HOUSE LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS COMMITTEE February 17, 1981 (Evening Meeting)

The House Labor and Employment Relations Committee convened on February 17, 1981, at 7:45 p.m., in the House Chambers of the State Capitol, with Chairman Ellerd presiding and all members present except Reps. Hanson and O'Connell, who were excused.

Chairman Ellerd opened the meeting to a hearing on HB 645.

#### HOUSE BILL 645

REPRESENTATIVE JIM BURNETT, District 71, chief sponsor, introduced A copy of his introductory testimony is EXHIBIT 1. the bill. Rep. Burnett read an excerpt from the "Farm Labor Research Committee (a copy is EXHIBIT la). He said in researching he found material on what is classified as "fair representation" and a copy of this material is EXHIBIT lb and is an excerpt from "The University of Pennsylvania Law Review." He asked the committee to peruse this. Also, in the packet he gave each committee member is an Independent Record news clipping titled "Painters file third complaint," EXHIBIT 1c, which tells of a number of public employees that are wanting to be decertified. Included is a news clipping from the Great Falls paper titled "Only Schwinden veto may save labor's laws" (EXHIBIT 1d). Also included is an excerpt from the Congressional Record on "The Case of the Free Rider" (EXHIBIT le), and one from the Boulder Monitor on the "Union Members File Suit Against Officers" (EXHIBIT 1f). Rep. Burnett said he would be happy to answer any questions.

AL LOVINGTON, Great Falls, representing self, said as admilitary man he could say there was no union in the army and no strikes. He felt municipal people like firemen, city police, sanitation people should not be allowed to strike against the public as it is a threat to life and property. He felt if the workers had a choice to belong or not to belong in the union, more would choose not to and the remainder would not be so eager to go on strike. He felt as citizens of the United States they should have this choice.

ALVIN H. ELI, Great Falls, representing self, said he supported the bill as introduced by Mr. Burnett. He said he believes in freedom of choice as far as union membership is concerned. He said the union is obviously showing by their attendance that they are concerned that if this bill were to pass they might loose some of the members who don't have the choice to belong or not to belong. He asked the members not to let the mass attendance influence them but to look at what is in the bill.

CHASE PATRICK, Helena, representing self, spoke next in support and a copy of his testimony is EXHIBIT 2 of the minutes. House Labor and Employment Relations Committee page 2 February 17, 1981 (Evening Meeting)

#### Opponents

JAMES W. MURRY, Executive Secretary, Montana State AFL-CIO, Helena, spoke in opposition and a copy of his testimony is <u>EXHIBIT 3</u> of the minutes. Mr. Murry introduced the next group of testifiers.

JAMES J. McGARVEY, Executive Director, Montana Federation of Teachers, Helena, and Chair of the Montana State AFL-CIO Public Employees Committee, spoke next in opposition and a copy of his testimony is EXHIBIT 4 of the minutes.

MITCH MIHAILOVICH, Business Agent, Plumbers Local 41, and President, Montana State Building and Construction Trades Council, Butte, spoke next. He said they have 10,000 members in the state. Mr. Mihailovich felt collective bargaining has worked well. He said HB 645 is a right-to-work bill and a prelude for right-towork legislation for all employees public and private. He said the workers want jobs, development and progress but they have a right to a decent, living wage. He said this bill would preclude them from having that right.

PHIL TAWNEY, Executive Secretary, Montana State Democratic Central Committee, spoke next. He said the Democratic Party has opposed this for years and will continue to oppose it in the future. He said HB 645 takes the basic right to organize from one important segment, that being the public employee, and is a blanket attack on all unions and a step backward. It takes effectively away the fundamental right of labor that has been fought for successfully --and he said this is not a strong statement if you recall the struggles of John L. Lewis to obtain the very basic right to He said this was a social justice issue then and still organize. He read from an issue brief (EXHIBIT 5) that stated our neighis. boring states that have the right-to-work law do not fare as well wage-wise as the workers in Montana. The average Montana wage is \$371.38 as compared to \$232 for North Dakota, \$252 for South Dakota, and \$279.41 for Wyoming. He said this ability of workers to organize is a basic human right issue and the Democratic Party stands side by side with the union members in opposition to this bill.

SUE BARTLETT, representing self, spoke next and a copy of her testimony is EXHIBIT 6 and part of the minutes.

NADIEAN JENSEN, Executive Director, Montana State Council No. 9, AFSCME, Helena and Secretary of the Montana State AFL-CIO Public Employees Committee, spoke next and a copy of her testimony is EXHIBIT 7 and part of the minutes.

PAT McKITTRICK, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Great Falls, thanked the committee for the opportunity to speak in opposition to the bill. He said this particular bill is in conflict with one of the most fundamental concepts of democracy and that is majority rule. He begged to differ with Mr. Burnett as the law as it now exists is not a closed shop but an agency shop. House Labor and Employment Relations Committee page 3 February 17, 1981 (Evening Meeting)

This means if an employer and the majority of the people represented wish to bargain over an agency shop they may do so. An employee can either join or not join the union but he must pay the amount equal to the fees and dues since he benefits from the services. He said this bill would destroy the present law and the rule by the majority, as it favors the rights of the free riders who do not want to pay their fair share for benefits and so unduly shifts the cost of representing, and the other workers must pay more.

RANDY SEIMERS, District Representative, Operating Engineers Local 400, Billings, said he was speaking especially for 900 of his people who are public employees. He said the operating engineers are unalterably opposed to right-to-work legislation that would cover any group of their employees. He said they know what right-to-work means as it would undermine the collective bargaining and would mean a lower standard of living for workers and He said he would like to express appreciation their families. for the bill as it has brought about a resurgence of solidarity in the union movement. He said Rep. Burnett could well be the new father of unionism as he undoubtedly has had a part in strengthening the union movement in Montana. Mr. Seimers called on unions and union people to work together to be strengthened and renewed and to fight for progressive legislation.

J. D. LYNCH, Montana State Building and Construction Trades Council, Butte, said he had to read the bill several times to assure himself that he wasn't missing something and we were back in the old days. He asked where the lobbyists for the League of Cities and Towns were and the Police Association - why weren't they supporting the bill? Mr. Lynch said this bill would make negotiations difficult, as 535 individual contracts would be needed in Butte. He said collective bargaining is also good for the employer.

ROBERT G. KOKURUDA, President, Montana State AFL-CIO, and Executive Secretary, Montana State Council of Carpenters, Helena, said the bill is definitely a right-to-work bill against public employees. He said it doesn't give any rights but removes some they have like good wages, working cnditions and fringe benefits. He said that is the main reasons working people join unions. He also mentioned the difference in pay between neighboring rightto-work states and Montana. He said at the Decker project the Wyoming workers get \$2 less than the Montana workers doing the same work. He said right-to-work is a right to work for less. He asked the committee not to support the bill.

JOAN MILES, Environmental Information Center, Helena, said their 1300 members statewide would like to go on record as opposing the bill. She said they consistently support legislation that helps the environment and the most important of all environmental values is the high quality of jobs and workers in the state. This bill would limit rather than enhance worker environment in Montana. House Labor and Employment Relations Committee February 17, 1981 (Evening Meeting)

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MIKE WALKER, Secretary-Treasurer, Montana State Council of Professional Firefighters, Great Falls, and member of Montana State AFL-CIO Public Employees Committee, said they are opposed to the bill as it is basically a right-to-work bill for public employees. He said this would be like a return to the dark ages, as they would work without voice, and work longer and cheaper. This would make more for those already on the top of society's economic ladder.

DONNA SMALL, Montana Nurses Association, Billings, said they are unalterably opposed to the bill. She said many reasons have already been given why the bill should be killed and on behalf of the nurses she urged they do so.

DORINDA STOCK, President, Data Entry and Computer Services Union Local 3923, Helena, spoke next in opposition and a copy of her testimony is EXHIBIT 8.

JOHN FITZPATRICK, Secretary, Machinists Union Local 88, Butte, and a member of the Montana State AFL-CIO Public Employees Committee, said he wuld like to point out that bargaining units representing state employees have been certified by the present laws. He said any agreement reached through the bargaining unit affects not only the union members but all state employees. He drew a parallel between their collective bargaining units and the Legislature. He said not everybody in the Legislature is elected unanimously, nor does every action have a unanimous approval by the legislators. He said it would be nice if with items like tax levies a person could individually say whether he wanted to adhere to them or not. Mr. Fitzpatrick said it is only fair that everybody that will benefit should pay their fair share of the tariff. He said he has taken part in collective bargaining and knows the effects and frustrations of it. He said strike actions by public employees is a final and last resort used only after all other avenues fail. He said public employees are not second class citizens and should have the right to take part in any action needed.

BILL POTTS, Executive Board Member, District 2, Montana State AFL-CIO, and member, Paperworkers Union Local 885, Missoula, spoke next in opposition and a copy of his testimony is <u>EXHIBIT 9</u> and part of the minutes.

JERRY DRISCOLL, Recording Secretary, Laborers Local 98, Billings, and a member of the Montana State AFL-CIO Public Employees Committee, said in 1963 when Wyoming passed their right-towork law a laborer was making 25¢ an hour more than in Montana. The difference today is \$3 more in Montana - that's what rightto-work laws do. He asked the committee to give the bill a do not pass.

TIM LOVELY, President, United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 242, and Secretary Treasurer, Missoula County Trades and Labor Council, Missoula, urged the committee to oppose the bill because the bill opposes basic democracy - the majority rule concept and it treats public employees as second class citizens. He submitted five petitions containing the names of 98 people House Labor and Employment Relations Committee page 5 February 17, 1981 (Evening Meeting)

who oppose HB 645 (EXHIBIT 10). He thanked the committee for the opportunity to speak to them.

PHIL WAVER, President, Anaconda Teachers' Union Local 509, Anaconda, said he was a union member and a public employee and proud to be both. He said he has taken part in the negotiations with their school board and they have an agency shop and over the forty years there never has been a problem. He said the bargaining process has operated smoothly and the teachers have had union security. He said these items of disagreement should be items for negotiation.

JOE ROSSMAN, Special Representative for Teamsters Joint Council #2, said majority rules in our democratic state of Montana, and a slim majority is still a majority if it passes by one vote. He said the majority of the citizens of the state of Montana hope you give this bill a do not pass.

HOWARD ROSENLEAF, Business Agent, Carpenters Local 88, Anaconda, and member, Montana State AFL-CIO Public Employees Committee, said they rise in opposition of this bill. He said he represents the carpenters that work at Warm Springs, Galen, and the prison.

JOHN WALSH, President of Montana State Council #9, of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, spoke in opposition and a copy of his testimony is <u>EXHIBIT 11</u> and part of the minutes.

LEROY SCHRAMM, Chief, Labor Relations Bureau, State of Montana, said he was there on behalf of the entire executive branch to voice their opposition to this bill. He said the first reason is that the bill is unworkable from a personnel management view. They would have contracts where part of the people were in the bargaining unit and part not covered. It would be chaotic as one month you would have a person in and the next month he's out. He said they were also opposed on the following principle - unions don't spring up but they are voted in. He said they have had 17 certification elections and the union has won 16 of those and in almost every case the turnouts were 90% and in the smaller He said there have been 6 decertifications - four cases 100%. of these from employees who voted to substitute their unions but kept their same representatives. So he felt the remedy for the problem was for the employees who become dissatisfied not to stop paying their dues but rather they should vote the union out. He said in the six cases attempted four were successful and it involved over 1000 employees. He said the rights of the minority are protected by due process in the labor relations as the union must represent all fairly. He said two years ago they had a rather protracted strike of state employees and he has had his differences with the unions, but all in all the system is working amazingly well and is a law we can be proud of. He said as long as the people can vote the unions in or out, the law is not an unfair provision.

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TOM SCHNEIDER, Executive Director, Montana Public Employees Association, spoke next in opposition and a copy of his testimony is EXHIBIT 12 of the minutes.

KRISTINE ROBY, Secretary, University of Montana, President, UM Chapter of MPEA, spoke next in opposition and a copy of her testimony is EXHIBIT 13 of the minutes.

BARBARA KAPINOS from MSU, representing self, spoke next in opposition and a copy of her testimony is EXHIBIT 14 and part of the minutes.

DAN BLACK, Conrad, Montana Highways, said they wished to go on record as opposing the bill.

JUDY WOLFE, Montana Department of Agriculture, Great Falls, said she rises in opposition to the bill.

RAY HOFFMAN, Missoula, President of MPEA, urged the committee to vote down the bill.

DAVID SEXTON, Montana Education Association, spoke next in opposition and a copy of his testimony is EXHIBIT 15 and part of the minutes.

Chairman Ellerd said he had a letter from the Western Montana District Council's United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Missoula, which has 16 signatures opposing the bill and he was having it added to the minutes (EXHIBIT 16).

Since the time was becoming short, Chairman Ellerd requested that others who wished to speak rise and state their name and whom they represented. The following did:

JAMES MULAR, Butte CLARENCE KOSTENKO, Billings, Sanitation Department, Local 190 ROBERT R. BEARD, Missoula, Local 1145 JEROME LEMAR, Helena, National Assoc. Letter Carriers RICHARD FERDERER, Great Falls, Teamsters, and he left a list

of 150 signatures opposing (EXHIBIT 17) BILL BRADFORD, MEA, Missoula JOHN AHNSTAD, U of M, Laborers 1334 BILLY H. BROTHERS, Industrial workers, Kalispell ONRIGHT, Stevensville, U of M, Local 259 Plumbers HUBERT Local 2774, Helena MAUREEN MEE, Butte Teachers TESSURENA SIMONSON, speaking for 7 other people also in opposition, MSLA, Western Montana Carpenters.

Written testimony left because of lack of time to testify were left by:

Mike Walker, Sec. of the MT State Council of Professional Firefighters, EXHIBIT 18.

M.W. Gullickson, United Transportation Union, Livingston, EXHIBIT 19.

Kathy O. Van Hook, Business Representative, UFCW, Local 1981, Helena, EXHIBIT 20.

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Letters sent to Chairman Ellerd opposing the bill which he requested
be included in the minutes were from:
 Kenneth W. Baier, Msla, EXHIBIT 21
 Chris Murphy, Msla., EXHIBIT 22
 John Lawry, Msla, EXHIBIT 23
 Jeny Brown, Msla, EXHIBIT 24
 Bonnie Faust for Msla, Elementary Education Association
 (365 members) a mailogram which is EXHIBIT 25

There are over 100 letters or notes written opposing the bill attached to the minutes and the signatures of those attending the meeting are also attached to the minutes.

Chairman Ellerd opened the hearing to questions from the committee.

Mr. Murry in response to a question from Rep. Seifert said he felt the movement behind this legislation is purely from those that stand against the trade union movement and is a violation of the law. Rep. Seifert asked if Mr. Murry would have any objections to including all employees so the law would not be discriminatory and Mr. Murry said he would have objections.

Rep. Harrington asked Rep. Burnett who else worked on the bill. Rep. Burnett said he had assistance from a researcher. He also said he had a number of letters from public employees that weren't here tonight because of a fear of harrassment.

Rep. Dozier asked Rep. Burnett if the didn't feel the bill would create a lackey system and cause unnecessary competition among employees. Rep. Burnett said no.

Rep. Keyser said the bill will create individual decisions from all public employees and he asked Rep. Burnett if that wouldn't be creating an absolute nightmare as far as bargaining with the public employees of the State of Montana and different depart-Rep. Burnett said he didn't think so. Rep. Burnett said ments. if the unions were doing their job the individual wouldn't be objecting to being in their camp. He felt that no one should be forced to belong or not belong. He said undoubtedly most have their minds made up. He said if the unions are so sure they are right why don't they have this put on the ballot and see how right they are. He felt labor reform is a little overdone, and the welfare of the individual should be of top priority. He felt labor unions should develop an acceptance to serve and higher ethical standards. They should work for the advancement of local and national understanding. He felt the working man should have a great degree of loyalty for the man or institution for which he works. He said if a man must condemn or find fault he should first resign his position. He urged the committee to read the material he had handed to them.

Chairman Ellerd closed the hearing on HB 645. He expressed his and the committee's appreciation for the attendance and for the testimony presented. Mr. Lynch responded expressing appreciation for the courtesy extended to the people testifying and those in attendance. House Labor and Employment Relations Committee page 8 February 17, 1981 (Evening Meeting)

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Chairman Ellerd opened the meeting to a consideration of HB 645.

HOUSE BILL 645 - Rep. Keyser moved DO NOT PASS. He said he was moving that not because Mr. Murry or Mr. Tawney were there but because it was a poorly written bill that would create havoc with the present employees that work for the state of Montana. He said if the bill were adopted the state would have to deal with hundreds of units. He said the pros talk of a closed shop and Montana's is not a closed shop - workers do not have to belong but they do have to pay. He said it wasn't until we became organized and had some sort of voice that we were able to make any type of gain. He urged the committee to kill the bill.

Rep. Sivertsen moved a substitute motion of TABLING the bill. He said he has worked all his life so was not taking anything away from laboring people. He said he has a long standing belief in the laboring people. He said he also believes in the rights of the laboring people to organize. But he said there needs to be control in the organization and tonight he said injustices have been mentioned and he felt this was one of the reasons to lay it on the table. He said there are injustices in the labor movement across the country and that is unfortunate. He said some working people fear retaliation and he told of an instance where a laboring man's life and his family were threatened because he stood up to the union. He said he didn't support right-to-work for Montana and he felt HB 645 was not the right way to proceed. He expressed faith that hard working Montanans will resolve inequities in the system if they are given the chance.

Rep. Harrington opposed the motion to table the bill. He said it is important to take the bill and have it on the board so people can know exactly how we feel.

Rep. Dozier said he was totally opposed to the bill and opposed to hiding it. He said if the bill is about freedom of choice it is about as false as right-to-work.

Rep. Underdal said he supported Rep. Sivertsen's motion. He said he has a little problem with labor unions, too, as he was opposed to many of the things they do. He felt they were bringing some of this on themselves as they need to clean up their act, and if they did a bill like this wouldn't be needed. He questioned the right of public employees to strike where lives could depend on them.

