

Not Working for Workers

How President Trump has betrayed America's workers and undermined the middle class.



Prepared by the Office of Senator Elizabeth Warren September 2017



Contents

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY1
NTRODUCTION2
FINDINGS2
1. President Trump's nominees have a history of turning their backs on American workers
2. President Trump, working with Republicans in Congress, has signed multiple anti-worker bills into law5
3. The Trump Administration has delayed and weakened basic worker protections
4. President Trump's proposed budget would further undermine America's workforce
CONCLUSION9
Endnotesi



As a candidate, President Trump promised American workers that "[u]nder a Trump presidency, the American worker will finally have a president who will protect them and fight for them."¹ He bragged about his "great support" from workers.² He claimed that "I love blue collar workers," told voters that he would raise the minimum wage, and swore that he would "drain the swamp" in Washington, D.C. and fill his Administration with those who would work for working Americans—not donors and special interests.³

Each Labor Day, we honor the "achievements of American workers" and pay "tribute to the contributions workers have made to the strength, prosperity, and well-being of our country."⁴ This year, Labor Day offers a timely opportunity to assess whether President Trump has kept his word: Has he fought for American workers in Washington? Has he backed up his promises to help workers, or has he betrayed his promises?

President Trump's record is clear: he has betrayed his promises to workers. In the nearly eight months since his inauguration, the President—working with Republicans in Congress—has, over and over again, taken actions that hurt America's working men and women and undercut their chance to live the American Dream. He has placed individuals who have acted against the interests of American workers in powerful positions throughout the federal government. He has signed laws to roll back important protections for workers' physical and financial security, even as thousands of workers die on the job each year and the country faces a looming, massive retirement crisis.⁵ He has also proposed huge cuts to the Department of Labor's budget and failed to invest in America's working men and women.

This report details the numerous policy decisions and appointments affecting America's workers made by President Trump and Republicans in Congress since January 2017. This analysis of the President's labor policies paints a disturbing picture of a White House that has abandoned our nation's labor force. Findings include:

- 1. President Trump's nominees have a history of turning their backs on American workers. At the onset of his presidency, President Trump had the opportunity to appoint Department of Labor (DOL) officials with demonstrated records of standing up for American workers. Instead, the President selected numerous appointees who have actively promoted policies that are harmful to workers. His first nominee for Labor Secretary was a fast-food CEO with a long history of violating worker protection laws. His second nominee—who was confirmed by the Republican Senate—has delayed or tried to revoke important protections for workers' safety and paychecks and requested massive budget cuts that would devastate DOL's ability to fulfill its mission. One of his nominees to the National Labor Relations Board, the independent federal agency charged with protecting workers' right to collectively bargain, has spent his entire career at union-busting firms.
- 2. President Trump, working with Republicans in Congress, has signed multiple anti-worker bills into law. The Republican Congress has passed—and President Trump has signed—four laws that roll back important labor protections put in place by the Obama Administration, including a rule that required companies to maintain adequate records of workplace injuries, a common-sense rule requiring federal contractors to disclose violations of federal labor laws prior to receiving taxpayer funds, and rules that would extend access to retirement savings accounts to 15 million Americans. Congressional Republicans have also advanced legislation attacking labor unions and gutting workers' ability to bargain for better wages and working conditions.
- 3. The Trump Administration has delayed and weakened basic worker protections. President Trump and his Administration have taken steps to take overtime pay eligibility away from 4.2 million workers; prevented enforcement of a rule to protect shipbuilders from exposure to lethal beryllium; and delayed a rule to protect coal miners—in the midst of an alarming rise in coal miner deaths.

4. President Trump's proposed budget would further undermine America's workforce. President Trump wants to cut DOL's budget by over 20%, crippling labor law enforcement and critical

INTRODUCTION

Throughout his campaign and after he took office, President Trump promised that he would "protect" and "fight for" American workers.

In June 2016, then-candidate Donald Trump gave a speech in Pennsylvania outlining his vision for the American economy. During his remarks, he made a sweeping promise to American workers: "Under a Trump presidency, the American worker will finally have a president who will protect them and fight for them."⁶

President Trump made similar commitments to our nation's workforce throughout his campaign. He vocalized the frustrations of millions of workers, tweeting that "[t]he middle-class has worked so hard, are not getting the kind of jobs that they have long dreamed of—and no effective raise in years. BAD."⁷ He promised to "get wages up," because "[p]eople haven't had a real wage increase in almost twenty years."⁸ He stated, "The minimum wage has to go up. People are at least \$10, but it has to go up," because "[y]ou need to help people."⁹ He promised a new "American System" of policymaking, in which "every policy decision [he] make[s] must pass a simple test: does it create more jobs and better wages for Americans?"¹⁰ He bragged about his "great support" from workers.¹¹ He claimed that "I love blue collar workers,"¹² that he would be "the greatest jobs president that God ever created,"¹³ and that any regulation under his watch would have to pass the test: "Is this regulation good for the American worker?"¹⁵

President Trump also made a now-infamous campaign promise to "drain the swamp" in Washington, D.C. He told the American people that he would "not be controlled by the donors, special interests and lobbyists who have corrupted our politics and politicians for far too long."¹³ Instead, he told Americans, he would work "only...for the people of the U.S."¹⁶ He promised to rid the government of special interests that have "rigged our political and economic system for their exclusive benefit."¹⁷ American workers, he said, would take precedence over wealthy corporations in a Trump-led White House.

As a candidate, Trump released a "Contract with the American voter," which outlined a list of actions that he would take to "clean up the corruption and special interest collusion in Washington, D.C." and to "protect American workers."¹⁸ Since taking office, President Trump has continued to tout his efforts to "look[] out for the American workers who Washington has left behind."¹⁹

FINDINGS

President Trump has pushed policies and initiatives that advance corporate special interests at the expense of America's workers.

Each Labor Day, we celebrate the contributions of the labor movement and of all workers to our economy and society.²⁰ This Labor Day—President Trump's first in office—provides a fitting opportunity to assess whether President Trump has, in fact, made protecting and fighting for American workers a top priority of his Administration, and whether he has kept his promises to America's workers.

This report provides a review of President Trump's actions affecting America's workers. It finds that, in the nearly eight months since his inauguration, the President—working with Republicans in Congress has betrayed the working men and women who voted for him—while rewarding Washington insiders and big corporations that boost profits by finding more and

programs—especially in job training and workforce development—that benefit workers and the economy at large.

Not Working for Workers: How President Trump has betrayed America's workers and undermined the middle class.

more ways to squeeze working families out of wages, benefits, and good working conditions.

Instead of helping workers, President Trump and the Republican Congress have taken dozens of actions that harm them. He has appointed key administrative staff who have long worked against the interests of America's labor force to important Department of Labor and National Labor Relations Board posts. He has signed laws that roll back important rules that protect workers' health, safety, and financial security and has delayed or weakened other rules that help workers. He has also proposed huge budget cuts at federal agencies that support workers.

1. President Trump's nominees have a history of turning their backs on American workers.

The President is responsible for filling 4,000 political appointments within his Administration.²¹ At the outset of his presidency, President Trump had the opportunity to appoint 16 Department of Labor (DOL) and National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) officials.²² He could have chosen men and women with demonstrated records of defending American workers against abusive corporations. Instead, the President took a different approach, selecting numerous DOL and NLRB appointees with histories of supporting and proposing policies that are harmful to workers. These appointees include:

• <u>Andrew Puzder:</u> On December 8, 2016, then President-Elect Trump announced his intention to nominate Andrew Puzder to serve as the Secretary of Labor.²³ Puzder was then the CEO of CKE Restaurants, Inc., the parent company of the Hardee's and Carl's Jr. fast food chains.²⁴ At the time of Puzder's nomination announcement, President-Elect Trump stated that Mr. Puzder had an "extensive record fighting for workers" and would "ensur[e] workers receive the benefits they deserve."²⁵

In reality, CKE Restaurants has a prolific record of labor abuses.²⁶ Under Mr. Puzder's leadership, workers at Hardee's and Carl's Jr. received "rock-bottom wages," were not fully compensated for overtime hours, and labored in unsafe workplaces that resulted in employee injuries.²⁷ The Labor Department has closed over 100 investigations at stores affiliated with CKE since 2004, resulting in payments totaling more than \$150,000 in back wages to nearly 1,000 employees—mostly for violations of minimum wage and overtime pay laws.²⁸ Mr. Puzder himself is contemptuous of lowwage workers and publicly demeaned his own labor force: he has described the workers in his restaurants as "the best of the worst" employees from "the bottom of the pool."²⁹ He vehemently opposes changes to the minimum wage and has criticized federal efforts to increase the overtime pay threshold for salaried workers,³⁰ both of which would boost the wages of millions of Americans.³¹

