MINUTES

MONTANA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 54th LEGISLATURE - REGULAR SESSION

COMMITTEE ON BUSINESS & LABOR

Call to Order: By CHAIRMAN BRUCE T. SIMON, on January 13, 1995, at 8:00 AM.

ROLL CALL

Members Present:

Rep. Bruce T. Simon, Chairman (R) Rep. Norm Mills, Vice Chairman (Majority) (R) Rep. Robert J. "Bob" Pavlovich, Vice Chairman (Minority) (D) Rep. Vicki Cocchiarella (D) Rep. Charles R. Devaney (R) Rep. Jon Ellingson (D) Rep. Alvin A. Ellis, Jr. (R) Rep. David Ewer (D) Rep. Jack R. Herron (R) Rep. Bob Keenan (R) Rep. Don Larson (D) Rep. Rod Marshall (R) Rep. Jeanette S. McKee (R) Rep. Karl Ohs (R) Rep. Paul Sliter (R) Rep. Carley Tuss (D) Rep. Joe Barnett (R)

Members Excused: Rep. Rose Forbes

Members Absent: None.

Staff Present: Stephen Maly, Legislative Council Alberta Strachan, Committee Secretary

Please Note: These are summary minutes. Testimony and discussion are paraphrased and condensed.

Committee	Busin	less	Summar	y:	
	Ι	Heari	lng:	HB	123
Execı	ltive	Acti	lon:	HB	123

HEARING ON HB 123

Opening Statement by Sponsor:

REP. RICK JORE, HD 73, Lake County said this bill was an act creating the Workers' Freedom Act, providing an employee freedom of choice on whether to join a labor organization or not to join a labor organization.

Proponents' Testimony:

Greg Hagenson, President, Montana Citizens For Right To Work said this bill removes the element of compulsion and adds the element of choice. The issue presented by this bill is the freedom of every worker to decide for himself whether to join or support a labor union as a private organization. This issue of freedom is one that those with a vested financial interest in compulsory unionism have steadfastly avoided. He also said it is not a secret that money taken from unwilling workers' paychecks is used to support political candidates. He also said that without a Right To Work law, what incentive do union officials have to act only in their members interests and not their own. A Right To Work law will not decrease the wages of union members in Montana. EXHIBIT 1

Bob Davies, representing himself said labor works according to the law of supply and demand just as any commodity does. Perhaps the best argument for contention is that unions, as they are presently constituted, have very limited value anymore. It is the simple fact that the unions are shrinking and have been for many years. EXHIBIT 2

Roger Koopman said compulsory union membership is, in the final analysis, tyranny. Through tacit governmental approval, it compels individual workers to violate their own consciences and forces them to conform to the dictates of others, at the threat of lost employment or no employment. In the process, forced unionization destroys the integrity of the very unions it supposedly benefits, and undermines the economy on which we all depend. Whether by referendum or by legislation, the time is long overdue for Montana to stand for the common people's right to work. **EXHIBIT 3**

Fred Hoppell, Executive Director, Montana Citizens for the Right to Work said Montana now has a tremendous opportunity to increase it's attractiveness to American business, create jobs, lower unemployment and compete with our neighbors who have Right To Work laws. Every year that goes by without a Right To Work law is costing Montana jobs, a broader tax base, and most importantly personal freedom. EXHIBIT 4

Bob McLees, McLees Inc. said his company had operated with and without union affiliation agreements. He also said he supports this bill because he supports freedom and fairness.

Opponents' Testimony:

Don Judge, Executive Secretary, Montana State AFL-CIO said he encouraged the legislature to set aside this ill-conceived legislation and focus, instead, upon the positive energies of the citizens of our state. What a waste it would be for business and labor to engage in a protracted debate over the virtues of a law which would surely be suspended pending a decision of the voters HOUSE BUSINESS & LABOR COMMITTEE January 13, 1995 Page 3 of 8

in 1996. He said there was an opportunity to take advantage of Montana 's growing economy to lift the lives of all of the citizens of the state. He said he encouraged the state not to set the stage for battle, but to reject politics of division in favor of cooperation towards a better Montana for everyone. EXHIBIT 5

Keith Bomstad, President, Lumber, Production and Industrial Workers said because of the fact all workers benefit from the existence of unions, whether or not they belong to a union and whether or not they pay dues, unions are democratic institutions. Wages, benefits, working conditions, economic conditions and social conditions exist in right-to-work states. That is evidence enough that Montana should not become such a state. EXHIBIT 6

Laura Dygert, said the people she works with toil at hard, dirty and sometimes menial tasks. There has been an investment made in the union by its members. She said the ability and knowledge to get the job done for the contractor most expediently with the highest quality of workmanship is her goal.

Ray Linder, Director, Labor Relations, Montana Nurses' Association said this bill takes away freedom from employees to collectively bargain with an employer concerning a union security clause. EXHIBIT 7 A copy of <u>The Pulse</u> was also distributed to the committee. EXHIBIT 8

REP. BRAD MOLNAR, HD 22, Yellowstone County said he opposed this legislation and the bill should be tabled.

Ken Treib, United Mine Workers' of America said he had seen the adverse effects of right to work laws in states surrounding Montana; the most prevalent being the influx of people to our state because they can't make enough money in their right to work for less states to support their families. When wages fall, the total tax revenues fall and that means fewer dollars for education at all levels. **EXHIBIT 9**

John Forken, President, Montana State Association of Pipefitters and President, Montana Building Trade Counsel said both organizations stand opposed to this bill. He said this bill was being seen as the workers freedom bill because union workers don't want to belong to unions. The only people promoting this legislation are executives and corporate owners.

Dan Edwards, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers' International stated this legislation was terribly wrong. It does not guarantee anybody the right to work. The ultimate result of this bill lowers wages and benefits for all workers.

Thomas E. Schneider, Executive Director, Montana Public Employees Association said the Public Employees Association is an independent union with 6700 members. In the public sector, employees in areas covered by collective bargaining agreement will get the majority of the benefits negotiated by the members of the union because of the uniformity demanded by state and federal laws. **EXHIBIT 10**

Terry Minow, Montana Federation of Teachers/Montana Federation of State Employees/Montana Federation of Health Care Employees said the real issue of this legislation is collective bargaining. Collective bargaining is a positive process that brings management and workers together so they can have a meeting of the mind over how both parties will conduct themselves under the terms of the mutually agreed upon contract. **EXHIBIT 11** She also distributed <u>On Campus</u> which features the collaborative bargaining process as it pioneered in Montana **EXHIBIT 12**

Sharon Hoff, Executive Director, Montana Catholic Conference said through associations in unions American workers have set the standards for wages which made it possible for us to adequately and responsibly care for families, educate children, provide for sound health care and retirement and invest in home communities. EXHIBIT 13

Pat Clinch, Montana Council of Professional Fire Fighters said firefighters across the state understand that right to work is totally mis-named and actually has nothing to do with the rights and freedom of people. **EXHIBIT 14**

Father Jerry Lowney, Social Justice Committee, Catholic Diocese of Helena said every freedom has a responsibility. Some people have closed shops which would include lawyers and the Bar Association. Social workers and licensing organizations of various sorts also come under this category.

Samantha Sanchez, Montana Family Union said she had been asked by the following organizations to register their strong opposition to this bill. They are: American Civil Liberties Union of Montana; Montana Low Income Coalition; Montana Senior Citizens Association; Montana Alliance for Progressive Policy; Montana Trial Lawyers Association; Montana People's Action and the Montana Community Labor Alliance. EXHIBIT 15

Jerry Rukavina, Montana Education Association.

Chritian McKay, Board of Directors, Montana Family Union.

Mike Hooker, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

John Monahan, Ironworkers Local 841, Great Falls said Montana workers in manufacturing and industrial jobs have for years earned more for their families than their Idaho counterparts. EXHIBIT 15

Jean Belangie Nye, Montana Education Association. EXHIBIT 16

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Pamela Miller, EXHIBIT 17

Rondy Crawford, Boilermakers Union said a lot of the union members crossed party lines in the November elections looking for some radical changes in the running of the government. EXHIBIT 18

Ron Lowell, ABG Local 320.

Gene Henderson, Montana District Council of Laborers.

Brad Martin, Montana Democratic Party.

John Gatchell said the intent of the bill is to lower wages by breaking the bargaining power of working people.

Donald Wilkins said this day, Friday the 13th was a very appropriate day for this type of legislation.

Stan Dupree, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 44, EXHIBIT 19.

George Gluekert, United Transportation Union said he opposed this bill. EXHIBIT 20

Shawn Kincaid, (unable to understand who he represented).

Scott Mitchell, United Transportation Mobile Union.

Ray Link, Machinists Union.

Informational Testimony:

Robert G. Natelson EXHIBIT 21.

Mike Glueckert EXHIBIT 22.

Bill Byrne EXHIBIT 23.

James T. Mular EXHIBIT 24.

Dick Pattison EXHIBIT 25.

G. Bruce Morris EXHIBIT 26.

Pat A. Mischel EXHIBIT 27.

Fran Marceau, State Legislative Director, United Transportation Union EXHIBIT 28

Questions From Committee Members and Responses:

REP. LARSON said the proponents of this bill made the allegations of the misuse of union dollars for political purposes and he wished an explanation of this. Also, he asked how political activities were organized. Mr. Judge said union endorsements were made and they are arrived at by interviews of candidates of the local areas through city central bodies in 12 communities throughout the state with regard to legislators and by the convention when it is convened for federal candidates. Based upon a 2/3 recommendation of the official delegates to those organizations at the city central body, those recommendations are carried to the state AFL-CIO annual convention where they are then reviewed by a committee which then refers them on to the convention floor and an endorsement must be approved or denied by a 2/3 vote of the delegates in attendance representing the affiliated organization. One of the proponents had indicated that a lot of union money was going into a presidential race. The federal law prohibits the use of union dues for the purposes of contributing to federal candidates and the dollars that went into those federal races were raised through voluntary contributions by the membership.

REP. DEVANEY asked if a non member secures employment in a union shop, is he required to join the appropriate union or face discharge. Also, is there a provision for him to contribute funds to a charity or another type of organization in order to retain his employment. **Mr. Judge** said yes to both questions.

REP. SLITER questioned the contribution to a charity, does the union choose the charity. **Mr. Judge** said the union chooses the charity but the charity is one of those acceptable non-profit organizations which is required to be a bona fied charity. If an objection can be raised by the worker as to whether or not that fits the charity he intended to donate to.

<u>Closing by Sponsor</u>:

Sponsor closes.

EXECUTIVE ACTION ON HB 123

Motion: REP. KEENAN MOVED DO PASS ON HB 123.

Discussion:

REP. KEENAN said it appears the committee has come in full circle in such a short time. The opponents today were telling us not too long ago that CI 66 and 67 were offensive to representative government. The committee heard that democracy is mob rule. But now the spin is complete. Now, today, the term democracy is being used to justify mob rule and the work place. Democracy is majority rule with no guarantee of fairness or decency to the HOUSE BUSINESS & LABOR COMMITTEE January 13, 1995 Page 7 of 8

minority. But the constitution speaks to the republic where the minority is protected by law from evil by the majority.

Motion: REP. EWER MADE A SUBSTITUTE MOTION DO NOT PASS ON HB 123.

<u>Discussion:</u>

REP. EWER stated Montanans knew exactly what was going on here. This is not an appropriate bill.

CHAIRMAN SIMON stated he wished to have a motion straight up or down on this bill on the do pass motion.

REP. EWER withdrew his motion.

<u>Vote</u>: A roll call vote was taken on the motion DO PASS. Motion failed 13-5 with REPS. BARNETT, KEENAN, MARSHALL, MCKEE and SLITER voting no.

MOTION/VOTE: REP. PAVLOVICH MOVED TO TABLE HB 123. Motion carried.

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ADJOURNMENT

Adjournment: 10:00 AM.