Rep. Menahan said he rises in support of Rep. Keyser's motion. He said agriculture takes advantage of cerain privileges wholeheartedly like renting federal land. He said we could put up all state lands for open bid and make it an every year bid. He said we all have a little dust on our door stop.

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Rep. Sivertsen said he didn't make the motion with any intention of bringing it off the table. It will stay on the table.

Chairman Ellerd called for a roll call vote and it failed with 8 voting yes (Reps. Hanson, Seifert, Schultz, Sivertsen, Briggs, Smith, Underdal and Ellerd) and 9 voting no (Dozier, Harper, Harrington, Keedy, Keyser, Menahan, O'Connell, Pavolovich, Thoft). Reps. Hanson and O'Connell had left absentee ballots with the Chairman.

Chairman Ellerd then called on a roll call vote on the motion of DO NOT PASS and this carried unanimously.

Chairman Ellerd called for a short recess during which time the committee convened in Room 129 for further executive action.

HOUSE BILL 557 - Two sets of suggested amendments were passed to the committee members. One set had been presented at a former meeting by Rep. Seifert and this is EXHIBIT 26 of the minutes; and the other set was presented by Rep. Keedy and this is EXHIBIT 27 of the minutes.

Rep. Dozier moved DO PASS. Rep. Keedy then moved that his suggested amendments be adopted by the committee. He said the amendments would simply peg the minimum wage in Montana to the federal minimum wage. It would provide that the employer could use the tip credit up to the maximum amount allowed by the federal as long as she receives enough tips to equal the minimum wage. All tips received by the employee are solely hers or his to keep.

Rep. Dozier said he was opposed to the tip credit all the way.

Rep. Seifert said his only problem was to have the minimum wage fit the federal standard. Not in any other portion throughout Montana is it the same as the federal. It would be an increase of 86%.

Rep. Harrington said the bill would be worthwhile for all but the tipped employees. He told Rep. Keedy he appreciated what he was trying to do but that he had to oppose the tip credit.

Rep. Seifert asked about farm labor and Rep. Keedy said the amounts in Brown's bill are untouched by his amendments.

The question was called on Rep. Keedy's amendments and the motion failed with Rep. Dozier, Menahan, Harrington, Keedy and Pavlovich voting yes and ten voting no (Reps. O'Connell and Hanson absent).

Dozier moved to reconsider action on the last motion so the amendments could be taken individually. This motion carried with Reps. Smith, Briggs, Harper and Keyser voting no.

Rep. Schultz moved that Rep. Keedy's first amendment be not This motion carried with 9 voting yes and 6 voting accepted. no (Reps. Dozier, Harper, Menahan, Pavlovich, Keedy, Harrington) and two absent (O'Connell and Hanson).

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Rep. Menahan moved the second amendment of Rep. Keedy's 2 (3)(a) and (b). This motion failed.

Rep. Dozier moved the second half of amendment 2 (3)(c) and (d) be adopted and this motion carried with Reps. Seifert, Underdal, Smith, Ellerd and Hanson (by a left vote) voting no.

Rep. Smith moved a substitute motion of DO NOT PASS. Rep. Keyser moved a motion for all motions pending to adopt Rep. Seifert's amendments omitting small (iii) and (c) on amendment 5 as these have already been adopted from Rep. Keedy's amendments.

Rep. Harrington said this would leave it the same the first year and increase it by 20¢ the second year. Then we turn around and say anyone under 16 years can't be covered by the minimum wage. Rep. Seifert said the reason I reduced it to 16 years is that the law states "under 18 years of age." Rep. Harrington said that's federal law and there is no mention of it in the state statute.

Rep. Thoft read from the codes the part that deals with farm labor and 18 year olds. Rep. Harrington said this is under the farm but not for the city. He said he would have to oppose putting a law like that on the books to cover 16 year olds in the city.

Rep. Dozier said this is age discrimination. We have put through a joint resolution to study child labor laws and then have a bill that not only encourages the use but abuse of child labor.

Rep. Keedy moved to divide the question so we can take these one at a time. The motion carried with Rep. Thoft, Ellerd, Underdal, Smith, Seifert, Pavlovich, Briggs voting no.

Rep. Harper moved to delete amendment no. 7 of Rep. Seifert's amendments. This motion carried unanimously with those present.

Rep. Pavlovich moved to delete amendment no. 6 of Rep. Seifert's amendments and this motion failed with Reps. Keyser, Seifert, Briggs, Schultz, Thoft, Underdal, Ellerd, Smith voting against the motion.

Rep. Underdal moved to adopt 1, 2, 3 and 4 of Rep. Seifert's amendments. Rep. Pavlovich moved to separate these amendments. Rep. Pavlovich's amendment failed with Reps. Briggs, Seifert, Schultz, Ellerd, Smith, Thoft, Sivertsen, Keyser and Underdal voting not. A vote was then taken on Rep. Underdal's motion to adopt the first four amendments. This motion carried with Reps. Dozier, Harper, Menahan, Pavlovich and Harrington voting no.

Rep. Seifert moved Seifert amendment no. 5. Rep. Keyser moved a substitute motion since (iii) and (c) were already accepted as they are similar to 2(c) and (d) of Keedy's amendments to adopt only 5 (3)(a) and (b)(i) and (ii). Rep. Keedy said he opposed this motion as it is putting us into the federal system. House Labor and Employment Relations Committee February 17, 1981 (Evening Session)

Under the circumstances it would be inconsistent to plug into the federal system.

Rep. Sivertsen said this is simple. Let us delete Seifert amendment no. 5 and hold onto (iii) and (c) of Keedy's amendments. Rep. Harper moved a substitute motion for all motions pending to do this. This motion carried with Reps. Ellerd and Smith voting no.

Rep. Menahan said we should delete Seifert amendment no. 6 as it doesn't apply any longer. Rep. Keyser so moved and the motion carried unanimously with those present.

The question was called on the motion to DO PASS AS AMENDED and the motion carried with Rep. Pavlovich voting no. Rep. Hanson and Rep. O'Connell had left votes to vote for the bill.

HOUSE BILL 190 - Rep. Seifert moved DO NOT PASS. The motion carried with Reps. Pavlovich, Dozier, Menahan and Harrington voting no.

The meeting adjourned at 10:45 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT ELLERD, CHAIRMAN

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For the Record, I am Jim Burnett, Representative for District 71 and prime sponsor of HB 645.

This piece of legislation was introduced by request of some It was these same employees that were enthusiastic State employees. supporters of the closed shop concept. The argument at that time was it will bring labor harmony with everyone working together for the benefit of the individual. It was my augument then and is now, that everyone should have a free choice to belong or not to belong to any organization. There is no doubt in my mind that the individual employee is of little importance to the overall union movement. The only thing that is of importance to the union leadership is money - and once the king pin position is arrived at, they will do anything to hold it, including crime. Over the years I've been threatened because of my stand and many employees and their families have been threatened.Boycotts, sympathetic strikes Vichance reliance both within and out of the union is of common and occurrence.

Money is the name of the game - and for the public employee it is a ripoff--so little can be bargained for. The legislature, commissioners and trustees set up budgets and for the most part are funded by tax paying entities, therefore, any negotiation has to deal with the tax paying public in mind. At the end of the 1973 session when the "closed shop" legislation for public employees was enacted, I would go home at night believing what we were doing to the public and the State of Montana was a dream, and that we

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just couldn't be doing what we were doing, but we were.

The labor unions had sent up a trial balloon bill at the 1973beginning of the session and found they had captured the legislature and every labor bill that had been waiting in the wings for many sessions just sailed through.

The last day of that session on the House floor, when I was recognized by the Speaker, I made this statement and no one challenged it. "I am sorry to have been a part of what we've done to Montana and private enterprise. We have put in effect regimentation limitations and taxation on the business community and I have my doubts that private enterprise can survive for many sessions like this one."*and turned Control and To arganized later*."

I would ask you to look at the bill. Under Sec. 1 it provides for free choice. It is not an anti-union measure. If the union is doing its job for the membership everyone will want to be a member.

Section 2, as it is now the unions have lost the individual touch. This will give the individual an exclusive in their own right.

Section 3, gives the individual the validation of an agreement.

Section 4, this section is meant to insure the individuals voluntary decision.

Section 5, sub sec. (3) is the open shop provision by eliminating the closed shop provision.

Section 6, is the grandfather clause that allows present contracts to run out to the expiration date.



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#### EXCLUSIVE REPRESENTATION--WHOSE INTERESTS SERVED?

The National Labor Relations Act and legislative proposals to extend it or similar labor law to agriculture, all base-their central provisions upon the stated principle of free employee\_choice. However, they all flatly contradict that principle by their <u>"exclusive representation" provisions</u>. Under these provisions, a particular union selected by a bare voting majority of employees becomes the exclusive bargaining agent for all employees in the unit. This perversion\_of the majority rule principle abrogates the free choice of the employees who do not want to be <u>frepresented</u> by a particular union, or indeed may wish to act as their own bargaining agents, without representation by any union. The effect is to serve the interest only of union officials.

Under our current system of labor law based on the NIRA as it has been amended and interpreted, the exclusive representation provision amounts to an overwhelming organizing advantage for union officials, and a denial of the freedom and common law 5 mar - 1973 rights of employers and employees. The only thing union officials are required to do in order to become the sole bargaining agents for all the employees in a particular unit is to sign up or win the election votes of fifty percent plus one of those employees. Then fifty percent less one are required to accept the terms and conditions of employment negotiated by those union officials, losing the right to seek their own best deal with their employer in free competition. Furthermore, the nonconsenting employees will probably have to pay dues or equivalent fees to the union officials the voted against, since one of the primary bargaining objectives of any union bargaining agent-is a contract clause requiring union membership and dues payment as a condition of employment.

The organizing advantage accorded to union officials by the exclusive representation provision has been further extended at the cost of individual rights by the National Labor Relations Board. Under an NIRB rule, upheld by the Supreme Court, an employer can be required to bargain with union representatives who have actually been rejected by a majority of his employees in a secret ballot election. According to the MIRB, the is justified where union officials have obtained the signatures of a majority of the employees on "bargaining authorization" cards prior to the election, and where they have charged the employer with "serious" unfair practices that make a fair rerun elecany way discourage his employees from casting ballots for representation by a particu union might be construed as a "serious" unfair practice under the NIRB's interpretati. On the other hand, the NIRB and the Supreme Court have held, in the recent <u>Gissel</u> ca that a card majority authorizes exclusive representation even where the meaning of th cards is misrepresented to the employees who sign them. In that case, employees sign cards believing that they were calling for a representation election, only to be told later that their signature on the card was considered as a vote for exclusive represe tation by a particular union.

Once past the organizing stage, mion officials enjoy a monopolistic advantage i the collective bargaining process by virtue of the exclusive representation principle The employer is forbidden to deal with anyone other than the exclusive bargaining age in all matters pertaining to wages, hours, and other terms and conditions of employment.

The exclusive representation provision thus binds both employers and employees, and ultimately consumers, in a strait jacket. The organizing advantage it gives to union officials, along with the other special privileges granted by the NIRA, has contributed to the unionization of virtually all the organizable "blue collar" employees in American industry, destroying the employees' freedom of choice in the process. The bargaining advantage under the exclusive representation principle has enabled union officials to make the demands that have created inflation and unemployment in industry and have priced many American goods out of world markets.

But while industry has been suffering under union monopolistic privileges for 34 years under the NIRA, its amendments and interpretations, American agriculture has used its freedom from governmental intervention in farm labor-management relations to establish an impressive record of productivity and efficiency, and has developed int one of the healthiest segments of our national economy. Ninety-five percent of Amer farms are small family farms, which would be at least as vulnerable to unionization industry generally, if pending legislative proposals were passed. Armed with the special monopolistic privileges granted by our current system of labor law, union c cials would be able to undermine the productivity, destroy the economic health, and abuse the rights of agricultural employees, employers, and consumers of agricultural products to the same extent as in industry generally. Can we afford to extend to tr food-producing sector of our economy labor laws that serve the interest only of powe hungry union officials?

#### EXCLUSIVE REPRESENTATION

addition to the obvious and severe impact of these cases on the often helpless individual employees, the effect of this narrow interpretation of section 7 is to place restrictions on unions' ability to exert economic pressure upon employers. Often—if not usually—employees engaged in concerted activities for the betterment of their wages, hours, and other conditions of employment are acting at the behest of, or in league with, their collective bargaining agent.

A fallout, or unintended, consequence of having stripped unions of considerable power by this strict construction of the Act may have been a tendency to balance things by giving unions greater strength in other areas than otherwise would be justified. These areas may be, unfortunately, also contexts in which the individual workers pay the major price, rather than the unions being repaid for the loss of their economic strength by interpretations of the Act which would come out of the employers' hides. It is ironic, and perhaps cruel as well, that the employees are the primary victims in an effort to keep employers strong vis-à-vis unions, and that employees are similarly victimized to keep unions strong vis-à-vis employers.

Much of what follows are examples of keeping unions strong. Exclusive representation appears often, if not always, to be the doctrinal cause or justification. While I have made no exhaustive effort to explore the various problems, I do attempt to suggest some better ways to deal with the issues.

#### A. Fair Representation

It is often said that a union, in the representation of employees, should be analogized to a legislature in its representation of all persons.<sup>13</sup> Like the legislature, the union has been selected by a majority; and like the legislature, it will participate in the creation of laws which will affect all, even those who did not want it to represent them in the first place. To that point, the analogy appears to have some merit, although it is unduly simple and somewhat deceptive. It should not be pushed too far. For example, the union does not decide unilaterally what the new "legislation" will be; the employer must participate and, indeed, in a very real sense remains the one to call the tune. As antiunion employers are fond of pointing out in election cam-

<sup>13</sup> "For the [bargaining] representative is clothed with power not unlike that of a legislature ....." Steel v. Louisville & N.R.R., 323 U.S. 192, 198 (1944).

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paigns, only the employer can put a raise in the employees' pay envelope. And, at least after giving collective bargaining a try, an employer may be able to put that pay increase into the envelope even without the union's agreement.<sup>14</sup> While a legislature passes laws which deal with all walks of life, rarely does it deal with issues of intense and direct interest and effect to all the electorate. Unions do this all the time in reaching agreements with employers about wages, hours, and other terms and conditions of employment.

Moreover, in our society neither the legislature nor its agents represent all people in their individual concerns or grievances with others. Quite to the contrary, people select their own representatives to help in settling individually identifiable interests. Unions, on the other hand, represent all employees in their individual grievances, including the complaints of employees who actively oppose the union or its leadership.

Thus, one can question whether the analogy to the legislature is very useful when dealing with the obligation owed by the union to all the individuals it represents. While it is true the individuals often will have conflicting interests which may be irreconcilable, and that someone has to resolve the competing interests, one may be compelled to conclude that close supervision of the resolver is in order, especially when the decisionmaker is an exclusive representative chosen by the majority. This should be clear because the union is not neutral, but is controlled by one employee group or another from among the conflicting interests. It is from this concern, with a possible constitutional basis as well, that the duty to represent all the employees in the unit, the duty of fair representation, found and still finds its bottom.<sup>15</sup>

Given the conflicting interests of the many employees in a unit and the expertise of the union, the courts are prepared to defer to the unions' judgment, in most cases, of what cause is best for the most employees. Accordingly, the Supreme Court has told us that the duty of fair representation requires only that the union refrain from acting "arbitrar[il]y, discriminator[il]y or in bad faith."<sup>16</sup> It is not clear to what extent the duty

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> See, e.g., NLRB v. Crompton-Highland Mills, Inc., 337 U.S. 217, 225 (1949); NLRB v. U.S. Sonics Corp., 312 F.2d 610 (1st Cir. 1963).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> See Steele v. Louisville & N.R.R., 323 U.S. 192 (1944).

<sup>16</sup> Vaca v. Sipes, 383 U.S. 171, 190 (1967).

outlaws union discriminatory activity based on what are arguably irrelevancies to the union's accepted role,<sup>17</sup> nor whether violation of the duty requires that the union act intentionally to deprive the employee of something he or she has a right to have.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps time will make clearer what the duty implies. In the meantime, it does appear that the doctrine is to be construed narrowly.<sup>19</sup>

What is clear, however, is that the concept of fair representation, whatever it means, is a necessary implication of the Act because of one idea in particular: the doctrine of exclusive representation. Without that doctrine, employees would be free to select their representatives without being subjected to a political majority which is unsympathetic to the minority's desires. While I am not so naive as to believe that all conflicts between employees and their representatives would disappear if only exclusivity were jettisoned, conflicts created by individuals' need for fair treatment at the hands of their union could be greatly reduced if exclusivity were abandoned and employees were allowed to be represented by their own individually chosen agents.

Whatever can be said for sacrificing the minority's interests for the good of all, or at least for the majority, the idea makes no sense when the issue is what should be done regarding a single individual's grievance with his or her employer. No longer can it be said that the union is acting like a legislature. In this context, the union is the representative of the individual; it does not suffice to say that even in this context the union must first think of and consider the interests of the majority, or consider what is the best for the most, or that the union must consider as paramount the "proper" interpretation of the collective bar-

<sup>18</sup>.Compare Amalgamated Ass'n of St., Elec. Ry. & Motor Coach Employees v. Lockridge, 403 U.S. 274, 301 (1971) ("[T]he very distinction . . . between honest, mistaken conduct, on the one hand, and deliberate and severely hostile and irrational treatment, on the other, needs strictly to be maintained."), with Vaca v. Sipes, 386 U.S. 171, 190 (1967) (mandate that the union refrain from engaging in conduct that is "arbitrary, discriminatory or in bad faith").

<sup>19</sup> See Amalgamated Ass'n of St., Elec. Ry. & Motor Coach Employees v. Lockridge. 403 U.S. 274, 301 (1971). But see Clark, The Duty of Fair Representation: A Theoretical Structure, 51 TEXAS L. Rev. 1119 (1973).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The Court said in Steele itself that union discrimination within the bargaining unit could not be "irrelevant and invidious." 323 U.S. at 203. While courts have found failures to represent fairly where the basis for disparate representation was deemed "irrelevant," e.g., Berman v. National Maritime Union, 166 F. Supp. 327 (S.D.N.Y. 1958); Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, 116 F. Supp. 3 (D.D.C. 1953), what is deemed "relevant" has a very broad scope. See Ford Motor Co. v. Huffman, 345 U.S. 330 (1953).

gaining contract. Those are no longer the issues. The issues now center on the individual's allegations and interests. Moreover, there are opportunities, albeit not unilateral, for the union to amend the contract if an individual grievance is settled in a manner which the union does not want. If the issues were still general, rather than specific, still a matter of unit concern, where could an individual ever find vindication, of the legitimate interests that he or she has as a result of the collective bargaining contract and the expectations that the contract has created?

