

March 24, 2023

## To Members of the U.S. Congress:

The Coalition for a Democratic Workplace ("CDW") and the undersigned organizations write to express our opposition to the Richard L. Trumka Protecting the Right to Organize ("PRO") Act (H.R. 20, S. 567). This bill would limit workers' right to secret ballot elections, trample free speech and debate, jeopardize industrial stability, threaten vital supply chains, limit opportunities for small businesses and entrepreneurs, cost millions of American jobs, and greatly hinder the economy. Moreover, many of the bill's provisions would implement policies that have previously been rejected on a bipartisan basis in Congress, overturned by the judicial system, and withdrawn by the federal agencies tasked with implementing them. We urge members of Congress to reject this legislation.

CDW is a broad-based coalition of hundreds of organizations representing hundreds of thousands of employers and millions of employees in various industries across the country concerned with private sector labor policy, including possible legislative changes to the National Labor Relations Act ("NLRA"), regulatory actions by the National Labor Relations Board ("NLRB"), and federal court decisions implementing the NLRA.

The PRO Act is designed to push union representation on workers whether they want it or not. The bill does so by:

- limiting the right of employees to vote for or against union representation via secret ballots;
- limiting employers' free speech rights, which effectively silences debate on the pros and cons of union representation generally or a particular union at issue;
- effectively allowing unions to choose a bargaining unit that maximizes its chances of winning a representation election rather than having the NLRB choose a unit that would promote a functional and stable bargaining relationship and does not exclude from the proposed unit other employees that share similar working conditions, hours, benefits, or supervision simply because they are unlikely to support the union;
- requiring employers to give union organizers employees' personal information without approval from the employees themselves, including home addresses, phone numbers, email addresses, work shifts and locations, and job classifications; and
- eliminating right-to-work protections across the country, including in the twenty-seven states whose populations and representatives voted for and implemented such laws. Right-to-work laws allow workers to choose not to pay union dues to a labor organization whose policies and advocacy efforts do not align with their own beliefs and ensure workers can continue to work without being forced to join a union.

The PRO Act would disrupt or destroy certain business operations and significantly limit opportunities for small businesses and entrepreneurs. The PRO Act would do this by limiting the circumstances under which an individual can work as an independent contractor and expanding



joint employment liability, which would discourage companies from franchising or contracting with smaller employers.

With respect to independent contractors, the PRO Act would limit opportunities for self-employment—gig work or otherwise—by imposing California's recently adopted and failed "ABC test" for determining whether a worker is an independent contractor or employee. The ABC test makes it very difficult for someone to work as an independent contractor by defining the term "employee" very broadly. Nationwide implementation would forcibly reclassify millions of workers who routinely say they do not want a traditional employee relationship and prize the flexibility and autonomy independent contracting provides. The ABC test would harm those individuals wishing to work for themselves as well as the consumers and businesses that rely on the services that independent contractors provide.

As to joint employment, the PRO Act would replace the existing standard for determining when two separate entities are "joint-employers" under federal labor law with one that is vague and more expansive. Joint-employers are mutually responsible for labor violations committed against the jointly employed workers as well as bargaining obligations with respect to those workers. The current standard focuses on whether both potential employers have direct and immediate control over employees. The PRO Act standard would establish joint employment liability based on indirect or reserved control. It would overturn decades of established labor law and undermine nearly every contractual relationship, from the franchise model to those between contractors and subcontractors and suppliers and vendors. This new standard also would hamper businesses' efforts to encourage "corporate responsibility" throughout their supply chains and business partners, as doing so would likely trigger joint-employer liability.

The PRO Act would also destabilize US industrial operations and the economy and threaten supply chains by reversing current bans on intermittent strikes and secondary boycotts. Under the PRO Act, unions would be able to conduct a series of short intermittent strikes to disrupt business operations if an employer doesn't concede to their demands, potentially disrupting the economy and critical supply chains. One of the fundamental goals of the NLRA is to help ensure industrial peace, but intermittent strikes would leave unionized and nonunionized employers alike in constant fear of work stoppages.

Additionally, the PRO Act would rescind all restrictions against "secondary boycotts," or activity used by unions to impose economic injury on neutral third parties, including consumers, companies, or other unions, that do business with a company involved in a labor dispute with the union. These activities were banned in the 1940s and 1950s after unions engaged in excessive and abusive tactics. Allowing secondary boycotts will once again expose all consumers, unions, and businesses to coercion, picketing, boycotts, and similar tactics.

These are only a few of the dangerous policies included in the PRO Act.