Following public outcry from workers, labor advocates, and Democratic Senators, Mr. Puzder withdrew his nomination for Secretary of Labor.³²

<u>Alexander Acosta:</u> Following Mr. Puzder's withdrawal from consideration as Labor Secretary, President Trump nominated Alexander Acosta as his Secretary of Labor. Secretary Acosta was a far better choice than Puzder, but, even before his confirmation, he failed to show that he was willing to be a strong advocate for workers and put DOL in the best possible position to achieve its mission of promoting the "welfare of wage earners, job seekers, and retirees."³³ He left behind a deeply concerning record at the Department of Justice, where the Inspector General found that he failed to properly supervise a subordinate engaged in a politicized hiring scandal.³⁴

Since taking office, Secretary Acosta has repeatedly worked to revoke or delay the implementation of key rules protecting worker safety, overtime pay, and retirement savings.³⁵ He submitted to Congress a budget request that would decimate the Department's funding, especially for workforce development and job training programs,³⁶ and he has presided over a drop in key enforcement activities, such as by sharply reducing the Occupational Health

Not Working for Workers: How President Trump has betrayed America's workers and undermined the middle class.

and Safety Administration's announcements of major safety violation penalties.³⁷

- Patrick Pizzella: President Trump nominated Patrick Pizzella, a consultant with ties to extreme right-wing advocacy groups,³⁸ as Deputy Secretary of Labor,³⁹ responsible for overseeing day-to-day operations at DOL.⁴⁰ Mr. Pizzella has a long history of working against enforcement of important labor laws. In the 1990s, he worked on a lobbying team led by Jack Abramoff—who later pled guilty to fraud, tax evastion, and conspiracy to bribe federal officials—that unsuccessfully worked to exempt the Northern Mariana Islands, a U.S. territory, from federal labor laws. The territory's government, which hired Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Pizzella's team, sought to protect manufacturers that were found to be putting "Made in the USA" labels on products while ignoring American labor laws as workers were subjected to terrible conditions, including indentured servitude, forced abortions, and sex slavery.⁴¹
- Marvin Kaplan: One of President Trump's two nominees for the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)—the body that protects workers' right to collectively bargain and organize without interference from their employer⁴²—Marvin Kaplan has spent much of his career trying to undermine the NLRB. As a Republican staffer in the House of Representatives,⁴³ he fought protections for low-income workers, such as the overtime rule, and wrote bills to reverse NLRB decisions and make it easier for corporations to avoid bargaining with workers. For example, he helped draft the Workforce Democracy and Fairness Act, which would force workers to wait more than a month before voting on union representation and allow employers to significantly delay elections even further.⁴⁴ Mr. Kaplan also worked on the Kline-Miller Multiemployer Pension Reform Act, which became law and now allows pension funds to slash benefits, which could leave hundreds of thousands of retirees relying on hard-earned pension benefits out to dry.⁴⁵
- William Emanuel: In a one-two punch to collective bargaining, President Trump also nominated William Emanuel, an attorney who has spent decades representing large employers and trade associations, which supported his nomination, against workers and unions.⁴⁶ Companies that Mr. Emanuel has represented have dozens of cases open before the Board,⁴⁷ and he has publicly taken anti-union positions on several key issues that the Board will likely consider.⁴⁸ He has, for example, advocated against workers' right to bring class action lawsuits against their employers. He wrote that because "there are many opportunities for employees to engage in concerted activity under the [National Labor Relations Act]," workers' ability to "fil[e] a class or collective action is only one example" and is therefore dispensable.⁴⁹ He has also argued against workers' right to organize in the workplace, claiming that it constitutes a complete departure from the rule of law and that "[m]any employers suffer" when union organizers are not arrested for trespassing.⁵⁰

In addition, President Trump has hired numerous lobbyists and industry insiders to serve in Labor Department positions. For example:

- **Byron Anderson** works at DOL as a Special Assistant to the Secretary. He is the former Vice President of Federal Affairs at Transamerica, an insurance company, where he lobbied against financial regulations, such as DOL's "fiduciary rule" protecting retirement savers from investment advisers who cheat them.⁵¹
- **Geoffrey Burr**, a former Vice President of Government Affairs at the Associated Builders and Contractors, a trade association that has opposed safety protections for workers,⁵² served as a Special Assistant to the Secretary at DOL from January 2017 to April 2017.⁵³
- Wayne Palmer, a former lobbyist at Fontheim International, recently became Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor for Mine Safety and Health after serving as Chief of Staff for the Office of the Secretary at DOL from May until August.⁵⁴

Not Working for Workers: How President Trump has betrayed America's workers and undermined the middle class.

2. President Trump, working with Republicans in Congress, has signed multiple anti-worker bills into law.

President Trump and Republicans in Congress have not voted on or signed a single piece of major legislation to increase the economic security of workers. They haven't increased the minimum wage and have not revamped our nation's crumbling infrastructure.⁵⁵

Instead, disingenuously arguing that regulations inherently reduce job growth, President Trump and the Republican-led Congress have focused on passing laws that overturn important regulations put in place by President Obama that help workers stay safe on the job and build a little economic security for themselves and their families.⁵⁶ To do so, they have relied upon the obscure *Congressional Review Act* (CRA), a legislative tool that forgoes typical congressional hearings, minimizes debate, and requires only a simple majority to pass.⁵⁷ Using the CRA, President Trump has signed four laws that roll back important worker protections. They include:

٠ <u>Reducing Workplace Safety Recordkeeping</u> **<u>Requirements</u>**: Since the early 1970s, large employers in the most dangerous industries have been required to record serious illnesses and injuries their employees suffer on the job to the Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA).⁵⁸ OSHA, an agency within DOL that works to ensures that Americans work in "safe and healthful working conditions," uses data from these employers to prioritize workplace inspections, targeting industries where workers are at the highest risk of injury.⁵⁹ In addition, the Department uses this data to publish yearly statistics on the workplace hazards that kill 4,800—and injure another three million— American workers every year.⁶⁰

In December 2016, the Obama Administration issued a final rule, "Clarification of Employer's Continuing Obligation To Make and Maintain an Accurate Record of Each Recordable Injury and Illness," that clarified the long-standing requirement that employers keep accurate records of injuries and illnesses that happen in their workplaces for a period of at least five years. The rule created "no new compliance obligations" for employers, as it simply made official a requirement that OSHA had enforced for decades under Democratic and Republican administrations.⁶¹

Rather than keep in place this common-sense update to OSHA regulations, Republicans in Congress chose to use the CRA process to repeal it. H.J. Res. 83 was introduced in February to overturn the rule. President Trump signed this bill—giving employers a free pass to falsify or neglect to keep accurate workplace injury records and increasing the odds that workers will be injured or even killed—in early April.⁶²

 <u>Eliminating Protections for Millions</u> of Americans Who Work for Federal

Contractors: Each year, Americans spend nearly \$450 billion in tax dollars to pay federal contractors that provide goods and services to the government.⁶³ These private companies provide numerous services—ranging from building battleships to serving snacks at National Parks and employ around 28 million workers.⁶⁴ In exchange for receiving taxpayer dollars, federal contractors are required to comply with federal worker protection laws. And while most federal contractors are good employers, some cut corners on safety, or squeeze workers on wages, to increase their profits.⁶⁵

To ensure that taxpayer dollars are spent responsibly and to keep the federal government from funding abusive contractors, President Obama issued the *Fair Pay and Safe Workplaces Executive Order* in 2014, which required private companies to disclose past labor law violations when bidding for federal contracts worth \$500,000 or more.⁶⁶ In August 2016, the Department of Defense, General Services Administration, and National Aeronautics and Space Administration jointly issued a final rule implementing the *Fair Pay and Safe Workplaces* order.⁶⁷ The rule represented an important step in stopping taxpayer money from going to

Not Working for Workers: How President Trump has betrayed America's workers and undermined the middle class.

companies that steal wages, endanger workers, and violate their employees' civil rights.

