures, only 12 percent of the overall American workforce is unionized. Only 7.4 percent of private sector workers belong to a labor union.<sup>10</sup> As Table 2 shows, almost 80-90 percent of workers in traditional union strongholds such as manufacturing and construction do not belong to a labor union. Industries considered part of the "new economy" - information services, financial activities, and professional and business services - also have little union representation. Even one of the more union-heavy industries - the transportation and utility sector - can only claim that less than a quarter of its workers are unionized.

Even at their zenith in the 1950s, labor unions only represented 33 percent of workers. In organized labor's heyday, two-thirds of American workers did not join unions. And even then, union membership was unevenly concentrated in the northeast and Midwest manufacturing states. Organized labor was never a truly "national" movement like its supporters claim.

The drop in union membership has been dramatic in many of those manufacturing states that were previously thought to be "union-friendly." In a paper prepared for the BLS Monthly Labor Review, researchers compared nonagricultural union density rates by state from 1964 to 2000. The results, partially summarized in Table 3, showed that industrial states such as West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Ohio have seen their union numbers fall dramatically since early 1980s. In Pennsylvania alone, well-known for its unionized steel mills and coal mines, the percentage of workers unionized has dropped by 55 percent. Michigan, the home of the big three auto-makers and United Auto Workers members, lost 53 percent of its union members in the same time period.<sup>11</sup>

In many states, unions were never popular. In states such as North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida union membership numbers never exceeded 15 percent even in union's prime. Today, 5 percent or fewer workers in those states belong to a union.

While unions now openly acknowledge that they are facing a dearth in membership, they usually respond with their own union-funded polls which claim to show that

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<sup>10</sup> <http://www.bls.gov/news.release/union2.nr0.htm>

<sup>11</sup> Barry Hirsch, David Macpherson, and Wayne Vroman, "Estimates of Union Density by State," Monthly Labor Review, Bureau of Labor Statistics, July 2001. Available at: <http://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2001/07/ressum2.pdf>

workers would join unions if given the option.<sup>12</sup> Unions usually name employer opposition as the reason that more workers do not join unions.<sup>13</sup>

This ignores the findings of objective public opinion polls that have found that unions themselves are very unpopular with most workers. For example, according to a 2005 survey from the non-partisan Harris Interactive polling firm, 68 percent of all working adults rated unions negatively. Even 61 percent of *union households* gave unions negative markings. Breaking down the Harris data even further, only 7 percent of working adults said that unions were doing an “excellent job,” a number which roughly corresponds to the number of private sector workers who belong to a union. Most shocking to unions was the poll’s finding that corporate America was actually ranked more positively than organized unions. Table 4 shows these results in greater detail.<sup>14</sup>

Unions have the greatest chance of organizing workers when the workers are unhappy with their jobs, either in general or with some specific aspect such as low pay or poor health benefits. In these instances, unions can promise that their negotiations with the employer will improve working conditions. However, it is highly unlikely that employees will turn to third-party representation if, in fact, they are already satisfied with their employers. Recent polling data clearly show that most workers like their jobs, which puts unions in a much weaker position to both organize and claim to speak for the labor force more generally.

In the most comprehensive compilation of polling data on the subject, American Enterprise Institute Senior Fellow Karlyn Bowman, the nation’s premier polling analyst, concluded that, “Poll questions from leading survey organizations show that the vast majority of workers are highly satisfied with this aspect of their lives. Very few workers [when asked about their jobs] say they are completely or very dissatisfied with their jobs.”<sup>15</sup>

An analysis of some of the specific questions that polling firms have asked illustrates Ms. Bowman’s point. For example, the Gallup organization found that 86 percent of respondents were either completely or somewhat satisfied with their jobs.<sup>16</sup> When

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<sup>12</sup> “Labor Day 2005: The State of Working America,” Public Opinion Survey Conducted by Peter Hart Research for the AFL-CIO. Available at: [http://www.aflcio.org/aboutus/laborday/upload/ld2005\\_report.pdf](http://www.aflcio.org/aboutus/laborday/upload/ld2005_report.pdf)

<sup>13</sup> Chirag Mehta and Nik Theodore, “Undermining the Right to Organize: Employer Behavior During Union Representation Campaigns.” December 2005, American Rights at Work. Available at: <http://www.americanrightsatwork.org/docUploads/UROCUEdcompressedfullreport.pdf>

For a detailed explanation of statistical problems with this study, see also: [http://www.unionfacts.com/downloads/Union\\_Math\\_Union\\_Myths.pdf](http://www.unionfacts.com/downloads/Union_Math_Union_Myths.pdf)

<sup>14</sup> “Negative Attitudes to Labor Unions Show Little Change in Past Decade, According to New Harris Poll.” August 2005. Available at: [http://www.harrisinteractive.com/harris\\_poll/index.asp?PID=598](http://www.harrisinteractive.com/harris_poll/index.asp?PID=598).

<sup>15</sup> Karlyn Bowman, “The State of the American Worker, 2006: Attitudes About Work,” August 2006, pg. 2 American Enterprise Institute Public Opinion Study. Available at: [http://www.aei.org/docLib/200408301\\_work14886.pdf](http://www.aei.org/docLib/200408301_work14886.pdf).

<sup>16</sup> Idid, 2.

asked to use certain adjectives to describe their job, 91 percent said they either “loved it” or “liked it.” Only 2 percent said that they hate their job.<sup>17</sup>

Workers also liked specific aspects of their jobs. Seventy-one percent told Gallup interviewers that they were satisfied with the amount of money that they earn.<sup>18</sup> Eighty-three percent said that they were satisfied with their job security.<sup>19</sup> And 66 percent of respondents in a Roper survey said that they were satisfied with the benefits that their job provides.<sup>20</sup>

What these survey data make clear is that most workers are quite pleased with their work environment. Vast majorities are satisfied with their pay, benefits, and job security. For many of these workers, a union does not seem either necessary or desirable. Workers do not want unions to represent them and do not need them claiming to speak for their needs. For the vast majority of workers the regular narrative from unions about lousy jobs and poor health benefits simply does not describe their own working experience.

Furthermore, the rise of governmental regulations and regulatory bodies devoted to worker protections has diminished the role that unions once played. For example, the creation in 1970 of the Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA) replaced the role that unions once played in enforcing workplace safety rules. Instead of union stewards developing necessary safety procedures, OSHA officials both develop new safety regulations and vigorously enforce the provisions, sometimes to the annoyance of management and employers.

Even if the merits of OSHA itself can be debated, there is no question that OSHA and other regulatory agencies involved in workplace disputes have cut back on the need for union representation. Many workers calculate that they do not have to pay union officials to perform tasks that are already being done by the government and funded by their tax dollars.

## **Myth 2: Unions Work for Their Members**

The primary purpose of unions is to work for their members and help collectively negotiate better working conditions, pay, and fringe benefits than would otherwise be possible on an individual basis. But the new data available from the LM-2 forms show that a large part of union funds is spent on activities that have nothing to do with improving members’ welfare.

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 17.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 15.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 17.

The data clearly show that unions are spending vast amounts of money on three areas that are not directly related to their members' welfare: political activity, union leadership salaries, and union entertainment expenses.

The most controversial of these areas is political spending. In the 2006 election cycle, the AFL-CIO budgeted \$40 million on get-out-the-vote operations, \$5 million more than in 2004. In addition, spending on political action committees by the top 10 unions totaled over \$16 million, according to federal campaign finance data from the Center for Responsive Politics. Political spending by the top 10 union "527 committees," issue advocacy groups with looser spending limits than unions, exceeded \$38 million.

These types of political expenditures by unions are not novel. Nor is there anything inherently wrong with special interest groups spending money on politics. But the unique nature of unions' finances calls these expenditures into question.

In many states, rank and file union members are required to pay union dues as a condition of employment. In turn, unions use money collected from dues and contribute it to the political campaigns that they favor. Some states have attempted to give union members a greater say in how these funds are spent by enacting "paycheck protection" laws, which allow members to opt out of any union dues that are explicitly earmarked for political purposes.

But while paycheck protection might be well-intentioned, unions have found ways to skirt these measures. Often, unions will make the "opt-out" provisions complicated and nearly impossible for an average union member to understand. Unions have also battled "paycheck protection" statutes through litigation, essentially forcing members to pay for court battles that actually curtail their rights.

Finally, when "paycheck protection" does become an issue in a particular state, unions launch an all-out attack to defeat it. The best example of this is in the state of California, which attempted a "paycheck protection" referendum in the 2004 election. While the measure started with strong public support, unions aired hundreds of advertisements against the initiative, eventually defeating it at the ballot box.

However, on June 14, 2007, in a landmark decision, the Supreme Court upheld state "paycheck protection" laws in states such as Washington and Michigan that require unions to seek non-unionized workers' permission before spending agency fees – fees levied for collective bargaining – for political purposes. Even though the decision applied to non-unionized workers, legal observers say that this means that unions will have a much harder time refusing to return that portion of union workers' funds used for politics.

If all union members voted in the same way that their money was spent, or, alternatively, if unions contributed money proportionally to candidates based on their member's political wishes, then the question of union political spending might not be as critical. However, political spending data and exit poll results show that unions regularly contribute almost all of their money to Democratic Party candidates and PACs, despite the significant portion of their members who vote for the Republican Party. Table 5 summarizes this trend since 1992, showing that while unions have on average given 92 percent of its donations to Democrats, a significant number of members (one quarter to almost 40 percent) have still pulled the election lever for the GOP.<sup>21</sup>

While election contribution data has been publicly available for some time, the new LM-2 forms add even greater detail about the political activities of unions and their leaders. Table 6 is a compilation of union political spending over \$1,000,000 culled from the LM-2 forms. These expenses went to a variety of different companies and organizations, including third-party organizations, campaign consultants, and other union-funded front groups that opposed individual state ballot initiatives.

Some of the recipients of union political support would probably surprise rank and file union members. As Table 7 shows, the LM-2 forms revealed that unions gave \$359,442 dollars in contributions to Rev. Jesse Jackson's Rainbow/Push Coalition in 2006 alone. Several of these contributions were quite large, including \$150,000 in contributions from the Service Employees International Union. SEIU's support of Rainbow/Push and other politically active organizations are especially noteworthy since that union's head, Andy Stern, has publicly criticized unions for being too active in politics in the past. In 2004, Mr. Stern made several startling comments about unions' relationship with the Democratic Party, saying for example that:

"I think over the last several years we've gotten more and more focused on politics and particularly on Democratic politics. And I don't think that's what will grow our labor movement stronger. I don't think it's the kind of strategy that can win."<sup>22</sup>

Mr. Stern also made union political spending a major issue when his union decided to leave the AFL-CIO and, with several other unions, form the Change to Win labor federation.

But despite his criticisms of political spending, it is clear from the data that Mr. Stern has not upheld his implied vow to limit contributions. According to federal campaign

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<sup>21</sup> Calculated from the Center for Responsive Politics' data by Bryan O'Keefe, and New York Times collected presidential exit polls, 1972-2004.

<sup>22</sup> FOX News, "Internal Struggle Plagues AFL-CIO." FOXNews.com, 19 May 2005. < <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,156994,00.html> >

finance data compiled by the Center for Responsive Politics, SEIU still donated almost \$1.7 million dollars in the last election cycle, with 92 percent of the proceeds benefiting Democratic candidates.<sup>23</sup>

The LM-2 data show that the SEIU was one of the biggest contributors to “third party” political organizations in the 2006 cycle (Table 8). Many of these contributions were similar in size to SEIU’s gifts to the Rainbow/Push Coalition, appearing to have nothing to do with traditional union or labor causes. Organizations that received substantial gifts from SEIU include People for the American Way, the Sierra Club, Human Rights Campaign, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, Pride at Work, ACORN, and MTV’s voter education drive, Rock the Vote.

It appears from both the campaign financial data and the LM-2 forms that one of SEIU’s and Mr. Stern’s biggest political goals is building a *liberal* political network, not necessarily a network that advances the interests of its union members.

While excessive political spending is a major problem for some unions, it does not infect all unions. Many locals do not participate in politics and instead use their resources in more beneficial ways. Even the median amounts of money spent on politics by unions nationwide are relatively low. The most substantial political spending is almost always done by the national unions and their headquarters. These are also the union offices that are the most far removed from the everyday concerns facing union members.

Table 9 shows the top, median, and bottom unions in terms of spending on political activities and lobbying. The national headquarters for both the AFL-CIO and the National Education Association are among the top political spenders, giving \$34 million and \$27 million respectively. These figures contrast sharply with the median union spending of around \$4,430 and even more so when compared to the bottom, since some unions do not spend on political activities and lobbying at all. These are typically local unions, such as the Teamsters Local Union 683 and Plumbers AFL-CIO Local Union 354, which gave \$4,437 and \$0 respectively.

In addition to prolific political spending, many unions tend to spend enormous amounts of money on salaries for top union officials. Before the LM-2 form changes, however, union leadership salaries were a closely guarded secret. Unions did not publicize the information and members had no real way to figure out just how much money their union leaders were making. This was in contrast to publicly-held corporations, which are required to report executive compensation figures to their stockholders.

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<sup>23</sup> Center for Responsive Politics, “Top All-time Donors.” 19 February, 2007, < <http://www.opensecrets.org/orgs/> >; compilation of FEC data released February 19.

Unions themselves have played an integral role at shareholder meetings in agitating for greater disclosure and limits on executive compensation. In a study of shareholder resolutions introduced in 2004, Professor Jarol Manheim of George Washington University found that,

“Far and away the most popular subject for union-sponsored shareholder resolutions was executive compensation, the subject of 80 resolutions at the 141 companies in question, or 43 percent of the total. Unions, recognizing that they still need to build legitimacy if it is to grow its power, have focused almost exclusively on resolutions relating to governance – especially those placing limits on executive compensation – precisely because these are widely viewed and easily portrayed as public regarding efforts.”<sup>24</sup>

The irony is that at the same time the AFL-CIO and other unions were leading the charge in these executive compensation disputes, they were also suing the Department of Labor to keep their own salaries from being easily discovered.

While labor unions often boast about their ability to raise hourly wages for their members, the salaries of these workers often pale in comparison to the salaries paid to full-time union leaders. There is nothing inherently wrong with individuals maximizing their own economic opportunities. But these relatively high salaries are also ironic in the face of the rhetoric that these same union officials put forth about the alleged abuses of “the rich.”

According to data from the U.S. Census Bureau, approximately 20 percent of households have an income above \$97,000 and only 5 percent are above \$174,000.<sup>25</sup> Using this classification system and the new LM-2 data, it becomes clear that almost all top union officials themselves would fall into these top categories. A persuasive case could be made that while top union officials use class warfare rhetoric to appeal to their members, the media, and the masses, they are actually part of the same income class that they are rallying against.

