

Twenty-Eighth Convention of the United Union of Roofers, Waterproofers and
Allied Workers
Paris Hotel and Convention Center, Las Vegas, Nevada
October 14 - 18, 2013
Thursday Morning Session
October 17, 2013

The Convention reconvened at 8:45 a.m., President Kinsey Robinson presiding.
... President Robinson bangs the gavel to call the Convention to order...

PRESIDENT ROBINSON: Will the delegates take their seats, and we'll open the Convention for Thursday.

To begin with, I'm going to ask Tony to run us a short video. It's a music video and I think you'll enjoy it very much.

... Music video played ...

(Applause.)

I'd like to call on Vice President Hadel, Chairman of the Law Committee to give the report on Resolution No. 5.

LAW COMMITTEE CHAIR HADEL: Good morning.

... Delegates respond with "Good Morning"...

The Law Committee has met and heard testimony on Resolution 5 and its companion Resolution 53.

The Secretary will now read Resolution No. 5.

LAW COMMITTEE SECRETARY PETERSON: No. 5:

WHEREAS, every day, more than 11 million immigrant aspiring citizens contribute to our communities, our economy and our country, yet, they are denied a voice in the workplace and essential rights in our society; and WHEREAS, a strong and vibrant democracy cannot function unless all men and women, regardless of their skin color or where they were born, can participate meaningfully in the political process with full rights and equal protections; and

WHEREAS, the United Union of Roofers, Waterproofers and Allied Workers recognizes that the way we treat new immigrants reflects our commitment to the values that define us; and

WHEREAS, working people are strongest when working together and the union movement is strongest when it is open to all workers, regardless of where they come from; and

WHEREAS, the creation of a road map to citizenship for immigrant aspiring Americans would improve wages and labor standards for all workers by giving immigrant workers a voice in the workplace and halting employers who take advantage of our failed immigration policies to pursue a race to the bottom; and

WHEREAS, temporary worker programs do not reflect America's values as a democratic society. History teaches that guest worker programs create a second class of workers, unable to exercise even the most fundamental rights, which lowers wages and working conditions for all workers; and

WHEREAS, the dreams of young immigrants to have access to quality education and the hopes of millions of immigrants to reunify their families reflect core American values; and

WHEREAS, the United Union of Roofers, Waterproofers and Allied Workers remains committed to working together on the side of justice for all, along with our community partners, including civil rights, human rights and immigrant rights organizations, to pass fundamental reform that encompasses these principles;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the United Union of Roofers, Waterproofers and Allied Workers, which represents the voices of more than 25,000 working families in the United States, calls upon Congress to pass common-sense immigration reform that includes a practical and inclusive roadmap to citizenship and that reflects the principles outlined in the unified union movement's framework for comprehensive immigration reform,

"Immigration for Shared Prosperity: A Framework For Comprehensive Immigration Reform";

AND, BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the United Union of Roofers, Waterproofers and Allied Workers will not support legislation that contains any temporary worker provisions for the construction industry;

AND, BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, the United Union of Roofers, Waterproofers and Allied Workers will continue to work with allies to promote comprehensive immigration reform based on the principles outlined in this resolution and will communicate this position to the U.S. Congress.

Mr. Chairman, the Committee heard testimony and voted unanimously in favor of it, and I move for adoption of Resolution 5 as read.

LAW COMMITTEE CHAIR HADEL: I second the motion.

PRESIDENT ROBINSON: You've heard the motion and the second on Resolution No. 5. I ask you to give a resounding signal to the country of where the Roofers stand on this issue.

All those in favor, signify by saying "aye."

(Chorus of ayes.)

Opposed?

(No response.)

The ayes have it. Thank you, gentlemen.

(Applause.)

LAW COMMITTEE CHAIR HADEL: Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank the members of the Law Committee. That concludes our business, and we would ask to be excused.

PRESIDENT ROBINSON: I'd ask for a yes vote to excuse the Committee.

All those in favor, signify by saying "aye."

(Chorus of ayes.)

Excused.

Thank you for your hard work.

(Applause.)

It is now my deep privilege to introduce someone I regard as a personal friend, an avid hunter, a shooter and a member of the USA, and a dedicated union professional.

On September 16th, 2009, Richard Trumka was elected President of the AFL-CIO by acclamation at the Federation's 26th Convention in Pittsburgh, his hometown, and reelected in 2013 by the AFL-CIO Convention by the delegates in Los Angeles just last month. His election following 15 years of service as AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer capped Richard's rise to leadership of the nation's largest labor federation from humble beginnings in the small coal mining communities of southwest Pennsylvania.

A third generation coal miner, his roots began in Nemaquin, Pennsylvania where he entered the mines at age 19. As a miner -- excuse me -- as a member of the United Mine Workers Union Local 6290, he served as Chairman of the Safety Committee and became an activist in the Miners for Democracy movement. Rich served three terms as President of the United Mine Workers Union of America. He led his union during two major strikes against the nation's coal companies, actions that resulted in the significant advances in employer/employee cooperation and enhanced worker job security and benefits, and not just for coal miners, but for all workers.

Rich is the labor leader of our times. His encompassing vision of his leadership is this: The unions must strive to uplift everybody in their

pursuit of fair treatment for workers, as they did in building the world's strongest middle class, and as they must once again by leveling the playing field and restoring job growth and prosperity for working people.

He is a tireless advocate for the economic justice for 13 million members of the AFL-CIO and every worker in America.

He is a graduate of Penn State University and holds a law degree from Villanova University Law School. He has received numerous awards during his outstanding career in the American labor movement and recognition for his humanitarian work as well.

I am proud to work with and serve with Rich on the USA Board and I am truly proud to call him my friend and my brother. Like Roofers, Rich knows what it's like to work hard and get his hands dirty.

Please give a warm round of applause to our President, the Roofers' good friend, and welcome Rich Trumka.

(Standing ovation.)

RICHARD TRUMKA (President AFL-CIO): First of all, let me thank you for that very, very kind introduction, Kinsey, and for your invitation for me to speak here, but I also want to say this about Kinsey, and I want to thank you for years of friendship and your leadership and particularly all that you've done over the years with a number of issues. USA, the Union Sportsmen's Alliance, without your leadership, we couldn't have done the job that we've done. We couldn't have brought that great organization to our members; but that's just the tip of it. And I just want to say thanks. Thanks for all you do and for everything you do for us.

(Applause.)

You see, Brothers and Sisters, this is a critical time for Roofers. It's a critical time for the AFL-CIO and the entire labor movement and, indeed, working people all across America and all across the world. And I can tell you that I'm truly proud to be standing at these historic crossroads in our nation with each and every one of you, with your outstanding union and your inspiring history of 110 years of representing workers and building the middle class.

Think about that. 110 years strong. Think about all the shoulders that we're standing on, all the fights that have gone before us to get us where we are. So let me ask you to do this, give yourselves a round of applause for all that you've done.

(Applause.)

You see, Brothers and Sisters, America needs strong leaders and we need strong unions. Because the truth is, working people are hurting. The American working class is no longer our middle class and you know it because we all live it. This is our shared experience of America today. Everyone who works for a living, works harder, creates more value over longer hours and yet we earn less.

Now think back over the last 15 years, think about all the work that you did, all the work that our coworkers did and your friends and your neighbors and your family did and then think about this: All of the wage increases over the last 15 years, not some, not most, not the majority, not the vast majority, but all, all, every single penny, all of it went to the richest 10 percent in the country. Now, I want you to remember that statistic because it's the reason why working people are exhausted, why it's the source of so much pain and it's something that we're going to change.

You see, since 2009, the pay of America's corporate CEOs has gone up 40 percent. Now, imagine how strong our families would be, our communities would be, our economy would be if the incomes of ordinary people had

increased at 40 percent. Think about it. Everything would be a lot better. The economy would be humming. We'd be doing better. And the one percent, well, they bend our rules, they corrupt our democracy and they take all the money. And I've got to tell you, that's wrong. That's un-American. And it's stood this country upside down and we're going to turn America right side up.

Because everything that we do --

(Applause.)

-- everything that we do -- and I mean everything, must be part of our overreaching strategy for winning shared prosperity. And I'm talking about everything that we do from the local to the national level. What you do, what I do, every day. If we're not moving the dial, we'd better stop and we'd better think about it and then do something different. Think about that, something different. Fresh strategies to build a bigger, stronger labor movement. And that's what the AFL-CIO Convention in September was all about, and it's what your union is all about.

All of us stand ready to make the changes that we need to make so that we can represent working people better. So that we can grow our membership, grow the industries that employ us. So that we could truly build an American economy that works for the people who work.

You see, at the AFL-CIO Convention, we talked about building community, about reaching out beyond our own members in our communities. We passed resolutions to strengthen the labor movement at every single level in every city, in every state with new levels of accountability for state federations and labor councils and affiliates. And I've got to tell you, that's very, very important.

See, we will work to make every state, fed and every central labor council the absolute best that it can be. And working together with them to build power for working power -- for working people everywhere in America.

And by the end of the Convention, we had a real full agenda, an agenda for change in three broad areas. The first is growth, innovation, and political action.

The second is building shared prosperity in the global economy.

And the last is all about community partnerships and grass roots power.

Yet, I've got to tell you something, those resolutions won't be worth the paper that they're written on if we -- if all of us don't go back home hungry for change. When you leave this Convention, all the wonderful work that you did wasn't the end of anything, it was the beginning. And if you don't go back home and make it a reality, then nothing changes.

And, see, hunger for change is where you come in at because I'm asking you for your commitment. I need your commitment. The labor movement needs your commitment. And I'm asking for activism. Because nothing is more important to our ability to win good contracts and to gain genuine American living standards, and to engage in electoral politics when it matters and to build real strengths in our unions and in our communities. And they're all tied together.

And they all come back to one central idea. That we're stronger when we're together. We're stronger when we act together, when we plan together. You know yourself that when one union's local is going this direction and one local is going that direction, the employers win and they can pick us off. It's up to us to get all of those locals and all of those districts and all of our affiliates moving in the same direction, arms locked, teeth set just a little, a look of determination in our eyes.

See, too often in Washington and all across America, we're confronted with politicians and business leaders who see the world as a zero sum game. As

if points scored in a government shut down fight on Capitol Hill actually means something in and of themselves. As if raising profits by cutting wages is a sound strategy for our economy.

And I don't need to tell you that regular people are stretched thin by this hard economy. And they're exhausted by working too much, by the lack of progress, by the stupid games of the Republican leadership. And as much as I'd like to say we could just forget about it, we can't. We can't tune it out because we're the ones who get hurt by all of that stupidity.

They talk about a shut down as if it was some kind of political game in DC; but they don't talk about 11,000 workers right here in Nevada that got furloughed because of it. They don't talk about those construction workers out at the airport that got laid off because a project that they needed to get them back to work was shut down during the shut down.

You see, over these last weeks, the Tea Party caucus has tried to score a political victory while the federal workers who make the American Government run have tried to figure out how to cover their mortgage, how to fill up the tank without a paycheck. And Mr. Boehner has made things worse by putting the entire faith in credit of the United States on the line. And I've got to tell you Brothers and Sisters, that's irresponsible.

That's not how working people do things. We get our jobs done. We pay the bills. We go on a job, they expect us to finish it and we do. And we're the best at it, period. We don't live in a world where a loss for you is a win for me, and a win for me is a loss for you. You see, we figured out how to win together, or we know that if we don't, we'll all keep losing together. And I got to tell you, I'm dead serious about that.

I don't concern myself with wins for Democrats or Republicans. And, quite frankly, if John Boehner would lift a finger to help working people, I'd applaud him for it; but he hasn't. I'm telling you, I only care about one thing and that's the state of working families. That's our families.

(Applause.)

You see, Brothers and Sisters, we're politically independent. And we do not and will not exist to build any political party or any politician. We're building power for working people, period. And our independence is more critical today than it's ever been in our history. Because of our independence, we can support affordable health care for millions of Americans and call for fixes to the Affordable Care Act. We can recognize the ACA as a good first step towards more comprehensive reform, but only a first step. And we'll stand for quality affordable healthcare for every worker in America. And we acknowledge that achievement, and, yet, we will also raise hell when the law goes astray. And that's exactly what we will do to protect the healthcare of each and every one of our members down the road.