Τ. SIMON, BRUCE Chairman

Ulu HAM) ALBERTA STRACHAN, Secretary

BTS/ajs

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Business and Labor

ROLL CALL

DATE <u>1-13-95</u>

NAME	PRESENT	ABSENT	EXCUSED
Rep. Bruce Simon, Chairman	X		
Rep. Norm Mills, Vice Chairman, Majority	Х		
Rep. Bob Pavlovich, Vice Chairman, Minority	Χ		
Rep. Joe Barnett	X		
Rep. Vicki Cocchiarella	X		
Rep. Charles Devaney	Х		
Rep. Jon Ellingson	X		
Rep. Alvin Ellis, Jr.	X		
Rep. David Ewer	X		
Rep. Rose Forbes			X
Rep. Jack Herron	X		
Rep. Bob Keenan	X		
Rep. Don Larson	X		
Rep. Rod Marshall	X		
Rep. Jeanette McKee	X		
Rep. Karl Ohs	X		
Rep. Paul Sliter	X		
Rep. Carley Tuss	X		

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

BUSINESS AND LABOR COMMITTEE

ROLL CALL VOTE

	HB	
DATE <u>/-13-95</u>	BILL NO. <u>123</u>	NUMBER
MOTION: TABLE		

NAME	AYE	NO
Rep. Bruce Simon, Chairman		
Rep. Norm Mills, Vice Chair, Maj.		\checkmark
Rep. Bob Pavlovich, Vice Chair, Min.	/	V
Rep. Joe Barnett	V	
Rep. Vicki Cocchiarella		
Rep. Charles Devaney		<i>C</i>
Rep. Jon Ellingson		u
Rep. Alvin Ellis, Jr.		\sim
Rep. David Ewer		
Rep. Rose Forbes		\checkmark
Rep. Jack Herron		
Rep. Bob Keenan		
Rep. Don Larson		V
Rep. Rod Marshall		· · · · · ·
Rep. Jeanette McKee		
Rep. Karl Ohs		
Rep. Paul Sliter		
Rep. Carley Tuss		

EXHIBIT_ DATE

Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee, I am Greg Hagenson, President of Montana Citizens for Right to Work. Glander with the Busin

On behalf of the members of Montana Citizens for Right to Work I urge you to support HB 123.

HB 123, the Right to Work bill, is a very simple piece of legislation. Right to Work reaffirms a worker's right to join a union, and adds a worker's right to refrain from joining a union, which is a right that never should have been denied.

It removes the element of compulsion and adds the element of choice.

The issue presented by this bill is the freedom of every worker to decide for himself whether to join or support a labor union, which after all, is a private organization.

This issue of freedom is one that those with a vested financial interest in compulsory unionism have steadfastly avoided.

No matter how often we ask that the issue of a worker's freedom be addressed, advocates of forced unionism choose instead to hide behind smokescreens. Their rhetoric refuses to explain why they insist on taking individual rights away.

Advocates of forced unionism hide behind smokescreens because there is no justification for the denial of individual freedom and liberty in the workplace.

Is it any secret that money taken from unwilling workers' paychecks is used to support political candidates?

In 1980, Ronald Reagan captured about 45% of the union vote nationwide. But these union members who voted for President Reagan had their votes nullified because union officials spent an estimated \$20 million of forced dues money in aid of Walter Mondale.

This happens year after year, election after election. Not surprisingly, Opinion Research Corporation discovered that a full 54% of union members felt that union officials fought for their own political goals, not those of the dues paying member.

In 1988, the U.S. Supreme Court found that 79% of compulsory dues collected from agency shop employees was being spent on activities other than collective bargaining. The Court forced the Communication Workers of America to return this money.

These are just two examples of union officials contempt of the law. How often does this activity go undetected? And when it is discovered, it is long after the election is over and the damage is done.

The author of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson, said the following about this practice:

"To compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves is sinful and tyrannical."

Montana is allowing this "sinful and tyrannical" practice to go on with the absence of Right to Work legislation.

It has been argued over and over again that since government has the power to tax you by majority rule, that Unions should therefore have the same power.

I would like to remind you that this country was built by a discontented minority and that our rights may not be voted away by an oppressive majority and it is up to you as legislators to

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protect those precious rights. I want to adamantly point out that Unions are not governmental entities. Unions are private organizations.

For example, a Rotary Club or a Lions Club works for the benefit of their communities. While town meetings might have the governmental power to tax you, a town meeting does not have the power to vote to force you to join Rotary or Lions and force your pay dues to them.

These organizations have to persuade you to join and if your are persuaded to join you should be a good, hardworking, dues-paying member for the common good.

The Chamber of Commerce works for the benefit of all businesses. Should all businesses be forced to join the Chamber of Commerce and contribute to it?

The NRA works for to protect the rights of all gun-owners? Should all gun owners be forced to pay dues to the NRA.

The American Legion and VFW work for the benefit of all veterans, they do a good job, but should all veterans be forced to join and contribute to the American Legion and VFW?

I think you see the fallacy of the claim that since the unions supposedly work for all workers, and that they are supposedly effective for all workers, that they should somehow be entitle to their forced membership, forced contributions and be able to force workers to financially support the union's political candidates that workers as individuals totally disagree with? How in the world can this situation be justified in a freedom loving state like Montana?

A lot has been said about the aspect of majority rule, especially by Don Judge of the AFL-CIO. But a poll conducted by

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the Lee Newspapers of Montana last month showed that 48% of Montanans support passage of a Right to Work law, while only 42% opposed it. Under Don Judge's majority rule argument, Right to Work should be the law of the land here in Montana.

Finally, some suggest that passage of a Right to Work law would weaken organized labor. This is not true and let me explain why.

Representatives Jore's bill reaffirms the employees right to join a union and bargain collectively. The individual worker loses no rights under a Right to Work law. Unions become stronger and more responsive to the rank and file. Right to Work is first and foremost an employees rights bill. it strengthens unions by giving each member the freedom to choose membership or not.

A good union doesn't need to force Montanans to join -- and a bad union doesn't deserve the force Montanans to join.

Furthermore, some workers want to speak for themselves and determine for themselves who to contribute to politically. No organization that practices compulsory membership can truly be representative. No other private organization in the country can force people into being paying members.

If union officials are responsive to the rank and file, workers will stay in the union.

Without a Right to Work law, what incentive do union officials have to act only in their members interests and not their own? A Right to Work law stops the compulsory dues gravy train and makes union officials earn their member's support. A Right to Work law can save unions from destruction by power hungry and greedy union bosses. And from out of state union

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officials.

A Right to Work law will not decrease the wages of union members in Montana. Let me repeat this before I give the statistical data to back it up. A Right to Work law will not decrease the wages of union members in Montana.

According to the <u>Union Membership and Earnings Data Book</u>, a BNA (Bureau of National Affairs) publication, in 1993 union wages in Right to Work states averaged \$551 per week. Non-Right to Work states averaged \$553 in 1993.

As you can see, there is essentially no difference between the earnings which union officials gain for their members in Right to Work states and their members in non-Right to Work states. The figures are also adjusted for inflation.

I would like to close by quoting Samuel Gompers, the father of the American labor movement who recognized that the right of an individual to refrain from joining a union is that worker's "legal right and no one can dare question his exercise of that right."

Finally, let me say -- your vote comes down to is this: Should someone be forced to join a union or pay dues in support of a union against their will? And should someone be fired form their job if they chose to exercise that right?

I ask you, on behalf of the hundreds of thousands of Montana citizens who believe in the freedom to work with out being forced to join or support a labor union to vote in favor of HB 123.

Let me make this thing clear. The only way to stand up for worker freedom and economic prosperity for the citizens of Montana is to vote 'YES' on HB 123. A vote to table this bill is no different than voting against this bill. Both, in effect, send the same message: that compulsory unionism in Montana is OK. That in Montana, it is OK to force a private individual to join a private organization against his will. Thomas Jefferson calls this "tyranny". Today, I'm asking you to vote against tyranny and vote for freedom. Please support HB 123.

Thank you.

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TESTIMONY OF BOB DAVIES, Box 3634, Bozeman, MT 59772

Subject: HB123 "Right to Work"

I am appearing in support of this bill to prevent membership in a union to be a condition for employment.

Compulsion has no proper place in a free republic such as ours, especially in connection with something so basic, important, and honorable as earning a living.

It is claimed that unless an employee is forced to belong and pay dues to the union, he will benefit from the efforts of the union which he does not support. First, it is questionable in this era of high technology, that unions do much for workers any more. The unions claim to be responsible for the rising wages of their members. Of much greater effect is the simple fact that, with modern technology a worker is worth more than his father was, thus he can command more.

Labor works according to the law of supply and demand, just as any commodity does. So, even in low skilled jobs, the existence of the higher paying jobs causes a reduction of the supply of labor for the low-skilled jobs and causes wages for these to increase as well. This also provides incentive for workers to learn skills necessary to move to the higher paying jobs. The union mentality causes market forces such as these to be ignored. Instead of acknowledging these things and helping members to become more productive and thus more valuable, unions seem to want to frame the issues in terms of conflict between employees and employers.

But, perhaps the best argument for my contention that unions, as they are presently constituted, have very limited value anymore is the simple fact that the unions are shrinking and have been for many years. The supposed benefits of membership are apparently not evident to prospective members. The only place where union membership is holding its own is in the public sector, and there, very different economic considerations exist which I won't go into. But the point is that the unions can't seem to sell themselves and so they look to government to force people to join. And, just as is always the case when force enters the picture, the union leadership can become arrogant and unresponsive to the membership they supposedly serve.

In this sense, the right to work law would actually be a benefit to the members, if not the leadership. The leadership would have to court the members and keep them happy by actually providing them with real services. And perhaps, this would even cause the unions to moderate their antagonistic approach and try to solve conflicts with employers in a more beneficial way, since many members don't look upon the company as the enemy. In a proper labor-business relationship, both sides would realize that they were dependent upon each other, and could mutually benefit from getting the job done instead of being at each other's throats. When I worked at the Anaconda Company in Great Falls, I personally saw a number of instances where workers intentionally sabotaged company property and thought they were serving the cause of labor in doing so. The union won that one, didn't they? Anaconda is gone.

As for the union argument that the non-member would benefit at the expense of the member under right to work, we could draw another analogy. We all know that everyone in society will benefit from the fact that we now have a Republican Legislature. So, why not pass a law that everyone must join and contribute to the Republican party. We don't want any freeloaders. (I'd have used "Democrat" instead of Republican if the Democrats were in the majority to make this point.)

Another area of concern is the fact that in most cases, union leadership, with member's money, supports politicians who could only properly be called "socialist." They support all sorts of socialist legislation, and this at a time when the socialist economies of the world are falling like a ton of bricks. Just how does this benefit the working man?

Now, let's speak plainly of the political reality of this issue. We all realize that voters who oppose right to work are likely to vote against a supporter based on this one issue alone. Those voters who favor right to work are more likely to consider other issues as well. So, opposition to right to work appears to be the politically "safe" position. But, is it the right position? As I said earlier, what place has compulsion in our free republic? This is a freedom issue -- nothing more. Why are we so willing to give coercive power to organizations which represent only a very small minority of working people? And even many of them are members because they have to be, not because they want to be. But there is another political reality I will address to the conservatives on the committee. How many union endorsements do you expect anyway, regardless of how you vote on this bill?

So, I urge you to support this bill, simply because it is right.

EXHIBIT <u>3</u> DATE <u>1-13-95</u> HB <u>123</u>

TESTIMONY IN SUPPORT OF HB 123 "The Workers' Freedom Act"

by Roger Koopman

"Freedom is the right to choose, the right to create for oneself the alternatives of choice. Without the possibility of choice and the exercise of choice, a man is not a man but a member, an instrument, a thing."

Those words, penned by one of our nation's great founders -- Thomas Jefferson -- capture so eloquently, the essence of a free society. The essence of American society.

Like no nation before us in the history of man, ours was a land grounded in a fundamental principle: freedom of conscience. We proclaimed in our founding documents, that we, as individuals, had natural, God-given rights to "life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness," and that it was the role of government to secure and defend those rights.

Freedom of conscience. What does that mean? Does it mean the right to impose your will, by force, upon another individual, either through coercive government action or coercive private action which government sanctions? Of course not. Would it make any difference if the coercion was, in your opinion, for a good cause? Obviously not.

