The secret life of a trade agreement

CORPORATE INTERESTS ENGINEER TRADE RULES BEHIND CLOSED DOORS—WORKERS SHUT OUT OF THE PROCESS

For the past two years some 600 business leaders and their paid advisors along with trade ministers and officials from the 12 nations involved have been working feverishly to secure agreement on the so-called Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP), a treaty to set rules governing business practices in Australia, Korea, Vietnam, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, Chile, Japan, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru and Singapore, all modeled after the ignominious North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

The intention was to wrap up a package for congressional “fast track” approval before the end of 2013.

Corporate representatives have played a prominent role in hammering out the terms of this agreement. Officials from GE, Cisco Systems, Yahoo, Verizon, AT&T, and Johnson & Johnson, and entities such as the Recording Industry Association of America, Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America, and the Biotechnology Industry Organization—representing both corporations and investors—know chapter and verse what the tentative agreement contains, but your congressional representative does not, neither do your Senators even though they will be asked to “fast track” the agreement.

The corporate officials engaged in the TPP negotiations are part of what is known as the ITAC 15. The political action funds for these companies and

Continued on page 6 ➤
SPRING SPRUCE UP
TIME TO START THINKING ABOUT YOUR SPRING CLEAN UP?

Here are some union-made products that will make your home sparkle and shine.

**UFCW made**
- Ajax Dishwashing Liquid
- Ajax Cleaning Powder
- All Laundry Detergent
- Bowl Fresh Toilet Bowl Sanitizer
- Clorox Bleach Tab
- Clorox
- Clorox Disinfecting Wipes
- Dynamo Laundry Detergent
- Fab Laundry Detergent
- Fiberguard Carpet Cleaners
- Fresh Start Laundry Detergent
- HilEx Bleach
- Lysol
- Love My Carpet
- Mini Safe Scour

Need more than a good scrubbing?
Contact the International Union of Painters and Allied Trades to find a union painter in your area. IUPAT professionals can assist you with painting, drywall work, glazing work of any kind including but not limited to window or glass installation, shower doors, mirrors, floor covering (west of the Mississippi river), sign installation or painting.
### IUPAT District Contact List