Table 10 lists the top 50 paid union officials in 2005 using the LM-2 form data. Among them are Martin Maddaloni, General President of United Association Union Plumbers, who made \$1.2 million; and Gerald McEntee, International President of the State County and Municipal Employees AFL-CIO, who made \$584,960. Tables 11 and 12 examine two specific unions – the Plumbers and National Education Association – and list the number of union officials making over \$200,000 at these organizations. 37 officials at the Plumbers AFL-CIO national headquarters make over this amount,

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<sup>24</sup> Jarol Manheim *Power Failure, Power Surge: Union Pension Fund Activism and the Publicly Held Corporation*, (2005) HR Policy Association, 78-79.

<sup>25</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, 2007 Annual Social and Economic Supplement.

including administrative assistants.

The LM-2 forms also make clear that unions spend their members' money on events that are clearly not necessary for the proper functioning of a union. Across almost all national unions, LM-2 forms show expenses for luxury hotels and conference facilities, markedly different from the regular union halls in small towns where most rank and file members conduct union business.

The LM-2 data show examples of golf trips taken by union leaders. A simple search for golf-related expenses on the LM-2 forms revealed dozens of locals and national unions paying for golf tournaments and golf outings. Most of these golf outings are not being held at the local Par 3 course, but rather at luxurious resorts and golf courses costing thousands of dollars. For example, Carpenters Local 6 paid almost \$19,000 for a golf outing at the Crystal Springs Golf Resort in Vernon, New Jersey.

The LM-2 forms also reveal that union leaders sometimes hold their executive board meetings at luxurious golf resorts. The Stage and Picture Operators National Union paid over \$87,000 to the Innisbrook Golf Resort in Tampa, Florida for what was billed as an "executive board meeting." Innisbrook makes no secret about its exclusivity, saying on its website:

"The Innisbrook Resort and Golf Club is one of the premier golf destinations in the United States. Once you arrive at Innisbrook you'll never want to leave. We have everything you'll ever need on our beautiful 900-acres: extraordinary Championship golf on four top-ranked courses; fine dining in our five restaurants; tennis on 11 beautifully maintained Har-Tru clay courts; six swimming pools including the multi-million-dollar Loch Ness Monster Pool with waterfalls and water slides; a fitness center; a children's recreation center; 60 acres of lakes; plus jogging and cycling opportunities. Our private club atmosphere is perfect for you, your friends and family to escape the pressures of work, noise and traffic and enjoy the time of your lives. It's a place like no others in Florida and one that you'll want to visit again and again. "

While golf tournaments and outings can be fun social events, they are another example of unions spending financial resources on non-essential union functions. Table 13 summarizes various golf expenses from a simple search of the LM-2 forms. It details the organization name, their chosen golf course, and the amount spent.

These expenditures may be legitimate uses of union money, but it is important to be aware of this type of spending, especially given recent discoveries of corrupt union leadership. In the past five years alone, more than 640 union officials have been convicted of fraud or embezzlement, highlighted most recently by the Washington Teachers' Union scandal. Stationed in Washington, D.C., home to some of the worst

public schools in the nation, the Washington Teachers' Union stole an estimated \$5 million in union dues, or approximately \$1000 per member. The President of WTU and a number of other top ranking officials were involved in forgery, credit card fraud, and embezzlement. These officials used money embezzled from union members to buy a fleet of Cadillacs, Caribbean vacations, mink coats, and a number of other lavish purchases.

When examining whether or not unions are spending their financial assets properly, one useful metric is the amount of money being spent on general overhead versus representational activities. Tables 14 and 15 look at the top, median, and bottom unions on both of these accounts.

### **Myth 3: Unionization Results in Economic Benefits for Workers**

As mentioned earlier, the major reason that workers join unions is the belief that unions will help them negotiate better wages, benefits, and working conditions. Unions have fostered this belief through promises during organizing drives about the benefits that they can deliver for employees.

Unfortunately, after voting in favor of a union, employees might realize that the supposed benefits are a mirage. One of these supposed benefits is higher wages. What people don't know is that the higher wages unions achieve often come at the expense of lower labor demand. A thorough study that analyzed multiple establishment data between 1984 and 1999 by John DiNardo of the University of Michigan and David Lee of Columbia found that unionization increased unemployment during that period.<sup>26</sup>

Deregulation and free trade have reduced unions' ability to increase wages in this competitive international environment. As a result, sometimes even the raises that employees do receive through unionization turn out to be a net negative when union dues and fees are taken out of paychecks. The study performed by DiNardo and Lee found that wage growth as a result of unionization is close to zero, with the wages of those that voted to unionize staying about the same as the wages of those that voted not to.

At other times, unions successfully organize a workplace only to see the factory shut down or move overseas as a result of the union. Instead of offering workers promised benefits, unions instead can be blamed in many cases for causing workers to lose their jobs and benefits entirely.

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<sup>26</sup> John DiNardo and David S. Lee, "Economic Impacts of New Unionization on Private Sector Employers: 1984-2001," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November 2003.

This was certainly the case with Pillowtex textile mill in Kannapolis, N.C. In 1999, labor unions successfully organized what was otherwise a profitable mill, after a 25-year fight described as a “victory” for workers. But the “victory” was short-lived. In 2003, the plant closed, resulting in 4,800 layoffs. The city of Kannapolis is still recovering from the plant's loss.

There are several different ways to look at this situation from a more macro-level economic perspective. A cursory look at income statistics seems to suggest that the decline in labor union members has not been accompanied by a decline in income. In 2005, 35% of families made over \$75,000. But in 1983, only 22% did, after adjusting for inflation. Real median family income was \$56,194 in 2005, 22% higher than in 1983 after inflation.<sup>27</sup>

A more detailed statistical approach is to examine state level job growth data as compared to state union membership percentages. If unions do present unnecessary economic hardships for companies, then it can be presumed that companies would try to avoid states with higher levels of unionization. Job growth in those states with lower levels of unionization would be stronger. This would cast tremendous doubt on the union argument that voting in favor of a union will lead to more economic benefits for workers. It is impossible to have any kind of economic benefit if employers are avoiding states with high levels of unionization in the first place.

Job growth data from the BLS spanning 2001-2006 confirm this hypothesis. States with negative job growth tend to have greater levels of unionization. Ohio's and Illinois's job growth was negative 1 percent during this time period. Massachusetts reported a figure of negative 2 percent. Michigan's was the worst of all 50 states, coming in at negative 4 percent. Other union-heavy areas experienced no job growth or very little growth at best. New York's job growth was flat; Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, New Jersey, and Indiana were all at 1 percent. Only one state with overall unionization above 20 percent – Hawaii – registered a job growth figure above 10 percent.

In contrast, many states with lower overall levels of unionization experienced much higher levels of job growth. Arizona registered a 16 percent increase in job growth. Wyoming and Idaho both reported almost 13 percent. Utah was right behind at 11 percent. Only one state with a relatively low level of union membership – Louisiana – experienced negative job growth. But with the extenuating circumstances of Hurricane Katrina, it is reasonable to conclude that the state's poor performance is not directly related to unionization.

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<sup>27</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, 2006 Annual Social and Economic Supplements

Table 16 shows the total percentages of unionization compared with job growth from 2001-2006 for all 50 states.<sup>28</sup> While it is difficult to establish a strong correlation between the percentage unionized and the job growth that occurred in each state from this data, it does seem that states with higher unionization had slower job growth. New York, which had the second highest rate of unionization, has experienced zero job growth and Michigan, which has the sixth highest unionization rate, has actually experienced a decline in job growth of -4.8 percent over the 5 year period. In contrast, Idaho and Utah which have unionization rates that are a fourth of New York's rates, had job growth of 12.6 and 11.2 percent respectively over the same period.

The data can also be examined by comparing "Right to Work states," where workers do not have to join a union to work, and "Non-Right to Work states," where workers are frequently compelled to join unions in order to work in certain firms. The average job growth in Right to Work states - which almost always have lower levels of unionization - was slightly more than 6 percent. Job growth in non Right to Work states - which usually have higher levels of unionization - was only about 3 percent.

Job growth in Right to Work states was nearly double that of non Right to Work states, showing that many employers prefer to locate their businesses in geographic locations outside of traditional union strongholds. Although unionization is only one reason for the job growth in Right to Work states, it is clear that it cannot be ignored.

Another economic indicator that can be used to evaluate the economic benefits of unions is state GDP figures from the Bureau of Economic Analysis. State GDP figures, like their national counterparts, are the most comprehensive measures of all statewide economic activity. States with higher GDP are generally thought to be in a better economic condition than those with lower figures.

Here again, the data suggest that those states with lower levels of unionization have seen more state GDP growth. Using data from 1990-2006, GDP in Right to Work states grew by 39 percent during the time period studied. Five of the six fastest growing states in terms of GDP are Right to Work states; among them are South Dakota, North Dakota, Idaho, Iowa, and Arizona with real GDP per capita growth of between 50 and 70 percent. Conversely, non-Right to Work states only grew by approximately 33 percent. At the bottom, are Alaska and Hawaii which have experienced real GDP per capita growth of -24 percent and 3 percent, respectively. Tables 17 and 18 break down these figures by individual Right to Work state status.

Other researchers investigating the economic benefits of unions have looked specifically at Michigan, the state which is often considered the epicenter of union activity through

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<sup>28</sup> Job growth and union membership data can be found respectively at: [http://www.bls.gov/sae/sm\\_mrs.htm](http://www.bls.gov/sae/sm_mrs.htm) and <http://www.bls.gov/news.release/union2.t05.htm>

the United Auto Workers and car manufacturing plants. In comparing Michigan to Right to Work states in a report for the Mackinac Center for Public Policy, William Wilson found that several major economic indicators were stronger in Right to Work States than Michigan.

Dr. Wilson's comprehensive analysis covered a period of almost thirty years from 1970-2000 and found that Right to Work states' economies grew one-half percent faster annually; they created 1.43 million manufacturing jobs, as opposed to 2.18 million lost manufacturing jobs found in non-Right to Work states; the states have lower unit labor costs; and Right to Work states have both greater growth in disposable income and fast-falling poverty rates.

In contrast, the state of Michigan has shown annual economic growth averaging one-half the rate experienced by Right to Work states. It has lost over 100,000 manufacturing jobs since 1970. It has the second-highest unit labor cost in the nation, and has seen an increase in its poverty rate.<sup>29</sup>

In another comprehensive study of the issue, Richard Vedder and Lowell Gallaway from Ohio University found that while many union workers "feel" like they are benefiting from unionization, the inverse is actually occurring. Vedder and Gallaway ran a series of complex regressions involving a wide range of variables associated with unionization and economic growth and came to the conclusion that unions were a net negative for workers, even if workers thought that unions were helping them. In an article published in the *Journal of Labor Research*, Vedder and Gallaway concluded that:

"While there are no doubt many individual members of labor unions who feel that they have benefited from collective bargaining, the overall evidence is overwhelming that labor unions in contemporary America have had harmful aggregate effects on the economy."<sup>30</sup>

Specifically, Professors Vedder and Gallaway found that unions are associated with lower growth rates in income and jobs, and that people, on average, move away from areas with high rates of union density. Widespread unionization of an industry is associated with initial sharp drops in employment, and on the long-term, occupations and industries with high rates of union density have shown less vibrant job growth in the past decade. In fact, they found that the increasing weakness of unions in the

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<sup>29</sup> William T. Wilson, "The Effect of Right to Work Laws on State Economic Development," Mackinac Center Report, June 2002. Available at: <http://www.mackinac.org/archives/2002/s2002-02.pdf>

<sup>30</sup> Richard Vedder and Lowell Gallaway, "Do Labor Unions Help the Economy? The Economic Effects of Labor Unions Revisited," Jointly published by the National Legal and Policy Center and the John M. Olin Institute for Employment Practice and Policy. Originally published in *The Journal of Labor Research* Winter 2002. Available at: <http://www.nlpc.org/olap/lrev/economy.pdf>.

market economy has contributed to economic growth and a rising proportion of the working age population that actually works.<sup>31</sup>

Perhaps many workers, in addition to seeing a declining need for unions, believe that the costs of unionization outweigh the promised benefits. Hence, unions are seeking new ways to draw in new members.

## **Looking Towards the Future**

The most critical issue facing unions in the coming years will be how to stop its membership decline and possibly even experience membership growth. But instead of making themselves more relevant and attractive for today's workforce, labor unions have instead focused their efforts on new legislation that would make it easier to intimidate employees into joining a union.<sup>32</sup>

The main bill behind this effort is the Employee Free Choice Act, S.1041 or H.R.800. While the bill was introduced several times when Republicans controlled Congress, the legislation gained new life when the Democrats regained Congress after the 2006 election. Few bills introduced into Congress have had a more ironic name. Instead of assuring that employees have a "free choice," the Employee Free Choice Act would actually make sure that employees have no choice when it comes to deciding whether or not a union can organize at their workplace.

The traditional method of union organizing is through a National Labor Relations Board representational election. This is the same method that has been used to decide union organizing disputes for the last 60 years. In this process, unions gather signatures in a workplace and when they have secured the signatures of at least 30 percent of the workers, they can petition the NLRB for a representation election. In reality, the figure is almost always higher than 30 percent, as the union does not want to waste time and resources on an election unless they are convinced they have a reasonable chance of winning.

After the NLRB reviews the petition, they will schedule an election, usually within 30-60 days. During this time period, both organized labor and management can make their case to employees on whether or not they should unionize. On Election Day itself, the NLRB comes into the workplace and conducts a secret ballot election. After the voting is complete, an NLRB official opens up the ballot box, counts the votes on the spot, and, if

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 14.

<sup>32</sup> Will Lester, "AFL-CIO Advice: First Build, Then Seek Remedies," Associated Press, December 8, 2006. Available at: <http://www.signonsandiego.com/news/business/20061208-0950-labor-organizing.html>

the union receives more than 50 percent of the vote, they become the bargaining agent for workers.<sup>33</sup>

What is remarkable about the process is its resemblance to our national election system. The period prior to the election allows both sides to make their best arguments about unionization, much like candidates do when running for office. And the secret ballot – the hallmark of democracy – is used to settle the issue.

It is important to keep in mind that even with its membership decline, organized labor still wins a majority of secret ballot elections. As Table 19 shows, the union election win rate has remained roughly the same over the past forty years.

But despite their relative success in these elections, unions have taken to blaming the National Labor Relations Board for their membership decline. While it is true that the number of elections held overall has declined, it is not the Board's fault that labor unions are unable to find more workers interested in forming a union. Nevertheless, the AFL-CIO has gone on the offensive against the NLRB. In a report published on the AFL-CIO website, AFL-CIO Federation President John Sweeney directly attacks the NLRB election process, mocking the notion of a NLRB election, saying:

“In most cases, however, employers force workers to endure the broken process of a National Labor Relations Board “election.” I put that sugar-coated word in quotes because a more reality-based term is management-controlled election process. Management-controlled election process does not allow workers the freedom to make their own choice about whether to have a union. Its one-sided rules give the boss all the choices.”<sup>34</sup>

Far from giving “the boss all the choices,” the NLRB election process actually favors labor unions, if it favors any party at all. In testimony before the Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions, Peter Hurtgen, a Clinton appointee to the National Labor Relations Board, former Chairman of that board, and Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, laid to rest any notion that the NLRB is unfair towards unions.

