

Proposed Resolutions



36th Constitutional Convention

of the
International Union
United Automobile, Aerospace and
Agricultural Implement
Workers of America, UAW



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RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS

36th UAW Constitutional Convention

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

Name	Local	Region
T. J. Gomez	Local 387	1A Chairperson
Vilma Torres-Mulholland	Local 2179	9A Recording Secretary
Tracey Dye	Local 889	1
Jesse Riggs	Local 723	1A
Sally Auer	Local 2256	1C
Susan Pratt	Local 2213	2B
Rick Ward	Local 685	2B
David Barker	Local 952	5
Van Simpson	Local 2250	5
Ernestine Dawkins	Local 8888	9
Mike Phillips	Local 8275	9

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PROPOSED RESOLUTIONS



**A Strong Union
for the
21st Century**

BUILDING POWER BY ORGANIZING

Every day, the UAW makes a positive difference in the lives of our members. Our union gives us a voice on the job and a vehicle to address issues and fix problems in our workplaces. These things, in and of themselves, are incredibly valuable. They are a big part of the reason why over the last four years, more than 16,000 workers in industries as diverse as gaming, bus manufacturing, auto parts and higher education organized into our union.

At the same time, many of our members have gone too long without raises. Many are paying more for health care. Two-tier pay structures are a source of frustration and division in too many of our workplaces. Too many of our members are not getting the pay and benefits they deserve.

Winning better contracts takes courage, intelligence, commitment and solidarity – all of which our members have in abundance. So why does it seem as though justice in our workplaces is in such short supply? What are we missing?

The answer is power and density. Union density is the percentage of workers in an industry or geographic area that belong to a union. Union density gives us the ability to set – and raise – standards across an entire industry. Where we have union density, it's harder for employers to use the threat of low-wage, non-union competition against us. Where we have union density, we can demand – and win – better pay, better working conditions and a larger role in decision-making. Union density, in other words, is power. The greater our density within our sectors, the greater our power to win the justice our members deserve.

When we had close to 100 percent density in auto, we had the power to win landmark agreements that set a new standard for all U.S. workers. The growth of nonunion auto production has reduced our density and, with it, our bargaining power. As recently as the year 2000, almost 80 percent of the cars and light trucks assembled in the U.S. came from unionized plants. Since then, the nonunion share has crept up to almost half. The labor practices in those nonunion plants – including the extensive use of temporary workers with substandard wages and benefits and no job security – have put increasing pressure on our collectively bargained wages and benefits. As a result, the purchasing power of the average autoworker's hourly pay has fallen more than 20 percent since 2003. Declining union density in auto is dragging us all down, union and nonunion alike.

It doesn't have to be that way. By organizing in our sectors, we can increase our density and with it, our bargaining power. Seating is a good

example of the difference organizing makes in our members' lives. In seating, as in the rest of the parts sector, the erosion of union density in the 1980s and 1990s had a devastating impact on the wages, benefits and working conditions of parts workers. Beginning in 2002, we have systematically and strategically rebuilt our density in seating. Today, all but one of the seating plants that supply Ford, General Motors and Chrysler are UAW-represented. UAW members in seating have used their new bargaining power to win major improvements. The most recent UAW agreements in seating have largely eliminated the two-tier wage structures that were imposed when a handful of high-wage plants faced low-wage, non-union competition. For workers in seating, union density is the difference between working poor and middle class.

Members in gaming, higher education and other sectors where we have increased our density through organizing have also seen the positive impact at the bargaining table. Organizing the unorganized gives us the power to win gains across an industry, benefiting current members, newly-organized members and the broader community.

Corporations that profit from low-wage labor – along with the politicians who serve them – understand this connection. That's why the outside interference to our organizing drive at Volkswagen was so fierce. It wasn't about whether workers at one assembly plant in Chattanooga would have a union voice; it was about the wages, benefits and workplace rights of workers across the entire U.S. auto industry.

It can't be said strongly enough: organizing is how we build our bargaining strength. The choice before us isn't between bargaining and organizing; it's whether we will set standards for our industries, or whether nonunion employers will set standards for us. The answer is clear. To win the contracts and workplace justice our members – old, new and future – deserve, we must increase our union density.

To build our strength by organizing, we resolve to:

- Maintain and increase the UAW's institutional and financial commitment to organizing.
- In situations where our union has sufficient bargaining power, use that power both to win better wages and benefits *and* to organize non-union sister facilities, non-union supplier facilities and non-union competitor facilities. This will further build our bargaining power to win even better contracts in the future.
- Use our bargaining power to support our UAW sisters and brothers throughout the supply chain in winning better contracts. This also builds our overall power as a union.

- Approach organizing strategically, building power in sectors where we can increase our ability to win good contracts and protect – and raise – standards for our current members.
- Personally commit to support UAW organizing efforts, and recruit others to support them as well. Each and every one of us can and must be an organizer.
- Defend our union as “ours.” Through our own participation, activism and leadership, we control the direction of the UAW. Strengthening our union is our responsibility: each time we talk about the UAW as something other than all of us, we are playing into the hands of the bosses and billionaires who dismiss us as “outsiders” or a “third party.” The UAW is us, and we are the UAW.

STRENGTHENING OUR UNION IN OUR WORKPLACES

Our union is our best tool to improve our lives on the job. Outside the workplace, there are many community groups, religious congregations, charities and advocacy organizations working on all sorts of issues, from all sides; many of us are active participants in them. Inside the workplace, in contrast, we have one organization for all of us: our union. Making that singular organization, our union, vital and strong is our responsibility as members – each and every one of us.

And yet, many of us feel disconnected from our union. Too often, we talk about our union as though it were someone or something apart from us, a service we buy with our dues. In fact the union is us: it is what we make it to be.

Today’s difficult bargaining environment contributes to this sense of disconnection. A deep recession and uneven recovery, combined with growing nonunion competition, have led to many contracts that do not provide the wages, benefits and job security our members deserve. Two-tier pay structures, agreed to reluctantly as a way to save jobs and bring in new work, create division among members. Meanwhile, the corporations and billionaires who are monopolizing the benefits of economic growth use their wealth and political power to attack us in order to maintain their own privileged positions.

Turning this around is the focus of all our efforts. It will not be easy, but through our actions we can choose whether to make it a little easier or

much harder. When we despair, disengage or, worse, blame “the union” for problems in our workplaces, we make fixing them that much harder. When we become engaged and work together to show our collective power, we come out stronger and better prepared to take on the big fights.

Even in the toughest bargaining environment, a strong union can make a difference in the lives of its members. We demonstrate that in concrete ways every day. There are literally hundreds of recent victories to point to in our UAW workplaces: abusive supervisors reined in, ergonomic problems fixed, back pay collected, work schedules adjusted. We need to turbocharge our workplace activism by building member participation as we work together to fix problems. When we demonstrate the union’s power in the workplace, we encourage more members to participate, which in turn makes our union even more powerful.

We must never forget that our union is as strong as we, all members, make it. When we work together in solidarity, we can accomplish amazing things. To strengthen our union in our workplaces, we commit to:

- Making a personal commitment to strengthening our union. Each and every one of us must challenge ourselves to increase our personal level of involvement and engage with others to do the same. Those of us in leadership positions must work to create more opportunities for members to engage; those of us who have not been active must seek out ways to get involved.
- Taking an active role in identifying and fixing problems in the workplace. When we work together to fix problems that affect our members, we build the union’s power. Even small issues matter. Winning small victories today will help us win bigger victories tomorrow.
- Educating ourselves to become more effective union members and leaders. That means taking advantage of opportunities to learn more about UAW history, strengthen grievance handling skills, recognize workplace hazards and more – the specifics depend on the individual, but everyone has something to learn. And every member has a responsibility to know their collective bargaining agreement.
- Speaking up – and listening. We all have a responsibility to voice our concerns and listen to the concerns of others. Leadership at all levels has a special responsibility to create opportunities for constructive two-way conversations, whether through member-to-member structures in the workplace or the effective use of social

media. Communication builds participation, and participation builds our union's strength.

MOBILIZING UAW MEMBERS FOR JUSTICE

Our union was organized to win justice for working people. In 1935, when we were founded, industrial workers had been impoverished by the Great Depression. When the unemployed demanded food and jobs, they were met with bullets. African-Americans and other people of color were segregated into the dirtiest, most dangerous, worst-paying jobs. Women – who had only recently won the right to vote – were largely confined to certain specific jobs and paid less than men.

All of the progress we have made since then, in our workplaces, our communities and our country, has been the result of struggle – of ordinary people mobilizing for justice.

Looking around us today, we still see far too much injustice. We see workers struggling to support their families on poverty-level wages. We see families losing their homes because a bank refused to modify their mortgages. We see young people in our communities who have given up hope of finding work. We see retirees barely making ends meet now and fearing for their future. We see children who must fight to breathe because of pollution in their urban neighborhoods. We see workers threatened and harassed and fired for daring to organize. We see our wages stagnate while corporate profits and executive pay soar.

But we also see much hope.

Workers around the country are taking to the streets to demand a living minimum wage. Neighbors, union activists and community supporters have put their bodies on the line to physically block evictions and force lenders to work with homeowners. Fights for environmental justice, for holding corporations accountable, and for good jobs are going on in community after community. An outpouring of opposition took proposed cuts in Social Security cost of living adjustments off the table. Students, academic workers and community residents have joined together to challenge decisions made by university administrators on everything from expansion plans to tuition hikes. Mass mobilizations for comprehensive immigration reform have pushed that issue to the forefront. Against incredible odds, workers are still organizing, taking on their bosses and winning gains. We can all be proud of the role UAW members have played in these battles.

There's a direct connection between our workplace fights and the

broader fight for social and economic justice. When we mobilize in the community, we're challenging the economic and political power of corporations and billionaires in order to improve the lives of ordinary working people. That strengthens our hand in bargaining by raising the bar on wages and benefits in the community. It also deepens our relationship with allies who can support us in our own contract fights. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s words are as true today as when he wrote them in his Birmingham jail cell: "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere."

As always, our union's strength in the continuing fight for justice comes from our members. The more of us who are engaged, the stronger we are. Each and every one of us has the ability to make a difference.

As we continue and step up our mobilization efforts, we must:

- Encourage members' activism by creating more opportunities to connect and engage, whether by participating in marches and rallies, joining other workers on a picket line, or taking part in nonviolent direct action in the spirit of the sitdown strikers and the civil rights movement.
- Challenge ourselves to ramp up our activism. Instead of attending a rally by ourselves, we can recruit others to come with us; instead of just participating in an action, we can organize one.
- Provide tools, like our GimmeFIVE program, to make it easier for members to mobilize.
- Recognize and celebrate UAW activists at every level of our union.
- Work with allies to build a broader movement to win justice inside and outside the workplace, knowing that victories in the community strengthen us in our workplace fights.

ACTING GLOBALLY TO WIN GLOBAL JUSTICE

We live and work in a global economy. To win justice for American workers, we must also win justice for our brothers and sisters around the world. Too many of us have seen firsthand how low wages and abusive working conditions on the other side of the globe affect our own bargaining strength. As Walter Reuther said in 1961, "We have to find a rational way to bring to bear the maximum power of international solidarity, or we will be isolated and divided, weak and defenseless in the face of the growing power of the international capital to exploit us separately."

More than half a century later, Reuther's words are truer than ever. Technology, free trade agreements and the rise of transnational corporations

allow capital to move seamlessly across national borders. Many of our major employers market their products globally, maintain extensive operations in other countries, and source parts and materials from complex, far-flung supply chains. Once, we could focus on bargaining the best possible contracts in the U.S. and ignore the rest of the world; today, as Reuther foresaw, we do so at our peril. Whip-sawing of location against location has gone global, with employers seeking to pit workers in different parts of the world against one another in a cutthroat race to the bottom.

Meanwhile, foreign-based companies increasingly operate in America. In many cases, these companies maintain constructive relationships with unions in their home countries, but adopt an aggressively anti-worker, anti-union stance here. They do so because they can: our weak labor laws have turned threats and intimidation into an unfortunate part of American labor relations.

The UAW has always welcomed positive collaboration and dialogue with employer partners who share our commitment to workers' rights and economic growth, whether those employers are headquartered in the U.S. or overseas. Likewise, when employers cast basic labor standards aside and deny workers their rights, it doesn't matter where their headquarters are located: we must hold them accountable and change their behavior. We can do that by working with global allies to ensure that everyone who works for the same employer or is part of the same supply chain enjoys job security, a voice at work and a living wage. Our goal is to harmonize standards upward toward economic justice.

To that end, the UAW builds alliances with unions around the world. A strong and collaborative global labor movement, acting strategically, can ensure that basic international labor standards are enforced and respected, and that transnationals can no longer cut and run to the next source of low wages or non-union workers.

The UAW is an affiliate of IndustriALL (formerly the International Metalworkers' Federation), an alliance of unions representing 50 million workers from 140 countries in the manufacturing, mining and energy sectors. We are also an active part of the International Transport Workers' Federation, connecting our union with workers who are key links in global supply chains. Through these organizations, we are active in company networks that unite workers from the global operations of our common employers. These alliances help us share information and coordinate strategy to win gains for our members.

Through our relationships with unions who share our values and commitment to economic justice, we are using creative, new and effective

strategies to hold employers accountable and create shared global prosperity. Nissan workers from South Africa have traveled to the U.S. to support workers in Canton, Mississippi, who are fighting for labor rights. Unionized Renault-Nissan Alliance workers in Brazil and France have taken action in solidarity with Nissan's U.S. employees, showing that a double standard of social responsibility in some areas and abuse in others will not be tolerated.

This international support for workers seeking to organize into the UAW is grounded in our union's long history of support for labor struggles in other countries, from the fight against South African apartheid to the repression of trade unionists by Brazil's military dictatorship. We continue to mobilize to defend trade union rights around the world, from Mexican workers building independent unions to Korean autoworkers fighting against sexual harassment. Our intervention helped DHL workers in Turkey who transported goods for Ford win a union. Solidarity is collective and reciprocal. Our actions show that the tradition of fighting globally for justice is alive, valuable and more effective than ever.

Moving forward, the UAW will:

- Continue to work with our global union allies to organize transnational corporations operating in the U.S. in our core sectors.
- Expose employers that violate internationally-recognized labor standards in the U.S.; we must ensure that the aggressively anti-union tactics of U.S.-based corporations do not become an international norm. At the same time, we will seek partnerships with companies that are committed to fairness and the advancement of universal standards.
- Work to stop the global race to the bottom that is pulling down our own wages and benefits by providing concrete solidarity to organizing and bargaining in low-wage countries like Mexico. In Mexico, workers seeking independent unions face a potent mix of company unions, government repression and corporate power. We will continue to provide support and resources to these courageous men and women and stand solidly behind them – not just because it's the right thing to do, but because in a highly-integrated North American economy, our futures are tied together.
- Undertake joint action and campaigns with our partner unions to mobilize members and build power. We will seek to move beyond defensive 'firefighting' and play offense instead, developing long-term plans for mutually-beneficial cooperation on common issues and targets. We will seek to identify shared employers and develop

comprehensive global campaigns to organize the unorganized and win better contracts.