Rather than uphold protections for the millions of employees of federal contractors, President Trump chose to eliminate them. In January 2017, just days after President Trump took office, Republicans in the House of Representatives introduced H.J. Res. 37—a resolution to overturn the *Fair Pay and Safe Workplaces* rule. The resolution passed the House and Senate almost entirely along party lines, and was signed into law by President Trump on March 27, 2017.⁶⁸

Eliminating Retirement Savings Options for Millions of American Workers: Around half of American households ages 55 and older have nothing saved for retirement,⁶⁹ and two thirds of working households between ages 55 and 64 have less retirement savings than their annual income.⁷⁰ A key reason for Americans' lack of retirement savings is that 55 million Americans do not have access to a workplace retirement account.⁷¹ In response, seven states—and multiple cities—have passed legislation to provide simple retirement accounts to workers and small businesses, with 23 more states considering proposals.⁷² These innovative, city- and state-led efforts would go a long way toward chipping away at the retirement crisis in our country.

However, instead of supporting these efforts, Republicans in Congress—pressured by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce⁷³—passed two bills—H.J. Res. 66 and H.J. Res. 67 to pull the rug out from under these state and city retirement proposals just as states were beginning to roll them out. Despite Republicans' oft-stated concerns with overregulation and federal overreach, these bills repealed Obama Administration rules that "removed regulatory hurdles" for the states and cities establishing these programs and interfered in popular, promising efforts by state and local governments.⁷⁴ President Trump signed H.J. Res 66 into law on May 17, 2017,⁷⁵ and H.J. Res. 67 on April 13, 2017.⁷⁶

• Other Pending Legislation that Would Harm Workers:

In addition to the bills that have passed and been signed by the President, Republicans in Congress are working to pass more bills that would harm American workers. Republicans have introduced H.R. 2723, the Employee Rights Act, and H.R. 785/S. 545, the National *Right-to-Work Act*—aimed at weakening unions and interfering with workers' legal right to join together to bargain for better wages and working conditions.⁷⁷ The Davis-Bacon Repeal Act, introduced in both the House and Senate, would eliminate critical wage protections for employees of federal contractors.⁷⁸ And the deceitfully named Working Families Flexibility Act, which President Trump has endorsed, would allow employers to withhold overtime pay in exchange for time off—regardless of what the employee wants.⁷⁹

President Trump and the Republican-led Congress have not used their majority to push for legislation that "protects" and "fights for" workers. Instead, they have worked tirelessly to rip protections *away* from workers—making it easier for corporations to take advantage of the nation's labor force.

3. The Trump Administration has delayed and weakened basic worker protections.

President Trump and his appointees have enormous power to write and interpret the Department of Labor rules and regulations that help protect workers. But instead of using this power to address the thousands of fatal workplace injuries⁸⁰ or the billions of dollars that employers steal from their low-wage workers⁸¹ each year, President Trump has delayed or gutted basic protections for workers' safety, paychecks, and retirement security, hurting workers while advancing the interests of big corporations and special interests.

President Trump claimed to have a rule when it came to DOL rules and regulations: he said they "should have to pass a simple test: Does it make life better or safer for American workers?"⁸² But President Trump

Not Working for Workers: How President Trump has betrayed America's workers and undermined the middle class.

has broken his promises to apply this test, instead delaying or weakening important rules and putting workers at risk.

- The Administration is working to deny 4.2 million workers eligibility for overtime pay by beginning the process to revoke the Obama Administration's overtime rule, which doubled the salary threshold for a worker to receive overtime protections under federal law and made 4.2 million workers newly eligible for overtime.⁸³ This action followed an extensive, years-long lobbying and litigation campaign opposing the rule, orchestrated by big business groups such as the Chamber of Commerce and the Retail Industry Leaders Association, which represents large employers like Wal-Mart.⁸⁴
- Under President Trump, OSHA has twice delayed the effective date of the Beryllium Rule, which was finalized by the Obama Administration to update the 40-year-old standards for exposure to beryllium, a toxic substance that causes chronic lung disease, lung cancer, and death.⁸⁵ The Administration gave no substantive explanation for the delays, but the White House did meet with industry groups such as the Associated Builders and Contractors, which have opposed implementation of the rule, prior to announcing its delay.⁸⁶ And after the delay, at the urging of manufacturers of materials that contain Beryllium who were worried that the companies using their products would switch to safer materials, the DOL moved to partially exempt the shipbuilding and construction industries from the rule⁸⁷

62,000 workers—including 11,500 in the construction and shipyard industries encounter beryllium at work, and this rule was expected to save 90 lives each year.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, the Administration continues to work to weaken this rule, despite the White House's empty claims that President Trump is "not lowering any safety regulations" and "safety is a top priority."⁸⁹

OSHA delayed enforcement of another worker safety protection—the silica rule—for the construction industry.⁹⁰ This rule updated decades-old standards designed to protect workers from exposure to crystalline silica, which leads to lung cancer, silicosis, and other respiratory diseases. The rule was projected to save more than 600 lives each year,⁹¹ ensuring that workers do not have to risk early, painful deaths in order to put food on their family's table. Instead, the Trump Administration needlessly held off on enforcing it for months, putting the 2 million construction workers exposed to silica in danger.⁹² The decision was supported by lobbyists for big construction companies. For example, the Associated Builders and Contractors, Inc.—where Trump appointee Geoffrey Burr served as chief lobbyist before moving to DOL⁹³—requested the delay, along with other industry groups, just one month before it was announced.⁹⁴

The DOL also delayed the fiduciary rule, which protected workers' retirement savings by requiring investment advisers to recommend the products that are in the best interests of their clients instead of the products that offer the adviser the highest fees or fanciest prizes. The conflicts of interests created by those perks and kickbacks cost workers saving for retirement \$17 billion per year.⁹⁵ Just weeks into the new administration, trade associations representing banks and insurance companies, including the Financial Services Roundtable, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Securities Industry and Financial Markets Associations, continued their long-running lobbying campaign against the rule by meeting with White House officials and publicly announcing their support for delaying it.⁹⁶ Though Secretary Acosta concluded that he could not do all that Wall Street wanted and legally delay the rule even longer,⁹⁷ the two-month delay alone is estimated to have cost workers more than \$3.7 billion dollars in lost retirement savings.⁹⁸ And in August DOL proposed delaying total implementation of the rule from January 1, 2018, until July 2019—a full 18 months.⁹⁹ American workers have waited long enough, and, just when they were starting to enjoy the benefits of this new consumer

Not Working for Workers: How President Trump has betrayed America's workers and undermined the middle class.

protection, the Trump Administration is working to undermine it once again.

- In the midst of a rapid increase in coal miner deaths that began this year, the Administration delayed a rule that would require mines to be examined before work started and require mine operators to maintain records and inform their workers about dangerous working conditions.¹⁰⁰ That rule was also strongly opposed, including through litigation, by industry groups, including the National Stone, Sand & Gravel Association and the National Mining Association, which professes on its website a commitment to "going beyond what's required by regulations."¹⁰¹
- The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission ended efforts to collect data on pay gaps by gender and race. Women working full time make only around 80 percent of the wages that men working full time make,¹⁰² and the gap between white and black workers is even larger—26.7% and worsening steadily.¹⁰³ In 2016, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) revised a form—the EEO-1 report—requiring some large employers to include summary data on wages broken down by race and gender. EEOC instituted this change so that it could better "identify trends, inform investigations, and focus resources."¹⁰⁴ In late August, the Trump Administration removed this new requirement, making it easier for large employers to sweep wage discrimination under the rug and squashing future efforts to better understand the enormous wage inequalities that women and workers of color face.¹⁰⁵

These regulatory actions affect millions of workers' physical safety or retirement security. And they all have a couple of things in common: they affect rules that were studied, debated, and revised for years before being issued; and they roll back rules where the benefits were determined to outweigh the costs. These rules appear to have been delayed or revoked for little reason other than industry opposition, and they all shift cost and risk—both physical and financial—onto the backs of hardworking men and women and their families. Other rollbacks were less complex, but still could have a significant impact on workers. For example, in August 2017, OSHA "erased data on workplace deaths from the home page of its website...and changed its policy to disclose fewer fatal accidents in the future."¹⁰⁶ This information "was replaced with information on how companies can voluntarily cooperate with OSHA to reduce safety risks."¹⁰⁷ Worker safety advocates indicated that this move was "a conscious decision [by DOL] to bury the fact that workers are getting killed on the job." ¹⁰⁸

4. President Trump's proposed budget would further undermine America's workforce.

In a further display of disregard for the interests of workers, President Trump proposed massive budget cuts to the Labor Department—a 20% cut, or \$2.4 billion decrease in funding, which would do enormous damage to DOL's ability to enforce federal labor laws and protect and support the nation's workers and retirees, as President Trump promised to do.¹⁰⁹

In particular, President Trump proposed a whopping 38% cut to Training and Employment Services¹¹⁰, which is especially remarkable in light of the Administration's professed prioritization of these programs. President Trump paid lip service to job training during the White House's "Workforce Development Week," declaring, "We are going to do everything we can to make sure more young people have opportunities" after a tour of a technical college in Wisconsin.¹¹¹ But the White House budget proposal reveals exactly the opposite—that President Trump will try to pull the rug out from under young people in job training programs. In fact, the deepest cuts across the entire DOL budget are targeted at its workforce development programs.