Mr. Hurtgen pointed out the following advantages that unions have in the election process: the union not only determines exactly when and if a petition for an election is filed, it determines the size and composition of the bargaining unit (the people eligible to vote for the union), and can delay a petition until it has received signed authorization

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<sup>33</sup> For a full discussion of the NLRB election process, see Peter J. Hurtgen and Charles I. Cohen, *Making Your Vote Count: The Case for Preserving Confidentiality in Employee Union Representation Decisions*, HR Policy Association, 2007.

<sup>34</sup> John Sweeney, “Out Front With John Sweeney: Management Controlled Election Process,” Available at: <http://www.aflcio.org/aboutus/thisistheafcio/outfront/managementcontrolledballoting.cfm>

cards representing a majority of workers. Further, it alone may make campaign promises, and the company must provide the union with the names and addresses of its workers. And like the employer, the union is allowed to post an observer to report irregularities in the voting process. These proceedings would be recognized as significant advantages in any political election, and should be recognized as such in the NLRB union elections.<sup>35</sup>

As Mr. Hurtgen concluded, "These facts illustrate that, far from being unfair to unions, the NLRB's election process offers unions many unique advantages."<sup>36</sup> Against this backdrop, it is hard to discern what John Sweeney means when he bemoans a "management-controlled election process."

Another common union complaint about the NLRB election process is that companies are able to delay elections until they have convinced enough employees to vote against a union. American Rights at Work, a pro-union think tank, claims that, "Under the NLRB election process, delays of months and even years are common, during which management uses every imaginable procedural option to stretch out the process and frustrate the desire of employees to form a union."<sup>37</sup> Unions also selectively cite stories and anecdotes from delayed elections that seem to support this point.

But, again, actual NLRB election data tells a very different story. The NLRB's Summary of Operations for Fiscal Year 2006 found that 94.2% of all initial representation elections were conducted within 56 days of the filing of the election petition. During that same time period, the median time to proceed to an election from the filing of a petition was only 39 days. Reflecting on his 40 years as a labor attorney, Mr. Hurtgen concluded precisely the opposite of what the AFL-CIO claims, telling Senators that, "the Board's election process has become even more efficient over time."<sup>38</sup>

Even with these factual inaccuracies, Mr. Sweeney has pushed to change the organizing process through the aforementioned Employee Free Choice Act. The major provision of the Employee Free Choice Act would abolish the secret ballot election process and replace it with "card check" organizing.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Peter J. Hurtgen, Testimony before the Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions, pg. 10-11, March 27, 2007. Available at: [http://help.senate.gov/Hearings/2007\\_03\\_27\\_a/Hurtgen.pdf](http://help.senate.gov/Hearings/2007_03_27_a/Hurtgen.pdf)

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, 11.

<sup>37</sup> American Rights at Work, "Employee Free Choice Act Fact Sheet: Why Majority Sign-Up Is Needed," <http://araw.org/takeaction/efca/cardsummary.cfm#4>. See also: John Logan, "Consultants, Lawyers, and the 'Union Free' Movement in the USA Since the 1970s," *Industrial Relations Journal*, vol. 33, no. 3, 2002, Paul C. Weiler, "Promises to Keep: Securing Workers' Rights to Self Organization Under the NLRA," 96 *Harvard Law Review* 1769, 1777; 1983 (citing Roomkin & Juris, "Unions in the Traditional Sectors: the Mid-Life Passage of the Labor Movement," 31 *IRRA Proceedings* 212, 217-18; 1978).

<sup>38</sup> Hurtgen, 8.

<sup>39</sup> For a complete discussion of card check organizing, see Hurtgen and Cohen, "Making Your Vote Count."

During a “card check” organizing campaign, the NLRB must recognize a union after a majority of employees signs cards – out in the open – stating their intention to join a union. The recognition is automatic, and in fact the NLRB is forbidden to stage a democratic election once cards representing a majority of employees are submitted.

Some union supporters argue that card check is even better than a secret ballot election because employees still have the option of not signing cards.<sup>40</sup> While this is true in a hypothetical sense, it is usually not the case in the real world. Unions are well-known for intimidating behavior towards employees that oppose their decisions and this type of intimidation is rampant during card check organizing.

For example, 64-year-old Elizabeth Pichler worked as a receptionist at the uniform company Cintas when union organizers started showing up at her home in February 2004. The union, UNITE-HERE, was attempting to gain signatures through card check in the hopes of convincing the company to allow it to organize its employees. Pichler thought that the organizers stepped over the line by visiting her at her house; she said that, “It annoyed me that anybody could go and get information about me and come to my house.”<sup>41</sup>

Ms. Pichler would later learn that the tactics used by the union to discover her home address were illegal. In order to obtain Ms. Pichler’s and others’ home addresses, the unions spied on employees license plates and then used the license plates to tap private motor vehicle data. The whole scheme violated the 1994 Driver’s Privacy Protection Act, which prohibits the disclosure and use of personal information obtained through motor vehicle records, with some specific exceptions. Union organizing was not one of them. Outraged that union organizers would spy on them and track them down for organizing purposes, Ms. Pichler and other Cintas employees who were victimized by the union filed a lawsuit against the union involved, UNITE-HERE, in August 2006. U.S. District Court Judge Stewart Dalzell ruled in Ms. Pichler’s favor and ordered that statutory damages be awarded to the plaintiffs, a judgment which could cost UNITE-HERE a total of \$2.5 million to \$5 million dollars.<sup>42</sup>

The Cintas/Pichler case, however, is not the only example of a card check/corporate campaign that ran afoul of the law. This same dynamic was also seen in UNITE-HERE’s campaign against Angelica Corporation and Sutter Health. UNITE-HERE was trying to secure card check and neutrality agreements with non-union facilities operated by Angelica corporation, which provides linen management services for healthcare

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<sup>40</sup> American Rights at Work, “Employee Free Choice Act Fact Sheet: Why Majority Sign-Up Is Needed,” <http://araw.org/takeaction/efca/cardssummary.cfm#4>.

<sup>41</sup> Kris Maher, “In Novel Tactic, Cintas Workers Sue Union,” *Wall Street Journal*, December 27, 2005. Available at: [http://www.lawsgr.com/backline\\_media/documents/WallStreetJournalArticle.pdf](http://www.lawsgr.com/backline_media/documents/WallStreetJournalArticle.pdf)

<sup>42</sup> Jane M. Von Bergen, “Seeking to Unseal a Union’s Records: Antiunion Privacy Suit Fuels a Debate,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 29, 2006. Available at: <http://www.philly.com/ml/inquirer/1587319.htm>.

facilities. Sutter Health used Angelica for its own textiles in the past and, in April 2005, renewed most of its contracts with Angelica. Immediately prior to this decision, UNITE-HERE asked Sutter to discuss with them the labor issues at Angelica. Sutter Health refused this request.

Soon thereafter, UNITE-HERE mailed 11,000 postcards to “past, present, and prospective” Sutter Health patients. Some of the statements on the postcard included:

“You may be bringing home more than your baby if you deliver at Sutter birthing center...Reports have surfaced that Angelica, the laundry service utilized by Sutter, does not ensure that ‘clean’ linens are free of blood, feces, and harmful pathogens....Protect your newborn. Choose your birthing center wisely.”<sup>43</sup>

The main goal of the postcard was to pressure Angelica to sign a card check agreement through attacks on one of its customers, Sutter Health. The postcard, however, was factually incorrect. There was no evidence whatsoever that Sutter Health’s hospital sheets were contaminated with “blood, feces, and harmful pathogens” as the postcard stated. Faced with this false and unfair attack, the hospital sued UNITE-HERE for libel. In July 2006, a jury ruled in favor of Sutter Health, awarding the company \$17.2 million dollars in compensatory damages. At the time of this writing, UNITE-HERE is appealing the verdict.<sup>44</sup>

Under current labor law, card check elections can only be conducted if an employer agrees to the process. Naturally, many employers would not agree to the process under normal business circumstances. Cintas and Sutter Health are examples of union-launched corporate campaigns, designed to pressure companies and their employees into card check through external pressure.

Professor Jarol Manheim of George Washington University, a leading authority on corporate campaigns, describes these as:

“A multifaceted and often long-running attack on the business relationships on which a corporation (or an industry) depends for its well-being and success. It is a highly sophisticated form of warfare in which a target company is subjected to diverse attacks – legislative, regulatory, legal, economic, psychological – the

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<sup>43</sup> “Jury Finds UNITE HERE Libeled Hospitals, Awards Nearly \$17.3 Million to Sutter Health,” Bureau of National Affairs, Labor Relations Week, June 27, 2006.

<sup>44</sup> Mehul Srivastava, “UNITE HERE Hit With \$17.2 Million Decision in Sutter Defamation Suit,” *Sacramento Bee*, July 22, 2006

function of which is to so thoroughly undermine confidence in the company that it is no longer able to do business as usual.”<sup>45</sup>

Professor Manheim goes on to note the importance of corporate reputation and says that corporate campaigns attack “bedrock perceptions” that a company holds about its key stakeholders and business model. Professor Manheim cites many tactics that unions use in their corporate campaigns against employers, including establishing anti-company web sites and front groups, attacking the company’s safety or environmental practices, filing frivolous unfair labor practice claims, recruiting celebrities or prominent politicians to pressure the company, introducing shareholder resolutions to weaken the management or directors, and placing print, radio, television, billboard or other advertising attacking the company.<sup>46</sup>

But what is the real goal of a corporate campaign? Professor Manheim writes that, “Typically, the role of the corporate campaign today is to force management to accede to union demands for ‘card check and neutrality.’”<sup>47</sup>

In essence, unions hope that through ruthless, unfair, misleading attacks, the company will eventually give up and agree to a card check/ neutrality agreement, simply as a way to return their business life to normalcy. Instead of working hard to win the hearts and minds of the workers themselves, unions are trying to organize employers instead, with the hope that the employer will not be able to sustain the public relations barrage that accompanies a corporate campaign.

Needless to say, this model is far removed from the National Labor Relations Board process, which ensures that actual elections are held, that the people affected by unionization have a say in the final outcome, and that both sides receive a fair opportunity to discuss the pros and cons of unionization.

Charles Cohen, one of President Clinton’s appointees to the National Labor Relations Board, cited this external pressure as a reason why card checks are not the best way to judge the interests of the employees. In testimony before the House Education and Workforce Committee, Mr. Cohen notes that when employers agree to card check unionization, it is very often the result of outside pressure by the unions. By leveraging with unionized employees at other locations or political influence exerted through legislative or regulatory channels, large unions often force businesses to accept the card check system.

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<sup>45</sup> Jarol Manheim, *Trends in Union Corporate Campaigns: A Briefing Book*, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, 2005, 22. Available at: [http://www.uschamber.com/NR/rdonlyres/eizjeua6jb3cwx74drjp643bsjc2btgf7e6tc4h57cbg2x6gxtjz5hcrutpwtwlsdyv4mkfi6laa2kmqc7h2ab3f/Union\\_booklet\\_FINAL\\_small.pdf](http://www.uschamber.com/NR/rdonlyres/eizjeua6jb3cwx74drjp643bsjc2btgf7e6tc4h57cbg2x6gxtjz5hcrutpwtwlsdyv4mkfi6laa2kmqc7h2ab3f/Union_booklet_FINAL_small.pdf)

<sup>46</sup> For a complete list of common union tactics, see Jarol Manheim, *Trends in Union Corporate Campaigns*, 16-17.

<sup>47</sup> Manheim, 5.

This system, however, spends more time on the issue of card check than on the issues that matter to workers – wages, conditions, or working hours. It also means the organizers, representatives from larger unions, do not spend time getting the workers to see the benefit of unionization; the major effort, rather, is convincing outside bodies to force the corporation to allow it. This model diverges from the expectations of the National Labor Relations Act, in which the employees themselves work from within to better conditions.<sup>48</sup>

As Mr. Cohen correctly points out, any union organizing based on democratic principles should come from the voluntary decisions of employees themselves, not because of union pressure. The Employee Free Choice Act, however, would make these types of card check campaigns commonplace and place thousands of employees in the uncomfortable position of having to declare their intention to join a union out in the public.

What's also ironic is that The Employee Free Choice Act's chief legislative sponsor – Rep. George Miller (D-CA) – wrote a letter several years ago to the Mexican government advocating the use of secret ballots for union organizing in foreign countries.<sup>49</sup>

The Employee Free Choice Act would not end with eliminating secret ballot elections. In addition to changing the organizing process, The Employee Free Choice Act would also fundamentally change the way that first contracts are negotiated.

Right now, after an employer has been unionized through the NLRB election process, the employer and the union are required to sit down together and negotiate in good faith a first contract. This process can sometimes be difficult, especially if the employer and union do not have a prior working relationship together. But the negotiation process is also very useful, allowing both sides to become familiar with each other and work together on the important issues that will impact employees and the employer. It is also vital because the actors that will be affected by the eventual contract are the ones who will determine the final terms of the contract. If an employer and the union can not reach an agreement, the case can eventually be sent to arbitration, though there are legal incentives on both sides to avoid the arbitration process.

According to The Employee Free Choice Act, when a nonunion company is unionized through the card-check method, management and labor would only have 90 days to settle a contract. After that, the union could force the newly unionized company into government-supervised mediation. If the union and employer still have not reached

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<sup>48</sup> Cohen, 14-15.

<sup>49</sup> Orrin Hatch, "It's No Secret: Unionization by Intimidation," *National Review Online*, June 26, 2007, Available at: <http://article.nationalreview.com/?q=NDNhZmI1YzAxZjg3NjcwMGM1YTM2ODgxNDVhNzkyNmI=>

an agreement in another 30 days, a government-appointed arbitrator would set the final binding contract terms.

The end result is that instead of labor and management working together toward an agreement, government arbitrators would be setting wage and benefit levels for employees. That's because, in reality, negotiations for new contract terms almost always take longer than 90 or 120 days, especially when management and labor are negotiating for the first time.<sup>50</sup>

The biggest losers though with such compulsory arbitration are the workers themselves. Under these arbitration provisions, workers would not be allowed a secret ballot ratification vote on the new contract terms. Whatever the arbitrator decides would become the contract terms for all of the employees. This is a radical change from the current system which encourages workers to be active in the workplace and have a say on the contract terms that will govern their wages and benefits.

The only group that benefits from this type of mandatory arbitration is union leadership. From a philosophical perspective, union leaders have no objection to the government playing a bigger role in establishing wage and benefits. They would also gain a practical advantage too.