- Continue our active participation in IndustriALL, supporting its strategy to build union power globally. We will work to implement IndustriALL's 2013 "Charter of Solidarity in Confronting Corporate Violations of Fundamental Rights," which sets out concrete steps against transnational labor rights abusers. We fully support the goals of the IndustriALL Action Plan, including fostering women's leadership in unions globally.
- Build more and better company networks at UAW employers, moving beyond information sharing to joint strategy and action.
- Promote accountability and enforceability in global framework agreements (GFAs). These broad agreements between unions and companies establish guidelines for company behavior on working conditions and other issues, but are non-binding. To date, they have mostly been signed by European companies. Much work remains to be done to realize the potential of GFAs, and to ensure that companies follow through on their promises. It is of utmost importance that unions do not sign GFAs with companies that are actively involved in union-busting, and that the agreements apply down the supply chain to suppliers and subcontractors. We will continue to advocate for these improvements at global forums, including IndustriALL.
- Engage in struggles for human and labor rights around the world. The UAW has a long and proud history of fighting against injustices like apartheid that hurt working people. This commitment will continue as we intensify our determination to build union partnerships around the world.

EDUCATION FOR A STRONG UNION

The importance of education for a strong union is enshrined in the UAW Constitution, which establishes an Education Department and charges it with developing educational programs to build understanding of "labor history, labor problems, the objectives of the International Union and the problems of the International Union, its members and their families."

The Education and Mobilization Department, as the Education Department is now known, takes this charge seriously. Education puts our

challenges in perspective, gives us insight into ways we can build our power to fight back and win, and – most important of all – prepares us to take action.

Escalating attacks on the middle class, unions, women, minorities and immigrants – indeed, everyone but the wealthiest one percent – make education more important than ever. Never before have we faced such a persistent, aggressive and deep-pocketed effort to take away our collective bargaining rights, depress our wages and destroy our union. As always, our greatest resource is our educated and mobilized membership.

While the need for education and engagement is constant, the changing political and economic landscape requires us to use different approaches as we relate to each other, our allies and our communities. In the 21st century, education for a strong union means committing ourselves to:

- Developing a sense of personal responsibility in each and every member. Winning justice in our worksites, building our local unions, and advancing our communities is a job for all of us. Education that engages, informs, challenges and inspires is crucial to this effort.
- Imparting an awareness of our history and the struggles that made us who we are today. Education on the history of the UAW and the broader labor movement can help us chart a course for the future.
- Exposing the motives, funding, tactics and strategies of those who would seek to eliminate organized labor. By educating ourselves on the fights we're facing, we can build and strengthen our commitment to action.
- Developing a deeper understanding of our common struggles. It is not only the labor movement that is under attack. By understanding the issues and challenges our community allies are facing, we can strengthen our coalition work in support of social and economic justice for everyone in society.
- Making effective use of new technologies. Social media, webinars and other on-line tools can maximize our resources and extend educational opportunities to more of our members.
- Developing tools and skills to strengthen representation and communication in the workplace. Our goal is to create a culture in which every member is engaged in their union, and leaders at every level are continuously giving and receiving feedback. Just as we build power in our industries by organizing the unorganized, we build power in our workplaces by organizing our own.

STRENGTHENING OUR POLITICAL VOICE

UAW members know the connection between the ballot box and the bread box. We are proud of our active and retired members who stay engaged in the political process by lobbying legislators, attending town hall events or public hearings and going door-to-door during election season. However, with well-funded special interests targeting working people, we must strengthen our efforts on the political front to build more power to protect our gains and advance our program for economic fairness.

The landscape of political action has been changed by the passage of *Citizens United* in 2010. That critical Supreme Court case opened the floodgates to political spending in a way not imagined by our forebears. Today, we find our hard-won gains targeted by conservative institutions funded by billionaires like Dick DeVos and the Koch brothers. Working class men and women are being scapegoated for the gains we have made at the bargaining table in order to divide the nation against itself.

UAW members are stepping up to face the challenge in unprecedented ways. We are proud that 2013 was a record year for member voluntary contributions to V-CAP, our political action fund, through which members pool their resources to financially support candidates who support us.

But financial contributions are not enough. Although *Citizens United* also applies to spending by unions, union spending doesn't come close to that of the corporate lobby and billionaires like the Koch brothers. A recent *New Republic* article found that the financial contributions made by one Koch brother were equivalent to what 515,000 union members give politically. One billionaire = 515,000 union members! And Charles and David Koch do not stand alone. They are joined by dozens of others, from Richard Mellon Scaife, to Sheldon Adelson to assorted Walton family heirs. Their specific interests vary from deregulating industries, to gutting environmental protections to rewriting tax law – but they are all equally determined to use their vast wealth to undermine the voices of middle class Americans.

To fight back, we are using new technologies to engage with our fellow members and their families, whether on social media or through computer-based phone banks. We are also becoming more strategic. For example, members who live where our endorsed candidates are “safe” are helping out in other districts where we are fighting to keep voters focused on core issues. At worksites, we are running voter registration drives and helping members take advantage of early voting or vote-by-mail. We are holding elected

representatives accountable by going to their offices in their home districts and in Washington, D.C. We are also reaching out to other like-minded groups to build more strength.

The next four years will test our resolve, as special interest groups with deep pockets have promised to increase their spending, despite having lost badly in the last two presidential elections. But the issues are on our side, and we know that when we focus our co-workers and family on what matters most, we succeed. Our challenge will be to consistently engage with our UAW family and grow the ranks of activists who raise their voices in the political process.

Accordingly, the UAW pledges to expand our efforts in political action by:

- Achieving our goal of getting 20 percent of our active members to contribute \$10 a month to V-CAP.
- Introducing the political action program of the UAW during new member orientation programs and encouraging new members to register to vote and contribute to V-CAP.
- Setting voter registration goals at worksites and within retiree councils to both register and update registrations for members and retirees who have moved.
- Recruiting members and retirees who have not previously been active in the UAW political action program.
- Strengthening CAP Committees and CAP Councils through on-going training to enhance membership communications.
- Committing to a year-round political action agenda that keeps members involved in the political and legislative process not just during election season.
- Building and solidifying coalitions with community organizations and other progressive groups, thereby allowing us to develop broad public support for our common goals.

FORMING LASTING LABOR AND COMMUNITY ALLIANCES

Our union has a long history of building progress *with* the community. We want the gains we win for our members to elevate the broader community, improving the lives of our friends and neighbors as well as our own. We have

always been about “justice,” not “just us.”

Many of the most inspiring moments in UAW history are grounded in the community alliances we have formed on behalf of economic and social justice. From our earliest days, support from the community was integral to the UAW’s growth and development. The success of the sit-down strikes in Flint and Detroit built on the support of local police and small businesses. If families and neighbors had not defended the strikers, they could have been forced to retreat and their fight lost. Instead, boosted by community support, they triumphed.

The challenges we face today make labor and community alliances even more important. Our wages, benefits and fundamental right to organize and bargain collectively are under intense attack by wealthy special interests. At the same time, growing inequality, the erosion of the middle class and environmental degradation have put communities around the country at risk. If we are going to fight back and win, we must form alliances with community partners to advance a broad program for economic justice to raise living standards for all workers and create strong, safe, healthy and sustainable neighborhoods. We are stronger together.

Turning the tide will take more than temporary alliances around specific campaigns. We need ongoing collaboration that will build capacity in our union and among our community allies to organize for social and economic justice for the long term. This kind of collaboration calls for a new approach to our alliances. It means engaging in a process of shared analysis with community partners and then building programs that support broad and inclusive policies to strengthen our democracy. It means broadening the frame of our own campaigns to embrace community concerns. It means a mutual commitment with our community partners and allies to educate ourselves and each other on the issues we care about. Most importantly, it means forming lasting commitments to build power together.

The UAW believes that when we work together with the community, our collective voice will be heard and collective progress will be achieved. To that end, we commit to:

- Developing strategies to form deep and lasting community-labor alliances at the national, regional and local levels.
- Training labor and community activists to fight and win on issues raised by our community allies that reflect our shared values and interests.
- Encouraging civic participation in our communities through voter registration drives, voting, serving in appointed positions and

running for elected office.

- Promoting cross-cultural exchanges among union and non-union workers and members of the community.
- Establishing neighborhood labor-community coalitions that bring together local union members, faith-based organizations, civil rights groups, schools, businesses, young people and others to build enduring partnerships at the local level.

ENGAGING UAW RETIREES

We recognize and honor the activism and leadership of our retirees, both past and present. By standing up to their bosses, retirees won greater dignity for all of us. Our wages, benefits and working conditions are better because of their willingness to walk picket lines and engage in civil disobedience. As we work to strengthen our union to meet future challenges, we are standing on their shoulders.

We are proud to have the largest program for our retired members of any American union, guided by our retirees themselves through the International Retired Workers Advisory Council and funded entirely through retirees’ voluntary dues contributions. Even though retiree dues are entirely voluntary, a large majority of our retired members pay them.

UAW retirees know the importance of building a strong union. Their continued commitment is a challenge to all of us to step up our own participation: we owe those who came before us our best effort to strengthen our union for the future.

To meet the desire of UAW retirees to stay involved in our union, we commit ourselves to ensuring a variety of opportunities for meaningful engagement by:

- Continuing to work with local retired worker chapters, regional and area retired worker councils and, where possible, UAW benefit representatives to identify and reach out to all of our retired members, especially recent retirees and members approaching retirement. We will also reach out to their spouses and surviving spouses.
- Improving our communication network by utilizing both traditional communication methods and the latest technologies such as telephone town halls and social media. We will strive to keep retirees and their families informed and engaged on a timely basis.

- Sponsoring educational and informational programs to bring retirees together to learn about our union’s challenges and develop effective responses.
- Building on our tradition of strong political involvement by retirees. Fierce political attacks on our fundamental right to organize and bargain collectively make engagement in the electoral process and speaking out as citizen lobbyists more important than ever before. We will work to ensure that our retirees have the tools they need to be even more effective political activists.
- Encouraging retirees, spouses, and surviving spouses to contribute to the UAW V-CAP fund. Even modest contributions will help ensure that the interests of working families and retirees, spouses and surviving spouses are represented and our voices are heard. The other side will always outspend us, but the passion and commitment of our retirees is worth millions.

BUILDING AN INCLUSIVE UNION

The U.S. workforce is changing. It is becoming more female, more multi-racial and more likely to have immigrated from another country. We are also seeing more workers with physical disabilities and a new generation of young workers with very different life experiences and expectations. Gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender workers are more likely to be “out” at work, no longer forced to hide who they are.

We see these changes reflected in our own workplaces and in our union. In auto, the wave of hiring that followed the industry’s crisis has brought many younger workers into our plants. In the parts industry, many UAW plants employ large numbers of recent immigrants and people of color – as do many of the plants we must organize to build our density and power. In gaming, a majority of our members are women and immigrants. In higher education, our biggest locals include large numbers of international graduate student employees and postdoctoral scholars, most of them in their 20s and 30s. We work in factories, offices, classrooms, warehouses, hospitals, clinics, casinos and a wide range of other settings; in big cities, suburbs, small towns and rural areas; north, south, east and west. Across all of our sectors and regions, our union is becoming more diverse than it was a generation ago – or even at the time of our last convention.

This diversity is potentially a source of new energy, creativity and

power to strengthen our union and win improvements for our members. To unleash that potential, we must continue to build a union that is truly inclusive. As UAW members from diverse backgrounds and walks of life, we know that inclusiveness means much more than merely tolerance. It means feeling valued for who we are as individuals, and knowing that our differences, concerns and cultural backgrounds are respected. It means not being treated as the exception to the rule, but as an integral part of the whole. It means, finally, having leaders at all levels who reflect our union’s diversity and can speak to the even more diverse workers we must organize to build our power. We are very proud of our union’s historic commitment to diversity and inclusion.

Thanks to visionary leaders like Walter Reuther and the courage and commitment of African-American autoworkers, the UAW was one of the first unions to recognize that organizing black workers in our industries was both a moral imperative and a strategic necessity. We can also point with pride to the early elevation of women to leadership positions on our International Executive Board, to the activism of our members in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, to our longstanding organizing efforts outside of manufacturing and to our more recent outreach to young workers and students.

Moving forward, our efforts to create an even more inclusive union will require the support of leaders at all levels and the participation of every member. We understand that building a movement is not a zero-sum game, in which one group’s win is another’s loss. Movement-building is additive. It’s about working together, in a truly inclusive fashion, to grow our power and improve the lives of *all* our members.

To build a more inclusive union, the UAW is committed to:

- Modeling inclusion at every level of our union. That means making sure that principles of fairness, respect, equality, dignity and autonomy are part of our everyday behavior, while creating a welcoming culture in which everyone feels valued.
- Identifying and removing barriers to full participation. Each of us must engage with our fellow members to understand the structural, cultural and economic barriers that prevent too many members from participating fully in their union, including taking on leadership roles. Armed with that understanding, we can then work together to eliminate those barriers.
- Developing activists and leaders who fully reflect our diverse membership. Tomorrow’s leaders are in our workplaces today. We need to reach out to young workers, workers of color, women, immigrants and LGBT workers; create opportunities for them to

become active and engaged; mentor them as they develop their leadership; and finally, welcome and respect them as leaders.

- Taking on tough issues and difficult conversations. A genuinely inclusive union does not paper over differences. We must be aware of potential tensions within the union and workplace, discuss them honestly and openly, and take action to address them.
- Developing new strategies to engage young workers. Over the past four years, we have greatly increased our outreach to young workers and students, involving them in organizing campaigns and creating opportunities for younger members to meet, network and share ideas. We must continue and build on these efforts, making sure that our strategies and approaches are shaped by young workers themselves.

PROMOTING UAW PRODUCTS AND SERVICES

The choices we make as consumers are powerful. In our personal lives, within our local unions and as voters and taxpayers, we constantly use our hard-earned dollars to buy products and services, from automobiles to printing to health care to groceries. When we make those purchases, we can choose to support our UAW brothers and sisters and other union members who are fighting to raise wage and benefit standards in their industries – or we can choose to undercut one another. We can choose to reward employers that respect internationally-recognized workers' rights – or we can choose to fatten the profits of sweatshops. We can take a big picture view of the best value in procurement decisions, factoring in union quality and the economic benefits that good wages and benefits bring to our communities – or we can chase after the lowest bid.

When we buy UAW and other union-made products and services, we are helping secure the jobs of our brothers and sisters and advancing our goal of a just economy. The taxes generated from the purchase of union-made products help to finance schools, roads, bridges, police and fire protection and other vital public services. In politics, we often say that every vote matters; so does every dollar we spend in the marketplace. We must use our dollars to vote for fair wages, decent benefits and a voice on the job for all workers.

To support the jobs of our union brothers and sisters and advance our values of social and economic justice, we call for:

- Stepping up the promotion of UAW products and services through

our website, www.uaw.org, and other vehicles. Too many of our members are unaware of the wide range of products and services available from our UAW brothers and sisters. By providing information and encouraging mutual support, we can secure jobs and help maintain strong wages and benefits in our industries.

- Looking for the union label – and especially, the UAW label – when making purchasing decisions as individuals and within our local unions.
- Partnering with UAW employers to promote UAW quality products and services to the general public.
- Encouraging the use of UAW-represented suppliers, including initiatives to improve operations and demonstrate the value of the union's role in quality, productivity and innovation.
- Promoting “best value” procurement policies at the federal, state and local levels; by our employers; and within our own local unions. That means taking a big picture view of quality, reliability and overall economic impact when making procurement decisions.
- Banning sweatshop-produced imports from our union halls, union events and union-sponsored sports teams. We strongly support initiatives by Students Against Sweatshops and other groups to eliminate child labor and sweatshop abuses at home and abroad.
- Publicizing and supporting consumer boycotts endorsed by the UAW and the AFL-CIO.

