



TOWARDS A NEW UNION

CAW CEP Proposal Committee Final Report



August 2012

A message from the Presidents

We are excited, inspired and honored to present this final report of the New Union Project to our respective members and to all Canadians who share our vision of a renewed and strengthened Canadian labour movement.

We want to thank the members of the Proposal Committee and the staff that assisted them for their incredible hard work and this outstanding accomplishment. We would also like to express our appreciation to local union leaders and members who attended the series of regional meetings and shared with us their thoughts and ideas that helped shape this initiative.

This proposal for a new Canadian union will make Canadian labour history. The report speaks for itself and presents a great, new vision for Canadian workers. Our members will now decide this future.



Ken Lewenza
CAW National President



Dave Coles
CEP National President

A message from the Proposal Committee co-chairs

On behalf of the CAW CEP Proposal committee, we are submitting this report for your deliberation and approval. It is our opinion that we have set in place the foundation on which to build, a new and strong, united and activist, Canadian, national union. We hope you agree.

From the start, the Proposal Committee established a process that was unique and which proved very effective. The work of the committee was characterized by open discussion, deepening trust, a commitment to principles, and a clear focus on the issues. This was paralleled by our determination to make sure that the entire process was accountable and as transparent as possible.


We want to thank the committee members for your time, energy and a lot of hard work. But more than that, your willingness to suspend personal interests, your thoughtfulness and your dedication to the process and to the vision of a stronger labour movement has made this report possible. So too, the six staff of the CAW and the CEP who were an integral part of the process. Your support and all the heavy lifting is greatly appreciated

We have been honoured to work with all of you.

We'd also like to thank all those who have participated in the New Union Project. Those who shared their views in the many meetings we've held across the country; those who have raised concerns that we needed to address and those who expressed your support all along the way. We are confident you will see your input reflected in the report.

Many people have worked to make this report possible. To the support staff from both unions who took up the task, to the staff in the Communications departments of our unions and to those who helped in the preparation and design of the final document, thank you.

The Proposal Committee is convinced that by combining our two great unions we can build a stronger and more dynamic union. The new union will be better positioned to protect and advance the interests of our members and it will be a powerful force for union renewal all across the country.



Peter Kennedy
CAW Secretary-Treasurer



Gaétan Ménard
CEP Secretary-Treasurer

Proposal Committee:

CAW

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Secretary-Treasurer

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Chair, GM Master Bargaining Committee

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TOWARDS A NEW UNION

CAW CEP Proposal Committee Final Report

1 TOWARDS A NEW UNION

In January 2012, the CEP and CAW National Executive Boards (NEBs) adopted a joint protocol “to develop and agree upon the main principles of a new Canadian union, with a new identity and structure.”

Each union appointed representatives to a “Proposal Committee” with a mandate to discuss the issues related to the establishment of a new Canadian union and to make proposals for the creation of such a new union.

The Proposal Committee was charged with “consulting the membership and leadership bodies according to the democratic requirements and the constitutional authority of each union” and to prepare a draft report by July 15, 2012 that would be submitted to the CAW convention in August 2012 and to the CEP convention in October 2012.

This is the report of the CAW CEP Proposal Committee. We believe a new, Canadian union will better represent our members, organize and build union power and revitalize and renew the Canadian labour movement.

This new union will be a unified and effective Canadian union acting as one, with robust regional and industrial councils close to the membership. It will be a profoundly democratic union with local unions meeting together in their regions and in annual councils of all local unions across the country. The elected leadership will be overwhelmingly made up of rank and file leaders, and there will be strong leadership commitments to gender equity and diversity.

Perhaps most important, the Proposal Committee envisions a new union that will have the largest organizing capacity, education program and political impact ever assembled by Canadian labour.

We believe a new, Canadian union will better represent our members, organize and build union power and revitalize and renew the Canadian labour movement.

2 OUR MOMENT OF TRUTH – WHY A NEW UNION?

The economic and political context

We all know this is an incredibly challenging, dangerous time for trade unions – not just in Canada, but around the world.

For at least 30 years now, politics in the industrialized economies has been dominated by a tough-love version of capitalism, which we now call “neoliberalism.” It all started around 1980 with the election of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, and the abandonment of full-employment as the main goal of economic policy. It continued with free trade agreements, tax cuts, and the downsizing of government programs. One central goal of neoliberalism has been to roll back and curtail the power of trade unions and collective bargaining.

Canadians have done better than many other countries in resisting this terrible trend, but we have not been immune. Unions have been largely on the defensive in Canada for most of the last three decades. Now the global financial crisis, combined with the election of a majority Conservative government in 2011, has unleashed an all-out bare-knuckled assault on unions and all we stand for.

We must not forget the financial crisis was the result of the unchecked greed, corruption, and speculation of powerful private-sector financial players. Neoliberalism itself – with its deregulation, financialization, and globalization – is to blame for what happened. Yet the rich and powerful segments of society for whom neoliberalism was invented have ironically managed to use the crisis to reinforce their own power. They’ve launched an even more aggressive offensive against workers, their unions, and any policy (including collective bargaining itself) that gives working people any protection amidst the economic turmoil and hardship around us.

De-unionization in Canada's private sector is following the same trend as the U.S., where less than 7% of private sector workers now have the protection of a union.

Just in the last year, governments and employers have unleashed a series of fearsome attacks on Canadian workers and Canadian unions, including challenging the very existence of free collective bargaining (see Under Siege, page 8).

An eroding power base

Trade union membership has been falling steadily as a share of total employment in Canada since the late 1970s – from just under 40%, to around 30% today. This reflects the attack on unionization that has been a key feature of neoliberal policy over that entire period.

However, if anything, that 10-point decline in overall unionization understates the true extent of the problem we face. Unionization in public-sector occupations (including broader public sector services, such as health

This worrisome decline in unionization reflects many causes, including:

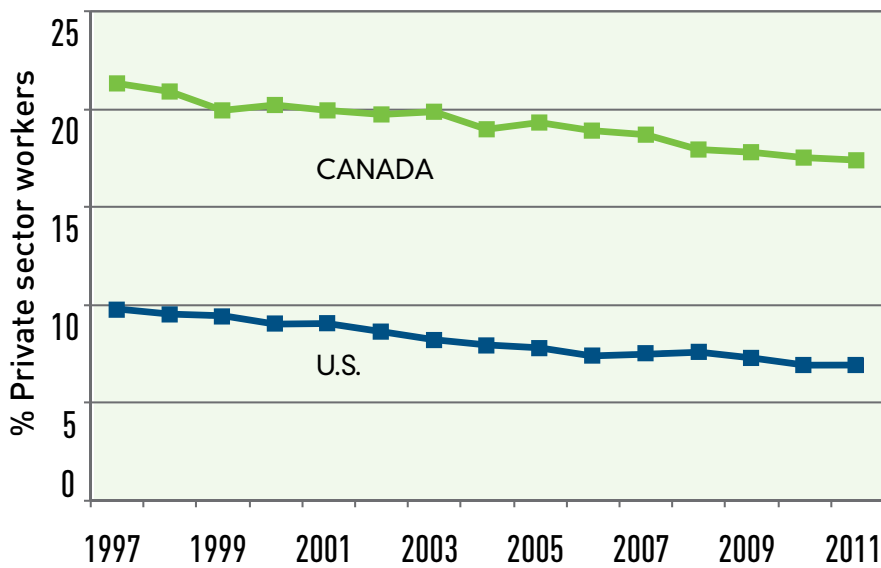
- closure of unionized workplaces, due to bankruptcy or plant relocation;
- failure to unionize growing companies in most sectors, including manufacturing, retail, finance, transportation, mining;
- labour laws that have undermined union organizing, such as the abolition of card-based certification in most jurisdictions;
- more harsh and sophisticated union avoidance tactics by employers, often advised by U.S.-based anti-union consultants;
- failure by government to support unionization in the private sector through effective enforcement of labour laws;
- changing attitudes on the part of non-union workers, many of whom see unions as a special “vested interest,” rather than as a way for them to better their own lives.

This last factor – the more negative attitude of non-union workers toward unions and collective bargaining – may be the most dangerous for unions in the long term. Young people are especially disconnected from unions. Most have never had a union job, and many have no understanding of the history and goals of unions, nor how a union could help to improve the lousy and exploitive working conditions they typically face.

It is not just union membership which has been undermined by three decades of harsh neoliberal policies. Union power has also been eroded, both by declining membership and by the hostile economic and legal context around us. No indicator better summarizes this erosion than the decline in strike frequency (see Figure 2).