(Applause.)

You see, we'll fight anything that hurts working people no matter who it comes from. We won't be silent. We'll fight. And we will not back up or back down, and we will not step down.

You see, Brothers and Sisters, at the end of the day, our job is simply to win the progress that America's working families need. And I think about the regular people all over this country who get up every morning, do a job, take care of their kids, struggle day by day for a better life, worry about their future, their healthcare, their retirement security. And no matter what else, each of your members and every worker in America, every single one of us, well, we deserve basic dignity, and we deserve respect and we deserve the ability to bargain for a fair reward for the job that we do.

Now, that ought to be the baseline for every American. You see, that's what a union does. We stand together for a better life. That's why we

struggle for our rights on the job.

And that's why we do what we do around America and in our nation's capitol to carry water for people back home who don't want and maybe can't even survive another destructive trade deal like the TransPacific Partnership. See, we need truly fair trade and environmental laws that work without punishing working people.

And we need true immigration reform, including a safe and workable path to citizenship. So that every single worker in America can stand up with confidence for his or her rights, and stand together with co-workers for a voice on the job. We're done with immigration laws that pit workers against each other and allow corporations a steady supply of workers without papers and without enforceable rights, insecure workers who know immigration enforcement is just a phone call away.

You see, that's what we're fighting for. Federal policy to make our working families stronger, not weaker. And I'm going to say that one more time. Every single one of the legislative fights and the collective bargaining fights that we're in will strengthen us, all of us. A union stands for all. And that's what makes us strong.

You see, I'm not talking about some silver bullet. And I'm not talking about some magic bean that we can plant and everything will be wonderful all of a sudden. I'm just talking about old-fashion unionism, about talking to each other, about supporting each other, about organizing each other, about talking within our movement with our friends and allies outside the walls of our union halls to find out what we need from each other, to find out what will make us all grow stronger. And then we'll take action and we'll move together. And you know something, it doesn't take but once or twice standing together before the strings of our common experience strengthens into some tight bonds of real solidarity.

When I say "real solidarity," I'm talking about where your picket line is my picket line, where I honor your picket line first, ask all the questions later, where we grow with organizing and with training and with marketing by showing that union workers do the best work -- the best damn work on time and under budget, as advertised, every single time. You see --

(Standing ovation.)

-- see, that's how we're going to build our unions. That's how we're going to build our communities. And that's how we're going to rebuild America, where you don't surrender your humanity and your dignity and your rights when you go to work each day; but they go to work with us on the job.

You see, Brothers and Sisters, between all of us, we're going to tear down those barriers. And we'll join with anyone, union, nonunion, never heard of union yet. We won't let employers or politicians tell us who is in our movement and who isn't. That's our job and that's our responsibility. And we will stand and we will fight. And we will march and we will struggle with every single worker who needs us because we know solidarity. This is our country. We built it. It's time we took it back and we will not -- will not be denied.

(Standing ovation.)

And when America understands our willingness to use solidarity, our willingness to stand together, we will let it be known that every worker who stands with us will have a friend for life, a powerful ally, thousands of friends, millions of friends who will rise together and march together, not just when it's easy, but when it's hard -- especially when it's hard -- and the harder it is, the longer we will stand together.

See, more than 50 years ago, Dr. Martin Luther King spoke to the Fourth AFL-CIO Constitutional Convention. He said the following words: "Powerful

forces tell us to rely on the goodwill and the understanding of those who profit by exploiting us. They deplore our discontent. They resent our will to organize."

Dr. King knew all about discontent. He knew all about the will to organize. And he wasn't a union member. But he was a courageous leader who knew how to break the silence, how to stand together and how to win together. And, Brothers and Sisters, he was as good a friend as any worker could have any time, any where.

You see, he walked down the line of National Guard bayonets with us in the "I Am a Man" strike. Think about this, people went on strike. They were treated so lowly that they carried a sign saying, I Am a Man. Denied every dignity that a worker ought to have. They stood up. And he walked that strike even though he knew his life was threatened. And he died with our union brothers and sisters, those strong sanitation workers in the city of Memphis who suffered discontent and who stood up with a will to organize. And our generation has to ask itself now, Who will we stand with? Who will each and every one of us stand with? Who shares our discontent? Who needs our will to organize?

Because right now, there is a young African-American kid that's gearing up to break the law somewhere because he can't find a job and he sees no way out. There's an immigrant right now that's being denied wages, who works hard and wants to be part of America, wants to be part of our labor movement being denied wages.

There's a union member somewhere, that's being laid off, wondering what it all means and where they go. What's it mean to their family and their kids and their future and their community?

They need us. They need us to stand with them and we need them to stand with us. We will stand with anyone who needs us. Dr. King said it then, and America needs it now more than ever. We need it now more than ever.

And everything that we do, everything from growing our political independence to our defense of Social Security and Medicare and Medicaid, food stamps, through our campaign for comprehensive immigration reform, our campaign to end mass incarceration and to fix the Affordable Care Act, all of it has one purpose, one purpose. And that's to build power for working people, for you and for me and for the rest of the 99 percent. And we're doing this because as my friend Senator Elizabeth Warren put it, The pundits and the big corporate lobbyists here in D.C. might be against us, but the American people are on our side.

(Applause.)

On our side on every issue we care about, our values are America values and our agenda is America's agenda.

We're working for Wall Street reform and the far right is fighting it but the American people are on our side, more than 80 percent of the American people are on our side.

We're fighting bad trade laws and no one thinks that we can win, but the American people are with us; by a margin of 4 to 1, the American people are on our side.

We are working for investments in America's infrastructure not millions, not billions, but trillions and the right wing politicians in Washington are fighting us; but more than 70 percent of the American people are on our side. We're working for education, for healthcare, for safe jobs and an economy that works for the people that work. And Washington says it can't be done, but the American people are on our side.

You see, we start at the local level. We'll build to the national level.

And we'll keep building for global prosperity, for good jobs, for justice,

for a sustained economy here and abroad. And we're going to turn America right side up. You heard me say it. We're going to get it done. So keep reaching, keep fighting that's the key.

(Applause.)

That's what's the best in our country. We'll bring out the best in ourselves to get an economy that I know that we can have and that we must have for our children and grandchildren. We will never give up. We will never back down. We will win together. Standing together. Working together. Organizing together. Voting together. Winning together, today, tomorrow, next month and next year. It's our legacy. It is our time to take America back for the workers of this country. God bless you.

(Standing ovation.)

PRESIDENT ROBINSON: You know I've said that the hardest working man in America is the President of the United States. But I'm here to tell you the hardest working man in America is our President, Rich Trumka.

(Applause.)

Tony, how about we shoot the video on what happened -- on what unions have done for us. Thanks.

... "Union situation" video played ...

(Applause.)

I'd like to call Brother Dean Reames to join me on the stage here for a minute. Dean is a proud member of Local 54, Seattle, Washington. But more than that, this is his 13th Convention over the last 50 years.

(Standing ovation.)

Dean's first Convention was in 1963, 50 years ago today. But mostly, Dean, I want to thank you for all your support to the union and your personal friendship to me and your helping to tutor me along when I was a young guy.

DARRELL REAMES (Local 54): Yes, you was.

PRESIDENT ROBINSON: Yes. And your support of Local 54 and the Northwest District Council. Dean was -- he was the flag bearer for that Council for 15, 20 years. And I appreciate everything you've done for our Union and thank you.

DELEGATE DEAN REAMES: Thank you. I want to say I'm very happy to be here. And, in fact, at this age, I'm happy to be almost anywhere, so have a good Convention.

(Applause.)

PRESIDENT ROBINSON: Our next speaker this morning is Mark McDermott. He is a gifted speaker and educator who will be talking to you about social justice, fighting to make the American dream a reality for everyone.

Mark is a lifelong activist working for economic, social and racial justice and for peace. He has been an active member to the Machinists, AFSCME, and the Steelworkers Unions.

Professionally, Mark has been a long-time champion of working people and the poor and has served as Assistant Director for the Department of Labor and Industries; Senior Labor Policy Advisor for Seattle Mayor Greg Nickels, Policy Analyst on the State Senate's Commerce and Labor Committee and Chief Deputy Insurance Commissioner. He retired in 2010 after serving as U.S. Secretary of Labor Hilda Solis' Regional Representative.

In his private life, Mark has served in Washington State on the boards of the Statewide Poverty action Network, One America, Washington State Living

Wage Movement, Seattle Worker Center, Washington Association of Churches, Puget Sound Advocates for Retirement Action and the Program Committee for the statewide Faith Action Network.

Mark continues to work to advance the economic and social rights for working men and women, helping to build the movements and coalitions that will move the country toward a more just, brighter, sustainable and secure present and future for all.

Please extend a warm welcome to Mark McDermott.

(Standing ovation.)

MARK McDERMOTT (Economic Justice and Labor Educator): Can we get the PowerPoint fired up, please?

It's an honor to be here today, and I want to thank President Robinson for the opportunity to come here. I've got to admit, it's a tough act to follow Rich Trumka, but I'm going to take a great shot at it.

I want to do a very quick self-introduction. In May of 1982, I was a journeyman Machinist and an Executive Board member of my Machinist's Local in Seattle. At 11:00 o'clock on a Friday morning, everybody in the plant I worked in was brought into a large room, there were armed guards present. The owner got up and announced that he'd sold the company and as a condition of the sale, we would all be fired as of 3:30.

Representatives of the new owners got up and said, We have a unique problem, we have a new company and no employees, and we'd love for you to apply for jobs with the new company. And if you'd like to do that, go over to the wall over here and talk to the young lady and get a personnel handbook and sign up for an interview. I got up and said, Are you going to recognize the union? And they got up and read us our rights under the National Labor Relations Act, meaning, no, they're not going to. They're going to try to bust the union out.

So after we did that, they marched us out into the plant and stood there. I had to stand there and watch while people searched my toolbox -- it was all my tools -- to make sure I didn't have any of their cheap tools. And then when they were done looking through my toolbox, forced me to lock it, wrapped Duck tape around it, did that to everybody in the plant and marched us out into the parking lot. And by 3:00 o'clock, every union member in that plant had been fired and thrown out into the parking lot as if they were a piece of human garbage.

The next week, I went in for a job interview and it was a short interview. The same management, new owners. It went like this: Do you think you can do the work?

Well, yeah, you just signed my personnel evaluation and said I'm a star employee, remember.

Yeah.

Well, are you going to hire me?

No.

Well, why not? You know you got a new company and no employees, wouldn't you want to hire a star from the old one.

Well, we're not hiring you.

Well, why not?

You've got a bad attitude.

Bad attitude. So what's the bad attitude of a star employee?

The guy leaned forward -- there's two of them and one of me -- you're a union official.

And I leaned forward and said, You know, it's illegal to tell me that.

This guy gets a big smirk on his face and says, You're the only witness.

Sisters and Brothers, I swore that day that I would spend the rest of my life fighting corporate power in this country that's trying to destroy the labor movement and destroy our way of life and take it away from our family and our kids. And that's who's talking to you here today.

Are you with me?

(Applause.)

I want to talk to you as trade unionists, but I also want to talk to you as parents and as grandparents and as family members and members of your community. I want to have a heart to heart talk with you today about the fight to take our country back and make the American dream real for everyone. But what I'd like to do is start out and ask you a series of questions about how your family -- how you, your family and your close friends and their families have been doing over the last five years. And what I'd like you to do, if you're willing to do it, is raise your hand every time the answer is "yes" and look around the room and see who is having the same experience. How many of you know somebody who has lost their job in the last five years? Raise your hands.

... Delegates raise their hands...

Probably about 90 percent.

Worried about losing a job or can't find full-time work?

... Delegates raise their hands...

Probably 90 percent.

Couldn't get or exhausted unemployment benees?

... Delegates raise their hands...

Probably 90 percent.

Lost or didn't have health insurance?

... Delegates raise their hands...

Look at this, almost 100 percent.

Weren't paid wages that were legally owed?

... Delegates raise their hands...