Freedom of conscience is, in Jefferson's words, the "right to choose" -- the right to act upon the dictates of your own conscience, so long as those actions do not violate the conscience of another. We as Americans may agree to disagree on what is right and what is wrong in many areas, but in matters of private decision-making, we grant one another the sacred right to choose for ourselves.

Nowhere in our lives does this right to choose become more sharply focussed than in our private relationships, associations and memberships. The church we attend. The company we keep. The political party we support. The livelihood we choose. These are all matters of personal conscience. And the organizations we join are also a matter of personal conscience. If we are indeed free, then we agree that no one has the right to introduce compulsion into any of these realms of our private lives.

Yet in the State of Montana, thousands of our working residents are compelled by virtual blackmail, to join organizations -- labor unions -- against their wills and against their consciences. These unions are, for the most part, openly political in nature, and promote highly partisan legislative and electoral agendas. They require membership as a condition of employment -- to get hired or to stay hired. Yes, workers can choose not to join by choosing unemployment, but that amounts to no choice at all. Being forced to join a labor organization under these duress conditions is a profound violation of a worker's conscience and his basic individual freedom.

Montana needs a "Right to Work" statute to address this fatal flaw that now exists in state labor law. The law must affirm what the vast majority of Montanans already recognize -- that it is unconscionable to compel men and women to join organizations against their own free will, and doubly unconscionable to use the threat of lost wages and lost jobs to make that compulsion complete. People are not chattel. They do not belong in anyone's corral. Every Montanan has the right, the ability and the responsibility to make up their own minds about whether they will join a union in the first place, and what union they will choose to represent them in the second place. There is simply no place in these private relationships for government-sanctioned compulsion.

Contrary to what reactionary opponents say about right to work, it is not "anti-union." It would probably be the best thing that ever happened to organized labor in this state, from the workers' perspective. The reason for this reaches to another fundamental principle of our democratic republic: the conviction that monopolistic power, however manifested, is anti-democratic and, over time, creates enormous economic abuses and inefficies. Companies that enjoy government-sanctioned monopoly status will in time become flabby, inefficient and out of touch with the marketplace. They lack the challenge and the accountability that can only be supplied by healthy and open competition. Similarly, labor unions that are co-3led from accountability and protected from competition and consumer choice soon lose their vitality and their mission. When you combine the privilege of monopoly bargaining granted by federal law with the privilege of a guaranteed, forced membership allowed under Montana law, you end up with top-heavy bureaucracies that emphasize political action and de-emphasize true service to their dues-paying members.

While a state right to work statute could not correct the inequities and injustices that now exist in federal law, it could go a long way in establishing greater accountability contains to their members, by guaranteeing each Montana worker the basic right to opt out if, in their view, the union is not doing its job. Without the right not to join, workers essentially have no way of exercising any positive influence or discipline over union policies. These organizations will continue to receive a blank check to do whatever they please. Forced union membership thus becomes little more than legal extortion, and represents a huge disservice to Montana's working people.

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Furthermore, becoming a "right to work state" would provide a major boost to Montana's sagging economy by helping balance the scales in labor/management relationships. Government in its proper economic role, should never be an advocate for one side or another. Rather, it should function as an impartial referee, maintaining justice. Yet federal laws like the "National Labor Relations Act" already tip the scales by placing severe restraints on business and none on organized labor. By removing labor's illegitimate power to compel membership, right to work would help clean up our economic environment, thus spurring entrepreneurial activity, employment growth and out of state investment. A healthier economy will mean lower taxes and a higher standard of living for all Montana working people.

As it now stands, all of the states in our region that are contiguous to Montana already have right to work statutes on the books, and their comparatively stronger economies tell a powerful If you were a company Ask yourself this simple question. story. looking to expand or relocate into our region, and Idaho, Wyoming, North and South Dakota all had laws that guarantee the workers' right to choose union membership or not, while Montana's laws continued to guarantee a labor union's "right to forced conscription", where would your company most likely go? The chances are, anywhere but Montana! This is more than mere speculation. Fantus Company of Chicago, for example, (one of the nation's largest corporate site-selection firms), has stated that 50 percent of it's client companies will not even consider locations in states that lack right to work laws. Very likely, the economic loss to Montana during the past 10 or 15 years while we have timidly refused to embrace the principle of right to work has been astronomical.

Closed shops and union shops are, in reality, agreements in restraint of trade. At the same time, they violate the basic right of contract of each individual worker, in much the same way that the "yellow-dog contracts" of the past also denied workers their contract rights. The yellow-dog contract extracted a pledge from the employee that they would never exercise their right to join a union, thus effectively freezing union members out of jobs. Closed shop contracts with employers work the same way in reverse. They effectively freeze the non-union member out of their rightful opportunities for employment. These are flip sides of the same coin, and are equally onerous.

Perhaps one of the best insights into why right to work is correct and the enemies of right to work are wrong was provided to us courtesy of the Executive Secretary of the Montana AFL-CIO in a recent news story. This distinguished spokesman for what I would call "the right never to work unless you join our club" stated that "... union representation is decided by a majority of workers in a democratic process. Requiring all employees of a business with a collective bargaining agreement to pay union dues is no different

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than requiring all citizens to pay taxes approved by a majority of voters."

Implicit in these remarks is the notion that anything which is arrived at "democratically" can therefore be compelled. But I want this committee to reflect on this statement a little deeper for just a moment. (Ignore for now, the obvious disingenuousness here, since organize labor is among the strongest opponents of people having the right to directly vote on their taxes by referendum.) As clever as those comments sound, ask yourself if in a free, representative republic, there is any valid parallel between the power of a political unit (i.e., government) to levy taxes, and the claimed power of a private organization to force non-members to pay Quoting Shakespeare, therein lies the rub. membership dues. Unions have come to believe that they have the right to claim the of quasi-government. And indeed, when legitimatelypower constituted governments sanction the sovereign power of unions to compel membership and compel tribute, and grant them the ability to monopolize the representation of individual workers, unions are in a sense lifted to the status of an appendage of government. They are being given powers that no other private organization would have, and frankly, they like it that way. Right to work would disallow that monopoly of power that unions now exercise in right to never work states like Montana.

Of course, the argument that is always made to "justify" closed and union shops is that it is unfair for non-union workers to enjoy a so-called "free ride." The presumption is that all workers "benefit" from union activity whether they are paying their dues or not. That, of course, assumes that all workers want precisely the same things and all unions know exactly what those things are. This contention is fiction. Workers cannot be homogenized into some single-minded interest group possessing identical needs, goals and desires. No one entity can represent the interests of "all workers" in a given company. Whatever a union does, some workers will feel they have benefitted and some will feel they have not.

Furthermore, even if for the sake of argument, we grant that certain broad "benefits" are bestowed upon most workers as a result of union negotiations, that does not create a justification for forced membership. Rather, it builds a stronger case for voluntary membership. Unions that demonstrably do their jobs well have nothing to fear from voluntarism and free choice since most workers, as a matter of self interest, will join those unions gladly. Coercion is only necessary to make people join poor unions that are not doing a good job for the workers.

It is, in any case, a disingenuous argument for unions to complain about non-members whom they "represent." It was organized labor, in the mid-thirties, who imposed monopoly bargaining on themselves through the Wagner Act. If they would prefer not to have this

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"burden", then they should work for the repeal of this section of federal law. That's not likely to happen.

The fact is, in the real world all kinds of people benefit from the work and resources of other people and organizations. That doesn't give those organizations the right to compel membership. Consider the National Rifle Association, an organization of some 3 million members, busily at work defending the rights of 50 or 60 million gun owners around the country. Should the NRA enter into an agreement with the firearms manufacturers requiring NRA membership to purchase a gun? Should Americans lose their firearms if they let their NRA memberships lapse?

Certainly, the NRA is a very high-profile political and legislative lobbying organization. They endorse candidates, provide campaign support and much more. Not every person who owns a firearm agrees with the endorsements and legislative agendas of the NRA. Far from it. Should they be forced to join the NRA anyway? Of course not. Let the NRA earn its members non-compulsively. Let labor unions do the same.

To a large degree, it boils down to a question of power. Is the NRA a powerful organization? Sure -- and that's fine. But it is legitimate power -- power earned from voluntary support. Power of this sort is, by its nature, responsible and self-regulating, because the opportunity always exists for that support to be withdrawn. It is that freedom to choose whether or not to join the NRA (or thousands of other advocacy organizations like them) that makes those organizations dynamic, responsive and accountable.

On the other hand, the power created by unions in non-right-to-work states is illegitimate power, because it is based on compulsive support that is guaranteed, not earned. Because the opportunity does not exist for support to be withdrawn, power created in this manner is not self-regulating and is fundamentally unaccountable. I have no problem with unions becoming as powerful as they can be, but let them do it legitimately, through the rigors and disciplines of the free market, like any other organization. If unions fear the loss of their power, then may I suggest that the problem is not a lack of compulsion but a lack of attraction. Let the powerful forces of voluntarism create in unions the incentive to be better and do better. Let them go forth and attract, not compel.

By removing the government's sanction of illegitimate power through forced membership and forced dues, HB 123 empowers the individual in the workplace to choose what kind of representation they want -or don't want. It's a simple concept, but it's served us pretty well for a pretty long time. It's called <u>freedom</u>. And I fail to understand how that concept -- embodied more in this bill than any other measure that is likely to come across your desks in this session -- is being seen as so controversial and is causing people (including the governor) so much heartburn and anxiety. What are we so afraid of? Is freedom of choice such a scary thing? What in the world are we so afraid of? It's time to just do what's right, and get this much-needed law on the books at last.

Since I began with a quote from Jefferson, I'll also close with one. This was a statement of which he was particularly proud, and appears in the Jefferson Monument, more prominently displayed than any other:

"I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

Compulsory union membership is, in the final analysis, tyranny. Through tacit governmental approval, it compels individual workers to violate their own consciences and forces them to conform to the dictates of others, at the threat of lost employment -- or no employment. In the process, forced unionization destroys the integrity of the very unions it supposedly benefits, and undermines the economy on which we all depend. Whether by referendum or by legislation, the time is long overdue for Montana to stand for the common people's right to work. Like Jefferson, let's place our faith and trust in individual freedom, and be eternally hostile toward public policies that tyrannize over free association and free choice.

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Testimony 1

Economic Argument

Governor Racic&t mentioned economic development in his State of the state speech many times on Wednesday. It is unfortunate the Governor Racicat didn't mention Right to Work.

A Right to Work law will spur economic growth in Montana. There is ample evidence of this.

First, I would suggest to you that study after study has indicated that Right to Work state attract and create more new jobs than state that force union membership on their workers.

Second, I would suggest that the government's own statistics prove that in the last six year, Right to Work states have out-performed non-Right to Work states in every sector of Job growth.

First let me mention a few studies.

The most compelling is from the Fantus Company of Chicago. Fantus is the nation's largest and foremost industrial relocation consultant. When American business looks for new plant locations, it turns to Fantus. It handles 70% of the market.

In a study commissioned (1982) by the State of New Mexico, Fantus reported "approximately half of all firms use the presence of a Right to Work law as an initial criteria in their site search process. Because lack of a Right to Work law is often considered a reflection of an anti-business attitude at the State Legislative level, many firms eliminate (states without the law) from consideration in the first round of their selection process."

According to the "Report of the Task Force on State Economic Development" by the Center for Metropolitan Planning and Research of Johns Hopkins University, business executives view a ban on compulsory membership as a top priority in plant relocation decisions. The study shows that executives rank the presence of a Right to Work law in a tie with the potential market as the highest priority determinant of their industrial relocation decisions.

Finally, Business Week Magazine conducted a survey to find out which factors companies consider most important in selecting a new plant. It mailed questionnaires to top executive subscribers randomly selected from a national cross-section. Only executives in the following capacities were included. Chairman of the Board, President, Vice President, Owner or Partner.

This survey is extremely helpful to Montana because of our need to attract new businesses and industries. I am hopeful, that if the legislature is made aware of these priorities governing the selection of new sites, Montana will focus its efforts on meeting these priorities.

Remember, the respondents to Business Week's questionnaires

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were the top executive in American Business, the people who decide where new plants will be located. The most important question in the survey was: "If your company were selecting a new plant site, which of the following considerations would be important in selecting the specific area or site?" 51%, over half, answered a Right to Work state. This was the <u>highest</u> response given of any characteristic of the state itself.