The budget proposes:

- Major cuts to Job Corps, the nation's largest training program for disadvantaged young people;¹¹²
- Elimination of the Senior Community Service Employment Program, which helps Americans

Not Working for Workers: How President Trump has betrayed America's workers and undermined the middle class.

over the age of 55 find jobs with nonprofit organizations and government agencies;¹¹³

- Elimination of the Women in Apprenticeship program, which helps facilitate access to and successful participation in apprenticeship programs for women. Just this August, Secretary Acosta, in announcing funds from last year's appropriations for this program, said, "This Administration is committed to increasing women's participation in STEM by expanding the number of quality apprenticeships across the U.S...."¹¹⁴ This Administration's budget, however, proposes eliminating the program, because its goals "will be met with the broader Apprenticeship program"—for which, despite all of his rhetoric, President Trump has proposed no new funding;¹¹⁵
- A 75% funding cut to the **Women's Bureau**, which identifies and promotes policies that advance the interests of women in the workplace, such as by combatting wage discrimination and providing flexibility and support for working mothers and other caregivers;¹¹⁶
- Cutting funding for the Office of Disability Employment Policy (ODEP) by nearly a third. ODEP works with other agencies, employers, and service providers to increase employment opportunities for people with disabilities

CONCLUSION

In the first eight months of his presidency, President Trump has betrayed his promise to "protect" and "fight for" American workers. Instead, he has nominated a slew of Department of Labor appointees with records of fighting against workers' interests; signed multiple anti-worker bills into law; revoked multiple worker safety and retirement protections under the guise of "eliminating red tape;" and proposed a budget that would defund critical programs for our nation's workers.

and address discrimination on the basis of disability;¹¹⁷

- Elimination of the **Susan Harwood Training Grant Program**, which assists non-profit organizations in training workers and employers on identifying and avoiding safety and health hazards in workplaces;¹¹⁸
- Funding reductions for the **Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs**, which helps address employment discrimination by federal contractors, and merging it into the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission;¹¹⁹
- A 40% cut to the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, which would eliminate research and training efforts focused on particularly hazardous industries, such as construction, agriculture, and fishing;¹²⁰
- Attacks on the retirement savings of federal employees, including the elimination or reduction of cost-of-living adjustments currently in place through the Federal Employee Retirement System and the Civil Service Retirement System.¹²¹ In addition, the budget would require federal workers to increase their pension contributions by an average of \$5,000 a year, yet result in federal employees receiving smaller payments once they retire.¹²²

Endnotes

- 1 NPR Staff, "FACT CHECK: Trump's Speech on the Economy, Annotated," *NPR* (June 28, 2016) (online at <u>http://www.npr.</u> org/2016/06/28/483883321/fact-check-trumps-speech-on-the-economy-annotated)
- 2 Sean Higgins, "Trump: 'I like right-to-work better'," *Washington Examiner* (Feb. 23, 2016) (online at: <u>http://www.</u>washingtonexaminer.com/trump-i-like-right-to-work-better/article/2583977)
- 3 Adam Edelman, "Donald Trump—who made and lost billions with help of millions in loans from rich daddy—claims he is a 'blue collar worker'," *New York Daily News* (Oct. 10, 2016) (Online at: http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/billioniare-donald-trump-blue-collar-worker-article-1.2825716); Philip Bump, "Donald Trump's falsehood-laden press conference, annotated," *Washington Post* (July 27, 2016) (online at https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/07/27/donald-trumps-falsehood-laden-press-conference-annotated/?utm_term=.00aa1f47277e); Michael Cohen, "Trump promised to drain the swamp. How's that going?" *The Boston Globe* (Apr. 5, 2017) (online at: https://www.bostonglobe.com/opinion/2017/04/05/trump-promised-drain-swamp-how-that-going/2BBNbWU1Xd5ExA7u83Vh3I/story.html)
- 4 U.S. Department of Labor, "History of Labor Day" (online at https://www.dol.gov/general/laborday/history).
- 5 Kathleen Rest & David Michaels, "US workforce in danger of losing protections," Las Vegas Sun (Aug. 15, 2017) (online at: https://lasvegassun.com/news/2017/aug/15/us-workforce-in-danger-of-losing-protections/); Sabri Ben-Achour, "America's coming retirement crisis," Marketplace (Feb. 6, 2017) (online at: https://www.marketplace.org/2017/02/06/world/americas-retirement-crisis)
- 6 NPR Staff, "FACT CHECK: Trump's Speech on the Economy, Annotated," *NPR* (June 28, 2016) (online at <u>http://www.npr.</u> org/2016/06/28/483883321/fact-check-trumps-speech-on-the-economy-annotated)
- 7 Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), *Twitter* (December 28, 2015) (online at https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/681452215614222339).
- 8 Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), *Twitter* (July 23, 2016) (online at <u>https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/</u> status/756883131685273605).
- 9 Tom Kludt, "Donald Trump days he'd support \$10 minimum wage," *CNN* (July 27, 2016) (online at <u>http://www.cnn.</u> com/2016/07/27/politics/donald-trump-minimum-wage/index.html).
- **10**1 Tessa Berenson, "Read Donald Trump's Speech on Jobs and the Economy," *Time* (September 15, 2016) (online at http://time.com/4495507/donald-trump-economy-speech-transcript/).
- **11** Sean Higgins, "Trump: 'I like right-to-work better'," *Washington Examiner* (Feb. 23, 2016) (online at http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/trump-i-like-right-to-work-better/article/2583977)
- 12 Adam Edelman, "Donald Trump—who made and lost billions with help of millions in loans from rich daddy—claims he is a 'blue collar worker'," *New York Daily News* (Oct. 10, 2016) (online at <u>http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/billioniare-donald-trump-blue-collar-worker-article-1.2825716</u>).
- 13 Nathan Bomey, "Trump get his chance to be 'greatest jobs president'," USA Today (Nov. 9, 2017) (online at https://www.usatoday.com/story/money/2016/11/09/donald-trump-jobs-impact/93541900/)
- 14 Cheryl Bolen, "Trump on Regulation: Maybe None, Maybe Some," *Bloomberg BNA* (May 31, 2016) (online at https://www.bna.com/trump-regulation-maybe-b57982073281/)
- 15 Donald J. Trump, *Facebook* (October 23, 2015) (online at https://www.facebook.com/DonaldTrump/posts/10156243341485725).
- 16 Donald J. Trump, Facebook (September 5, 2015) (online at https://www.facebook.com/DonaldTrump/posts/10156071933390725).
- 17 Joseph Cariz, Taylor Leighton, Adam Thorp, "Donald Trump's GOP acceptance speech, annotated," *Politifact* (July 21, 2016) (online at http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2016/jul/21/donald-trumps-gop-acceptance-speech-annotated/).
- 18 Donald J. Trump, "Donald Trump's Contract with the American Voter" (online at https://assets.donaldjtrump.com/_landings/contract/ O-TRU-102316-Contractv02.pdf).
- **19** The White House, "President Trump's First 50 Days of Action: Achieving Results for the American People" (March 10, 2017) (online at https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/03/10/president-trumps-first-50-days-action-achieving-results-american-people).
- 20 U.S. Department of Labor, "History of Labor Day" (online at https://www.dol.gov/general/laborday/history).
- 21 Center for Presidential Transition, "Incoming Administration: Appointments" (online at http://presidentialtransition.org/timeline/appointments" (online at http://presidentialtransition.org/ (online at http://presidentialtransition.or
- 22 "Tracking how many key positions Trump has filled so far," *The Washington Post* (accessed Aug. 15, 2017) (online at: <u>https://www.</u>washingtonpost.com/graphics/politics/trump-administration-appointee-tracker/database/).
- 23 The Trump-Pence Transition Team, "President-Elect Donald J. Trump Nominates Andy Puzder as Secretary of the Department of Labor," *GreatAgain.gov* (December 8, 2016) (online at https://greatagain.gov/president-elect-trump-nominates-andy-puzder-as-secretary-of-the-department-of-labor-b8ec0bfc9818#.sep5vka2k).