PROPOSED RESOLUTIONS



**Shared Prosperity
for a
Dynamic Economy**

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE

Our economy is growing, but wages and incomes for most Americans are not. More than 46 million Americans – including one in five children – live in poverty. Instead of being broadly shared, the benefits of economic growth are going to those at the very top of the income distribution. From 2009 to 2012, a full 95 percent of all income growth in the United States was gobbled up by just one percent of the population. That continues a decades-long trend toward rising inequality that has disconnected economic growth from the living standards of most Americans. We are working harder and producing more, but we are not living better. Instead, the middle class is squeezed, the situation of the poor grows even more desperate, and our children are denied ladders of opportunity that previous generations enjoyed.

Meanwhile, the compensation of hedge fund managers and CEOs has soared to unheard-of heights. In 1978, the average CEO of a major corporation made 29 times the pay of the average worker. By 2013, according to the AFL-CIO's Executive Paywatch, that had exploded to 331 times. The distribution of accumulated wealth is even more lopsided than the distribution of income. In 2010, the richest one percent held more wealth than the bottom 90 percent of the population combined.

The widening gap between the one percent and the rest of us is bad for all Americans. Good wages and rising incomes for ordinary working families boost consumer demand and spur economic growth. In contrast, the concentration of wealth and income at the top contributes to speculative bubbles and financial instability. It undermines the essential American belief that if we work hard, play by the rules and teach our children to do the same, they will go on to enjoy a better life. Inequality tears at our communities and makes our politics uglier and more divisive. For all these reasons, creating an economy that works for the 100 percent, not just the one percent, is our most urgent challenge. The best tool to achieve this is already in our hands: our union. When autoworkers in the 1930s and 1940s joined together to bargain collectively with their corporate employers, they transformed themselves from victims of industrial exploitation into the core of the American middle class. By advocating for workers' needs at their individual workplaces, members of the UAW and other unions also made our broader economy more just. Gains won at one employer spread to others, expanding the middle class and creating a route out of poverty for millions of Americans.

It should come as no surprise, then, that as union membership has declined, inequality has exploded. Nor should it come as a surprise that attacks on unions and collective bargaining top the agenda of those who want to preserve the political power and economic privilege of the one percent. Elimination of public sector bargaining rights, the push for "right-to-work" laws and unrelenting attacks on the right to organize are all calculated to keep wealth and income concentrated at the top.

We can fight back. By strengthening our union in our workplaces and organizing to increase our strength at the industry level, we are improving the lives of our fellow members – but we are also striking a blow for a more just economy for all Americans, one in which growing prosperity is widely shared.

The connection between our contract fights and the broader movement for social and economic justice goes both ways. The growth of low-wage, no-benefit, insecure work has eroded UAW wages and benefits and kept us from winning the gains we deserve. When we support other workers in their own organizing efforts, or advocate for a higher minimum wage, we aren't just acting out of a general commitment to fairness. We are also creating a better bargaining environment for ourselves.

Our program for economic justice combines strong representation at the workplace level, organizing for growth in our industries, and political activism to raise wages and protect collective bargaining:

- We commit to increasing the strength of the UAW in our workplaces by taking personal responsibility to step up our own involvement in our local unions. A strong union begins with each and every one of us, and is our single most effective tool to raise wages and reduce poverty and inequality.
- We commit to grow our union through organizing. The more workplaces in our industries are covered by collective bargaining, the more justice we can win at the bargaining table.
- We will continue to fight against right-to-work and other political attacks on our right to bargain collectively with employers. In Michigan and Indiana, where right-to-work laws were rammed through state legislatures in 2012, we will mobilize members to maintain our bargaining strength as we work to overturn these unjust laws. We will also defend the collective bargaining rights of public sector workers, and work to restore them in Wisconsin, Michigan and other states that have passed anti-worker legislation.
- We support legislative efforts to raise the minimum wage and index it for inflation. The federal minimum wage was last increased in

2009. By the beginning of 2014, it had lost more than 10 percent of its value. In 1968, a single parent of two children could lift her family out of poverty by working full time at a minimum wage job. Today, that same worker would fall thousands of dollars below the poverty level. That's unacceptable, and we will fight to change it through action at the federal, state and local levels.

- We will join with community allies to support other initiatives to raise wages, including through living wage ordinances, responsible contracting policies and greater accountability for corporate recipients of tax abatements, grants and other economic development incentives. As workers and taxpayers, we have a right to insist on fair wages and respect for workers' rights.
- We will engage in creative, nonviolent direct action in support of workers at Walmart, fast food restaurants and elsewhere who are fighting for decent pay and a voice on the job.

RESTORING FULL EMPLOYMENT

Almost five years after the end of the Great Recession, the nation's unemployment rate was still hovering close to 7 percent at the beginning of 2014. With employers reporting fewer than 4 million job openings, more than 10 million jobless Americans were scanning the "help wanted" ads, sending out resumes and pounding the pavement looking for work. Almost a million more had given up actively looking out of discouragement. Another 7 million had jobs, but were working short hours. And an unknown number – estimated at more than 5 million – had simply disappeared from the workforce. Some of these missing workers took an earlier-than-planned retirement; some are eking out a meager existence on disability; some retreated into their homes or moved in with other family members; and some, despairing of finding regular jobs, entered the underground economy.

For the unemployed and their families, prolonged joblessness brings hardship. For our economy, it represents lost output. For our society, it is a waste of human potential. For our members, it means a loss of bargaining power as the slack labor market depresses wages and gives employers the upper hand. A full employment economy, in contrast, pushes wages up: the late 1990s, when the U.S. unemployment rate was below 5 percent, brought the first sustained wage growth for American workers in two decades.

A full employment economy, in short, is good for all of us.

Restoring full employment means, first and foremost, making job creation a top national priority. We are facing a jobs crisis. Instead of addressing it, Congress has tried to change the subject, inciting hysteria over budget deficits (which are already declining) while pursuing harmful cuts that would actually cost jobs. House Republicans have obstructed each and every constructive jobs proposal offered by the White House – including many that had previously enjoyed bipartisan support.

The most disgraceful example of congressional inaction in the face of our jobs crisis is the treatment of the long-term unemployed. Federal extended benefits were allowed to lapse at the end of 2013, despite historically high rates of long-term unemployment. Congress's failure to extend long-term benefits led more than 2 million jobless Americans to lose benefits by early April. For these individuals and their families, cutting off extended benefits piled still more suffering on top of on-going hardship. And because unemployment benefits are quickly spent on necessities, they are one of the best ways to stimulate economic activity. Ending them slowed the economy's recovery, and is expected to cost the U.S. almost a quarter of a million jobs in 2014.

At the very least, Americans should be able to count on their elected representatives not to sabotage a still-fragile recovery. The two traditional policy levers to raise employment are fiscal policy and monetary policy. Unfortunately, as the extended unemployment benefits fiasco demonstrates, the Republican majority in the House of Representatives is determined to put us on a contractionary fiscal course. And while the Federal Reserve has taken extraordinary measures to spur economic growth, it is now signaling that it is preparing to pull back. In the Fed's mind, getting the unemployment rate below 7 percent may be good enough. But for the unemployed, their families, and all working Americans, it is not.

Instead of accepting austerity and high unemployment, we must demand a massive program of job creation. There's no shortage of work to be done: fixing our decaying infrastructure, retrofitting buildings for energy efficiency, maintaining parks, providing services to children and elders, and much more. Through a program of public investment and direct job creation, we can not only move our country back toward full employment. We can also increase our future productivity, reduce our dependence on insecure, dirty energy sources and improve our quality of life.

As we work to bring down the nation's unemployment rate, we need to pay special attention to those who have suffered the most from the bad economy and bad public policies. That includes young people, particularly in our urban areas, who continue to face double-digit unemployment rates. It also

includes manufacturing workers whose jobs have been lost and communities gutted by unfair trade and the lack of sensible manufacturing policies. And as the military downsizes, we need to ensure that our returning veterans and the defense workers who equipped them are not left behind.

Our goal is good jobs for all: secure, family-sustaining, community-building jobs that offer opportunities for skill development and advancement. To achieve that goal, we call for:

- Funding for jobs programs to put Americans back to work. Stepped-up public investment in infrastructure, clean energy, public health and education will create jobs while meeting important national needs and positioning our country for stronger economic growth in the decades ahead. Increased aid for state and local governments, tied to hiring (or rehiring) first responders, educators and other public employees, will begin to reverse the economic damage done by recent budget cuts. Public service job programs for targeted areas and populations – particularly urban youth – will directly address the crushing lack of opportunity that is destroying entire communities.
- Quality, accessible training for underserved communities. The good new jobs we strive to create must be accessible to a diverse workforce. Decades of job flight, along with disinvestment from public education, have left many Americans without the skills they need to move into jobs with a future. Public investments in training should be matched by employer commitments to provide good wages and career ladders for the workers they hire.
- Fiscal and monetary policies to support full employment. With inflation still under control, the focus of macroeconomic policy should be on returning the nation to full employment.
- A robust safety net for the unemployed, including the reinstatement of federal extended unemployment benefits and access to training and employment services.
- Manufacturing policies to revitalize our industrial base. After years of manufacturing decline, the resurgence of the domestic auto industry shows that it is still possible to make it in America. By focusing on innovation, quality and productivity, we can create and retain good, high-wage jobs in a globally-competitive manufacturing sector. Recent Obama administration initiatives to establish a National Network for Manufacturing Innovation are a step in the right direction, and should be expanded. We also

support a strong Manufacturing Extension Partnership to upgrade the capabilities of small and medium-sized manufacturers, with assistance linked to the willingness of those manufacturers to commit to a “high road” strategy of well-paid, highly-skilled jobs.

- Job training and income support for workers displaced by international trade. When bad trade policies result in worker displacement, we have a special responsibility to help those workers make the transition to new careers.
- Conversion assistance for workers and communities impacted by defense cuts. Likewise, when reductions in defense spending threaten the jobs of defense workers, we support assistance to help locations convert to civilian production.

SUSTAINABLE JOBS TO SUSTAIN OUR PLANET

From extreme weather events that have devastated entire communities, to dirty air, despoiled land and oil-slicked waters, we all have a stake in reducing America’s use of fossil fuels. This environmental challenge is also an economic opportunity. Clean energy can be at the heart of a broader strategy to create thousands of good-paying manufacturing jobs for American workers, while making the communities we live in cleaner and healthier.

To see how policies to reduce fossil fuel consumption can support good jobs, Americans can look to the auto industry. In 2012, after extensive discussions that involved environmental advocates, manufacturers and the UAW, the National Highway Transportation Safety Administration and the Environmental Protection Agency finalized new Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards to raise the average fuel economy of passenger vehicles sold in the U.S. to the equivalent of 54.5 miles per gallon by 2025, double the 2010 standard. The new 2017-2025 standards provided regulatory certainty, and were coupled with loans and grants that helped manufacturers make the necessary investments in advanced vehicle technologies. As a result, thousands of UAW members are working today making the vehicles of the future.

There is no reason this positive experience cannot be extended to other industries. Initiatives to improve energy efficiency, develop renewable energy sources and eliminate harmful emissions and toxic waste can spur technological innovation, drive the growth of new industries and bring new employment opportunities. Our trading partners already see the economic

potential of green energy; China, in particular, has identified it as a strategic emerging industry and made it a cornerstone of its manufacturing policy. If we fail to do the same, we will find ourselves exporting jobs instead of clean energy goods and services.

President Obama's American Recovery and Reinvestment Act propelled the U.S. into a leadership position in clean energy investment, but the initiatives it funded are now winding down. Meanwhile, steep cuts in federal research funding threaten our future leadership. We need to make sure that the jobs of the future are available to our children and grandchildren. We also need to make sure that green jobs are good jobs that provide decent wages and benefits, safe working conditions and dignity and respect.

Our action agenda for sustainable jobs to sustain our planet includes:

- Continued federal and state investments in green infrastructure, including mass transportation and energy-efficient buildings, along with research into renewable energy and fuel-saving technologies.
- Regulatory, tax and other policies to encourage energy efficiency, reduced pollution, renewable energy sources, and the domestic production of green technologies.
- Assistance for workers and communities impacted by changing technologies to ensure a just transition from a fossil fuel-based economy to one based on new, renewable energy sources.
- Special attention to the inclusion of women, people of color and the residents of hard-hit urban communities in the new green economy. We can make America's cities showcases of economic opportunity as well as environmental sustainability.
- Working with our allies in the environmental and civil rights movements to protect and advance the right of workers in the emerging green economy to organize and bargain collectively. Collective bargaining is the single best way to ensure that green jobs are in fact good jobs.

TAX FAIRNESS AND A MORAL BUDGET

Every UAW member has a direct stake in the federal budget. Programs like Head Start, Pell grants, and enforcement of workplace health and safety and wage and hour regulations make a positive difference in the lives of our members and all working families. Social insurance and safety net programs like Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, unemployment insurance and food

stamps provide all of us with a basic level of security and dignity. At a time when employers are dropping health care coverage for their retirees, a strong Medicare program is more essential than ever – and without the safety net provided by Medicaid, UAW families already agonizing over a parent with Alzheimer's disease or a child with a devastating disability would face financial ruin.

For many UAW members, decisions on the federal budget determine whether they will be working, laid off, or facing demands for concessions from their employer. Budget uncertainty threatens the jobs of UAW workers at employers that supply the Department of Defense and other federal agencies. Cuts in federal support for the National Institutes of Health mean fewer positions for UAW postdoctoral scholars doing groundbreaking research in university labs, while attacks on funding for the Legal Services Corporation and Federal Defenders would eliminate the jobs of UAW-represented attorneys and support staff. Members who work in state and local government across the country have been hit hard by shrinking federal aid.

Revenues are the other end of the budget equation, and the issue of tax fairness hits UAW families directly in the pocketbook. When corporations and the rich pay less, we pick up the difference. A tax code that gives preferential treatment to income from capital gains and dividends, taxing them at lower rates than regular wage and salary income, violates fundamental principles of fairness.

The revenue and expenditure choices in the federal budget cut through political rhetoric to make choices, priorities and values clear. That's why budgets are ultimately moral documents. When House Republicans voted to cut the Food Stamp program by \$40 billion over ten years, they showed that they value tax breaks for hedge fund managers more than food for poor children. Proposals to increase military spending while cutting programs that help veterans make pledges to "support our troops" ring hollow. All too often, "pro-family" legislators support budgets that hurt pregnant women, young children, people with disabilities and families struggling in a tough economy.

How much are we prepared to invest today on health, education, infrastructure, scientific and medical research and other building blocks of future prosperity? Do we see the elderly, the sick and the poor as an economic burden, or as part of our community? Questions like these cut to the heart of our values. They are also at the heart of the budget process.

Budget proposals by right-wing Republicans in Congress make their values very clear. Under the sway of billionaires, large corporations and ideological extremists, they want to slash federal spending on programs

that benefit working people while handing tax breaks to corporations and millionaires. In 2013, congressional Republicans went so far as to shut down the federal government for 16 days, causing hardship for millions of Americans and costing the economy over \$24 billion. They also threatened to default on the nation's debt unless radical and damaging spending cuts were implemented.