Of course, going on strike is never the goal of a union. But the ability to withhold labour is one of our most important tools in fighting for economic progress. Strike frequency has declined by more than 90% in Canada since the peak in the late 1970s. Obviously, workers without a union cannot effectively strike. And those with a union are less willing to use that power, in the face of threats of job loss and other sanctions from aggressive employers. Government intervention further suppresses strike activity. Ironically, in recent years, it is employers (such as Caterpillar and Rio Tinto, and even some public sector employers) who have been more

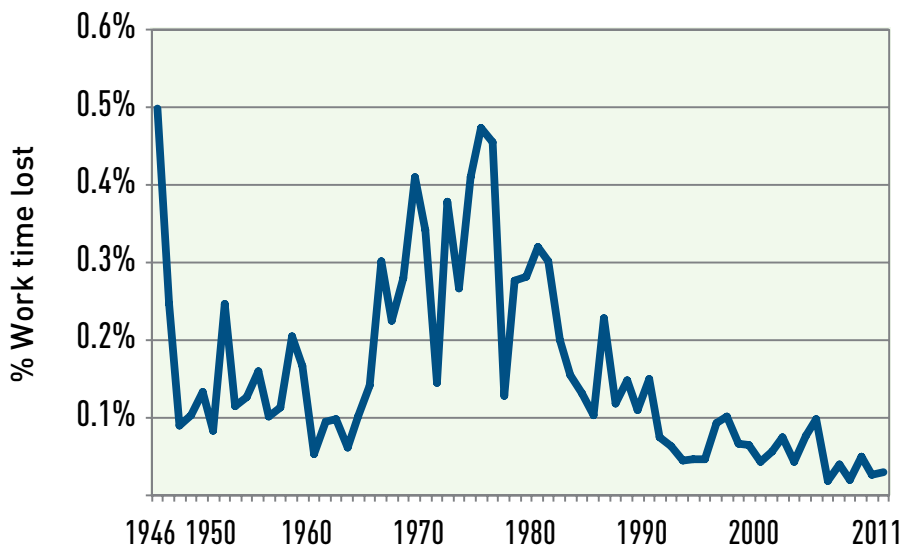
FIGURE 1 | Unionization in Canada and the U.S.



care and education) has remained steady, at around 75% of all workers. Public sector employers never liked unions, and governments have stepped up their economic and political attacks against unions. But in the public sector there is not the same motivation or capacity to destroy unions outright (at least, not yet) as is common in the private sector.

In the private sector of the economy, however, unions are literally fighting for their lives. Unionization in Canada has declined to 17% of private-sector employees (see Figure 1), and falling. Private sector union density is just half of its peak in the late 1970s. De-unionization in Canada's private sector is following the same trend as the U.S., where less than 7% of private sector workers now have the protection of a union.

FIGURE 2 | Incidence of work stoppages



willing to precipitate work stoppages. Lockouts are now a common way for employers to press their advantage and win major concessions.

All of this makes it harder for unions to win a decent share of the economic pie for their members. Average wage increases for unionized workers in recent years have actually lagged slightly behind those for non-union workers in most industries. It still pays to be in the union: average wages are 25% higher than for those without a collective agreement. But unionized employers are clearly taking advantage of a playing field that is tilted heavily in their favour to resist wage increases and depress benefits and standards. And this has a trickle-down impact across the labour market. Canadian workers as a whole are taking home a smaller share of GDP than when unions were stronger.

This redistribution of income away from labour, parallels the growing concentration of wealth in the hands of the very well-off – a negative trend which was highlighted effectively by the Occupy movement, with its campaign on behalf of the “99%”. Research has shown that the richest 1% of Canadians captured fully one-third of all national income gains during the last decade. Working-class Canadians, as a whole, gained almost nothing: real wages have remained stagnant in Canada for the entire period of neoliberalism. And that’s no accident: that was an actual goal of this aggressive pro-business strategy.

Strong unions build a better society

Indeed, the decline in union power affects all of Canadian society, not just union members. International economic evidence is clear that stronger unions exert a broader positive influence over the very nature of society:

- stronger unions are associated with more equal distribution of income within workplaces, and across society;
- higher unionization tends to lift wages in all workplaces (not just unionized ones), in part by pressuring non-union employers to treat their own workers better for fear that they will unionize;
- stronger unions exert political influence which contributes to stronger social security programs, for everyone’s benefit;
- by limiting employers’ power to cut wages during weak economic times, unions help to prevent a dangerous downward cycle in wages and prices called “deflation”;
- unionization is associated with higher average productivity.

In short, stronger unions are clearly associated with a stronger, more inclusive, more stable, and more equal economy in general. Indeed, there is no society in modern history that has attained true mass prosperity – where the strong majority of working people are able to share in the economic gains of development, technology, and productivity – without strong collective bargaining to ensure these gains are broadly distributed. Contrary to the rhetoric of North American union-busters, there are many examples of economically successful countries (in Scandinavia, in continental Europe, in Asia, and in South America) where unionization and collective bargaining are valued as a positive feature of an overall strategy for economic and social development. Our effort to rebuild union strength in Canada can thus be credibly positioned as part of a vision for building a better, more equal and inclusive Canadian economy.

Achieving that will be an essential component of our broader effort to rebuild public confidence and support for unions and collective bargaining.

From understanding to action

These facts are well-known to most trade union leaders and activists in Canada, and in other countries. However, the labour movement has yet to respond with the degree of urgency and creativity that the times demand.

For example, many unions (including the CAW and the CEP) have passed policy papers highlighting the need to organize more members. But few unions have implemented organizing strategies with sufficient resources, leadership, or creativity to make a difference to the negative membership trends discussed above.

Likewise, unions resist concessions and job losses in particular industries and particular workplaces. This resistance is essential, but it needs to be supported by active mobilizations across the entire labour movement, both to support those individual fights, and so that the lessons of these conflicts can be learned by all of society. So far, that broad solidarity around specific historic labour confrontations has been insufficient.

Even worse has been the general passivity and defensiveness of the labour movement in the broader economic and political arenas. The election of a majority



SOCIAL UNIONISM

In addition to effectively representing our members in the workplace and negotiating the best possible collective agreements the role of our union extends to our communities and broader society. Social unionism recognizes that the well being of our members and their families is determined, to a great degree, by social, economic and government policies. Our role is to be a powerful voice and tireless advocate for progressive public policies and social programs. Social unionism sees the labour movement as part of a broader movement for social change. It commits us to working with others to improve not only our own conditions, but the life of others as well.

Harper government, combined with the multitude of historic attacks on specific unions and on collective bargaining in general, should have sparked an ambitious and widespread effort to marshal our forces, resist what is happening, and show Canadians that there is an alternative to neoliberal austerity. In similar circumstances, the Days of Action protests in Ontario in the late 1990s, or the Solidarity campaign in B.C. in the early 1980s, showed that dramatic labour action can shift the direction of political debate. So far, however, and despite very important efforts by individual unions to defend their members and their contracts, the overall fightback we need has yet to materialize.

New union, revitalized movement

Early in the New Union discussions between the CAW and the CEP, the two unions released a discussion paper called A Moment of Truth. This discussion paper reviewed the negative trends described above, and highlighted the need for thorough renewal in our strategies and practices. Our views on the historic challenges facing our movement were not novel. But the mere fact that we said them, generated considerable attention, discussion, and praise. Understanding and confronting the threats facing labour, daunting as they may be, is better than ignoring them and trying to carry on “as usual.”

We view the New Union Project involving the CAW and the CEP as a part of a broader process of renewal and revitalization for the labour movement as a whole. The formation of a new, larger union, incorporating improved practices in all areas of our work (organizing, bargaining, and activism), can be part of a necessary response to a historic challenge facing workers and their unions.

Neither union is driven to consider the proposal to form a new Canadian union out of desperation. Both unions retain considerable strengths, rooted in our bargaining relationships, our strong finances, the active support of our members and activists, and our continuing ability to make a positive difference in the lives of our members, their families and their communities.

We view the formation of a new union, incorporating innovative and effective new structures and practices, as a positive opportunity, not a desperate act. It is a chance to respond to the economic and political challenges that confront us, and to help build the framework for a new generation of union activism.

We believe that many others in the Canadian labour movement will watch our effort with intense interest. They, too, understand that unions must innovate and evolve in order to respond effectively to the challenges of neoliberalism. Many will want to join our new organization, with a new commitment to union renewal and activism, and a new hope.

The impact of the Occupy movement, and the student movement in Quebec, prove clearly that even in the current hostile environment, popular movements can tap into public support – so long as they define the issues correctly, effectively communicate their message, and position themselves as a genuine reflection of grass-roots discontent. The labour movement can spark similar waves of hope and activism.

UNDER SIEGE

Here are some of the attacks on unions and collective bargaining that have been launched in just the first year since Stephen Harper's Conservatives won their majority.