Often times during an organizing campaign, union bosses will "over promise" what they can deliver for the workers. Sometimes this leads to union members becoming disgruntled with the union during the vote on the first contract. If there is no vote on the first contract, the employees will not be able to voice their displeasure with union leaders. The union leadership essentially becomes unaccountable. They can promise whatever contract terms they want and then let government appointed-arbitrators force workers to accept contracts with significantly less favorable terms.

While the Employee Free Choice Act is clearly flawed legislation, its chances of actually becoming law are not entirely unrealistic. The bill was one of the first that Democrats heralded in the spring of 2007, passing by a wide margin of 241-184 in the House of Representatives.<sup>51</sup> The bill eventually faltered in the Senate and failed to pass a cloture vote. Only one Republican in the Senate – Sen. Arlen Specter (R-PA) – voted in favor of ending debate. Even if the bill would have somehow passed the Senate, President Bush had publicly said that he would have vetoed the legislation.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Hurtgen and Cohen, "Making Your Vote Count," 67-68. See also: Paul Kersey and James Sherk, "Binding Arbitration for Unions Endangers Competitiveness and Innovation," Heritage Foundation, March 5, 2007, Available at: <http://www.heritage.org/Research/Labor/wm1384.cfm>.

<sup>51</sup> Dale Russakoff, "Bill Easing Organization of Unions Passes House," *Washington Post*, March 2, 2007, A4. Available at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/03/01/AR2007030100692.html>

<sup>52</sup> Jesse Holland, "Senate Republicans Block Labor Bill," Associated Press, June 26, 2007, Available at: [http://www.boston.com/news/nation/washington/articles/2007/06/26/senate\\_republicans\\_block\\_union\\_bill/](http://www.boston.com/news/nation/washington/articles/2007/06/26/senate_republicans_block_union_bill/)

But unions have long realized that passing the Employee Free Choice Act is a long-term process. They introduced the bill into Republican-controlled Congresses where they knew it was headed nowhere. Gaining approval in the House of Representatives and at least a vote in the Senate was another step in a much larger process. Even though the bill was defeated, the unions will now turn to the 2008 elections and hope to make the Employee Free Choice Act a campaign issue. Union leaders have already put candidates on notice that in order to receive the unions' campaign contributions and manpower – critical resources for any Democratic presidential candidate – they will need to support The Employee Free Choice Act.

Stewart Acuff, national organizing director for the AFL-CIO, told the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette around the time of the Senate Employee Free Choice Act vote that, "We will do all we can to focus the election in '08 on fundamental economic issues, including the Employee Free Choice Act. It is our No. 1 priority."<sup>53</sup>

If a Democrat does ultimately win the White House race and both chambers of Congress are under Democratic control in 2009 – a not entirely impossible scenario given the current political climate – it is easy to imagine the Employee Free Choice Act passing Congress and being signed into law.

## **Conclusion**

The outcry that accompanied the new LM-2 forms suggested that union financial activity is now an open book. But this is not so. First, political activity is not always disclosed. Payments to third parties, often put down as charitable contributions, are in turn used for political activity. Examples of this are contributions to the Rainbow/Push Coalition from UNITE-HERE. Some of this can be observed from the forms, but other activity is still hidden.

Second, union's pensions and trusts are still unregulated. This prevents union members from knowing what is happening to their pension contributions. Whereas the Employee Retirement and Security Act of 1974 sets standards for pensions set up by employers, no such law regulates union pensions. It is vital that the same protection be extended to union-directed pensions so that union members know that their contributions are being wisely used and that pension funds will be available for a secure retirement.

Finally, unions regularly threaten and intimidate employers to allow workers to engage in unregulated, open votes, ensuring no outside interference from the NLRB, even going so far as to accuse the board's union-friendly voting procedure as being "employer-controlled."

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<sup>53</sup> Anya Sostek, "Union, Businesses, Pulling-Out All the Stops on Free-Choice Act," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, June 21, 2007, Available at: <http://www.post-gazette.com/pg/07172/795863-28.stm>

It is of vital importance that the LM-2 forms continue to be collected by the Department of Labor, and that they are submitted to a regular audit procedure. In that way, union members can find out how their union dues are being used. DOL should go even further and make union financial disclosure compulsory for union members' pensions and trusts in the same way that they review corporate-sponsored pension plans. Currently, they are exempt from scrutiny. Union members deserve the same protection as other members of our society, and financial transparency and regular audits are the way to provide such protection.

## Tables

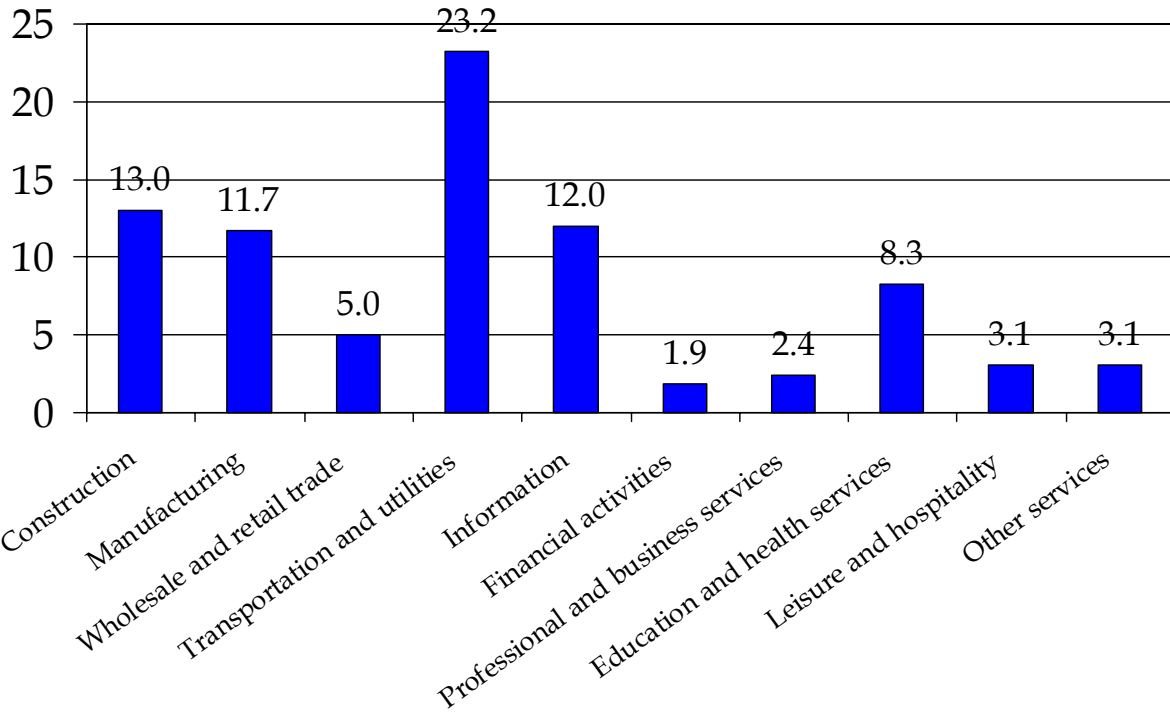
**Table 1: Revised Form LM-2 Major Provisions  
Effective on July 1, 2004**

<b>Filing Threshold</b>	The threshold for filing a Form LM-2 has been increased from \$200,000 to \$250,000 in total annual receipts.
<b>Method of Filing</b>	Form LM-2 must be filed electronically unless a hardship exemption is obtained from the Department.
<b>Receipts and Disbursements</b>	Certain categories of receipts and disbursements of \$5,000 or more must be individually identified and reported.
<b>Disbursement Categories from Statement B</b>	<p>Several disbursement categories from Statement B of the old Form LM-2 were eliminated, including <i>Office &amp; Administrative Expense, Education &amp; Publicity Expense, Professional Fees, and Other Disbursements.</i></p> <p>Several new disbursement categories were created for Statement B of Form LM-2, including <i>Representational Activities, Political Activities and Lobbying, General Overhead, Union Administration, and Strike Benefits.</i></p>
<b>New Schedules</b>	New schedules have been added for <i>Accounts Receivable, Accounts Payable, Membership Status, Representational Activities, Political Activities and Lobbying, General Overhead, and Union Administration.</i>
<b>Officer/Employee Report</b>	Form LM-2 filers must make a good faith estimate to the nearest 10% of the proportion of each officer's and employee's time spent in each of five categories on the Form LM-2 ( <i>Representational Activities; Political Activities and Lobbying; Contributions, Gifts and Grants; General Overheads; and Union Administration</i> ) and report that percentage of gross salary in the relevant schedule.

Source: Office of Labor-Management Standards, U.S. Department of Labor.

**Table 2: Union Membership Rates in the Private Sectors, 2006**

Percent of employed wage and salary workers



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics.

**Table 3: Union Membership Percentage of Nonagricultural Employment 1964-2000**

State	Union Membership 1964	Union Membership 2000	Percent change +/-
Michigan	44.8	21.0	-53%
Pennsylvania	37.7	17.0	-55%
Ohio	37.6	17.5	-53%
West Virginia	36.5	14.4	-61%
Georgia	11.9	6.3	-47%
North Carolina	8.4	3.7	-56%
South Carolina	7.0	4.1	-41%
Florida	14.0	9.6	-51%

Source: Monthly Labor Review, Bureau of Labor Statistics

**Table 4: Harris Interactive Polling Question**

"In general, how would you rate the job being done by (READ ITEM) – excellent, good, fair, or poor?"

Base: All Adults

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Not Sure	Positive*	Negative**
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Labor Unions							
August 2005	7	25	47	18	3	32	68
1993	4	30	39	23	4	34	62
Corporate America							
August 2005	7	32	39	21	1	39	61
1993	4	39	44	11	3	43	54

\*Positive = excellent or good.

\*\*Negative = fair or poor

Source: Harris Interactive

**Table 5: Union PAC Donations/Household Vote**

Year	PAC Donations			Union Household Vote	
	Dem	Rep		Dem	Rep
1992	94%	5%		55%	24%
1996	93%	6%		59%	30%
2000	94%	6%		59%	37%
2004	87%	13%		59%	40%

Source: Data from New York Times presidential exit polls and the Center for Responsible Politics, compiled by Bryan O’Keefe.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Bryan O’Keefe, “Unions Hope to Put Democrats in Power,” *Labor Watch*, November 2006.

**Table 6: UNION EXPENDITURES FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITIES (GREATER THAN \$1,000,000) AT A GLANCE**

Organization Name	Organization Address	Payee Name	Payee Address	Category	Purpose	Itemized	Non-Itemized	Grand Total
SERVICE EMPLOYEES COUNCIL	1007 7TH STREET 4TH FLOOR, SACRAMENTO, CA 958143407	NO ON 75	555 Capitol Mall, Ste 1425, Sacramento, CA 95814	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	Political Donation In-Kind	\$9,900,000	\$0	\$9,900,000
SERVICE EMPLOYEES NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1313 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, DC 20005	Pea Fund International	1313L Street NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20005	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	Political Action Fund	\$8,860,020	\$0	\$8,860,020
AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	815 16TH STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20006	WORKING AMERICA	815 16TH ST NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20006	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	Directly Affiliated Local Union	\$7,150,000	\$0	\$7,150,000
SERVICE EMPLOYEES COUNCIL	1007 7TH STREET 4TH FLOOR, SACRAMENTO, CA 958143407	ALLIANCE FOR A BETTER CA	555 Capitol Mall, Ste 1425, Sacramento, CA 95814	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	Political Contribution	\$5,450,500	\$0	\$5,450,500
AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	815 16TH STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20006	COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION-TREASURY FUND	815 16TH ST NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20006	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	527 Political Organization	\$3,431,590	\$0	\$3,431,590
AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	815 16TH STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20006	MALCHOW SCHLACKMAN HOPPEY & COOPER, INC.	1101 14TH ST., N.W., 3RD FL, WASHINGTON, DC 20005	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	Political Media Consultant	\$2,971,618	\$1,500	\$2,973,118
STATE COUNTY & MUNI EMPLS AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 1000	143 WASHINGTON AVE, ALBANY, NY 12210	CSE POLITICAL ACTION FUND	P.O. BOX 10029, ALBANY, NY 12207	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	AFFILIATES	\$2,568,413	\$3,968	\$2,572,381
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASN IND NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1201 16TH ST N W STE 422, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	CALIFORNIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION	1705 MURCHISON DRIVE, BURLINGAME, CA 940110921	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	State Association	\$2,556,370	\$6,408	\$2,562,778
SERVICE EMPLOYEES NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1313 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, DC 20005	California State Council of Services	Employees Issues Committee, 1007 7th St 4th Fl, Sacramento, CA 958140000	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	State Council	\$2,250,000	\$0	\$2,250,000
SERVICE EMPLOYEES LOCAL UNION 1199	310 WEST 43RD STREET, NEW YORK, NY 100366407	1199SEIU NON FEDERAL COMMITTEE	330 West 42nd Street, New York, NY 10036	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	Pol Action Comm	\$2,207,793	\$0	\$2,207,793
AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	815 16TH STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20006	ALLIANCE FOR RETIRED AMERICANS	888 16TH STREET, NW, WASHINGTON, DC 200064103	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	Allied Organization	\$1,949,996	\$0	\$1,949,996
TEACHERS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	555 NEW JERSEY AVE NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20001	MURPHY PUTNAM SHORR PARTNERS	1831 CHESTNUT STREET #602, PHILADELPHIA, PA 19103	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	PROFESSIONAL SERVICES	\$1,859,819	\$0	\$1,859,819
AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	815 16TH STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20006	WINNING DIRECTIONS INC.	1366 SAN MATEO AVENUE, SOUTH SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94080	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	Political Media Consultant	\$1,805,345	\$0	\$1,805,345
SERVICE EMPLOYEES COUNCIL	1007 7TH STREET 4TH FLOOR, SACRAMENTO, CA 958143407	STRATEGY GROUP	35 S. Raymond Ave, Ste #405, Pasadena, CA 91105	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	Design and production print company	\$1,601,249	\$0	\$1,601,249
STATE COUNTY & MUNI EMPLS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1625 L STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	AFSCME OHIO UNITED	6805 OAK CREEK DRIVE, COLUMBUS, OH 43229	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	AFSCME AFFILIATE RELATED ORG	\$1,463,146	\$0	\$1,463,146
AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	815 16TH STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20006	WEBSHARE PUBLISHING, INC.	1101 14TH STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, DC 20005	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	Internet Direct Marketing	\$1,371,154	\$4,627	\$1,375,781