The almost universal fact that the union was opposed by a minority of the employees who now must look to that organization for representation in their individual grievance proceedings compels one to come face to face with a real novelty in our law, to which reference has already been made: An individual is forced to use a representative not of his or her own choosing to settle an individual grievance or complaint. Indeed, the representative may be antagonistic to the employee, either personally or ideologically. Nevertheless, the law tells us that these individuals must be represented by such unsympathetic institutions.

As protection, the Supreme Court has held that the duty of fair representation applies to grievance and arbitration proceedings.<sup>20</sup> This might be of some protection if the duty were broadly and clearly defined, but the courts have yet to set forth such an exposition. Moreover, proof of a violation of the duty of fair representation does not make out a successful case against the employer under the collective contract: The individual must prevail on the contract issue as well. The individual probably has to prevail on the contract issue even if the union is the only defendant, because it is difficult to show how the employee has been injured by the union's failure to represent fairly unless there was a contract right at the bottom of the employee's claim.

While this appears to make sense, at least at first blush, it is neither reasonable nor fair that the employee can successfully sue the employer on the contract only when the union also violates its duty of fair representation. After all, if the employee's contract rights were violated, what relevance has the union's behavior to an action between the employee and employer? Nevertheless, in *Vaca v. Sipes*,<sup>21</sup> the Court held that an individual

<sup>2</sup>º Vaca v. Sipes, 386 U.S. 171 (1967).

<sup>21</sup> Id.

has to prove a failure of fair representation before he or she can sue an employer on the collective bargaining contract. On one level, the Court's reasoning seemed to be that the union and the employer were the parties to the contract (whatever happened to the employees?) and that it therefore followed that the union had to be dissatisfied with the employer's actions and seek redress if any relief was to be had (unless the union acted illegally in its acquiescence, in which case the individual needed protection). On another level, the Court appeared to be saying that the union needed to participate in all grievance settlements because whatever was decided could affect all the other employees whom the union represented.

There is some truth to both levels of analysis, but neither is wholly persuasive. First, the fact that a union does not pursue a grievance does not prove that the union, one of the two parties recognized by the Court, agrees with the other party-the employer. The union may have chosen not to pursue the grievance for reasons which were legitimate, at least for fair representation purposes, but it might still agree with the employee's position on the merits of the grievance. Secondly, while many grievances have elements which may have some impact on other employees, this is obviously a more or less proposition, varying from case to case. Resolution of seniority disputes can affect large numbers of employees, while resolution of a discharge case where the only issue is whether an employee showed up late for work may involve no other employees' interests at all; as a practical matter. While drawing the line is made easier by opting for the idea that other employees' interests and the union's interests are always involved, that hardly comports with the legitimate interests of the grieving employees. Sometimes the grievant's interests far outweigh the union's or other employees' theoretical concern.

Finally, it should be noted that, in the past, the Supreme Court has ordered arbitration in one case although it was plain that one of the parties most likely to be affected would not, and could not, participate. In *Carey v. Westinghouse Electric Corp.*,<sup>22</sup> the Court ordered an arbitration between an employer and one union which had a jurisdictional dispute with another union not involved in the litigation or in the arbitration-to-be. What

22 375 U.S. 261 (1964).

legal impact the required arbitral decision might have on the unrepresented union was not decided by the Court. If the Court can order such an arbitration where it is virtually certain that further litigation or arbitration would be necessary to resolve the matter because an interested union was absent, surely one can have doubts about the sanctity of requiring a union to participate voluntarily when an employee seeks justice from his or her employer. Combining with this the fact that there is often reason to be suspicious of union motivation for refusing to process grievances, especially since the grievant may have all sorts of unprovably bad relationships with union leaders and the leaders all sorts of unprovably hostile motives towards the individual, one must conclude that the Vaca solution does not make sense.

A more appropriate, albeit not perfect, solution under the existing statutes is the following:

1. If an employee is severed from employment, he or she is able to sue the employer on the contract without exhaustion of contractual remedies (so long as the employee does not seek re-instatement).<sup>23</sup>

2. If the employee has not been severed from employment, or he or she seeks reinstatement as a remedy, the employee has the right to take up the grievance, although not the right to force the union to pursue it.<sup>24</sup> If the union chooses not to support the grievance formally, the employee is entitled to a written reason why the union will not pursue the matter; the reason

<sup>23</sup> This once was the law under the Railway Labor Act. Moore v. Illinois Central R.R., 312 U.S. 630 (1941). The Supreme Court first refused to extend *Moore* to Taft-Hartley cases, Republic Steel Corp. v. Maddox, 379 U.S. 650 (1965), and then overruled *Moore* entirely. Andrews v. Louisville & N.R.R., 406 U.S. 320 (1972).

<sup>24</sup> See the proviso to § 9(a), 29 U.S.C. § 159(a) (1970), which states: "[A]ny individual employee or a group of employees shall have the right at any time to present grievances to their employer and to have such grievances adjusted, without the intervention of the bargaining representative as long as the adjustment is not inconsistent with the terms of a collective bargaining contract or agreement then in effect." Despite the more obvious meaning of this language, which creates an exception to the purity of exclusivity on behalf of the employee, the usual interpretation given these words is limited to permitting an employer, if it wants, to discuss a grievance directly with an employee. E.g., Black-Clawson Co. v. Machinists Lodge 355, 313 F.2d 179 (2d Cir. 1962). It makes more sense to give the individual employee the right to settle grievances. In this fashion, the employee is more apt to be satisfied and the employer is more likely to hear employees' problems. Since the proviso assures the union's presence at the grievance discussions, it is difficult to understand any harm that can befall exclusivity concepts by assuring an individual this limited right. See, e.g., Donnelly v. United Fruit Co., 40 N.J. 61, 190 A.2d 825 (1963). I do not accept the Donnelly opinion, however, where it suggests should set out what efforts the union made to investigate the grievance as well as the reasons for its abandonment. The union must follow reasonable procedures to investigate, and the union is expected to have reasonable grounds for not pursuing the matter. If its motivation was improper (unreasonable or irrelevant), the stated reasons would in no way bind the employee. If the evidence does not support the union's position, or if its reasons for not pursuing the grievance are improper, the employee should be successful in a fair representation action. A fair representation action should be permissible without proof that the employee lost a chance of winning the contract claim because of the union's mal- or misfeasance.<sup>25</sup>

3. The employer may be liable to the employee on the contract, even if the union does not pursue the grievance through arbitration and even if the employee is not separated from employment, if (a) the union is guilty of a failure to represent fairly, (b) the union does not agree with the employer's position but has failed to pursue the matter for reasons which do not violate the duty to represent fairly, or (c) although the union agrees with the employer, the union's reasons for not pursuing the grievance do not significantly or legitimately involve the interests of other employees covered by the contract.<sup>26</sup>

4. The employee should not be required to join the union and the employer as defendants in order to succeed against either.

an individual can even insist upon going to arbitration. This seems, to a considerable extent, a futile gesture for the employee. Moreover, the dilemma of identifying the "parties" to the arbitration may be more trouble than it is worth. Finally, such a doctrine might result in unfair financial burdens. However, as indicated in the text, the individual's rights in the courthouse should be greatly expanded.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The fact that paragraph "three" permits the employee to sue the employer on the contract if the union fails to represent fairly should not preclude the employee from suing in fair representation only, and having the damages measured in terms of a lost chance to prevail on the contract issue. In some situations, at least, that chance will not be equated with the merits of the contractual dispute. This will be true especially where the designated interpreter of the contract is an arbitrator, not the courts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> It should be noted that the proposal made in the text does not wholly reject some of the institutional interests protected by *Vara*. If the union's refusal to support the individual is based significantly on the legitimate interests of other employees, *e.g.*, a seniority dispute, I am prepared to leave a real contract issue to the interpretation of the creating parties, the employer and the union. However, there are limits to the rational meaning of words and, beyond that point, the courts should not defer to the parties' contract interpretation when it comes at the expense of identifiable individuals.

5. An employee should never be required to exhaust internal union procedures before suing either the employer on the contract or the union for failing to represent fairly in a grievance context.<sup>27</sup>

6. If the union does choose to pursue a grievance to arbitration, an individual employee may employ his or her own representative for the proceeding.<sup>28</sup>

While these proposals would not completely protect legitimate interests of individuals, they would go a long way without abandonment of the exclusivity doctrine.

#### B. Board Abstention in Individual Rights Cases

A few years ago, the National Labor Relations Board reversed its then longstanding practice of virtually never deferring to the arbitral process.<sup>29</sup> Much can be said for the NLRB's decision to abstain from deciding a case in which the arbitration process is available to resolve an issue revolving around the authority of the employer to impose "unilaterally" changed working conditions during the term of a collective bargaining contract.<sup>30</sup> In such a case, there can be no "unilateral action" if the contract authorizes the employer conduct; any unfair labor practice finding would necessarily turn solely on the meaning

2\* Collyer Insulated Wire, 192 N.L.R.B. 837 (1971).

<sup>30</sup> See Schatzki, NLRB Resolution of Contract Disputes Under Section 8(a)(5), 50 TEXAS L. REV. 225 (1972).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> A growing body of law is requiring employees in Vaca contexts to exhaust both contractual and internal union remedies, even in cases where the employer is the defendant. See Simpson & Berwick, Exhaustion of Grievance Procedures and the Individual Employee, 51 TEXAS L. REV. 1179 (1973).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Note that the proposal does not authorize an individual to enforce arbitration where neither the union nor the employer seek it. This assumes, of course, that the contract does not authorize individual authority to initiate arbitration. The reason for this apparent omission is primarily a skepticism about an arbitrator's ability to retain an objective and fair stance when his or her "employers," the union and management, are opposed to the arbitration. Even the right of counsel contained in paragraph "six" may not be worth much. Either the union will support the individual, in which case the independent attorney is probably not needed (although his or her presence may assure more competent representation), or the union will not support the claim, in which case the arbitrator's neutrality will be somewhat suspect. (Of course, the arbitrator may not be aware of the union's indifference or animosity to the individual's claim, and the attorney's presence may prevent the union from being open about its true attitude. Moreover, the union's indifference may be reflected in poor advocacy, which the attorney may cure. Alternatively, the arbitrator may treat the presence of such an attorney and everything he or she does with considerable skepticism, given the fact the attorney does not speak for either the employer or the union.)

o compi 20, LEFORS

By BILL SKIDMORE IR Staff Writer Another link was added to a chain of related bisputes between members of Local 1023 of the Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades and union leaders Thursday as members launched a lini d forrnal complaint against their leadership.

Eight painters working for the state Department of Institutions mailed an unfair labor practices suit to the State Personnel Appeals Division complaining that the leadership inademutacly represent them, that it failed to pay uills authorized by the membership, and that it illegally raised dues.

Those same painters filled a lawsuit in Boulder District Court Dec. 31 making the same charges and seeking \$400,000 in damages. That charges has been mound to Endered

That case has been moved to Federal District Court in Butte because several of the ssues raised by the union members were con-

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stitutional ones. No federal court hearing has been set.

Meanwhile, another group of six painters, this time employees of the State Highway Department, have filed a petition with the Personnel Appeals Board scelling decertification from the same union.

They say they want out of the union because it does nothing for them, and that their monthly payments to the union for increased dues and unwanted retirement benefits amount to about \$50 a month.

Robert Jensen, administrator of the appeals division, said the cases won't come to formal administrative hearings until next month.

He said there currently is a case in the Supreme Court relating to whether his division or the courts should handle the kind of unfair labor practice complaint filed by the Department of Institutions painters.

In any event, he said, he will send copies of the complaint to the union and the department,

and an administrative hearing probably will be scheduled.

As for the Highway Department painler's request for decertification filed last week. Jensen said the department has requested a time extension until early February in which to reply.

He said the union's leadership is contending that the petition is improper because it service only "partial decertification."

The painters are allied with other labor unions representing state employees in the Crafts and Trades Council bargaining unit, and the painters' union leadership contends it would be improper to decertify only part of that council, Jensen said.

He said that although no other union has connected interest in representing the Highway Department painters, they have until Jan. 25 to intervene in the case.

The painters' local represents about 200 workers in Boulder, Butte, Bozeman and Helena. C

# Only Schwinden veto

Sunday, February 1, 1981 Great Falls

Great Falls Tribune 9-A

# may save labor's laws

#### By CHARLES S. JOHNSON Tribune Capitol Bureau

HELENA – Montana's organized le pr movement faces an onslaught of hostile bills in the 1981 Legislature at a time when many unions themselves a, badly divided.

### News analysis

As much as any single group, labor reaped the benefits from the Democratic-controlled Legislatures of the early and mid-1970s. But as R sublicans gained strength to capture control both the House and Senate this year, labor finds itself incrasingly on the outside and under

tti ang ka

As if that weren't enough, bitter plite thin the labor movement have reduced the unions' political low recent years.

The immediate problem facing abor is the 1981 Legislature.

nile labor leaders aren't publicly
 on ding anything yet, privately
 ome of them are bracing for the
 'orst. They also know they may have
 o u ;e Gov. Ted Schwinden, who won
 abc s backing last year, to veto the
 'orst of the bills.

Jim Murry, executive secretary of ne ate AFL-CIO, said labor leaders ver divided in their assessment of ne 1981 Legislature before it began, ome expected labor to be treated

bac by the Republicans, he said, while others believed the Republicans should be given a chance and not be ud d prematurely.

ter four weeks of the session, everal labor leaders seem to have nade up their minds.

"There are certainly more bad bill introduced at this point than at uny me in my recent memory," said Aurry, who's been on the scene since 967

/ of last week, the bad bills outune d the good by 26-4, Murry aid.

taken at workers rights since forming in the early 1970s was able to ome into the 20th century and pass many of the best worker protection laws in the nation," he said.

Murry ran through a litany of "bad" bills introduced and said labor paly hopes that the entire Legislature will show more concern for working people than some individual lawmakers have

Gene Fenderson, business manager of Local 254 of the Laborers Union, Helena, said he had hoped Republican legislative leaders would use their influence to keep out some of the worst bills so the GOP could build on its strength.

"But apparently they're just going to take us on full board and be done with it," Fenderson said.

Rep. Steve Waldron, D-Missoula,

who heads his local timber products workers union, was also pessimistic.

We will be spending most of the time trying to protect the legislation we have now," he said. He said he doubted whether

He said he doubted whether Republicans would show much concern for working people and expects some bills "repressive" to labor to pass with GOP support.

Labor leaders were apprehensive about the composition of the House and Senate labor committees, which are headed by men with poor voting records in the unions' opinion.

House Labor chairman Bob Ellerd, R-Bozeman, was given a zero percent rating by the AFL-CIO in 1979, while Senate Labor chairman Harold Nel-

son, R-Cut Bank, got a 23 percent mark.

Both men said they have nothing against labor; they just don't happen to agree with the unions on much.

"I have great respect for the union people," Ellerd said. "They're entitled to their opinions and philosophy. Mine happen to be the opposite."

Still, Ellerd pledged to be fair, and union officials said he is.

Courtesy to us," Fenderson said "But courtesy to us," Fenderson said "But I feel if we're for something they're against it. I don't think some of these people are really looking at the merNelson said he gets along fine with labor leaders despite their disagreements on issues and pledged to treat them fairly in committee.

Apart from courtesty: labor isn't likely to get much else from the labor committees, just as business interests into little chance when the Democrats controlled the labor committees in past sessions.

For all their pessimism, the unions have helped defeat a couple of bills in committee.

The House Labor Committee killed HB89, sponsored by Rep. Jack Moore, R-Great Falls, to delay unemployment benefits if a person and his spouse had made more than \$24,000 over the previous nine months.

Unions also lobbied to get a "do not pass" recommendation from the House Business and Industry Committee for HB185, sponsored by Rep. Joe Kanduch, D-Anaconda. That bill would have provided for jail sentences and fines for some persons who delayed industrial developments, which could have led to the imprisonment of workers on wildcat strikes.

The unions are bracing for fights over many other bills, including:

• SB101, sponsored by Sen. Thomas Keating, R-Billings, to deny unemployment compensation benefits to strikers even if there not a work stoppage because management took over running a plant.

• AB259, sponsored by Rep. John Harp, R-Kalispell, to deny unemployment compensation benefits to school district employees, not including teachers, during the summer.

• HB260, sponsored by Moore, which the unions say will weaken the current "prevailing wage" law that requires contractors awarded government contracts must pay employees the "prevailing wage" and fringe benefits paid for similar jobs in the community.

• HB132, sponsored by Rep. Glenn Jacobsen, D-Plentywood, to weaken state building codes.

• SB198, sponsored by Sen. Matt Himsl, R-Kalispell, to prohibit public employees from striking.

• HB224, sponsored by Moore, to do away with state liquor stores and allow the state to contract out the responsibilities. Union clerks fear job losses.

#### (Not printed at Government expense)



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The Case of the Free Rider

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. RALPH W. GWINN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

#### Friday, August 30, 1957

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to insert in the RECORD an article in the magazine of labor and management called Partners, for August 1957, by Maurice R. Franks.

The article follows:

#### THE CASE OF THE FREE RIDER

(By Maurice R. Franks)

The main argument advanced by the labor leaders in their fight to have compulsory unionism made universal revolves about the so-called free rider-the worker who stands back and declines to join the union. With anger they point to the fact that he reaps all the advantages secured through the union's negotiations with management because the law requires that a labor-management contract cover all employees within the bargaining unit. Tearfully the labor leaders point to the free rider as the enemy of union security, whose continued employment in business and industry can cause the collapse of the entire labor movement. In the labor leader's book of foul names the free rider is all kinds of a slacker, slob, and heel-the lowest type of cheapskate and the most vicious type of ingrate-an individual unworthy to ride on the bandwagon of unionism beside those who have paid their fare. Rending their garments and tearing their hair, the labor leaders have lumped all free riders together in a single repulsive category and have demanded that no right-to-work iaw shall appear on any statute book to block the advance of compulsory unionism.