- **Canada Post:** The federal government legislated an end to a management-precipitated lockout at Canada Post – and ordered workers back with a wage deal inferior to what management had already offered!
- **Air Canada:** The federal government threatened to intervene in the CAW strike at Air Canada, and forcibly prevented or ended work stoppages by CUPE, the IAM, and the pilots (sending all matters to arbitration with lopsided terms of reference).
- **CP Rail:** The federal government forcibly ended the Teamsters' strike at Canadian Pacific Rail after 5 days, referring the contract to arbitration.
- **No right to strike:** In just one year, this pattern of federal intervention (including with private companies) makes it clear there is no effective right to strike anymore in the federal sector of the economy. In each case, the government justified its actions by saying the work stoppage could "harm the economy." Obviously, that argument could apply to any strike in any industry!
- **Bill C-377:** Conservative MP Russ Hiebert, with the support of the Prime Minister, has introduced a private members' bill (C-377) that would force all labour organizations (even small local unions) to file and publicize very detailed financial reports, including detailed breakdowns of everything the union spends money on. The bill is justified by the false claim that unions are not "transparent" about their finances (in fact, most unions, including the CAW and CEP, make their audited financial statements publicly available, and most jurisdictions in Canada require annual filing of audited financial statements by certified unions). In reality, Bill C-377 is laying the groundwork for future attacks on political and campaign activities by unions.
- **Public sector austerity and collective bargaining rights:** As governments at all levels impose fiscal austerity to cope with the after-effects of the financial crisis, they often view collective bargaining as an inconvenience or a nuisance. In many jurisdictions, governments are threatening or implementing far-reaching restrictions on free collective bargaining, all justified by deficit hysteria. Right-wing politicians are whipping up anti-union sentiment among taxpayers, blaming public sector workers for fiscal problems that were caused by high finance, not workers.
- **Temporary foreign workers:** The government allowed the expansion and acceleration of "guest worker" programs, permitting employers to cut wages for migrants by 15% below going rates. The measure will be especially helpful for expanding the market share of non-union construction contractors in Alberta and elsewhere. One in four net new jobs created in Canada between 2007 and 2011 went to temporary foreign migrants, who work in sub-standard, vulnerable conditions.
- **Right-to-work in Canada:** Following the lead of right-wing forces in the U.S., several right-wing parties in Canada (including in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Ontario) are now flirting with the idea of right-to-work laws (which would ban traditional union security and dues check-off systems, and thus effectively prohibit stable unionism). The Rand Formula, implemented in 1946 after a historic strike by UAW members at Ford in Windsor, has been the foundation of postwar unionism in Canada – but it is very much in the crosshairs of the right today.
- **The assault on collective bargaining and unions is even worse in the U.S.:** Most dangerous are the incredible restrictions on public-sector unionism in several states (led by Wisconsin's dictatorial banning of public sector bargaining), and the steady expansion of right-to-work laws (now reaching up into traditional midwest industrial states, such as Indiana). If allowed to continue, these developments in the U.S. will exert a growing and dangerous economic and political influence on Canada.

3 SIZE, BREADTH AND SCOPE OF A NEW UNION

A new union will have more than 300,000 members. It will be the largest union in the private sector in the country and we will have members across a wide range of workplaces in the public sector.

The new union will be diverse, among its members are tens of thousands of aboriginal and workers of colour. In addition, the new union will have more than 86,000 women members, a figure larger than the entire membership of many unions.

Our geographic breadth, economic reach and the depth of our locals in communities all across the country creates the base for a powerful, stronger and more dynamic union.

Geographic breadth

We will have members all across the country, in every region and province, in small towns and major urban centers.

Half of our members will live outside of Ontario. One in five members will live in the Western Provinces. In Quebec, there will be more than 50,000 members,

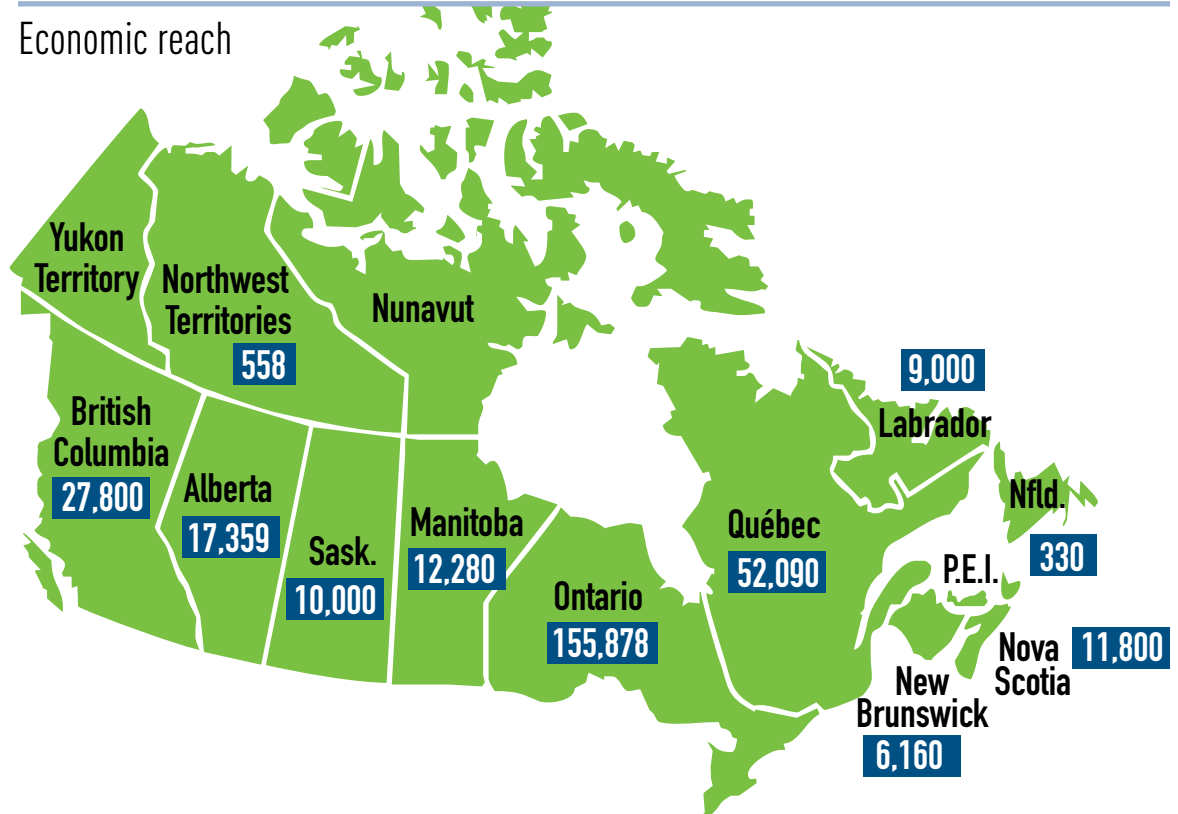
and the Atlantic Provinces will be a strong base of the union's membership. The accompanying map provides a provincial breakout of the new union's members.

Economic reach

The new union will have a major presence in manufacturing, communications, transportation, resources and services. Our members will be in more than 20 economic sectors. The accompanying charts and tables illustrate the extent of the new union's economic reach and identifies the major industries where the new union has a large concentration of members. In many of these sectors, we will be the major union presence and through our numbers and by virtue of our capacity, we will be the union of choice for many unorganized workers.

Our role in representing our members in these industries extends beyond any particular employer. By combining the workplace experience of our members, with our dealings with management and our ongoing relationships with governments, we are uniquely positioned to argue for industrial strategies that promote good jobs and sound economic development. Similarly, our significant base in public sector workplaces, such as education, health and transit, provides the perspective, as well as the responsibility, to promote and advance public policies that are in the interests of our members and the

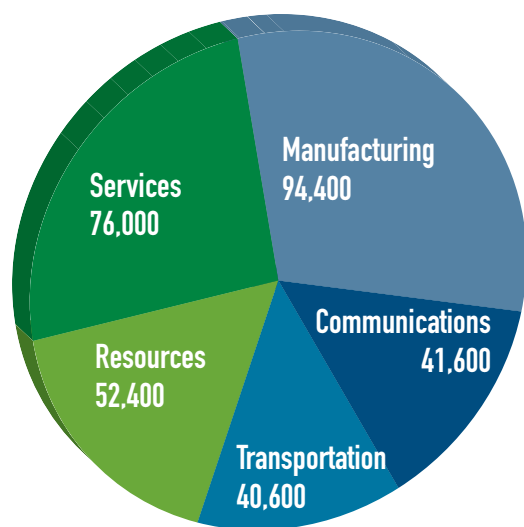
Economic reach



Union membership in major economic sectors

Communications		Transportation		Resources		Manufacturing		Services	
Telecommunications	26,700	Road	18,200	Forestry	21,200	Auto	39,400	Health & Social Services	26,100
Media	14,900	Air	11,600	Energy	20,200	Food & Beverage	12,300	Retail	16,100
		Rail	9,300	Mines & Metals	5,100	Aerospace	9,700	Hospitality & Gaming	15,300
		Marine	1,500	Fisheries	4,400	Truck and Bus	4,500	Education	7,100
				Construction	1,500	Electrical	1,700	Vehicle Services	4,400
						Shipbuilding	1,000	Union & Political Staff	2,600
						Other Manufacturing	25,800	General Workers	4,400
TOTAL	41,600	TOTAL	40,600	TOTAL	52,400	TOTAL	94,400	TOTAL	76,000

TOTAL = 305,000



communities we serve. In addition, the new union will have a particularly strong presence in federally regulated sectors such as communications and transportation. Here we are on the front lines of the federal government's assault on labour rights and are well-placed to respond.

Local unions

Our members are organized in more than 800 local unions and more than 3,000 bargaining units. More than 300 of our locals are amalgamated locals and close to 150 of them have 5 or more units within their jurisdiction. Seventy-four of our locals have in excess of 1,000 members and just over 60% of our members are in these large locals. On the other hand, we have 550 locals with fewer than 200 members and together account for about 13% of our members.

Range of activities

On any given day, in any given week, the range of the new union's activities stretches far and runs deep. Every day, at least one of our bargaining units will be negotiating a new collective agreement. Every day, there will be groups of workers signing cards as a first step in their efforts to form a union in their workplaces. Every day, there will be an educational program in which our members are developing the tools for union representation and the analysis for social change.

All across the union, thousands of activists will be working on standing committees in local unions at regional councils and at the national level. All across the union, thousands of local union leaders will be working with community partners, supporting community groups, building community coalitions and speaking out against injustice. All across the union, thousands of union representatives in our workplaces will be negotiating agreements and representing our members at work. All across the union, thousands of members will be involved in union campaigns.