**Table 6 Continued**

Organization Name	Organization Address	Payee Name	Payee Address	Category	Purpose	Itemized	Non-Itemized	Grand Total
STATE COUNTY & MUNI EMPLS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1625 L STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	UNION PEOPLE PRODUCIS INC	855 NORTH DIRKSEN PARKWAY, SPRINGFIELD, IL 67202	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	LOGO SPECIFIC SUPPLY COMPANY	\$1,281,849	\$6,893	<b>\$1,288,742</b>
AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	815 16TH STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20006	BYNUM CONSULTING GROUP, INC.	44 TRAVIS CORNER, GARRISON, NY 10524	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	Consultant	\$1,279,055	\$0	<b>\$1,279,055</b>
SERVICE EMPLOYEES COUNCIL	SUITE 2500, 111 EAST WACKER DR, CHICAGO, IL 60601	SEIU ILLINOIS COUNCIL PAC FUND	111 E. WACKER DR, #2500, CHICAGO, IL 60601	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	POLITICAL ORGANIZATION	\$1,157,951	\$0	<b>\$1,157,951</b>
TEACHERS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	555 NEW JERSEY AVE NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20001	VOTE/COPE SPECIAL ACCOUNT	800 TROY-SCHENECTADY RD, LATHAM, NY 121102455	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	AFFILIATE	\$1,100,000	\$0	<b>\$1,100,000</b>
STATE COUNTY & MUNI EMPLS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1625 L STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	AMERICANS UNITED TO PROTECT SOCIAL SECURITY	1025 CONN. AVE.NW SUITE 205, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	ISSUE ADVOCACY GROUP	\$1,090,500	\$0	<b>\$1,090,500</b>
SERVICE EMPLOYEES NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1313 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, DC 20005	MacWilliams Robinson & Partners	Suite 301, 1660 L Street N.W., Washington, DC 200360000	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	Public Relations	\$1,031,364	\$42,729	<b>\$1,074,093</b>
FOOD & COMMERCIAL WKRS NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1775 K STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20006	UFCW REG 8 ST. CNCL ISSUE EDUCATION FUND	8530 STATON AVENUE, BUENA PARK, CA 906200000	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	AFFILIATED CHARTER BODY	\$1,000,000	\$0	<b>\$1,000,000</b>
SERVICE EMPLOYEES COUNCIL	1007 7TH STREET 4TH FLOOR, SACRAMENTO, CA 958143407	NO ON 76	555 Capitol Mall, Ste 1425, Sacramento, CA 95814	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	Political Donation In-Kind	\$1,000,000	\$0	<b>\$1,000,000</b>
STATE COUNTY & MUNI EMPLS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1625 L STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	COMMUNITIES UNITED TO STRENGTHEN AMERICA	1050 17TH STREET NW SUITE, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	POLITICAL ORGANIZATION	\$1,000,000	\$0	<b>\$1,000,000</b>

Source: Office of Labor-Management Standards, U.S. Department of Labor.

**Table 7: UNION CONTRIBUTIONS TO RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION**

**(in Fiscal Years 2005 and 2006)**

<b>Organization Name</b>	<b>Organization Address</b>	<b>Fiscal Year</b>	<b>File Number</b>	<b>Payee Name</b>	<b>Payee Address</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Purpose</b>	<b>Itemized</b>	<b>Non-Itemized</b>	<b>Grand Total</b>
FOOD & COMMERCIAL WKRS NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1775 K STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20006	2006	56	RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION	930 EAST 50TH ST, CHICAGO, IL 606150000	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	ADVOCACY GROUP	\$70,000	\$0	<b>\$70,000</b>
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASN IND NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1201 16TH ST N W STE 422, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	2006	342	RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION	930 EAST 50TH STREET, CHICAGO, IL 60615	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	Membership Organization	\$5,000	\$0	<b>\$5,000</b>
SERVICE EMPLOYEES LEADERSHIP COUNCIL	SUITE 2500, 111 EAST WACKER DR, CHICAGO, IL 60601	2006	507151	RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION/CEF	803486, CHICAGO, IL 60616	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	CHARITABLE ORGANIZATION	\$6,000	\$0	<b>\$6,000</b>
SERVICE EMPLOYEES LOCAL UNION 1199	310 WEST 43RD STREET, NEW YORK, NY 100366407	2006	31847	Rainbow/Push Coalition	930 E. 50th Street, Chicago, IL 60615	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	Non-Profit Organization	\$50,000	\$0	<b>\$50,000</b>
SERVICE EMPLOYEES LOCAL UNION 1199	310 WEST 43RD STREET, NEW YORK, NY 100366407	2006	31847	Rainbow/Push Coalition	930 E. 50th Street, Chicago, IL 60615	GENERAL OVERHEAD(PAYEE)	Non-Profit Organization	\$8,075	\$850	<b>\$8,925</b>
SERVICE EMPLOYEES LOCAL UNION 2005	560 THOMAS L BERKLEY WAY, OAKLAND, CA 946121602	2006	543099	RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION	PO BOX 803486, CHICAGO, IL 60680	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	NON PROFIT	\$5,325	\$0	<b>\$5,325</b>
SERVICE EMPLOYEES LOCAL UNION 2005	560 THOMAS L BERKLEY WAY, OAKLAND, CA 946121602	2006	543099	RAINBOW/PUSH	930 EAST 50TH STREET, CHICAGO, IL 60615	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	NON PROFIT	\$72,000	\$0	<b>\$72,000</b>
SERVICE EMPLOYEES NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS 0	1800 Massachusetts Avenue, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	2006	137	Rainbow/Push Coalition	930 East 50th Street, Chicago, IL 606150000	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	Issue Advocacy Organization	\$100,000	\$0	<b>\$100,000</b>
STATE COUNTY & MUNI EMPLS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1625 L STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	2006	289	RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION	930 EAST 50TH STREET, CHICAGO, IL 60615	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	ISSUE ADVOCACY GROUP	\$70,000	\$3,000	<b>\$73,000</b>

**Table 7 Continued**

Organization Name	Organization Address	Fiscal Year	File Number	Payee Name	Payee Address	Category	Purpose	Itemized	Non-Itemized	Grand Total
TEAMSTERS LOCAL UNION 705	1645 W. JACKSON BLVD 7TH FL, CHICAGO, IL 60612	2006	43508	RAINBOW / PUSH COALITION	930 EAST 50TH STREET, CHICAGO, IL 60615	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION	\$5,000	\$0	\$5,000
TEAMSTERS NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	25 LOUISIANA AVENUE NW, WASHINGTON, DC 200012130	2006	93	RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION	NATL HEADQUARTERS, 930 EAST 50TH STREET, CHICAGO, IL 60615	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	CIVIC CHARITY	\$10,000	\$0	\$10,000
TRANSPORT WORKERS AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 100	80 WEST END AVE., NEW YORK, NY 10023	2006	3424	Rainbow/Push Coalition Inc.	930 East 50th St., Chicago, IL 60615	GENERAL OVERHEAD(PAYEE)	Conference	\$10,000	\$2,225	\$12,225
UNITE-HERE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS 0	11TH FLOOR, 275 SEVENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, NY 100016708	2006	511	Rainbow/Push Coalition	930 E 50th Street, Chicago, IL 60615	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	Contribution	\$0	\$6,000	\$6,000
AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	815 16TH STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20006	2005	106	RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION, INC.	RPC/CEF ANNUAL CONFERENCE, CHICAGO, IL 606803486	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	501(c)3 Organization	\$5,000	\$0	\$5,000
FOOD & COMMERCIAL WKRS NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1775 K STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20006	2005	56	RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION	930 EAST 50TH ST, CHICAGO, IL 606150000	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	ADVOCACY GROUP	\$45,000	\$25,000	\$70,000
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASN IND NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS 0	1201 16TH ST N W STE 422, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	2005	342	RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION	930 EAST 50TH STREET, CHICAGO, IL 60615	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	Membership Organization	\$5,000	\$0	\$5,000
POSTAL WORKERS, AMERICAN, AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	MOE BILLER BUILDING, 1300 L STREET, NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20005	2005	510	RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION INC	WASHINGTON, DC 20007	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	CHARITY	\$20,000	\$0	\$20,000
SERVICE EMPLOYEES LEADERSHIP COUNCIL	SUITE 2500, 111 EAST WACKER DR, CHICAGO, IL 60601	2005	507151	RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION/CEF	803486, CHICAGO, IL 60616	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	CHARITABLE ORGANIZATION	\$5,000	\$2,000	\$7,000
SERVICE EMPLOYEES DISTRICT 1199	77 HUYSHOPE AVENUE, HARTFORD, CT 61067004	2005	513846	NATIONAL RAINBOW COALITION	1131 8TH ST, NE, WASHINGTON, DC 200023622	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	ADVOCACY ORGANIZATION	\$0	\$12,000	\$12,000

**Table 7 Continued**

SERVICE EMPLOYEES LOCAL UNION 1199	310 WEST 43RD STREET, NEW YORK, NY 100366407	2005	31847	Rainbow/Push Coalition	930 East 50th Street, Chicago, IL 60615	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	Non-Profit Org	\$50,000	\$0	\$50,000
SERVICE EMPLOYEES LOCAL UNION 2005	560 THOMAS L BERKLEY WAY, OAKLAND, CA 946121602	2005	543099	RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION	930 50TH STREET, CHICAGO, IL 60615	REPRESENTATIONAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	NON PROFIT	\$5,750	\$0	\$5,750
SERVICE EMPLOYEES LOCAL UNION 2005	560 THOMAS L BERKLEY WAY, OAKLAND, CA 946121602	2005	543099	RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION	930 EAST 50TH STREET, CHICAGO, IL 60615	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	NON PROFIT	\$60,000	\$12,000	\$72,000
SERVICE EMPLOYEES NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1313 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, DC 20005	2005	137	Rainbow/Push Coalition	930 East 50th Street, Chicago, IL 606150000	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	Issue Advocacy Group	\$150,000	\$2,000	\$152,000
STATE COUNTY & MUNI EMPLS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1625 L STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	2005	289	RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION	930 EAST 50TH STREET, CHICAGO, IL 606152702	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	ISSUE ADVOCACY GROUP	\$150,000	\$0	\$150,000
TEAMSTERS LOCAL UNION 705	1645 W. JACKSON BLVD 7TH FL, CHICAGO, IL 60612	2005	43508	RAINBOW / PUSH COALITION	930 EAST 50TH STREET, CHICAGO, IL 60615	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION	\$5,000	\$0	\$5,000
TEAMSTERS NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	25 LOUISIANA AVENUE NW, WASHINGTON, DC 200012130	2005	93	RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION	930 EAST 50TH STREET, CHICAGO, IL 60615	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	Charity-Civic Betterment	\$10,000	\$0	\$10,000
UNITE-HERE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	10TH FLOOR, 275 SEVENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, NY 100016708	2005	511	RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION	1131 8th ST NE, WASHINGTON, DC 20002	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	Charitable Organization	\$0	\$18,000	\$18,000

Source: Office of Labor-Management Standards, U.S. Department of Labor.

**Table 8: SEIU Contributions to “Third-Party” Organization**

Organization	Amount Contributed
Alliance For Health Reform	\$5,000
People for the American Way	\$104,912
Center for Policy Alternatives	\$5,000
National Conference of State Legislators	\$10,810
National Coalition on Health Care	\$5,000
Committee for Education Funding	\$9,145
Ballot Initiative Strategy Center	\$35,000
Republican Main Street Partnership	\$39,537
United States Student Association	\$50,000
Oregonians for Health Security	\$251,645
Wellstone Action	\$6,625
America Votes	\$26,203
Universal Health Care Action	\$46,075
GA Association of Latino Elected Officials	\$50,000
CBC Institute	\$25,000
Sierra Club	\$50,115
Democracy Alliance	\$215,000
Americans United to Protect Social Security	\$202,370
Democratic GAIN	\$10,000
League of Rural Voters	\$10,000
Progressive Legislative Action Network	\$89,000
Voter Activation Network	\$6,450
Campaign For Our Children’s Future	\$1,150,000

<b>Table 8 Continued</b>	
The Joint Campaign	\$51,093
New Organizing Institute	\$46,500
Community Labor Administrative Services	\$150,000
Gaffney Community Benefit Fund	\$5,000
The Huron Area Fund	\$5,000
The State Stop Question 726 Committee	\$25,195
US Action	\$50,000
They Work For Us	\$105,400
PreSchool for All	\$100,000
Michigan 21 <sup>st</sup> Century Fund	\$60,000
Oregon State Action	\$30,000
People for the American Way Foundation	\$200,000
Citizen's/People's Choice	\$15,000
Defend Oregon Coalition	\$100,000
CPC Arizona Minimum Wage Fund	\$600,000
Advancing Wisconsin	\$47,511
Action Alliance of Senior Citizens	\$6,647
Committee to Protect Our Children	\$100,000
Citizens Who Support Maine's Public Schools	\$140,000
One United Michigan	\$110,000
Defend Michigan/Vote No on Prop 6	\$25,000
Nevadans Working to Get Ahead	\$100,000
Fair Wisconsin	\$20,000

<b>Table 8 Continued</b>	
Coloradans For Fairness	\$150,000
ACORN	\$71,698
US Action	\$105,000
Citizen's/People Choice	\$35,000
Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute	\$10,000
Older Women's League	\$10,000
Alliance for Justice	\$5,000
National Council of La Raza	\$40,000
Human Rights Campaign	\$5,000
Pride at Work	\$16,000
Campaign for America's Future	\$35,000
Southern Christian Leadership Conference	\$25,000
Illinois ACORN	\$100,000
National Gay and Lesbian Task Force	\$5,000
Wisconsin Citizen Action	\$215,000
Interfaith Committee for Workers Justice	\$150,000
Rock the Vote	\$160,000
Rainbow/Push Coalition	\$100,000
Sierra Club	\$50,000
Five Stones	\$3,200,000
Air America Radio	\$13,636
Congressional Black Caucus Foundation	\$44,000
Texas U.S. Supreme Court Litigation Fund	\$25,000
Arizonans Against A Bad Idea	\$5,000

<b>Table 8 Continued</b>	
Clean Election Institute Action Fund	\$5,000
Michigan Needs A Raise	\$25,000
Economic Policy Institute	\$100,000
New Democrat Network	\$140,000
Michigan Voter Education Program	\$25,000
Working for Michigan's Future	\$5,000
Blogpower.org (Daily Kos)	\$5,000
NAACP	\$10,000
National Hip Hop Political Convention	\$15,000
America's Families United	\$15,000
Defend Oregon Coalition	\$50,000
One Wisconsin Now	\$50,000
League of Independent Voters	\$40,000
Center for American Progress	\$50,000
Not in Montana	\$50,000
Fair Election Legal Network	\$5,000
Massachusetts Ballot Freedom Committee	\$25,000

Source: Office of Labor-Management Standards, U.S. Department of Labor.