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service Area</th>
<th>District Council</th>
<th>Designee</th>
<th>Email Address</th>
<th>Telephone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>District Council 1M</td>
<td>Fred Fredrickson</td>
<td><a href="mailto:ffredrickson@iupatdc1m.org">ffredrickson@iupatdc1m.org</a></td>
<td>(517) 242-2986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern MO</td>
<td>District Council 2</td>
<td>Bill Boevingloh</td>
<td><a href="mailto:bboevingloh@pdc2.org">bboevingloh@pdc2.org</a></td>
<td>(314) 647-3327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western MO &amp; Kansas</td>
<td>District Council 3</td>
<td>John Tompson</td>
<td><a href="mailto:jtompson@iupatdc3.com">jtompson@iupatdc3.com</a></td>
<td>(816) 215-5519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western NY</td>
<td>District Council 4</td>
<td>Mark Stevens</td>
<td><a href="mailto:mstevens@dc4.org">mstevens@dc4.org</a></td>
<td>(716) 907-3272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WA, OR, ID, UT, AK</td>
<td>District Council 5</td>
<td>Doug Wagner</td>
<td><a href="mailto:doug@iupatdc5.org">doug@iupatdc5.org</a></td>
<td>(206) 441-5554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>District Council 6</td>
<td>Charlie Meadows</td>
<td><a href="mailto:charliem@iupat-dc6.org">charliem@iupat-dc6.org</a></td>
<td>(513) 708-3996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>District Council 7</td>
<td>Dean Wanty</td>
<td><a href="mailto:dean@iupatdc7.org">dean@iupatdc7.org</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern NY</td>
<td>District Council 9</td>
<td>John Drew</td>
<td><a href="mailto:JohnDrew19@aol.com">JohnDrew19@aol.com</a></td>
<td>(212) 255-2950 ext 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT, RI</td>
<td>District Council 11</td>
<td>Scott Duhamel</td>
<td><a href="mailto:scduhamel@iupatdc11.com">scduhamel@iupatdc11.com</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern IL</td>
<td>District Council 14</td>
<td>Hugo Manzo</td>
<td><a href="mailto:dc14ba@yahoo.com">dc14ba@yahoo.com</a></td>
<td>(815) 729-1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NV, CO, AZ</td>
<td>District Council 15</td>
<td>Jack Mallory</td>
<td><a href="mailto:jmallory@iupatdc15.org">jmallory@iupatdc15.org</a></td>
<td>(702) 493-6941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern CA</td>
<td>District Council 16</td>
<td>Les Proteau</td>
<td><a href="mailto:les@dc16iupat.org">les@dc16iupat.org</a></td>
<td>(925) 245-1080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern PA</td>
<td>District Council 21</td>
<td>Nancy Casey</td>
<td><a href="mailto:ryananderson@paintersdc30.com">ryananderson@paintersdc30.com</a></td>
<td>(630) 222-7568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central IL</td>
<td>District Council 30</td>
<td>Ryan Anderson</td>
<td><a href="mailto:RyanAnderson@IUPATDC30.org">RyanAnderson@IUPATDC30.org</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA, NH, ME, VT</td>
<td>District Council 35</td>
<td>Bill Doherty</td>
<td><a href="mailto:bdoaherty@iupatdc35.org">bdoaherty@iupatdc35.org</a></td>
<td>(416) 986-9373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern CA</td>
<td>District Council 36</td>
<td>Ana Hanson</td>
<td><a href="mailto:ana.hanson@dc36.org">ana.hanson@dc36.org</a></td>
<td>(626) 296-8032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>District Council 38</td>
<td>Taryn Hubbard</td>
<td><a href="mailto:thubbard@dc38.ca">thubbard@dc38.ca</a></td>
<td>(604) 524-8334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic Canada</td>
<td>District Council 39</td>
<td>Wilf Jarvis</td>
<td><a href="mailto:wjarvis@dc39.ca">wjarvis@dc39.ca</a></td>
<td>(617) 592-2222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>District Council 46</td>
<td>Ray Preston</td>
<td><a href="mailto:rprenston@dc46.iupat.org">rprenston@dc46.iupat.org</a></td>
<td>(604) 524-8334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>District Council 50</td>
<td>John D. Frigiliana, Jr.</td>
<td><a href="mailto:jfrigiliana@dc50.org">jfrigiliana@dc50.org</a></td>
<td>(702) 493-6941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC, MD, VA</td>
<td>District Council 51</td>
<td>James Coats</td>
<td><a href="mailto:jcoats@verizon.net">jcoats@verizon.net</a></td>
<td>(702) 493-6941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Virginia</td>
<td>District Council 53</td>
<td>Richard Patrick</td>
<td><a href="mailto:dc53hydro@yahoo.com">dc53hydro@yahoo.com</a></td>
<td>(301) 440-6145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western PA</td>
<td>District Council 57</td>
<td>Tom Flook</td>
<td><a href="mailto:tflook.iupat@verizon.net">tflook.iupat@verizon.net</a></td>
<td>(416) 986-9373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern IL</td>
<td>District Council 58</td>
<td>Ted Helfrich</td>
<td><a href="mailto:thelfrich@dc58iupat.net">thelfrich@dc58iupat.net</a></td>
<td>(618) 345-6646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA, AL, TN, NC, SC</td>
<td>District Council 77</td>
<td>Louis Partain</td>
<td><a href="mailto:Lpartain@iupatdc77.org">Lpartain@iupatdc77.org</a></td>
<td>(630) 222-7568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>District Council 78</td>
<td>Steve Hall</td>
<td><a href="mailto:shvote@aol.com">shvote@aol.com</a></td>
<td>(732) 824-1342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA, AR, MS, Memphi,</td>
<td>District Council 80</td>
<td>Bert Santos</td>
<td><a href="mailto:bertxfi2@aol.com">bertxfi2@aol.com</a></td>
<td>(504) 201-5255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IA, SD, NE</td>
<td>District Council 81</td>
<td>Chris Swartz</td>
<td><a href="mailto:cswartz@ecity.net">cswartz@ecity.net</a></td>
<td>(515) 402-0773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MN, ND, MT</td>
<td>District Council 82</td>
<td>Don Mullin</td>
<td><a href="mailto:dmullin@iupatdc82.org">dmullin@iupatdc82.org</a></td>
<td>(612) 889-1360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TX, NM, OK</td>
<td>District Council 88</td>
<td>Eric Porter</td>
<td><a href="mailto:eric.porter@iupatdc88.com">eric.porter@iupatdc88.com</a></td>
<td>(281) 904-2356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>District Council 91</td>
<td>Shawn Solner</td>
<td><a href="mailto:sssolner@iupatdc91.org">sssolner@iupatdc91.org</a></td>
<td>(219) 796-6001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>District Council 97</td>
<td>Joe Estave</td>
<td><a href="mailto:jestevez@paintersdc711.org">jestevez@paintersdc711.org</a></td>
<td>(314) 647-3327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NJ</td>
<td>District Council 711</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Have you met ALICE?