Toward the end of 2013, Senate Democrats, House Republicans and the Obama administration reached a budget agreement for the next two years. Fortunately, the deal averted harmful spending cuts to many programs that directly impact our members and there were no beneficiary cuts to Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security and food assistance programs. However, the agreement contains provisions we opposed, fails to close tax loopholes for the wealthiest and corporations, and does not take the steps needed to fix the economy and create jobs. Deficit reduction efforts to date have relied disproportionately on spending cuts rather than new revenues.

Looking ahead, fairness requires that efforts to reduce future deficits focus on the revenue, rather than the spending, side of the equation. It also requires that those with the greatest ability to pay – and who have grabbed the lion's share of income gains over the past three decades – contribute the most.

We made some progress toward tax fairness at the beginning of 2013, when the Bush-era tax cuts for individuals making more than \$400,000 a year (\$450,000 for couples) were allowed to expire. However, most of the income of the very wealthy comes from capital ownership rather than work, and those sources of income are still taxed at special, lower rates. This creates gaping loopholes for the very wealthy, such as the “carried interest” provision that allows hedge fund managers to treat their compensation as investment income subject to a lower tax rate.

Tax fairness also means reversing the declining contribution of corporations to the federal treasury. Corporate income taxes as a share of total federal revenues have fallen from more than 25 percent in the 1950s to less than 10 percent today.

The need for tax fairness and a moral budget also applies to the 50 states and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. State and local taxes are even more unfair than the federal tax system: in every state, low- and middle-income families pay a larger percentage of their income in state and local taxes than the wealthiest one percent. Governors and legislatures in too many states have been cutting funds for education and human needs in order to give tax breaks to corporations. Ill-considered privatization schemes, billed as a way to save money, have fattened corporate profits at taxpayer expense. Time and again,

the promised savings have failed to materialize – but the damage to public sector workers and the community is all too real.

The UAW's budget priorities at both the federal and state levels reflect our commitment to social and economic justice, and our desire to leave a better world to our children and grandchildren. We support funding for human needs, public investments in education and infrastructure, strong enforcement of workplace protections and programs that put Americans back to work at decent wages – all paid for through a fair and progressive tax system. In our fight for tax fairness and a moral budget we call for:

- Funding for human needs, education, enforcement of workplace and environmental protections and other building blocks of a just and decent society. We strongly support our UAW brothers and sisters employed by the Legal Services Corporation and Federal Defenders for their work protecting equal access to justice for all, and oppose efforts to cut funding for these important programs.
- Public investment to repair and modernize our infrastructure, train workers for the jobs of the future, and fund medical and scientific research. Not only will this create needed jobs now – including for UAW members in industries as varied as higher education, construction equipment and heavy truck and bus – it will also spur economic growth for the future.
- Opposition to privatization schemes that replace dedicated public employees – many of them unionized – with unaccountable private contractors.
- Greater reliance on progressive revenue sources, including a robust estate tax on inherited wealth and taxing capital gains and dividends at the same rate as wage and salary income.
- Maintaining and expanding provisions of the tax code that help hard-pressed working families, including the Child Tax Credit, the Earned Income Tax Credit, and the new American Opportunity Tax Credit for higher education expenses.
- Closing loopholes that allow corporations to benefit from moving work to other countries, such as the deferral of taxes on foreign profits. We are strongly opposed to proposals that would actually expand these loopholes, such as shifting to a “territorial” tax system. Reform of our corporate tax structure should not just be “revenue neutral,” but should raise additional revenues to support public investment that will create jobs and strengthen our economy for the long term.

- A small tax on financial transactions to raise revenue while serving as a necessary “speed bump” for high-speed financial speculation.
- Absolutely NO cuts to Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security benefits. This includes opposing any proposals to increase the eligibility age for Medicare or Social Security.

A VOICE FOR ALL WORKERS

Every worker has a basic human right to a voice on the job, including the right to organize and bargain collectively. The right to organize is a matter of workplace democracy, dignity and justice. It is also the foundation of a vibrant economy in which prosperity is broadly shared, the middle class is strong and growing, no worker is forced to live in poverty and all of our children have the opportunity to realize their full potential. That is the kind of economy and society our union has long worked to create.

The last four years have brought a wave of attacks on our basic right to organize and bargain. In 2011, corporate interests and their political supporters launched an all-out assault on public sector collective bargaining. In 2012, despite strong public opposition, legislators in Indiana and Michigan rammed through so-called “right-to-work” laws designed to weaken union representation in both the public and private sector. Earlier this year, workers at Volkswagen’s Chattanooga plant were threatened by their own elected officials, who told them that if they exercised their federally-protected right to form a union, their jobs would be in jeopardy.

While threats of this type from elected officials are virtually unprecedented, similar threats from employers are all too common. It takes incredible courage to organize in this country. Employers and their armies of anti-union consultants use loopholes in our labor laws – or simply flout them – to spy on, harass, intimidate, discipline, deport and fire workers who dare to exercise their right to organize. Illegal firings of union supporters take place in more than a quarter of all union organizing drives; illegal threats to close a location occur in more than half. In both cases, the penalty is a mere slap on the wrist. And when workers overcome the odds and manage to organize, employer stonewalling means that many never obtain a first contract.

We can and will defend our right, and the right of all workers, to have a voice in the workplace. That means mobilizing like never before, the way hundreds of thousands of workers and community allies mobilized in Wisconsin and other battleground states in 2011 and 2012. It means stepping

up our political engagement like never before, the way UAW members in Ohio collected signatures, knocked on doors and went to the polls to repeal anti-worker Senate Bill 5. It means strengthening our workplace structures, demonstrating the value of the union each and every day to each and every member, and showing our employers that we are stronger and more united than ever.

Our fight isn’t only to protect our existing rights and roll back unjust laws that deny them. We must also go on the offense to strengthen our labor laws, expand bargaining rights and find new, creative ways to represent workers. That includes workers in non-traditional employment arrangements, like the freelance writers represented by the National Writers Union, UAW Local 1981.

To defend, strengthen and expand the right to organize and bargain, we commit to:

- Expose the truth about “right-to-work.” These laws, which prohibit workers from bargaining for union security, have nothing to do with the right to work and everything to do with strengthening the boss’s position at the bargaining table. By allowing individuals to decline to pay the cost of representation (which unions are still legally obligated to provide), right-to-work seeks to weaken unions financially. Even worse, it sets out to create disunity within the workplace. Our strength comes from our membership: each time a member drops out of the union, our ability to win improvements is diminished. We will strongly oppose new right-to-work legislation, fight to repeal existing right-to-work laws and “organize the organized” to maintain our bargaining strength in right-to-work states.
- Support legislation to secure full collective bargaining rights for all workers, including teaching and research assistants, public employees in states without collective bargaining laws, domestic workers and farmworkers. Where collective bargaining rights have been curtailed by anti-labor legislation, we will push aggressively to restore them.
- Support legislation to strengthen our labor laws and give American workers back the right to organize. Reform is needed to encourage majority recognition and cooperative labor management relationships; to require elections to be held 5 days after filings; to prohibit one-sided “captive audience” meetings; to establish timely and meaningful penalties for violations and to provide for binding

arbitration when a first contract is not achieved in a reasonable period.

- Continue to develop alternative forms of organization and representation to give more workers a voice at work and extend that voice to new areas. Works councils, in which elected worker representatives meet with management to co-determine the direction of the workplace (including areas that have not historically been subjects of collective bargaining in the United States), are one way to amplify our voice. Another is through legislation to require equal worker representation on company boards of directors, as we see in Germany's co-determination law. It is important to note that Germany is the most successful developed economy in the world, and its co-determination law and the cooperative labor-management relationships created by co-determination are critical to its success. As more workers participate in nontraditional employment arrangements – as freelancers, contractors, home-based workers, employees of temporary staffing agencies and so on – we must also continue to create new ways to ensure that they, too, have a voice at work.

MAKING FINANCE SERVE THE REAL ECONOMY

Financial markets serve the important function of turning savings into productive investments that grow the economy and provide jobs. However, the financial crisis of 2008 exposed significant problems in our financial system and revealed that banks were less interested in turning savings into job-creating investments than in making risky investments themselves in pursuit of larger profits.

This is an issue for working families and UAW members because the financial crisis triggered a broader economic crisis in which millions of workers lost their jobs and millions of families lost their homes. In response to the failures of the financial system and the harm done to the American people by reckless financial institutions, delegates to the 35th Constitutional Convention in 2010 called for financial market reforms and the creation of a consumer financial protection agency.

Since then, the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act was signed into law by President Obama. Dodd-Frank is the most significant financial reform since the 1930s. Some of the law's crowning

achievements include:

- More transparency on executive compensation. Executive compensation has grown far faster than worker pay, leaving workers with a smaller piece of the pie. In 1978, a typical CEO made just 29 times the pay of a typical worker. By 2013, CEO pay was 331 times a typical worker's pay. Dodd-Frank requires that firms report the ratio of CEO compensation to the average for their entire workforce. While it does not place limits on executive compensation, the additional transparency will help expose excessive CEO pay and strengthen our fight for fairness.
- Reforms to Wall Street bonuses. One of the outrages brought to light by the financial crisis was the extent to which executive bonuses in the financial sector created incentives for inappropriate risk-taking. Dodd-Frank addresses this by requiring the largest banks to defer 50 percent of bonus pay for three years. While the law does not go as far as we would like to discourage short-term decision making throughout the economy, it is a step in the right direction.
- Separating commercial and investment banking. Dodd-Frank includes the "Volker Rule," which tries to reestablish the barrier between commercial banking activities and investment banking activities that existed before deregulation and abolition of the Glass-Steagall Act. The idea is to prevent banks from using federally-guaranteed deposits to engage in risky investments. American taxpayers should not have to foot the bill when banks gamble and lose.
- New oversight of commodities markets. When Wall Street gambles in commodities markets, it can mean higher prices for food and fuel. Under Dodd-Frank, the Commodity Futures Trading Commission is charged with curbing excessive gambling in markets for goods like food and fuel by limiting the amount of betting Wall Street traders can do, as well as preventing price manipulation by big oil companies and banks.

Finally, the law creates a new watchdog agency, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB). The shady lending practices exposed by the housing crisis made the need for strong new consumer protections clear. In the years leading up to the crisis, aggressive and predatory lenders encouraged people to buy homes they couldn't afford while creating huge profits for the

financial institutions that resold the loans. When this bubble popped, housing prices fell, credit dried up and many homeowners were left with loans they couldn't afford and houses that were worth much less than their mortgage balances. The crisis led to the foreclosure of over 4 million homes and the destruction of neighborhoods.

The CFPB was established to protect consumers in a complex financial marketplace. Some of the key tasks of the bureau are to enforce consumer protection and anti-discrimination laws in the financial sector; restrict unfair, deceptive and abusive financial practices; monitor financial markets for new risks to consumers; and address consumer complaints.

The fight for financial reform did not end with the signing of Dodd-Frank and the creation of the CFPB. Implementing the law's reforms requires writing hundreds of new rules, all of them subject to public comment and review before they are finalized. At the beginning of 2014, the vast majority of these rules were still not complete. Industry groups and businesses that opposed Dodd-Frank's passage are pouring hundreds of millions of dollars into lobbying and lawsuits to prevent or postpone implementation of various provisions of the law. To ensure that we get the reform intended in Dodd-Frank we must:

- Support implementation of the law as it was intended. We cannot allow special interests to water down key rules like the Volker Rule, rules on CEO compensation and rules against Wall Street gambling in the markets for commodities like food and fuel.
- Demand adequate funding for the agencies that will carry out and enforce the law, especially the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau.
- Be vigilant against attempts in a new Congress or with a new president to undo Dodd-Frank.
- Provide additional assistance to homeowners facing foreclosure or at risk of falling into foreclosure. While Dodd-Frank aims at preventing a new financial crisis, millions of Americans are still feeling the effects of the last one. Assistance should include a reevaluation of the entire loan agreement, not just modified payment schedules. When lenders refuse to cooperate, or where the tangle of securitized and pooled loans makes individual modifications impossible, we support innovative programs to buy up underwater mortgages and write them down to a reasonable level.

JUSTICE FOR IMMIGRANT WORKERS

Our country's immigration system is broken. Individuals seeking to immigrate to the United States face a slow and often arbitrary process that divides families and keeps out workers whose skills and commitment to our country would benefit us all. Millions of workers, lacking documents and with no way to obtain them, are forced into a shadow economy where they are exploited by unscrupulous employers. The pervasive fear of deportation means that undocumented workers have little recourse against wage theft and other abuses. Corrupt employers and politicians pit native-born workers against immigrants, documented against undocumented. This climate of fear and division depresses wages and labor standards for all workers.

For many UAW members, immigration reform is direct and personal. The existing, broken system has split UAW families and thrown up barriers to family reunification. Many UAW members who work in higher education came here on student or temporary worker visas, and face an unnecessarily long, complicated and frustrating process when they try to become permanent residents and citizens. Without a pathway to citizenship, millions of immigrants – including UAW members – can work, raise families, contribute to their communities and pay taxes for decades without ever gaining a voice in the country they love.

The issue of undocumented immigration is being used cynically to create division among workers and whip up opposition to needed reform. U.S. workers are in the same leaky economic boat as the undocumented immigrants who are vilified and targeted as “job stealers.” Global free trade agreements have increased economic inequality here at home and around the world, destabilizing work opportunities and forcing thousands to migrate from their home countries just to feed their families. After NAFTA passed, immigration from Mexico to the United States soared 60 percent as economic pressures forced families to cross the border out of desperation and love to provide for their dependents.

Today, there are an estimated 11 million undocumented immigrants in the United States. Even the most ardent opponents of immigration reform acknowledge that 11 million people are not going to leave a country that, for many, has been home for much of their lives. The real choice is between creating a responsible way for individuals to legalize their status and eventually become citizens, or keeping them in an underground economy where they can be exploited. When employers are able to flout wage and hour laws with impunity and use the threat of deportation to keep workers from organizing to

demand their rights, it depresses wages and benefits throughout the economy. By removing the fear of deportation, immigration reform with a path to citizenship will strengthen our bargaining power with employers.

Immigration reform is supported by a broad coalition that includes labor, business, immigrant rights activists, civil rights organizations and the faith community. We are proud to be part of that coalition, and were pleased to see the Senate pass a bipartisan comprehensive immigration reform bill in June of 2013. However, despite continued advocacy and the urgent need for reform, Republicans in the House of Representatives refuse to act and allow a vote on the Senate bill.

The UAW has long believed in the power of unions to improve the lives of all working-class Americans. When we follow in the steps of Walter Reuther and advocate for civil rights for all, we only strengthen that power. Now as then, fear and division are the enemies – certainly not immigrants. Our union and our country both lose when immigrants eager to contribute are kept out or consigned to second-class status by an outdated and arbitrary system.