It should be abundantly clear that study after study indicates that when companies are considering a move, states without Right to Work laws are at a significant disadvantage.

But not only do the studies show this -- the governments own statistics prove it.

The governments own statistic illustrate that Right to Work states hold a substantial competitive advantage over non-Right to Work states.

According to the Dept. of Labor, between the year 1987 and 1992 Right to Work states have created 7% more non-agricultural jobs, 8.8% more manufacturing jobs, 10.5% more service jobs and 4.3% more construction jobs.

And unemployment has averaged almost 1% lower in Right to Work state that non-Right to Work states. That around 8,000 jobs in Montana.

Finally, what does the governments statistic say about Montana as compared with Idaho, the nations last state to pass Right to Work (1985)? During the same six year period I have been speaking of --Idaho has created 9.1% more non-agricultural jobs than Montana. 12.5% more manufacturing jobs. 5.4% more service jobs. And 11.7% more construction jobs. It is clear that Right to Work has been a substantial factor in these statistics.

To sum up -- Montana now has a tremendous opportunity to increase it's attractiveness to American Business, create Jobs, lower unemployment and compete with our neighbors who have Right to Work, by passing Representative Jore's, HB 123 -- the Right to Work bill. Every year that goes by without a Right to Work law is costing North jobs, a broader tax base, and most important personal freedom.

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Mister Chairman and members of the committee, as a 14 year member of the Communication Workers of America, I am well familiar with the evils of forced unionism. I am also aware of the economic hardships compulsary unionism places on the families of Montana. Let me share with you some examples of these economic hardships and explain how they may be cured by passage of Rep. Jore's bill.

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THE A	110 West 13th Street, P.O. Box 1176, Helena, Montana 59624	406 440 4700

406-442-1708

TESTIMONY OF DON JUDGE, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, MONTANA STATE AFL-CIO, IN OPPOSITION TO HOUSE BILL 123, BEFORE THE HOUSE BUSINESS AND LABOR COMMITTEE JANUARY 13, 1995

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, for the record, my name is Don Judge and I'm here today to represent the Montana Sate AFL-CIO in opposition to House Bill 123, the so-called "Workers' Freedom Act". I realize that the committee has established a limited amount of time for both proponents and opponents to appear and present verbal testimony and in that interest I will not read my testimony in its entirety, but will submit it to the committee for your consideration.

In previous discussion with the Chairman of this committee, I agreed that it would be in the best interest of this process to encourage our members and supporters to avoid any verbal outbreak or expression of concern over this issue during the hearing. Such activities only use up valuable hearing time, so I ask that the opponents of right-to-work please, in the interest of getting more individuals to the mike, hold any extemporaneous comments or outbursts.

Secondly, Mr. Chairman, we agreed that it would be appropriate for the many citizens who have traveled to Helena, early in the morning, forgoing a day of work, who will not have time to present verbal testimony to the committee, to stand and visually be counted amongst the opponents, and I would ask that they do so now.

Thirdly, Mr. Chairman, we agreed that some orderly coordination of individuals wishing to testify in opposition might help expedite the process and, ultimately, provide greater opportunity for more individuals to speak to this committee. In light of our discussion, we have been compiling a list of those folks who have contacted our office, or whom we have heard from others wish to testify, and would appreciate the committee's indulgence in allowing them to testify in the following order. We have asked these individuals to please limit their testimony to one minute, and, if they wish, to provide more lengthy testimony to the committee in writing.

We are also encouraging those people who have traveled to Helena to take this opportunity to visit with their representatives before returning home. Labor lobbyists have volunteered to assist you in locating your representative and will be available outside the hearing room following these proceedings.

With that, Mr. Chairman, please accept my written testimony in opposition to HB 123, the so-called "Workers' Freedom Act" and understand that the more than 42,000 households that make up the AFL-CIO in Montana stand united in opposition to this anti-union, anti-worker legislation.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, to best understand labor's opposition to so-called right-towork, you need to understand who labor really is. It's not the "labor bosses" or "fat-cat labor leaders" or sometimes "goons" or "thugs" that some proponents of right-to-work would have you believe. No, labor, or "the unions" are really the people you meet, and greet, every day on the street, on the job, or even here in the capitol of our great state.

They are the postal workers, the mail handlers and letter carriers who deliver your mail.

They are the carpenters, ironworkers, plumbers and pipefitters, electricians, operating engineers, boilermakers, sheetmetal workers, roofers, laborers, teamsters, plasterers, cement finishers, bricklayers, painters and others who build and maintain our roads, bridges, buildings, water systems, waste disposal systems, power generation and transmission systems, dams, highways, homes ... and more.

They are the oil, chemical and atomic workers, paperworkers, aluminum workers, lumber, production and industrial workers, mine workers, steelworkers, grain millers, bakery workers, sheep shearers, machinists, wood workers, and others, who extract and refine our state's abundant natural resources and mill the products produced by our state's largest industry ... agriculture.

They are the transportation workers, rail workers, pilots, mechanics, flight attendants, communications workers, electrical workers, teamsters, bus drivers, maintenance of way and signalmen who provide the transportation and communications industries with the expertise needed to efficiently, and safely transport people, cargo and communications over our vast network of rail lines, highways and telecommunications infrastructure.

They are the clerks, cooks, bartenders, waiters and waitresses, maids, custodians, meatcutters, bakers, and more, who you see every day in our groceries, restaurants, retail stores, bars. motels and taverns.

They are the fire fighters, police, deputies, prison guards, highway patrol, investigators, auditors and others who are charged with protection of the public's safety, enforcement of the public's laws and collection of the public's treasury.

They are the school teachers, aides, bus drivers, cooks, clerks, accountants, playground supervisors and custodians who make Montana's public education system one of the very best in the entire country.

They are the nurses, orderlies, physician assistants, nurses aides, lab technicians, emergency responders, nursing home attendants and many more who account for one of the world's finest health care systems.

They are the public employees, who care for our state's disadvantaged, protect the quality of our state's air, water and land, carry out the state's business, as directed by this legislative body, plow the state's highways, operate and maintain the infrastructures of our cities, counties and towns, process our motor vehicle applications, and on, and on.

In short, organized labor, or "the unions" as others would say, are your neighbors, your friends, people you see in church, at high school sporting events, on the highways, the byways, the hospitals, schools, post office, airplanes, trains, factories and, in fact, almost everywhere you go. So for those who would argue that passage of so-called right-to-work is necessary to curb the power of the "union bosses", "union goons", or "union thugs", think again ... what they are asking you to do is vote against the interests of your neighbors, your relatives and your friends.

Unions are not "top down" organizations, as some right-to-work proponents would have you believe. They are, in fact, recognized world-wide as perhaps one of the most democratic institutions in existence. Free trade unions have been invaluable in our country's efforts to end communism and totalitarianism in the world. One only needs to recount the history of Poland to understand the role played by the trade union movement "Solidarity". And the breakup of the Soviet Union was inspired by striking coal miners and transportation workers. In South Africa, the free trade union movement was key to bringing about an end to apartheid. In all of these cases, the will to fight for democracy and freedom came not from the dictates of any labor leader, but from the hearts and the minds of working men and women who were seeking better lives for themselves and their children.

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In the free trade union movement, election of officers to handle the administrative affairs of the organizations is done by a democratic vote of the membership. The level of dues to be paid by the membership is decided upon, democratically, by the members themselves. The contents of a collective bargaining agreement is determined by the membership. Strikes, boycotts, and other concerted activities are decided upon by the membership. Unusual arbitration costs, litigation, employee or affiliate assistance is handled through direction given by the membership.

Decisions about political candidates, issues, charitable contributions and affiliations are determined in accordance with direction from the membership. In some cases, super-majority, or second-affirmation votes are needed to proceed to any action.

Constitutions and conventions are determined by democratically chosen delegations representing the respective memberships of the affiliated organizations.

Clearly, unions are not "top down" organizations. They are just the opposite, a clear reflection of democratic decision making where the leaders are simply the messengers, carrying out the missions dictated to them by the membership.

Now I'd like to address specific provisions of House Bill 123. Let me begin by saying that this legislation destroys democracy in the work place. It would, by law, prohibit the inclusion of any union security or agency security provisions in any collective bargaining agreement reached in Montana after July 1, 1995 (NEW SECTIONS 4, 6, 7 and 12). This prohibition would prevent negotiation of such a provision even if the entire bargaining unit wanted such a clause and the employer concurred. So much for democracy.

Union dues (or agency fees) are used to defray the costs of negotiating a collective bargaining agreement, administering the agreement and enforcing the terms of the agreement. Arbitrations, grievances, informational publications, membership organization, education and a host of other union related activities (authorized by the membership) may also come from this revenue source.

In some cases, apprenticeship and training programs which are jointly funded by management and labor come from union dues, as well. Administration of in-plant labor-management committees or health and safety committees may also find funding in union dues or agency fees. These last three functions clearly provide benefit to Montana employers as well as employees by providing qualified workers to perform the work, exploring cost saving, production improving methods to help make employers more competitive, and reducing Workers' Compensation and employee training costs associated with workplace accidents and injuries.

Federal law REQUIRES that private sector unions represent all members in a collective bargaining unit equally, without regards to the union membership of such workers. That's a federal mandate that no amount of state tinkering can fix. In other words, even if the legislature suggested that only workers belonging to the union could get the benefits and protections of a collective bargaining agreement, it would be illegal to do so under federal law.

Section 14 of House Bill 123 would attempt to amend Montana's Collective Bargaining Act for Public Employees by removing the obligation of the employee representative to represent any employee who chooses not to join or pay agency fees to the union. Section 15 would provide that the terms of a a collective bargaining agreement would be invalid as it pertained to any employee choosing not to belong to the union.

Both of these Sections seem to fly in the face of new Section 7, which prohibits employers from discriminating against any employee who chooses not to belong to the union. On the one hand, HB 123 says that the terms of an agreement do not pertain to a non-union employee, and on the other, it says that it is unlawful for an employer to refuse to provide the benefits of that agreement to a non-union worker. Seems a bit awkward, doesn't it?

In addition to this ambiguous language, can you imagine the havoc that would be generated in the administration of our state's pay and classification plan which requires standardization of pay throughout the state workforce should House Bill 123 pass? How would the proponents suggest addressing the inconsistency of paying workers performing the same job different rates of pay depending upon union membership?

We believe that these "free rider" provisions of House Bill 123 are akin to suggesting that even though you, as a legislative body, might determine through the democratic process that all citizens of Montana should pay certain taxes to defray the costs of government, any one individual could object and simply choose not to do so. It would be hard to imagine our law enforcement officers checking every vehicle to identify whether or not the driver had paid his taxes for the privilege of using our roads, or breathing clean air, drinking clean water or attending our public schools, all of which constitute but a fraction of the services provided by government and paid for by our tax dollars.

Now imagine, if you will, the burden placed upon our local county attorneys and the state attorney general in new Section 11 of the bill. This section REQUIRES investigation and prosecution of any complaints of violations of various sections of the bill. The cost is borne by the citizens of Montana, and the displacement of other, more important cases by an over-burdened judicial system could be traumatic! And the question comes to mind, what for?

What are some of the arguments that fuel the drive for so-called right-to-work?

Some supporters suggest that disgruntled union members have no recourse to address complaints against officers of his or her union. On the contrary, a union's constitution and by laws make provisions for presenting charges and pursuing investigation of such complaints, and, if charges are substantiated, the penalties to be applied. In organizations like the AFL-CIO, persons convicted of felonies are prohibited from holding union office.

Contrary to charges that members have no means of addressing payments of dues for purposes with which they disagree, union members have the right, under both federal and state law, to request that payment of their union dues or agency fees be diverted to a non-union, charitable organization in the event that such individuals have bona-fide religious objections to belonging to a labor organization or certain positions taken by the labor organization that conflict with bona-fide religious objections.

In other words, union membership in both the private and public sector is regulated by state and federal law which provides certain protections to employees, guaranteeing that their bona-fide religious objections are considered when establishing payment of union dues or agency fees.