Not Working for Workers: How President Trump has betrayed America's workers and undermined the middle class.

- 24 CKE Restaurants, "Management Team: Andrew F. Puzder, Chief Executive Officer" (online at https://web.archive.org/web/20161125022323/http://www.ckr.com/about_management.html).
- 25 The Trump-Pence Transition Team, "President-Elect Donald J. Trump Nominates Andy Puzder as Secretary of the Department of Labor," *GreatAgain.gov* (December 8, 2016) (online at https://greatagain.gov/president-elect-trump-nominates-andy-puzder-as-secretary-of-the-department-of-labor-b8ec0bfc9818).
- 26 Alice Miranda Ollstein and Kira Lerner, "The CEO of a chain that underpays and mistreats workers is about to lead the Labor Department," *Think Progress* (January 5, 2017) (online at https://thinkprogress.org/puzder-labor-abuses-f235d772bc8c/).
- 27 Senate HELP Committee Minority Staff Report, Prepared by the Offices of Sen. Murray and Sen. Warren, *Charbroiled: Workers Tell All About Life Under Puzder* (January 2017) (online at https://www.warren.senate.gov/files/documents/CharbroiledReport.pdf).
- 28 Ben Penn, "Burger Executive as Labor Chief Could Pose Conflict," *Bloomberg* (December 2, 2016) (online at <u>https://www.bna.com/</u> burger-executive-labor-n73014448061/).
- **29** Andrew Kaczynski, "Trump labor pick in 2011 on his fast-food workers: We hire 'the best of the worst," *CNN Money* (January 23, 2017) (online at http://money.cnn.com/2017/01/23/news/kfile-puzder-best-of-the-worst/).
- **30** Andy Puzder, "Wages With Minimal Wiggle Room," *The Wall Street Journal* (Dec. 28, 2015) (online at http://www.wsj.com/articles/wages-with-minimal-wiggle-room-1451259371); Andy Puzder, "The Harsh Reality Of Regulating Overtime Pay," *Forbes* (online at http://www.forbes.com/sites/realspin/2016/05/18/the-harsh-reality-of-regulating-overtime-pay/#5d75ba262321).
- 31 David Cooper, "Raising the minimum wage to \$15 by 2024 would lift wages for 41 million American workers," *Economic Policy Institute* (Apr. 26, 2017) (online at http://www.epi.org/publication/15-by-2024-would-lift-wages-for-41-million/); Michael Memoli, "Obama administration announces final overtime rule, boosting pay for million," *Los Angeles Times* (May 17, 2016) (online at http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-obama-overtime-pay-20160517-snap-story.html).
- 32 Michael Collins, "Democrats, labor leaders call for Labor nominee Andrew Puzder to withdraw," USA Today (Feb. 9, 2017) (online at: https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2017/02/09/democrats-labor-leaders-call-puzder-withdraw/97694530/).
- 33 "Our mission," U.S. Department of Labor (accessed Aug. 14, 2017) (online at https://www.dol.gov/opa/aboutdol/mission.htm)
- 34 "An Investigation of Allegations of Politicized Hiring and Other Improper Personnel Actions in the Civil Rights Division," pp. 50-52, U.S. Department of Justice (Jul. 2, 2008) (online at: https://oig.justice.gov/special/s0901/final.pdf)
- 35 Juliet Eilperin & Darla Cameron, "How Trump is rolling back Obama's legacy," *The Washington Post* (March 24, 2017) (online at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/politics/trump-rolling-back-obama-rules/)
- **36** "US Department of Labor Releases Fiscal Year 2018 Budget Request" [press release], U.S. Department of Labor (May 23, 2017) (online at: https://www.dol.gov/newsroom/releases/opa/opa20170523)
- **37**38 Francie Diep, "There's a Strategy That Helps Prevent Injuries at Work. Why Isn't the Federal Government Using It?" *Pacific Standard* (Aug. 3, 2017) (online at: https://psmag.com/economics/changes-in-osha).
- **38** Lee Fang, "Meet the Evangelical Cabal Orchestrating the Shutdown," *The Nation* (Oct. 8, 2013) (online at: <u>https://www.thenation.</u> com/article/meet-evangelical-cabal-orchestrating-shutdown/)
- 39 "President Donald J. Trump Announces Intent to Nominate Personnel to Key Administration Posts," Office of the Press Secretary, *The White House* (June 19, 2017) (online at: https://www.linkedin.com/in/patrick-pizzella-b4979511/)
- 40 "Deputy Secretary of Labor," *Political Appointee Project* (accessed Aug. 28, 2017) (online at: http://www.politicalappointeeproject. org/dep-secretary-of-labor.html); "31 U.S.C. §1123. Chief Operating Officers" (online at: http://uscode.house.gov/view. xhtml?req=granuleid:USC-prelim-title31-section1123&num=0&edition=prelim)
- 41 Hassan Kanu, "Abramoff Ties Could Mean Trouble for Trump DOL Nominee," *Bloomberg BNA* (June 21, 2017) (online at: <u>https://www.bna.com/abramoff-ties-mean-n73014453697/</u>); Philip Shenon, "Made in the U.S.A.? Hard Labor on a Pacifici Island/A special report: Saipan Sweatshops Are No American Dream," *The New York Times* (July 18, 1993) (online at: <u>http://www.nytimes.com/1993/07/18/world/made-usa-hard-labor-pacific-island-special-report-saipan-sweatshops-are-no. html?pagewanted=all&mcubz=0</u>)
- 42 "What We Do," *National Labor Relations Board* (accessed Aug. 14, 2017) (online at: https://www.nlrb.gov/what-we-do)
- **43** "Marvin Kaplan" [personal profile], *LinkedIn* (accessed Aug. 15, 2017) (online at: https://www.linkedin.com/in/marvin-kaplan-4bb36614/)
- 44 "H.R. 1768 Workforce Democracy and Fairness Act," *Congress.gov* (accessed Aug. 15, 2017) (online at: <u>https://www.congress.gov/</u>bill/114th-congress/house-bill/1768)
- 45 David Herszenhorn, "Retirees Rally at the Capitol, Protesting Pension Cuts," *The New York Times* (Apr. 14, 2016) (online at: <u>https://</u>www.nytimes.com/2016/04/15/us/politics/retirees-rally-at-the-capitol-protesting-pension-cuts.html).
- 46 Lawrence Dube, "White House Picks William Emanuel for Labor Board," *Bloomberg Law* (June 28, 2017) (online at: <u>https://bol.bna.com/white-house-picks-william-emanuel-for-labor-board/</u>); Daniel Wiessner, "Trump pushes U.S. labor board toward Republican control," *Reuters* (June 27, 2017) (online at: <u>http://www.reuters.com/article/usa-labor-nlrb-idUSL1N1JP025</u>)

Not Working for Workers: How President Trump has betrayed America's workers and undermined the middle class.