**Table 9: TOP, MEDIAN, AND BOTTOM UNIONS IN TERMS OF SPENDING ON POLITICAL  
ACTIVITIES & LOBBYING  
(in Fiscal Year 2006)**

Organization Name	Organization Address	Political Activities & Lobbying
<b>Top</b>		
STATE COUNTY & MUNI EMPLS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1625 L STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	\$34,160,026
AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	815 16TH STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20006	\$29,585,661
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASN IND NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1201 16TH ST N W STE 422, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	\$26,934,620
<b>Median</b>		
TEAMSTERS LOCAL UNION 683	2731 B STREET, SAN DIEGO, CA 92102	\$4,437
ELECTRICAL WORKERS IBEW AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 197	2407 BEICH ROAD, BLOOMINGTON, IL 61704-5270	\$4,437
AUTO WORKERS AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 2256	2114 NORTH EAST STREET, LANSING, MI 48906-4103	\$4,430
<b>Bottom</b>		
PLUMBERS AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 354	P O BOX DRAWER 1, YOUNGWOOD, PA 15697	\$0
POSTAL WORKERS, AMERICAN, AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 749	1957 10TH AVENUE NORTH, LAKE WORTH, FL 33461	\$0
SECURITY POLICE, FIRE PROF, IND LOCAL UNION 502	PO BOX 191, BADEN, PA 15005-0191	\$0

Source: Office of Labor-Management Standards, U.S. Department of Labor.

**Table 10: TOP-PAID 50 UNION OFFICERS (in Fiscal Year 2005)**

Organization Name	Address	Last Name	First Name	Mid. Initial	Title/Status	Gross Salary	Allowances	Official Disbursements	Other Disbursements	Total Disbursements	Rank
PROFESSIONAL ATHLETES, FED, AFL-CIO FEDERATION	6TH FLOOR 2021 L STREET, NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	UPSHAW	EUGENE		EXECUTIVE DIREC/C	\$2,306,585	\$6,600	\$104,582	\$0	<b>\$2,417,767</b>	1
PLUMBERS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	P O BOX 37800 , WASHINGTON, DC 20013	MADDALONI	MARTIN		GENERAL PRESIDENT/P	\$1,215,583	\$24,557	\$25,360	\$46,665	<b>\$1,312,165</b>	2
MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL PLAYERS ASN	12 E 49TH STREET, 24TH FLR, NEW YORK, NY 100178207	Fehr	Donald	M	EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR/C	\$1,000,000	\$0	\$0	\$0	<b>\$1,000,000</b>	3
PROFESSIONAL ATHLETES, FED, AFL-CIO FEDERATION	6TH FLOOR 2021 L STREET, NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	MCNABB	DONOVA		PLAYER REPRESN/N	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$901,002	<b>\$901,002</b>	4
PLUMBERS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	P O BOX 37800 , WASHINGTON, DC 20013	PATCHELL	THOMAS		GENERAL SECRETARY TREASUR/P	\$794,721	\$25,200	\$11,369	\$43,592	<b>\$874,882</b>	5
STATE COUNTY & MUNI EMPLS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1625 L STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	McEntee	Gerald		Intl President/C	\$336,185	\$7,200	\$225,230	\$16,365	<b>\$584,980</b>	6
LABORERS NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	905 16TH STREET, WASHINGTON, DC 200061765	O'Sullivan	Terence	M	General President/C	\$281,377	\$34,320	\$42,590	\$170,135	<b>\$528,422</b>	7
AIR LINE PILOTS ASN AFLCIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	535 HERNDON PARKWAY, HERNDON, VA 20170	WOERTH	DUANE	E	PRESIDENT/C	\$351,186	\$132,105	\$0	\$4,639	<b>\$487,930</b>	8
STATE COUNTY & MUNI EMPLS AFL-CIO DISTRICT COUNCIL 33	9TH FLOOR 3001 WALNUT STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA 191043414	Matthews	Herman	J	President/C	\$216,004	\$4,142	\$11,352	\$236,249	<b>\$467,747</b>	9

**Table 10 Continued**

TRANSPORTATION COMM UNION AFL- CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	3 RESEARCH PLACE, ROCKVILLE, MD 20850	SCARDELLETTI	ROBERT		INT'L PRES/C	\$234,111	\$0	\$228,062	\$4,752	<b>\$466,925</b>	10
TREASURY EMPLOYEES UNION IND NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	NATL TREAS EMPLOYEES UNION 1750 H STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 200064600	KELLEY	COLLEEN	M	NATIONAL PRESIDENT/C	\$208,267	\$650	\$31,170	\$226,226	<b>\$466,313</b>	11
JOURNEYMEN & ALLIED TRADES IND, NHQ LODGE	138 50 QUEENS BOULEVARD, BRIARWOOD, NY 114352642	BYRNE	EDWARD		SECRETARY TREASURER/C	\$453,365	\$0	\$5,665	\$2,941	<b>\$461,971</b>	12
LONGSHOREMENS ASN AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	SUITE 930 17 BATTERY PLACE, NEW YORK, NY 10004	Gleason	Robert	E	Sect-Treasurer/C	\$430,258	\$0	\$22,636	\$8,888	<b>\$461,782</b>	13
JOURNEYMEN & ALLIED TRADES IND, NHQ LODGE	138 50 QUEENS BOULEVARD, BRIARWOOD, NY 114352642	DEVITO SR	PETER		EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT/C	\$453,365	\$0	\$5,489	\$1,349	<b>\$460,203</b>	14
PLUMBERS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	P O BOX 37800 , WASHINGTON, DC 20013	BLISS	GEORGE		DIR TRAINING/P	\$250,552	\$36,720	\$28,816	\$140,556	<b>\$456,644</b>	15
TRANSPORTATION COMM UNION AFL- CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	3 RESEARCH PLACE, ROCKVILLE, MD 20850	RANDOLPH, JR.	HOWARD		IST/C	\$148,488	\$0	\$291,310	\$4,507	<b>\$444,305</b>	16
COMMUNICATIONS											
WORKERS AFL-CIO NATIONAL	501 3RD STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, DC 20001	BINDAS	MICHAEL		IUE CWA PRESIDE/P	\$414,033	\$6,000	\$23,457	\$0	<b>\$443,490</b>	17
HEADQUARTERS											
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASN IND NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1201 16TH ST N W STE 422, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	Weaver	Reg		NEA President/C	\$272,170	\$98,258	\$63,036	\$5,456	<b>\$438,920</b>	18

**Table 10 Continued**

FOOD & COMMERCIAL WKRS LOCAL UNION 464	245 PATERSON AVE, LITTLE FALLS, NJ 74241607	Niccolai	John	T	President/C	\$412,172	\$0	\$5,051	\$737	<b>\$417,960</b>	19
LONGSHOREMENS ASN AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	SUITE 930 17 BATTERY PLACE, NEW YORK, NY 10004	Bowers	John		President/C	\$413,556	\$0	\$4,325	\$0	<b>\$417,881</b>	20
SERVICE EMPLOYEES LOCAL UNION 74	24-09 38TH STREET, LONG ISLAND CITY, NY 11101	ALLADEEN	SAL		PRESIDENT/C	\$385,020	\$0	\$23,634	\$0	<b>\$408,654</b>	21
ENGINEERS, OPERATING, AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1125 17TH STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, DC 20036	HANLEY	FRANCIS	X	GENERAL PRESIDENT/P	\$386,097	\$2,733	\$10,838	\$197	<b>\$399,865</b>	22
NATIONAL PRODUCTION WKRS UNION IND NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	2210 MIDWEST ROAD SUITE 310, OAK BROOK, IL 60521	SENESE	JOSEPH	V	PRESIDENT/C	\$399,190	\$0	\$0	\$0	<b>\$399,190</b>	23
ENGINEERS, OPERATING, AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1125 17TH STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, DC 20036	GIBLIN	VINCENT	J	GENERAL PRESIDENT/C	\$303,118	\$8,800	\$46,029	\$40,872	<b>\$398,819</b>	24
SHEET METAL WORKERS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1750 NEW YORK AVE NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20006	SULLIVAN	MICHAEL	J	GENERAL PRESIDENT/C	\$263,092	\$96,545	\$21,116	\$11,355	<b>\$392,108</b>	25
UNITE-HERE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	10TH FLOOR 275 SEVENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, NY 100016708	Wilhelm	John	W	President Hospitality Ind/C	\$248,412	\$3,000	\$130,911	\$7,700	<b>\$390,023</b>	26
LABORERS NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	905 16TH STREET, WASHINGTON, DC 200061765	Sabitoni	Armand		Gen Secretary-Treasurer/C	\$264,495	\$34,320	\$77,116	\$11,163	<b>\$387,094</b>	27
PAINTERS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1750 NEW YORK AVENUE, NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20006	Williams	James	A	General President/C	\$274,311	\$36,400	\$68,726	\$6,114	<b>\$385,551</b>	28
CARPENTERS IND COUNCIL	3800 WOODWARD AVE STE 1200, DETROIT, MI 48201	MABRY	WALTER	R	EXECUTIVE SECRETARY / TRE/C	\$316,620	\$21,200	\$45,325	\$2,354	<b>\$385,499</b>	29

**Table 10 Continued**

CARPENTERS IND NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	10TH FLOOR 101 CONSTITUTION AVENUE NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20001	McCarron	Douglas	J	GENERAL PRESIDENT/C	\$355,429	\$3,000	\$24,223	\$0	<b>\$382,652</b>	30
FOOD & COMMERCIAL WKRS LOCAL UNION 464	245 PATERSON AVE, LITTLE FALLS, NJ 74241607	Rando	Ramon		Sec/Treasurer/ C	\$364,043	\$0	\$11,863	\$599	<b>\$376,505</b>	31
PLASTERERS & CEMENT MASONS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	14405 LAUREL PLACE STE 300, LAUREL, MD 20707	Dougherty	John		President/C	\$331,385	\$0	\$43,857	\$0	<b>\$375,242</b>	32
TEACHERS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	555 NEW JERSEY AVE NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20001	MCELROY	EDWARD		PRESIDENT/C	\$281,256	\$32,892	\$50,408	\$9,167	<b>\$373,723</b>	33
BLDG & CONSTRN TRADES	SUITE 600 815 16TH STREET										
DEPT AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	NW, WASHINGTON, DC 200064104	Sullivan	Edward	C	President/C	\$272,203	\$18,200	\$54,995	\$290	<b>\$345,688</b>	34
IRON WORKERS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	UNITED UNIONS BUILDING 1750 NEW YORK AVE NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20006	Hunt	Joseph	J	General President/C	\$261,240	\$29,120	\$37,941	\$15,703	<b>\$344,004</b>	35
FOOD & COMMERCIAL WKRS LOCAL UNION 588	SUITE 100 2200 PROFESSIONAL DR, ROSEVILLE, CA 956617744	Loveall	Jack	L	President/P	\$341,296	\$0	\$0	\$0	<b>\$341,296</b>	36
BOILERMAKERS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	SUITE 565 753 STATE AVE, KANSAS CITY, KS 66101	Jones	Newton		International President/C	\$183,972	\$0	\$157,035	\$0	<b>\$341,007</b>	37

**Table 10 Continued**

UNITE-HERE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	10TH FLOOR 275 SEVENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, NY 100016708	Raynor	Bruce	S	General President/C	\$248,412	\$3,000	\$85,517	\$2,114	<b>\$339,043</b>	38
PLASTERERS & CEMENT MASONS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	14405 LAUREL PLACE STE 300, LAUREL, MD 20707	Finley	Patrick		Sec-Treasurer/C	\$303,894	\$0	\$34,882	\$0	<b>\$338,776</b>	39
CARPENTERS IND	10TH FLOOR 101				GENERAL						
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	CONSTITUTION AVENUE NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20001	Silins	Andris	J	SECRETARY  TREAS/C	\$288,794	\$3,000	\$46,148	\$0	<b>\$337,942</b>	40
SHEET METAL WORKERS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1750 NEW YORK AVE NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20006	KELLY	THOMAS	J	GENERAL SECRETARYTREASUR/C	\$220,995	\$96,545	\$11,334	\$8,331	<b>\$337,205</b>	41
FOOD & COMMERCIAL WKRS NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1775 K STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20006	HANSEN	JOSEPH	T	INTERNATION AL PRESIDENT/C	\$297,763	\$0	\$39,013	\$0	<b>\$336,776</b>	42
LONGSHOREMENS ASN AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	SUITE 930 17 BATTERY PLACE, NEW YORK, NY 10004	Owens	Gerald		Gen. Organizer/C	\$308,759	\$0	\$15,378	\$8,632	<b>\$332,769</b>	43
COMMUNICATIONS											
WORKERS AFL-CIO LOCAL	1645 , LOGAN, WV 256011645	DERISO	FRANK		PRESIDENT/C	\$252,576	N/A	N/A	\$80,185	<b>\$332,761</b>	44
UNION 2002											

**Table 10 Continued**

BOILERMAKERS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	SUITE 565 753 STATE AVE, KANSAS CITY, KS 66101	Albright	Richard		Int'l Vice President/C	\$226,061	\$12,400	\$93,935	\$0	<b>\$332,396</b>	45
TEACHERS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	555 NEW JERSEY AVE NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20001	LACOUR	NATHANIEL		SECRETARYTREASURER/C	\$229,949	\$33,192	\$54,677	\$14,150	<b>\$331,968</b>	46
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASN IND NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1201 16TH ST N W STE 422, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	Eskelsen	Lily		NEA Secty/Treas/C	\$223,104	\$49,143	\$55,612	\$1,519	<b>\$329,378</b>	47
LONGSHOREMENS ASN AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS 0	SUITE 930 17 BATTERY PLACE, NEW YORK, NY 10004	Holland Jr	Benny		Gen. Vice Pres/C	\$287,009	\$0	\$26,300	\$13,505	<b>\$326,814</b>	48
PROFESSIONAL ATHLETES, FED, AFL-CIO FEDERATION	6TH FLOOR 2021 L STREET, NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	ALLEN	PATRICI		EXECUTIVE VICE/C	\$298,777	\$4,800	\$22,940	\$0	<b>\$326,517</b>	49
FOOD & COMMERCIAL WKRS NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS 0	1775 K STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20006	NEBEKER	GARY	R	RETIRED INTL VP/P	\$238,881	\$120	\$30,288	\$56,959	<b>\$326,248</b>	50

Source: Office of Labor-Management Standards, U.S. Department of Labor.