Look at this, what's more basic in this country that you go to work and you get paid what you are legally owed?

Difficulties in paying the bills or facing bankruptcy?

... Delegates raise their hands...

Probably 75 percent.

Lost their home, facing foreclosure, underwater mortgage, worried about eviction?

... Delegates raise their hands...

80 percent.

Facing large student loans?

... Delegates raise their hands...

Yeah, look at this. Stealing the dreams from our kids, probably 60, 70 percent.

Moved in with relatives because they can't make it on their own?

... Delegates raise their hands...

Yeah, we're laughing. I'd say this is -- Honey, is that Junior and Sissy in the front yard? You know, are they moving back in? Stay low, maybe they'll drive by.

(Laughter.)

You know it's funny, Brothers and Sisters, but it's not funny that our kids, as adults, have to move back home because they can't make it. Even though they're working hard and doing the best they can to pay their own bills.

And last but not least, how about worried about adequate income in retirement?

... Delegates raise their hands...

It looks like it's almost 100 percent.

There is something deeply wrong in this country, Ladies and Gentlemen, when an audience like you, 80 to 90 percent of you have raised your hands probably 8 times, and I've raised my hand all 10 times. How many of you want this changed? If you do, say "yes".

... Delegates say "Yes!"...

I can't hear you.

... Delegates say "Yes!"...

Okay, let's talk about how this was done to us, but also what did our ancestors do to build the American dream. I want to start with a quote from George Santayana, "Those who cannot learn from history are doomed to repeat it. Those who do not remember their past are condemned to repeat their mistakes." History are the game films of the struggles of working people. And anybody who knows anything about pro sports, every game is filmed, our offence, our defense; their offence and their defense and we study what worked and what didn't and we make changes. And I would say any pro team that doesn't study the game films is making catastrophic mistakes. And, Sisters and Brothers, we need to be doing the same thing and learn from our ancestors about what worked and what can we use today.

Let me start with a quote from Dr. King, "The labor movement was the principal force that transformed misery and despair into hope and progress. The captains of industry did not lead this transformation." Right on, Brother Martin. This is a quote we don't hear too much about because this is too close to threats to corporate power.

So I want to start out and do a very quick introduction of my family. My mother is on the upper left, my father, on the lower right, it's when they got married in 1930. My German-American grandparents on the lower left -- I don't know if this clicker will work, can you see that? This is my Irish-American grandfather and his wife, my grandmother.

My Irish-American grandfather got pulled out of Third Grade at age 10 to go to work in a brick yard and he worked for 65 years. Why was he pulled out of school? Because in nonunion America, his father could not make enough money to put enough food on the table and put a roof over their heads to be able to survive. And so his dreams of getting an education were taken away from him out of economic desperation.

My German-American grandfather made it to Sixth Grade. He was the well educated one of the two. And he was pulled out of school for the same reason, okay. In nonunion America in the late 19th Century, working people were forced to pull their kids out of school, deny them education because of economic desperation and despair over, can we support ourselves without the labor of our children? And this was one of the great fights of 100 years ago.

A famous quote, It was the tradesmen -- read unionists -- and their allies, who came to the legislature to plead the cause of public education for they realized that their sons and daughters would forever remain slaves to an industrial machine unless given equal opportunity for education with the sons and daughters of the wealthy, okay. Our ancestors were fighting for the American dream so that their kids and grandkids could have a brighter future and they were not going to back down.

But let's see what corporate America had to say, every time you drink a can of Coca-Cola, remember this quote -- this is from the founder of Coca-Cola: "The most beautiful sight that we see is the child at labor. As early as he may get at labor, the more beautiful, the more useful does his life get to be." Yeah, no kidding. I'm sure he sent his kids to work as a cotton picker in the fields of the south at age 10, okay. What he was really

saying was for people of color, these black kids who were probably 10 years old and poor white kids, we're going to deny them an opportunity to reach for their dream. And we're going to cover it up with some phony-baloney about somehow going to work when you're 10 years old and remaining ignorant because you can't get an education is somehow the best we can possibly have in America, okay.

This was one of the great fights that our ancestors took up. And, again, it's fighting for the future for our kids and our grandkids. And in this case, it was for my parents and for me.

Let's go to Chicago in 1915. I'm a Chicago kid, a lot of my relatives are from Detroit, so you're going to hear a Midwest story, but this story is true all over the county. This is 1915, it's the Meat Packing District, the biggest meat packing plants in the world. This is a quote from the CEO, Philip Armour, "We pursue policies to keep the races and nationalities divided, stir up suspicion, rivalry and hatred among them." For what reason? To keep the unions out. There were strikes of tens of thousands of meat packers: 1894, 1904, 1917, 1921 and 1923. The workers and the unions lost all five strikes for recognition, and wages remained low, conditions remained brutal.

What was going on? The Germans are fighting with the Irish and the Irish are fighting with the Italians and the Italians are fighting with the Jews. And some of the white folk can get together and say, Well it's the fault of the black folk and if there's any Latinos around, we'll blame them. And if we can round up some immigrants we'll blame them, playing right into the hand of the bosses. And the bosses won time and time and time again. Divide and concur was their strategy.

Let's go to Washington, DC, 1925. This is the U.S. Capitol in the background. This is Pennsylvania Avenue. There are 60,000 members of the Ku Klux Klan marching down Pennsylvania Avenue flexing their political muscle and telling the American people, We are to be feared and respected because we have power and we will use relentless violence to enforce our will.

Who was the Klan? They were a domestic terrorist organization dedicated to violence. They hated blacks. They hated Jews. They hated Catholics. They hated Latinos. They hated immigrants. They hated unionists and they hated women and they hated -- who had just gotten the right to vote. They hated anybody who would stand up to their racist and bigoted, terrorism and violence.

And, unfortunately, millions of working class people joined the Klan. In 1925, the Klan had 4 to 5 million members. In today's America, that would be 12 to 15 million. Now, imagine an America today with 12 to 15 million members of the Ku Klux Klan who were also actively used as strike breakers and to instigate violence against people who were striking for recognition or trying to organize unions. So a deeply divided America.

Working people cannot come together, find their common ground and build a powerful labor movement and build the political power so that we could get our fair share of the wealth that we were producing for the powerful corporations and the wealthy.

So let's go to my grandparents home in the West Side of Detroit in the same year. My granddad -- German Granddad, Adelbert's working for the Michigan Central Railroad. It's a union job, fairly good money. It's about 40 cents an hour. But down the road, Ford is paying 5 bucks a day for an 8-hour shift and lifetime employment. So my grandparents go back and forth, Do you stay at the railroad? Stay with the union? Or go to work at Ford? And, finally, my granddad said, I'm going to work at Ford.

So he goes to work at Ford. And for the next four years, they're living

the American dream of the working class in the 1920s. They buy a little tiny house. They buy a radio. They're starting to get a few consumer goods. And it's like, boy, the future looks pretty bright.

And then one day in October 1929, the stock market crashes. The banksters, the gangsters who were running Wall Street, you know, are collapsing the economy. And the whole economy starts to fall apart like a house of cards. And what happens? By 1931 Henry Ford has laid off 91 out of 128,000 workers in Southeast Michigan, including my grandfather. And this guy has the nerve to say, "The average man won't really do a day's work unless he's caught and can't get out of it. There is plenty of work to do if people would do it." Yeah, really, no kidding. Okay. This is what the corporate masters were like in the old days when they didn't have spin doctors to shut them up and have them spin out some nonsense as opposed to just saying what they really thought.

So my granddad is out looking for work, along with hundreds and thousands of other people in Southeast Michigan and he gets hit by a streetcar. And he suffers severe internal injuries. And they take him to the hospital, and guess what, he ain't got no health insurance. He ain't got no money. They kind of bandage him up, and they sent him home. Our family believes they sent him home with a death sentence.

He was not Henry Ford, so he wasn't going to get the best healthcare in the world. He was just, Adelbert Wable, just a working class guy who is unemployed, okay.

Desperate conditions exist not only in Detroit, but all across the country as the economy continues to collapse. And by 1932, we got bread lines everywhere. Now one of the things about a bread line is everybody is equal. You're all hungry. You're all cold. You're all scared. You're all worried about what's going to happen to you and your family and your kids and your grandkids. And you may stand next to people that you despise and dislike, but by God, there is a common language there. And it's the common language of a growing stomach. Everybody's stomach growls the same, no matter where you came from, your religion, your race, your ethnicity, your sexual orientation, whatever, it's the same.

So finally the unemployed start organizing and coming together and saying, We've got to fight. We've got to fight back. We've got to fight evictions. We've got to fight foreclosures. We want unemployment insurance.

So what is happening in terms of how is my family and the other unemployed families doing in Detroit at the time? They get \$22.50 a month for a family of five from the City of Detroit. It's called Relief, okay. Now, you're talking about things being skinny and talking about going without meals and being hungry and being scared, this was America even though they had built the fortunes of General Motors and Ford and Chrysler and all the other big wealthy corporations there in Michigan.

So the unemployed start to organize. And they're continuing to organize and finally as they're organizing, they're building more and more solidarity between black and white workers -- and I'm telling a black and white story here. I'm not ignoring Latinos or Asian Pacific Islanders or Native Americans, but there weren't very many of them in the Detroit area at the time. So that's the story I'm telling in other parts of the country it looks different.

Workers are starting to come together and saying, You know, we've got the same problems. You know, over there on the West Side, North Side, East Side, wherever, we're not doing too well. We're hungry. We're cold. 35 percent unemployment in white neighborhoods, 60 percent unemployment in black neighborhoods, people start coming together.

So finally, on March 7th, 1932, there is a huge march through the West Side of Detroit through my grandparents' neighborhood. My grandfather is on his death bed. They're marching shoulder to shoulder, black and white united, unarmed nonviolent with these demands: Give us our jobs back, you promised us work; an end of foreclosures; an end to evictions; five tons of coal because we're cold and we heat with coal; an end to having to bribe company officials for jobs; an end to discrimination against blacks in housing and relief and jobs and last, but not least, the right to form a union. They get to the main plant gate of Ford's in Dearborn. It's a bitterly cold day. And as they get there, the Detroit and Dearborn Police and the company thugs open up on them with rifles and pistols and in 5 minutes, five are dead and 75 are wounded. And then they open up on the crowd with a water cannon and soak them to the bone on this bitterly cold day. Well, needless to say anarchy prevails and they're forced to pick up their dead and their wounded and carry them back into Detroit. And the workers in Southeast Michigan -- and as this story spread across the Midwest -- learned that day, we better fight on our feet rather than die on our knees, Sisters and Brothers. (Applause.)

Four days later, 100,000 people come to the funeral march because they understand that the fight of the Ford workers and the fight of the workers in Dearborn and the West Side is the same story no matter where we are in this area and we've got to come together.

A month later, my grandfather died. They said he died one of the wretched of the earth. They said he died a nobody. But he wasn't a nobody, he was my grandfather. He was a good man. And no worker in this country deserves to die the way my grandfather died. Are you with me on this.

... Delegates respond with "Yes" and applause ...

There are still workers in this country who are dying because they don't have healthcare. No one should die in a country this wealthy because they can't get the healthcare they need. And as Brother Trumka said, the fight goes on until we get this fixed and we get it right. No one should ever die this way.

So across the country, the unemployed and the unions start building coalitions like they have not built before for decades. And they say, We have got to take on corporate power head on and defeat these corporations and create a brighter future for our kids and our grandkids and not have to live the way we are being forced to endure.

So one of the great victories was on the West Coast, an 83-day strike by the Long Shore Workers for recognition, they get a union hiring hall. They said it couldn't be done. They said they couldn't beat the shippers. But they built strength with the Teamsters and the merchant seamen and the community, and people came out by the thousands with a general strike in San Francisco and they won a union and they won a union hiring hall from Bellingham, Washington to San Diego.

Are you with me.

... Delegates respond with "Yeahs" and applause ...

This is what union power can do when we're united with the community. Don't say it can't be done. Don't say it can't be done. Those are the lies of the bosses.