If unions are already regulated by state and federal law to protect the individual rights of employees, and if decisions regarding elections of officers, adoption of constitutions and by-laws, contents of collective bargaining agreements, involvement in concerted activities, donations to worthy causes and other such issues are determined by the membership through the democratic process, what makes rightto-work so attractive to its supporters?

The arguments most often cited as reasons to adopt a right-to-work law are to end the abusive powers of "labor bosses, goons and thugs", protect individual rights regarding freedom of association, and to promote economic activity by leveling the playing field with other states which already have right-to-work laws.

In response, I hope that I have been able to describe for you the obviously democratic process by which these "labor bosses, goons and thugs" are selected by the membership of the local unions. It's not a lot different than the process by which your legislative leadership is chosen (you'll note I didn't call them bosses, goons or thugs). And just as you vest powers in your legislative leadership to carry out their responsibilities, so is such power conveyed to democratically elected labor leadership to carry out the duties and responsibilities of their offices.

As to the argument that so-called right-to-work is needed to protect the rights of individuals, again, this is a specious charge. After all, an individual's rights to freedom of association are, in fact, protected to the extent that religious objections are considered and honored. What is at stake here is the right of workers to engage in the democratic process of joining together to form and maintain a viable, effective labor organization.

If we are to defend one principle in our country's great traditions, it should be the right to engage in governance by democracy, free from interference, restraint or coercion.

Finally, to suggest that Montanans would be better off economically by leveling the playing field with our surrounding right-to-work states is to ignore, almost entirely, the facts.

As Governor Racicot so aptly pointed out in his state of the state address, Montana's economy is on the rebound. Our unemployment rate of 4.9% is well below the national average of 5.4%, and has been steadily falling. At the same time, Idaho's unemployment rate is now at 6.5% and has seen four consecutive months of increases.

Montana's hourly wage and weekly wage continue to be the highest in the five-state area including our four neighboring right-to-work states.

Montana's state budget is blessed with a surplus; our construction industry is experiencing a period of rapid growth; our population, if counted now, would entitle us to two representatives in the U.S. House of Representatives; businesses are looking to locate facilities in Montana ... all in all, things are looking up for our state.

So again we ask, why so-called right-to-work?

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The only logical answer is that right-to-work is intended to weaken the power of unions to effectively represent the working men and women of Montana.

With weaker unions, wages are lower, workers' compensation and unemployment compensation protections are inferior, worker protection laws are weaker, tax support for public education is lower, fewer workers are covered by health care insurance and pension provisions not as prevalent.

We do not believe that these things are what Montanans want for the working families in our state.

As Governor Racicot pointed out in his address, we need to strengthen Montana's families, not weaken them.

Labor believes that one way to encourage stronger, more secure families is by providing good paying jobs, fair benefits and pensions to ensure quality of life in retirement. So-called right-to-work impedes our efforts to attain these goals for working men and women, and we hope that you will agree.

It's ironic that Montana's legislature, on the eve of the celebration of Martin Luther King's Birthday, would be considering adoption of a law Dr. King felt abhorrent to the principles of humanity. Dr. King believed so strongly in the right of working men and women to band together freely and to engage in meaningful collective bargaining that he sacrificed his life for the cause. Dr. King was assassinated while addressing a rally of striking workers. So strongly did he believe in peaceful resolution of disputes, and the power of meaningful collective bargaining not only to resolve such disputes but to lift people up from poverty into meaningful, productive lives, that he gave his own for the cause.

It is our hope that this legislature will not tarnish the memory of Dr. King by making Motiona the twenty-second of a minority of states to adopt a so-called right-to-work law.

Finally, we encourage the legislature to set aside this ill-conceived legislation and focus, instead, upon the positive energies of the citizens of our state. What a waste it would be for business and labor to engage in a protracted debate over the virtues of a law which would surely be suspended pending a decision of the voters in 1996. We have an opportunity to take advantage of Montana's growing economy to lift the lives of all of the citizens of our state. We encourage you not to set the stage for battle, but to reject politics of division in favor of cooperation towards a better Montana for everyone.

We urge your rejection of House Bill 123.

Thank you.

LUMBER, PRODUCTION & INDUSTRIAL WORKERS



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UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA BONNER, MONTANA 59823

ADDRESS OF WRITER

WRITTEN TESTIMONY ON BEHALF OF LUMBER, PRODUCTION AND INDUSTRIAL WORKERS UNION; LOCAL 3038, AFL-CIO FOR THE MONTANA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES' HEARING ON H.B. 123 "WORKER FREEDOM ACT"

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am Keith Bomstad, President of Lumber, Production and Industrial Workers; Local Union #3038. There are many reasons why our 450 members do not support or want Right-to-Work Laws as proposed in H.B.123 - The Worker Freedom Act. The term "Right-to-Work" has been determined an inappropriate definition by the State Supreme Courts of both Idaho and Washington in regard to the real meaning of the term. Therefore, proponents have had to refer to phrases such as the "Worker Freedom Act" to mask the true intent of the legislation.

Right-to-work laws state that no one has to pay union dues, no matter how much they benefit from union wages and benefits. Such laws prohibit agency shops, union shops, and exclusive representation by holding that no one has to pay dues to unions. Right-to-work laws even maintain that bosses and affected employees cannot agree to a contract which shares the cost of collective bargaining among all the workers who benefit.

Many companies agree to union security clauses so that their workforce would be all union; they understand that a good contract with a good union is good business. However, under right-to-work language, these good business practices simply are not allowed.

America's labor unions are among the most democratic institutions in the world. The majority rules, pure and simple. Right to work laws let the minority rule. Even the term "right-to-work" is misleading. "Right-to-work" does not give workers any rights, and it does not create any benefits.

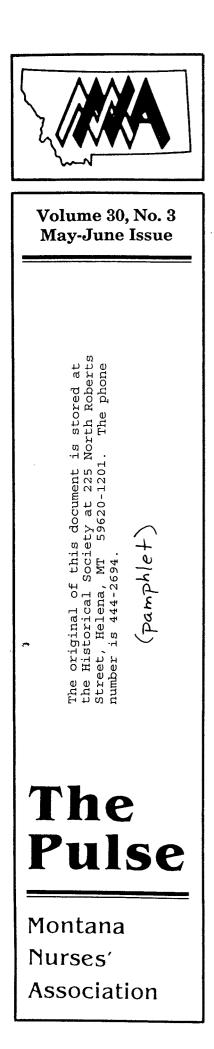
Many people wish to be in a union, especially when unsafe conditions exist in the workplace. Here in Montana, that wish has come true for thousands of workers in all corners of the state. The presence of unions has helped to improve wages, benefits, and overall working conditions for everyone, even those who work without union representation.

The people who support right-to-work are full of promises. They talk about creating jobs, promoting economic development, and building a better economy for everyone, including workers. But evidence from existing right-to-work states indicates that they don't deliver. In fact, these states generally are worse off than the free collective bargaining states.

It is difficult to make a fair comparison from one state to another, but overall comparisons between right-to-work states and free collective bargaining states provide interesting and alarming statistics. Generally, the economics of right-to-work states are marked by lower wages at all levels, lower benefits, worse working conditions, and limited workers' rights. Beyond the workplace, right-to-work states generally do worse in such areas as spending on education, the war on poverty, and commitment to civil liberties. Right-to-work laws hurt everyone's wages, not just union members' wages. An excellent way to see this is to compare state minimum wage laws throughout the nation.

In summary, because of the fact that all workers benefit from the existence of unions, whether or not they belong to a union and whether or not they pay dues; because unions are democratic institutions; and because wages, benefits, working conditions, economic conditions, and social conditions which exist in right-to-work states are evidence enough that Montana should not become such a state, we again urge the committee to oppose H.B. 123.

Thank you on behalf of L.P.I.W. Local #3038.



White House Health Care Reform Briefing

By: Peggy Mussehl, MN, RNC ANA Board of Directors

The Cherry blossoms were in full bloom, as 100,000 people lined Pennsylvania Ave. to view the Cherry Blossom Parade. The day afterwards, 120 nurses & social workers took their place in the Executive Office Building, next door to the White House for another turn at a hearing for the President's approach to Health Reform.

The President's staff included representatives from the Public Health Service, a Special Assistant to the President for Policy Coordination, a Deputy Assistant Secretary for Health, a Principle Deputy Assistant Secretary for Planning, a Special Assistant to the VP & Mrs. Gore's Chief of Staff, a Senior Policy Analyst from the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Health, and the Chief Nurse Officer from the Public Health Service. Where were Hillary and Bill, we asked??? They were out on the road with their attempts to convince the public that they have a good plan for Health Care Reform.

It was a real honor to be one of the ANA Board members asked to be in on this briefing. I think I was chosen because of being from Montana, with our unique plans and problems in delivering health care services here.

Our day consisted of overviews of the Clinton Health Security Plan, a discussion of the Public Health Infrastructure, a Legislative overview, techniques on how to deliver the President's message on Health Care Reform to the public, and breakout sessions in the afternoon on topics such as: Mental Health and Substance Abuse, Nursing Workforce Issues, Vulnerable Populations, and Service Delivery models. Oh, yes – we also got samples of "The Card" we may all carry in the future.

EXHIBIT______ DATE_________

A wonderful lunch was served by White House staffers in the Indian Treaty Room, and you could almost feel the ghosts of the past when this room was used for treaties and War Dept. plans.

The last hour of the day was spent listening to Philip Lee, MD, the Assistant Secretary for Health, Dept. of HHS. He had just returned from a visit to the IHS in Billings and the Crow Reservation in Montana. He was amazed about the basic health problems of the Native Americans that were discussed - water, housing, and access to medical care. He was startled to know that these basic needs of all Americans were not being met even here in beautiful Montana. He pledged to increase the IHS staffing by five-fold, and to attack these basic problems.

It had rained most of the day, but the feelings I had during the day, were one of awe, to think this staff nurse from Montana was actually sitting in the Capitol of our Nation, listening to a plan for the future that is intended to ease the health care crisis in this country. I was so proud to be a Nurse, and to be a Player at the table. If I can share with you any of the information I learned that day, please feel free to call me, through the MNA Office.



Montana Nurses' Association

P.O. Box 5718 • Helena, Montana 59604 • 442-6710

EXHIBIT.	8
DATE	1-13-95
HB	123

HB 123

January 13, 1995

My name is Ray Linder. I am the Labor Relations Director for the Montana Nurses' Association, 104 Broadway - Suite G2, Helena, 59601.

The Association appears in opposition to HB 123 - "...the workers' freedom act..." This bill takes away freedom from employees to collectively bargain with an employer concerning a union security clause.

- * A union security clause, achieved through collective bargaining, ensures that each employee bears a fair share of the union's costs. In contrast, in "right-to-work" states, or under contracts that do not contain a union security clause, some employees are free riders on the coattails of the other employees who do contribute.
- * If a union wants to enforce a union security clause, the union must notify the employee of the obligation. If an employee objects to paying the union's full initiation fee and dues, the employee can be required to pay only that portion of the fee and dues used for collective bargaining functions including bargaining, contract administration, and grievance adjustment functions pertaining to that employee's bargaining unit. [Communication Workers v. Beck, 108 S. Ct. 2641, 128 LRRM 2729 (1988); American Federation of Teachers (Chicago Teachers Union Local 1) v. Hudson, 475 U.S. 292, 121 LRRM 2793 (1986)]
- * The National Labor Relations Act prohibits any union from forcing any employee to become a member.

<u>United Mine Workers of America</u>

LOCAL



1575^{EXHIBIT} 1-13-95 DATE HB_

Greetings Mr. Speaker & Members of the Committee,

My name is Ken Treib and I am here as the Montana State COMPAC Chairman for District 15 United Mine Workers of America and as a working member of Local 1575.

I wish to express our opposition to the legislation to introduce "right to work" in Montana. We have worked for many years in this State without the need for right to work laws and we feel it would place extreme hardships on the hard working men and women who work here.

We have seen the adverse effects of right to work laws in states surrounding Montana; the most prevalent being the influx of people to our state because they can't make enough money in their right to work for less states to support their families.