Building on the momentum of labor and progressives after the attacks on Wisconsin’s public employees in 2011, Joel Rogers, director of the Center on Wisconsin Strategy (COWS) started the American Legislative and Issue Campaign Exchange (ALICE).

ALICE is an organization specifically built to combat the corporate-funded American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC).

According to their website (www.alicelaw.org) ALICE is a “web-based, public policy library of progressive state and local law on a wide range of policy issues. The ALICE library currently contains a searchable database of over 1,800 model and exemplary laws and supporting documents in fourteen different policy areas.”

According to ALICE’s mission statement, the organization “promotes state and local policies that advance economic and social opportunity, democratic transparency and accountability, and environmental sustainability. Our mission is to provide, in one free, convenient, and easily accessible location, the largest collection and widest variety of resources for progressives working to bring progressive change to the state and local levels.”

Organizations and public interest groups, students and professors from many prestigious universities work together to draft the legislation contained on ALICE’s website. ALICE reports that more than 100 progressive laws were passed in state legislatures across the nation in 2013. Focusing on 14 policy areas including civil rights, labor rights and protections, economic and workforce development, immigrant rights, health and voting and elections ALICE aims to affect progressive change.

Walk in my shoes

Jennifer Ledford
JEWEL-OSCO
MCHENRY, ILLINOIS
UFCW LOCAL 1546

I’ve worked at Jewel for 13 years. I started when I was 18 as a part-time worker in the deli department and now I’m a back up manager. If my manager is working when I come in, I start my day doing inventory on the cooler. If my manager isn’t in, I write up the orders. I fill the service case where the customers can see what we offer and I prep the chickens for roasting. I do book work. I love my job. It’s fun. I like the customers, I like my coworkers, and we’re like family.

The union has helped me in many ways. They’ve helped me with my two kids. My union rep started working at the same time I did. We’ve kind of grown up together and he always checks, “How are your kids?” It makes me feel cared about.

The union makes sure they don’t take my dues if I’m on medical leave, or out for some reason. They are like family too. My rep has made sure to keep me informed. He’s good about explaining the contract and other stuff that’s going on. It’s great.

Spotlight the label:
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) represents more than 750,000 workers in the electrical industry in the United States, Canada, Panama and several Caribbean island nations; particularly electricians, or Inside Wiremen, in the construction industry and linemen and other employees of public utilities. The union also represents some workers in the computer, telecommunications, broadcasting, and other fields related to electrical work.

The union was founded in 1891 shortly after homes and businesses in the United States began receiving electricity.

In September 1941, the National Apprenticeship Standards for the Electrical Construction Industry, a joint effort among the IBEW, the National Electrical Contractors Association, and the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, were established. The IBEW added additional training programs and courses as needed to keep up with new technologies, including an industrial electronics course in 1959 and an industrial nuclear power course in 1966.

Today, the IBEW conducts apprenticeship programs for electricians, linemen, and VDV (voice, data, and video) installers (who install low-voltage wiring such as computer networks), in conjunction with the National Electrical Contractors Association, under the auspices of the National Joint Apprenticeship and Training Committee (NJATC), which allows apprentices to “earn while you learn.”
Kellogg workers locked out in Memphis

After eliminating 70 jobs at their Memphis, Tenn., manufacturing plant last summer, the Kellogg Company locked out its remaining 220 union workers late last October.