To win justice for immigrant workers – and for *all* workers – we commit to support and work for:

- A clear pathway for immigrant workers and their families to adjust their status to become citizens. Unless this happens, there will continue to be a large pool of workers exploited by employers to drive down wages and working conditions.
- An expedited path for undocumented immigrants who were brought here as children under 16, the young people who have become known as “DREAMers” because of their courage and determination to become full citizens. This action will make our country stronger, adding not only an estimated \$329 billion and 1.4 million jobs to our economy, but also an incalculable infusion of spirit, dedication, and ingenuity.
- Changes in the family-based immigration system to make it easier for the minor children and spouses of legal permanent residents to immigrate.
- Reforms of temporary worker visa programs, creating a more data-driven process based on documented labor market needs and adding protections against employer abuses.
- Full, equal and enforceable workplace rights for all employees, including immigrant workers, both documented and undocumented. This is the only way to ensure that unscrupulous employers do not

exploit immigrants, using them to undermine workplace rights, pay and benefits for all employees. The behavior of employers, not the immigration status of workers, should be the focus of enforcement activity.

- Ending deportations of immigrants who do not pose a public threat and would be eligible for permanent residency and citizenship under immigration reform. While House Republicans stall and obstruct comprehensive reform, we can no longer tolerate the inhumane detentions and deportations that are endangering lives, traumatizing children and tearing families apart.
- Ending attacks on immigrants (and on native-born citizens mistakenly believed to be immigrants because of racial and ethnic profiling). These attacks create fear and division that drive down wages and working standards for us all. They are also a profoundly unjust violation of basic human rights and dignity.
- Full repeal of anti-immigrant laws passed at the state and local level, such as Arizona’s S.B. 1070 and Alabama’s H.B. 56. These unjust laws encourage racial and ethnic profiling and tear at our communities.
- Continuing to mobilize on a national, regional and local level with our labor, faith, student, veteran, immigrant and community allies to win comprehensive immigration reform that includes a fair and realistic pathway to citizenship.

HOLDING CORPORATIONS ACCOUNTABLE TO WORKERS AND COMMUNITIES

We know that a strong union is the best way to hold corporations accountable – not just to their workers, but to the broader community. Our union voice is a check on abusive supervisors, unsafe working conditions and unfair pay practices. We have used our collective bargaining relationships to bring jobs and investment back to communities devastated by past rounds of plant closings and job cuts. Through our political activism, we work for policies to rein in corporate excesses and protect the interests of workers, consumers and the environment. In all of these areas – workplace representation, collective bargaining and policy advocacy – we seek a greater measure of democracy in our economic system.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS

Unfortunately, falling levels of union membership have encouraged unchecked and unaccountable corporate behavior. The best example is out-of-control executive compensation. In 2013, median compensation for the CEOs of 100 major U.S. corporations was a jaw-dropping \$13.9 million. Sky-high compensation in the executive suite bears no relationship to corporate performance. One recent report found that nearly 30 percent of the highest-paid CEOs led firms that either received taxpayer bailouts or paid significant fraud-related fines; another 8 percent were eventually booted from their jobs, with generous golden parachutes.

That is all too typical. When lack of accountability leads to reckless, ill-considered decisions that wreck the company (or even the entire economy), top management almost always walks away untouched: it is workers, retirees and communities who pay the price. This was the case during the financial crisis, and it continues to be the case at too many poorly-managed companies today.

We believe that all stakeholders should have a voice in the corporate decisions that affect them, from the workplace all the way to the board room. Making corporate governance more democratic will lead to better decisions, driven less by short-term profits and more by value creation for the long term. To further our goals of transparency, accountability and economic democracy, we call for:

- A full role for workers on corporate boards. The European model of “co-determination,” in which democratically-elected works councils have equal representation on governing boards, has demonstrated the value of including workers’ voices in corporate governance. Public companies in the U.S. should also be required to include equal worker representation on their boards of directors.
- Reforms to discourage excessive executive compensation. The additional disclosures required by the Dodd-Frank financial reform law will provide needed transparency, but we must go further to limit executive excess. Needed reforms include “say on pay,” requiring annual shareholder votes on the compensation of senior executives; limiting the deductibility of executive compensation by, for example, linking it to a multiple of average worker pay or the statutory minimum wage; increasing the tax rate on very high earners; and an end to the cozy, self-serving relationship between compensation consultants and their clients.
- Working with UAW employers to invest more in community needs. UAW members are justifiably proud of our tremendous

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS

success bringing jobs and investment back to our communities through our 2011 negotiations with the Detroit automakers. We must continue and expand our efforts to get UAW employers to invest more in our communities – not just in our workplaces, but also in educational institutions, training partnerships, child care, parks and other community needs.

- Corporate bankruptcy reform. Today, employers face few limits on the use of Chapter 11 as a tool to unilaterally cut wages and benefits, terminate pensions and shed retiree health care benefits. We believe they should be required to bargain in good faith over what adjustments are truly necessary. Bankruptcy reform should also tighten limits on executive compensation and require courts to factor in foreign as well as domestic operations in determining whether financial concessions may be imposed on workers and retirees.
- More genuine shareholder democracy. At most U.S. companies, board elections bear little semblance to democracy. It is virtually impossible for shareholders to nominate candidates, and board members running in uncontested elections can be elected by a mere handful of votes. These rubber stamp elections produce rubber stamp boards. Instead, we support easier access to proxy materials for board nominations, and believe that directors running unopposed should be required to demonstrate majority support.

PROPOSED RESOLUTIONS



Our Lives On The Job

HEALTH AND SAFETY IN THE WORKPLACE

Our union is a powerful force for health and safety in the workplace. A safe workplace is one where health and safety concerns are raised without fear, where all workers participate in the elimination of hazards, where workers' knowledge and skills are seen as assets and where new hires are trained about job hazards before they begin work. But this vision of a safe workplace is under attack from corporations, wealthy special interests and right-wing extremists. They are seeking to roll back the clock on health and safety regulations, to blame workers for their own injuries and to weaken our union voice on workplace health and safety.

When we work to strengthen our union, we are also working to make our workplaces safer. Through education and member engagement, political action and research, the UAW will work for safe workplaces for our members.

Education and member engagement

Our union has long maintained an extensive health and safety training program covering a variety of areas, from hazard identification to ergonomics to violence prevention. This training prepares members to recognize, challenge and fix on-the-job hazards. That doesn't just keep our workplaces safer – it also develops effective leaders and activists to strengthen our union in our worksites.

To strengthen and build on our training efforts, we resolve to:

- Develop worker trainers and subject matter experts.
- Use the power of the internet to provide innovative training techniques and access to information.
- Provide targeted trainings addressing the hazards of specific sectors, including ergonomics training for health care workers and workers in the gaming industry.
- Teach our members to research hazards, document unsafe conditions and use grievance procedures and regulatory agencies to fight for improvements.
- Train local union representatives on how to recognize potential hazards of new technologies, including nanotechnology.
- Train our members on the proper storage and handling of raw materials and waste products, the safe use and control of toxic chemicals and the steps needed to protect themselves, the community and the environment in the case of an accident.
- Expand grant-funded training and make training materials and

other UAW expertise available to those worksites that lack health and safety expertise, including non-union worksites.

Political action

Legislation and government agencies are the foundation for many of the protections in our collective bargaining agreements. Protecting the health and safety of our members requires that we protect existing health and safety laws and the agencies that enforce them from anti-worker politicians and special interests who want to roll back legislative gains and undermine enforcement of existing requirements.

Therefore, in the political arena we resolve to:

- Reverse budget cuts at the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH).
- End so called “regulatory reform” that is used to hinder new standards and delete protections already on the books, especially at the state level.
- Restore to public sector employees the rights afforded under OSHA and the right to bargain for safe working conditions.
- Pass new standards for dozens of high exposure, high risk chemicals including metal working fluids, and polyurethane isocyanates.
- Institute stronger inspection and enforcement capabilities within OSHA.

Research

Time and again, we have seen chemicals once thought to be safe later proven to be dangerous. For this reason we will continue to press for expanded research into safety and health hazards in our industries, and push for improvements in governmental, academic and joint employer budgets for research funds. This effort will support independent scientists conducting research in our workplaces and will maintain the capacity to do our own independent research and analysis.

Specifically we will:

- Seek to enhance the research capabilities of the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health.
- Push for research into the prevention of breast and prostate cancer, linked to workplace chemical exposures.
- Push OSHA to acquire and use state-of-the art testing facilities.

Workers' Memorial Day

We will always remember our brothers and sisters who have died on the job and those whose lives were shortened by workplace exposures by continuing our annual observance of Workers' Memorial Day on April 28. We encourage every UAW local union to sponsor a memorial meeting, rally or march.

WORK AND FAMILY

The UAW is proud of our record of fighting for work and family policies at the bargaining table and through legislation and government action. We know the importance of benefits like paid sick days, family and medical leave, vacation time, child care stipends, and school participation leave to our members. Unfortunately most workers don't have a union contract and must rely on federal, state and local laws to provide these kinds of benefits. For the good of all workers and to protect and enhance our contractual benefits, we must continue to fight for laws that allow workers to balance the demands of work and family.

Our country's labor and employment laws – based on the antiquated notion that most families consist of a male “breadwinner” and a female stay-at-home mother – don't address today's working families. Today, nearly half of working Americans are female, and female-headed households account for nearly one-quarter of all working families. The United States is the only industrialized nation not to offer paid maternity leave, while 175 countries do offer such leave – some for as long as two years. Nearly 40 percent of American workers don't have any paid sick days. Even the 1993 Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) – passed with the active participation of UAW members – needs improvement, since 40 percent of American workers aren't covered by the law (which doesn't apply to businesses with less than 50 employees) and those who are eligible can't afford to take unpaid leave for any length of time.

It's clear that the United States is out of step with its working public and out of the global mainstream when it comes to work and family policies. Nevertheless, the United States Chamber of Commerce, state chambers, corporations and their political allies continue to fight against paid leave by claiming it is dangerous for businesses in a fragile economy, and speculating that a paid leave program would be rife with abuse and “another entitlement” for working Americans. This position is not supported by the facts. Of 300 businesses surveyed in 2011 on California's paid family leave law, 99 percent

said that employee morale was boosted as a result of the availability of paid family leave, and 91 percent reported no abuse of the program.

American workers want and need better balance between work and family and they are becoming increasingly vocal and committed to fighting for it. The UAW is equally committed to working with other labor unions and community allies across the country to bring long overdue local and federal work and family policies into the 21st century by:

- Demanding that the FMLA be expanded to cover employees who are not eligible for such leave under current law and that leave be paid so that workers can care for their newborn or address their serious illness or that of a family member.
- Fighting for the passage of paid sick day legislation on a national and local level, because no worker should have to choose between their job and their health or the health of their child or family member.
- Supporting expanded child care subsidies for qualifying lower and middle income Americans and calling for universal child care because every American child deserves to be educated on a level playing field.
- Increasing and promoting availability of work-family contract provisions with UAW local unions to help UAW bargaining teams negotiate strong and enforceable work-family provisions

DIVERSITY, INCLUSION AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

Our country is more diverse than ever. People of color comprise one quarter of the U.S. population. By the middle of this century, people of color will make up half our population. People with disabilities who were once shunted aside are now demanding the right to participate fully in our economy and society – and with the aging of the baby boom generation, the number of us who are living and working with disabilities will only increase. The LGBT community rightly expects to be out and open at work. Workers from a wide variety of religious traditions want to see their faiths respected.

Our nation has always been at its best when we draw on the talents of all of our people. With our increased diversity, it is more important than ever to create inclusive workplaces in which everyone is respected, valued

and afforded equal access to opportunity. To do anything less is to squander our greatest asset – the skills, talents, knowledge and creativity of American workers.

UAW members have a special interest in creating a truly diverse and inclusive workplace culture. Seeing our differences as problems rather than as strengths undermines our ability to engage in collective action to improve our lives. When we are divided, our bosses win.

We must continue to work to ensure that every American workplace is free from harassment and discrimination. But true inclusion is not just the absence of harassment and discrimination: it requires creating a positive culture of diversity in our workplaces, schools and communities so that all individuals are able to participate and contribute to their full potential. Only then will we achieve true equality of opportunity.

To achieve that goal, we commit ourselves to:

- Continuing to defend affirmative action. Affirmative action programs are a valuable tool to foster equal opportunity for all Americans. We will educate and organize our membership on the importance of affirmative action, debunking the myths that equate it with “quotas” or “reverse discrimination.”
- Advancing the cause of equal pay for women. Women who work full time are still paid less than 80 cents for every dollar earned by men. The pattern of unequal pay for women holds true across virtually every occupation. We strongly support passage of the Paycheck Fairness Act to provide workers with additional tools to fight pay discrimination by their employers. Although the Paycheck Fairness Act has majority support in the Senate, a threatened filibuster has so far blocked a vote. We also support action by Congress and state legislatures to enact pay equity legislation to address disparities in pay between male and female-dominated occupations.
- Ending sexual harassment in the workplace. Sexual harassment is devastating for the individuals subjected to it, and poisons the workplace environment for everyone. We will continue to work with employers to prevent sexual harassment through education and awareness programs. We will also strive to ensure that complaints are taken seriously, investigated promptly and aggressively, and resolved appropriately.
- Prohibiting discrimination against LGBT workers. In most states, it is legal for employers to discriminate against workers because of

their sexual orientation or gender identity. It may be legal, but it is wrong. We strongly support passage of the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) to prohibit discrimination against LGBT workers. The bill has already passed the Senate with a strong bipartisan majority, but is being obstructed by right-wing extremists in the House of Representatives.

- Full inclusion of people with disabilities. Our union strongly supported passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act in 1990; since then, we have worked to realize its promise.
- Ensuring access to training and jobs for a diverse workforce. As we work to create more good-paying job opportunities in a revitalized manufacturing sector, we must make sure that those jobs are accessible to a diverse workforce. By partnering with employers and educational institutions, we will work to ensure that young people of color are not frozen out of the developing high-technology manufacturing economy.

PROPOSED RESOLUTIONS



Building a Global Middle Class

TRADE POLICY

We live in a global economy. In this interconnected world, the issue is not whether one is “for” globalization or “against” it, but what form globalization will take. The UAW supports trade policies that strengthen, not weaken, worker and consumer rights and environmental protections domestically and abroad.

That means including strong and enforceable language in our trade agreements to protect workers, consumers and the environment. Labor chapters must explicitly include core labor standards enumerated in International Labor Organization (ILO) conventions. The ILO has created a substantial body of jurisprudence; without explicit incorporation of ILO conventions, significant misunderstandings and misapplications of labor standards will occur that will weaken implementation and enforcement.

Other fundamental elements of a strong labor chapter include timeliness, transparency, accessibility, and effective enforcement to deter potential violations.

The UAW position is informed by our experience with past trade agreements. Earlier trade deals, particularly NAFTA, have shown the terrible impact of agreements that lack strong, enforceable labor and environmental protections and that encourage multinational corporations to pit workers in different countries against one another in a race to the bottom. NAFTA resulted in a net loss of nearly 700,000 jobs in the United States. In Mexico, it led to a huge upheaval in which more than two million subsistence farmers were forced from their land. Mexican workers still lack the right to freely form independent unions. NAFTA is an example of how not to conduct trade policy: we must learn from past mistakes, and not repeat them.

The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), currently being negotiated, is potentially the first trade agreement to be both initiated and completed under President Obama’s leadership. The significance of the TPP cannot be overstated: the countries that are party to the negotiations collectively encompass more than 40 percent of global gross domestic product, a percentage that is expected to increase over time. To avoid reproducing NAFTA’s deficiencies in the TPP, we strongly believe any agreement must meet four essential objectives:

- Recognition and protection, through strong and effective enforcement mechanisms, of global labor rights.
- Preservation and expansion of U.S. manufacturing employment.
- Enforcement of strong environmental standards.
- Meaningful and enforceable provisions to prevent currency manipulation by our trading partners.