States that have tried right to work have often ended up with high unemployment and little wage growth; Idaho and Louisiana are two examples. Idaho's unemployment rate was 7.9% in 1985 and rose to 8.7% in 1986 after the law went into effect. In 1976, Louisiana became a right to work state, and over the next 10 years unemployment almost doubled from 6.8% to 13.1%.

When wages fall, our total tax revenues fall and that means fewer dollars for education at all levels.

Right to work laws sound attractive, but the fact is they don't give anyone the right to work, the right to a job, or anything except the right to work for less.

Please help us to keep our way of life, and let's keep Montana "The Last Best Place".

Thank you.

Ken Treib

FACT SHEET

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RIGHT-TO-WORK

- 1. Right-to-Work laws sound attractive, but the fact is they don't give anyone the right to work, the right to a job, or the right to anything else.
- 2. States that have tried "right-to-work" have often ended up with high unemployment and little wage growth, Idaho and Louisiana are two examples. Idaho's unemployment rate was 7.9% in 1985 and rose to 8.7% in 1986 after the law went into effect. In 1976 Louisiana became a right-to-work state, and over the next ten years, its unemployment rate almost doubled -- from 6.8% to 13.1%.
- 3. Most Right-to-Work states have average wages that are below the national average. Based on U.S. Department of Labor data, the average yearly wage is \$2,098 less in Rightto-Work states than in free collective bargaining states.
- 4. When wages fall, our total tax revenues fall. That means fewer dollars for education at all levels.
- 5. A higher percentage of students in Right-to-Work states consistently score in the bottom half of the nation on standardized tests.
- 6. The fact is "right-to work" laws don't attract business and jobs. Business decision makers told <u>Business Week</u> that 19 other issues were more important and only 10 percent of businesses even considered "right-to-work" according to Fantus Corporation, the nation's largest business location consulting firm.
- 7. Right-to-Work laws interfere with free collective bargaining by forbidding such arrangements, even if the affected employees and the employer agree to a union security clause.
- 8. Employees in free collective bargaining states have far better health insurance, pensions, holiday and vacation benefits.
- 9. In its 30 years of existence, the National Right-to-Work Committee has spent \$130 million in over 100 attempts to enact "right-to-work" laws. Yet, despite all the money and efforts during that period, it has been successful only four times. Ninety-six percent of the time the people have seen through the deception.
- 10. Simply stated, the National Right-to-Work Committee exists to achieve one objective to weaken employee associations and unions so they will be less effective in assisting their members. Right-to-Work laws do that by denying unions the funds needed to negotiate, service and enforce contracts.

1426 Cedar Street

P.O. Box 5600

Helena, Montana 59604

PUBLIC

EMPLOYEES

ASSOCIATION

MONTANA

Telephone (406) 442-4600 Toll Free 1-800-221-3468

EXHIBIT_____ DATE 1-13-95 122 HB____

January 12, 1995

TO: Honorable House Business and Labor Committee

FROM: Thomas E. Schneider, Executive Director

The Montana Public Employees Association is an independent union with 6700 members. Independent means that we are not part of an international union and our dues money does not leave Montana. Our membership covers state, city, county, university and non-teaching school district employees. We have members in every legislative district except HD 98.

Being an organization of all Montana public employees we are covered by the "Montana Public Employees Collective Bargaining Act." That act does not allow "union shop agreements" only "agency shop agreements" and then only when it is negotiated and ratified. We are only allowed to charge employees who choose not to become members the <u>direct</u> cost of negotiating and servicing a collective bargaining agreement. MPEA is incorporated which means that NO DUES MONEY can be used for political purposes.

We are opposed to House Bill 123. In the public sector, employees in areas covered by collective bargaining agreements will get the majority of the benefits negotiated by the members of the union because of the uniformity demanded by state and federal laws. This means that the dues paid by hardworking union members will have to be higher to pay for the free loaders. The current law only allows the union to collect from a non union employee what it is obligated to pay for in direct representation costs. That is a good system and has worked well for the past twenty two years in Montana. Please leave it in place and vote to table HB 123. Thank you for your consideration.

> Eastern Region P.O. Box 22093 Billings, MT 59104 (406) 245-2252

Western Region P.O. Box 4874 Missoula, MT 59806 (406) 251-2304

MPEA



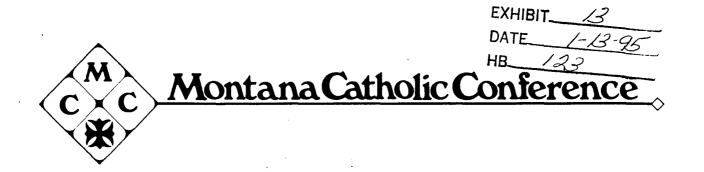
EXHIBIT 12 DATE 1-13-95

Mr. Chairman, members of the House Business and Labor Committee. My name is Terry Minow. I represent the Montana Federation of Teachers/Montana Federation of State Employees/Montana Federation of Health Care Employees. I appear today in opposition to HB 123.

Mr. Chairman, although we hear a lot of talk about "Right-to-Work," the real issue is collective bargaining. Collective bargaining is working well in the state of Montana. We have 87 contracts in our union alone, and every two years those contracts are successfully opened and renegotiated. Collective bargaining is a positive process that brings management and workers together so that we can have a meeting of the mind over how both parties will conduct themselves under the terms of the mutually agreed upon contract.

We are particularly pleased with the progress we've recently been able to make through collective bargaining with the state of Montana and the university system. Negotiations is a means of communication--and as the Governor stressed in his State of the State Address, communication is essential. At the Prison, bargaining has helped implement the unit manager system. At the University of Montana, collaborative bargaining addressed student access and graduation rates as well as faculty pay. At prebudget negotiations for state employees, the tentative agreement reached will improve Montana's quality of services while making state employee pay more equitable.

Once again, thank you for giving me the opportunity to appear before your committee in favor of collective bargaining. With the Chairman's permission, I would like to give the committee copies of the national American Federation of Teachers newspaper, On Campus, which features the collaborative bargaining process pioneered in Montana.



January 13, 1995 -

Simon Chairman Chairm

The Church's social teaching in the modern period dates from 1891, when Pope Leo XIII in the encyclical letter, *The Condition of Labor ("Rerum Novarum")*, spoke out against the inhuman conditions which were the normal plight of working people in industrial societies. Because of the principles Pope Leo XIII set forth to guide the formation of a just society, this document has become known as the *Magna Carta* for a humane economic and social order.

Catholic teaching has consistently supported workers' rights to organize and participate in decisions that affect their livelihood. Pope John Paul II when writing *Centesimus Annus*, in celebration of the 100-year anniversary of Rerum Novarum, strongly affirmed the "right to establish professional associations" and "the Church's defense and approval" of trade unions. "The role of trade unions in negotiating minimum salaries and working conditions is decisive..." (15) The Pope also refers to the role of unions, "not only in negotiating contracts, but also as 'places' where workers can express themselves. They serve the development of an authentic culture of work and help workers to share in a fully human way in the life of their place of employment."

Through their association in trade unions, workers in this country have brought about major improvements in our way of life. Such improvements can be seen in the



legislation which established health and retirement programs, made American factories safer, ended child labor and established the 40-hour work week. Through associations in unions American workers have set the standards for wages which made it possible for us to adequately and responsibly care for our families, educate our children, provide for sound health care and retirement, and invest in our home communities.

We ask the committee to protect the right of working men and women to organize and be heard by assigning "do not pass" to HB123.

Thank you.

EXHIBIT____ DATE 1-13-95 HB_

Statement on House Bill 123, Worker Freedom Act

House Business and Labor Committee hearing, Jan. 13, 1995

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Pat Clinch and I represent the members of the Montana Council of Professional Fire Fighters. I'm strongly opposed to passage of House Bill 123, the so-called right-to-work bill.

Fire fighters across the state understand that right-to-work is totally mis-named and actually has nothing to do with their rights or freedoms. They're already guaranteed to us by the state and federal constitutions, and by the contracts mutually agreed upon by fire fighters and their employers.

What right-to-work really means is the right to earn less and the right for citizens to get less professional help when they call for the fire truck, the rescue truck or the extrication gear.

Employers who aren't willing to sit down and talk with the workers about fair wages and working conditions usually aren't much more interested in things like worker training, equipment maintenance and departmental professionalism.

We don't want Montana to go down that path. We want to keep our high standards, our fair wages, and our right to bargain collectively -- and that isn't likely to happen if you pass a right-to-work law. We urge you to vote no on House Bill 123.

Thank you.

SAMANTHA SANCHEZ EXHIBIT. Testimony of Scott Crichton on HB 123 DATE_____ Before the House Committee on Business and Labor HB______ Friday, January 13, 1995

SAMANTILA SANCHEZ

123

Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee, for the record, I am Sectr Crichton, a member of the Montana Family Union and the Laborers International Union of North America. Due to the limited time available for testimony, I have been asked by the following Montana organizations to register their strong opposition to this so-called "right to work" bill:

American Civil Liberties Union of Montana

Montana Low Income Coalition

Montana Senior Citizens Association

Montana Alliance for Progressive Policy

Montana Trial Lawyers Association

Montana Peoples' Action

Montana Community Labor Alliance

On behalf of the listed organizations, I urge you to vote do not pass on House Bill 123.

EXHIBIT15	
DATE 1-13.95	_
HB/23	

Statement in opposition to House Bill 123, The Worker Freedom Act House Business and Labor Committee hearing, Jan. 13, 1995

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I'm Johnny Monahan from Ironworkers Local 841 in Great Falls, and I oppose this bill.

Right-to-work supporters talk alot about their victory in Idaho, but if you look at the facts, there's nothing to crow about over in Idaho.

Montana workers in manufacturing and industrial jobs -- like ironworkers -- have for years earned more for their families than their Idaho counterparts. Right-to-work has been no good for Idaho's production workers -- they rank 26th in the nation, compared to Montana's rank of 10th.

That means a lot more money from paychecks going into Main Street cash registers on payday.

And just in case you think Idaho is an exception to the right-to-work-for-LESS trend, our other neighbors -- all right-to-work states -- rank even lower than Idaho:

-- Wyoming is 34th; -- North Dakota is 45th; and -- South Dakota is 51st -- dead last.

I hope you'll see the wisdom of not putting Montana at the bottom of that list with the rest of the region. Please say "no" to right-to-work, and say "yes" to keeping Montana's industrial wages among the best in the nation.

Thank you.

Montana......\$12.21/hr....10th Idaho.....\$11.42/hr....26th Wyoming.....\$11.08/hr....34th N. Dakota.....\$ 9.61/hr....45th S. Dakota.....\$ 8.84/hr....51st (includes D.C.)

Source: U.S. Department of Labor

EXHIBIT 16 DATE 1-13-95 HB_ 123 Vern Balmje - Nge - Opposed HB 123 1- As a Bifth generali - Monta a fourth generation Mont. 3-As the grandlaughter of Elizabeth Balancie the Birst womants recieve Sminer's death benefit a uno in the United States - a union negotiated benefit, Q specific apposit to HB 123 Jean Beln jo-Ng 321 O'Connell Dr Lolo, M-1 59847 January 13, 1995 el Speaking as prevate Drit citizen Mart ___ Educ, Asso

EXHIBIT____ DATE HB_

TESTIMONY IN OPPOSITION TO HB 123--WORKERS FREEDOM ACT---

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

My name is Pamela Miller and I am from Butte. I am a working woman and have been a union member for over 24 years. I consider the union dues that I have paid over those 24 years to be one of the best investments I have ever made. Because of the strength of its membership and the financial backing of its members, my union has been able to negotiate contracts which provided good wages, health benefits and a pension plan, among other benefits, for myself and my fellow union members. As a union member, I am fully aware that unions are one of the most democratic institutions in the world. As a member of United Food and Commercial Workers International Union I have the right and the freedom to vote for the officers of my union, the amount of dues I pay, the provisions of the contract under which I work and even the right and the freedom to vote for the elimination of the union from my workplace. Under the provisions of the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947 the federal government guarantees that the majority of workers within a workplace shall decide whether or not that workplace will be represented by a union or not.