Members of the Memphis Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers (BCTGM) Local 252G were locked out by the company after their local agreement expired. Negotiations, which began in September, quickly broke down after the company presented its “last and best” offer. The company planned to unilaterally implement changes that the union contends only can be negotiated on the Master Contract level. Management’s proposed changes included scheduling, current employee seniority rights and a new definition for regular employees hired in the future, and the members voted it down. A week after initiating the lockout the company began bringing in replacement workers.

“The $14 billion company wants to replace steady, middle-class, full-time jobs with casual, part-time employees who would make significantly lower wages bereft of benefits,” said Ron Baker, BCTGM Strategic Campaign Coordinator.

Kellogg has a Master Agreement in place, covering plants in Memphis; Battle Creek, Mich.; Omaha, Neb.; and Lancaster, Penn. The BCTGM agreement, which has been in place for 50 years, was most recently renewed in 2012. BCTGM believes that the company’s proposals in Memphis should be negotiated under the master agreement, not the local one.

“Bringing casual workers into the plant is a way to put us against each other,” said Norris Roberts, a packaging mechanic at the plant. “I’m on the picket line for those who aren’t hired yet.” If Kellogg wins in Memphis, they will go after the longtime workers next, Roberts said. “That’s why all the other plants are looking at us.”

“The company won’t stop at the Memphis plant, if they win in Memphis they will go after all of their plants,” said Baker.

On January 8th, BCTGM International President David Durkee wrote to Kellogg Co. Lead Director Gordon Gund and the entire Kellogg Board of Directors urging them to get involved in the local talks. “Continuing the Memphis lockout is not in the best interest of Kellogg or its shareholders,” he said. “Accordingly, I urge the Board of Directors to intervene with management to end the Memphis lockout and return to the bargaining table to negotiate a fair contract.”

The Memphis labor, social and religious communities have provided valuable support for the locked out Kellogg workers and their families as well as other BCTGM locals representing workers at other Kellogg plants.

On January 20, the prestigious Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) joined President Durkee at the 29th Annual Dr. Martin Luther King National Holiday Parade in Memphis where the more than 200 locked out workers were honored as special guests. Many in the Memphis civil rights community have pointed out the striking similarities between the plight of the locked out Kellogg workers and the infamous 1968 sanitation strike.
trade groups have donated millions to members of Congress who will ultimately vote on whether to allow the TPP to be fast tracked—that is, voted up or down without any tinkering by elected officials.

With the exception of a few embarrassing leaks no one in the media has reported the details of these negotiations. In fact one of the conditions imposed on participants is that the details of the negotiations should remain secret until it has been in operation for four years.

Given this shroud of secrecy, it’s fairly easy to guess what’s missing. If the participants were proud of how workers would fare they would surely broadcast the details far and wide. It’s a virtual certainty that there won’t be job protections or even soft landings for domestic industries against unfair competition; nor will there be any effort to make sure displaced workers can get retraining when jobs go away. The treatment in store for workers stands in stark contrast to the corporate protections engineered into the pact.

USW President Leo Gerard said it best: “We have never had a trade deal that’s created a net increase in jobs in America”

Yet, the Obama White House is using the same language to sell TPP that Ronald Reagan used thirty years ago. The same terminology was used by George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton and George W. Bush from the bully pulpit to sell Americans on the notion of free trade agreements, claiming that these agreements will “level the playing field,” create jobs, improve manufacturing and restore U.S. prosperity. The sales pitch is a lie.

The one embarrassing disclosure that has emerged from the TPP negotiations is the inclusion of a provision to elevate corporations to the status of sovereign states. The evolution of that idea began with NAFTA which created forums for corporations to challenge trade practices. Under TPP, however, if GE, Cisco, Verizon or AT&T, or any one of a score of multinational firms operating in the dozen TPP nations has a complaint about how a trade practice affects them, they will be free to sue the offending government in an international forum. Suddenly, the implications of the Citizens United decision look benign by comparison.