- 47 William Joseph Emanuel, "Executive Branch Personnel Public Financial Disclosure Report (OGE Form 278e)," U.S. Office of Government Ethics (May 2, 2017); search of open NLRB cases, National Labor Relations Board (online at <u>https://www.nlrb.gov/</u> search/cases/);
- **48** "Willieam J. Emanuel," *Littler* (accessed Aug. 28, 2017) (online at: <u>https://www.littler.com/files/lawyer-biography/william_j</u> emanuel.pdf)
- 49 Henry Lederman, William Emanuel, & Stefan Marculewicz, "Brief of the Coalition for a Democratic Workplace as Amicus Curiae in Support of Petitioner D.R. Horton, Inc. for Reversal of the Decision and Order of the National Labor Relations Board," D.R. Horton, Inc. v. National Labor Relations Board, United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit (June 6, 2012) (online at: <u>https://</u>myprivateballot.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/CDW-DR-Horton-Amicus-Brief.pdf)
- 50 William Emanuel, "Union Trespassers Roam the Corridors of California Hospitals: Is a Return to the Rule of Law Possible?" *Whittier Law Review* (June 24, 2009) (online at: <u>https://www.littler.com/files/press/pdf/Byline-%2520Bill%2520Emanuel-</u>%2520Union%2520Trespassers.pdf)
- 51 Derek Kravitz, Al Shaw, Annie Waldman, and Ariana Tobin, "Here Are the Financial Disclosures of 416 Officials Trump Has Installed Across the Government," *ProPublica* (June 13, 2017) (online at https://projects.propublica.org/graphics/trump-disclosures); Ashley Balcerzak and Niv Sultan, "Trump's 'beachhead' teams host dozens of former lobbyists," *Open Secrets* (March 24, 2017) (online at https://www.opensecrets.org/news/2017/03/trumps-beachhead-hosts-dozens-of-former-lobbyists/); Dan Van Schooten & Laura Peterson, "Trump's Ethics Pledge Is Paper-Thin," *Project on Government Oversight* (June 6, 2017) (online at: http://www.pogo.org/our-work/articles/2017/trumps-ethics-pledge-paper-thin.html); U.S. Senate Lobbying Disclosure Act Database, Search for Lobbyist Name "Byron Anderson" (online at https://soprweb.senate.gov/index.cfm?event=selectFields&crest=1).
- 52 "Construction Industry Praises President Trump for Eliminating Burdensome Obama-era Recordkeeping Rule" [press release], Associated Builders and Contractors, Inc. (Apr. 4, 2017) (online at: http://www.abc.org/NewsMedia/NewsReleases/tabid/144/ entryid/8372/construction-industry-praises-president-trump-for-eliminating-burdensome-obama-era-recordkeeping-rule.aspx; Leven, R. "Industry fights with health advocates over worker exposure to carcinogen." The Hill (Nov. 18, 2011). Online at: http://thehill. com/business-a-lobbying/194449-industry-fights-with-health-advocates-over-worker-exposure-to-carcinogen.
- 53 "Geoffrey Burr," *LinkedIn* (accessed June 26, 2017) (online at https://www.LinkedIn.com/in/geoffrey-burr-71a4225/; U.S. Senate Lobbying Disclosure Act Database, Search for Lobbyist Name "Geoffrey Burr" (online at https://soprweb.senate.gov/index.cfm? event=selectFields&reset=1); Derek Kravitz, Al Shaw, Annie Waldman, and Ariana Tobin, "Here Are the Financial Disclosures of 416 Officials Trump Has Installed Across the Government," *ProPublica* (June 13, 2017) (online at https://projects.propublica.org/ graphics/trump-disclosures); Justin Elliot, "Trump's Watered-Down Ethics Rule Let a Lobbyist Help Run an Agency He Lobbied," *ProPublica* (February 10, 2017) (online at https://www.propublica.org/article/trump-watered-down-ethics-rules-let-lobbyist-helprun-agency-he-lobbied);
- 54 Derek Kravitz, Al Shaw, Annie Waldman, and Ariana Tobin, "Here Are the Financial Disclosures of 416 Officials Trump Has Installed Across the Government," *ProPublica* (June 13, 2017) (online at https://projects.propublica.org/graphics/trump-disclosures); U.S. Senate Lobbying Disclosure Act Database, Search for Lobbyist Name "Wayne Palmer" (online at https://soprweb.senate.gov/ index.cfm?event=selectFields&reset=1); "Wayne Palmer," *LinkedIn* (accessed June 26, 2017) (online at https://www.LinkedIn.com/in/waynedpalmer).
- 55 Melanie Zanona, "GOP signals infrastructure bill must wait," *The Hill* (July 20, 2017) (online at http://thehill.com/policy/transportation/342835-gop-signals-infrastructure-bill-must-wait); Matt Volz, "House Panel Rejects \$33M Infrastructure Bill by Republicans," *Associated Press* (March 27, 2017) (online at https://www.usnews.com/news/best-states/montana/articles/2017-03-27/house-panel-rejects-33m-infrastructure-bill-by-republicans">https://www.usnews.com/news/best-states/montana/articles/2017-03-27/house-panel-rejects-33m-infrastructure-bill-by-republicans); Tanya Snyder and Jennifer Scholtes, "GOP leaders slow-walk Trump's infrastructure plan," *Politico* (January 5, 2017) (online at http://www.politico.com/story/2017/01/trump-infrastructure-plan-gop-233253).
- 56 The White House, "President Trump Cuts Through More Red Tape," *The White House* (February 24, 2017) (online at https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/02/24/president-trump-cuts-through-more-red-tape).
- 57 Richard S. Beth, "Disapproval of Regulations by Congress: Procedure Under the Congressional Review Act," *Congressional Research Service* (October 10, 2001) (online at https://www.senate.gov/CRSpubs/316e2dc1-fc69-43cc-979a-dfc24d784c08.pdf).
- 58 See U.S. Department of Labor, Occupational Safety and Health Administration, "Clarification of Employer's Continuing Obligation to Make and Maintain an Accurate Record of Each Recordable Injury and Illness (final rule)" (December 19, 2016) (online at https://www.osha.gov/pls/oshaweb/owadisp.show_document?p_table=FEDERAL_REGISTER&p_id=27599).
- 59 U.S. Department of Labor, Occupational Safety and Health Administration, "About OSHA" (online at <u>https://www.osha.gov/about.</u> <u>html</u>); Jordan Barab, "Why records matter to worker safety," *Economic Policy Institute* (Feb. 24, 2017) (online at: <u>http://www.epi.</u> <u>org/blog/why-records-matter-to-worker-safety/</u>)
- 60 U.S. Department of Labor, Occupational Safety and Health Administration, "Commonly Used Statistics" (online at <u>https://www.osha.gov/oshstats/commonstats.html</u>); U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Employer-Reported Workplace Injury and Illness Summary" (October 27, 2016) (online at https://www.bls.gov/news.release/osh.nr0.htm).