So let's go to Flint, Michigan which is 50 miles north of Dearborn. It's the backbone of the General Motors empire. They've got nine big plants. And a new technique, a new tactic has been developed. Instead of walking out on strike and being replaced by desperate, hungry strike breakers, sit down inside of the place, occupy it, barricade yourselves in, call on the community to defend you, and come out into the streets by the thousands and

bring food with trucks, and refuse to come out. So in this bitterly cold winter in Flint, they seize five big auto plants and they cripple General Motors.

The police attack. They beat them back and they barricade themselves in and they call on the community and call people all over the Midwest, Come to Flint to defend us. If we can bring down General Motors, we can beat any corporation in America. Because they were the biggest and the wealthiest and the most powerful. And people came by the thousands and lived in the homes of the strikers who shared their meager rations. And every day went out and did mass picketing 24 hours a day because they didn't know when they might be attacked again.

This was the occupy movement of the 1930s. Occupy Wall Street wasn't new. It built on the history of the labor movement. So there's one occupy movement, it's the occupation of the workers in the union.

The other occupation movement is the National Guard. They bring in tanks, machine guns, rifles, pistols, bayonets. They bring in 2,000 armed troops and a siege begins. But the Governor says -- who is very pro-labor -- We will not fire on unarmed nonviolent strikers. General Motors is really ticked off. They go to President Roosevelt and say, Bring in the Army. Drive them out of these plants. And Roosevelt says, Murphy, the Governor has got it under control. You negotiate with General Motors. So a siege begins through this bitterly cold winter.

So what do we see here? These are the women coming out into the streets, those long white things that you see, those are called ax handles.

(Laughter.)

I am not an advocate of violence, don't get me wrong here, but they understood. They remembered the massacre in Dearborn. And they said, These men in the plants are our brothers, our fathers, our grandfathers, our sons, our grandsons, our boyfriends, our lovers, our neighbors, we are going to stick with them. And we're going to be out in the streets by the thousands. And they were. Because this was a community fight, it wasn't just a union fight.

When Brother Trumka talks about building coalitions between labor and the community, these are the prototypes of the great victories of the 1930s. After 44 days, General Motors surrenders. They surrender. They get a six-month contract that is five pages long. Let's hear it for the workers in Flint.

(Applause.)

Okay. They said it couldn't be done. They said that the workers in Flint could not defeat General Motors and people were proven wrong. That we found our common ground and did not get divided on race, creed, color, immigration status, sexual orientation or whatever and said, We are all one. We are Brothers and Sisters in this struggle, regardless of how different we may be in other parts of our lives in the communities from which we come.

Okay. This was a turning point in American history. How many of you know the story of the massacre at Dearborn and the sit down strikes at Flint, raise your hands.

... Delegates raise their hands ...

Look around the room, Sisters and Brothers, probably less than 20 percent of you know this story. This history has been stolen from us. So that we do not know our own history and what people like us are capable of based on the history -- a historical record of what our ancestors did. And we need to recover our history like George Santayana said, to inspire hope that once again, we can take down corporate power and change the course of our country and take our country back.

(Applause.)

It wasn't just the men who were in the sit down strikes. That is a famous strike at Woolworths. This was the Wal-Mart of the day. They didn't come out until they got a contract and they won in Detroit and Chicago and Pittsburgh, and Philly and New York and Boston. And I put the word "racist" up there. Why? They had 61,000 employees and zero African-American employees. They had an explicit company policy that said no blacks can work here. So if you look like you're black, you ain't working here.

Okay. If you ever wondered why we needed laws to make this kind of stuff illegal, remember Woolworth's. And, of course, they figure prominently in the civil rights fight years later when they have segregated lunch counters. So let's look at what happens. What happens when we finally build the kind of solidarity and the militance, and the strategy and the vision. Between 1900 and 1935, the percentage of unionization in the country was about 12 to 13 percent, except during World War 1. This is Flint.

Two years later, it leaps to 27 percent. The labor movement doubled in size in two years as sit down strikes swept the country and the working class, like never before, allied with the community, turned the tide of history and built the powerful labor movement.

By 1945, we're at 35 percent. We stay in the low 30s until the early '60s. And we start to come down, here is Ronald Reagan, boom. And now here we are, we're as low as we were since before Flint. And in the private sector, it's the lowest rate of unionization since 1900. Corporate America is out to destroy you, annihilate you and make you as extinct as the dinosaurs. And we can't let them go there; right.

... Delegates respond with "Right"...

Yes. So what happens when we get this kind of economic and political power like never before in history and how did we do it? W.B. Dubois, one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People says in the late '40s, "Probably the greatest and most effective effort toward interracial understanding among the working masses has come through the trade unions. Probably no movement in the past 30 years has been so successful in softening race prejudice."

When working people started getting over our inability to find common ground, we start building the power that we need to confront corporate power and change the course of history. And what happens when we finally begin to be much more effective at this and labor grows strong?

Look at what happens. After 50 years of defeats, I mean, 50 years in a row, talk about a losing record for a pro team. In five years in the mid-1930s, we win the right to organize in the private sector. We get Social Security. We get public assistance, unemployment insurance, minimum wage, overtime pay, eight-hour day, five day week, child labor protections. They make it illegal for what happened to my grandfathers. They made it illegal and said that kids are supposed to go to school. We get secure bank deposits so the banksters can't rip all the working people off when the banks collapsed and they had strong regulations on the financial industries. They put handcuffs on these guys. Now those handcuffs remained in place for almost five decades. But unfortunately, farm workers and domestic workers were excluded, including the right to organize and Social Security.

Why was that? The No. 1 occupation of African-American men in 1935 was farm worker. The No. 1 occupation of African-American women was domestic workers. And the No. 1 occupation of Latino men was farm workers. A racist deal was struck that said we will cave into these reforms because of the mass struggle in the streets and the political power that's been built. But we want to keep our boot on the throat of the lowest paid and most exploited workers

in this country. And 78, years later, farm workers and domestic workers still do not have the right to form a union under federal law. Do we need to change this?

... Delegates respond with "Yes"...

Yes. Okay. This is about justice for all workers. Once again in the 1960s, there was another great uprising of the people, another set of demands to make our democracy broader and to have more shared prosperity for more people. There's the great civil rights movement, the women's movement starts to rise, anti-war movement against Vietnam, the rise of an environmental movement, seniors and others and we win Medicare and Medicaid and civil rights and voting rights.

And you know one of the ways in which I can know the importance of this change? My grandfather died, the so-called wretched of the earth, with no healthcare in 1932. My parents were poor working class people. But when they retired and we moved them out to Seattle and bought them a house so they were secure for the first time, when they got sick, they went to University Hospital 20 times in the years before they died. And they never got turned away because they had a red, white and blue Medicare card. That's what it's like when working people win. Are you with me on this?

(Applause.)

And don't think that it doesn't make a big difference. And everybody in here has got a family history and a family story of how your people have been ripped off and beaten down and abused. And we need to recover those families' stories and share them with our families and our friends and tell them this is the great story of organized labor. We're the people who built the American dream. But all the lies that the bosses tell, No, not that. We're a bunch of thugs. And you know, whatever, right, we're wrecking America. Well, we built the American dream. You, and your ancestors, your union and others built the American dream.

So what happens when you have -- I've been talking to your hearts so far and now I want to talk to your head for a few minutes, okay. So what happens when we finally get a lot of economic and political power with strong unions? From 1947 to 1979, the poorest 20 percent of American families saw their income go up 116 percent after inflation, okay. The middle class went up 111. The richest 20 percent goes up 99 percent. The richest 5 percent goes up 86 percent. A rising tide is lifting all boats. Okay, you get that picture? You've got to say "yes" if you do.

... Delegates respond with "Yes" ...

Okay. Some of us are old enough to remember this; right? I am, okay. This is what happens when we have a lot of power. Here's what happens when the labor movement is under relentless assault. Does anybody notice a difference? I can't hear you.

... Delegates respond with "Yes" ...

Okay. Now, you can read the numbers, but let's go to the next slide to put salt in the wound. Somebody said "wow." Who said wow? You don't have to admit it, okay, but let me point this out. This is the richest 100 of the richest 1 percent. So this is the one 1 percent of the 1 percent, okay. In 2006, their average income was 35.5 million, their income went up 386 percent. I would say they're living pretty large. And I jokingly say I'm a little angry at my father because I got -- I was born in the wrong group. Okay, that was a joke it obviously didn't work.

But let me point out that this group here, the poorest 20 percent, went down 12 percent. And the next 20 percent went up 1 percent, and that represents 125 million Americans. Even though they're working substantially more hours than they did in the previous 30-year period, their incomes are

stagnant or going backwards. This is the great rip off.

So I want to do a public opinion poll real quickly. Don't vote until you know your two choices. And it will be a voice vote. Would you prefer an economy that produces this, option No. 1 or option No. 2? All in favor of option No. 1 say "yes."

... Delegates respond with "Yes" ...

I couldn't hear you.

... Delegates respond with "Yes" ...

How many in favor of option No. 2?

(No response.)

Okay. This is the 80th time I've done this. No one has ever been willing to say publically they're in favor of option No. 2. I must be talking to the wrong group, but that's -- you are the right group, but I mean, I'm not talking to the right groups to get the vote for option No. 2.

Now, I have good news and bad news. Everybody is in favor of option No. 1. The bad news is we've got option No. 2. And corporate America is not interested in having a new No. 1. They want to double down on option No. 2. And I say, We're going to deal with you, and we're going to keep dealing with you until we turn this around. Are you with me?

... Delegates respond with "Yes" ...

Okay. How did they do this? We never held an election where a presidential candidate got up and said, Forget the shared prosperity, let's give it all to the fat cats. Nobody ever really said that. They sort of skirted around the edges of a trickle down economics, but that was still going to come down to us in the end. I jokingly refer to that as the urinal theory of economics. But we won't go any further than that.

So what's going on here? Let's talk about how did this dream get stolen from us? How many of you know who Warren Buffet is, raise your hand.

... Delegates raise their hands ...

Okay, just about everybody knows Warren Buffet, who he is. Well, Warren in 2006 put the nail on the head, "There's class warfare all right. It's my class, the rich class, that's winning, that's making war and we're winning." Okay, if I say this, they say, Well, he's a left wing extremist, communist or socialist or something or another. So I don't want to have to deal with that. So I say, I didn't say this, I'm just quoting my good friend Warren Buffet. I just happen to agree with him, you know, but he's a billionaire who actually tells the truth. There is a class war and they're out, as I said, to annihilate organized labor because you are the biggest obstacle to complete corporate domination of all aspects of our country.

And how did they do this? How many of you have heard of Louis Powell, raise your hand.

... A few delegates raise hands ...

Okay. Very few of you. Louis Powell was the former President of the American Bar Association. On August 23rd, 1971, he wrote a secret memo. I urge every one of you to go home and Google this memo and read it. It is their game plan for corporate domination that they've been following for 40 years. He writes it to a friend of his at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. And in 14 pages, he lays out the strategy about how corporate America is going to seize control again and climb into the driver's seat like they were before the mid-1930s. It is a brilliant piece of writing. Two months after he wrote it, President Nixon appoints him to the U.S. Supreme Court.

I am not a nut job conspiracy theorist. This guy existed. He was on the Supreme Court. He really did write it. And they have been following this blueprint, pretty faithfully, for the past 40-plus years and keep at it.

And part of it is a war of big ideas to convince the American people that

the way we got shared prosperity in the past actually it doesn't work any more and we need to replace it.

Well, what does it look like? What's class warfare look like? Crush organized labor, No. 1. No. 2, undermine democracy with massive campaign spending by corporations and the wealthy. Everybody in here has a Constitutional right to spend \$100 million of your own money in the next presidential election. In that sense, we are all equal; correct? According to the Supreme Court, we're all equal, we all have a right to do that. So it's all fair, apparently.

Promote free trade and export manufacturing jobs. We don't need to make anything any more here. We'll just sell toxic mortgages to the rest of the world, that will be our export.

Voter suppression, if they won't vote the right way, take the right to vote away from them. So make it more difficult for working class and poor people and people of color and students and the elderly to vote because they to vote in a more progressive way.