These emotional pleas have tugged at the heartstrings of many a lawmaker in State and Nation and stirred the fancy of judges sitting on some pretty high benches in these. United States of ours. The result has been that in an alarming number of cases the free rider has come out second best in his struggle against organized labor's effort to license all employment. This means that what may or may not have been a serious inequity in the first place has resulted in one that now most definitely is.

It therefore seems imperative to me that, while there is still time to do so, all of us who still have a voice in the march of American affairs should carefully reexamine the case of the free rider and determine if we can the direction in which true justice lies. Because, although every free rider still remains a prospect for voluntary union membership, from universal compulsory unionism there can be no retreat. We'll be stuck with it and with all the un-American things it stands for.

#### NO STANDARD BRAND

The first thing that should strike us as we look into the facts of the case is that there is no standard brand of free rider and that the unions make a dangerous mistake when they lump them all together in one category.

For example, the fellow who lays back his ears and refuses to the bitter end to join the union that has successfully appealed to a majority of his shop mates and may indeed be a heel, a cheapskate, and all kinds of a despicable character. Or he could be a working fool or a screwball. He could be the very heart and soul and body of human repulsiveness, so that the wonder really should be how any self-respecting union man could ever desire to call him brother.

Such a worm cannot possibly be a discredit to the union—and for the simple reason that he doesn't belong to it. If anything, he emphasizes its character and dignity and adds to its stature and prestige so long as he remains a conspicuous holdout. Being who and what he is, he injures the union only on the day when he comes crawling to it for a card and the union, in a moment of weakness, takes his buck and cuddles him into its arms.

So long as a union is an organization of self-respecting workers and not a mechanical license bureau serving the shakedown enterprises or social herding of a dangerous leadership, you'd think it would make a point of giving the widest possible berth to all who might in any way give it an unsavory reputation. But, however the case may be, and however the leaders of unions may feel about it, even such low characters as pictured here still are Americans and still are as inherently entitled as the next man to have their basic American heritage of freedom preserved, not abrogated, by the laws of State and Nation. Freedom of thought and conviction, voluntary association of individuals, undictated choice in all issues affecting their organization—these are matters of fundamental American principle which no union and no law and no court should be privileged to take away from any person—even the least of our number.

Next, let's take a look at the free rider who is not a heel or a slob or a cheapskate, who is not an ingrate—for he knows that he has nothing to be grateful for.

There is the free rider, for example, who has taken a good long look at the kind of union offered him and doesn't like at all what he sees. He may have found its leaders to be a bunch of petty crooks or bigleague criminals, a nest of dangerous radicals, or a huddle of equally dangerous nincompoops. Maybe he can see, even with one eye closed, that the spirit of brotherhood isn't present in the union and could never prick the skin of the hard-boiled gangsters who have organized, or are out to organize, his shop.

There is the free rider who by personal deed and circumstance has enjoyed a long and mutually faithful relationship with his employer and who would not care to prejudice that relationship by joining a union offering him fewer and shallower advantages.

There is also the free rider who is ideologically opposed to unionism because he believes it to be the sworn enemy of incentive and personal initiative. There is also the free rider who is as openminded as he is hesitant and wants only to be shown. He may be only a temporary holdout, a worker who is a better man because he is no pushover for high-pressure salesmanship—who is no superficial joiner but who, when he does join up, will want to play a conscientious part and work hard for the organization he has sworn his allegiance to.

#### BUILDERS OF UNIONISM

And just as a heel can be good for a union by staying out of it, so can a first-class character help a union to attain acceptability or even excellence by refusing to join it until it shows signs of improvement. A first-class character, so long as he is and is left to remain a first-class citizen, provides the union with a first-class target to shoot ata continuing incentive to operate respectably, bonestly, and efficiently so as to attract such members as will build it into a true brotherhood of creative effort.

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The high type of holdout or so-called free rider-and the unions know very well how many of this type there are-is no enemy of decent unionism. He is the enemy of only the type that is unworthy to police his employment, that is unworthy to tamper with the economy of the Nation, that in fact can be its ruination through the indulgence of its leadership in crime, political subversion, and ~ fortunate a total of 124 years to make up incompetent social planning." Considering . the low estate to which all too many unions have sunk through the unseemly or grossly , incompetent operations of their leaders, the high type of free-rider holdout can in fact be a builder of better unionism by refusing ., to be a pushover and publicly stating the Teasons. ستالياتكم والتدايكم المورب بالمواد المحاري

BINING CAN BE EXPENSIVE · · · · · · ·

37. Though told that only the union leaders Tean possibly know or decide what is good for labor, many a free rider knows and, from what he sees, can tell the world that this just . isn't so. Refusing to have any wool pulled over his eyes, he can count the cost of riding on certain union bandwagons-when the elaborate show planned by the leaders fizzles into a dismal flop. And he can also figure that such a ride could end in a bad economic smashup for him.

There was, for example, the Westinghouse "strike of 1955-s strike the IUE leaders cooked up quite without regard for what the company could or could not do for them without jeopardizing its competitive position. Its workers' employment, and, in the final analysis, even their union's security. Formulas were so complex that for the better part of 155 days negotiations were either topsy-turvy or stalemated. For over 5 months, picket lines held down production at the Pittsburgh and other plants of the Westinghouse Corp., and the blind but faith-A39412-63880 an 1 an town must putter spectral of the section of socie the off

. . . . . . . . and the second 973 - L - - - - -. . . . . · · · · · · · · · · · · . . . . . -<u>----</u> 1 11 1 11 an entry entry of +1 : 5 : \* and the state which is the solution eroldas : and É 🕆 in ny aran 🗇 murina 🦏 8-250 - 15-2**2**5 - 1

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ful union toll payers were left sitting at home and counting up the pay they were lesing. . .

And what did the blind and the faithful gain for their long standstill ordered by their union? A well-nigh incomprehensible technicality or two in certain instances. But meanwhile, their losses were large and tangible. According to the union's figures. the average pay per worker lost during the. strike was \$1,850-and setting this off "against reckonable monetary gains, it will take the more fortunate workers a full 50 years to pay up their deficit, and the least marketing and selling unlimited of Ameri-**.** . . . theirs. ----

figured the cost of that ride on the bandwagon of unionism and also figured, "No, thanks, not for me." And many another free rider is reaching the same conclusion today when he eyes the Kohler strike in Wisconsin. Out there, the bandwagon of UAW unionism has been rolling for about 3 -years-not forward toward bigger and better -employment, but downward on the skids. Thus far, the blind and faithful unionists of Kohler have lost over \$10,000 apiece through no wages, and the strike isn't settled yet and probably never will be.

"And," asks many an observant free rider, "just how unimpressive can union representation be?" · ·

#### UNIONIAM ITSELF & FREE RIDER

There is, finally, the free rider who is "keen and observant enough to catch his would-be destroyers in a gross inconsistency. He catches them-in the very propaganda they discharge-boosting unionism itself aboard a big bandwagon for the nerviest free ride in all history. He hears them telling workers everywhere that they owe everything they have gained through their employment to unionism alone---their well-equipped homes, their cars, their entire high standard of living-that without unionism and the bigtime bargaining of its leaders, the e a l'han gue s**ue t**rus . . . t musseart - - 1224. 11 ... .**.** •... . --4 1.1.22 ---1112 2014

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workers of this Nation would still be living in abject poverty

Well, this just isn't true, of course. And many a free rider in possession of the brains the good Lord endowed him with knows very well that it isn't. Labor has come into its present lucrative estate mainly because of the progressive accomplishments of business and industry operating in a free economy. The American worker is better off because of the investments unlimited of American stockholders, of the know-how-unlimited of American management, and because of the can commercial interests. Our standard of living is what it is, not because of union intervention, but, because of, technology and engineering as it has been made by investment capital to blossom in every corner of our land. The unions came later and added their mite to an expanding human mechanism, but they were mainly a byproduct rather than a-great-power source of the economic development of our country.

Now that is the truer picture of what lies behind today's lucrative employment and effective worker purchasing -power-and -the union leader who publicly claims a larger spot in it than the facts accord him its the cheapest sort of free rider.

But no one need hate him or excommunicate him or legislate him out of business for that-if such is the extent of his effort to puff himself up. Where the labor leader really becomes dangerous-both socially and economically-is in his relentless campaign to change the face of this Nation, through economic and political pressure, through pulling wool over the eyes of the American people and denying them the opportunity to see and to judge organized labor for what it really is-a phenomenon, both good and bad in itself-and who would compel all workers everywhere to pay a toll for the right to earn a living. The union leader becomes a peril in our midst when he subverts the basic freedoms of people by publicly distorting the case of the free rider. and and the sub-status fitter to see the set and when the second is the stand of -loo selle usi oo oo salaanyanais is keyyi qasmey - oo oo oo miningi sore-origena oo eyyii ahoya and the second • -- -. . . . . . . . . e in 1801 - Instrumental e en toutre trait 11 and 1 i um als las de la classifia e la de .. nel - - - Malin en mañs las sectores e sec . . . in the second second second second second : ... american the state of the state ÷ . inverse in a state of the Astron Astro-and a specie to species service Conject where the letter base and the for · · \_ i e esta de entre estas .... . . ومتدادات الدساط ...... · . . . . . . ....

## Union Members File Suit Against Officers

hE BOULTER Monton

Thursday, NANUARY 8, 1981

### \$400,000 Sought By Members

Eight membes of Union Local No. 1023 of the Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades filed a complaint last week in the District Court of Jefferson County against officers of that union. Named as defendants in the complaint are Ray Hoshaw, treasurer; Dennis Mallory, president; John Schilla, recording secretary; John Mohr, financial secretary and John Kunz, vice-president.

The members of the union filing the complaint include LeRoy Delger, Rex Halvorson, Steven A. Kinzle, Larry Koleff, John Miller, R.E. Sanford, Benjamin Donaldson and Richard Sonsteng. Donaldson and Sonsteng are both Boulder residents employed at Boulder River School and Hospital.

The complaint, filed in district court December 31, alleges the union officers "purposely and repeatedly attempted to in-crease the dues of the union in flagrant violation" of union working rules or by-laws. The plaintiffs allege that a meeting held June 2019 for the pur-1980: pose of raising dues was called on improper notice at which time the members voted on the dues increase. At the conclusion of the meeting the ballots were of the meening the ballots were put in a cardboard box, unsuper-vised. A second meeting to increase dues was held June 9, 1980 Date at which time protests by the membership were lodged. The executive board then declared the June 2nd and June 9th meetings as both being invalid, in contravention of the union's constitution and a

A third special meeting to increase dues was called July 14, 1995, which the plaintiff's allege contained the following irregularities: (a) The notice calling the meeting was unsigned the

(a) The notice calling the meeting was unsigned, improper notice was given and the required ten (10) percent of the membership requesting the meeting was not obtained.

(b) The Defendants tried to throw out the ballot of Jim McFadden who had voted against the dues increase. The Defendant officers counted the June 2nd ballots. The Defendants allowed an officer to cast an extra ballot after the balloting box had closed so that the dues increase could pess.

(c) Furthermore, potice of the July 14th meeting was not given to the entire membership of the union, but only to the Helens members.

The plaintiffs stated in the complaint they had tried to resolve the matter through grievance procedures and had filed an appeal to the International Union on August 25, 1980. On November 21, 1980, they notification received from · of Secretary-Treasurer the International, Robert Petersdorf, Washington, D.C., denying the appeal.

As required by law, the plaintiffs then requested the local's executive board to file suit against the officers and to take the necessary actions to "prevent any further union funds from being misused and expended by the defendants," and to recover "the funds and

dues increases that have been illegally appropriated."

The plaintiffs state the executive board "failed and refused" to take action.

The union dues have increased from approximately \$21.80 to \$50.00 and over per month, which the plaintiffs contend was done without justification and legal authority to do so. In addition, the plaintiffs contend the officers failed to pay bills and expenditures they were directed by the membership to do, and that the union officers have failed to give good service to and represent the membership.

The plaintiffs have asked the court to (1) issue a restraining. order prohibiting the defendants from collecting illegal dues and expending union funds to defend this lawsuit; (2) declare the dues increase invalid; (3) declare a breach of duty by the officers has occurred in-representing the membership; (4) award compensatory, punitive and exemplary damages in the sum of \$400,000.00, and (5) award - court costs and torneys' fees. at-

A temporary restraining order to prohibit the collection of the increase in dues and to use union funds in their defense was issued to the officers by Judge Frank E. Blair on Dec. 31, 1980. A hearing in district court at Boulder is scheduled for Monday, January 12, at 10 a.m. The plaintiffs are being repre-

The plaintins are being services senting in their action by Fatrick Flaberty of Bou'der.



Mr. Chairman and members of the committee:

My name is Chase Patrick. I am a citizen of the State of Montana, Retired, and live in Helena... a resident for 63 years.

I wish to urge favorable consideration of House Bill 645 which I understand will amend existing law by deleting compulsory payment of "dues" to a union by a public employee who chooses not to be a member of a union.

I feel it is patently unfair to compel some of our public employees to pay tribute to an organization which they choose not to join.

I feel the present law discriminates against those public employees compelled to pay tribute where other public employees are not compelled to pay.

It seems logical and reasonable to correct these inequities now with this remedial legislation. I urge again your favorable consideration of House Bill 645.

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Chase Patrick 714 6th Ave: Helena, Montana

#### Opponents to House Bill 645

- James W. Murry, executive secretary, Montana State AFL-CIO, Helena
- James J. McGarvey, executive director, Montana Federation of Teachers, Helena and chair of the Montana State AFL-CIO Public Employees Committee
- Mitch Mihailovich, business agent, Plumbers Local 41; and president, Montana State Building and Construction Trades Council, Butte
- Phil Tawney, executive secretary, Montana State Democratic Central Committee
- Sue Bartlett, self
- Nadiean Jensen, executive director, Montana State Council No. 9, AFSCME, Helena; and secretary of the Montana State AFL-CIO Public Employees Committee
- Pat McKittrick, lobbyist, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Great Falls
- Randy Seimers, district representative, Operating Engineers Local 400, Billings
- J. D. Lynch, lobbyist, Montana State Building and Construction Trades Council, Butte
- Robert G. Kokoruda, president, Montana State AFL-CIO; and executive secretary, Montana State Council of Carpenters, Helena
- Joan Miles, representing Environmental Information Center, Helena
- Mike Walker, secretary-treasurer, Montana State Council of Professional Firefighters Great Falls; and member, Montana State AFL-CIO Public Employees Committee
- Donna Small, representing Montana Nurses Association, Billings
- Dorinda Stock, president, Data Entry and Computer Services Union Local 3923, Helena
- John Fitzpatrick, secretary, Machinists Union Local 88, Butte and member of the Montana State AFL-CIO Public Employees Committee
- Bill Potts, executive board member, district 2, Montana State AFL-CIO; and member, Paperworkers Union Local 885, Missoula
- Jerry Driscoll, recording secretary, Laborers Local 98, Billings and member of the Montana State AFL-CIO Public Employees Committee
- Tim Lovely, president, United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 242; and secretary-treasurer, Missoula County Trades and Labor Council, Missoula
- Joe Rossman, Special Representative for Teamsters Joint Council #2
- Phil Waver, president, Anaconda Teachers Union Local 509, Anaconda
- Howard Rosenleaf, business agent, Carpenters Local 88, Anaconda; and member, Montana State AFL-CIO Public Employees Committee
- John Walsh, president of Montana State Council #9, of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO
- LeRoy Schramm, chief, Labor Relations Bureau, State of Montana; representing the administration

Tom Schneider, executive director, Montana Public Employees Association

David Sexton, Montana Education Association



JAMES W. MURRY EXECUTIVE SECRETARY — Box 1176, Helena, Montana —

ZIP CODE 59601 406 442-1708 Room 100 "Steamboat Block 616 Helena Ave.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES W. MURRY ON HOUSE BILL 645, HEARINGS OF THE HOUSE LABOR COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 17, 1981

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I am here tonight on behalf of the Montana State AFL-CIO to express our strong opposition to House Bill 645, which is nothing less than a "right to work" law for Montana public employees.

I believe it is important to direct the attention of the committee to the language of the bill. I would direct your attention specifically to page 1, lines 13 and 14. This is clearly right to work language. Please look on page one, beginning with line 23, and ending with line 1, on page 2. This new language is clearly right to work, as is the new language on page 2, lines 7 and 8. And on page 3, the deletion of the language from lines 11 through 18 is clearly in keeping with right to work philosophy.

The introduction of House Bill 645 is an example of the resurgence of the anti-union philosophy that is becoming pervasive throughout the northwest. A battle over "right to work" legislation is currently being fought in our neighboring state of Idaho. And we are convinced that this bill -- House Bill 645 -- is just the opening salvo in the battle for "right to work" in Montana. We believe that it is no coincidence that this bill was introduced after Charles Bailey, vice president of the National Right to Work Committee promised a so-called "right to work" law for Montana when he was in our state last summer.

Representative Jim Burnett and I have known each other for almost 20 years. Though we have disagreed on most of the political issues of the day, we have remained friends.

But I think his philosophy as expressed in House Bill 645 is out of the political mainstream of both the Democratic and Republican Parties. House Bill 645 is an extreme and misguided approach to labor-management relations.

House Bill 645 is not only extreme and misguided, it is blatantly unfair to Montana workers. Montana workers as a group are some of the most productive workers in the world. Montana workers are responsible. Montana workers have demonstrated their belief in the work ethic, and they give their employers more than 8 hours work for 8 hours pay. Montana workers are good workers and good citizens, and Mr. Chairman and members of this committee, we don't have to apologize to anyone. Montana workers don't deserve House Bill 645.

Though this bill singles out public employees for right to work, we view it as an attack on all union members in Montana. House Bill 645 threatens the strength and the rights of all union members. House Bill 645 is just the beginning. For, if we

House Bill 645

do not stand fast on House Bill 645, it may be too late to take a stand when right to work legislation for all union members is introduced.