- 61 U.S. Department of Labor, Occupational Safety and Health Administration, "Clarification of Employer's Continuing Obligation to Make and Maintain an Accurate Record of Each Recordable Injury and Illness (final rule)" (December 19, 2016) (online at https://www.osha.gov/pls/oshaweb/owadisp.show_document?p_table=FEDERAL_REGISTER&p_id=27599). David Michaels, "Congress May Roll Back Injury Log Requirement, Endangering Workers," *Forbes* (March 20, 2017) (online at https://www.forbes.com/sites/janetnovack/2017/03/20/congressional-rollback-of-injury-log-requirement-would-endanger-workers/#3fle56c51319).
- 62 *H. J. Res.* 83—Disapproving the rule submitted by the Department of Labor relating to "Clarification of Employer's Continuing Obligation to Make and Maintain an Accurate Record of each Recordable Injury and Illness, Public Law 115-21(latest action on April 3, 2017) (online at https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-joint-resolution/83/actions); Ross Eisenbrey, "Preventing workplace injuries depends on good record-keeping," *Economic Policy Institute* (March 22, 2017) (online at: https://www.epi.org/blog/preventing-workplace-injuries-depends-on-good-record-keeping/)
- 63 National Contract Management Association and Deltek, "Annual Review of Government Contracting: 2016" (online at http://www.ncmahq.org/docs/default-source/default-document-library/pdfs/exec16---book---annual-review-of-government-contracting lowres).
- 64 The White House: President Barack Obama, "FACT SHEET: Fair Pay and Safe Workplaces Executive Order" (July 31, 2014) (online at https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2014/07/31/fact-sheet-fair-pay-and-safe-workplaces-executive-order).
- 65 Senator Elizabeth Warren, *Breach of Contract: How Federal Contractors Fail American Workers on the Taxpayer's Dime* (March 6, 2017) (online at https://www.warren.senate.gov/files/documents/2017-3-6 Warren Contractor Report.pdf).
- 66 The White House: President Barack Obama, "FACT SHEET: Fair Pay and Safe Workplaces Executive Order" (July 31, 2014) (online at https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2014/07/31/fact-sheet-fair-pay-and-safe-workplaces-executive-order).
- 67 Department of Defense, General Services Administration, and National Aeronautics and Space Administration, "Federal Acquisition Regulation; Fair Pay and Safe Workplaces" (August 25, 2016) (online at https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2016/08/25/2016-19676/federal-acquisition-regulation-fair-pay-and-safe-workplaces).
- 68 *H.J.Res.37—Disapproving of the rule submitted by the Department of Defense, the General Services Administration, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration relating to the Federal Acquisition Regulation, Public Law 115-11 (latest action March 27, 2017) (online at https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-joint-resolution/37/actions).*
- 69 "Most Households Approaching Retirement Have Low Savings," Report to the Ranking Member, Subcommittee on Primary Health and Retirement Security, Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions, U.S. Senate, *United States Government Accountability Office* (May 2015) (online at: http://www.gao.gov/assets/680/670153.pdf)
- 70 Nari Rhee, "The Retirement Savings Crisis: Is It Worse Than We Think?" *National Institute on Retirement Security* (June 2013) (online at: http://www.nirsonline.org/storage/nirs/documents/Retirement%20Savings%20Crisis/retirementsavingscrisis_final.pdf)
- 71 Catherine Harvey, "Access to Workplace Retirement Plans by Race and Ethnicity," *AARP Public Policy Institute* (February 2017) (online at http://www.aarp.org/content/dam/aarp/ppi/2017-01/Retirement%20Access%20Race%20Ethnicity.pdf).
- 72 Katie Lobosco, "Congress reverses rule on state retirement plans," CNN Money (May 3, 2017) (online at http://money.cnn.com/2017/05/03/retirement/state-retirement-plans-senate/index.html); Jordain Carney, "Senate votes to eliminate Obama-era retirement rule," The Hill (March 30, 2017) (online at http://thehill.com/blogs/floor-action/senate/326484-senate-votes-to-eliminate-obama-era-retirement-rule); Greg Iacurci, "Congress seeks to kill DOL rules on state, city auto-IRA programs," Investment News (February 8, 2017) (online at http://www.investmentnews.com/article/20170208/FREE/170209912/congress-seeks-to-kill-dol-rules-on-state-city-auto-ira-programs).
- 73 Jonelle Marte, "Senate votes to kill rule that would help states launch retirement plans," *Washington Post* (May 3, 2017) (online at https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/get-there/wp/2017/05/03/senate-votes-to-kill-rule-that-would-help-states-launch-retirement-plans/?utm_term=.04f9f2d8956f).
- 74 Jonelle Marte, "Senate votes to kill rule that would help states launch retirement plans," *Washington Post* (May 3, 2017) (online at https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/get-there/wp/2017/05/03/senate-votes-to-kill-rule-that-would-help-states-launch-retirementplans/?utm_term=.04f9f2d8956f).
- 75 *H.J. Res.* 66—*Disapproving the rule submitted by the Department of Labor relating to savings arrangements established by States for non-governmental employees*, Public Law 115-35 (latest action May 17, 2017) (online at https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-joint-resolution/66).
- 76 H.J. Res. 67—Disapproving the rule submitted by the Department of labor relating to savings arrangements established by qualified State political subdivisions for non-governmental employees, Public Law 115-24 (latest action April 13, 2017) (online at https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-joint-resolution/67).
- 77 H.R. 2723—Employee Rights Act (latest action on June 14, 2017) (online at https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-bill/2723); H.R. 785—National Right to Work Act (latest action on February 1, 2017) (online at https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-bill/2723); H.R. 785—National Right to Work Act (latest action on February 1, 2017) (online at https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-bill/785); S. 545—National Right-to-Work Act (latest action on March 7, 2017) (online at https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-bill/545/related-bills).

- 78 S. 244—David-Bacon Repeal Act (latest action on January 30, 2017) (online at https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-bill/244); H.R. 743—Davis-Bacon Repeal Act (latest action on January 30, 2017) (online at <a href="https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/bill/115th-congress.gov/bill/115th-cong
- 79 H.R. 1180—Working Families Flexibility Act of 2017 (latest action May 3, 2017) (online at https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-bill/1180); S. 801—Working Families Flexibility Act of 2017 (latest action April 3, 2017) (online at https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-bill/801); The White House, "H.R. 1180—Working Families Flexibility Act of 2017 (Rep. Roby, R-AL, and 17 cosponsors)" (May 2, 2017) (online at https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/05/02/hr-1180-%E2%80%93-working-families-flexibility-act-2017-rep-roby-r-al-and-17).
- **80** "National Census of Fatal Occupational Injuries in 2015," Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor (Dec. 16, 2016) (online at: https://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/cfoi.pdf)
- 81 David Cooper & Teresa Kroeger, "Employers steal billions from workers' paychecks each years," *Economic Policy Institute* (May 10, 2017). (online at: <u>http://www.epi.org/publication/employers-steal-billions-from-workers-paychecks-each-year-survey-data-show-millions-of-workers-are-paid-less-than-the-minimum-wage-at-significant-cost-to-taxpayers-and-state-economies/)</u>
- 82 Donald Trump, "Remarks by President Trump at Signing of Executive Order on Regulatory Reform," Office of the Press Secretary, *The White House* (Feb. 24, 2017) (online at: <u>https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/02/24/remarks-president-trump-</u>signing-executive-order-regulatory-reform).
- 83 Daniel Wiessner, "Trump administration moves closer to undoing overtime pay rule," *Reuters* (July 25, 2017) (online at: <u>https://</u>www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-labor-overtime-idUSKBN1AA2DZ)
- 84 Ben Penn, "Next Overtime Rule Battleground: Trump or Clinton Transition," *Bloomberg BNA* (Nov. 3, 2016) (online at: https:// www.bna.com/next-overtime-rule-n57982082188/); Lydia Wheeler, "More than 55 business groups sue over overtime rule," *The Hill* (Sept. 20, 2016) (online at: http://origin-nyi.thehill.com/regulation/labor/296893-more-than-55-business-groups-sue-dol-overovertime-rule)
- 85 "Final Rule to Protect Workers from Beryllium Exposure," Occupational Safety and Heatlh Administration, U.S. Department of Labor (accessed Aug. 14, 2017) (online at: <u>https://www.osha.gov/berylliumrule/</u>); "US Labor Department Announces Delay in Beryllium Rule Effective Date" [press release], United States Department of Labor (March 21, 2017) (online at: <u>https://www.dol.gov/newsroom/releases/osha/osha20170321</u>)
- **86** Lydia Wheeler, "Groups head to White House over beryllium exposure rule," *The Hill* (May 8, 2017) (online at: <u>http://thehill.com/</u>regulation/administration/332381-groups-head-to-white-house-over-beryllium-exposure-rule)
- 87 The exemption means that workers in those industries might not be provided with protective equipment and showers and that their employers may not need to monitor their exposure to beryllium. Sam Pearson, "OSHA: Beryllium Rule Relief for Construction, Maritime Sectors," *Bloomberg BNA* (June 23, 2017) (online at: https://www.bna.com/osha-beryllium-rule-n73014460763/)
- **88** "Final Rule to Protect Workers from Beryllium Exposure," Occupational Safety and Heatlh Administration, U.S. Department of Labor (accessed Aug. 14, 2017) (online at: https://www.osha.gov/berylliumrule/)
- **89** Lindsay Walters, "Press Gaggle by Deputy Press Secretary Lindsay Walters," Office of the Press Secretary, *The White House* (Aug. 3, 2017) (online at: https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/08/03/press-gaggle-deputy-press-secretary-lindsay-walters)
- 90 "OSHA to delay enforcing crystalline silica standard in the construction industry" [press release], Occupational Safety and Health Administration, U.S. Department of Labor (Apr. 6, 2017) (online at: https://www.osha.gov/news/newsreleases/national/04062017)
- 91 "OSHA's Final Rule to Protect Workers from Exposure to Respirable Crystalline Silica," Occupational Safety and Health Administration, U.S. Department of Labor (accessed Aug. 14, 2017) (online at: <u>https://www.osha.gov/silica/</u>)
- **92** Id.
- 93 "Geoffrey Burr," *LinkedIn* (accessed June 26, 2017) (online at https://www.LinkedIn.com/in/geoffrey-burr-71a4225/); U.S. Senate Lobbying Disclosure Act Database, Search for Lobbyist Name "Geoffrey Burr" (online at <u>https://soprweb.senate.gov/index.cfm?even</u> t=selectFields&reset=1);
- 94 "OSHA Delays Enforcement of Silica Rule by Three Months" [press release], Associated Builders and Contractors, Inc. (Apr. 12, 2017) (online at: <u>http://www.abc.org/NewsMedia/Newsline/tabid/143/entryid/8397/osha-delays-enforcement-of-silica-rule-by-three-months.aspx</u>)
- 95 "The Effects of Conflicted Investment Advice on Retirement Savings," Council of Economic Advisers, *Executive Office of the President of the United States* (February 2015) (online at: <u>https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/cea_coi_report_final.pdf</u>)
- 96 Megan Wilson, "Lobbyists head to White House on investment adviser rule," *The Hill* (Feb. 2, 2017) (online at: <u>http://origin-nyi.</u> thehill.com/business-a-lobbying/320019-lobbyists-head-to-white-house-on-investment-adviser-rule)
- **97** Alexander Acosta, "Deregulators Must Follow the Law, So Regulators Will Too," *The Wall Street Journal* (May 22, 2017) (online at: https://www.wsj.com/articles/deregulators-must-follow-the-law-so-regulators-will-too-1495494029)