Beyond the obvious regulations on health, safety, minimum wages, environmental and pollutions standards, and child labor protections that corporations always find too onerous to observe, a number of other laws and regulations that protect workers and the general public will be put at risk in the final TPP package.

Constraints on banking and finance brought about under the Dodd Frank banking reform measures and corporate reporting requirements, for instance, could immediately be contested. Buy American provisions would be gutted—even state or city regional preference ordinances would be open to challenge.

Many U.S. citizens were puzzled when the media reported that billions of dollars in bailout money and federal stimulus that Congress appropriated to staunch the recession in 2008 and 2009 leaked to foreign suppliers. “Don’t we have ‘Buy American’ laws that say at least the government should be shopping for big ticket items in the U.S? How could it be that tax money major projects, such as the construction of a new Bay Bridge in San Francisco, or ships for U.S. armed forces, or the purchase of uniforms for federal law enforcement officers goes to foreign suppliers? Especially after so many policy makers postured about creating jobs in the U.S. with federal stimulus.

Turns out that strictly observing the Buy American requirements on that money could have been challenged as a violation of NAFTA and World Trade Organization restrictions.

In an article she wrote for the American Prospect in April 2012, referring to this section of the TPP, Lori Wallach wrote: “Effectively, these rules eliminate important policy tools for job creation, development of green-economy capacity and the building of demand for preferred business practices. Even in strictly commercial terms, this is lunacy.”
The global Hyatt boycott has ended. However, there are a number of local Hyatts with continuing labor disputes.

To avoid current or future strikes, boycotts, and other labor disputes at Hyatts or any other venues, use the UNITE HERE Union Hotel Guide at unionhotelguide.com or download their iPhone App, which lists which hotels to patronize or avoid.

To avoid the prospect of labor conflict during your stay at a hotel, insist on protective contractual language when you make a reservation or organize an event. Suggested model protection language can be found on UNITE HERE’s website at http://www.hotelworkersrising.org/media/modelprotectivelanguage.pdf

The AFL-CIO Executive Council has developed policy guidelines that regulate how the federation endorses boycotts undertaken by its affiliates. To get AFL-CIO sanction, boycotts should be directed at primary employers.

**THE GUIDELINES INCLUDE THESE PROVISIONS:**

- All requests to the national AFL-CIO for endorsement must be made by a national or international union.
- Any affiliated union with a contract in force with the same primary employer will be contacted by the AFL-CIO to determine whether there is an objection to the federation’s endorsement.
- Affiliates will be asked to provide the AFL-CIO with background information on the dispute in a confidential information survey. Prior to endorsement of the boycott, the executive officers, or their designees, will meet with the national union’s officers, or their designees, to discuss the union’s strategic plan and timetable for the boycott, or other appropriate tactics, and to discuss the federation’s role.
- The national or international union initiating the boycott is primarily responsible for all boycott activities; the AFL-CIO will provide supplemental support.
- Boycotts will be carried on the AFL-CIO national boycott list for a period of one year, and the endorsement will expire automatically at the end of that time. National and international unions may request one-year extensions of the listings for actions where an organizing or bargaining campaign is actively in place.

(These guidelines were adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council in April 2011.)
Military stores operated by the Department of Defense are another big customer of foreign goods made in low-wage sweatshops overseas. The military stores made $485 million dollars profits last year, but says complying with rules to strengthen foreign factory oversight would be too expensive at $500,000 a year. Despite their huge profits and tax-free status, these stores offer their customers low prices at the expense of the wage slaves who made the goods and the unemployed Americans who might have made them.

But don’t get upset. It’s all legal: no law forbids the purchase of goods made in foreign sweatshops. The government tries to claim the high moral ground by telling US retailers to monitor the factories that produce their goods, but it’s a case of “do as we say, not as we do.”

The Times interviewed a former Office of Management and Budget official who said the government is looking for the best price. The amounts spent on these products are huge. Over a billion and a half dollars could mean up to 10,000 jobs. When we consider that soft goods are only a part of government procurement, the numbers become staggering.

As Congress fusses over unemployment benefits, the very real possibility of providing gainful, dignified employment to Americans is ignored because of the government’s search for bargains, no matter how soiled in their origin.

Such revelations never cease to amaze us. That’s part of the shame, too.