Two days ago Governor Racicot addressed the people of the great state of Montana and one of the proposals he announced during his address was that of a constitutional amendment prohibiting the state from imposing unfunded mandates on local governments. House Bill 123 imposes an unfunded mandate upon union members of this state. Federal law requires unions to provide the same benefits and services to members and nonmembers alike thereby requiring responsible, dues-paying union members to fund the service and benefits provided to the non-paying free-riders who want something for nothing.

Business associations and professional or occupational organizations enhance their markets and consolidate their clout to achieve common goals. Such organizations require the payment of fees for representation. The Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Independent Businessmen represent the interests of their <u>paying</u> members. Even the YMCA requires membership fees in exchange for the use of their programs and facilities. A labor union is an organization of employees joined together to consolidate their ability to achieve common goals. Why should they be treated any differently ?

By virtue of your election to this legislative body, you have been entrusted by the people of this state with the responsibility to govern wisely. The U.S. Census Bureau and the Department of Labor have compiled numerous statistics comparing economy, average hourly wages, infant mortality rates, poverty rates, support for public schools and numerous other factors and conditions of state economies. Free Bargaining States rank better in all categories than Right to Work States. Please use your wisdom and your resources for the benefit of all working Montanans--do not condemn union members to bear the burden of an unfunded welfare mandate--the support and representation on non-paying free-loaders who will accomplish nothing more than the weakening and destruction of our labor unions. Please **do not support House Bill 123.** Thank you.

EXHIBIT. DATE HR

Good morning Mr. Chairman and Committee. My name is Rondy Crawford and I am with the Boilermakers Union.

I am here today to oppose any right-to-work law for the State of Montana. Mr. Chairman, right-to-work laws sound deceptively attractive, but the fact is they do not give anyone the right to work, the right to a job, or the right to a fair wage.

In a collective bargaining contract, right-to-work laws keep employees from participating in the agreement process by not allowing voice or vote to their working conditions and wage and benefit scales. The only employees who have voice or vote are the ones who share the cost of supporting representation.

By law the Union must represent all those employees who opt to get a free ride. But do you think the American Medical Association, your local country club, or even the National Right-to-Work Committee would allow me to participate in their organizational opportunities if I wanted a free ride? I doubt it very much!

Mr. Chairman, I have willingly been paying union dues for thirty (30) years and I can tell you this, I get a bigger bang for those dollars than I do for the many taxes I am forced to pay.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, a lot of our union members crossed party lines in the November elections looking for some radical changes in the running of our government. But I do not think when they helped elect you they anticipated that you would be out to decimate, or dismantle their unions.

Once again I urge you not to support any legislation submitted by a local or National Right-to-Work Committee.

I thank you for this consideration.

EXHIBIT____/9 DATE 1-13-9 HB_

Ladies and Gentlemen my name is Stan Dupree I am a Journeyman Lineman of 2th-years by trade. I am now the Business Mgr./Fin. Sec. for Local 44 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

I Stand in OPPOSITION TO HB 123

There is no guarantee I will keep the job I now have, I may someday return to the tools and I care deeply about what happens to my trade. I come from the rank and file of the Elec. Ind. I do not consider myself a Union Boss as the Natl. R/W committee has portrayed me. I work for our members.

I am here to ask you why we are here discussing this issue, and also to ask you to look at the true reasons behind this R/W. Do not be duped into thinking a majority of people want this bill. Anyone who advocates R/W does not understand it they think they want it because the name R/W sounds so grandiose.

R/W is a misnomer there is no right to a job that comes with R/W, God given or otherwise. If anyone Union or not believes that then that is exactly what the Nat. R/W committee is hoping for. Ask Mr. Happell where the roots of Nat. R/W stem from, if he tells you the truth he will mention the Business Rountable, the Natl. Heritage Foundation. and the ABC. If you do not know, these are organizations that are extremely anti-worker and anti-union and they will use you the people who legislate to further their goals, and they do not represent any majority anywhere but they do have lots of money.

The Nat. R/W Committee will tell you they think every person should have the right to elect to or not to be a member of a Union. Believe me when I tell you that if a majority of our members did not want a Union Security clause in our Barg. Agreements then it would'nt be in them.

I will tell you a true story of when Local 44 attempted to organize 26 Clerical workers in Billings in 1990. We bargained almost to impasse on a Union Security Clause and could not get it. although we were successful in bargaining in a Maintenance of Membership Clause which is not quite as airtight as Union Security. These 26 people informed us if we could'nt get Union Sec. then they would not be organized. They voted down an Agreement that contained anywhere from 6% to 24% increases in wages because of the Union Sec. Clause. Local 44 withdrew the petition for representation rather than put them out on strike over Union Sec.

Why did Govenor Racicot say he would VETO the bill, why did the Chamber of Comm. make a statement against it? Because they are intelligent enough to know it is a bottom line issue, money. Give it a couple of years and there will not be the same amount of money going into the cash registers across Montana. The economy will sooner or later stagnate, workers will not be able to maintain status quo with the cost of living.

R/W is designed for one thing and that is to destroy a Unions bargaining strength. This is strictly a bill for big business and has no place in Montana.

I love Montana, I take pride that Montana sits as an island amidst other states that have a sales tax and R/W. I frequently hear positive comments from travelers, tourist, workers and others regarding both R/W and sales tax.

The Montana economy presently is in good shape. I love to see Montana flourish ecomically and I ask you not to pass legislation that will have a negative affect on everyone in Montana whether Union or not. Most rank and file nonunion have historically clung to the coattails of unions as we have worked our way up the economic ladder.

If you love Montana, if you have feelings for the working man Union or non-union I urge you to vote against HB 123, the so called R/W bill.

ThankYou for a chance to speak and thank you for your time.

Stand Dupne 80 Tower Rd. Belgrade, Mr. 59714

Deorge Slueckert EXHIBIT_20 1308 Hollins DATE 1-13.95 HB__________ Helena Montana Ladies + Sentelman, I joined the firsted pans. Union in 1980 Jourd out that was the best investments - ever mont. You see after 10 faithful years with the corporation, I was unlaughely laid off. That occured in 1985. I could not find another decent paying job, so I report my wyle + 3 children by moring lawns, cleaning windows), I year aven toilets, Thank Ged my wife found a decent paying job. - contacted the state + fectoral Dept. of Labor second times, They told me to 'Keep in Touch' My Union went right to work. It was a long time + at great expresses after 8 years. The Union got my job back + this Christmas my family received good presente. the corporation, did this for my family.

Without Unions to protect us, working people, what can we do? You't wont help unlass we beg for food stamps! We need Unions to been people Al welfare. Why do we need a law that makes people beg for food or money? That is what "Right to work" laws do and If you don't believe, Look at So. Dak., Wys. & other backward societies. Please support our Yovernow Thank You

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P.01

<u>TESTIMONY</u> <u>OF</u> ROBERT G. NATELSON¹

ON HOUSE BILL 123

Mr. Chairman; Members of the Committee

FORMATIONAL TESTIMONY

Because I am recovering from surgery and cannot travel to Helena, I am submitting this brief written testimony and asking Fred Happel of Belgrade to read it aloud.

Today, proponents will present arguments for right to work. I shall respond to three arguments raised by opponents.

One argument against right to work is the "free rider" argument -- that unions represent all workers and therefore all workers should be compelled to contribute. The problem with this claim is that it has force only because labor lobbyists insist on the federal exclusive bargaining agent rule. Without that rule, there would be no free rider problem. But those lobbyists also have consistently opposed repeal of the exclusive bargaining agent rule, because it gives them an anti-competitive special privilege. So by opposing right to work on this basis, they are saying essentially that the special privilege they lobbied to get justifies their getting the further special privilege of forcing everyone to join.

A second argument against right to work is that it's "democratic" for the majority to be able to force the minority to contribute. But that's not democracy. Democracy is a form of civil governance characterized by important protections for minority rights. Democracy is not a license for any random three people to lord it over any random two -- in the workplace or anywhere else.

The third argument is being raised by Republicans in caucuses, mostly behind closed doors. It's that we don't want to embarrass the Governor. The problem with this, is that you were not elected by the Governor, but by your constituents; and your constituents didn't put you in office for you to abdicate your responsibilities to the Governor or to anyone else.

Fundamental labor reform -- including right to work -- has been adopted in many, if not most, advanced democratic countries, and in all the states surrounding Montana. It is part of a larger trend toward decentralizing power, eliminating special privileges, and encouraging competition. When I was a labor organizer we won enthusiastic worker support through competition -- that is, by representing workers better than they could represent themselves -not by resorting to force.

I urge you to set aside politics-as-usual and follow your own conscience: Enact House Bill 123.

¹ Professor of Law, University of Montana and Chairman, Montanans for Better Government. The opinions expressed are those of the author and not necessarily those of any other person or institution.

EXHIBIT_22 DATE_1-13-95 HB__123 b Mr Chairmen to all my Brothers and Sister. and respectively glas too my apponents I am Mike Gluecket and I am From the - Rank & File of Local Union # 44, IBEW Butte put and at no real importance other than I Labor For a Living I hold No office, I have the honor of being chosen to speak _ this morning, I speak from the heart, I speal - Ear all my Cabor Family here and everywhere in it's entirety. Again! The Right to work issue is raising it's cuil agenda to destroy the union's and it's collective bargaining process = 7 have been a dues paying member For 21 The shad it has been very good to me and Family

We basically are good gentle Simple hard working people getting together to negotiste our own contracts with no climate of political interference, ic to not need smark to take that well descrued we are at Americans and we want der Freedom to Gargain independently not to be threatened by out of State _political interests Mantana is it's diverse people anjow people a hard working breed of person's com all over with a kistory OF Struggles and persevence in people of

EXHIBIT______ DATE_______ _____HB__123_____ B Eine independence but gentle hearts. We are a union state which is evident in our great history, we are greenil, we are unique and are bear No animosity toward ma one. So you see and you must under stand that in which way we are, are - put would take away my union as I - Fraw it now it would give me a lower " wage Scale over time pob my benefit package and hence the wellare of our - (-amily would be reportized, 7 and all our union members and Family urge - you falks to please hear and compohend

what we are saying O They art. It. C. 123 and with all due respect to my apponent's LEt this bill or those like it rever seek these Cambers ever again. We will sqruive, and we will never go ageny! Thank you UERY much.

EXHIBIT_27 Bill Byrne DATE 1-1395 509 Hastingto 123 Missoula, Mt. 59801 To the Committee of the Right to Work" Whose Pushing Right to Work"? The out-of staters pushing "right to work" are led by the Virginia based National Right to Wark Committee, which is finded by right wing and corporate sources. It's budget for peddling "right to work" laws all over the country exceeds # 9 million annually. Simply stated the Natl Right to Work Committee existe to achieve one objective - to weaken employee associations and unions so they will be less effective in assisting their members. Right-to- work laws do that, by denying unions the funds needed to negotiate, service and enforce contracts. There are real solutions and success stories, but none of them involves right to work". Instead they all have in common, cooperation, a commitment to partnerships among employees, employers, government and education. The results of such joint efforts can be seen in California, Maryland and New Jersey. Cach has seen falling inemployment, rising numbers of new businesses increasing incomes and an overall vitality not generally matched in "right to work states. Onote "you will find some people saying that they are for the so-called night-to work law, but they also believe in unions. This is abound - its like saying you are for motherhood but against children. All quotes from AFL-CIO Publicaton No. 176-RO 590-10 I am a Leamster member since 1962 and now retired. Montana does not need the Right to Work" law. Thank you

EXHIBIT.	_24	
DATE	1-13-95	
HB	123	,

STATEMENT OF JAMES T. MULAR

BEFORE THE

MONTANA HOUSE BUSINESS & LABOR COMMITTEE JANUARY 13TH, 1995

MR. CHAIRMAN - MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE. MY NAME IS JAMES T. MULAR - I HAVE BEEN A UNION MEMBER FOR 48 YEARS. PRIOR TO MY RETIREMENT IN 1992. I HAD 45 YEARS OF RAILROAD EMPLOYMENT.

BEGINING IN 1947 - I WORKED 6 DAYS A WEEK 9 HOURS A DAY. THROUGH COLLECTIVE BARGAINING WE NEGOTIATED A 40 HOUR WORK WEEK WITH 2 DAYS OFF A WEEK.