We are deeply concerned that these objectives are not being adequately addressed in TPP negotiations and could be severely compromised by the passage of fast track authority (now renamed “trade promotion authority”), which would not allow Congress to amend or change the trade agreement once it comes to a vote.

Even worse, the most recent fast track authority legislation extends for four years, with an option to renew an additional three years – effectively allowing fast track authority for the next administration. This drastic piece of legislation goes beyond the TPP to apply to other future trade agreements that, if completed and implemented, will have a lasting impact on our economy for decades to come.

In addition to our general concerns about the TPP and our objections to fast track authority, we have a particular concern about the inclusion of Japan in the TPP negotiations. A one-way trade agreement with Japan could devastate our automobile industry. The U.S. has a competitive and open auto market, but Japan does not; its market is the most closed in the developed world. Under the TPP as proposed, other countries are negotiating the reduction and eventual elimination of U.S. tariffs on vehicles imported from Japan. Removing these tariffs would be equivalent to a \$1 billion tax break for Japanese auto companies, and would make our lopsided trade imbalance even worse. For every vehicle we export to Japan, it exports 130 vehicles to the United States. It’s important to note that this is not just a problem for American companies. Hyundai, KIA and many other auto companies have given up on selling in Japan out of frustration with their closed system.

What is more, many Japanese auto companies have a double standard regarding worker rights, respecting those rights in their home country while disregarding them in the U.S. For example, Nissan has a cooperative, respectful relationship with unions in Japan, and it works with unions elsewhere around the world. But when workers in the U.S. attempted to organize a union, the company responded with threats and intimidation. Entering into a trade agreement without strong, enforceable worker rights mechanisms could encourage Japanese companies to continue this double standard.

The UAW is extremely proud that the American auto industry leads the country in exports and is creating tens of thousands of new jobs a year, most of which were created as a direct result of collective bargaining. The hard work and enormous sacrifice of UAW members, retirees and auto companies have paid off. We must not pass trade agreements that will diminish this growth; instead, we should be pursuing policies to expand it.

In the coming years, we will continue to fight for fair trade agreements with strong protections for workers, consumers and the environment. We commit to:

- Fighting to ensure that any phase-out of U.S. tariffs on Japanese automobiles and parts (currently 2.5 percent on cars and most parts, 25 percent on trucks) will be conditional on a genuine opening of the Japanese auto market, using a concrete benchmark for non-Japanese vehicles and parts.
- Fighting for strong labor and environmental standards in the TPP and other trade agreements, including the proposed Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership with the European Union.
- Fighting for strong rule of origin standards to strengthen domestic manufacturing and create jobs in the United States.
- Fighting to strengthen enforcement of our trade laws.
- Fighting to preserve and strengthen Buy American laws to strengthen domestic manufacturing and create U.S. jobs
- Ensuring that enforceable measures to guard against currency manipulation are passed into law and included in our trade agreements to address a widespread problem that has cost millions of U.S. jobs and has been one of Japan's most significant unfair trade practices.
- Opposing flawed Fast Track legislation because it would severely limit the ability of citizens, through their representatives in Congress, to impact and amend pending and future trade agreements.
- Fighting for Trade Adjustment Assistance and health care tax credits for displaced workers.

PEACE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

As world citizens and trade unionists, we envision a peaceful, democratic, secure and stable world where people from all countries coexist in mutual respect and tolerance, free from the threat of armed conflict, terrorism and other forms of violence. Our union has long considered the promotion of peace, democracy and human rights to be a key part of our mission to improve the lives of working people. We strongly reaffirm that workers' rights are human rights and condemn the use of violence to suppress union activity.

Because an injury to one is an injury to all, we will never remain silent when violence is used to oppress those who fight for political democracy

and social and economic justice. We are proud of the involvement of UAW members in the campaign to shut down the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC), still commonly known by its former name, the School of the Americas (SOA). Over its 68 years of existence, the SOA has trained more than 64,000 Latin American soldiers in counter-insurgency techniques and interrogation tactics; its graduates are notorious for human rights violations. Many of their victims have been our brother and sister trade unionists, targeted because repressive regimes understand that unions are an important building block of democracy. SOA graduates were perpetrators of some of the worst violence and civilian killings during the bloody civil war in El Salvador. Today, Colombia and Guatemala are the deadliest countries in the world for union members. At least 22 Colombian unionists were murdered in 2013 alone, and 65 Guatemalan labor leaders have been killed with impunity since 2007. These tragedies are a legacy of the SOA, whose graduates hold high-ranking military and paramilitary positions in both countries.

Closure of the SOA is a long-overdue step toward a peaceful hemisphere where human and worker rights are respected.

Our union's commitment to peace is deepened by the fact that it is overwhelmingly our children – the children of working people and the poor – who serve in our country's armed forces. We honor their service and believe that our most solemn duty to them is to avoid putting them in harm's way unnecessarily. War must always be a last resort, after all other options have been exhausted.

In our pursuit of a more just and peaceful world, the UAW will:

- Call on the President and Congress to permanently close the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation/School of the Americas.
- Advocate for a U.S. foreign policy agenda that promotes human and worker rights, including the right to form independent unions.
- Support those confronted with violence, particularly our brother and sister trade unionists, and be a voice for peace and reconciliation.
- Call for a clear timeline for withdrawal from Afghanistan that will ensure stability but not leave the U.S. with an unnecessary and open-ended commitment.

PROPOSED RESOLUTIONS



Ensuring a Decent Society

PROTECT AND STRENGTHEN SOCIAL SECURITY

For more than 75 years, Social Security has ensured that American workers and their families can maintain a decent quality of life when a worker's employment ceases due to age, disability or death. Social Security is solidarity in action: it spreads the financial risks of old age, disability and death over the entire population, providing a basic safety net and proving that we are all in this together. By any objective standard, Social Security has been a resounding success and remains our most popular social program.

Growing inequality and attacks on collective bargaining have made Social Security even more important. Our nation's retirement system has often been described as a "three-legged stool" of pensions, savings and Social Security. Attacks on collective bargaining mean that employer-provided pensions have disappeared for most American workers, while stagnant wages make it harder than ever for families to save for their retirement. According to a study by the Employee Benefit Research Institute, half of Americans have less than \$10,000 in savings, and only 14 percent are 'very confident' they will have enough money for a comfortable retirement.

These changes leave Social Security as the bedrock of the retirement system. We must fight to ensure that Social Security benefits are improved and that the program is available for future generations.

Despite its overwhelming success, the social insurance model that underlies Social Security continues to face attacks from extremists, scaremongers and Wall Street interests eager to profit at our expense. The Social Security system is not going broke. It is entirely self-funded, and therefore, does not contribute a penny to the deficit. If no changes were made to the program as it currently is, the Social Security Trust Fund has enough money in reserve to pay full benefits until 2033.

In keeping with our core belief that everyone has a right to a secure and dignified retirement, and that no one's family should be impoverished because of death or disability, the UAW will continue to work tirelessly to protect and strengthen Social Security by:

- Improving benefits by reforming the Social Security benefit formula. Social Security benefits are calculated in a way that replaces a greater proportion of pre-retirement income for lower-wage earners. We support proposals to update and build on this important feature of the program. This will boost benefits for *all* Social Security beneficiaries while providing the most help to

those with low and moderate incomes, for whom Social Security has become an ever greater share of retirement income.

- Ensuring that Social Security cost of living adjustments adequately reflect the living expenses of retirees. The UAW supports changing the way the Social Security Administration calculates cost of living adjustments (COLA), to ensure that benefits better reflect cost increases facing seniors by basing them on the Consumer Price Index for the Elderly (CPI-E) instead of the more general CPI-U. This change to Social Security will ensure that seniors are better able to keep up with the rising cost of essential items, like health care. We are strongly opposed to changes in inflation calculations that are intended solely to reduce future COLAs, such as the use of the chained CPI.
- Scrapping the cap. Social Security is not in crisis, but it does face a long-term deficit. To extend the life of the trust fund the UAW supports elimination of the cap on taxable Social Security wages so that payroll taxes apply to every dollar of wages and salaries. Under the current cap, earnings above a set level (\$117,000 in 2014) are tax-free. Not only does that cost the Social Security system needed revenues, it is fundamentally unfair. Middle income families should not pay more of their earnings in payroll taxes than the very wealthy.

Combined, these changes will increase benefits for current and future beneficiaries while making Social Security stronger for future generations. The best way to strengthen Social Security for the long run is to address the root of the problem: growing inequality that has depressed workers' pay and cost the Social Security system billions of dollars in revenues. When workers' earnings rise together with productivity, not only do we all live better today – we strengthen our retirement security tomorrow.

TOWARD UNIVERSAL HEALTH CARE

In a major victory for working families, President Obama signed the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act into law on March 23, 2010. More commonly known as the Affordable Care Act (ACA) or "Obamacare," the law takes aim at the failures of our health care system: its high costs, uneven quality and the disgraceful fact that 48 million Americans still lacked health

care coverage in 2012. While the UAW continues to support a single payer health care system, we are committed to defending the ACA because it offers real and significant benefits for our members, their families and all working Americans. It provides a solid foundation that we can build on and improve.

Almost every UAW family, even those with excellent negotiated benefits, has been touched by the positive improvements that are part of the ACA:

- Adult children can now remain on their parent's plan up to the age of 26.
- Preventive services are now covered at no cost, even if a plan's deductible has not been met.
- Annual and lifetime limits for essential health benefits are now prohibited.
- The out-of-pocket maximum a plan can allow is now limited.
- New hires are now eligible for coverage under an employer's group plan after no more than 90 days.
- Health plans can no longer deny coverage or charge higher rates because of an individual's pre-existing conditions.
- Plans covering pre-Medicare retirees – including many UAW plans – received a total of \$5 billion in financial assistance to help defray their costs.

For workers *not* covered by employer benefits – which include, unfortunately, many of the friends, neighbors and children of UAW members – the ACA creates new coverage options. Beginning in January, individuals and small businesses can buy comprehensive coverage through new health insurance marketplaces, with income-based subsidies available. Even after a difficult roll-out, 7.5 million Americans had signed up for coverage by the end of the first enrollment period. That's a clear sign of the pent-up demand for quality, comprehensive coverage that cannot be denied or taken away – unless, of course, far right extremists succeed in rolling back the ACA.

As of the end of January, 25 states and the District of Columbia have expanded their Medicaid programs so that individuals and families with low incomes (up to 138% of the poverty level) are now eligible to enroll in this coverage. Unfortunately, following the Supreme Court's ruling that the law's Medicaid expansion was optional for each state, Republican governors and legislators in 19 states have so far refused to extend coverage to their own citizens, and 6 states are still debating the issue. They have taken this position despite generous federal matching dollars that cover nearly all the cost of the

expansion. It's a classic case of cutting off your nose to spite your face. They have injured not just the working poor who won't get health insurance, but their own states' economies, the financial viability of their states' hospitals and the bottom line of every family and employer who pays for health insurance in their states. The refusal to expand Medicaid to cover more of the working poor is part of a broader attack on a vital program that, among other things, pays for more than half of all nursing home care in our country.

Medicare, which provides coverage for Americans aged 65 and over and the permanently disabled, is another vital program under attack by extremists. The ACA strengthened Medicare's finances and improved benefits for enrollees, including closing the prescription drug "donut hole" in Medicare Part D. The same extremists who are attacking the ACA are also pushing radical changes in the structure of the Medicare program that would essentially turn it from a guaranteed benefit to a voucher. Others have proposed increasing the eligibility age for Medicare from 65 to 67, a change that would create additional hardship for retirees not covered by their employers or independent VEBAs, while increasing the financial pressures on those plans. Ironically, because Medicare is so much more cost-efficient than private, profit-driven insurers, increasing the Medicare eligibility age would actually increase total health care costs.

That fact highlights an important point. Attacks on Medicare, Medicaid and the ACA may be cloaked in rhetoric about deficits, debt and fiscal crisis, but they offer nothing to slow the overall growth of health care spending or bring U.S. costs into line with those of other countries. Instead, they seek to shift costs onto working families, retirees and the poor in order to fatten insurance industry profits and cut taxes for the wealthy.

To advance our goal of quality health care for all, we commit to:

- Resisting efforts to repeal or weaken the Affordable Care Act. Instead, we must strengthen and build on it.
- Working at the state level to pass the ACA's expansion of the Medicaid program in the 25 states that have either refused to expand, or are still on the fence about expanding this important coverage.
- Defending the Medicaid and Medicare programs from benefit cuts, including proposals to increase the Medicare eligibility age.
- Strongly opposing changes in the structure of Medicare that would turn it into a voucher program or otherwise weaken its guaranteed benefits.
- Implementing common-sense reforms to strengthen the finances

of the Medicare program in ways that do not negatively affect beneficiaries. For example, the federal government should be allowed to negotiate prescription drug prices with the pharmaceutical companies for Medicare Part D beneficiaries, as it already does for the Veterans Administration system.

- Allowing older Americans to buy in to Medicare before age 65. The new insurance exchanges set up under health care reform will make individual coverage more available and affordable for early retirees and others in their late 50s and early 60s. The ability to buy in to Medicare will take this protection a step further, creating a much-needed “public option” that was dropped from the original law. Eventually, this option could be expanded to Americans of all ages, becoming the nucleus of a single-payer system. We believe a single-payer system should fully cover all necessary medical care, including prescription drugs, dental and vision care and mental health and substance abuse services.

We remain more convinced than ever that a single-payer system, modeled on Medicare but extended to the entire population, is the best way to control costs while providing universal access to high-quality care. We are committed to educating, lobbying and mobilizing to achieve that goal.

SECURING A DIGNIFIED RETIREMENT FOR ALL

The right of every worker to a secure and dignified retirement is one of our core UAW values. The collapse of the stock and credit markets in the 2008 financial crisis put a spotlight on the danger of basing Americans’ retirement security on 401(k)s and other individual saving plans. Millions of families saw their retirement savings evaporate. Despite the stock market’s recovery, many Americans will be working far longer than they had ever planned or accepting a greatly reduced standard of living in retirement – or both.

Unfortunately, traditional pension plans have been in a spiraling decline for the last several decades. In 1979, approximately 84 percent of private sector workers who had retirement benefit coverage through their employer were covered by traditional pension plans. By 2011, that percentage had dropped to 31 percent. Many employers have terminated their traditional pension plans, while others have closed them off to new hires or frozen future benefit accruals.

The UAW has long viewed defined-benefit pension plans as the best mechanism to provide for a worker’s retirement. We support public policies to strengthen defined-benefit plans, and strongly oppose attacks on the right of workers to bargain with their employers for retirement security. The election of right-wing extremists to many state government positions over the last four years has brought unprecedented attacks on workers’ collective bargaining rights; often, these have taken the form of attacks on negotiated pensions. In Wisconsin, Governor Scott Walker’s attack on public sector workers included a mandate for additional pension contributions. In the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, where past governments failed to fund public employee pensions, workers are now being asked to shoulder the burden. And in the city of Detroit, where the largest municipal bankruptcy in U.S. history continues to unfold, the emergency manager appointed by Michigan’s right-wing governor sought to slash the modest pensions of city retirees.

