

June 18, 2018

Dear:

The Coalition for a Democratic Workplace (CDW) and the undersigned xx organizations, who represent millions of job creators, write to share our strong opposition to S. 2810, the deceptively named Workplace Democracy Act (WDA), and urge that you **not** support this bill. This radical legislation includes provisions that would:

- strip workers' right to private voting and secret ballots in union elections;
- codify the NLRB's controversial *Browning-Ferris Industries* (*BFI*) joint employment standard that has threatened our country's small and local businesses;
- curb opportunities for people to work independently through gig economy platforms or more traditional independent contractor roles;
- eliminate Right-to-Work protections for workers across the country, including in the 28 states that have passed Right to Work laws;
- interfere with attorney-client confidentiality and make it harder for businesses, particularly small businesses, to secure legal advice on complex labor law matters; and,
- strip away "secondary boycott" protections that prevent unions from using their anti-trust exemptions and immunity from some state laws to target business for anti-competitive purposes other than organizing.

Formed in 2005, CDW is a broad-based coalition of hundreds of organizations representing millions of employers that employ tens of millions of employees in various industries across the country. Our members are united by their concern with changes and attempted changes to labor laws that unnecessarily harm America's workforce, businesses, and economy.

Our concerns about WDA provisions are set forth in more detail below.

Eliminates Workers' Free Choice and Privacy: Secret ballot elections have been a cornerstone of workers' rights and an integral part of labor relations since the earliest days of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA). Every employee should have the right to vote privately on whether they want a union; and, for over seventy years, employees have largely decided whether to join a union through a secret ballot election overseen by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). The WDA, however, would replace private voting with the card check process as the method for determining whether employees want union representation. Under a card check scheme, employees are forced to "vote" for or against union representation by signing or not signing "authorization cards" in front of union organizers and co-workers. Card check unnecessarily and unfairly subjects workers to peer pressure, intimidation, and harassment. This is not the first time unions have tried to take away workers' rights to a private ballot. Over a decade ago, they

repeatedly pushed Congress to pass the equally deceptively named Employee Free Choice Act, or EFCA. Thankfully, Congress rejected EFCA.

Codifies the Damaging Joint Employer Standard: The WDA would codify the controversial 2015 NLRB *BFI* decision that expanded and muddled the standard for determining when two separate companies are "joint employers" under the NLRA. Joint employers are jointly responsible for labor violations committed by the other and bargaining with respect to any jointly employed workers. The *BFI* decision overturned decades of established labor law and undermined the relationships between brand companies and local franchise business owners; contractors and subcontractors; and businesses and their suppliers and vendors. In short, *BFI* has cast a cloud of uncertainty over business models that have created millions of jobs and allowed hundreds of thousands of individuals to achieve the American Dream of owning their own small business. The *BFI* standard also has hampered businesses' efforts to provide guidance to and impose quality and conduct standards on franchisees, contractors, and vendors to the detriment of workers and consumers.

Limits Opportunity for the Self Employed and Gig Economy: WDA would import into the NLRA the California Supreme Court's recently adopted "ABC" test to determine whether a worker is an employee or an independent contractor. As it is difficult to qualify as an "independent contractor" under the "ABC" test, many workers could lose the freedom and flexibility of determining their own hours, what work they choose to do, and how they perform that work — including those who have chosen to work in the burgeoning gig economy. At the same time, consumers would lose the ability to meet on-demand needs using technology to crowd source independent workers. They would again need to rely on the schedules of vendors, who may not be able to meet demand in a timely manner, leaving people struggling to find transportation and taking time off work to meet vendors during set four-hour or eight-hour blocks.

Imposes Government Control Over Private Contracts: Another hold over from the days of EFCA, WDA contains a provision that would eliminate freedom of contract by mandating compulsory, binding arbitration on the employer and the employees if the two parties do not reach a collective bargaining agreement within the first 120 days of negotiations. Under the WDA, an arbitrator, who is unfamiliar with the business operations, would impose terms that are binding upon both parties, even if one or both find those terms unacceptable. In fact, employees would not be provided with the opportunity to vote on whether they approve their new contract. Employers have very limited avenues for redress if they cannot afford the terms imposed. Thus, if an arbitrator miscalculates what wages or benefits the company can afford, or forces the company into failing multiemployer pension plans, the employer may simply go out of business. In fact, binding arbitration in the public sector has been blamed for multiple municipal bankruptcies and for fueling the public sector pension crisis. Many states and municipalities have taken steps to eliminate or curb arbitrator authority in the wake of fiscally irresponsible arbitrator decisions. While courts and arbitrators are equipped to settle legal disputes, they lack the expertise and the intimate knowledge of a business's operations to objectively evaluate a business's otherwise lawful position on contract terms. Moreover, government control of contract terms runs counter to the intent of the NLRA as evidenced by the following statement by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor at the time the NLRA was passed:

The committee wishes to dispel any possible false impression that this bill is designed to compel the making of agreements or to permit governmental supervision of their terms. It must be stressed that the duty to bargain collectively does not carry with it the duty to reach an agreement, because the essence of collective bargaining is that either party shall be free to decide whether proposals made to it are satisfactory.