The new union will have more than 20,000 workplace representatives and local leaders. To those considerable ranks are added thousands more members who are union activists but don't hold an official position in the union. To those numbers are added thousands of members who are engaged with their union and involved in their communities. When all of these union members reach out to the tens of thousands more like-minded in our communities, we will build a broad-based movement for social change.

The new union will be a large, diverse and active ‘general workers’ union. We will be a union that has crossed and blurred old occupational lines and traditional union boundaries. Our new union will represent another stage in the development of unions. In the early days of craft unionism, solidarity was based on common occupations. At the peak of industrial unions, solidarity

was extended across occupational lines to include workers across skills and jobs within a particular industry or sector. Today, our solidarity is more powerful because it builds class consciousness by strengthening the ties that unite us across jobs, industries and geography in our new union.



FROM THE MEDIA

Labour watchers say a new union between the CAW, which represents about 200,000 workers, and CEP, which has about 125,000 members, would mark the biggest single merger in the history of the labour movement here. The CAW and CEP are already among the 10 biggest unions in Canada.

“This would certainly be the largest among mergers in the private sector,” said Robert Hickey, an assistant professor of industrial relations at Queen’s University.

The merger talks come as top labour leaders are becoming increasingly worried about the waning influence of unions while corporations and governments wield more power that is undermining workers.

Furthermore, unions are trying to find more efficient ways to represent workers as membership levels remain flat or fall, and finances become tighter. It has prompted some smaller unions to look for bigger partners.

“We’re trying to figure out how the labour movement is going to look in five years and how do we strengthen the commitment to our members,” Lewenza said.

— *Toronto Star*, December 16, 2011

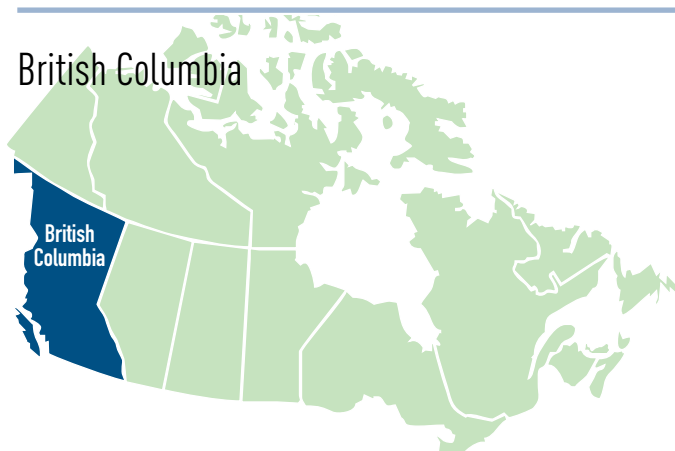
There is a new Canadian Union on the horizon. With more than 300,000 members, this yet unnamed union will be the largest private-sector labour organization in Canada. It will have members in many strategic economic sectors including telecom, manufacturing, forestry, paper, transportation, energy, mining, fisheries, printing and others. Its creation will be the result of a process of discussion and debate not seen previously in recent labour history. As such, it has the potential to initiate a new discussion about how the labour movement can meet the challenges presented by the anti-labour offensive currently being waged by capital.

Given their reputations for innovative thinking, and the fact that both the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers (CEP) and the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) are themselves the products of a series of union mergers, it should come as little surprise that these two unions would consider negotiating a merger. What is surprising, and refreshing, is the manner in which they are going about it.

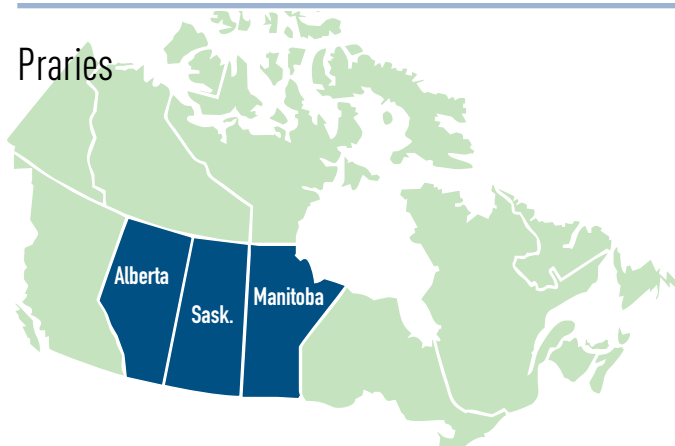
It takes a lot to overcome the cynicism and self-victimization that characterizes so much of left working-class culture. Let’s hope the CEP and CAW can do just that and build a new union that will provide change and inspiration to the labour movement.

— **Geoff Bickerton**, *Canadian Dimension*

MEMBERSHIP BY REGION



Region	Members	Locals
Greater Vancouver	12,450	21
Kitimat	1,075	4
Victoria	1,144	2
B.C. Other	4,193	28
Province-wide total	9,135	12
Total	27,997	67



Region	Members	Locals
Calgary	2,289	6
Edmonton	4,629	14
Fort McMurray	3,623	1
Alberta Canada-wide locals	3,494	10
Alberta other total	3,397	23
Moose Jaw	601	3
Regina	5,086	10
Saskatoon	2,066	9
Saskatchewan other	1,888	3
Saskatchewan Canada-wide locals	594	6
Winnipeg	9,402	17
Manitoba other	278	3
Manitoba Canada wide locals	2,685	8
Total	40,032	113



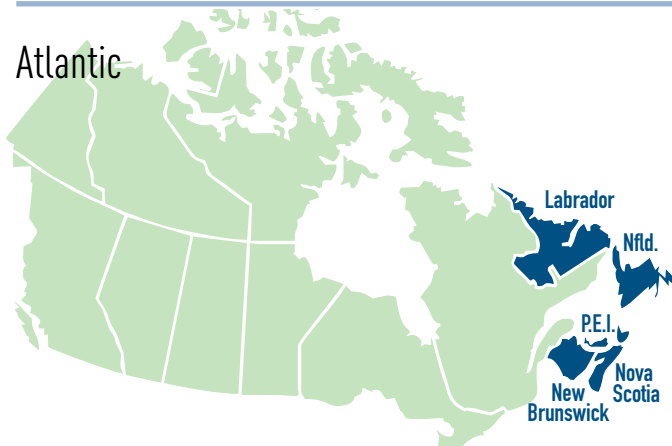
Region	Members	Locals
Belleville-Peterborough	4,644	16
Brantford	537	7
Chatham Kent	2,129	6
Greater Toronto West	21,176	38
Hamilton	4,697	5
Kingston-Cornwall	689	13
Kitchener-Guelph	5,541	10
London	13,230	10
Niagara Peninsula	4,059	12
Northeast Ontario	5,206	27
Northwestern Ontario	1,094	9
Oshawa/ Greater Toronto East	13,096	9
Ottawa	5,548	20
Sarnia	1,521	2
Thunder Bay	3,854	8
Toronto/ Greater Toronto North	16,668	33
Windsor	21,958	16
Woodstock-Ingersoll	5,841	7
Province-wide total	2,949	2
Ontario other	2,584	22
Canada-wide locals	18,983	12
Total	156,004	284

Québec



Region	Members	Locals
Amos/Val-d'Or	1,074	4
Baie Comeau/ Sept-Iles	1,012	4
Drummondville	1,335	6
Greater Montreal	24,125	110
Matane	623	5
Quebec Other	2,199	21
Outaouais	1,325	17
Quebec City and region	6,194	28
Saguenay	4,405	16
Shawinigan/ Grand-Mere	224	7
Sherbrooke	355	4
Trois-Rivieres	1,595	17
Canada-wide locals	7,829	10
Total	52,295	249

Atlantic



Region	Members	Locals
Prince-Edward- Island	263	6
Halifax	3,786	12
Nova Scotia other	2,812	21
Pictou-Antigonish	1,079	6
Sydney Region	3,406	12
Canada-Wide Locals NS	895	6
Edmundston	303	4
Moncton	512	8
New Brunswick other	2,849	33
Saint John	1,570	10
Canada-Wide Locals NB	893	6
Corner Brook	255	5
Newfoundland Other	455	4
St John's	1,506	5
Canada-Wide Locals NFLD	6,745	7
Total	27,329	145



4 PROCESS

In January of 2012, the National Executive Boards of CEP and the CAW adopted a “protocol” document to explore opportunities for a new union. The discussion was to be framed by our commitment to respect each other’s democratic process. The process was to be open and transparent and unlike anything seen in the past. From the start, the goal was to go well beyond the talk of a traditional merger and to see the project, instead, as the creation of something new.

Each NEB appointed 8 representatives to the “Proposal Committee” to carry out these discussions and report back to the respective conventions: the CAW, August 20-24, 2012 and the CEP, October 14-17, 2012.

The Proposal Committee’s goal was to identify the characteristics of a new union, to propose the structure

and governance of the union, to consider questions of dues and finances and propose a road map that would be recommended to our respective conventions.

The Proposal Committee broke the mold of traditional merger negotiations both in style and substance. What we set out to accomplish, and did accomplish, in the New Union process, was a series of unprecedented discussions amongst the Proposal Committee members where nothing was taken for granted and everything ‘on the table’ was reviewed from the perspective of union renewal – improving our democratic processes, our diversity, our effectiveness, being better able to engage our members and achieve our stated goals.

Our approach to doing things differently inside the Committee was paralleled with an open process that regularly reported on the work of the Committee to our leadership and membership at every stage of the discussions.