Deregulate the financial industries. These people are geniuses they tell us, and if we'll just take the handcuffs off of them, they'll run the economy in such a way that we'll all just be happier than clams. I hear some laughter. Cut social programs for the poor and the unemployed and the needy. No one should ever be allowed more than 26 weeks of unemployment benefits, never. Because if you do, it breeds weakness and it brings dependancy; right? Of course, when you collapse the economy and there's 50 percent unemployment in your local for five years, are you kidding? Working people didn't do this. Sharply reduce taxes on the corporations and the wealthy. They're the makers, and we're the so-called takers.

And last but not least, privatize government. Government always -- the private sector always does a better job. The next time you fly in an airplane, think about if the FAA was privatized and they forgot to staff the third shift. Oops, oh my God, I hope we can land this big sucker.

(Laughter.)

You know, it's funny, but it's not very funny because, you know, we'll have self-regulation in meat packing. That's a great idea.

How many of you have heard this story before, raise your hands?

(No response.)

You've never heard this -- these eight things? I've heard this every day. We hear this everyday for the past 30 years. It is relentless and it's the same solution to our problems no matter what is going on in America. This is how they are destroying the American dream. And front and center, they have got to get rid of you.

I told you my story about the war on workers. And I'm sure if we had an open session here we could talk about the war on workers, but we won't go into detail. But they are relentlessly and systematically trampling on the rights of workers to organize and to bargain collectively. And I don't need to say any more about that to you folks.

And then, of course, in 2008, the house of cards finally collapses. This so-called prosperity that was going to be wonderful and we're all going to have a good time totally collapses. It totally collapses on the construction workers and the construction industry. And I won't go into the details but 7 million foreclosures and many more to go. And as you were raising your hands when we started out with the common ground exercise, this is the human devastation that occurs when corporate power so dominates our country, both economically and politically, that they can wreck it for us and yet they still get bailed out.

It didn't hit everybody the same. The people of color have higher

unemployment and smaller wealth than whites. It's not to say whites haven't been hit hard. The construction industry has been devastated. We've lost 5 million manufacturing jobs. Women's wages continue to trail men. Our young people are having a hell of a time trying to get an education if they want one. They're moving back home because they can't make it. And the dream in America was that a poor kid, a working class kid could reach for his or her dreams used to be the best in the world in the United States, is no longer the case. They are stealing the dream from us in every different way we can think of. And they are truly stealing it from our kids and from our grandkids. And I ask you, Are we going to let them do that?

... Delegates respond with "No" ...

No. We cannot go there.

I want to talk about immigration for a minute, Brother Trumka talked about it earlier. But I have another pop quiz for you. Does anybody know how many of the Wall Street executives who wrecked the U.S. economy were undocumented workers from Mexico?

(No response.)

Somebody was supposed to laugh. I saw an answer up in front, what was your answer, Brother?

A DELEGATE: Zero.

MARK McDERMOTT: Zero, okay. But if I was a space alien from Mars and I was monitoring radio and TV broadcasts from the U.S., you'd think 50 percent of them were, okay. Just like our ancestors almost a century ago fell into the trap of the frustration and anger about what was happening to them turned it on immigrants. We can't go there today. They are our brothers and sisters. And we've got to figure out a way to reform this system. And I say to you, if you think the reason that your 4,000 worker auto plant moved to China or wherever is because there's three undocumented Guatemalans working at a restaurant down the street, you're making a big mistake here, okay.

We can't go there. Because if we do, we fall into the trap. And we begin to break down the unity that we need to take on corporate power. Even though honest people may disagree about how we fix this broken system.

So let's get to Frederick Douglas, one of my great heroes, "If there is no struggle, there can be no progress. Find out what any people will quietly submit to and you will have found out the exact measure of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them." Well, let me put this in street English and pardon my language here for just a second. Corporate America is going to keep kicking the crap out of us until we stand up more united and more determined than we have ever been before. And it will only end when we do that. Do you agree with me?

.. Delegates respond "Yeah"...

Okay.

(Applause.)

That's our historic challenge. How do we do that? It won't be easy.

Brother Trumka laid out a lot of great ideas. And I told him when I was sitting in the green room with him, Right on, man, you know, let's have an innovative path forward. There will be challenges, but we've got to figure it out.

You know we are told elect a democratic President and big majorities in Congress. We have done that four times in 50 years. We only won a big set of reforms in the 1960s. We couldn't get labor law reform even to get a vote in any one of those four periods. We couldn't even get a vote in the U.S. Senate while the percentage of workers in the private sector that is

unionized has dropped from 28 to 7 percent, okay.

We need to figure out how we're going to fix that. Because even when we elect some of our so-called friends, some of them stab us in the back. And we need to get rid of them and replace them with pro-worker and pro-union politicians.

(Standing ovation.)

I've been door belling for 40 years, you know. And I am sick and tired of helping to get some clown elected and then when we come down there and say, Okay, time to deliver. Well, you know, I really rethought my position. Well, screw you, Jack. We need to take you out and send you to the unemployment line and replace you with somebody who is going to stand up for the people who are losing their homes.

(Applause.)

Yeah. This can be done. And the reason I told you this story from these previous periods in American history is they said it couldn't be done, and people like you and people like me stood up and did it. But if we don't know that our people did it, we don't think we can do it, okay. This is like finding out that our team won the Super Bowl three years in a row and we didn't know they had won. Hello. Okay.

If you steal the history from a people, you don't know who you are and you don't know what you're capable of. And if you don't know it, you can't tell your kids, and you can't tell your grandkids. So if they say, Daddy or Mamma, why do you think we can turn this around? Well, I just think we can. Well, is there any proof? I don't know. Well, we ought to be able to answer them and say, Yeah, look at what happened, okay. We can do this. It's within our power.

Everybody knows -- the American people know that corporations have too much power, okay. Poll after poll after poll, you don't have to walk out and convince anybody of that, okay. But let me show you some stuff that's both encouraging and discouraging because -- I'm going to lay it out here straight up, okay. The Gallup poll has been asking the American people since 1936, Do you approve or disapprove of unions? That's the blue line, okay. From up until the end of the '60s, it was running close to 65, 70 percent. It drops down to 55 and then in the early mid-'80s, it stabilizes at about 60 percent. The great recession, and now we're down at the lowest point in American history, okay. The Pew poll, the red line, running in the mid to upper 60s, lower 70s and now it's running about in the lower 60s, okay.

Now, there's good news and bad news to this. The bad news is it's the lowest percentage since they've been polling the American people. The good news is majorities of the American people still approve of unions and still believe that they are important to working people. And when I hear people say, Well, nobody likes unions any more. I say, Well, okay, that's a feeling you have and that's a position, but show me your evidence. And I point this out, and go, The good news is, we're still about 50 percent.

And everybody in this room and every member of the Roofers Union can be an ambassador out in your communities talking to people to educate them about what organized labor has done in the past, is doing today and will do in the future to make the American dream real for everybody, okay. We can do this. But we've got to be out talking to our people in our communities, in our churches, in our synagogues, in our mosques, in our bowling leagues in our hunting groups, whatever.

Now here's the other one that's puzzling and troubling: The red line is, would you like unions to have less influence; and would you like to have unions have more influence is the blue line. Well, more Americans want unions to have less power at the same time they think corporations have too

much power. Talk about confusion. People are being ripped off right and left and they think unions should have less power? Who do they think is going to turn this around, the Tooth Fairy? I mean, really, I don't think the Tooth Fairy is going to pull it off. So, we've got work to do out in our communities to build those coalitions, doable coalitions where we are also talking to our allies who are also being beaten back and beaten down. So how do we turn this around? People accuse me of doing Prozac presentations, and they say, We're never inviting this guy back. Saying, My God, I mean, it's not even noon. You can't be drinking before noon; but, you know, after this, you may want to take a quick shot.

But I say, this is not a hopeless situation. Our ancestors faced situations worse than this. And they got up and they kept coming because they were fighting for their kids and their grandkids. And they couldn't go home and say to their kids and grandkids, Kids, the world is going to get worse and I'm not planning on doing anything about it. Is anybody here willing to say that to your kids, raise your hand.

(No response.)

Nobody? How many of you are willing to go home and say to your kids and your grandkids and the young people you love, We've got to figure out a way to build an intergenerational movement so we can give you a brighter future? How many are in on that? Raise your hands.

(Applause.)

Yeah. That's our job. We've got to figure out a way to build across generations and take our country back. So how do we do that? Number 1, we have to inspire hope, anchored in our own history of victories that we can do this. Because if you don't believe you can do it, you won't do it. But history tells us that people like us can change the course of history. And we're all living examples of standing on the shoulders of the previous generations who did that.

We need to build unity around a vision and values in an agenda. What is a positive vision of the future? What are the values that drive it? Not just what are we trying to defend, but what are we fighting for? Because an army moves forward on the basis of we want to win something and we want to win something big. We need to educate the public about the critical role of organized labor. Because all those victories that I described to you benefited nonunion workers, too. We need to rebuild the labor movement -- Brother Trumka already covered that -- we need to build permanent broad coalitions in our communities.

I've been the board chair of the Washington Association of Churches. I'm on the board of the State Action Network. I've been on the board of the largest immigrant rights organization in the state. And in Washington state, we are working hard to build permanent coalitions across these various movements because we're all under attack. And they're stealing the dream from us in similar yet different ways. We need to support aggressive mass movements. We need to get young people involved because it's their future that's really getting stolen.

And last but not least, get rid of these corporate democrats, okay. This is not a set of policy prescriptions; but this is a framework about how we think about the work that we're doing. But first and foremost, we have to inspire hope in the American people that it can be done. People tell me the American people are apathetic. And I say, How many people do you know are going to go home and tell their kids that the world is going to get worse and they're not going to do anything about it? Well, if you say "yes," then I guess you're apathetic. But nobody is apathetic about their kids and grandkids. They may be in despair, they may lack hope, but we can do this. We can do this

and we must do this because it's about our families and our communities that we love so deeply.

Who says we can't win big? You know, everybody knows about Wisconsin, right, they couldn't get rid of Scott Walker. In Ohio, they had an initiative process that when they took collective bargaining rights away from workers in the public sector, they put an initiative together, they needed 400,000 signatures, they got a million signatures. And then they went to the polls and they crushed the union busters 61 to 39.

Let's hear it for our Brothers and Sisters in Ohio.

(Applause.)

Don't say it can't be done. 3.6 million low wage workers in California are going to have a \$10 an hour minimum wage by 2016. And 190,000 workers in the City of Seattle now have paid sick leave because we waged a war in that city and we won. Unions in 80 community organizations standing together.

So pop quiz. Which of these groups do you think are the most pro-union?

We're going to -- I want everybody to participate.

How many think it's the 18 to 29 year olds, raise hands.

... Delegates raise hands ...

Okay. There's about 10 of you.

30 to 49?

... Delegates raise hands ...

About 10 of you.

50 to 64?

... Delegates raise hands ...

It's a landslide.

65 and older?

... Delegates raise hands ...

Okay. And the answer is, hello, okay. Sisters and brothers, I want to say something to you. You are intelligent people and how did you get this so wrong? Okay. There are a number of national polls that show this. The young people get it and most of us older folks don't get it. I have yet to have an audience get this question right.

And when I asked the President of the Washington Young Emerging Labor Leaders Group in Seattle why is this, she looked at me like a horn was coming out of my forehead. She goes, Duh, we're the people with three part time jobs with no benefits. We're the people with \$40,000 in student loans. We're the people who are living at home, and it's kind of weird bringing our boyfriend home to spend the night because my parents are there. We're the people who can't afford to buy a car. We're the people who can't afford to buy a house. What are you talking about? The reason we're pro-union is like every other generation that's getting stomped on by corporate power, we figured out if we don't stick together and build some kind of power, we're doomed. And I went, Whoa, whoa, whoa, chill, Sister. I wasn't arguing with you, I'm just asking. She said, Well, obviously, I've got some juice around this. I said, Yeah. So we need to figure out how to tap into this energy of this younger generation that's frustrated and angry. And the dream is being stolen from them right in front of their very eyes.