Breaches Attorney Client Confidentiality: WDA would amend federal law to include many of the provisions of the failed 2016 Department of Labor (DOL) "persuader" regulation under the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act (LMRDA). The regulation was enjoined by a federal court and is currently being rescinded by DOL. Like the persuader rule, the WDA provision would force a breach of attorney client confidentiality and make it more difficult for employers to access legal counsel or other expert advice on complex labor and employee relations issues during union organizing drives. The court that struck down the rule found it "defective to its core" because it entirely eliminates the LMRDA's "advice" exemption and requires the disclosure of a "great deal of advice that is actually protected from disclosure"; "undermine[s] the attorney-client relationship and the confidentiality of that relationship"; and, is "vague and impossible to apply." Many stakeholders also expressed disapproval during the rulemaking process, including the American Bar Association (ABA), which repeatedly voiced its opposition to the proposed regulation. The ABA specifically noted that it "was not taking sides on a union-versus management dispute," and its "sole objective" was to defend "the confidential client-lawyer relationship by reversing a rule that imposes unjustified and intrusive burdens on lawyers, law firms and their clients."

Strips Away Employees' Right-to-Work Protections: WDA would repeal Section 14(b) of the NLRA and thus deprive workers across the country of the right to choose whether to join a union by abolishing right-to-work laws in favor of compulsory unionization. Right now, 28 states have right-to-work laws that prevent contracts from requiring employees join a union as a condition of employment, empowering individuals with free choice.

Brings Coercion, Picketing, and Boycotts into the Home and onto Main Street: WDA would rescind all restrictions in the NLRA that currently make it unlawful for unions to impose economic injury on "neutral" third parties that are not involved in an underlying labor dispute, such as consumers, companies or other unions that do business with the company involved in the labor dispute. The existing restrictions against "secondary" coercion were adopted by Congress in 1947, and they were strengthened by Congress in 1959, because unions engaged in tactics that were deemed excessive and abusive, especially based on the injury imposed on "neutral" parties. The WDA would eliminate "neutral" status by rescinding all "secondary" prohibitions, which would expose all consumers, employers, suppliers, vendors, franchisors, franchisees, and all other businesses to coercion, picketing, boycotts and similar tactics, regardless of whether they have any dispute with any union.

Eliminates Limits on Recognitional Picketing and Anticompetitive Behavior — Allowing Unions to Harm Rather than Organize Companies: The WDA would eliminate provisions in existing law that limit unions to 30 days of recognitional picketing, unless the union files a representation petition seeking an NLRB election. Under the WDA, unions could engage in recognitional picketing without any limitation — causing injury to employers, consumers,

suppliers and customers — without filing any petition, at any time, that would permit employees to vote on whether they want union recognition. Also, the NLRA's existing protections against secondary boycotts prevent unions from using their anti-trust exemptions and immunity from some state laws to target business for anti-competitive reasons and purposes other than organizing. If "secondary" boycotts become lawful, unions may engage in anti-competitive tactics directed at particular companies, with immunity from prosecution under federal anti-trust statutes and state laws against unfair competition.

For the reasons stated above, CDW believes the Workplace Democracy Act's damaging provisions would inflict serious harm on the American workplace and strongly urges you to oppose this misguided legislation.

Sincerely,

Coalition for a Democratic Workplace

## **National Organizations**

American Home Furnishings Alliance

American Hotel & Lodging Association

American Pipeline Contractors Association

American Staffing Association

Argentum

Arkansas State Chamber/Associated Industries of Arkansas

Asian American Hotel Owners Association

**Associated Builders and Contractors** 

**Associated Equipment Distributors** 

**Associated General Contractors** 

Camarillo Chamber of Commerce

Coalition of Franchisee Associations

Consumer Technology Association

Custom Electronic Design & Installation Association

Farm Equipment Manufacturers Association

Florida Independent Concrete and Associated Products

Forging Industry Association

Franchise Business Services

Global Cold Chain Alliance

HR Policy Association

**Independent Electrical Contractors** 

Independent Office Products & Furniture Dealers Alliance

Independent Office Products & Furniture Dealers Alliance

**Industrial Fasteners Institute** 

**Interlocking Concrete Pavement Institute** 

International Association of Amusement Parks and Attractions

International Association of Refrigerated Warehouses

International Foodservice Distributors Association

International Franchise Association

International Warehouse Logistics Association

Iowa Association of Business and Industry

Leading Builders of America

Littler's Workplace Policy Institute

Metals Service Center Institute

National Apartment Association

National Association of Home Builders

National Association of Manufacturers

National Association of Wholesaler-Distributors

National Club Association

National Council of Chain Restaurants

National Federation of Independent Business

National Franchisee Association

National Grocers Association

National Multifamily Housing Council

National Office Products Alliance

National Office Products Alliance

National Pest Management Association

National Restaurant Association

National Retail Federation

National Roofing Contractors Association

National Small Business Association

National Tooling and Machining Association

North American Die Casting Association

Office Furniture Dealers Alliance

Office Furniture Dealers Alliance

Plastics Industry Association

Power and Communication Contractors Association

Precious Metals Association of North America

Precious Metals Association of North America

Precision Machined Products Association

**Precision Metalforming Association** 

Retail Industry Leaders Association

Society for Human Resource Management

The Building Industry Policy Roundtable

Truck Renting and Leasing Association

Tucson Metro Chamber

Virginia Chamber of Commerce

Virginia Small Business Partnership

WCI. Inc.

Western Electrical Contractors Association

Workforce Fairness Institute

World Millwork Alliance