In 2021, Forbes Tate Partners (FTP) conducted a survey of over 1,000 registered voters and found that respondents overwhelmingly were concerned with the various policies of the bill:<sup>1</sup>

- 70% of voters are concerned about the PRO Act abolishing state right-to-work protections, forcing workers to pay union dues or risk losing their jobs;
- 57% believe workers should not be forced to join a union as a condition of employment;
- 75% are concerned about requiring employers to turn over employee personal information to union organizers without the consent of the employee;
- 67% are concerned about eliminating secret ballot elections in favor of a system where votes are revealed to everyone;
- 68% are concerned about the bill interfering with small businesses' access to legal advice on labor law matters:
- 70% are concerned that the PRO Act limits workers' ability to work as independent contractors; and
- 65% are concerned the bill would upend the franchise business model, turning existing owners of franchises into employees of the brand and reducing new franchise ownership opportunities.

The economic impact of the PRO Act would be catastrophic. An American Action Forum study<sup>2</sup> found that the bill's independent worker reclassification provision alone could cost as much as \$57 billion nationwide, while the joint-employer changes would cost franchises up to \$33.3 billion a year, lead to over 350,000 job losses, and increase lawsuits by 93%.

CDW and the undersigned organizations urge the committee to reject this radical legislation and protect the rights of America's workers, small businesses, and consumers.

Sincerely,

Coalition for a Democratic Workplace
60 Plus Association
Air Conditioning Contractors of America
American Bakers Association
American Foundry Society
American Hotel & Lodging Association
American Pipeline Contractors Association
American Seniors Housing Association (ASHA)
American Society of Employers
American Staffing Association

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Survey results can be viewed at https://myprivateballot.com/2021/06/30/national-survey-small-businesses/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Study available at <a href="https://www.americanactionforum.org/research/state-level-costs-of-the-protecting-the-right-to-organize-act/">https://www.americanactionforum.org/research/state-level-costs-of-the-protecting-the-right-to-organize-act/</a>.



American Trucking Associations

Americans for Tax Reform

AR State Chamber of Commerce/Associated Industries of AR

Argentum

Asian American Hotel Owners Association

**Associated Builders and Contractors** 

Associated Builders and Contractors Keystone Chapter

**Associated Equipment Distributors** 

Associated General Contractors of America

Association of Bi-State Motor Carriers

**Brick Industry Association** 

California Retailers Association

CAWA – Representing the Automotive Parts Industry

Center for Individual Freedom (CFIF)

Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise

Coalition of Franchisee Associations

Consumer Technology Association

FMI – The Food Industry Association

Franchise Business Services

FreedomWorks

Global Cold Chain Alliance

Heating, Air-conditioning, & Refrigeration Distributors International

**HR Policy Association** 

**ICSC** 

**Independent Electrical Contractors** 

**Industrial Fasteners Institute** 

International Foodservice Distributors Association

International Franchise Association

International Sign Association

International Warehouse Logistics Association

Iowa Association of Business and Industry

**IPSE** 

Kansas Chamber

Kansas Retail Council

Littler Workplace Policy Institute

Manufactured Housing Institute

MEMA, The Vehicle Suppliers Association

Metals Service Center Institute

Missouri Retailers Association

Modular Building Institute

National Armored Car Association

National Association of Chemical Distributors

National Association of Electrical Distributors

National Association of Home Builders



National Association of Manufacturers

National Association of Theatre Owners

National Association of Wholesaler-Distributors

National Club Association

National Council of Chain Restaurants

National Federation of Independent Business

National Franchisee Association

National Grocers Association

National Kitchen & Bath Association

National Lumber & Building Material Dealers Association

National Marine Distributors Association

National Multifamily Housing Council

National Public Employer Labor Relations Association

National Ready Mixed Concrete Association

National Restaurant Association

National Retail Federation

National Roofing Contractors Association

National Stone, Sand & Gravel Association

National Tooling and Machining Association

NATSO, Representing America's Travel Plazas and Truckstops

Nevada Manufacturers Association

New Hampshire Retail Association

North Carolina Retail Merchants Association

Open Competition Center

Outdoor Power Equipment and Engine Service Association

Plastics Pipe Institute

Plumbing-Heating-Cooling Contractors Association of California

Power and Communication Contractors Association

Precision Machined Products Association

Precision Metalforming Association

Retail Association of Maine

Retail Merchants of Hawaii

Retailers Association of Massachusetts

SIGMA: America's Leading Fuel Marketers

**SNAC** International

Technology & Manufacturing Association

TRSA – The Linen, Uniform and Facility Services Association

Truck Renting and Leasing Association

Truckers Integral to our Economy

U.S. Chamber of Commerce

Virginia Chamber of Commerce

Virginia Retail Federation

Virginia Trucking Association

Western Electrical Contractors Association



Western Growers Workforce Fairness Institute