**Table 11: PLUMBERS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS**

**Disbursements to Union Officers Greater Than \$200,000 at a Glance (in Fiscal Year 2006)**

Last Name	First Name	Middle Initial	Title/Status	Gross Salary	Allowances	Official Disbursements	Other Disbursements	Total Disbursements	Representational Activities (%)	Political Activities (%)	Contributions (%)	General Overhead (%)	Administration (%)	Comparative Statistics:
HITE	WILLIAM		GENERAL PRESIDENT/C	\$277,800	\$48,600	\$34,712	\$0	<b>\$361,112</b>	50	0	0	0	50	<p><i>The National Mean Annual Wage for Workers in Plumbers, Pipefitters, and Steamfitters Occupations was \$44,850.</i></p>
GRENIER	MICHEL		DIR CANADIAN AFFAIRS/C	\$194,865	\$48,600	\$106,742	\$0	<b>\$350,207</b>	20	2	3	0	75	
PERNO	PATRICK		GEN'L SECRETARY TREASURER/C	\$238,395	\$48,600	\$29,027	\$0	<b>\$316,022</b>	0	0	0	0	100	
TOZER	BUDROW		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$136,742	\$48,600	\$106,446	\$0	<b>\$291,788</b>	94	2	2	1	1	
KELLY	STEPHEN		ASST GENERAL PRESIDENT/C	\$217,870	\$48,600	\$17,828	\$0	<b>\$284,298</b>	50	0	0	0	50	
PANCONI	THOMAS		ADMIN ASSISTANT/C	\$200,218	\$48,600	\$22,119	\$0	<b>\$270,937</b>	0	0	0	0	100	
BENTLEY	GERALD		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$70,832	\$25,200	\$14,051	\$157,689	<b>\$267,772</b>	45	5	0	0	50	
O'RYAN	SEAN		SENIOR ADMIN ASSISTANT/C	\$200,555	\$48,600	\$13,196	\$0	<b>\$262,351</b>	85	2	2	1	10	
ZANGARI	MICHAEL		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$136,742	\$48,600	\$69,473	\$0	<b>\$254,815</b>	94	2	2	1	1	

Table 11 Continued

Last Name	First Name	Middle Initial	Title/Status	Gross Salary	Allowances	Official Disbursements	Other Disbursements	Total Disbursements	Representational Activities (%)	Political Activities (%)	Contributions (%)	General Overhead (%)	Administration (%)	Comparative Statistics:
TELFORD	JOHN		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/N	\$133,331	\$48,600	\$69,285	\$0	\$251,216	25	10	5	15	45	<i>The National Mean Annual Wage for Workers in Plumbers, Pipefitters, and Steamfitters Occupations was \$44,850.</i>
SMITH	KIRK		DIR OF ORGANIZING/C	\$175,742	\$48,600	\$19,770	\$0	\$244,112	85	5	0	0	10	
MCCLINTOCK	LUCKIE		DIR OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS/C	\$175,742	\$48,600	\$19,390	\$0	\$243,732	47	41	2	5	5	
HOUSE	DONALD		DIR OF HVACR/C	\$175,742	\$48,600	\$14,961	\$0	\$239,303	90	0	0	0	10	
ARDNT	MICHAEL		DIR OF TRAINING/C	\$188,216	\$48,600	\$1,829	\$0	\$238,645	0	0	20	0	80	
DUGAN	JOHN		DIR OF JURISDICTION/C	\$183,006	\$48,600	\$6,721	\$0	\$238,327	85	2	2	1	10	
CAHILL	JAMES		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$150,416	\$48,600	\$36,812	\$0	\$235,828	60	3	2	5	30	
BUDZINSKI	JOHN		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$182,007	\$48,600	\$2,639	\$0	\$233,246	65	20	0	15	0	
TOTH	STEPHEN		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$150,416	\$48,600	\$28,190	\$0	\$227,206	50	10	0	0	40	
WRIGHT	JOHN		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$150,416	\$48,600	\$26,909	\$0	\$225,925	30	8	2	0	60	
KELLOGG	JAMES		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$150,416	\$48,600	\$26,647	\$0	\$225,663	55	20	5	5	15	

**Table 11 Continued**

Last Name	First Name	Middle Initial	Title/Status	Gross Salary	Allowances	Official Disbursements	Other Disbursements	Total Disbursements	Representational Activities (%)	Political Activities (%)	Contributions (%)	General Overhead (%)	Administration (%)	Comparative Statistics:
ROHRER	ANTHONY		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$150,416	\$48,600	\$25,601	\$0	<b>\$224,617</b>	85	0	0	0	15	<i>The National Mean Annual Wage for Workers in Plumbers, Pipefitters, and Steamfitters Occupations was \$44,850.</i>
RHOTEN	WILLIAM		DIR OF CONSTRUCTION/C	\$175,742	\$48,600	\$198	\$0	<b>\$224,540</b>	80	0	0	10	10	
RANSOM	TERRY		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$150,416	\$48,600	\$23,312	\$0	<b>\$222,328</b>	80	0	0	20	0	
LILLE	WILLIAM		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$150,416	\$48,600	\$21,822	\$0	<b>\$220,838</b>	100	0	0	0	0	
O'LEARY	JEROME		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$150,416	\$48,600	\$21,429	\$0	<b>\$220,445</b>	45	0	0	0	55	
TAYLOR	RUDON		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$150,416	\$48,600	\$19,018	\$0	<b>\$218,034</b>	35	10	5	10	40	
JAEGER	ROBERT		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$150,416	\$48,600	\$18,393	\$0	<b>\$217,409</b>	80	5	0	5	10	
ENGLAND	CHARLES		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$150,416	\$48,600	\$17,802	\$0	<b>\$216,818</b>	35	20	5	10	30	
HAMILTON	GARY		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$150,416	\$48,600	\$17,376	\$0	<b>\$216,392</b>	95	0	0	5	0	
LINDSTROM	JOHN		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$150,416	\$48,600	\$14,331	\$0	<b>\$213,347</b>	52	8	4	21	15	

**Table 11 Continued**

Last Name	First Name	Middle Initial	Title/Status	Gross Salary	Allowances	Official Disbursements	Other Disbursements	Total Disbursements	Representational Activities (%)	Political Activities (%)	Contributions (%)	General Overhead (%)	Administration (%)	Comparative Statistics:
TURNER	WILLIAM		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$150,416	\$48,600	\$14,129	\$0	<b>\$213,145</b>	35	5	5	5	50	<i>The National Mean Annual Wage for Workers in Plumbers, Pipefitters, and Steamfitters Occupations was \$44,850.</i>
LORD	PHILLIP		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$150,416	\$48,600	\$14,060	\$0	<b>\$213,076</b>	25	5	10	0	60	
BARTHELMESS	MICHAEL		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$150,416	\$48,600	\$10,284	\$0	<b>\$209,300</b>	95	2	0	0	3	
SKARICH	BRAD		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$150,416	\$48,600	\$9,472	\$0	<b>\$208,488</b>	65	20	10	0	5	
MORIN	GINO		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$136,742	\$48,600	\$22,703	\$0	<b>\$208,045</b>	75	5	5	5	10	
MCNAMARA	THOMAS		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$150,416	\$48,600	\$5,764	\$0	<b>\$204,780</b>	50	5	5	5	35	
STRONG	BRYAN		INT'L REPRESENTATIVE/C	\$125,588	\$44,640	\$30,371	\$0	<b>\$200,599</b>	90	5	0	0	5	

Source: Office of Labor-Management Standards & Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor.

**Table 12: NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION**

**Disbursements to Union Officers Greater Than \$200,000 at a Glance (in Fiscal Year 2006)**

Organization Name	Address	Last Name	First Name	Middle Initial	Title/Status	Gross Salary	Allowances	Official Disbursements	Other Disbursements	Total Disbursements	Representational Activities (%)	Political Activities (%)	Contributions (%)	General Overhead (%)	Administration (%)	Comparative Statistics:
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASN IND NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1201 16TH ST NW STE 422, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	Weaver	Reg		NEA President/C	\$261,852	\$82,646	\$68,279	\$5,081	\$417,858	10	5	0	0	85	<i>The National Mean Annual Wage for Workers in Education, Training, and Library Occupations was \$43,450.</i>
		Eskelsen	Lily		NEA Secty/Treas/C	\$232,864	\$58,063	\$46,940	\$0	\$337,867	10	5	0	0	85	
		Van Roekel	Dennis		NEA VP/C	\$230,191	\$54,504	\$40,337	\$4,013	\$329,045	10	5	0	0	85	
		Smith	Marsha		Exec Comm Mbr/C	\$178,941	\$5,000	\$40,791	\$0	\$224,732	10	5	0	0	85	
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASN IND STATE ASSOCIATION, STATE AFFILIATE	P.O. BOX 2573, 1216 KENDALE BLVD., EAST LANSING, MI 48826-2573	COOK	STEVEN		VICE PRESIDENT/C	\$258,094	\$0	\$24,933	\$8,333	\$291,360	0	0	0	68	32	<i>\$46,910 in Michigan</i>
		SALTERS	IRIS		PRESIDENT/C	\$192,445	\$0	\$17,671	\$19,125	\$229,241	3	2	0	59	36	
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASN IND STATE ASSOCIATION, STATE AFFILIATE	PO BOX 2550, 225 E BROAD ST, COLUMBUS, OH 43216	ALLEN	GARY	L	PRESIDENT/C	\$183,236	\$0	\$28,046	\$0	\$211,282	4	3	0	37	56	<i>\$45,110 in Ohio</i>

Source: Office of Labor-Management Standards & Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor.

**Table 13: UNION SPENDING ON GOLF AT A GLANCE\* (in Fiscal Year 2006)**

Organization Name	Organization Address	Payee Name	Payee Address	Category	Purpose	Itemized	Non-Itemized	Grand Total
STAGE & PICTURE OPERATORS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1430 BROADWAY 20TH FLOOR, NEW YORK, NY 10018	The Westin Innisbrook Golf Resort	36750 US Highway 19, North Palm Harbor, FL 34684	UNION ADMINISTRATION(PAYEE)	Executive board meeting	\$87,680	\$5,000	<b>\$92,680</b>
CARPENTERS IND COUNCIL	270 MOTOR PARKWAY, HAUPPAUGE, NY 117883610	UNITED STATES GOLF ASSOCIATION INC	77 LIBERTY CORNER RD, FAR HILLS, NJ	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	JOURNAL ADS, TICKETS	\$37,000	\$0	<b>\$37,000</b>
ELECTRICAL WORKERS IBEW AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	900 SEVENTH STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC, DC 20001	TIM DURKIN MEMORIAL GOLF	900 SEVENTH STREET, NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20001	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	GOLF TOURNAMENT	\$25,000	\$0	<b>\$25,000</b>
CARPENTERS IND LOCAL UNION 6	1312 FIFTH STREET, NORTH BERGEN, NJ 7047	Crystal Springs Golf Club	One Wild Turkey Way, Hamburg, NJ 7419	UNION ADMINISTRATION(PAYEE)	Events- Golf Outing	\$18,600	\$0	<b>\$18,600</b>
BLDG & CONSTRN TRADES DEPT AFL-CIO BLDG & CONSTRUCTION TRADES COUNCIL	1550 CHASE AVENUE, CINCINNATI, OH 452232146	SHAKER FUN GOLF CLUB	4361 GREENTREE ROAD, LEBANON, OH 45036	REPRESENTATIONAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	HOST GOLF OUTING	\$16,130	\$0	<b>\$16,130</b>
BRICKLAYERS AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 2	302 CENTRE DRIVE, ALBANY, NY 12203	Stadium Golf Club, Inc.	333 Jackson Ave, Syracuse, NY 12304	GENERAL OVERHEAD(PAYEE)	Golf club	\$12,122	\$2,718	<b>\$14,840</b>
SECURITY POLICE, FIRE PROF, IND NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	25510 KELLY RD, ROSEVILLE, MI 48066	OAK RIDGE GOLF CLUB - NEW HAVEN, MI	NEW HAVEN, MI 12345	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	GOLF COURSE	\$10,702	\$3,775	<b>\$14,477</b>
COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 1109	1845 UTICA AVENUE, BROOKLYN, NY 112342122	SILVER LAKE GOLF COURSE	915 Victory Blvd, Staten Island, NY 12345	REPRESENTATIONAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	Golf Club	\$13,537	\$500	<b>\$14,037</b>
COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 1108	242 WAVERLY AVE, PATCHOGUE, NY 11772	ROCK HILL GOLF CLUB	105 CLANCY RD, MANORVILLE, NY 11949	UNION ADMINISTRATION(PAYEE)	GOLF OUTTING	\$9,120	\$3,960	<b>\$13,080</b>
COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 1104	1 FLORGATE ROAD, FARMINGDALE, NY 117352008	GLOBAL GOLF	69 BERGEN AVENUE, WEST BABYLON, NY 11704	REPRESENTATIONAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	OUTINGS FOR MEMBERS	\$12,731	\$0	<b>\$12,731</b>
BOILERMAKERS AFL-CIO LODGE 28	976 BROADWAY, BAYONNE, NJ 7002	FOUNTAIN GREEN GOLF COURSE	BUILDING 3152, PEMBERTON RD, FORT DIX, NJ 8640	UNION ADMINISTRATION(PAYEE)	GOLF OUTING	\$11,976	\$200	<b>\$12,176</b>
PAINTERS AFL-CIO DISTRICT COUNCIL 5	2800 1ST AVE RM 324, SEATTLE, WA 98121	GOLF CLUB AT HAWKS PRAIRIE	9051 46TH AVENUE, LACEY, WA 98516	UNION ADMINISTRATION(PAYEE)	GOLF TOURNMENT	\$10,886	\$0	<b>\$10,886</b>
LONGSHOREMENS ASN AFLCIO DISTRICT COUNCIL	# 201, 1355 INTL TERMINAL BLVD, NORFOLK, VA 23505	Sewells Point Golf Course	Naval Station Building Ca99, Norfolk, VA 23511	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	Charitable Contribution	\$10,795	\$0	<b>\$10,795</b>