The discussion paper “A Moment of Truth for

CHRONOLOGY

Summer 2011

Initial leadership discussions.

November 2011

Small group meetings of top elected leadership of both unions.

January 2012

Joint “protocol” developed and approved by the NEBs of both unions.

Proposal committee is formed, comprised of eight representatives and three resource staff from each union.

February 2012

National Staff meetings held in Toronto by both unions to discuss the adopted protocol, discuss the process and introduce the Proposal Committee.

CAW & CEP joint workshop held with staff and NEB members, where invited outside resource people prominent in labour issues lead a discussion on union renewal, new ways of organizing and innovative union practices and structures.

CAW Skilled Trades Council with CEP participants in Toronto.

First meeting of the Proposal Committee to map out the work-plan, identify areas of investigation and discussion.

Committees established to work on particular issues such as finances and dues, Industry Councils and organizing.

The organizing committee held two workshops with the union’s organizers, member organizers and NEB in Trois Riviere and Toronto to recommend a strategic approach to organizing.

Each of the committees brought back written reports and draft recommendations to the entire committee.

March to June 2012

The Proposal Committee met five times, for three to four days each, in Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal. We began by comparing CEP and CAW current practices, identifying similarities and differences, and determining key items for decision. Subjects for discussion included the structure and governance of the new union, the name and identity of the new union, the role of local unions and community unionism, dues and finances, industry and regional issues, diversity and equity, organizing, political action, education, servicing and bargaining, new types of membership and mechanisms to deal with constitutional issues, transition, next steps and the content of this report.

The dedicated website was developed and launched to publish all our papers, process and reports after each Proposal Committee session and collect feedback from members (March 12, 2012).

During this period, both NEBs held their regular meetings, as well as special ones, to review and support the process along the way.

June and July 2012

Report writing, finalizing and preparing for both conventions and final review from both NEBs.



www.newunionproject.ca

Canadian Labour” formed the basis of what we wanted to accomplish through this process, including the goals of greater collective bargaining strength, membership engagement, a strategic organizing model for growth and activism, more political influence for progressive social change and a new model for community unionism.

The Proposal Committee’s commitment to transparency was reflected in many ways during this period. We had open and candid information sharing amongst the two unions. We set up a dedicated website to provide frequent reports, with the members of both unions receiving the same information at the same time. Members could send in their feedback, comments and concerns to the committee. We posted communiqués after each meeting of the Proposal Committee to ensure everyone was up to date with our progress.

The Proposal Committee consulted leadership bodies on the process, accomplishments and challenges that were faced during the talks. We respected the democratic requirements and the constitutional authority of each union. We engaged our membership in the discussions, which included visiting locals and attending Regional

and Sectoral Council meetings, educational events, conferences, and meetings of various structural bodies of both unions.

In addition, the Proposal Committee organized a cross-country tour that visited Vancouver, Winnipeg, St. John’s, Halifax, Edmonton, Toronto, Quebec City and Regina. On the tour, Committee co-chairs, Gaetan Menard and Peter Kennedy met with local leadership and reported on the work-to-date of the proposal committee, which was followed by an open question and answer period. Active, and at times intense discussions, took place on issues of first principles and proposed structure for the new union. More than 1,000 union leaders came out to these meetings, which were great opportunities for local leaders in both unions to get acquainted with each other and to voice their views on the new union project.

The Committee made incredible progress in a short time and met the time lines that the joint protocol established. We received feedback from our leadership and members in a variety of ways and discussed and incorporated the input.

FROM THE MEDIA

Two Canadian unions are negotiating a deal that, if successful, just might reinvigorate the labour movement...

How do unions make this leap? In part, the new proposal harkens back to an earlier era when unions, such as the 19th-century Knights of Labour, acted more like fraternal organizations than modern-day collective bargaining units.

Unions got their start in those days by offering members tangible benefits, ranging from burial insurance to summer camp for the kids.

The CEP-CAW scheme echoes this with its suggestion of letting those outside of traditional bargaining units participate in union-sponsored benefit plans.

With its talk of organizing the jobless, the proposal also harkens back to similar attempts ... in the 1930s.

And the idea of unifying workers as a class is as old as the labour movement itself, dating back to the radical Industrial Workers of the World, or Wobblies, and Canada’s short-lived One Big Union.

That labour is even talking about such things is a great step forward.

— Thomas Walkom, *Toronto Star*, May 23 201

5 A NEW UNION WITH A NEW IDENTITY AND NAME

The work of the Proposal Committee since January and the outreach to the membership of each union has confirmed the vision that launched the New Union Project. The following proposals set out the main structural features and operating principles of such a new union. These agreements go beyond just blending existing structures and principles and propose a dynamic new organization that will be a powerful force in Canadian labour and society.

New identity and name

We propose that the new union will adopt a new identity that offers a distinct and new appeal to our existing members and to hundreds of thousands of Canadian workers who will be invited to join our ranks.

This identity will be shaped by many factors, including the founding principles and purposes that are adopted, the bold actions we take and the social solidarity and respect we provide to each other and to our communities.

The new union should also have a new name and a new logo. In discussions held with members over the previous months, there was a clear and overwhelming consensus that the name should reflect the values, scope and actions of the union, rather than a description of member occupations.

It is therefore proposed that following agreement at both unions' conventions to create a new union, a process to select a name and logo be put in place, including membership involvement, professional advice and appropriate testing. The name of the new union and its logo shall be approved by the founding convention and incorporated in the Constitution of the new union.

We form our union at a time that is both troubling and critical: a time when the power of corporations and bankers has no limits; when progress has been replaced by a relentless race to the bottom.

6 FOUNDING PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES OF A NEW UNION

Forming a new union involves drafting a new constitution, a task well beyond the mandate of the Proposal Committee. We did, however, commit to develop a broad set of founding principles, a detailed set of objectives and a description of the central characteristics of the new union.

What follows is the drafting of those items. The section starts with a Preamble that sets the context for the birth of a new union. This is followed by a description of the founding principles and central features of the new union. The section ends with a set of objectives that brings together 'Article 2' from both the CAW and the CEP Constitutions in a way that updates the language and provides a structure for the discussion. We have included some additional elements to the list of Article 2 objectives, in line with our discussions at the Proposal Committee and the suggestions of participants at the Joint meetings.

Preamble

We form our union at a time that is both troubling and critical; a time when the power of corporations and bankers has no limits; when progress has been replaced by a relentless race to the bottom.

We form our union at a time when our economy is being hollowed, our democracy eroded and when governments have abandoned social progress in the name of austerity.

We form our union at a time when too many workers are struggling to hang on to the hard-won gains of the past; when the aspirations of too many young people have been battered; when the future for too many of our neighbours is one of growing insecurity and declining quality of life.

We form our union at a time when the wealth we create is captured by a small and over-privileged elite; when our jobs are outsourced and threatened; when work has become precarious and when our rights and well-being at work are in jeopardy.

We form our union at a time when our world is rocked by social upheaval and our very planet is threatened by environmental degradation and climate change.

We form our union as an act of hope: That good jobs and economic progress will still be won: That our workplaces will become safer, our jobs more secure, our wages and benefits more rewarding and our lives at work defined by dignity and respect.

We form our union in the determination that equality and social justice will be achieved, that our young will have a brighter future and that through our actions, our world will be made a different and better place.

We form our union in the commitment to fight for all of that, and more. And we form our union in the determination to succeed.

It is through our union that we come together and become more than employees. It is through our union that we find our strength and build our power. It is through our union that we express our common goals, support each other, and develop lasting bonds of friendship and solidarity. It is through our union that we protect and advance our interests and build our capacity to act for ourselves and with others.

Statement of principles

Democratic

Our union is a voluntary organization that belongs to its members. It is controlled by members and driven by members. Its role is to serve their collective interests in the workplace and in our communities. The democratic life of our union is shaped by the essential ingredient of democratic participation. Democratic values are the foundation of all that we do. Our commitment to the principles and practices of democratic unionism define who we are and are reflected in our rules, structures and processes.

United

Unity is the process of transforming individual aspirations into collective interests and action. It is based on equality. It is forged in diversity. It is strengthened by solidarity. As we overcome the divides of geography, the barriers of separate workplaces and occupations, and the differences of race and gender, age and background, we build a unified working class organization.

Open and inclusive

An engaged membership is critical to our union's success. Engagement happens when ideas are welcome, involvement is encouraged and when the union actively develops the skills and understanding of its members.

In our efforts to be inclusive, we open the union to new members and a broader definition of membership, and we ensure that our union reflects the diversity of our membership and communities.

Solidarity

Our union is more than an aggregate of individual members. The union is shaped by our relationships, by how we treat and care for each other. Our commitment to solidarity speaks to the significance of the language of 'union sister' and 'union brother'. It is evident in the day-to-day bonds of fellowship and friendship; it is found in the expressions of respect and mutual support; and it is witnessed in the acts of cooperation and interdependence, and by our commitment to anti-harassment.

Solidarity is how we pay tribute to the fact that an injury to one is an injury to all. It is how we acknowledge that what we want for ourselves, we want for others. And it is how we demonstrate our resolve and determination to make it so.

Accountable and transparent

Our union is committed to good governance, fair representation and clear rules and practices. The principle of accountability will be apparent in all our decision making and actions. And the practice of transparency will be evident in our procedures. Our reporting, financial and otherwise, will be timely and reliable and our decision making will be clear and relevant.