It is analagous to a story you may remember about a German citizen in Nazi Germany during the rise of the Third Reich. In describing what happened in his homeland, he said, "When they came to get the Jews, I did not protest, because I was not a Jew. When they came to get the Catholics, I did not protest, because I was not a Catholic. When they came to get the trade unionists, I did not protest, because I was not a trade unionist. When they came to get me, there was no one left to protest."

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, not all of the trade unionists here tonight are public employees. But with House Bill 645, our adversaries have come to get our Brothers and Sisters who are public employees.

And all of us are here to protest.

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AMENICAR FEDERATION OF TE CHERR AFL-CIO Helena, Montana 59501 (406) 442-2123

P.O. Box 1240

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TESTIMONY BEFORE THE HOUSE LABOR AND INDUSTRY COMMITTEE

FEBRUARY 17, 1981

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

My name is Jim McGarvey and I represent the Montana Federation of Teachers and Montana Federation of Nurses and Health Professionals, AFT, AFL-CIO. I am appearing in opposition to House Bill 645 which attacks the most fundamental right of all workers -- the right of self-organization.

It is the belief of our organization that a well-ordered and wellstructured process is necessary for a harmonious employer-employee relationship. This process is currently provided for by the Montana Public Employees Collective Bargaining Act of 1973 (39-31-101 to 39-31-409, Montana Code Annotated). Collective Bargaining is the only orderly process available by which workers can address their conditions of employment.

The Collective Bargaining law currently provides that an employee organization must represent all employees covered in a given bargaining unit. Employees should have the right to negotiate for a provision that would require all members of a bargaining unit to contribute to the cost of that representation.

We currently have a workable, orderly process. The implementation of HB 645 would limit the scope of bargaining and interject chaos into the Collective Bargaining process. Any law that would tilt the balance in favor of either the employer or employee would gradually deteriorate, if not destroy, the only forum public workers have for addressing their conditions of employment.

Collective Bargaining for Public Employees, Chapter 31, Montana Code Annotated provides protections for both the employer and the employee that are similar to those provided workers in the private sector by the National Labor Relations Act. It is our belief that Public Employees are entitled to pursue the same rights afforded workers of the private sector.

On behalf of the health care, school district, state, university and community college employees in our union I urge a NO vote on HB 645.



"hard at work for good government"



# POLICY COMMITTEE Issue Brief No. 2



## An Attack on the Rights of Working Montanans

The Policy Committee was created by the Montana Democratic Party's Executive Board in November of 1979 to assist in the developing of ideas and the gathering of information on the critical issues facing Montana in the 80's.

This Issue Brief was prepared by the Policy Committee and is not necessarily an official party statement. It is, however, consistent with past party positions. This is a background and informational paper meant to provide a greater understanding of this issue for Democratic candidates and members of the Montana Democratic Party.

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"Right to Work" An Attack on the Rights of Working Montanan's

#### What is the "Right to Work"?

"Right to Work" is a deliberately deceptive name for a law designed to lower wages by destroying a union's ability to organize and bargain collectively for the wellbeing of its members. It would be more properly called the "right to work for less." These laws work by denying union security, so that workers and management are forbidden to negotiate for a union shop. A union shop simply means that the workers organize to bargain collectively for their interests, where all who benefit from the bargaining also share equally in shouldering the costs. This is usually done through the collection of union dues.

"Right to work" for less laws: -do not convey new rights to workers or management; -do not safeguard any existing rights; -do not create more jobs; -do not protect existing jobs -do not attract socially-responsible, good-wage industry to a state; and -do not improve or protect a state's economic health

"Right to work" for less laws: -do impede a state's economic growth; -do abridge basic contract rights; -do undermine sound labor-management relations; and -do foster discord among workers by encouraging freeloaders who benefit from collective bargaining without carrying their share of the costs.

#### What are the Effects of "Right to Work" Laws?

States which have "right to work" for less laws have a lower per capita number of union members. This, along with the provisions of these laws that restrict union activity severely, weakens the effect of unions. The greatest effect of such



laws are lower wages and less benefits. Three of Montana's neighbors, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming have anti-union laws. Figure I, on the previous page illustrates the difference in weekly income amoung production workers. It is clear that "right to work" for less laws have a negative effect on wages. Furthermore, the gap in wages between "right to work" for less states and free states is increasing.

When wages are lower, workers have less money to spend at the grocery, for the T.V. repairperson, the doctor, and at the drug store. Small businesses suffer, especially those providing services to the wage earner.

Low wages lead to a depressed economy where everybody suffers. A depressed economy due to low consumer spending power requires more government services and higher taxes. Less revenue is available because fewer people have the ability to pay the needed taxes to pay for the additional services. Taxes have to be increased to make up for the spending power workers could thus earn.

#### Do Unions Have an Advantage over Employers under Current Law?

When a "Right to Work" for less law is enacted in a state, employers are given the upper hand in controlling the ability of workers to organize or bargain collectively. Employers can advise workers not to join a union. If a union makes any gains at the bargaining table, nonmembers receive the same benefits as members without contributing to the operating costs of the union. These "freeriders are one method employers use to break the influence of unions in "right to work" for less states.

Under current federal law--section 9(a) of the Taft-Hartly Act, unions must provide the same benefits and services to nonmembers as they do to members. Unions are the only group in our country that are forced to provide services for everyone regardless of membership or dues.

#### What is Union Security and How does it Benefit the Worker?

Union security is simply a clause negotiated into a labor contract which provides that all employees covered by the contract must be members of the union. As in any democratic organization, the decision to include a union security clause in a contract is made by a majority vote of the workers themselves. This same majority vote is used when determining which union will represent the workers; who will be the officers of the union; how much the dues will be; and what the bylaws and constitution of the organization will say. A union security clause is no more undemocratic than the laws which requre all citizens to pay taxes, drive safely or respect the rights of other citizens.

The advantage workers gain in belonging to a union is strength---strength in dealing with their employer on matters of wages, hours, fringe benefits and conditions of employment. As an individual, a worker cannot effectively bargain with an employer who has control over these matters. As an individual, or collectively, a worker's greatest strength is his right to withhold his labor. Logic alone says that withholding this labor will be much more effective if it is done collectively rather than individually.
The advantage an employer has with a union contract is stability of his work force. All employees covered by a union contract are required to follow the principles of employment set forth in the contract. This includes hours of work, lunch breaks, safety rules, job ability requirements, processes for resolving grievences, and many other labor-management issues. In this type of situation, the employer is not faced with a myriad of different approaches to questions on absenteeism, sick leave promotions, wage levels, hours of work and many other potential areas of disagreement. Without a union contract, an employer not only must deal with each of these problems separately, but also with the potential of as many approaches to these problems as there are employees. Higher levels of wages normally associated with a union contract also mean less turnover. Less turnover generally results in greater productivity, less time lost in training of new workers and less time and money spent on the paperwork associated with turnover.

The Community also benefits from the result of union contracts through the establishment of a more stable economy and population base, and through more citizen participation in community activities.

The table below compares the average income for production employees in "right to work" states to those which do not interfere with the rights of workers to unionize and make union security contracts. The comparision is between production workers because they are the most likely to unionize.

	Average	Rank among
State	Weekly Wage	states
<b></b>		
Montana	\$333.49	3
Idaho	\$253.36	20
Wyoming	\$239.62	31*
North Dakota	\$219.94	36*
South Dakota	\$216.42	38*
*denotes "righ	t to work" for	c less states
source: U.S.	Dept, of Labor	, Survey of
Curre	nt Business, 1	1967, and 1979.

Table I. A Comparison of the Average Weekly Income of Production Workers in Montana and Neighboring States.

The comparison of personal and per capita income between "Right to work" and non-"right to work" states at the national level shows the distinct advantage of union security contracts. Table II, below, readily illustrates this point.

Table II. A Comparison of Average per capita Income of "Right to Work" (R-T-W) States and "Free" States.

	1951	1966	1978
national average	\$1,653	\$2,962	\$7 <b>,</b> 836
"right to work" states	\$1,283	\$2,442	\$7,128
non-"right to work" states	\$1,800	\$3,171	\$8,170

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Survey of Current Business 1967 and 1979.

That is what union security is all about--every worker in a shop must become a member of the union representing them in labor negoitations. That is also what "right to work" for less laws are all about--they would prevent an employer and union from signing a union security agreement even if they both felt it to be in their mutual best interest.

### Is Union Security Undemocratic?

Unions are run by the will of the majority with protections for the rights of minorities. Union security can readily be compared to running the government of the State of Montana. Under an open shop not all of the citizens of the state would have to pay for the costs of running the state of the services it provides. These people would be receiving a free ride at the expense of the tax payer. Similarly, the union member must shoulder the burden imposed by the nonunion member while receiving the the benefits the member worked and paid to attain. The purpose of a union is to provide the worker with a voice through their own organization.

### Does Union Security Deny Anyone's Right to a Living?

No, the right to earn a decent living is circumsized by many factors, one of which is "right to work" for less laws. Labor does want the freedom of choice for employers and employees alike. "Right to work" for less laws interfere with that freedom just as laws that would require a shop to have a compulsory security contract reduce the options for the worker.

Fig. II Comparison of States which have R-T-W Laws and those with Laws which Protect Human Rights.



The so-called "right to work" laws do not give anyone the right to get or hold a job. Such laws make it harder for the individual to get a good paying job because the employer can get away with paying the employee what he wants regardless of the workers needs and worth.

"Right to work" laws go hand-in-hand with other forms of discrimination. It is no accident that states which do not protect the rights of workers also fail to protect people from discrimination based on age, sex, race, and lack minimun wage laws. Out of the 50 states, 20 have "right to work" for less laws, while 30 may be considered "free states". Figure II compares states which have laws to protect workers and those which allow workers to be exploited.

### Who is Behind the So-called "Right to Work" Campaign?

The "right to work" for less campaigns are headed by corporate interests which lack social responsibility. The majority on the board of directors (79%) of the National Right to Work Committee is composed of corporate presidents, company officers, brokers, and bankers. In addition, 13 of the 31 members have close ties with the extreme political right. Close ties mean active involvement in the leadership or support of such groups as the John Birch Society, Americans Against Union Control of Government, Christian Committee to Preserve Taft-Hartley, Christian Freedom Foundation, National LaborManagement Foundation, League for Liberty, Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, Conservative Caucus, American Conservative Union, Young Americans for Freedom, and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade.

There are also many well-meaning people who support "right to work" because of the misleading nature of the phrase or as a result of a lack of understanding of the issue. "Right to work" for less does not infer the right to a job or the right to earn a decent living nor does this concept create new jobs. The "right to work" concept does include the means to stop the ability of workers to collectively organize and sign union security agreements with their employers.

The most recent state to vote on "right to work" was Missouri (1978). A poll taken early in this campaign showed that 66 percent of the voters were in agreement with the statement: "Do you think Missouri should have a 'right to work' law?" However, only one in five (22%) could identify "right to work" as an obligation to pay dues to a union. Almost one in five (18%) thought this phrase referred to equal opportunity employment. More importantly, 73.5 percent of the Missouri people polled said that they did not believe it was fair to receive benefits from organ-izations such a labor unions without paying the costs of attaining those benefits.

Since ignorance was such a large factor in favorable attitudes towards "right to work" for less legislation, it was no surprise that after a public education campaign Missourians voted down the "right to work" initiative by a margin of two to one.

### Where Does the Montana Democratic Party Stand on the "Right to Work" Issue?

The right to a job is fundamental! All Montanans willing and able to work and seeking work should have the opportunity for a useful job at a living wage. The right to a job is not the same thing as the "right to work". "Right to work" laws do not affirm the right to a job, but can make it harder for the working person to attain a living wage by making it next to impossible to deal collectively with an employer. The Montana Democratic Party has always stood for the people and against the "right to work" for less. The Democratic Platform for the last several years has contained this statement:

We affirm our opposition to compulsory open shop laws which usually masquerade under the false label of "right to work". We support Congressional action for repeal of Section 14B, which is the "right to work" provision of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The 1978 platform also stated:

We believe the fruits of a collective bargaining contact, such as pensions accruement, vacation, holiday, and severance pay are property rights just as is the ownership of land, personal property, stocks and other forms of personal wealth. We believe this should be so recognized under Montana Law.

This is not mere idle talk, the Demoratic members of both houses of the legislature and the Democratic administrations have worked hard to insure that these beliefs become reality. The 1975 session was the last session in which the "right to work" forces tried to pass a bill. House Bill 165, a pro labor bill on collective bargaining that was completely changed in committee to a "right to work" for less bill. The bill was, soundly defeated with the vote split along party lines—the Republicans favoring and the Democrats opposed.

In the 1979 Legislature, Republicans introduced several other bills that were clearly at the expense of the working person but in favor of special interests. These bills would have eroded the Little Davis-Bacon Act (SB 8), prohibited the right of public employees from striking (SB 161), excluded classes of workers from overtime pay (SB 155), asked Congress to undermine the Occupational Safety and Health Act (HJR 26), and stripped wage protection from Montana restaurant and tavern workers (HB 177).

The Democratic Party in Montana has always had a close working relationship with labor because we are a Party of the People, not of special interests. This relationship is strongly shown in the differences in voting records in the Legislature between Democrats and Republicans. The 1979 Legislature was a dress rehersal for what would happen if the Republican Party gains control.

Session	Hou	se	Sen	ate
	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat
1971	12.1%	88.2%	31.8%	87.98
1973 and 1974	24.1%	89.0%	21.4%	76.68
1975	22.2%	84.7%	32.0%	76.2%
1977	35.7%	89.4%	47.2%	70.0%
1979	6.8%	63.8%	30.0%	76.3%
average	20.2%	83.0%	32.5%	77.4%

Table III A Comparison of the votes between the Democratic and Republican Party's on Labor Issues for the 1970 decade.

Source: Montana AFL-CIO Voting Records, 1970 to 1980.

The above table clearly shows that a Democratic legislature is essential if the rithts of the working people of Montana are to be protected. Republican control of the legislature means anti-labor legislation.

## TESTIMONY OF SUE BARTLETT IN OPPOSITION TO HB 645

Ex. 6

I speak in opposition to HB 645 out of concern for the eventual impacts this bill would have, impacts which are probably unintended but nonetheless serious.

In 1973 and 1974, I worked as one of the Job Analysts responsible for determining the initial classifications assigned to jobs in State government. I left that position to become Chief of the Montana Women's Bureau, a position I held for the first year of the Bureau's existence.

On the basis of my experience in these two jobs, I believe HB 645 would create the following problems.

First, HB 645 would move us back toward the conditions which existed in State government before the statewide classification and pay plans were implemented. Prior to the classification and pay plans, job titles and pay levels for positions in the Executive Branch were set independently by individual Departments and sometimes by individual Divisions. Consequently, positions assigned similar duties and responsibilities but located in different Departments, Divisions or geographic areas usually had different titles and received different rates of pay.

Because HB 645 specifies that an agreement between a public employer and a labor organization is invalid as it pertains to an employee who is represented. under that agreement but who is not a member of the labor organization, this bill would reinstitute the practice of providing unequal pay for equal work. An undesirable situation in and of itself, the practice of providing unequal pay for equal work would also, no doubt, lead to a number of equal pay suits being filed by the employees receiving less pay.

A related problem which would be created by HB 645 is that the situation I have just described would also complicate considerably the process of determining

the appropriations necessary to fund the State's payroll. Imperfect as it is, the State's current classification and pay system does make it possible to identify with reasonable accuracy the funds required for the State's payroll. By reinstituting the practice of unequal pay for equal work, HB 645 would create a host of additional factors to be considered in determining the appropriations required to fund the State's payroll.

Finally, the problem of most concern to me personally is that, by approving HB 645, the Montana Legislature would in effect be sanctioning unequal pay for equal work. I am convinced that such an action would eventually create substantial pressure to repeal the laws which require that women be paid the same as men when they are performing work that is substantially the same. As a working woman and an advocate of women's employment rights, I find this probable outcome of HB 645 totally unacceptable.

For these reasons, I ask the Committee to give HB 645 a "<u>do not pass</u>" recommendation. Thank you.

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## MONTANA STATE COUNCIL No. 9

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES Affiliated With A.F.L.-C.I.O.

COUNCIL OFFICERS John P. Watsh, President 1215 West Gold Butte, MT 59701 Phone: 792-4816 Truman A. Bovee III 401 Washington Miles City, MT 59301 Phone: 232-4793 George E. McCammon, Treasurer Rte. 1, Box 144 Townsend, MT 59644 Phone: 266-3592

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R. Nadiean Jensen Executive Director

George F. Hagerman Field Representative

Sharon Donaldson Field Representative

Linda Williams Office Secretary

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Jerry Wurf International President

William E. Lucy International Secretary-Treasurer

TESTIMONY OF R. NADIEAN JENSEN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, ON HOUSE BILL 645, HEARINGS OF THE HOUSE LABOR COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 17, 1981

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee, for the record, my name is Nadiean Jensen. I am the Executive Director of Montana State Council No. 9, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO.

I appear here, today, in opposition to House Bill 645. House Bill 545 is nothing less than a right to work bill addressed only at public employees.

Gubernatorial candidate Jack Ramirez and Governor Ted Schwinden, in their bids for governor of the state of Montana, both denounced right to work legislation.

The people of Montana in the late 1950s voted against right to work legislation.

We have heard often since November 4, 1980, that the people wanted a change in government and so they voted a change in government. Nowhere on the ballot or in the election campaigns did I note where the people voted for right to work.

As we look around the House Chambers this evening, we note many people wearing yellow or blue badges. I must cosume we are coloring public enployees this year.

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(continued)

Testimony of Nadiean Jensen, House Bill 645

In the 1930s, in Germany, it was the Star of David and the motto was -- probable misquote -- "Today the Jews, Tomorrow the world."

In 1981 with HB 645 we're saying, "Today Montana's public employees, tomorrow all of the working people of Montana."

So much for levity.

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Public employees via MCA 39-31-207 can petition, to the Board of Personnel Appeals, for an election to have an exclusive representative. The law outlines the procedure for such an election. <u>All</u> employees have the right to vote, for or against, such representation.