**Table 13 Continued**

CARPENTERS IND LOCAL UNION 11	14 SAW MILL RIVER ROAD, HAWTHORNE, NY 10532	PUTNAM NATIONAL GOLF COURSE	187 HILL STREET, MAHOPAC, NY 10541	GENERAL OVERHEAD(PAYEE)	GOLF COURSE	\$9,493	\$1,000	<b>\$10,493</b>
ELECTRICAL WORKERS IBEW AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 490	48 AIRPORT ROAD, CONCORD, NH 3301	THE LINKS AT OUTLOOK GOLF COURSE	385, SOUTH BERWICK, ME 3908	GENERAL OVERHEAD(PAYEE)	ANNUAL GOLF TOURNAMENT	\$10,484	\$0	<b>\$10,484</b>
CARPENTERS IND LOCAL UNION 623	26 SOUTH NEW YORK AVENUE, ATLANTIC CITY, NJ 8401	MMMAYS LANDING GOLF & COUNTRY CLUB	1855 CATES ROAD, MAYS LANDING, NJ 8330	REPRESENTATIONAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	FUND RAISING	\$7,035	\$300	<b>\$7,335</b>
PLUMBERS AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 32	595 MONSTER ROAD SW, RENTON, WA 980552974	Highlander Golf Club	2920 8th St, East Wenatchee, WA 98802	GENERAL OVERHEAD(PAYEE)	Vendor - golf tournament course	\$5,066	\$2,106	<b>\$7,172</b>
BLDG & CONSTRN TRADES DEPT AFL-CIO BLDG & CONSTRUCTION TRADES COUNCIL	215 TURNER STREET NE, OLYMPIA, WA 98506	Washington Club Golf Charity	2906 NE 55th St, Seattle, WA 98105	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	Annual Golf Event in Support of Charities	\$7,000	\$0	<b>\$7,000</b>
PLUMBERS AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 290	20210 SW TETON AVENUE, TUALATIN, OR 97062	BULL Session Charity Golf	14845 SW Murray Scholls Dr, Beaverton, OR 97007	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	Charitable organization	\$0	\$7,000	<b>\$7,000</b>
CARPENTERS IND LOCAL UNION 363	SUITE E , 2460 WEST MAIN STREET, ST CHARLES, IL 60175	RANDALL OAKS GOLF COURSE	37W361 BINNIE ROAD, DUNDEE, IL 60118	UNION ADMINISTRATION(PAYEE)	MEETING SPACE RENTAL	\$0	\$6,813	<b>\$6,813</b>
PROFESSIONAL ATHLETES, FED, AFL-CIO FEDERATION	6TH FLOOR, 2021 L STREET, NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	WAILEA GOLF CLUB	120 KAUKAHI STREET, WAILEA, HI 96753	GENERAL OVERHEAD(PAYEE)	GOLF COURSE	\$6,747	\$0	<b>\$6,747</b>
PLUMBERS AFL-CIO DISTRICT COUNCIL 34	6304 W DEVELOPMENT DRIVE, PEORIA, IL 616045293	FAIRLAKES GOLF COURSE	2203 COUNTRY RD 600 N., SECOR, IL 61771	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	GOLF COURSE	\$6,733	\$0	<b>\$6,733</b>
CARPENTERS IND LOCAL UNION 109	SUITE D, 4421 PELL DRIVE, SACRAMENTO, CA 95838	ROSEVILLE GOLFLAND LTD	1893 TAYLOR ROAD, ROSEVILLE, CA 95661	REPRESENTATIONAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	MEMBERSHIP PICNIC	\$6,073	\$623	<b>\$6,696</b>
CARPENTERS IND LOCAL UNION 85	21 JETVIEW DRIVE, ROCHESTER, NY 146244903	Farview Golf Club	2419 Avon-Geneseo Road, Avon, NY 14414	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	Vendor	\$6,543	\$0	<b>\$6,543</b>
LABORERS LOCAL UNION 996	PO BOX 410, 107 BROAD STREET, ROANOKE, IL 615610410	FAIRLAKES GOLF COURSE	RR #1, SECOR, IL 61771	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	GOLF COURSE	\$6,481	\$0	<b>\$6,481</b>
	PO BOX 427, 924							

**Table 13 Continued**

KENTUCKY STATE PIPE TRADES ASSOC	GREENUP AVENUE, ASHLAND, KY	COVERED BRIDGE GOLF CLUB	SELLERSBURG, IN	UNION ADMINISTRATION(PAYEE)	2005 CONVENTION OUTINGS	\$0	\$6,014	<b>\$6,014</b>
	411050427							
FOOD & COMMERCIAL WKRS LOCAL UNION 1459	33 EASTLAND STREET, SPRINGFIELD, MA 1109	Cranwell Resort, Spa & Golf Club	55 Lee Road, Lenox, MA	UNION ADMINISTRATION(PAYEE)	Resort	\$5,901	\$0	<b>\$5,901</b>
AUTO WORKERS AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 594	525 M. L. KING, JR. BLVD.S, PONTIAC, MI 48341	BROOKWOOD GOLF CLUB	6045 DAVISON ROAD, BURTON, MI 48509	REPRESENTATIONAL ACTIVITIES(PAYEE)	GOLF COURSE	\$5,868	\$0	<b>\$5,868</b>
PLUMBERS AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 99	406 ELDORADO ROAD, BLOOMINGTON, IL 61704	FAIRLAKES GOLF COURSE	2203 COUNTY RD 600N, SECOR, IL 61771	UNION ADMINISTRATION(PAYEE)	GOLF COURSE	\$5,865	\$0	<b>\$5,865</b>
LABORERS LOCAL UNION 477	1615 N DIRKSEN PARKWAY, SPRINGFIELD, IL 62702	LINCOLN GREENS GOLF COURSE	700 E. LAKE SHORE DRIVE, SPRINGFIELD, IL 62707	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	GOLF COURSE	\$0	\$5,849	<b>\$5,849</b>
PLUMBERS AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 7	308 WOLF ROAD, LATHAM, NY 121104879	Eagle Crest Golf Club	Rt. 146 A, Clifton Park, NY 12065	UNION ADMINISTRATION(PAYEE)	Event Vendor	\$5,812	\$0	<b>\$5,812</b>
BOILERMAKERS AFL-CIO LODGE 28	976 BROADWAY, BAYONNE, NJ 7002	BOB ISSLER'S GOLF	1231-2 ROUTE 166, TOMS RIVER, NJ 8753	UNION ADMINISTRATION(PAYEE)	GOLF OUTING EXPENSES	\$0	\$5,790	<b>\$5,790</b>
SECURITY POLICE, FIRE PROF, IND NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	25510 KELLY RD, ROSEVILLE, MI 48066	GOLFSMITH INTERNATIONAL	TROY, MI 12345	CONTRIBUTIONS, GIFTS AND GRANTS(PAYEE)	GOLF STORE	\$0	\$5,771	<b>\$5,771</b>
PLUMBERS AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 519	14105 NW 58TH CT, MIAMI LAKES, FL 33014	Alf's Golf Shop	15369 S. DIXIE HIGHWAY, MIAMI, FL 33157	GENERAL OVERHEAD(PAYEE)	Golf Tournament	\$0	\$5,426	<b>\$5,426</b>

\* Note: This is only a snapshot of union spending on golf, as some unions have not filed the 2006 financial report yet. Figures reflected in this table do not capture the golf spending at places whose names do not contain the word "golf."

Source: Office of Labor-Management Standards, U.S. Department of Labor.

**Table 14: TOP, MEDIAN, AND BOTTOM UNIONS IN TERMS OF SPENDING ON GENERAL OVERHEAD**

**(in Fiscal Year 2006)**

Organization Name	Organization Address	General Overhead
<b>Top</b>		
MAINTENANCE OF WAY EMPLS, IBT NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	SUITE 320, 20300 CIVIC CENTER DRIVE, SOUTHFIELD, MI 48076-4169	\$82,476,094
PROFESSIONAL ATHLETES, FED, AFL-CIO FEDERATION	6TH FLOOR, 2021 L STREET, NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	\$79,605,074
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASN IND NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1201 16TH ST N W STE 422, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	\$62,358,768
<b>Median</b>		
SERVICE EMPLOYEES LOCAL UNION 252	3 E. WYNNEWOOD ROAD, WYNNEWOOD, PA 19096-1922	\$104,571
COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 36047	1015 LOCUST ST STE 1040, ST LOUIS, MO 63101-1323	\$104,511
STEELWORKERS AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 346	2910 CONSAUL ST., TOLEDO, OH 43605-1312	\$104,493
<b>Bottom</b>		
BOILERMAKERS AFL-CIO LODGE 6	SUITE 235, 7817 OAKPORT STREET, OAKLAND, CA 94621	\$0
CARPENTERS IND LOCAL UNION 470	1322 FAWCETT AVE, TACOMA, WA 98402	\$0
COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 84919	806 W 21ST ST, CONNERSVILLE, IN 47331	\$0

Source: Office of Labor-Management Standards, U.S. Department of Labor.

**Table 15: TOP, MEDIAN, AND BOTTOM UNIONS IN TERMS OF SPENDING ON REPRESENTATIONAL ACTIVITIES**

**(in Fiscal Year 2006)**

Organization Name	Organization Address	Representational Activities
<b>Top</b>		
SERVICE EMPLOYEES NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	1800 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, WASHINGTON, DC 20036	\$135,824,343
AUTO WORKERS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	8000 E JEFFERSON, DETROIT, MI 48214-3963	\$119,744,856
STEELWORKERS AFL-CIO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	FIVE GATEWAY CENTER, PITTSBURGH, PA 15222	\$110,731,272
<b>Median</b>		
TEAMSTERS JOINT COUNCIL 38	1225 13TH STREET, MODESTO, CA 95354	\$191,523
HOTEL EMPL, RESTAURANT EMPL AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 878	530 E FOURTH AVE, ANCHORAGE, AK 99501	\$191,422
TEAMSTERS LOCAL UNION 416	709 BROOKPARK ROAD, CLEVELAND, OH 44109-5833	\$190,760
<b>Bottom</b>		
TEAMSTERS LOCAL UNION 377	1223 TEAMSTER DRIVE, YOUNGSTOWN, OH 44502	\$0
STEELWORKERS AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 703	3141 LOVE STREET, SELMA, CA 93662	\$0
POSTAL WORKERS, AMERICAN, AFL-CIO LOCAL UNION 1224	P. O. BOX 1224, EVANSTON, IL 60201-1224	\$0

Source: Office of Labor-Management Standards, U.S. Department of Labor.

**Table 16: Percentage of Union Members by State/Job Growth Increase 2001-2006**

State	Percentage Unionized	Job Growth % Increase 2001-2006
Hawaii	24.7%	+11.0%
New York	24.4%	0%
Alaska	22.2%	+8.7%
New Jersey	20.1%	+1.9%
Washington	19.8%	+6.0%
Michigan	19.6%	-4.8%
Illinois	16.4%	-1.0%
Minnesota	16.0%	+2.7%
California	15.7%	+3.2%
Connecticut	15.6%	0%
Rhode Island	15.3%	+3.1%
Wisconsin	14.9%	+1.6%
Nevada	14.8%	+21.9%
Massachusetts	14.5%	-2.9%
West Virginia	14.2%	+2.8%
Ohio	14.2%	-1.8%
Oregon	13.8%	+6.1%
Pennsylvania	13.7%	+1.2%
Maryland	13.1%	+4.7%
Montana	12.2%	+10.6%
Indiana	12.0%	+1.4%
Maine	11.9%	+1.0%
Iowa	11.3%	+2.5%
Vermont	11.0%	+1.7%
Missouri	10.9%	+1.6%

<b>Table 16 Continued</b>		
Delaware	10.8%	+4.0%
New Hampshire	10.1%	+2.0%
Alabama	8.8%	+3.9%
Wyoming	8.3%	+12.7%
Kansas	8.0%	0%
Nebraska	7.9%	+2.9%
New Mexico	7.8%	+10%
Colorado	7.7%	+2.3%
Arizona	7.6%	+16.7%
North Dakota	6.8%	+6.9%
Oklahoma	6.4%	+3%
Louisiana	6.4%	-3.1%
Idaho	6.0%	+12.6%
Tennessee	6.0%	+3.6%
South Dakota	5.9%	+5.4%
Mississippi	5.6%	+1.0%
Utah	5.4%	+11.2%
Florida	5.2%	+9.1%
Arkansas	5.1%	+4.0%
Texas	4.9%	+5.7%
Georgia	4.4%	+4.0%
Virginia	4.0%	+5.9%
North Carolina	3.3%	+3.2%
South Carolina	3.3%	+4.4%

Source: Author's calculations using Bureau of Labor Statistics data.

**Table 17: Non-Right to Work States/Real GDP Per Capita Growth 1990-2006**

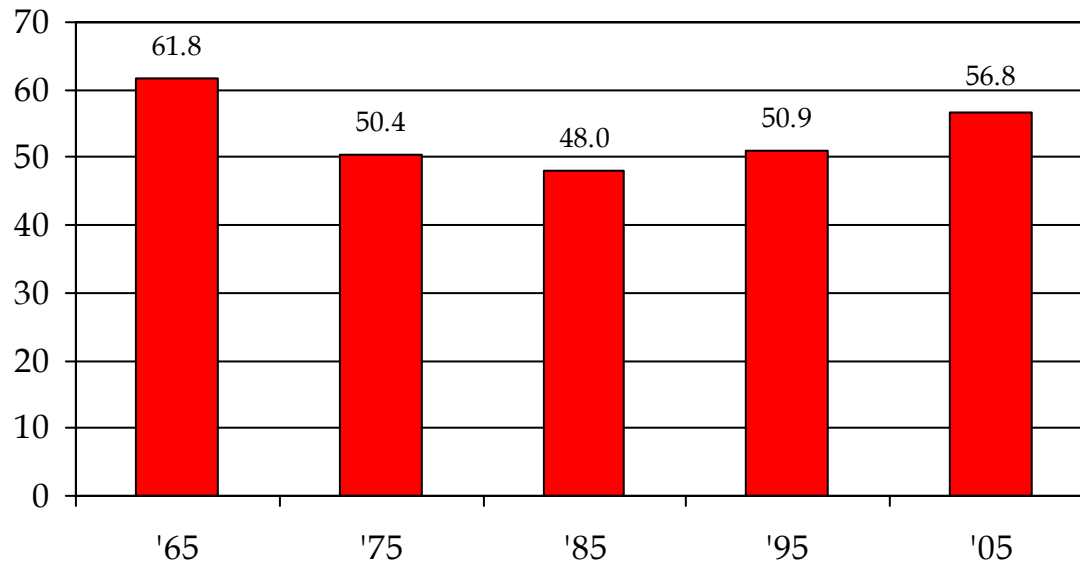
State	Real GDP Per Capita % +/- 1990-2006
Alaska	-24%
California	31%
Colorado	51%
Connecticut	32%
Delaware	41%
Hawaii	3%
Illinois	35%
Indiana	44%
Kentucky	36%
Maine	28%
Maryland	29%
Michigan	33%
Minnesota	49%
Missouri	33%
Montana	38%
New Hampshire	51%
New Jersey	31%
New Mexico	70%
New York	35%
Ohio	37%
Pennsylvania	36%
Rhode Island	34%
Vermont	41%
Washington	33%
West Virginia	34%
Wisconsin	46%
<b>Average</b>	<b>33%</b>

**Table 18: Right to Work States/Real GDP Per Capita Growth 1990-2006**

State	Real GDP Per Capita % +/- 1990-2006
Alabama	39%
Arizona	52%
Arkansas	46%
Florida	37%
Georgia	34%
Idaho	60%
Iowa	54%
Kansas	36%
Louisiana	14%
Mississippi	33%
Nebraska	43%
Nevada	20%
North Carolina	40%
North Dakota	62%
Oklahoma	33%
South Carolina	31%
South Dakota	68%
Tennessee	45%
Texas	36%
Utah	44%
Virginia	38%
Wyoming	17%
<b>Average</b>	<b>39%</b>

Source: Author's calculations using Bureau of Economic Analysis data

**Table 19: Union Win Rates in NLRB Elections**



Source: NLRB Election Data

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