Effective

Our union will react quickly, respond effectively, act decisively and maintain a clear focus on our objectives. This requires the development of skilled, competent and capable leaders and staff. It further requires sufficient resources (people and money) effectively used.

Dynamic

We are building an organization that is innovative, always reviewing, evolving and improving. In our union, change is a constant. We are committed to learn from our efforts, modify our practices, and adopt new ways of conducting our activities.

Militant

Our goal is an organization capable of vigorously defending ourselves, protecting and advancing our interests and fighting for all workers.

Progressive

Our goal is transformative. To reassert common interest over private interest. Our goal is to change our



workplaces and our world. Our vision is compelling. It is to fundamentally change the economy, win equality and social justice, restore and strengthen our democracy and achieve an environmentally sustainable future. This is the basis of social unionism – a strong and progressive union culture and a commitment to work in common cause with other progressives in Canada and around the world.



Objectives

The objectives of the new union are:

In our workplaces

- To promote and safeguard collective bargaining and to strengthen practices of more broadly based bargaining, including coordinated and pattern bargaining.
- To improve wages, pensions and benefits, hours of work, employment security and working conditions through collective bargaining and political action.
- To protect and strengthen our rights at work.
- To strive for a safe and healthy work environment.
- To ensure fair treatment and dignity and respect at work.
- To make workplaces more democratic..
- To organize the unorganized.

For our members

- To ensure equality regardless of race, sex, creed, colour, marital status, sexual orientation, gender identity, disability, religion, political affiliation or place of origin.
- To guarantee that every member receives equal treatment (under the constitution).
- To ensure that our union is committed to the principles and practices of democratic unionism.
- To guarantee accountability and transparency in our decision making and our actions.
- To ensure that our union belongs to its members, is driven by their common objectives and provides ample opportunities for democratic participation.
- To ensure that our union reflects the diversity of our members and communities.
- To provide opportunities for education and development so that our members build awareness and analysis, get more involved in the union and their communities.

Leadership

The responsibility of leadership is to build the strategic determinants of union strength – membership levels, bargaining power, mobilizing capacity, political influence – and to guide and shape the union with a compelling vision. The role of leadership is to inspire and motivate and to ensure that we achieve all of the above, as well as the following objectives:

- To provide opportunities for workers not in regular employment situations to join our union.
- In our communities
- To fight for good jobs in our communities and throughout the economy.
- To provide support to those in need.
- To build our union's presence in the community and encourage our members to be involved in all aspects of community life.
- To work in common cause with other progressives to promote social justice and environmental sustainability at a community level.
- To work on labour-based campaigns with other affiliates of local Labour Councils.
- To encourage unorganized workers to join our union and be open to new members in our communities.

In broader society

- To safeguard, protect and extend freedom, civil liberties, democracy and democratic trade unionism.
- To be broadly politically active at the municipal, provincial and federal levels and to mount issue-based campaigns.
- To fight for social and economic reform by giving priority to good jobs, equality and social justice.
- To protect and safeguard the health and safety of the planet by supporting the goal of an environmentally sustainable future.
- To build and unify the labour movement and to act in solidarity with other labour organizations in Canada and throughout the world with objectives similar to ours.
- To support and work in common cause with progressive organizations in Canada and around the world.
- To resist corporate globalization and provide alternatives to job-destroying trade deals.
- To work to end war and contribute to world peace.

7 STRUCTURE AND GOVERNANCE OF A NEW UNION

The Proposal Committee believes that the key goal for the governance structure is to build an effective, democratic and militant union. A democratic and effective structure must also reflect the regional characteristics of Canada, including the distinctness of Quebec, while ensuring a cohesive, unified Canadian union that will act quickly and decisively.

In its discussions on structure, the Proposal Committee developed 12 principles which must underlie the governance and operations of the new union (see below).

These principles are at the core of this proposed structure which has been detailed to give a clear picture of how a new union would be governed. However, it was not the role of the Proposal Committee to draft a constitution

or constitutional language. This would be a task for both unions to undertake after their respective conventions mandate the creation of a new union.

The proposed structure, from the base to the leadership, will include the following bodies and principles:

Local unions

All members will belong to local unions or other chartered bodies of the national union. All existing local unions of CAW and CEP shall continue as successor chartered local unions of the new union.

Convention

The convention is the highest authority of the new union and is made up of delegates from all local unions. The convention will be fully translated and interpreted in Canada's official languages. The convention will meet every three years.

Our structural goals and principles

Establishing a new union would necessitate many specific decisions regarding the detailed governance and accountability structures of the new union. Our work in this regard is guided by our overarching general goal: to build an effective, democratic, militant union.

Members of the Proposal Committee agreed that the structure of a new union must aim to embody the following goals and principles:

- The new union must be democratic, progressive and active, and committed to the principles and practices of social unionism.
- The new union must structure and organize itself to provide excellent service to its members, to organize new members, to fight on behalf of all workers (our members and others), and to campaign for progressive change in all areas of society.
- The new union's democracy would be governed by the "rank and file principle," fostering maximum involvement by rank-and-file members at all levels of the union's democracy.
- The new union's power will be rooted in strong local unions, and capable, accountable local leadership.
- The national character of Québec will be reflected in the structure of the new union.
- The new union must be able to make decisions effectively, quickly, and flexibly, responding rapidly and powerfully to issues and situations.
- The new union must be able to act in a unified, united, integrated manner – as "one union".
- Leadership in the new union must be collective and accountable, implemented by a leadership team.
- The new union must be financially strong, including a strong defence fund, with rigorous audit and financial control.
- The new union will be fully committed to equity and inclusion, with strong representation and forums for women, racialized and aboriginal workers, LGBT members, workers with disabilities, young workers, and other equity-seeking segments of our membership, at all levels of the union.
- The new union will be supported by the efforts and skills of engaged and committed staff.
- The structure of the new union must be open to new members, through many channels: new organizing, mergers with other unions, and possibly new forms of membership (such as individual or associate membership).

Regional Councils, Quebec Council and Canadian Council

All local unions will be members of Regional Councils or the Quebec Council at the base of the union, and these five councils will be represented in a Canadian Council that will bring together all local unions from all of Canada.

The Councils of the new union will be democratic forums to ensure accountability and membership direction of the union's activities. At each meeting of the Canadian Council, Regional Councils and the Quebec Council, full reports will be provided by the respective national officers and staff on the affairs of the union.

The Canadian Council will meet each year in which there is no convention, ensuring that all local unions in the country meet together at least once per year. All meetings of the Canadian Council will be fully translated and interpreted.

The executive of the Canadian Council will be composed of the national officers and the elected chairpersons of the Regional Councils and the Quebec Council.

In addition to the Quebec Council, the proposed Regional Councils are:

- British Columbia Council
- Prairies Council
- Ontario Council
- Atlantic Council

Local unions will elect delegates to attend the meetings of the Regional Councils and the Quebec Council that will be held at least once per year, and the locals will pay a constitutional per capita to fund their activities.

The Regional Councils and the Quebec Council will elect a rank and file Chairperson and an executive, as well as establishing standing committees on issues of concern such as health and safety, women and equity seeking groups, environment, political action, organizing and others. Like the union as a whole, the Councils will be urged to shape their bylaws and structures, taking into account diversity and equity goals. The Councils will have the responsibility to help organize and build the union and conduct campaigns on provincial and regional affairs, including matters pertaining to Federations of Labour, community coalitions, and elections. The Councils may also adopt resolutions with respect to their jurisdiction providing they are consistent with the national policies of the union.

The elected Chairpersons of the Regional Councils and the Quebec Council will be members of the union's National Executive Board.



The Regional Councils and the Quebec Council: a new democratic force for union activism and strength

The new union will be based on new regional structures that bring together all local unions in each region and Quebec with the mandate, authority and resources to shape and direct union activities in their jurisdiction. The Councils will be forums of accountability and organizing centres that will involve and engage thousands of local union activists in the life of the union.

The Councils have been designed to ensure that each has the resources to be effective. In BC, the Council will bring together 67 local unions representing 28,000 members. There will be 113 local unions and 40,000 members in the Prairie Council. Ontario will have 284 locals and 156,000 members. The Atlantic Council will have 138 local unions and 27,000 members. The Quebec Council will have 249 local unions and 52,000 members.

What would be on the agenda of a Regional Council or the Quebec Council?

- The election of their executive and Chairperson (who will also be elected to the National Executive Board and the executive of the Canadian Council).
- Reports from National Officers, Regional Directors and Staff – and debate on those reports.
- Debate and discussions on provincial and local elections, labour movement issues, campaigns or other issues within the region.
- Reports from and direction to Standing Committees on equity, safety, education, politics, organizing and more.
- Education, organizing and union services. Information about what is being organized in the union and discussion about what the locals need.
- Special campaigns of solidarity with local unions fighting for decent contracts and to save jobs.
- Resolutions to national conventions and the Canadian Council.
- Reports from local unions.
- And many more issues, concerns and actions that the members and local unions want their union to address.

The Proposal Committee has agreed that all rank and file positions on the NEB shall be elected and accountable.

National Executive Board

The National Executive Board is the highest authority of the union between conventions and will meet a minimum of 3 times per year.