Tuition at the University of Washington went up 32 percent in the last two years. If you're a working class or poor kid, you better rob a bank or you are going to have to mortgage yourself to pay for it. 40 years ago, it was \$200 a quarter; now I think it's 20,000 a year. Yeah. Stealing the dream from our kids who want to reach for whatever their dreams might be. Young people are a huge ally to us.

So I want to just whip you through some -- very quickly -- the power of the people versus Wal-Mart. We need to take down Wal-Mart. They are the enemy

of working people in virtually every country on this planet. Okay.

(Applause.)

And we need to stick together and take them down.

(Applause.)

The day after Thanksgiving, Black Friday when there was a strike at the Renton Wal-Mart, there were 300 of us down there in a driving rain. And we had representatives of 30 organizations that were in the march and in the picket line because they understood that the fight of Wal-Mart isn't just a union fight. It's a fight in the community. Because what does Wal-Mart do? They say, When you want medical benefits, go sign up for state Medicaid. Yeah. Yeah. No kidding. And then they hire -- they give money to politicians to gut the federal programs that would expand Medicaid. We can't let them do this.

Fast food strikes at McDonald's. They made 5.5 billion, do you think they might be able to pay a little bit more money? Well, you know, we might go bankrupt if we raise the pay a buck or two. I mean, geez, you know, we're a struggling corporation here, okay. These people have nerve.

The immigrants -- young immigrants who were born -- who were brought here at an age 2, 3, 4 years old, they want to be part of the American dream. And they say, Tell us what we've got to do and we'll do it. We don't know anything about the country we were born in. And when they couldn't get any action and they were protesting and saying, Give us a chance to become American citizens. They barricaded themselves into the headquarters of -- the campaign headquarters of President Obama, when the old people said, Hey, don't do that, that would be a bad idea. A week later, the President issues a stay of deportation for 2 million of them. Now, you can disagree about the issue, but I like their militance of we're not afraid to get deported because we're tired of having to live like we're less than human and living in the shadows.

And I want to talk for a minute -- because as Brother Trumka said, this isn't a fight just in the United States, this is a fight all over the world. I'm sure most of you, if not all of you, know about the horrific deaths in Bangladesh when a garment factory building collapsed and 1100 workers were killed. They were nonunion. They didn't have a right to form a union. They were getting paid 30 cents an hour. They were working for Wal-Mart. They were working for GAP. It was a corporate massacre that makes what happened in Dearborn, Michigan look like a fight in a sandbox, okay.

They're as human as I am. I don't care if they worship a different God. I don't care if their skin color is different. I don't care if they speak a different language. They are workers fighting for their families, fighting for their kids and their grandkids.

And what do they say? We stand in solidarity with the workers of the United States resisting the assaults on their rights. Your resistance -- this is Wisconsin and Ohio -- has been inspirational to the labor movement and working people all over the globe. Well, Sisters and Brothers, we need to stand with the workers in Bangladesh and the workers all over the world because they're fighting the same corporations that are trying to destroy our way of life and steal the American dream and steal the dreams from them in their countries as well.

Are you with me on this?

(Applause.)

Okay. I want to close on some upbeat notes here because I've talked some heavy stuff, stuff to move your heart but also to move your minds. People like us have and can change the world. This is our time. Women got the right to vote in 1920 after 200 years of fighting for it. They said it

couldn't be done and the American people did it.

We fought for 140 years for the right to organize unions and we won in the 1930s. They said we couldn't do it.

We won all those victories in the 1930s of minimum wage and overtime pay and 5-day week, and 8-hour day and Social Security. They said it couldn't be done. We found our unity and our power and we did it.

They said we couldn't end segregation in the United States. I'm old enough to remember colored drinking fountains and white drinking fountains and asking my mother, What in the world is this? And she goes, They're sinning against God because God loves everyone. She was a simple woman but she understood justice and the truth. They said it couldn't be done and we did it.

All the great victories in the 1960s: Medicare, Medicaid, opening up higher education, voting rights, civil rights. They said it couldn't be done and we did it.

The fight against the racist apartheid regime in South Africa. People all over the world stood up and said, An end to this. And that regime came down. The Berlin Wall came down, and people like us did it. And when we're done, we can go out in the hall and get a computer and go up on E-bay and we can buy a chunk of the Berlin Wall and put it on your desk if you need to be reminded of what working people can do. We did all of this.

This is today. Are we going to do the same thing that was done by our ancestors and people like us all over the world? Are you with me?

... Delegates respond with "Yes" ...

(Applause.)

Yay. Let me close with a quote, "The ultimate test of a person, a movement and a people is not whether or not we get knocked down. It is what do we do when we get up. Are we stronger, smarter, more determined, and more united? This is always our choice." No one can take these choices away from us. Each one of us individually and collectively in the Roofers Union, in the AFL-CIO and in our entire country, these choices are ours. And I say to you, Are we going to get stronger?

... Delegates respond with "Yes" ...

Yes.

Are we going to get smarter?

... Delegates respond with "Yes" ...

Are we going to get more determined?

... Delegates respond with "Yes" ...

Are we going to get more united?

... Delegates respond with "Yes" ...

Then let's do it. This is our country. Let's take it back. Let's give a better future to our kids and our grandkids. We got it. They should get it too.

(Standing ovation.)

Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT ROBINSON: Thank you, Mark. That was very inspirational. And also I want to thank Paul Blaski because Paul is the one that came to me and said, I've got a guy who is a good friend of mine. He'll do a great job for our Convention. And, certainly, Mark did a great job for us. Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

The gentlemen that are out of the room taking a little trip to the men's room or ladies room, they're going to wish they were here to watch this video.

... Video played ...

(Laughter and applause.)

That one just brings tears to my eyes. At this time I'd like to call on Tom Pedrick, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, for a report on Resolutions 8 and 10.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE CHAIR PEDRICK: Good morning. The Resolution Committee has met and heard testimony on Resolution No. 8 and its companion Resolutions No. 29 and 55. Secretary Dan O'Donnell will now read Resolution No. 8.

RESOLUTION COMMITTEE SECRETARY O'DONNELL: Resolution 8:

WHEREAS, it has become more difficult to adequately police the territory and agreements between local unions; and

WHEREAS, it is periodically necessary to transfer territory to protect our work and craft jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, the negotiation and enforcement of bargaining agreement may not always be effected in all areas in which employers may obtain work.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that Article VIII, Section 2(d) of the International Constitution be amended to read as follows:

Section 2.(d) The International President, whenever in his judgment any project is undertaken in an area which is not adequately policed, is authorized to organize the workers in our crafts, which may include, transferring territory between local unions and establishing new local unions and he may expend such money out of the General Fund as he deems necessary to accomplish such actions.

The Committee has heard testimony and voted unanimously in favor of this, Mr. Chairman.

I move for adoption of Resolution No. 8 as read.

RESOLUTION COMMITTEE CHAIR PEDRICK: I second the motion.

PRESIDENT ROBINSON: You have heard the motion and the second. On the question? All those in favor signify, by saying "aye."

(Chorus of ayes.)

Opposed?

(No response.)

The ayes have it.

RESOLUTION COMMITTEE CHAIR PEDRICK: The Resolution Committee has met and heard testimony on Resolution No. 10 and its companion Resolution No. 57. Secretary Dan O'Donnell will now read Resolution No. 10.

RESOLUTION COMMITTEE SECRETARY O'DONNELL: Resolution 10:

WHEREAS, the cost of hospitalization and the maintenance of burial benefits has increased to an excessive amount; and

WHEREAS, the burial of brothers and sisters with respect and dignity for their support and loyalty to this organization and its local unions shall continue to be honored.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that Article IV, Section 12 of the International By-Laws be amended to read as follows:

Section 12. The International Secretary-Treasurer, at the direction of and subject to approval by the International Executive Board, is authorized to enter into a contract of insurance with any reputable life insurance company authorized to maintain group insurance policies for the purpose of providing for the payment of burial benefits due under this Article.

The Committee heard testimony and voted unanimously in favor of this.
Mr. Chairman, I move for adoption of Resolution No. 10 as read.

RESOLUTION COMMITTEE CHAIR PEDRICK: I second the motion.

PRESIDENT ROBINSON: You have heard the motion and the second on Resolution 10. On the question? All those in favor, signify by saying "aye."

(Chorus of ayes.)

Opposed?

(No response.)

The ayes have it.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Mr. Secretary.

Our final speaker for this morning is Pete Stafford. Pete is the Executive Director of the CPWR, the Center for Construction Research and Training and is responsible for managing \$15 million annually in cooperative agreements, grants and contracts with NIOSH, DOE, and DOL on programs dedicated to construction safety and health research, training and related services. Pete has over 27 years of experience in the construction safety and health and serves on many construction industry advisory boards and committees. He also serves as Safety and Health Director for the Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO and is the current Chairman of OSHA's Advisory Committee on Construction Safety and Health.

Under Pete's leadership, CPWR has become an important asset to the construction industry, to the roofing industry and to our union. CPWR has helped us investigate hazardous exposures in roofing, such as silica from cutting concrete tiles and isocyanates from spraying polyurethane foam, and explore other solutions to these problems. They are now researching the potential dangers of nanoparticles and looking in particular at roofing tiles containing nano titanium dioxide.

CPWR and the Roofer's Union studied how work-related injuries and illness lead to disabilities, retirement or job changes for roofers. And we will team up next year on a project to address ergonomic issues that will include other key organizations such as the NRCA, equipment suppliers and the insurance community.

Please welcome our good friend, Pete Stafford.

(Standing ovation.)

PETE STAFFORD (Executive Director The Center for Construction Research and Training): Good morning.

... Delegates respond "Good Morning" ...

I appreciate the introduction. It's a pleasure to be here. I want to thank President Robinson and Secretary-Treasurer Danley and the Executive Board for both their leadership and support of our organization at CPWR and for inviting me to the Convention this morning.

As President Robinson mentioned, I wear a number of hats in safety health and construction, but I'm going to focus primarily on CPWR, the Center for Construction, Research and Training. And I've got some slides that I'm going to go through. Because I'd like to show you some data in terms of our research about the construction industry generally and specifically the roofing industry.

CPWR -- why don't we start just a little bit with the background because I think that's important on who we are and what we do at CPWR. And this is really not my organization, CPWR is organized as a 501c3 nonprofit by the Building and Construction Trades Department. And you heard from my boss, President McGarvey yesterday. He's also the President of this

organization. And, of course, Sean reports to President Robinson and all the other General Presidents of the affiliated unions of the Department. So this is really your organization, this is the Roofers organization and the other building trades unions organization, and I work for you. And I'm very proud to do that.

And so what I want to go through today is kind of just talk a little bit about this organization, your organization. How we got started. How we got from Point A to Point B. The resources that we provide, both to this union and to the rest of the building trades unions. And in the end, I hope that you find the resources -- if you're not familiar with our organization -- to the extent that they're useful to you, and the millions of dollars that we've spent since 1990 doing our work that's available to you. I hope that you find that informative. So that's really the goal and the amount of time that I have today.

Our organization, now I believe -- I serve on the International Social Security Administration Construction Section, and I have been saying to that group for the last -- this is a group of probably 20 or so countries -- safety and health geeks like myself get together once a year and compare notes about what's going on in our industries from country to country. And I keep telling them in the last four or five years as we have grown our organization that we are now the largest organization in the world devoted to construction safety and health research and training. They're not balking at that, so I am going to assume that we are and I continue to say that. But the extent is that we've grown -- with the leadership of this union and others -- that we have grown from an organization in 1990 when we started as me being the only employee to an organization that's running at about at \$16 million a year now, and doing work across three different programs that I would like to talk about primarily.

Most of our work, if you're not familiar with us, is either around construction safety and health research, hazardous waste safety and health training, or medical services we provide for construction workers. So I'm going to start with on the research side, you know, and I'm going to break this up. This synergy thing is as we've grown our programs, we've been able to develop our programs so that they'd feed into one another. The data that we get from our injuries and illnesses through our medical screening programs feeds into our research program; the findings from our research programs feeds into our safety and health training program.