Public employees also have the right to file for a decertification election. This is an election to eject an exclusive representative.

HB 645 is a double-barreled bill. Not only is an employee given the right to vote against having an exclusive representative, but the employee can also opt not to pay fees for the administration of the collective bargaining agreement.

Oh, that we had the same concept on an individual basis when it comes time to pay taxes, so that had I voted against those taxes, I would not have to pay them.

Let's take a look at this bill. On page 1, section 1, a new subsection 2 has been added. It says, "A public employee, on an individual basis, has the right to choose not to form, join or assist any labor organization free from interference, restraint or coercion." That means the employee can vote in the union election, but then choose not to abide by the will of the majority. -3-Testimony of Nadiean Jensen, House Bill 645

In new section 3, this bill says that a union-negotiated agreement is invalid for a person who chooses not to belong to the union. Of course, that is ridiculous. You can't have people in the same office doing the same job and getting paid different salaries. That would be against the equal pay for equal work laws. And what about a person who is a union member long enough to get a pay raise, then drops out? Does his salary drop? What if people in one office wanted different unions. Under this bill there might be two or three or more unions in one office, which would create chaos in bargaining. What about the person who doesn't join the union for years, until he or she has need of the union's grievance procedure. Then they join long enough for the union to pay the expenses of the grievance procedure. Obviously, this section is a loophole intended to break unions.

In new section 4, the individual decides whether or not to join a union after the representation election. But how long after? Nine years. Can the individual ever change his or her mind? As the Polish unions say, there are loopholes in this law big enough to drive a tank through.

Over on page 3 of the bill, section 5, subsection 3, takes away the agency shop. That means that even if a majority of the people in a bargaining unit want union representation, even if 100% of the members want union security so that everyone pays his fair share -- even in that case they would be denied the right to put that into a contract. This is like giving taxpayers the right to pay taxes or not, whatever suits their fancy. A nation can't tolerate that kind of bad citizenship, because the nation would fall apart. The reason that these right to work bills are introduced is to make unions fall apart. In section 6, the act says that it becomes effective in relation to any extension or renewal of a labor agreement after July 1, 1981. Does this mean that unless your union has a 1000 year contract, you are soon going to lose your right to vote democratically for union security?

What I am trying to convey is that the present Public Employees Collective Bargaining Act is operated by the same democratic process as choosing state legislators.

I urge you to vote against House Bill 645. Thank you.

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DORINDA LEE STOCK PRESIDENT CHERYL OSTROM VICE PRESIDENT JEANETTE RUSHFORD SECRETARY MEL LISTON TREASURER

### TESTIMONY BEFORE THE HOUSE LABOR AND INDUSTRY COMMITTEE

#### FEBRUARY 17, 1981

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

I am Dorinda Stock and I represent the Montana Federation of Data Entry and Computer Services, MFT, AFT, AFL-CIO.

Over half of our members are the lowest paid employees in State Government. Yet we recognize the union has been our only solace in being able to deal with the day to day working conditions created by the complexity of operating a computer center.

Over the two years we have been represented by the Federation more time and money has already been expended by the union than will be recovered through dues, for years to come.

We represent all employees and therefore feel it is only right for all to pay their fair share----that's dues.

Further, we feel it vital that the current law prevail which allows us to negotiate union security covering all of our bargaining unit members.

When you work in low paid jobs, it is especially important to stick together in a union. It is also especially easy for management to play one person off against another, or one group off against another.

Right to work takes away our right to stick together. Don't pick on low paid workers. Please don't pass this right to work bill.

Ex. 9

HB 645 BILL POTTS

MY NAME IS BILL POTTS, AND I AM A MEMBER OF THE UNITED PAPERWORKERS INTER-NATIONAL UNION, LOCAL 885, IN MISSOULA. I CAME OVER WITH A BUSLOAD OF PEOPLE TO TELL YOU WHAT MISSOULA THINKS OF THIS BILL.

BECAUSE I WORK IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR, YOU MIGHT FIGURE THAT THIS BILL DOESN"T AFFECT ME. IT ONLY AFFECTS PUBLIC EMPLOYEES YOU MIGHT THINK. BUT THAT'S WRONG.

IF THIS LEGISLATION PICKS ON PUBLIC EMPLOYEES THIS TIME, NEXT TIME . IT WILL BE ALL THE REST OF US UNION MEMBERS.

THIS BILL AFFECTS ME BECAUSE IT IS AN ATTACK ON THE UNION MOVEMENT. IT IS AN ATTACK ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF AMERICANS THAT THEY HAVE THE RIGHT TO JOIN TOGETHER TO IMPROVE THIER WORKING CONDITIONS. THIS BILL TAKES AWAY THE PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE.

IT TAKES AWAY A LOT, BUT IT DOESN'T GIVE US ANYTHING BACK, EXCEPT LOWER WAGES AND FRINGE BENEFITS.

OVER IN MISSOULA WE FIGURE THAT IF A BILL HURTS EVERY WORKER IN THE STATE, THEN THE BILL IS BAD FOR MONTANA. VOTE AGAINST THIS SPECIAL INTEREST BILL AND VOTE FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE OF MONTANA. THANK YOU. WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, OPPOSE HB 645 AS IT IS A RIGHT-TO-WORK MEASURE AND A BLATANT ATTACK ON THE FUNDAMENTALS OF OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT. WE FEEL THAT PUBLIC EMPLOYEES ARE ENTITLED TO A.' EQUAL CHANCE IN THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PROCESS AND SHOULD NOT BE THE VICTIMS OF UNFAIR LAWS WHICH CRIPPLE THEIR UNIONS.

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WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, OPPOSE HB 645 AS IT IS A RIGHT-TO-WORK MEASURE AND A BLATANT ATTACK ON THE FUNDAMENTALS OF OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT. WE FEEL THAT PUBLIC EMPLOYEES ARE ENTITLED TO AN EQUAL CHANCE IN THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PROCESS AND SHOULD NOT BE THE VICTIMS OF UNFAIR LAWS WHICH CRIPPLE THEIR UNIONS.

UNFAIR LAWS WHICH CRIPPLE THEIR UNIONS. millide: ) ADDRESS 3-511 Stephens # 3 SECULA MI P NAME mt 38 Wheeler Zola N.W.248 la una ford Nissoula Alt 81 and 217 nne L 3 5500 15 Day ALLE 20 YOU 12  $\Sigma$ Ð G 110 0 (jll] 1 strulles

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WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, OPPOSE HB 645 AS IT IS A RIGHT-TO-WORK MEASURE AND A ELATANT ATTACK ON THE FUNDAMENTALS OF OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT. WE FEEL THAT PUBLIC EXPLOYEES ARE ENTITLED TO A. EQUAL CHANCE IN THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PROCESS AND SHOULD NOT BE THE VICTIMS OF UNFAIR LAWS WHICH CRIPPLE THEIR UNIONS.

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WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, OPPOSE HB 645 AS IT IS A RIGHT-TO-WORK MEASURE AND A BLATANT ATTACK ON THE FUNDAMENTALS OF OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT. WE FEEL THAT PUBLIC EMPLOYEES ARE ENTITLED TO AN EQUAL CHANCE IN THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PROCESS AND SHOULD NOT BE THE VICTIMS OF UNFAIR LAWS WHICH CRIPPLE THEIR UNIONS.

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## MONTANA STATE COUNCIL No. 9

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES

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Linda Williams Office Secretary



Jerry Wurf International President

William E. Lucy International Secretary-Treasurer

TESTIMONY OF JOHN P. WALSH, PRESIDENT, ON HOUSE BILL 545, HEARINGS OF THE HOUSE LABOR COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 17, 1931.

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee, for the record my name is John Walsh. I am the President of Montana State Council 9, American Federation of State, Aut Miss. of Buttle Police U.A. 10A County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO.

I am here today to oppose House Bill 645.

To have legislation, such as House Bill 645, introduced in the State of Montana appalls me. Montanans were successfull in defeating the Right to Work effort in Montana in the late 1950's. WE DO NOT WANT RIGHT TO WORK.

I represent approximately 2000 Public Employees in the State of Montana and am here on their behalf to urge this committee to vote "Do Not Pass" or House Bill 545.

Thank you.

John Walsi AFSCME



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### 1426 Cedar Street • P.O. Box 5600

# MONTANA

Telephone (406) 442-4600 February 17, 1981

PUBLIC

### **EMPLOYEES**

## ASSOCIATION

Honorable Robert A. Ellerd, Chairman House Labor and Industry Committee Capitol Station Helena, Montana 59620

Helena, Montana 59601

Re: House Bill 645

Dear Chairman Ellerd:

" NO LAWYER IN MONTANA MAY PRACTICE LAW UNLESS THEY ARE A MEMBER OF THE STATE BAR ASSOCIATION "

This requirement was imposed by the state's highest court, the Supreme Court of Montana. This supplies credibility to the practice of a majority of the employees who desire to negotiate for better wages, hours and working conditions binding fellow employees to the payment of dues to pay for the cost of gaining those improvements.

Rather than debate the pros and cons of " right to work " which will be adequately debated by others, I want to impress upon the committee that " agency shop " is not a GIFT to our association or any union. First, thirty percent of the employees of any group interested in bargaining must petition the Board of Personnel Appeals for an election. A MAJORITY of the employees must vote for representation at the election. THIS STILL DOES NOT AUTOMATICALLY GRANT AGENCY SHOP.

Following the election, MPEA bargaining unit members decide amongst themselves what they desire to bargain for. If they desire agency shop it will be included among those items to be negotiated, but if they don't it will not be submitted. Even with the desire of the employees to have an agency shop clause in their contract it still must be agreed to by the employer. Many employers in Montana refuse to negotiate such clauses. The present law does not force them to do so.

With MPEA, after it is all said and done it is the employees who demand association security and it is the employees who must ratify it with the other negotiated items. In some cases we have even had a special vote just on agency shop because the members wanted it that way.

As written House Bill 645 would cause chaos. It requires that management can only give the benefits and protections of the contract to members of the association or union. HOW DO YOU TAKE THINGS AWAY WITH THE PRESENT STATE AND FEDERAL LAWS ON DISCRIMINATION?

MPEA respectfully requests your committee give HB 645 a "do not pass " recommendation. Thank you very much.

E. Schneider Thomas E.

Executive Director Eastern Region (Mailing Address) 502 Nelson Billings, Montana 59102 (Phone) (406) 652-3530

Western Region (Mailing Address) 1420 Jackson Missoula, Montana 59801 (Phone) (406) 728-4768



### February 17, 1981

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TO: Members, House Labor and Industry Committee RE: House Bill 645

When the 43<sup>rd</sup> Montana Legislature adopted in 1973 the Montana Public Employees Collective Bargaining Act, the benefits of collective bargaining were for the first time extended generally to nonmanagement public employees. The Legislature left no doubt as to the policy behind this act; they said:

"In order to promote public business by removing certain recognized sources of strife and unrest, it is the policy of the State of Montana to encourage the practice and procedure of collective bargaining to arrive at a friendly adjustment of all disputes between public employers and their employees."

To promote this policy the 1973 Legislature expressly permitted agency shop provisions in collective bargaining agreements. The purpose of this provision should be obvious; because non-union members in a collective bargaining unit will receive the benefits of union representation, the employer and the union can agree to require non-union members to pay their fair share for the benefits obtained by union representation. Had the 1973 Legislature not included a provision permitting agency shop provisions, non-union members of a collective bargaining unit would have been given a "free ride" to improved employment conditions and benefits at the expense of those employees who sought to improve their working conditions through collective action.

In conjunction with this provision the 1973 Legislature required that labor organizations designated in accordance with the act were "responsible for representing the interest of all employees . . . without discrimination for the purposes of collective bargaining . . . . " Under this provision, irrespective of whether or not there was an agency shop clause in a collective bargaining agreement, a union representing non-management public employees had to represent <u>all</u> the non-management public employees in the bargaining unit.

These two statutory provisions make it clear that the 1973 Legislature wanted not only to remove possible labor strife and unrest in the public sector caused by the absence of the right to bargain collectively, but also to remove divisiveness among public employees once the right to bargain collectively was granted.

When House Bill 645 is viewed against this background it can

be seen for what it really is. When reduced to its essentials it stands out as an attempt, first to encourage unions to discriminate against non-union members in the bargaining unit they represent, second, to encourage divisiveness among public employees within the same bargaining unit and third to encourage those public employees now paying service fees or union dues to try to get a "free ride" at the expense of those who would organize to work collectively for better working conditions. Stated differently, House Bill 645 is an attempt to <u>stimulate</u> labor strife and unrest in the public sector.

The only persons who will benefit from this labor strife and unrest will be the anti-labor forces in this State. The so-called "right to work" which House Bill 645 purports to grant non-management public employees is really a thinly disguised attemtp to set workers in the public sector against each other and to weaken labor unions generally.

The "right to work" in House Bill 645 is <u>not</u> a guarantee of a right to a job or the right to keep a job unless good cause is shown for dismissal; the "right to work" contained in this bill is the right to work for lower wages, with fewer benefits and less job security. As a member of the Montana Public Employees

Association I now receive, as do those who pay service fees under agency shop contracts, the benefits of collective bargaining under the Montana Public Employees Collective Bargaining Act and I want you to know that I do not want this so-called "right to work."

At the same time I recognize that there may be some public employees who do not want, directly or indirectly, the benefits and burdens of union representation. These persons are currently protected under the Montana Public Employees Collective Bargaining Act. They can petition the Board of Personnel Appeals to decertify the union which is currently their bargaining representative. The Board of Personnel Appeals has adopted administrative regulations setting out how to petition for decertification. If a majority of the employees in a bargaining unit do not want a union currently representing them to continue its representation, then to free themselves they need only to vote for decertification. The decertification procedure ensures that employee control of the workplace will be through democratic procedures. House Bill 645 is undemocratic in that it allows a minority to disrupt and possibly to destroy an

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an employment relationship established in a free, democratic election It would also impair the ability of a majority of employees in a bargaining unit to gain certification.

Put simply, the bill is calculated to defeat current and future attempts by public employees to improve their working conditions through democratic, majoritarian action. For this reason and because of the divisiveness this bill would encourage, I strongly urge you to vote against House Bill 645.

Kristine Roby

Secretary, University of Montana President, UM Chapter of MPEA

P.S. Thank you for your time and consideration.

209 W. Grant St. Bozeman, MT 59715 February 13, 1981

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Representaive Robert Ellerd\_ c/o Capitol Station Helena, MT 59620

Dear Representaive Ellerd:

I urge you to vote against HB 645, regarding choice of membership in collective bargaining units for public employees. This bill has been scheduled for hearing before your committee on Tuesday, February 17th.

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All public employees gain from benefits secured through collective bargaining, especailly employees in similar jobs and classifications. With such benefits, it is only fair that all employees concerned support the attainment and protection of these benefits. Such benefits can be compared to Social Security. Public employees coverage in Social Security is via contract established through a vote of the employees. Employees cannot choose on a individual basis whether or not to be a member of Social Security. All employees must pay contributions to Social Security. Collective bargaining agreements provide similar job security for employees in a bargaining unit, and all should contribute to the support and maintenance of such agreements. The benefits gained by collective bargaining have usually been extended to other employees also.

A further problem would result from the administration of HB 645, especially for immediate supervisors. IF different rules and benefits were provided for bargaining unit members than for non-members, it would prove especially difficult for immediate supervisors to know which rules were to be followed. Also, the application of benefits would greatly increase the record keeping that would be required of management, assuming that benefits were different for bargaining unit members than for non-members.

Again, I urge you to vote AGAINST HB 645.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

arbara tapinos

Barbara Kapinos

### TESTIMONY ON HB 645

The MEA, representing roughly 8,000 teachers in schools across this state, unconditionally opposes HB 645 and any other right-to-work legislation. The bill before you is particularly odious because it singles out public employees for discrimination.

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First of all the bill is confusing. It is either poorly drafted or doesn't reflect its title accurately or both.

The title and paragraph 2 of Section 1 give public employees the right to join or not join a union. If this is the intent of the bill it is unnecessary because agency fee arrangements found in most public employee contracts allow the individual that choice. He doesn't have to be a union member, he just has to pay his fair assessment of the costs of union representation.

The bill actually goes well beyond the simple choice of union membership. The change in Section 2 allows the individual to opt in or out of the <u>bargaining unit</u> whether union member or not. This makes absolutely no sense.

New Section 3 says any contract shall only cover union members, that "the agreement is invalid as it pertains to that employee" who is not a union member. This sounds like an employer could not pay an employee the same salary negotiated by the union unless the employee joined the union.

As written the bill appears to confuse union membership with bargaining unit membership, compulsory union shop with voluntary agency shop, and is contradictory because one section could actually coerce union membership.

Our second problem with the bill is that it contradicts the

very idea of <u>collective</u> bargaining, although the rest of the collective bargaining law is left intact. "Collective" means everyone joins together. You can't very well have <u>collective</u> bargaining if every individual does his own thing. May I remind the committee that it is the public policy of this state to encourage collective bargaining. Let me read to you 39-31-101.

### (Quote)

This bill contradicts the official policy of this state as established by the Legislature and reaffirmed by subsequent Legislative sessions. Collective bargaining is encouraged because 1) it gives employees a more equitable and unified voice when dealing with employers and 2) it allows employers to deal with one representative instead of each employee separately and individually. This bill flies in the face of collective bargaining.

Our third objection to this bill is that it is undemocratic. Under Montana's collective bargaining law, a union can represent a group of employees only if a majority approves. The state assures this by conducting secret ballot elections.

Further, nothing compels any employer to agree to an agency shop; it is freely negotiable. But if it is agreed to by both employer and union, it still must be ratified by a majority of the members. The process is no different from our other democratic institutions--majority rule.