The NEB will have 25 members, reflecting a balance of regional, industrial, gender and equity representation. Based on the rank and file principle, 19 of the 25 members will be rank and file leaders. These 19 members include:

- 5 elected Chairpersons of the Regional Councils and the Quebec Council
- 1 representative of racialized and aboriginal workers
- 1 representative from skilled trades
- 1 representative from retirees
- 11 representatives from Industry Councils

The Proposal Committee has agreed that all of these rank and file positions on the NEB shall be elected and accountable. While representing distinct groups in the union, all Executive Board members shall have a responsibility to advance and protect the interests of the entire membership.

The Regional Chairpersons and the Chair of the Quebec Council shall be elected by local union delegates in their respective Councils. The Racialized and Aboriginal Worker Representative shall be selected by their peers at a national conference of aboriginal workers and workers of colour. This conference will include the standing committees on racialized and aboriginal issues that will be established within the Regional and Quebec Councils of the new union. The conference will also determine the description and language that will be used to describe aboriginal workers, racialized and workers of colour in the structures and communications of the new union.

The election of the 11 members of the National Executive Board from Industry Councils will be by a vote of the delegates to the Canadian Council. Candidates will be nominated by Industry Councils. The National Executive Board will receive the nominations and present recommendations to the delegates of the Canadian Council that meet the constitutional requirements for gender, regional and industry representation. Throughout this process, there will be regular consultation with the Industry Councils and the NEB recommendation of any individual will be mutually agreed with the appropriate Industry Council.



The first National Executive Board will include representation from seven existing CAW sectors and from four CEP sector groups, including telecom, media, forestry and energy.

The NEB will also include 6 full time positions:

- President
- Secretary-Treasurer
- Quebec Director
- 3 Regional Directors - Atlantic, Ontario and Western Canada

The NEB will be based on a principle of gender equity with provisions in the constitution requiring that the number of women on the Executive Board is at least equal to the proportion of women members in the union.

The NEB will also have a principle of regional balance with a provision in the constitution to ensure that members from any one region may not hold more than 13 of the 25 seats on the Executive Board.

National Officers

The union will have 3 full time national officers: the President, Secretary-Treasurer and the Quebec Director. The President and the Secretary-Treasurer will be elected by the convention for three-year terms. The Quebec Director will be elected by the Quebec Council immediately prior to convention and affirmed for a three-year term by the convention.

Regional Directors

The 3 Regional Directors will have responsibility for the Atlantic Region, the Ontario Region and Western Canada, which will be comprised of the BC and Prairie Regions. The Regional Directors will also be elected by the entire convention for three-year terms, but they will be nominated from within their region at a meeting of their region's delegates at convention.

The Regional Directors will report to the President of the union and have political, administrative, and bargaining leadership responsibilities.

The national officers and regional directors will be a team working together and, with the entire National Executive Board, form a collective and accountable leadership.

Staff

The staff of the new union are appointed by the President. They will be an integral part of union leadership and



activism, working with local union leadership to provide services to members.

Assistants to the President, Secretary-Treasurer and Quebec Director will act on behalf of the national officers in carrying out the responsibilities of the national union.

National Representatives will work out of area offices, coordinated by Area Directors. All Representatives and the Area Directors will report to the President through the Regional Directors and the Quebec Director.

Staff in specialized departments, Department Directors, and Industry Directors will work out of the union's Canadian offices and report directly to the President and Secretary-Treasurer.

All National Representatives and Area Directors, Department staff, Department and Industry Directors will report regularly on their assignments and activities to meetings of the Canadian Council and to their relevant Regional Council or Quebec Council.

Industry Councils

The new union recognizes the important role that Industry Councils can play in bringing together locals in the same or similar industries. As our union becomes larger and more diversified in industrial and occupational terms, structures where our leadership and activists can focus on common issues that arise within their industry become more important.

INDUSTRY COUNCILS

The term Industry Councils, is a broad one and refers to formal groupings of local unions within an economic sector. It encompasses workplaces in both the private and public sector and can be based on tightly defined industries, broad economic sectors or even groupings of occupations.

Building on current Industry Councils

The founding unions already have experience with Industry Councils. Some Councils are organized on the basis of broad industry groupings such as the Media Council in the CEP. Others are more narrowly defined such as the Forge and Foundry Council in CAW. Some play a major role in bargaining such as the Energy group in the CEP and the GM, Ford, and Chrysler Councils in the CAW. Other Councils do not have a direct role in bargaining.

Some Councils are provincial in scope, such as the Ontario Communication Council of the CEP or the Atlantic Health Care Council of the CAW while others

are national. Some Councils, such as the Education, Technical, Office and Professional Council (ETOP) are defined more in occupational terms, while others (most) cut across occupational groups. In the new union, this pattern of flexible development for Industry Councils will continue.

The new union will identify and recognize the existing Industry Councils and will establish a process for developing additional councils. This process will be written into the Constitution.

Formation of Industry Councils

When a group of local unions in an industrial sector has reached a critical mass and expresses a commonality of interest, they can jointly propose the formation of an Industry Council to the President's office for recommendation to the National Executive Board. The proposal will include a description of the objectives, governance, bylaws and financing of the Council. Once an Industry Council is established, all locals in the industry will be invited and encouraged to join.

The local unions will decide on the form and size of their Industry Council executive, and delegates to the meeting will elect rank and file leadership from the member locals to the executive. The local unions will finance the Industry Council through a per capita levy on the membership employed in the industry. The amount of the per capita will be decided by the Industry Council.

The Industry Council will meet at least once a year and will be encouraged to coordinate such meetings with the meetings of the Canadian Council. In sectors where the union has appointed an Industry/Sector Director, these directors will help co-ordinate the work of the Council.

The Industry Councils will be a strong presence in the new union both as advocates for their industrial sector and as a source of leadership for the overall union. For these reasons, it is important that the Industry Councils are inclusive and supportive of women and equity seeking groups within their organizations.

Role of Industry Councils

Industry Councils will play an important role in building the overall union; and the union has an equally important role in building union capacity within Industry Councils.

The Councils are a place for local leaders in a sector to meet, to share information and network, to strategize on common issues, and, ideally, to coordinate their collective bargaining activities.

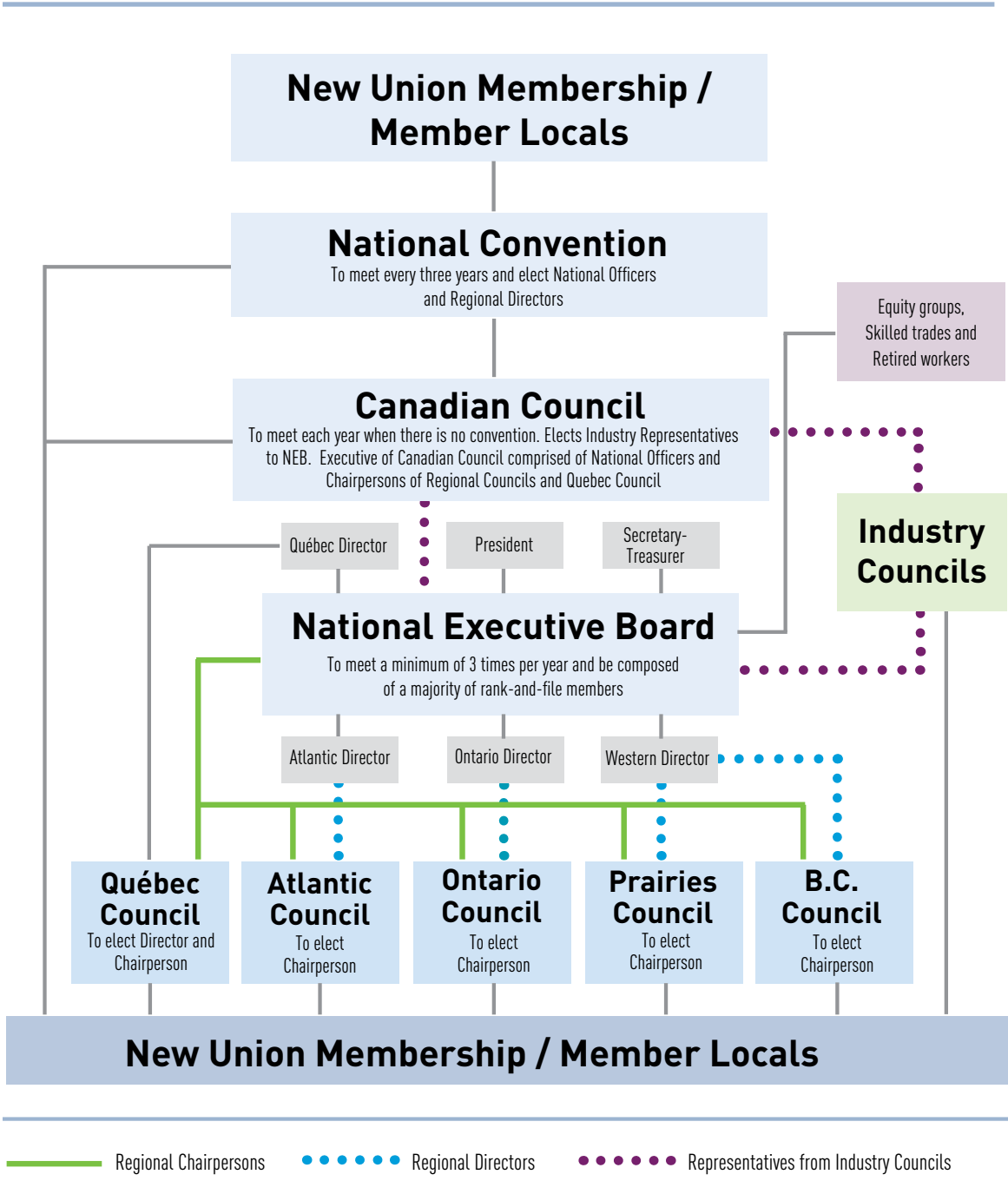
Industry Councils will bring industry concerns to

the union at large and will give union campaigns and policies a sectoral focus. As Councils develop, they will be instrumental in the formulation and coordination of industrial strategies and political activities to support and develop the sector.