We are funded by four organizations, essentially federal government organizations. I don't take -- we don't take any contributions from employers or unions. We don't spend any per capita tax money. We're a 100 percent self-funded organization. Now, there's good and there's bad things to that. Being a self-funded organization means that we are constantly either writing grant proposals or reports. We're at the whim of the federal Government in terms of the funding available to support our organization. The good side of that is that we're somewhat independent, and that we can do our work freely once we have the funding. And I think that's important and it's allowed us to grow.

I'm going to start with research. That's really our bread and butter and that's why we got started in our work in 1990. And I was working at the Building Trades Department on various safety and health capacities in the late '80s. And we started looking at what the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health was doing in the area of construction. As many of you know, NIOSH was created with the OSHA Act in 1970 and was really the only Federal Government agency that was charged at looking at occupational safety and health and doing research. Primarily, Congress

intended for NIOSH to do work that would feed into OSHA that would appear in construction standards that regulate our industry.

When we started poking around at NIOSH, there is a number here that NIOSH was spending about \$5 per worker in the mining industry, about \$2 per worker in the general industry and about .6 cents per worker in the construction industry. And as you know, our industry is a very hazardous industry and it really didn't seem very right in terms of their resources on what we were doing for our -- for construction. So at the time my boss, the President of the Building Trades Department cut a deal with the director of NIOSH. And the deal was, the Building Trades Department would go to Congress and try to get some support to get NIOSH more money, and in turn, NIOSH would put more resources into taking a look at our industry.

We lived up to our side of the bargain, but NIOSH couldn't live up to theirs. As a large federal Government agency, they just had a very hard time of turning the ship and looking at construction. So they decided to outsource it. And that's how we got started at CPWR. NIOSH put out a solicitation. We put in a grant application and got funded. It was pretty meager at the time, I was working at the Department, we had -- our first grant was about 200 grand. And that's how we got started. We are now in our fifth five-year cooperative agreement. Our funding level for research is about \$5.75 million a year. We just submitted our sixth cooperative agreement application last month. And if we get that funding, that will take effect next -- September 1, of 2014.

Half our money goes out the door. You know, as President Robinson said, I'm also the acting Chair of the Building Trades Safety Committee. In that capacity, I have, over the years, have been able to work with a colleague and a friend, Johnny Barnhard, that I know most of you know. And it's through John and the other Building Trade unions that really drive our research program and what we want to look at. So this is simply a slide of the 20 or so research projects that we've got going on now in the construction industry. I'm not going to have time, obviously, to go through all of them, but I just highlighted in red of the some of the ones that I think were specific to your union.

You know, we're data geeks. I have a data center that's a pretty impressive group of folks, and we always collect data. We just published the Fifth Edition of what we call The Construction Industry Chart Book. That's everything. It's the only source document that we're aware of in the United States construction industry that pulls everything that we know about the national data into one cover. I don't know if you're familiar with the chart book or not, but it's, I think, a tremendous resource. It's in hard copy. And it's free to anyone that wants to use it. Just go to our Web Site, www.CPWR.com and you can get the construction chart book free of charge. And it's really very impressive.

I don't know if I can go back -- yeah, and so I just pulled out a few things on roofer exposure. So just a few things in the chart book, if you're interested in looking at the data in your industry. It will talk about safety and health hazards to your members in terms of MSDSs, noise, other hazards that we can identify by the national database. MSDS, is, of course, a musculoskeletal disorder injuries as ergonomic injuries in our industry, generally in construction always has been, you know, will continue to be until we get a handle on -- about a third of all of our injuries are those kinds of injuries: Strains, sprains, backs, necks and about half of all of our workers' compensation costs are due to ergonomic injuries.

The chart book will also tell you about the numbers that we have in the national data about apprenticeship training programs, the number of

apprentices we take in, comparison of union, nonunion roofer wages, health insurance provisions and pensions and roofer employment projections. So that's just a snapshot of some of the things in the chart book that may be of interest to you. And as I say, I encourage you to go to the Web site and take a look and download the book. And for any of you who want hard copies, I'd be also glad to send that to you.

So let's just look at the data a little bit. And the number of fatalities you can see that construction still is the most hazardous industry in the country in terms of our fatalities. It's actually down. And since we've been doing our work in 1990, construction fatalities would range anywhere from 1,000 to 1,200. It's down to -- I can't see the number now -- 862 I believe it is for the last year. Of course, that's hard numbers and we've got to consider that those numbers are down a little bit because -- since the economic collapse in 2008, we've lost 2.3 million jobs in the construction sector. So I just show you that slide to see where we stand in terms of fatalities and our comparisons.

Now, I want to look at fatalities as it relates to your industry. And you can see that the number of fatalities in terms of death where the roofers stand compared to other unions, the laborers are way high.

Foremen, you can be a foreman in any trade, that's just the way the national data shows. I'm sure there's some roofers in that; but you can see that in terms of the number of fatalities, we selected occupations where this -- where your union stands.

If we look at the data, too, I mean, this is the roofers in terms of fatalities, 100,000 FTEs, that the roofers are very high right there, same with the Ironworker. Power installers, you can argue whether or not that's a construction trade or not. I mean, it's obvious that they have a lot of fall problems. But there's significant issues and as I mentioned before, it doesn't matter in our industry if it's 1,200 fatalities a year or 800 fatalities a year, whatever the number is, always consistently over the last 25 years, one-third of all of our construction fatalities are due to falls. That doesn't change and you can see that on this slide, falls here 33 point -- a little over a third of all of our fatalities in these industries are falls, and it's an important area. I know it's an issue important to this union. I just wanted to present this data very quickly. And, of course, if you cut it down even further, one-third of all those -- of those falls are falling off a roof, and if we could stop people from falling off the roof, falling off a ladder, or falling off scaffold, we could go a long way in reducing fall fatalities in our industry.

And then, of course, we know and it's just for construction and it's very few. If you look at the data even, you know, when I look at it, you know, in this industry, in the construction industry in the United States of America, 80 percent of our employers have 10 employees or less and we recognize if we look at any kind of hazard or any kind fatality in the industry, that the majority of our problems in terms of hazards, injuries, illness and fatalities are from these small employers. And it applies to your industry and every other sector in the construction industry.

And in the lifetime risk, this will be my last data slide, but I'm just showing this to you to give you a taste of what's in the chart book for your interest. If you're interested in the roof -- if you're working -- if you work a lifetime in the roofing industry, for every 1,000 roofers that work in the industry, you could expect 14 of them to get killed on the job due to a fatal injury. And that, again, ranks third in the construction industry. So we have a hazardous industry here. And I don't need to tell you folks that. And I think that there's a lot that we can do about it, that we're

trying to do about it working with your International and through CPWR and the sources we provide.

We're doing a research project now out in St. Louis at Washington University, St. Louis. And it's really stark on what we've -- what they've developed in terms of an apprenticeship training program and the decline of, you know, injuries that they expect to see. And I just threw this slide out there to show you some of the work in this particular area.

Isocyanates is something I talked to John Barnhard about and President Robinson listed in the introduction, we funded Yale University to take a look at spray polyurethane. And we know that these sprays cause certain asthma. And I know that this is an area that the roofers are particularly interested in. And it's something we have to know more about, not just about the exposure, but more or less what we need to do about it. And as a part of this work, we're developing an intervention program that is hopefully effective. And hopefully through John, we'll share that information and then get it out to your training programs.

Because falls are so important, CPWR has joined with OSHA and NIOSH to launch a construction falls campaign. And as I said, in our industry, if we can get a handle on falls, we can go a long way to improving what's happening in terms of our experience. So we joined with OSHA and NIOSH two years ago to launch this construction falls campaign. And it's just an awareness campaign, if you go to the site, there are all kinds of training information, information, studies, toolbox talks, videos and that kind of a thing. And, of course, it's kind of a small slide with, John's work -- John, your union was one of the first unions -- labor unions to join this campaign to work with us on that. So I think it's a very successful campaign to the extent that, you know, we can evaluate the impact. But clearly, I think we know what we need to be looking at and we have to figure out how we're effective in stopping it.

As a part of this, one of the things that we've done, and I was a little bit skeptical about trying it, but in the end we did, is actually doing a fatality map. So this a map that I would encourage you to go to for those of you that are in the apprenticeship training world. Some of the folks in the other trades that are looking at this map have come back to me and told me this is a very useful tool when they talk about -- in their safety and health classes -- for the journeyman upgrade and for the apprentices. But essentially I've got an excellent grad student now. And one of the things that's a little bit scary about trying to catch real-time fatalities is in our national data, when we get data from BLS, there's about a two-year lag. So we're talking about -- construction fatalities in 2013, we're really looking at 2011 data; but now we're tracking it full-time. And, essentially, we're getting data from OSHA fatality reports. And I've got this young fellow, a very bright guy working in our office and essentially doing Google searches and finding fatalities in local newspaper reports.

You know, that earlier slide, one of the things that is frustrating -- and one of my hats is I'm also now the Chairman of the OSHA Construction Advisory Committee. And we have this industry of ours that has all of these fatalities compared to the mining industry, for example. And I'm not taking any away from the mining industry, they have about 160 fatalities in the mining industry every year compared to our 1000. And the mining industry has a separate OSHA, MSHA within the Department of Labor. NIOSH, for an industry that's got about 250,000 workers compared to our 10 million, is spending about \$40 million in the mining industry compared to about half of that in the construction industry. So I always go, as a part of my role in OSHA to talk about not what we should take from OSHA -- from mining to give to

construction, but if mining had manages -- or needs these kind of resources, I'll use that as the argument why we need to do more in the construction industry.

Anyway, this fatality map is -- we are were successful in capturing about 90 percent of the fatalities and here's just a snapshot. You can go on any of those pins -- and this is a roofer fatality from, again, I can't see that very well -- I think it's a roofer fatality in New Hampshire. And it will just tell you who the contractor is based on the code and a narrative description of what happened and there is -- this is one of eight pages. So in terms of, like, trying to find out and understand how we can learn from these experiences of folks that are getting killed in our industry, this map is doing it, and it's doing it in real-time for you.

Silica, we need a silica standard in the construction industry. The OMB has been holding up OSHA's proposed Silica standard now for the last three years and it just got released. And, of course, the Building Trades are going to weigh in heavily on this. It's so outdated. You know, the coverage for our members for exposure to silica, the standard that now covers it is so antiquated. The sampling methods they used to actually sample aren't even used any longer. And, of course, we're getting a lot of push back and we continue always get that push back from our employers, even our good employers associations. We work with a lot of all union employer associations, union, nonunion employer associations, but they have all, even before this standard has come out, have lined up to fight us on this silica standard. And with the leadership of this union and others, we're going to do our best to make sure that we get a standard in place.

So not just resources, you know, we've spent millions of dollars, as I've said, in trying to pull this information together. And so our Web Site is www.CPWR.com. There is it. That will take you to the -- if you're interested in taking a look at our organization, you can go there and that will take you to all the links of all the other resources that we provide within CPWR.

So I just want to talk very quickly about the products of our research and then I'll conclude. One thing that we started -- and this is, I think -- started pulling things together probably about 10 years ago and we just renovated this site last year is ELCOSH, which stands for the Electronic Library of Construction Occupational Safety and Health. And if you have any interest in safety and health, you can go to this site and everything that we know, not just in the United States of America, but around the world in construction safety and health is imbedded in this Web site. They'll have research findings, again, videos, training materials, toolbox talks, hazard alert cards, anything that you could want. And I would encourage you in terms -- if your interested or have anything that you need to know about construction safety and health, that ELCOSH is the place to start.

And I just pointed this out. This is something that you can look at. I'm just again, trying to show something specific to the roofing industry. Solutions is also another one of our Web sites. And we just added and ROI, return on investment calculator because our employers are interested in their investment on safety and health, what are the returns after that? So I think that's something -- a tool that hopefully our employers will find useful. But solutions, again, is a very worker-friendly site to navigate. You can just go in and put in roofing, you could put in a particular hazard, a trade, a task within roofing and you will go right to the page that will show you some very simple solutions, controls that are out there that are available. And it's something you could walk through. Just like our silica Web site that I'm going to get to in a minute.