- 98 Sarah Lynch, "U.S. Labor Department to delay 'fiduciary' rule for 60 days pending review" (Apr. 4, 2017) (online at: http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-labor-fiduciary-idUSKBN1762RE); "Trump delay of the 'fiduciary rule' will cost retirement savers \$3.7 billion" [press release], *Economic Policy Institute* (March 17, 2017) (online at: http://www.epi.org/press/trump-delay-of-the-fiduciary-rule-will-cost-retirement-savers-3-7-billion)
- **99** Sarah O'Brien, "Labor Dept. seeks 18-month delay on parts of investor protection rule," *CNBC* (Aug. 9, 2017) (online at: <u>https://</u>www.cnbc.com/2017/08/09/labor-dept-seeks-18-month-delay-on-parts-of-investor-protection-rule.html)
- 100 Tim Loh, "As Trump Sings Coal's Praises, Mine Fatalities Are on the Rise," *Bloomberg* (Aug. 3, 2017) (online at; <u>https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-08-04/as-trump-sings-coal-s-praises-mine-fatalities-are-on-the-rise</u>); Tim Devaney, "Labor Dept delays Obama-era mine safety rule," *The Hill* (May 22, 2017) (online at: <u>http://www.safetyandhealthmagazine.com/articles/15726-msha-delays-effective-date-of-metal-non-metal-examinations-rule</u>)
- **101** Adele Abrams, "MSHA Workplace Exam Rule Delayed, Challenged in Court," *The American Society of Safety Engineers* (Apr. 10, 2017) (online at: http://www.asse.org/msha-workplace-exam-rule-delayed-challenged-in-court/); "Improving Mine Safety and Health," *National Mine Association* (accessed Aug. 15, 2017) (online at: http://nma.org/category/safety-and-health/)
- **102** Elise Gould, Jessica Schieder, & Kathleen Geier, "What is the gender pay gap and is it real?" *Economic Policy Institute* (Oct. 20, 2016) (online at: http://www.epi.org/publication/what-is-the-gender-pay-gap-and-is-it-real/).
- **103** Valerie Wilson & William Rogers, "Black-white wage gaps expand with rising wage inequality," *Economic Policy Institute* (Sept. 20, 2016) (online at: http://www.epi.org/publication/black-white-wage-gaps-expand-with-rising-wage-inequality/).
- **104** "What You Should Know about EEOC's Proposal to Collect Pay Data," U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (accessed Aug. 20, 2016) (online at: https://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/newsroom/wysk/proposal_pay_data.cfm).
- **105** Daniel Wiessner, "White House blocks Obama-era rule expanding pay data from companies," *Reuters* (Aug. 30, 2017) (online at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-trump-paydata-idUSKCN1BA21Y).
- **106** Ian Kullgren, "OSHA scrubs worker deaths from home page," *Politico* (August 25, 2017) (online at http://www.politico.com/story/2017/08/25/osha-worker-deaths-website-242034).
- 107 Ian Kullgren, "OSHA scrubs worker deaths from home page," *Politico* (August 25, 2017) (online at <u>http://www.politico.com/</u> story/2017/08/25/osha-worker-deaths-website-242034).
- **108** Ian Kullgren, "OSHA scrubs worker deaths from home page," *Politico* (August 25, 2017) (online at <u>http://www.politico.com/</u> story/2017/08/25/osha-worker-deaths-website-242034).
- **109** Kim Soffen & Denise Lu, "What Trump cut in his agency budgets," *The Washington Post* (May 23, 2017) (online at: <u>https://www.</u>washingtonpost.com/graphics/politics/trump-presidential-budget-2018-proposal/)
- 110 U.S. Department of Labor, FY 2018 Department of Labor Budget in Brief (online at https://www.dol.gov/sites/default/files/ FY2018BIB.pdf), p. 7.
- 111 Gregory Krieg and Will Mullery, "Trump's budget by the numbers: What gets cut and why," *CNN Politics* (May 23, 2017) (online at http://www.cnn.com/2017/05/23/politics/trump-budget-cuts-programs/index.html).
- 112 "Job Corps," U.S. Department of Labor (accessed Aug. 14, 2017) (online at: https://www.dol.gov/general/topic/training/jobcorps)
- 113 Jonnelle Marte, "Labor Dept. cuts target job training programs for seniors, disadvantaged youths," *The Washington Post* (March 16, 2017) (online at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/economy/labor-dept-cuts-target-job-training-programs-for-seniors-disadvantaged-youths/2017/03/15/4aba0966-0999-11e7-93dc-00f9bdd74ed1_story.html); U.S. Department of Labor, *FY 2018 Department of Labor Budget in Brief* (online at https://www.dol.gov/sites/default/files/FY2018BIB.pdf), p. 12.
- 114 "U.S. Department of Labor Announced \$1.2M for Women in Apprenticeships" [press release], U.S. Department of Labor (Aug. 9, 2017) (online at: https://www.dol.gov/newsroom/releases/wb/wb20170809)
- 115 "FY 2018 Department of Labor Budget in Brief," U.S. Department of Labor (accessed Aug. 14, 2017) (online at: <u>https://www.dol.gov/sites/default/files/FY2018BIB_0.pdf</u>), p. 10
- 116 "Overview," Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor (accessed Aug. 14, 2017) (online at: https://www.dol.gov/wb/overview_14.htm)
- **117** "About ODEP," Office of Disability Employment Policy, U.S. Department of Labor (accessed Aug. 14, 2017) (online at: https://www.dol.gov/odep/about/) (online at: https://www.dol.gov/odep/about/)
- 118 "Susan Harwood Training Grant Program," Occupational Safety and Health Administration, U.S. Department of Labor (accessed Aug. 14, 2017) (online at: <u>https://www.osha.gov/dte/sharwood/</u>); U.S. Department of Labor, FY 2018 Department of Labor Budget in Brief (online at https://www.dol.gov/sites/default/files/FY2018BIB.pdf), p. 29.
- 119 "About OFCCP," Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP), U.S. Department of Labor (accessed Aug. 14, 2017) (online at: https://www.dol.gov/ofccp/aboutof.html)

Not Working for Workers: How President Trump has betrayed America's workers and undermined the middle class.

- 120 "President Trump's Fiscal Year 2018 Budget: Another Broken Promise to Working People, Students, and Families" [fact sheet], Committee on Education & The Workforce Democrats (online at: http://democrats-edworkforce.house.gov/imo/media/doc/Ed%20 &%20Workforce%20FY18%20Budget%20Fact%20Sheet.pdf); "About NIOSH," The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (accessed Aug. 15, 2017) (online at: https://www.cdc.gov/niosh/ about/); Department of Health and Human Services, Fiscal Year 2018, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention Justification of Estimates for Appropriation Committees (online at https://www.cdc.gov/budget/documents/fy2018/fy-2018-cdc-congressionaljustification.pdf), p. 159.
- 121 Erich Wagner, "Cuts to Feds' Retirement Benefits Among the Top Four 'Savers' in 2018 Budget," *Government Executive* (May 22, 2017) (online at <u>http://www.govexec.com/pay-benefits/2017/05/white-house-federal-retirement-cuts-would-save-63-billion-2027/138065/).</u>
- 122 Erich Wagner, "Cuts to Feds' Retirement Benefits Among the Top Four 'Savers' in 2018 Budget," Government Executive (May 22, 2017) (online at <u>http://www.govexec.com/pay-benefits/2017/05/white-house-federal-retirement-cuts-would-save-63-billion-2027/138065/</u>); Senator Ben Cardin, "The Trump Budget's Assault on Federal Workers," Government Executive (May 31, 2017) (online at http://www.govexec.com/excellence/management-matters/2017/05/trump-budgets-assault-federal-workers/138304/).