Our fourth objection is that this bill undermines the ability of an organization to carry out its responsibilities under the law. Montana's PECBA requires the designated union to represent

### Page 3

fully and fairly all employees in the bargaining unit, whether members or not. A union which fails to represent fairly a nonmember in salary negotiations or a grievance over working conditions would be vulnerable to a lawsuit or unfair labor practice charge. We accept this responsibility without complaint, for that is why we exist -- to represent everyone's best However, such representation is expensive. Union interest. security agreements simply ensure that everyone who benefits from union representation pays his fair share of the costs of that representation. A good analogy is taxes. When the voters of a school district pass a mill or bond levy, we expect every citizen to pay those taxes, not just those who voted "Yes." We don't let people decide individually whether or not to pay their taxes. Everyone pays whether we all like it or not. It is the democratic way. It is no more fair to expect union members to pay the way of the freeloaders.

Finally, Montana has a long, clear tradition of opposition to bills like this. A right-to-work law has never been successful here. Right-to-work has been rejected in the past by both our political parties. Both our most recent gubernatorial candidates opposed right-to-work. Last August, former Republican leader of the House and candidate for Governor said publicly that he was "unalterably opposed" to such legislation.

We hope that the members of this committee feel the same.

David Sexton Montana Education Association February 17, 1981

6x.16 WESTERN MONTANA DISTRICT COUNCIL United Brotherhood of Garpenters and Ioiners of America 208 EAST MAIN, MISSOULA, MONTANA 59801 Page ! COLORADO AND Chim, Boob Ellard Reputal Station. Helena mt. 59620 MISSOULA, MONT., Jeb. 16, 1981 Dear Rep. Ellard :-The follocing Realistion was Passed at our regular meeting of largentere doc. # 28 'm Feb. 16-81. Also, These present at our meeting have Signed This Resolution. Resolved That: we wish to go on record as being against H.B. 645-Tis is montances Bittle Right to work Bill & is designed to get a wedge into organized Labor & to split our Following: 1. week or no unions, 2. uteges fell. 3. Fringe Benefits are reduced. & 4. Free backers take Avantage & Union Services, but do not Day Their Jair Share Wyoming has Rt. to work & they with They didnet. - This H. B. 645 is Undemocratic & detrimental to moretance Organized Lafor has alweers been for Education, -Security, Equeal Dights, roting rights and all The other decent acts a laws That has made over Country great & made it a place where Security Real & made it a place where No People from around The World are No Please use your better judgement. Decent of the four of the fulgement.

### WESTERN MONTANA DISTRICT COUNCIL

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Ioiners of America 208 EAST MAIN, MISSOULA, MONTANA 59801 Pape 2 406/549-8067 INSTITUTED AUGUST 12, 1881 ALWAYS DEMAND THE LABEL MISSOULA, MONT., Ftb. 16, 1981 Floor to defeat This " Right to elber for Nery Respectfully, Richard P. Johnson Rec. Secy. Jess Bill. also Chrm. Legis, Comm, Carpenter, Lo E. 28. 107 marias Packway Hamilton, ment. Royce a. m. Cent RT. J. MULLIAN RD. MISSOULA MENT. 606 Montore Ave Missoule Mut. - Waren F. Wilkiam E Kimet WBain \$120 Monny Dove Mala net. T Aucholas Kinje 2045 Kenongtin Mile Mor - I. Dund Hansen - The Canal 430 Plymouth Misseale Mt. En Miner Miner M. Barton 644 South 2nd W Mussoula Muchael Britigues 8305 Zang Microula

I, the undersigned, working for the State of Montana, Highway Department, Maintenance

Division, am opposed to House Bill 645.

PRINT NAME SIGNATURE ADDRESS Belan J Collins BRIAN COLLINS 610 3351 NOET. 6.1 John M. Knowles JOHN U KINONLES 1501-167. ST. 50. 2505-5 un M. E.F. Vient Yalle Mant Macchin Marshial MALCOLM-WMARSHALL Mich, R. Markell Michael R. Mar Bonald 1012 8th Aur. So. 6.1. Edward n Domestin Edward N. Osweiler 1613-2" AVA. So. GIFAC Boyd & Walneston Boydh. Wohverton 134 EIU, I WGT FAILS Merlyn l. ugene CTF MERLYN DTRGENS 2105 IST AVE M 108 Riverview IW. Great Falls 59404 Juny Rnepp Jurry Knopp Ath R. Don Authur Dors 815-576, May N.W. Log Kinty 113 17 14 AUE 114. Ray Kirby Tilk Moulon JACKK MOMBERGER RPY BOX 497 CTM7. Kuhand & aller Richard E. Allen 704 33rd AV N.E. G. Hanys, Becker HARRY. \$ BECKER 715-4 Chave N. W Calina Michel Edward E. Wickel Box 277 Illen 11. Norman a Lesofibi Norring 17 Lesufsti 613 36 AVE IVIE OFF Gene E. Hodgos AR. 1Box 97 G.F. Sone C. Look michael & Moorty Michael E. Moody Gen Del. Walkreck Kinnett- Jana Rez nuth Larson BUV 11 Cuscula" 113 Riverieur D. Gos Paalker J. P. WALKER St Jalle Mont 59404



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I, the undersigned, an employee of Cascade County Road and Bridge Deparment, am opposed to House Bill 645.

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I, the undersigned, an employee of Cascade County Road and Bridge Deparment, am opposed to House Bill 645.

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I, the undersigned, an employee of City of Great Falls, am opposed to House Bill 645.

PRINT NAME SIGNATURE ADDRESS! CHARLES MURPHY Churles Murphy 513 132 ST.Se. Thomas C. Willow THOMAS C. WILCOX 1515 31-AU.SO. Dan fandilas DAN KANDILAS 12-24th St. S.W. Davy M. Green BARY M. BREENI 1901-12TH. AVES Rechang & Magazeth Richard & Mausette 901 42 Ave NW Eduard Honde EDWARDP. ENGLE . 2105-51AAND March Frahm Mark Frahm 4245 4th Que, No. Donald Figarelle DOMALD FIGARELLE 2721-10050 Charlis Wombold aborthes wompeter 3405 2nd No. Furt E Lindren KURT E HINDNER 3209 STH AVE SOUTH Harvey E Quetrule HARVEY DUSTRUPE 609-3ND AVES. La Phantonal Kobert PRIdesence 105 Ruepuer B With forg ERIC H LONG 1213 1ST AVES.W Edward R. Goodau 112-2= Gene Sa Coluar & Jordan Willing. Oik William A. U.K. 253-2100. h.W. 111:1500 Brown 210/2-4 - ST.SU Willow Breacin RAYMOND C. KYNETT 1201 3AVE. NW. Kaymond E. Kynett Harold Bestoch HAROLD BERTSCH 748-Shyline On DAN MERRICK 1414-20 TH AVE S: Dan Munich Hough L. Kais RONALD & Reis 237 15 MAN So Suy United Greg Wiertel 8125 St South RICHARD CARTER HIL 379232 Richard Cartin Ralph Daves RAIPH DAV'S STOCKETT NO.





I, the undersigned, an employee of City of Great Falls, am opposed to House Bill 645.

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I, the undersigned, an employee of City of Great Falls, am opposed to House Bill 645.

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I, the undersigned, an employee of Cascade County Road and Bridge Deparment, am opposed to House Bill 645.

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William Mary		
John Christian		

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I, the undersigned, working for the State of Montana, Highway Department, Maintenance Division, am opposed to House Bill 645.

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SIGNATURE	PRINT NAME	ADDRESS
James m. Powell		<u> EE#1 BOX 73, GT. FAU</u>
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alford that halvour	Alfred B. Halvorson	4104-13.2 Sour Rd GC.Fi
Que a. Qaming		
Joseph a. KEge		
Zenneth D. Trovattin	KENNETT D. TROVATTEN	1120-10TH AVE NW.
Athew (Burnete)	ARTHOR J. BARANK	3208-8 thuc Se
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I, the undersigned, an employee of Cascade County Convalescent Hospital and Nursing Home, am opposed to House Bill 645.

SIGNATURE PRINT NAME ADDRESS Endyn Bender 1223 - THUE Nile EVEL XN. BENDER 14-17 aluce So Kinie Louenson Dixie & Swenson .3722 1 ave So Leah S. Kehn. LEAHS. HEHN Tinna Bouers ANNA FOWERS. 1220/2 Sth AUC.S Kathlen Word Kathleen Wood 1412-6 H Que NW Lance B Fulks 1) MACKB. Fulks 1402 A. 3 HUR.S.

I, the undersigned, an employee of Cascade County Convalescent Hospital and Nursing Home, am opposed to House Bill 645.

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I, the undersigned, an employee of City of Great Falls, am opposed to House Bill 645.

ADDRESS ( SIGNATURE PRINT NAME BRINE HANE ' Joung 1/511.0 23/65 Clifton hnoidenbach 23/3 Rrian Ac. N. Lencioni Attilio 450 716-1 niconi Robert LesH ober 1400

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6x. 18

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee:

I am Mike Walker, Secretary of the Montana State Council of Professional Firefighters. I am also a member of the Montana State AFL-CIO Public Employees Committee.

I am here to speak in opposition to House Bill 645, a right to work bill for public employees. The name right to work is a fraud. It doesn't give any right to work. It doesn't grant any new rights at all. It doesn't create one new job. It doesn't protect existing jobs. It doesn't put one unemployed worker back to work. It doesn't attract good wage industry. It doesn't improve or safeguard a state's economic health. It doesn't safeguard existing rights.

Right to work is the right to free-load. It is the right to work for less. It is the right to wreck unions.

Right to work is the right wing extremists' plot to destroy the trade union movement in America. The left wing extremists can't wipe out the union in Poland, and the right wing extremists aren't going to get us in Montana.

I ask you to vote against House Bill 645.

Thank you.

over

Montana Stor Cauncil of Protessional Alike Walker Fire Fighters The night to work is in esence the right to return to the dark ages. Since the beginning of time mensionen worked to provide a better life forthier family than the the in which they grew up. this particular piece of legislation is contrary to every aspect of that idealology. The right to work concept is a boot tooler. Work Chaper 2 Make More Money for these who are already at she top of the Diea economical ladder. It is only a top ship, and a stop from cheep labor to child labor and I would hate to Alink that an Montana legislators are going to take a step leade in time. The people I superior in the most they you down or compation in the country. Our job is to some lives and protect property. I ask you. Can job is to some lives and protect property. I ask you. Can you place a price tay on your would possessione and your life! and if you can I'm sure you would to have not your life! and if you can I'm sure you would to have not your life! and if you can I'm sure you would want to lessen or cheapen that price that your nother have dedicated highly trained fireman respond to an energency at your residence of would you like to have some non-resident HB. 465 Would do you just that chargen the price. I wage you to goose

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### Comments:

MUNTARM MAR A TREVER MUMER STANDARD OF LIVING & TARE HOTTE TAY IN THE RAPOR FIRM, BECAUSE WE HAE NOT A KILPT TO MORE STATE. COMPARABLE STATES IN PAROTA - WYOMARG ETC.) ARE RIGHT TO WORK STATES. IN THE END, THE UNAY CONCLUSION REFT TO THE WORKEN, AFTER ROCHTICKS & ARDITITICAL IS THE RIGHT TO STRIKE.

Ex.ze And Chairman, diag to deffer with not premette opinion that claims Neve little to offer provice employees. The state employ we represent were making minimum we getter they beca members of in Union. These amployees are not in the state pay plan but their wages are currently well about minimum wage and the turn over is very low. The County imployees we represent had a starting wage of below federal minimum wage (\$2.79/h.) before this became members in 1979. Their starting wage is converte \$3.50 on herr, Public imployed are among the most difficult to represent because of buracracy in which they will. we are commented toping to resolve the comment a back deal directly with the facility de administrator, the director of nursery, the county-auchtor, the administrate Constant to the Curry Commissioners, Exadeputy Count attorning, the had an dept. the Employment Security druna and the pristration of the mondain. The County them changed its position fine times. On unipresented employee would find it very difficult to wind their way through this mask and work full time to suggest her family. Jobbying, quievances, arbitrations, unfair labor practice bearings, confidence committees, education, unenployment appeals and parings, tokding of regular monthly meeting to report back to the memberships on the finances and twoiners of the local polding special meetings to deal with special issues, regular visite to the place of employment, checking rates of pay and general assustance to members in dealing with the bureamony, are all joles of a lemin Representative in ordition to regativitions. The union has a great deal of service to gfee public imployues

please do not forget that coercion of employees by their employees = still episto, even in the public sector, and particularly towards the women members that I replesent, clift an employer mode not joining the Union a condition of employment or continued employment, the charce of the Union ever finding out about it is slim - obviously, the person will also feel their job is threatened if they report the threat to their lemin représentative. d'représente public employees who have been barassed for their Union involvement, public employees who are afraid to be stewards for fear of retribution. This biel will open public employees to more coercion and intimedation, without representation if they are not Union members, This bill will promote the dwide and conquer mentality, and it does exist among public administrators, d uge yon, on behalf of my members, to defeat HIS 645. Thank you. Kothy Q. von Hook Brainess Representative

fex.21 teb 14 ,51 Marsonla Mort.

Dean Mr. Ellerd.

In reference to H.B. 645, this bit must not, I repeat must not be pasted in the state of Montona. The only thing this will acheve will be to Sower The salerays of all monton Employes and four the stondard of living that we as workers, have hyd to raise Would you please in defeating House Bill # 645. A repty on your feelings of this bill would welcomed by myself. Yours bindly, KENNETH W BAIER 606 Montava Are Min Mort.

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4×.22 Missoula, M. 2-14-51 10, Rep. Brt Ellerd I tope you will opose HB 645. His fort in the boo type of bill, if they get it for Public Employees, they will be often the rest of us negt time When a State passes a rig to work Bill: "For Jess" 1. Strong unions me weakened: 2. Weak unions disappe 1 3. Wages fall. ti Fringsvenefito are reduced. 5. Freeloaders tope advantage of Union services, union contracts but do not pay their faces "They don't have to form " Olso cess wages means less Types for County, State ect that someone has to make up. Sincity Leg. Rep. 3238 Bonner Chris Murphy

maturday tel 14 \$ 151 X. 23

& misentation Robert Ellerd Capitor Halion: Helena, Mr. 59620

Dian Lepresentations Wird. Yam writing to unge you to use you influence to define to B 645. This heldiscumente against the working women cend then by weaking Thy unins which represent them interests, I boriously using undifform the union of he ashe conget what lienefits its arean targains for withour paryner, total, myper The annual & an away thur ety and may us home "to represent the greened of a hope - menchin according to the bref. But Reduce Ram yours they the unin appresent de? menines of the unit. Au The version is made, unfairly, bring to imprind it's funds in an person who has fre straded in its efforts. lugibing you cando to stop this bill will be appreciated. Juns John Farmy

504 Blown Dr. Missonli MAD 59 St.

8x.24 1420 Jackson Missoula, Montana 59801 February 19, 1981

Representative Bob Ellerd Capital Station Helena, Montana 59801 Dear Representative Ellerd: This letter is to voice strong opposition to House Bill #645. The bill would be the centh-keel for The Agency shop provision thus would be A public sector "Right to Work" legislation. As the regimal representative for the Montann Public Employees Association and As A citizen the bill is disgusting. Public employees deserve in fact demand the Ability to have an Agency shap in their labor contract if that provision is agreed upon by the parties. Representative Ellerd,

Down organization represents negative A thousand workers in Bozeman And virtually All of the employees are public employees (most are at the University) and would be directly and Adversely effected by H.B. # 645. Please make every ethert to detent this regressive legislation. In closing, best it luck in deterting this legislation, ml if I can be of help, let me know.

Sincerely, Jeny Brown 728-4768

RICHARD FAUST 6710 SIESTA DR MISSOULA MT 59801



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4-042764S047 02/16/81 ICS IPMMTZZ CSP HELB 4065495310 MGM TDMT MISSOULA MT 50 02-16 0945P EST

BOB ELLERD CARE HOUSE LABOR-EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS COMMITTEE STATE CAPITOL HELENA MT 59601

HOUSE BILL 645 PROHIBITS AGENCY FEES FOR PUBLIC EMPLOYEES, A RIGHT GIVEN OTHER EMPLOYEES. LABOR ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENT ALL EMPLOYEES-ALL MUST SHARE EXPENSES. PLEASE DO NOT CONSIDER BILL FOR PASSAGE BONNIE FAUST FOR MISSOULA ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ASSOCIATION (365 MEMBERS)

2147 EST

MGMCOMP MGM

I the undersigned am opposid 645 Plasse vote No to M.B Signatur y Address Print Name Ray Johnion LeRoye Johnson 12416th DBalter Lyle Richards Fourtr Most TERRY Goulet 1107-2nd AUC SO TAMES BECKER STEalls MT LEE PATE Box 245 ULVI, MT. Lames peeber Herald C. Ebert Gerrio C. Eberl 2710 4AUR NOB4 michael DBell MICHAEL D. BELL 2312 Lat AUE, N. Craigs anten CRAIG A. ANTON 823 3th Ave, S.M. Pareda Sangray DANFIPAICL 616 and Ave Sa RAEDA SANGray 1626B 51/2 Que So. And Alles 1123 14th Ave So. TOM Mills Wonder Wholes Doug PROBERTS 5308 4th Hue So. 1211 3" Rue 50 Lohn Lonn Dean Kenn 3123 2 AUE NO. DEAN LINN Doulde Fais 737-14TS/SW. DOMALDEFARIS 210 15th SE.N. Deloris Freyler Delois Freyler 3528 8th Ave. S. Sherrie Busak Sherrie Bicsak Alice Maurer 809 6 Are. So, Alice Maorer Gerold MWilkins Devaldan Within 1401 7th Are So Cindy Surenson 14-17 Ave. So. Cindy Swenson Sharon Wompohd Sheen Wowbold 3405-2 AMa. RUSSELL ATChiow Jurne anto 1426-17th AUGSO-

	HOUSE	LABOR	COMMITTEE	
BILL	НВ 645		Date2/17	
SPONSOR	BURNETT			

NAME	RESIDENCE	REPRESENTING	SUP- PORT	OP- POSE
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IF YOU CARE TO WRITE COMMENTS, ASK SECRETARY FOR LONGER FORM.

PLEASE LEAVE PREPARED STATEMENT WITH SECRETARY.