Another troubling trend is for employers to “de-risk” their pension plans. “De-risking” is a misnomer: it is really risk-shifting, from the employer to individual participants. When employers’ “de-risk” their plans by paying out lump sums to retirees, they transfer the risks of market downturns or outliving one’s savings to the individual, instead of spreading them across a broader group. Even if the participant tries to limit his or her risk by purchasing an annuity, they are left with a potentially lesser state guarantee instead of protection through the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation (PBGC), and will lose legal protection against garnishment of pension benefits.

The UAW supports the following actions to protect and improve the pension system for all workers:

- Establish a national retirement policy that recognizes the advantages of defined-benefit over defined-contribution plans in providing adequate and predictable retirement income. Such a policy should promote the expansion of defined-benefit plans, including multi-employer plans, for both large and small employers.
- Fix the many shortcomings and perverse incentives of the Pension Protection Act. In particular, we support repeal of the law’s benefit restrictions for collectively-bargained plans; changes to greatly reduce the funding volatility created by current rules; and improved comparability between beginning and end-of-year disclosures in the annual PPA funding notice.
- Improve the solvency of the PBGC through an infusion of general revenue or other financing that does not load this burden on the backs of employers who choose to continue sponsoring defined-

benefit plans. We reject any cuts in PBGC guarantees.

- Improve fee disclosure requirements for defined-contribution plans (such as 401(k)s) to make them clearer and more understandable for participants. Recent Department of Labor regulations call for annual disclosure of fees and expenses charged to participants in their 401(k) accounts, a requirement we strongly support. However, these disclosures can still be confusing and are not sufficiently uniform. A well-designed disclosure template (including examples of differences at retirement) would improve participants' understanding of the impact of these fees on their retirement security.
- Limit the amount of employer stock made available in defined-contribution plans, and require that workers be allowed to divest from employer stock if they so desire.
- Ensure that where defined-contribution plan sponsors make investment advice available to participants, that advice is from independent experts.
- Develop a reliable and affordable annuity market for defined-contribution plan participants and others who receive lump sums from their retirement plans so that a dependable monthly income can be guaranteed.
- Amend ERISA to better cover public plan participants, providing more of the protections the law gives to private sector workers. We also support uniform legislation to protect worker pensions in municipal bankruptcies, similar to the guarantees that exist for private sector workers.
- Fight against attacks on public sector pensions and the right of public sector workers to bargain for retirement security. *All* workers have the right to a dignified retirement, whether they are employed by a private company, a state university or a local government agency – and the best way to secure a dignified retirement is through collective bargaining

ENDING HUNGER IN AMERICA

In 2012, 17.6 million American families were “food insecure,” struggling to provide enough food for all of their members out of their limited resources. Of these 17.6 million families, 7 million reported that they had to

skip meals or cut back on portions to stretch their food budget – watering down the soup, spreading the peanut butter more thinly, parents pretending to their children that they aren't hungry. And in almost 4 million families, parents told the Department of Agriculture that there were times during the year when they were unable to provide adequate, nutritious food to their children.

This is shameful. We have the ability to end hunger in this country: when a child goes to bed hungry, it is because we have chosen to let that happen.

The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), as food stamps are now called, is the primary anti-hunger program in the United States. In 2013, more than 47 million Americans received SNAP benefits averaging \$133 per person per month. These modest benefits have a big impact on the ability of Americans to feed their families. When a temporary increase in SNAP benefits expired last November, food banks across the country reported a surge in demand.

In a stunning display of mean-spirited cruelty, right-wing extremists in the U.S. House of Representatives have launched an all-out assault on anti-hunger programs, demeaning the hungry as “takers” and attacking President Obama as “the food stamp President.” When the House passed a farm bill that preserved subsidies for agribusiness while cutting almost \$40 billion from SNAP over the next ten years, their misplaced priorities were on display for all to see.

Our country is better than that. To eliminate hunger in America, we call for:

- Protecting and improving SNAP and other nutrition assistance programs, including the WIC program for pregnant women, new mothers, infants and young children, and the school lunch and breakfast programs.
- Continuing and expanding outreach programs to ensure that low-income Americans who qualify for nutrition assistance actually receive it.
- Fighting to strengthen our union and our movement so that every worker earns a living wage. While we support a strong safety net, we are dismayed that a sizable majority of nondisabled SNAP households have one or more member in the workforce. No worker should be forced to rely on government programs to feed their family. The root cause of hunger in our country is economic inequality, and the best solution is a strong union with the bargaining power to raise wages for all.

PROPOSED RESOLUTIONS



Creating Vibrant and Just Communities

REBUILDING AMERICA'S CITIES

Our country's cities are places of amazing vitality, talent and possibility. They are also places of decay and despair. In too many of our great urban centers, unemployment is at depression levels, especially among young people. Crushing, concentrated poverty holds broad sections of our cities in its grip. Decades of capital flight have hollowed out the urban economy, replacing middle-class manufacturing jobs with low-paying jobs in the service sector, or with no jobs at all. Privatization, budget cuts and attacks on collective bargaining now threaten the public sector jobs that until recently offered an alternative ladder into the middle class for urban residents.

It is simply wrong to write off entire communities and consign a generation of young people to a jobless future. Not only is it wrong – it is unnecessary, and represents a loss of amazing potential. Whether we live in center cities, small towns, suburbs or rural areas, our economic futures are connected. When cities thrive, so do the economies and tax bases of their surrounding suburbs. Redeveloping urban areas protects precious farmland and open space and helps preserve the character of small towns. All working families, in short, have a stake in strengthening our urban core.

The need to rebuild America's cities has special resonance for delegates to this 36th Constitutional Convention. We are meeting in Detroit, a city with a great history: the cradle of the auto industry, the arsenal of democracy, the inspiration for music that got the whole world dancing, and home to our union's headquarters. It is also a place where unemployment is more than twice the national rate, where almost 40 percent of the population lives in poverty and where tens of thousands of abandoned buildings blight the landscape. Its 2013 bankruptcy filing was the largest municipal bankruptcy filing in U.S. history.

Our union can and must play a role in turning Detroit from a poster child for urban decline to an example of urban revitalization centered on the needs of working families. More broadly, we will work for policies to rebuild and revitalize our cities, reduce urban poverty and unemployment, and improve the lives of urban residents.

We call for:

- Using our bargaining relationships with employers to bring investment back into America's cities. The biggest challenge to our cities is capital flight. In our 2011 negotiations with the Detroit automakers, we showed how a strong union can partner with employers to bring jobs and investment back to our communities, including significant investments in the companies' urban plants.

We will continue to work with UAW employers to bring jobs and opportunities to urban communities battered by decades of disinvestment.

- Finding and using public policy levers to move capital. Procurement policies, community benefit agreements and other forms of leverage can and should be used to encourage employers to step up job-creating investment in urban areas.
- Developing a "green" urban economy. Investments in energy conservation, alternative energy, mass transit and other building blocks of the "green" economy can and should be used to develop in-demand skills and create good-paying jobs for urban residents.
- Targeting areas of concentrated unemployment for public investments in job training and employment programs.
- Ensuring adequate funding for quality public services. The erosion of the urban tax base, coupled with state budget cuts and tax breaks for the wealthy, has led to deteriorating schools and public services in many cities. This creates a vicious circle in which more residents flee, further eroding the tax base and leading to further cuts and further deterioration. Increased revenue sharing can stop this circle.
- Defending the rights of municipal workers. Attacks on public employees have been devastating for urban residents, for whom public sector jobs have long represented a ladder into the middle class. We strongly support full collective bargaining rights for public sector workers, and will fight against the privatization of municipal services.
- Improving urban mass transit systems to link cities with their suburbs. Inadequate public transportation contributes to high urban unemployment by denying city residents access to job opportunities in outlying neighborhoods or the suburbs.
- Adopting "smart growth" strategies to discourage sprawl and encourage the cleanup and redevelopment of urban brownfield sites.

QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL

Public education, with its doors open to all, represents democracy in our society. On paper, at least, it is the great equalizer: a system blind to geography, race, creed, national origin, ethnicity or sexual orientation, designed to break down social classes and arbitrary classifications.

The reality, unfortunately, is different. Most public school funding in the U.S. comes from local property taxes. This school financing scheme flies in the face of the ideal of the “common school” as a force for equality. Reliance on local funding sources means that privileged children from wealthy neighborhoods go to public schools with small classes, enrichment programs and a host of amenities, while working class and poor children go to shabby, budget-strapped schools.

Unbelievably, right-wing extremists are trying to make this unequal situation even more unequal by launching a sustained attack on public education, particularly in urban areas. Through unaccountable charter schools and the use of vouchers for private school tuition, they are seeking to siphon taxpayer dollars away from public schools. The attack is partly ideological: few things rankle the right wing more than perceived redistribution of wealth, public sector workers and public employee unions. It is also driven by the desire to make money off our country’s schoolchildren, through corporate-operated schools, lucrative consulting contracts and excessive compensation for charter operators.

Our challenge is to defend what is good about public education while working to fix the persistent inequalities that deny too many of our children a quality education. If we are serious about that goal, our work must start before kindergarten. A wealth of research shows the importance of learning in the early childhood years, and yet many of our most vulnerable children do not have access to high-quality early childhood programs. Some states and cities have taken the initiative by making pre-kindergarten a universal program; we need to follow their lead and make universal pre-K, with well-qualified and decently-paid teachers, truly universal.

Our fight for quality education for all extends beyond high school graduation. States have cut back on support for public colleges and universities, while lavishing tax breaks on businesses. As a result, over the past decade, there has been a dramatic shift in who pays for public higher education in this country. In 2000, the bulk of the per-student cost came from the state’s higher education budget in 47 of the 50 states. Today, students and their families carry the bulk of the load in nearly half the states – a share that is expected to

increase. Rising tuition is putting a college education out of reach for some families, and burdening others with crushing debt.

At the same time, more of the teaching load in our colleges and universities is being carried by graduate teaching assistants and adjunct faculty, with shockingly low pay, no job security and too often, no union voice.

To protect the public education system from pre-kindergarten through graduate school from becoming a casualty of the right-wing war on the 99 percent and to keep it accessible and effective for our members and their families, we commit to:

- Advocating for investment in early childhood education and for the early childhood workforce, whose important work must be appropriately compensated.
- Addressing funding inequalities in public K-12 education so that children in rural areas and urban centers receive the same quality of education as children from the wealthiest suburbs.
- Opposing voucher schemes to siphon taxpayer dollars away from public schools to private schools, and demanding greater accountability from charter schools.
- Expanding efforts to promote understanding and awareness of the labor movement and workers’ rights by teaching labor history and basic employment law in the public schools. We will defend the academic freedom of college and university-based labor educators from ideologically-motivated attacks by wealthy special interests.
- Reversing the erosion of state budget support for public higher education. We will also continue to advocate for increased funding for research and basic science.
- Defending the collective bargaining rights of education workers, which have come under attack from right-wing extremists, and supporting the efforts of academic student employees, postdoctoral researchers and part-time and adjunct faculty to organize for a union voice. Students benefit when educators, researchers and support staff have dignity, a voice on the job, security, and decent wages and benefits.
- Advocating for affordable access to higher education, so that all children in working families have the ability to pursue post-secondary education should they so choose.

CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Our union has a long history of fighting for the civil and human rights of all people. That fight continues today, fifty years after passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Discrimination and bias may take new forms in the 21st century, but the damage they do to individuals, to our communities and to our principle of solidarity is as real as ever. Standing up for civil and human rights is the responsibility of each and every one of us – and each and every one of us wins when we succeed in pushing our society a little closer toward the promise of justice for all.

Racial profiling

In the context of law enforcement, racial profiling is the practice of using a person's race, color, ethnicity, national origin or other immutable characteristics to determine whether to stop, search or investigate them. Even though the U.S. Supreme Court has held that racial profiling violates the constitutional requirement that all persons be accorded equal protection of the law, it continues to be a prevalent and egregious form of discrimination. African Americans and Latinos are roughly three times as likely as non-Latino whites to be searched during a traffic stop. African Americans are twice as likely as whites to be arrested, and nearly four times as likely to experience the threat or use of force during interactions with the police.

Outside the law enforcement setting, racial profiling takes many forms. Sometimes the consequences are deadly, as demonstrated by the killing of Trayvon Martin and other young people who were regarded as threats because of the color of their skin. Profiling is also evidenced by the disproportionate number of African American and Latino students who are suspended and expelled from our schools, by the treatment of Muslims as potential terrorists and the casual assumption that Spanish-speaking immigrants are “illegals.”

The Trayvon Martin case has raised awareness of the problem of racial and ethnic profiling, sparking an important national dialogue. This dialogue must continue in our unions, workplaces, schools, places of worship and communities, among workers, parents, educators and our youth. To end racial profiling, the UAW calls for:

- Passage of the End Racial Profiling Act to prohibit racial profiling by federal, state and local law enforcement officers and allowing individuals to take legal action if they feel their rights have been violated.
- Training programs to clearly define racial profiling and raise

awareness of how it affects our lives.

- Programs and partnerships to cultivate relationships between law enforcement and community organizations to strengthen community policing. Police practices that create suspicion and fear in the community are self-defeating; community policing, in contrast, is a proven anti-crime strategy.
- Joining forces with civil rights, education, faith, labor and community groups in a national campaign to end racial profiling.

Impact of mass incarceration on communities of color

The United States leads the world in incarceration rates. Between 1980 and 2008, the number of people incarcerated in our country more than quadrupled, from roughly 500,000 to 2.3 million people. This increase stems in large part from increased penalties for nonviolent and minor crimes, such as the possession of small amounts of drugs, and lengthy or lifetime incarceration as a result of “three strikes” sentencing laws.

Mass incarceration has had a disproportionate impact on people of color. The impact is felt not just by the incarcerated themselves, but by their families and neighborhoods. The majority of the people in our prison system live in a subset of neighborhoods in our major cities. As a result of mass incarceration, these already-impooverished neighborhoods have lost thousands of working-age individuals, and thousands of families have lost a parent. The “school to prison pipeline” deepens educational inequality by pushing young people, especially children of color, out of school and into the criminal justice system. Many of these children have learning disabilities or histories of poverty, abuse or neglect, and would benefit from additional educational and counseling services. Instead, they are isolated, punished and pushed out. This system has resulted in more young men of color going to prison than to college.

While our communities suffer, for-profit prison companies benefit. Their business model depends on growing the correctional system without regard to justice. Private prison corporations even insist on “bed guarantees” in their contracts, demanding that 90 or even 100 percent of their beds be filled, sometimes for decades. The for-profit prison industry lobbies for privatizing all aspects of the criminal justice system, including juvenile detention, health care and other services for the incarcerated, as well as probation and parole services. But the facts show that privatization of correctional facilities and services leads to inhumane conditions for the people who work in prisons and jails, as well as those who are incarcerated.

The impact of mass incarceration doesn't end after sentences are served. State and local laws and policies institutionalize unfairness, preventing ex-offenders from voting, serving on juries, obtaining student loans and receiving public benefits, housing and other services. Returning to neighborhoods suffering from economic disinvestment, high unemployment, poor infrastructure and isolation, those re-entering society have few opportunities for education and good jobs.

Of all the types of discrimination faced by those coming out of the criminal justice system, the loss of the vote looms the largest. An estimated 5.85 million of our fellow Americans are disenfranchised because of legal barriers to their voting rights. Among the disenfranchised, almost half — 2.6 million people — have completed their sentences. Even where the right to vote exists on paper, many states make the restoration of voting rights a complicated and cumbersome process. The end result is that 7.7 percent of African American adults are disenfranchised; in some states, that level is much higher (23 percent in Florida, 22 percent in Kentucky and 20 percent in Virginia).