IRONICALLY IT WAS A REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION UNDER PRESID-ENT EISENHOWER - THAT ENACTED THE UNION SHOP PROVISION TO THE RAILWAY LABOR ACT. ESTABLISHING UNIFORMITY FOR 24 RAIL LABOR UNIONS AND MANAGEMENT - TO NEGOTIATE PEACEFULL EMPLOYEE AGREE-MENTS.

HB 123 IS A BAD BILL!! IT SEEKS TO DENY MONTANA WORKERS EQUAL ECONOMIC STANDING TO BARGAIN FOR UNION SHOP AGREEMENTS WITH THEIR EMPLOYERS. UNION SHOP WORKS IN THE RAILROAD INDUSTRY AND IT CAN WORK WITH MONTANA EMPLOYERS.

THANK YOU.

James T. Mular, 440 Roosevelt Drive R l Butte, MT 59701

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EXHIBIT 25 DATE 1-13-95 HB____

STATEMENT TO MONTANA HOUSE BUSINESS AND LABOR COMMITTEE in Opposition to House Bill 123 By Dick Pattison, Secretary MONTANA SENIOR CITIZENS ASSOCIATION

Thank you for this opportunity to offer some information on House Bill 123.

A maxim of the propagandist is that if you tell a lie often enough, people will begin to believe it.

A widely held belief of Montanans, if not a maxim, is that we have too much government interference in our lives.

In HB123 we have examples of both of these ideas.

The improperly described so-called "right-to-work" has absolutely nothing to do with anyone's right to work. It is an interference on the part of government with the federally mandated duty of representatives of workers to represent employees.

Employee organizations are required under federal law to represent all employees in a collective bargaining unit, whether they are formal members of the employee organization or not.

The same federal law permits employee organizations and business owners to sit down at the bargaining table and negotiate a contract provision that each member of the employee organization make payment for the cost of such contract representation, sometimes called "dues." There is no requirement that the parties must agree to such a provision. More than 50 percent of the affected employees must agree to have that provision in any agreement.

That is democracy in action--mutual agreement, majority rule.

It also eliminates the "free ride," the idea you get something that someone else pays for and works to attain. Share the benefits--share the costs.

Then along comes HB123 which would eliminate the right of employees to decide, interfere with the collective bargaining process and create a welfare program for some workers at the expense of others. Of course in some instances the end result could be the end of the employees ability to represent themselves in discussing their pay and working conditions, as provided for under the federal law.

In 1965 the Montana legislature recognized "the big lie" and memorialized the U. S. Congress to repeal the section of federal law that permits the fallacy of "right-to-work." Gov. Tim Babcock signed that memorial, though it was not required.

Gov. Marc Racicot has recognized "the big lie" when he said he would veto such a bill, noting that Montana has too many real problems and that a bill such as HB123 would only be divisive. For the members of MSCA and for myself, I salute the wisdom of our Governor and I urge you to follow his sage advice.

Thank you.

EXHIBIT.	26
DATE	1-13-95
HB	123

G. Bruce Morris 128 South Fifth East Missoula, MT 59801

January 12, 1995

The Honorable Bruce Simon, Chair and Committee Members Business and Labor Committee House of Representatives Montana Legislature Helena, Montana

Dear Representative Simon and Committee Members:

Please accept this written testimony on House Bill #123:

I am unequivocally opposed to any form of Right to Work legislation such as HB 123. This bill is not in any way giving workers new freedoms. In fact I believe that this legislation if passed would take away rights that workers currently enjoy. Let me draw an analogy:

I am a citizen of the United States and I have the right to vote yes or no on issues regarding taxation (either directly or indirectly by electing my representatives). The result of any vote on taxation is decided by a majority of the votes cast. I am required to pay any taxes that are put in place in this manner whether or not I agree. They (taxes) are in a sense a condition of my citizenship. As a citizen I also have enumerable rights under our laws. How could this great country operate a government if I as a citizen had the 'right' to decide whether or not I was going to pay taxes? If an individual chose not to pay taxes but could retain all the rights and privileges of citizenship how many of us would voluntarily support the government and pay taxes? Not very many I would guess. How long could the government continue to protect the rights and freedoms of the people living in this land if no one (or very few) chose to pay?

Unions operate much the same as our government. That is to say they are democratic associations of workers. I as a union member vote directly in most cases on the amount of dues I shall be required to pay to the organization. Again the majority rules and I am required to pay more (or sometimes less) dues depending upon the outcome of the vote. I also have the right under the National Labor Relations Act to vote in a union to represent me. Again under the Act the majority rules. I also have the right to remove a union in my work place if a majority of my co-workers agree.

My question to Representative Jore as the sponsor of HB 123 and the Committee is "what is wrong with democracy?". Do you not believe that workers have the brains to be able to vote for or against a union? Shouldn't workers have the same rights in the work place Testimony from Bruce Morris on HB 123, page #2

that citizens have in the United States? Do you be lieve that unions brainwash workers? Do you believe that unions are bad for workers? If unions are bad for workers than why have so many fought and died to bring unions into their work place? If unions are bad for workers why is it that workers made better incomes in the 1950s and 1960s, when trade union organization was at its peak in this country, than are able to earn today?

My father was able to support a family of five in the 50s and 60s on the income of an appliance salesman. My Mother worked in the home and had no outside income. My father was able to buy a new house, a new car and save money to send his children to college and for his and my mother's retirement! I challenge you to find an appliance salesman today who can do the same things!

The bottom line is that HB 123 does not seek to grant new freedom to workers but is really designed to destroy trade unions. Destroy trade unions and you will make serfs out of all workers! Please consider the following passage from the preamble to the National Labor Relations Act (a piece of legislation that Franklin Roosevelt encouraged Congress to pass as part of his recovery plan!):

"It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to eliminate the causes of certain substantial obstructions to the free flow of commerce and to mitigate and eliminate these obstructions when they have occurred by encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and by protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing, for the purpose of negotiating the terms and conditions of their employment or other mutual aid or protection"

Please vote down HT 123. This is a bad piece of legislation and will only serve to deepen the gap between the haves and the have nots in Montana. Consider instead legislation that will further empower workers in this state so that we may through our efforts and industry improve our lot. By doing so you will help Montana be a better place to live and work!

Sincerely, L. Buce Mous'

G. Bruce Morris

EXHIBIT___

January 13,1995 MEMBERS OF HOUSE BUSINESS & LABOR COMMITTEE REP. BRUCE SIMON (CHAIR) REP. NORM MILLS (VICE-CHAIR) REP. BOB POVOLOVICH (VICE-CHAIR)

DEAR REPRESENTATIVES OF MONTANA:

As a member of the House Business & Labor Committee I am asking that you strongly oppose HB 123 (The Workers Freedom Act).

The dishonest language used by Representative Jore throughtout the Bill, is the same propaganda used by the Virginia based National Right To Work Committee, to weaken unions and make it difficult for workers to improve their conditions.

In section 2 of HB 123 Rep. Jore proposes freedom of choice in the pursuit of Employment and that this choice may not be infringed or restricted based on the refusal to join a Labor Union. He makes it sound like the union is doing the hiring, when in fact the employer decides what person shall be hired. An applicant is hired only if he or she has the qualifications for the job. Then, and only then, is the worker required to join the union that holds the union shop contract with the employer. Joining a union is only one of many qualifications involved in getting a job. For instance, the worker may be required to have a certain level of education; or work experience. He or she may have to limit their freedom of choice and wear certain types of uniforms or work clothes at his or her expense. Employees have to observe certain plant regulations or safety regulations. Does Rep. Jore propose that workers should have total freedom to reject all these requirements made by those who will hire them? Or is the Workers Freedom Act really just an assult on the Union?

My personel experiences as a union member for 18 years is that workers enjoy the most freedom, when a democratic majority decide with the employer to have a union security contract. By including everyone in the union, the employer & the employees knows all parties will have an equal voice to determine what freedoms they want on the job. As the bargaining representative of all workers, the union can be most effective, and best represent all the attitudes of the workers- when all the workers are members. As workers benift from the activites of the union, all of them should be required to pay dues, its the American Way, it's the Montana Way!!! Finally, in section 6 Rep. Jore offers to limit or restrict the rights of hard working Montanan's from striking, picketing, or boycotting an employer. I hope none of you wish to take these important freedoms from your fellow Montanan's!!! Vote against HB 123

> Thank You ! Pat A. Mischel 47 Rd 261 Glendive, Mt. 59330

EXHIBIT	28
DATE	1-13-95
HB	123

TESTIMONY ON HB123

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee. My name is Fran Marceau, I am the State Legislative Director for the United Transportation Union.

I'm going to uy and be brief and to the point. House Bill 123 is nothing new. There is a new bill number and a new sponsor but it's the same old thing.

Right to work bills introduced in the past would have hurt Montana and that is just what House Bill 123 will do.

What will House Bill 123 do?

- 1. It will impede Montana's economic growth.
- 2. It will undermine labor-management relations.
- 3. It will cause friction among workers by encouraging some to freeload on co-workers by benefiting from gains won through collective bargaining without paying their share of the costs.

On the other hand, House Bill 123 will not:

- 1. guarantee the preservation of any existing jobs.
- 2. It will not establish any new jobs.
- 3. It will not give a person on unemployment a job.
- 4. It will not do a thing to improve the state's economic future.

To argue against union security is arguing that the minority have more rights than the majority. The union shop operates where a majority of the workers have decided in its favor and the employer has agreed.

Records will show that most of the effort to support this type of legislation is not from workers. It is from the same groups that oppose workers on other legislation. These organizations have one goal and that is to drive down wages and salaries by weakening labor organizations and undermining collective bargaining.

I urge a "do not pass" for HB123.

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES VISITORS REGISTER

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NAME AND ADDRESS	REPRESENTING	Support	Oppose
Ken Treib	Workers of America		\times
RAY LINDER	MT NURSES '		X
Phil Paul	MSCA		\times
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Douglas Doue	4 PIU 885		\mathcal{X}
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Larry Craft, Col. Falls	ALuminum Workers 220		X
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From: Glendive, Montana

We the undersigned Oppose the passage of HB 123.

Signature	Address	Phone
Barbara R. Souther	539 Highway 16	687-3695
Mary Pettester	42 Seven Mile Dr.	365 - 3780
Connie I. Kuliesh	138 Maple NG	365-5715
Davull Layman	409 N. Meade	365-2046
Koren Tickant	207 3rd St	365-6489
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"The Worker Freedom Act" HB 123, ("Right-to-Work")

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Opponents' sign-up to show you were here!

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Dick Baumberger	Retired printer	Heleba
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Peter Hoppe	LABORER 1334	GT. FALLS
DON PALMERTON	LARONERS 1334	AT. FALLS
Caul Schnoeder	Local 139 Plummer & Motiteer	GA
David L Fauth	Local 139" "	Great Falls
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Jone Slatten	Montera Educ. Assor.	Helena
RONAL BARNHill	termester Locott 2	It falls
BRUCE LUNDE	OPERATORS Local 400	Gt. TATIS
Joe Brookshier	MEA-Retired	Bridger
Oliver Greenwood	IBEWLOCAL 122	GT. FAIls
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DENNIS HINSZ	1107auBN.Ce.	ST. Falls
Lloyd Davison	IBEN LOGI #122	Gri Falls
Charles Davies	J.40.E. Loca 14375	Biste
Barbara Schneeman	M+ Democratic Party	Helena
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"The Worker Freedom Act" HB 123, ("Right-to-Work")

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Rick Dean	Local # 44 I.B.F.W.	Helena MT
DAVE SURVEN	LABOMERS LOCHE 1374	GT. FALIS
John Spiper	LABON LACALISSY	AT ZAIS
Stephen Frast	IBEN LU 44	Helena
Tames T. Lingen Eelter	IBEW Local#44	Helena
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Boyd Andrew	EBEW Local "44"	Helena
Don W Hendrickson	IBEW Local 44	Helens
James wood	IBEW Local 44	Helena
Michael B Ridle	IUDE 400	Helena
Joseph Pepos	Local 400	Gt Falls
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