Form CS-33 1-81

VISITORS' REGISTER	١
HOUSE LABOR	COMMITTEE , /
BILL HB 615	Date 2/17/8/
SPONSOR BURNETS	

NAME	RESIDENCE	REPRESENTING	SUP- PORT	OP- POSE
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Man Su Millidan	6990 n- Nons # 7	DECS (3923)		X
Marlene Brighton	1112 Mildlemas Rd.	Decs "		X
Robert Meel	6 g1-10th at Horse	I DIAL ITAN	W	X
Lila Siele	2834 Festivel	DEC& (3923)		$\boldsymbol{\chi}$
michael 1 Boll	2312 IN AVEN GREAT FALLS	LUCA-45		X
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PLEASE LEAVE PREPARED STATEMENT WITH SECRETARY.

Form CS-33 1-81

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SPONSOR BU	rnett	<u></u>			,	

NAME	RESIDENCE	REPRESENTING	SUP- PORT	OP- POSE
DonnaSmall	120x Oakland Dr., Blas H	Mt. NursesAssoc	····	X
	527 N. RODNEV-HELEN			X
-ONARD CAIN	15-26 PECSTA, Halen	phet S. D. D. Mink	10	X
AMES M. GALLO	DOX 61 HELMVILLE MT	LABOX LOCAL# 254		X
Joe Schneller	Gen Pel Helmuille Mr	Cement Mascus Helena		X
Clarence Kosterk	3455 old Hardinkd Billings mt 1508 west Love	Sawitation Dept		X
Joy E. Gogni	Billings Mt. 2007 & Olan BA	City Sonitation Dept.		X
. Scatt A. Runhar	Bulgs Mt.	soundation Dipe	/	X
Hh Lim	12113 Auche GI Tully	a Int Asport	{ *	2
Hudde Jain	737-11/ 54. Ster. 61. July	Gt Fels A. TPot	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	X
Geordian	3123 2aue 110	St Falls augai	/	X
Jay Hallard	1105 Mill Roel	Heyka	ļ	X
Bill Patrate	Fust Alen Tech.	rection fred 153	; 	X
SEAll	Roy 182 (Clanc]	Local 153		
Enry ersinger	1500 Phillips Ave Butte		     	X
Sonny Mottio	506 WAUKESNA	Saborto Local #35-4	4	X
Pachad W buque	1223N FEF	Public Employue		
April Rozel Af	Helma 100 Hogon	Local 244	• •	X
A Carson	20 duster live / teles	a Self here the tal	abel	nX
Man Kroel	1265 Duble FHeles	Labors Local 254		X

IF YOU CARE TO WRITE COMMENTS, ASK SECRETARY FOR LONGER FORM.

PLEASE LEAVE PREPARED STATEMENT WITH SECRETARY.

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		HOUSE	LABOR	<del></del>	_COMMIJ	TTEE	
BILL	HB	645			Date	2/17/81	
SPONSOR		BURNETT					

NAME	RESIDENCE	REPRESENTING	SUP- PORT	OP- POSE
alstattey	17116th Bu	9SME Coarrell	X	
Linda Larson	1805 Joslyn #12	DEC.S. 3823	; ; ;	
Kuley Wolland	2903 Pleasure Rd.		; ; <del> </del>	
Charles Davies	224591, D 680, alala	Operation Engine	X	
John Carlin	2,24599. Drive	Joe #375	X	
Sherrie Bresäk	3528 8th aus J.	Local 122		$\left  X \right $
Pinhand Enla	3000-676 AU, NW	termsters HT	· · ·	X
1 and Amores	530841/12 VESO	Geneteis	, ,	$\checkmark$
1 Craisla Conte	8237 d Avesun			X
M.W. GULLICKSON	LIVINGSTON MT	UNITED TRANS UNION		X
Manin Unde	Clinton, 69825 14275 Homoton	Local 1145	1	$\times$
Robert Pilea	1 2124 transmissions	gaal 1145		X
Rorold Stroke	1725 80 8th W Mit	A 11 1145		X
Carpen Sch Th	330 typen Way Solo	1. 1145		X
Ven Ford	PHIBOL90 Florence	11 14.45		X
Wagne Shatto	1700 Cookey MISSOULA	1145 UPIU	! 	X
P. V.llins	Clancy MT			
Jutz Meyers	Helena Mont	Carpenters Union	1	X
AC. Ebel	61-FAUS	LOCAL #45 Termstor	\$	X
Gerald Mulillins	1401 )that Su	Local # 45Teanders		$\mathbf{X}$

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Form CS-33 1-81

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		VISITORS' REGISTER	
	HOUSE	LAbor	COMMITTEE
BILL HB	645		Date 2/17
SPONSOR	Burnett		

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	NAME	RESIDENCE	REPRESENTING	SUP- PORT	OP- POSE
	Kate Webstu	Helena Mit	MFT DECS		L
	Bhiltow	Helen of	Mf Demo. Purg		
	LailLeman	Helena MT	MFT DECS		$\checkmark$
(	Jerome Lemas	Helens mit	Matina ason filler Carrie	# 120	$\times$
	Bickl.	Heling Mt.	Retire		X
	Donna Miller	E. Helena	MFT_DECS		X
	Michaelm	Helina m Ti	4C/GW # 435		X
•	Lucin Mallin	Aelena, Mt	CARPENTERS LOCAL 153		x
	Puda Mianes	Soft Rall, Mi	Acaresles 45		X
Ċ	nedd dinghay	That falls	Rocal 101		×
/	rend Kindall	Suat Falls	Heanertain 1115		$\times$
U .	Delois Freifer	Prest-fails	Jeamsters Joral 45		$\times$
	alice Maurer		MPEA		
	Jan Warr		ATU 381		
	Marie Michueres	Butte	ATU 381		2
1	& Dobson	Billins	self		~
2	Huntriggen	Butte	self		
	Pater Alic	Missouly	MPEA - U. of Mt.	• •	L
C	Sid arnistrong	Illan			L
	Oam's × hoursel	O. Missouria	Concentral citizens FER Initiative 84		X
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1 IF YOU CARE TO WRITE COMMENTS, ASK SECRETARY FOR LONGER FORM.

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Form CS-33 1-81

John Monsted Charles R. Shields - Moins H. Oleon Billy H Brothers - Helen wood Jeanne zupomik Jan Fitzpatrick Pail Waler Theol Boyer John Males fat h = fittulo Jamin Mular

HB645 Messoala oppose Missoula HB645 Oppose Missiola HB645 appose Kalispell opprove HB 645 Boulder HB645 oppose Boulder H 13 645 oppose HB645 Goulder oppase HB645 Chaconda oppose HB 645 Oraconda oppose Bull appose

Durt Jack. Butt

approx oppose

H. B. - 645 H.B-648 HB 645

Franck aurthur Synness 304 D. Dovier City of Nelbra O.P. George Hogrand. Bouldahil. Ruch Amethinik Boulder Monterne Joe Gerag tit Boulder Manterne Micky V. Hiner Helena, Mr. Adrian E. Moory Great Falls Oppose HB 645 Maion Wonlow Sh. Lats Opposed " " Richard & Mauseth Great Falle Mont Oppose 11 B 645 Beinged D. Mc Donald " oppose HB 645 Thanks Libertool Stall oppose HB 645 Janice Michyett Missoula Lancy DeCon Jussoula oppose HB645 offere HB645 Juger Henden Riber oppose HB645 Robert D. Bakonda Kelena Kathy a. van took Helena oppose, HBG45 Sur Bartlett Helena Lofa Kinmon Butte oppre -HB645 Maureen Mee Butte AB645 Oppose ! Randy Scemers Helena Syle Westgine Museula appose HB 645 Filme HBG45 Oppre Amman Reinicke Stevensville H.B.645 Horald & aboutles Stovenenville oppose 4.B.645

HOUSE\_\_\_\_\_ COMMITTEE Date 2-17-81 \_\_\_\_ BILL SPONSOR BIIN MO

	NAME	RESIDENCE	REPRESENTING	SUP- PORT	OP- POSE
	This M mber	Helena -	Mit Stunton asroc.		
(	Nel buchan	Heline			~
C	Lerie Sumon	Noles			
•	ander Swamon	St. Falls			
	Cilie Sinesedad	lit a co			L
2	John & Wall	Heren			$\checkmark$
V	In Swot	Iklera			
•	1/ B Rowa	Helena	self		V
	In Merill	Willawy Mont.	Leli	$\checkmark$	
	mae merrill	Williams.	seli'	V	
	KATHY JUDGE	Helena	AFT-MFT #3399		-
	PatCrask		Teamsters #2		V
	Judith Flubbard		Teamsters ## 2		<u> </u>
E	lard Bickman	Bogeman	Teamsters # 2		2
_	Ilangel Button	5 Boyeman	TeamsTins # 2		<u> </u>
	Noral Nelson	foliet	termition # 190	 	
	Bud HENMAN	Blas	REDMSTERS 190		-
	MARK JANACAQO	Helena	40 tasy		
	Rick Abroham	HeleniA	Corpentars 153		K
	Dale Feight	Helena	11 //		2
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HOUSE \_\_\_\_\_COMMITTEE Date 2-17-8/ BILL HB 645 SPONSOR Burnett

	NAME	RESIDENCE	REPRESENTING	SUP- PORT	OP- POSE
	Robe Ellis	Helener	Carponteris #153		$\checkmark$
	Jenn Grant	Bozennan	Carpenters 557		L
	Ruppell Husar	Luousgaten	Carpenters		
	unt Storen	Degeman	Carpanter 557		4
	John Recktende	21 Bozeman	Corporters 557		<u> </u>
	Eden Badom	no Helena			<u>e</u> n
_	Dan Bagerine	D HELENA	CARD 153		
	KonELaisen	CLANCY	CARP 153		2
	Terry F. Brow	Halena	MPEA	• • • •	
	Steven Knith	Helena	MPEA	, 	
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PLEASE LEAVE PREPARED STATEMENT WITH SECRETARY.

473 BILL NO. 645 NAME DATE 2-17-81 ADDRESS WHOM DO YOU REPRESENT OPPOSE AMEND SUPPORT PLEASE LEAVE PREPARED STATEMENT WITH SECRETARY. por RT4/ Comments: Dusty Hupen - Helono Marin 2. Juinta Allen Ra illicam Main Miknex gan Harr Harol Will Mary Hydeleen woranch Harold Mala. Mary Ellen Sampso Margo a Niddle Male Noncy Jones - Helena FORM CS-34 1-81

	HOUSE	EDUCATION	COMMIT	TTEE	
BILL	НВ 645		Date_	2/17/81	- <u></u>
SPONSOR	BURNETT				

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Form CS-33 1-81

HOUSE	COMMITTEE
BILL HB 645	Date
SPONSOR	

<b></b>	1			
NAME	RESIDENCE	REPRESENTING	SUP- PORT	OP- POSE
Mitch Militailant	1900 Elin Batte	Mit St Bldg Judy		X
Jun Millan	Box 1244 Helen	Mont Fed allante	·	X
Source Valuet	1817 Wort Park Theacono	& Mont Sute Cuncilot	102	X
Poler Theat	2124 tacil	Lock 11 45 Minu		X
Allen Restilliamo	8936 Douglas cilite Helen	AFL-CIO		$\mathbf{X}$
Juhn Etitration	527 N. Hewen, Aut	MAChINISTS AFF-	10	X
Buth gmes	1736 Lowell-Butte	alinan # 457		X
Clele S. Sullivan	810 Mains But	GYME #457	•	X
Alux Working	1227 Famell Batte	MPEA	•	X
Jorm Reinicke	Rt#2 Stevensville	Local # 459	:	X
John Monster	HUIS-338 AUC Messoule	LOCAL #1334		1X
Churles R. Shields	1755 W. Control, messora	Retired Stele Employ	R	X
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IF YOU CARE TO WRITE COMMENTS, ASK SECRETARY FOR LONGER FORM.

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	HOUSE	 COMMITTEE	
BILL	it 6 045	Date	
SPONSOR			

NAME	RESIDENCE	REPRESENTING	SUP- PORT	OP- POSE
Joan Miles	Helena	Env. Info. Center		
Vane Siteler		MPEA		
JUE Evenson	Helena	State Revision el Div		$\checkmark$
Arusimone	Huga	Kers Div D. storAdm		/
Eller Calard	Allera	NFT, AFT, AFT-CID		
Aloin H. Ch	Sheat falls, mont	Remail	u	
AL LOVINIGTOW		MYSELF	<u> </u>	
· LeRorth-Schramn	Helena	State Executive Branch		1
CHASE PATRICK	HELENA	MYSELF	V	
Kristine Roby	Missoula	University of Montana Local Chapters of MPEA		
KAN HORTOMA	Ms/o	Pres M.P.E.A		V
Thank Shuller	Lena	MPER		V
Non Stack,	CONRAD	HIGHWAY 5		<u> </u>
Daspara Kapina	o Bozenan	MEU-MPEA	<del> </del>	1.
Julin Carlin	Butte	Opineting Enqueres		4
Marli Lovie	Batte	Coursting Engine # 375		
Jak Unthes	Butta	Butte termeters 2		
Spone S. Huberry	Munda	Musule H.S. Ed. Cossoc		K
Bill Brackir	missela	M.E.A. MSLA CO.		V
VAVID SEYTON	HELEN	MONT. ETUC ASSN	/	r

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Form CS-33 1-81

HOUSE	COMMITTEE
BILL HB 645	Date
SPONSOR Burnett	

	NAME	RESIDENCE	REPRESENTING	SUP- PORT	OP- POSE
	Helen Hemmener	Jelena Int	Jahon #254		
	Marthe Hammes	a Velena mit.	Jabon 254		2
	from Relich	Helena		· _ ]	
	Carolin anderson	Helena, not			
	Conred Yunker	Helena, MIT	Wive Service 641/d#222		
	Leur	Allens mit	all		-
)	me Would	East Helena	Self		
٠	Too Sauch	Helene.	#254		-
	Roger Sug	Helena	Labor 7254		-
	Derod / Mero	Den Lodge	Tabon Local # 400		$\sim$
Ę	Ed Strey	Centrola.	genter Erent 4		4
	(My) Rig	HELENA	TUDE LORA 400	·	1
	AcKindrick	1	Painters 1023		-
	2 Destrour	Missoula	Teamstern # 2		
	Wm K. Byrne	missoula	Jeanster # 2	• : :	~
	R. andy Gonel	Missoula	Teamsters #2		
	Bardsbury	MI slo	Mach.		4
	BARNEY BRAND	PELEMA	Locar 185		
5	Judy Brand	Nelema			<u> </u>
	Leloy C. Johnun	Black Carl.	Local#45		4
			*********		<u></u>

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Form CS-33 1-81

	HOUSE	LABOR	 COMMITTEE	
BILL	HB 645		Date 2/17	
SPONSOR	BURNETT			

RESIDENCE REPRESENTING SUP-OP-NAME PORT POSE M UFCW Locath 1981 lost. 1981 UFCW 11 m) FAMSTERS 45 50 45 1334 OGF C TROIAN ensen Х telena LISCA LIM Margo Ki nessand. Jocal 427 n <u>al 1981</u> Mar U 11) 'c .7 Δ 1046 Mas Trant Fralls 14 Mch Jeal 1046 Sullo JESCME 2033 MT ° L

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Form CS-33 1-81

HOUSE		COMMITTEE			
BILL	<u></u>	Date			
SPONSOR					
NAME	RESIDENCE	REPRESENTING	SUP- PORT	OP- POSE	

			PORT	POSE
Palbaber	Anaconda, MT	Ana Teachers' Union # 502		
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#### PROPOSED AMENDMENTS - HB 557

1. Page 1, line 14. "\$2.95" Strike: "\$2.50" Insert: 2. Page 1, line 16. "\$3.25" Strike: "\$2.75" Insert: Page 2, line 11. 3. Strike: "\$680" "\$575" Insert: 4. Page 2, line 13. Strike: "\$750" "\$635" Insert:

5. Page 2

Following: line 14

Insert: "(3)(a) An employer may apply a credit against the wages due a tipped employee by an amount not to exceed 20% of the state minimum wage, except that an employer subject to the federal fair labor standards act, 29 U.S.C. 201 through 219, may apply a credit in an amount as defined in section 203 of that act.

(b) such a credit may not be taken by an employer against the wages due a tipped employee unless:

(i) the employee receives tips equal to or in excess of the amount of credit;

(ii) the employee has been informed by the employer of the provisions of this section; and

(i) all tips received by such employee or deposited in or about a place of business for services rendered by the employee have been retained by the employee.

(6) /no employer may require an employee to share a tip with the employer or other employees. However, nothing contained in this subsection prevents an employee from voluntarily and on an individual basis sharing his tips with other employees."

- 6. Amend 39-3-402, the definition section of this part to read: "(8) "Tipped employee" means an employee engaged in an occupation in which he customarily and regularly receives tips, on a monthly basis, at an amount as defined in the federal fair labor standards fact, 29 U.S.C. 203 (t), as amended."
- 7. Amend 39-3-406, which defines those employees excluded from the provisions of 39-3-404 and 39-3-405 (minimum wage and overtime compensation sections). Add another exclusion which reads: "(1) an employee who is under 16 years of age."

7.1.27 1. Page 1, lines 12 through 17. Strike: These lines in their entirety "The minimum wage defined in the federal Fair Labor Insert: Standards Act, 29 U.S.C.206(a)(1)." 2. Page 2. Following: line 14 Insert: "(3)(a) An employer may apply a credit against the wages due a tipped employee by an amount not to exceed the amount as defined in the federal Fair Labor Standards Act, 29 U.S.C.203(m). Such a credit may not be taken by an employer against the (b) wages due a tipped employee unless: the employee receives tips equal to or in excess of (i) the amount of credit; and (ii) the employee has been informed by the employer of the provisions of this section. (C)All tips received by an employee or deposited in or about a place of business for services rendered by the employee are the sole property of the employee. No employer may require an employee to share a tip with . (d) the employer or other employees. However, nothing contained in this subsection prevents an employee from voluntarily and on an individual basis sharing his tips with other employees." Amend 39-3-402, the definition section of this part to read: "(8) "Tipped employee" means an employee engaged in an occupation in which he customarily and regularly receives tips, on a monthly basis, at an amount as defined in the federal Fair

Labor Standards Act, 29 U.S.C. 203(t), as amended."