To restore justice to our justice system, we call for:

- An end to the privatization of correctional facilities and services. The operation of our criminal justice system is an inherently governmental function and should never be turned over to private, profit-seeking corporations.
- Adequate staffing for correctional institutions.
- Sentencing policies that ensure punishments are fair, commensurate with the crime and consistent with public safety. We oppose inappropriately long mandatory sentences for nonviolent crimes.
- Adequate staffing of our criminal justice system and other reforms to accelerate the justice process and eliminate unnecessary pre-trial detention time.
- Training, education, probation and parole strategies to assist in reintegrating people who have served their time back into our communities.
- Policies that focus on getting treatment for users of illegal drugs, responding to drug use as a public health issue.
- Restoration of full citizenship rights for those convicted of nonviolent offenses once they have completed their prison sentences, including the right to vote, the right to serve on a jury, and full access to government services, such as financial aid for education, housing and employment assistance.
- Labor-community alliances to support schools and communities

in developing programs to reduce the number of young people who drop out of school or are suspended or expelled, as well as programs that work with law enforcement officers to educate rather than penalize youth.

Hate crimes and violence against women

No one should face violence because of their race, the way they worship, their sexual orientation, gender identity or disability status – and yet, our nation continues to witness horrifying hate crimes. According to the FBI, there were 5,796 hate crime incidents reported in 2012. That is 5,796 too many.

Women continue to face gender-based violence in the home and on the street, from intimate partners, acquaintances and strangers. Violence, or the threat of violence, denies women equality in the workplace and society. It is a way of “keeping them in their place.”

Gender- and bias-motivated crimes hurt not only their intended victims, but also our society as a whole. Such crimes chip away at the pillars of liberty, tolerance and dignity that are the mainstays of our democracy. Federal hate crimes legislation and reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act give us important legal tools, but the most important thing we can do is create an environment free of demeaning rhetoric and intolerance. We must send a message, loud and clear, that we tolerate neither hate crimes nor the mindset that spawns them.

Marriage equality

Marriage, a matter of civil law, is also a civil right. Many government and workplace benefits, including health insurance coverage and survivors' pensions, are tied to marital status. Denying gay and lesbian couples the right to marry denies them access to these benefits – but more importantly, it demeans their relationships and consigns their families to second-class status. We joined with our allies in the LGBT community to celebrate the Supreme Court decision striking down the deceptively-named “Defense of Marriage Act,” which prohibited federal recognition of same-sex marriages. As state constitutional prohibitions on same-sex marriages continue to fall, we reiterate our opposition to writing discrimination into documents that should guarantee liberty and equality – and we look forward to eventually celebrating marriage equality in all 50 states.

PROPOSED RESOLUTIONS



Protecting Our Democracy

DEFEATING ATTACKS ON THE RIGHT TO VOTE

The right to vote is critical for our democracy and the American way of life – and yet it is under attack.

Since 2011, our country has witnessed some of the most extreme voter suppression attempts in decades. Over a dozen states have passed voter ID laws intended to put obstacles in the path of potential voters. Citing (but never documenting) the threat of voter fraud, these measures selectively target certain groups. Requirements to produce current, government-issued photo identification at the polls fall hardest on young people, seniors, and urban residents who are less likely to have a driver's license or who move frequently.

Then, in 2013, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down key portions of the Voting Rights Act. This misguided decision, *Shelby County v. Holder*, challenged the constitutionality of provisions that were originally designed to prevent discrimination in voting by requiring all state and local governments with a history of voting discrimination to get approval from the federal government before making any changes to their voting laws or procedures. This harmful decision weakens one of the most effective protections voters have had against voter discrimination. Since this decision, the UAW has worked with a broad array of allies to urge members of Congress to pass legislation to address the Court's ruling and voter discrimination.

Other attempts to undermine our democracy have targeted the voter registration process. According to the Brennan Center for Justice, at least 51 million voting-age Americans are not registered to vote and a disproportionate number of these missing voters are people of color: 37 percent of eligible African Americans and 48 percent of eligible Latinos are not registered. Instead of working constructively to streamline voter registration, a number of states have imposed new restrictions on community voter registration drives. After Florida passed a harshly restrictive law in 2011, groups including the League of Women Voters, Rock the Vote and the NAACP were forced to abandon or curtail their voter registration efforts. Tea Party partisans in Ohio went even further, challenging the eligibility of hundreds of registered voters in an effort to purge them from voter lists.

We owe it to those who fought and died for the right to vote to ensure that every American can exercise his or her constitutional right to vote free from discrimination and unfair laws.

We commit ourselves to:

- Protecting and strengthening the right of every American to have their voice heard by being able to vote without intimidation or

obstruction at the federal, state and local levels.

- Expanding early voting, vote-by-mail and other reforms to increase participation and reduce long lines at the polls.
- Allowing for election day voter registration and establishing statewide voter registration databases to streamline and facilitate voter registration.
- Supporting legislation to strengthen the Voting Rights Act in the wake of the Supreme Court's *Shelby* decision.

MONEY IN POLITICS

In an increasingly unequal nation, democracy is the great equalizer: the vote of an hourly worker counts the same as the vote of a billionaire boss. Through our votes, we can elect pro-worker candidates and then hold them accountable.

Money in politics undermines the equalizing role of democracy. When the wealthy can inject billions of dollars in unaccountable political contributions to sway the outcomes of elections, the economic power of corporations and the one percent extends even farther into our political system. Instead of providing a democratic check and balance, the political process becomes one more way for the wealthy to rig the economy in their favor. We need campaign finance reform to ensure that our voices – not their dollars – are heard in debates that matter to UAW families.

The 2012 Presidential race was the first federal election following the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Citizens United*, which found corporations to be “people” and equated money with free speech, opening the door to unlimited corporate contributions to political campaigns.

As a result, there was a wave of undocumented secret money into a system already dominated by large donors. In the presidential race, 61 large donors to Super PACs gave as much as the combined contributions of more than 1.4 million small donors. This imbalance in our campaign finance system reinforces broader imbalances of economic and political power. If we are to restore the voice of the average citizen, we must reduce the role of big money in politics.

Overturing *Citizens United* is an important first step. We also need greater transparency – for example, by requiring publicly-traded corporations to disclose their political contributions and closing loopholes that allow nonprofit organizations and trade associations to make political expenditures

without disclosing their donors.

In 2014, we continue to experience further setbacks on campaign finance reform. In *McCutcheon v. FEC*, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down limits on the overall campaign contributions the biggest individual donors may make to candidates, political parties and political action committees. The court ruled that Americans have a right to give the legal maximum to candidates for Congress and president, as well as to parties and political action committees, without worrying that they will violate the law when they bump up against a limit on all contributions, set at \$123,200 for 2013 and 2014. That includes eliminating a separate \$48,600 cap on contributions to candidates.

To reduce the role of money in politics and ensure that the vote of a rank and file worker is just as powerful as that of a billionaire, the UAW commits to:

- Supporting campaign finance reform, including a constitutional amendment to overturn the *Citizens United* decision. Corporations should not be able to spend unlimited amounts of cash to sway voters.
- Supporting legislation that provides tax credits to contributors to ensure that all citizens are empowered in the election process, thereby encouraging candidates to raise small dollar contributions instead of relying on mega-donors.
- Supporting action to reinvigorate our system of public financing for presidential campaigns, and extending it to congressional campaigns. We also support state initiatives to provide public financing for candidates for state office.

FIXING THE SENATE'S BROKEN RULES

Our union believes in democracy. We look to the democratic process to win political and legislative victories that make our lives better. When basic democratic principles – from the right to vote to majority rule – come under attack, it is an attack on all of us.

Right now, abuse of the Senate filibuster has led to a breakdown in the democratic process. A minority of extremists are exploiting procedural rules to block laws with majority support; they can do this because it takes a super-majority of 60 votes to end a filibuster and bring a measure to a vote. UAW members and other working families have felt the impact of allowing a 40-member minority to hold the country hostage. It was the threat of a Senate

filibuster that killed the Employee Free Choice Act; stymied President Obama's job creation proposals; scrapped the Buffett Rule to ensure that millionaires pay at least the same tax rate as the middle class; and stripped the public option from health care reform. By blocking the confirmation of nominees to the National Labor Relations Board, a small number of senators came close to crippling the board by denying it a quorum. If they had succeeded, workers fired for trying to organize would have had no recourse and employers would have faced no consequences for refusing to bargain in good faith.

This is not how the Senate has always been. There were more filibusters in 2009 and 2010 alone than in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s combined. Legislative gridlock led to a mounting backlog of unfilled judgeships and vacant executive positions. During Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid's first six years as Majority Leader, he has faced almost 400 filibusters, as compared to the one faced by Lyndon Johnson during his six years as Majority Leader. In particular, there have been 168 filibusters of executive and judicial nominees in the history of the Senate; 82 of those have been of President Obama's nominees over the past five years.

Last November, in the face of continued obstructionism, Senate Democrats finally changed the Senate's rules to eliminate the filibuster for all presidential nominees other than Supreme Court justices. We strongly supported this change. However, the filibuster is still being used to obstruct important legislation that would benefit working families. If the Senate is to do the job the people elected their senators to do, its broken rules still need to be fixed.

We urge the Senate to uphold democratic principles by reforming its rules to further limit abuse of the filibuster.

STRENGTHENING OUR DEFENSE INDUSTRIAL BASE

From the days of "Rosie the Riveter" through the end of the Cold War to the present day, our country is stronger and safer because of the skill and dedication of UAW members employed in the defense industry. We take enormous pride in their contributions. While all of us want a more peaceful world in which our troops are never again placed in harm's way, we also recognize the importance of maintaining our ability to manufacture defense goods. If we allow the advanced skills and sophisticated technical capabilities

of our defense industrial base to wither and disappear, we leave ourselves vulnerable in a future crisis.

The challenge, then, is to sustain our defense industrial base so that those skills and capabilities are there when needed. That challenge is made more difficult by the relentless pursuit of profit by defense contractors. During the 1980s and 1990s, a wave of mergers and consolidations in the U.S. defense industry led to job cuts and plant closings. More work was outsourced to lower-wage suppliers, and much of it was even sent off-shore – not always to friendly countries. One recent study of the aircraft industry by the National Defense University found that some manufacturers bought nearly three-quarters of their engine parts from non-U.S. suppliers. Because of lax oversight, Chinese materials and components have even been used in U.S. fighter jets, in violation of U.S. law.

The welcome wind-down of our involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the rethinking of national defense strategies that has accompanied it, poses additional challenges. The defense budget is shrinking, and will likely continue to shrink. We whole-heartedly support good stewardship of taxpayer dollars, improved budget management at the Pentagon and a more cost-effective military. At the same time, we fear that another round of budget-driven industry downsizing, if not done intelligently, may cost our country the core competencies we need to produce essential military systems. We know from experience that we cannot count on profit-driven contractors to sustain the domestic industrial base. As multinational corporations, they have no particular loyalty to this country, and have already demonstrated their willingness to close plants and ship work overseas. Maintaining a strong domestic defense industrial base must be a conscious focus of public policy.

In this challenging environment, we will continue to advocate for important programs that employ our defense sector members, but we must also work to develop alternative markets and products for UAW-represented defense locations. Through “dual use” production for both military and commercial customers, or the full conversion from military to civilian products, we can preserve jobs and retain the vital skills and capabilities of our defense industrial base and its workers. Of course, the success of this approach depends on our ability to strengthen U.S. manufacturing as a whole. Now more than ever, our defense industrial base and our broader manufacturing base are inextricably linked.

Our plan to keep our country strong through a strong defense industrial base is simple and straightforward. We must stop the off-shoring of key components and capabilities; invest in dual-use technologies and products to

sustain defense producers through the ups and downs of military procurement; and provide transition assistance to locations, workers and communities negatively impacted by defense cuts. Our members, our communities and our country’s security demand nothing less.

Specifically, we resolve:

- To press the Defense Department, Department of Homeland Security and other relevant federal departments for a clear strategy to protect critical capabilities and core competencies in the defense industrial base. Strengthening the defense industrial base should be an integral part of defense planning, integrated into the U.S. National Military Strategy, National Security Strategy, and the Quadrennial Defense Review process. An important first step is simply to understand the defense supply chain. At present, the Department of Defense knows shockingly little about lower-tier defense suppliers; we could be losing key capabilities without even realizing it. Recent initiatives to map defense supply chains are a positive development that should be continued and – most importantly – acted on.
- To demand more supply chain accountability from defense contractors. Prime contractors should not be allowed to plead ignorance when components and materials from prohibited sources or produced under abusive conditions are incorporated into their products.
- To strengthen “Buy American” policies and reduce the use of “offsets” in military agreements. While offsets are sometimes a necessary evil, required by foreign governments in exchange for buying U.S. military goods, they often become an excuse for offshoring beyond what is necessary for a given contract.
- To repay our country’s debt to defense workers by providing planning grants, training dollars and other conversion assistance to locations impacted by shrinking budgets and program cancellations. We recognize and accept that some programs will be cancelled as military needs change; what we cannot accept is treating workers and communities as disposable.

SUPPORTING OUR TROOPS, HONORING OUR VETERANS

The men and women who serve in the Armed Forces and our nation's veterans, along with their families, deserve our support both during their enlistment and upon completion of their service. These brave Americans do one thing that is not required in any other career: they are making a commitment to fight for our freedom anywhere in the world their commanders ask them to go. That is an awesome responsibility, and we owe it to them to honor their service and do everything in our power to return them home safely.

Once these heroes return home, they deserve a job with a living wage and benefits to care for them and their families. If this requires further training, then we as a union, and as Americans, need to assure that they receive this assistance.

This is the least we can do to repay our troops – who are mostly the children of working families and the poor, not of the privileged – for their service. The price paid by U.S. soldiers and their families for doing what their country asked them to do is profound. During the Iraq War, 4,475 U.S. service members were killed and 32,220 were wounded. In Afghanistan, more than 2,100 have been killed and more than 18,000 wounded. Among service members deployed in these conflicts, 103,792 were diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) over to period 2002 to 2012.

In the last five years of the Bush administration, the Veterans Administration was budgeted an average \$82.9 billion per year. From 2010 to 2014, recognizing the needs of our dedicated service men and women, President Obama budgeted an average of \$134.2 billion per year to the Veterans Administration. The president's 2014 budget of \$152.7 billion includes and supports:

- \$1.3 million to complete disability compensation and pension claims, righting many years of neglect.
- \$88.7 billion in mandatory benefits programs, almost \$6 billion more than the average funding by Bush for all VA programs
- \$58.3 billion in medical programs.

The UAW will continue to be a voice for our nation's servicemen and women, veterans and their families. We call for:

- Opportunities for good jobs for returning veterans so that they can enjoy the kind of life they sacrificed to defend.

- Better surveillance and treatment for PTSD and other illnesses and injuries arising from service in Iraq and Afghanistan.
- Sufficient income and benefits for military families so that they are not subjected to economic hardship when a family member is called to active duty.
- Full funding for all veterans' benefits.
- A decent standard of living for the men and women who serve in America's armed forces. No military family should live in substandard housing, need food stamps, or go without proper health care.

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