Hazard alert cards have been very popular, we've had many for years. We've redone them, they're all available for free. I have -- John Barnhard calls all the time, some of your locals do, but, you know, we have now a list of hazard alert cards that we've put a lot of effort into developing that are there for the industry that want to use it. It's all free to you, free to our employees that are interested in these topics. Again, I'm not going to take much time to go through them, you can go to the Web site and look at them for yourselves. The point is, there's a lot of very important and useful information.

President Robinson mentioned this partnership that we were talking about. In our proposal that I mentioned earlier to NIOSH, if we do get funded -- and I feel pretty confident that we will get funded -- we're going to start developing partnerships. Because in the research community, my academic buddies President -- Dr. John Howard, who is the director of NIOSH has coined this term "research to practice." We know what to about certain hazards. The problem is how do we get that word out and get these controls, interventions, technologies introduced? And what we've learned in certain areas is the most important way to do that is to develop partnerships. And we have now developed a partnership in the masonry industry that CPWR is funding with the support that's really done tremendous work in terms of the mason industry, dealing with their issues on musculoskeletal disorders and exposure to silica and other things. And with the roofing industry in this application, again, if we're successful, that we were going to try to support and fund a roofing partnership that will obviously consist of this International, the National Roofing Contractors Associations and the other stakeholders that you folks identify that could work with us to develop partnerships with our money to try to support going through how you could take something with our help, figuring out how it works and getting disseminated bodily in the industry. And I think that's where we're at. When we first started our work, it was characterizing what was going on. And then it became kind of developing interventions to see what worked. And we've done those two phases, now we know what works. We've just got to get it out there in the hands of the people that need it. And that's what this partnership is all about.

I know I'm going through this very quickly but, again, I encourage you to go to the Web site.

I'm going to switch gears to training it's also important, that's one of the -- the second leg of our three-legged stool at CPWR. We have been involved in training from the beginning, but specifically hazardous waste training. We have a program that we took over in 1990 that's funded by the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences. I have 11 building trades unions under my umbrella, including the Roofers Union, that we provide support to deliver the training. So this is just a list of the courses that we provide through CPWR. Many of you may be familiar with -- there should be another course on there that we just developed. You know, there's not a whole hell of a lot of regulations coming out of Washington now, and I don't expect that in terms of safety and health there's going to be many, but one regulation that came out recently was the hazard communication standard and that's a new standard that's going to take effect soon and as a part of that is a training program. We developed a four hour HAZCOM training program that I know John has taken and distributed. And I talked to Dan this morning from St. Louis that some of you have used, but that's an important -- an excellent program. I'm blessed to have a great staff of dedicated people at CPWR. And my training folks are top notch and they developed really a terrific program. And I think this union and all the other building trade unions and their

employers can use to not only train our members to protect themselves, but to help our employers comply with this standard.

And one of the things that CPWR is also is we're OSHA -- a national resource center. That means we have the ability to do the Train the Trainer programs and many of you may be familiar with the 500 and the 502s. So under our umbrella, John -- your union with John, you have master instructors just like all the other building trade unions do. They can go around to your locals and train your apprenticeship directors in the OSHA 500 which authorizes them to teach the OSHA 30 and the OSHA 10.

You know, before the economic collapse of 2007, in my office alone, we were processing 120,000 10-hour and 30-hour cards a year. We're back up -- we declined to about 55,000, but are starting back up. And then this past year trained almost 70,000 workers -- or you folks did, you and the other unions combined collectively in the building trades -- and this is an incredibly strong number -- we have over 4,000 of our instructors across the country that are certified to teach the OSHA 30 and the OSHA 10. And this is a program that was actually started -- the Smart Mart Program which I'll talk about in a minute that maybe you may be familiar with was a market recovery program. This was a program we developed back in the mid-1990s and the idea was to standardize the training and put a 10-hour card in every union construction worker's pocket as a part of our market recovery efforts. It's still that to an extent, I guess, but it has become because of the importance of the OSHA 10- and 30-hour card more than that, and we think it's a very quality program.

I just skipped over one slide, I'm not sure that I can go back. Yes, so this is just again more numbers. And I'll go through these as they're available to you.

Smart Mark, again, is the building trades program. OSHA requires 10 hours. If you want to have the 10-hour OSHA card in it, you need 10 hours. Our menu now is about 20 hours because there's electives depending on the trade or the job you're in. There's like four mandatory topics and then the rest are elective. So these are the menus of the safety and health training programs that we provide.

I'm going to close with service. We do medical screening programs for the Department of Energy. Any former worker -- construction worker that's even been on a Department of Energy site, we provide a free medical screening program too. This program is, I think, a very excellent program and we've been running this program since 1995. And actually started it before the EEOI compensation, that's the Energy Employee's Compensation Act that took effect in 2008. What that does is that if you have -- if you worked at a Department of Energy site and you have a disease, cancer, other kinds of diseases and you go through the process of a screening, you get a \$150,000 lump sum, which is great for our members, obviously, that worked at that facilities or their survivors. And, also importantly, it relieves our health and welfare funds who have been footing the bill for the costs of these kinds of diseases we've been treating. Because once you get into this program, if you're accepted -- and this goes retroactive to the time you're diagnosed and the compensation program picks it up.

And here's just a slide of where we have -- these are the DOE sites that we cover. Of course, I don't need to tell you folks, many of our workers are transitory. And it doesn't matter where you live in the United States of America or what facility you worked at, if you're a union member and you worked at a Department of Energy site and you are interested in a medical screening program, we'll provide it for you. And if you have a -- and if you have something that will be compensated then we'll help that -- work

that through with you as well.

And here is a member from the Kansas City Local, I believe it's Local 20. And, again, I left my glasses up in my room and I can't see that slide. But he runs our outreach office. And this is an example of the program. And I think it's something that I'm asking, I guess this is ask for me in terms of you business managers and agents the folks that are out there that know your membership, I would encourage you, if you could promote or anything that you can or anything that we can provide to you in terms of, you know, trying to do outreach to these folks to get them in the program, I think it would both help them and in some cases, like I said, help our funds as well. So I'm going to close with that. I just wanted to share with you some of the -- a snapshot of the work that we do at CPWR. Again, I think it's important for me that -- you know, this is probably my last application that we'll put in. But, you know, I've been working now in this area for almost 30 years now and I am committed to worker safety and health. I'm committed to the building trades unions. I've enjoyed my relationship with President Robinson and the rest of the officers in this union. And anything that we can do at CPWR to help you do your jobs, then that's what we plan on doing. Thank you very much.
(Standing ovation.)

PRESIDENT ROBINSON: Thanks, Pete for sharing your knowledge with us. I don't think there's any doubt that any of us in the construction industry don't realize that you're the most knowledgeable fellow in, not only in Washington, but throughout the country to give us the help to protect our members, and thank you or plugging Walter Smith too, I don't know what he's running for but...

(Applause.)

Tony, if I could call on you for a video, I'd appreciate it.

... Video played ...

(Applause.)

At this time, I'm going to turn the podium over to Secretary-Treasurer Danley.

SECRETARY-TREASURER DANLEY: Good morning.

... Delegates respond with "Good Morning" ...

This is the fun part of the Convention. Again, you know, it's check distribution time.

... Delegates cheer ...

Like we did Monday, that went pretty slick. I'm going to call out the main officers from the local. Are the checks in the room?

Let me make a couple announcements first and I'm looking for a few members. John Hayes has requested that the Mid-States District Council meet right after this session is adjourned over in the Mid-State area.

The USA booth is closed, so there's two individuals that still have tickets for the pistol. One is Gig Ritenour and Steve, do you still got tickets?

All right. So we've got two individuals still got tickets for that pistol.

And then I'm looking for four individuals before I hand out checks. If you could see one of the Sergeant-at-Arms back here. One is Gerald Crouse from Local 195; Mike Heath from Local 248, Salvador Muniz for Local 36 and Tim O'Brien from Local 42. So if you could see the Sergeant-at-Arms back here, we'll try to get going. And then the checks are here, Frank?

All right. So if we could have the Sergeant-at-Arms come up here. We'll make this thing go kind of slick. Once again, you've got to sign a letter, give it back to your main officer and away we'll go.

Delegate at mic 4.

DELEGATE CRITCHLEY: Mr. Secretary, Dave Critchley, Local 4. I'd just like to ask the Election Committee, we're going to meet at 1:00 o'clock this afternoon in the back of the hall here. So if anybody that's on the Election Committee, we're meeting 1:00 o'clock back here right after we resume the Convention.

SECRETARY-TREASURER DANLEY: Thank you David.

DELEGATE CRITCHLEY: Thank you.

SECRETARY-TREASURER DANLEY: All right. So here we go. All right, sorry about that.

Local 2, Dan O'Donnell.

Local 4, Dave Critchley.

Local 8, Nick Siciliano.

Local 10, Nick Strauss.

Local 11, Gary Menzel.

Local 12, Butch Davidson.

Local 20, Kevin King.

You let me know if you want me to slow it down a little bit. Keep going?

All right.

23, Layne Marshall.

26, Jeff Lussow.

27, Dario Sifuentes.

32, Mike Miller.

33, Paul Bickford. Don't forget to sign the sheets and bring them back up.

Good to go?

36, Cliff Smith.

Good? All right.

37, Fred Pollazon.

40, Steve Tucker.

At the last Convention, we passed a Resolution -- and it's in this Constitution, that you have to stay at the convention hotel in order to get a check. And I think we have a couple of individuals that aren't staying at the hotel. So they if don't get a check, that's the reason why.

I left off with 40, I believe.

42, Rodney Toole.

44, Chuck Lavelle.

Local 49, Russ Garnett.

Local 54, Steve Hurley.

Good to go? Good to go?

58, Dale Solano.

69, Steve Peterson.

If you could, bring the signed ones back in the folder.

Thank you very much.

Local 70, John Tackett.

71 Mike Brown.

74, John Bernas.

75, John Hayes.

81, Doug Ziegler. And we've -- for those guys that got to cash their checks, we've pre-warned the cage. So they're ready for us.

86, Marv Cochran.

There goes a couple of guys, they're going to beat you to the cage. Sorry

about that fellas.

Local 88, I Barb Dixon.

Local 91, Moises Ruiz.

Local 92, Danny Stukins.

Local 95, Robert Rios.

Local 96, Pete Jaworksi.

Local 97, James Hardig.

Local 106, Bill Alexander.

Local 112, Ray Wake.

Local 119, Oather Duncan.

Local 134, Mike Kujawa.

Local 142, Robert Pearson.

All right, it's supposed to be the individual ones not the grouping of the full names. I need you to sign the individual forms and put them back in the folder and bring them back up. So if you need to come back up and grab your folder, come on up, and let's get it taken care of.

All right, moving on, the next local is Local 143, Robert Whitaker.

Local 147, Chris Martin.

149, Bob Peterson.

Local 150, Jeff Hayes.

All right, 153, Matt Thompson.

154, Sal Giovannello.

162, Tom Nielson.

176, Don Cardwell.

182, Robert Rowe.

185, Clyde Dale Rose, Jr.

Local 188, Gary Zadai.

189, Leo Marsura.

195, Ron Haney.

200, Bret Purkett.

203, Dan Richardson.

210, Jack Lee.

220, Brent Beasley.

221, Vaughn Chong.

241, Tom Benjamin.

And the last local, 248, Eric Elliott.

So, Mr. Chairman, all the locals have been called, all the checks have been distributed and I believe all the sign-in sheets are either in or coming back in. That concludes the distribution of the checks.

(Applause.)

PRESIDENT ROBINSON: Thank you, Mr. Secretary. Just two short items and we'll adjourn for this morning.

We have a gentlemen in the room today he's a Local 36 organizer, Hector Drouaillet and it's his birthday. So happy birthday, Hector.

(Applause.)

And secondly, this afternoon, we'll have the reading of the resolutions that deal with per capita tax which are secret ballot votes. So there will be a secret ballot vote. And when the voting begins, you need to be in the room because once that voting begins nobody comes in and nobody goes out, you know, and non-delegates are excused from the hall. So I just want to make sure -- I know most of you know the rules, but I wanted to cover that with you.

Other than that, we're adjourned until 1:30.

... President Robinson bangs the gavel...

... Whereupon, the Convention recessed at 12:00 p.m. to reconvene at 1:30 p.m. that same day ...