Organizing new members will be a priority in the new union. The Industry Councils will promote an organizing culture with their member locals and partner

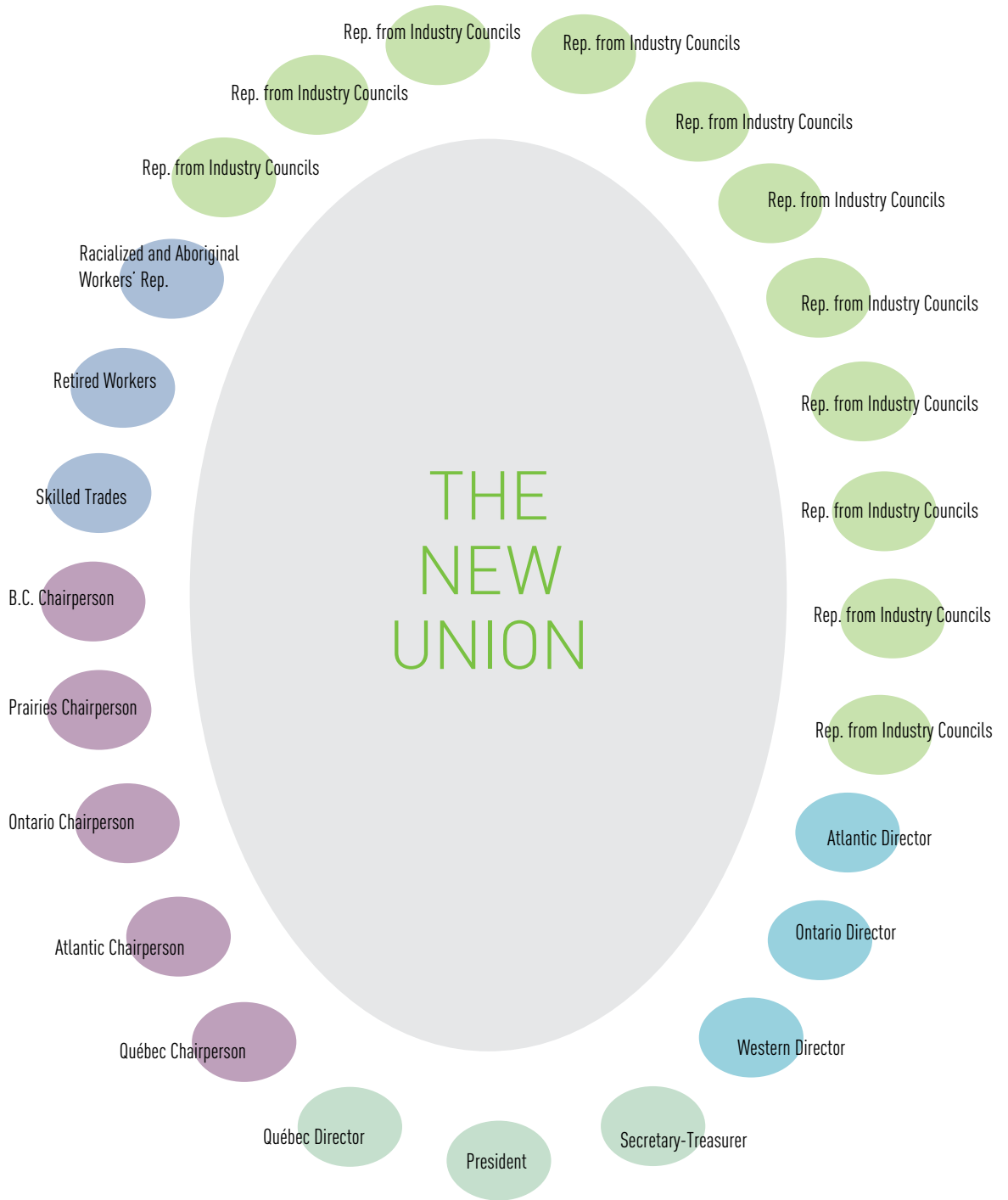
with the national union in strategic organizing within the sector.

The Industry Councils will be a strong presence in the new union and a source of leadership. Therefore, it is important that the Industry Councils are inclusive and supportive of women and equity seeking groups within their organizations.



NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

- Elected National Officers (3)
- Elected Regional Directors (3)
- Elected Rank-And-File Members to represent Industrial Councils (11)
- Elected Rank-And-File Members (3)
- Elected Chairpersons of the Regional Councils (5)



No region can have more than 13 seats

The NEB will be based on a principle of gender equity provisions in the constitution requiring that the number of women on the Executive Board is at least equal to the proportion of women members in the union.

8 DUES AND FINANCES

The new union will be financially strong. We will manage the funds strategically to support the goals and priorities of the union, as set through our democratic process. The dues assessment on our members will be sufficient to generate the revenues needed to carry out the work of the union; and at the same time, the dues will be fair and recognize the range of working conditions and wage levels among the membership.

The new union is committed to sound principles of financial management at the national and the local union level. The national Secretary-Treasurer and local union Financial Secretaries are accountable to the membership and will conduct the financial affairs in a transparent manner. The national and the local unions will have an official audit of financial statements. The national Secretary-Treasurer will present financial statements at the Convention and Council meetings and the local union financial secretary will present at local union membership meetings. Reports will be clear and accessible to the membership and presented regularly through the year.

We appreciate the hard work of our members and will treat their dues with the utmost respect and care. There can be no tolerance for poor standards of practice.

Membership dues

The Proposal Committee recommends that the dues formula for the new union be set as a percentage of members' regular wages. This represents a change for former CAW members, whose dues were determined on the basis of a certain number of hours' pay. However, former CEP members already pay dues on a percentage basis to the national union, so for them there is no change in basic practice.

Dues will be defined separately for the national union, and the local union.

The new national union rate will be 0.735% of the worker's regular wages. This is slightly lower than the existing national dues rate for CEP members (0.78%). For CAW members, this rate is roughly equivalent to the national union's share of total dues under the previous formula (54% of 2 hours and 20 minutes of pay per month), for those members who worked 40 hours per week.

For former CAW members, the level of dues going to local unions will be unchanged from current practice. For former CAW locals, members will continue to pay local dues according to the existing hours formula: that is, locals will continue to collect an amount equivalent to 46% of 2 hours and 20 minutes pay (the former CAW dues formula). Over time, former CAW locals will convert their local dues formula into a percentage, at a rate that reflects local circumstances (including the proportion of part-time members in each local, the degree of local servicing required, etc.).

For former CAW members, converting from an hours of pay system to a percentage of income formula makes the dues system fairer. The current CAW system results in higher dues (as a percentage of income) for those who work less than 40 hours per week. The new system, where national dues are calculated as a constant percentage of income, will reduce revenues somewhat for the national union, but will be a fairer approach.

For those former CAW members working 40 hours per week, the new formula will result in a very small increase in national dues. At a wage rate of \$15 per hour for 40 hours per week, dues will increase by 21 cents a month. At a wage rate of \$35 per hour for 40 hours per week, the change will be 49 cents a month.

But for all those former CAW members who work less than 40 hours per week, there will be a decrease in national dues. For example, at 37.5 hours per week and a \$15 hourly wage, national dues will decrease by 98 cents per month. At \$25 per hour for 37.5 hours per week, the national dues reduction will be \$1.64 per month. For those who work even fewer hours per month, the reduction in national dues will be larger.

All of these small changes for former CAW members result from the conversion of national dues from an hours-of-pay formula to a percent-of-pay formula. This new formula is fairer, and consistent with the practice of most other unions.

National union funds

It is proposed that the new national union direct the revenues from its share of the dues into several funds, according to the priorities of the new union:

General Fund:	75.00%
Defense/Strike Fund:	10.00%
Organizing Fund:	10.00%
Education Fund:	3.75%
Convention Fund:	1.25%



Strike/defense fund and strike pay

The new union is committed to maintaining a healthy strike/defense fund. On the basis of current accounts the new union will have a fund of more than \$135 million to support members on strike or lockout.

The Proposal Committee recommends increasing the pay to striking members as follows: The new union will provide strike pay of \$250 for each week of the conflict, prorated by day, including the first week. Strike pay will cease on the later of: seven (7) days following ratification date or seven (7) days following the bargaining unit's return to work date, not to exceed twenty-eight (28) days following ratification date.

This move provides additional support to all members of the new union who are on strike or lockout. In addition, members will receive some health care benefits.

Financing Regional Councils

Local unions are required to support the work of the Council in their region. It is proposed that a per capita levy of 0.0135% of their members' regular wages be established to cover expenses generated by Regional Councils. (For a worker at 40 hours a week, the proposed rate of 0.0135% is equivalent to 1% of the 2 hours and 20 minutes currently paid by CAW local unions to support the CAW Council.)

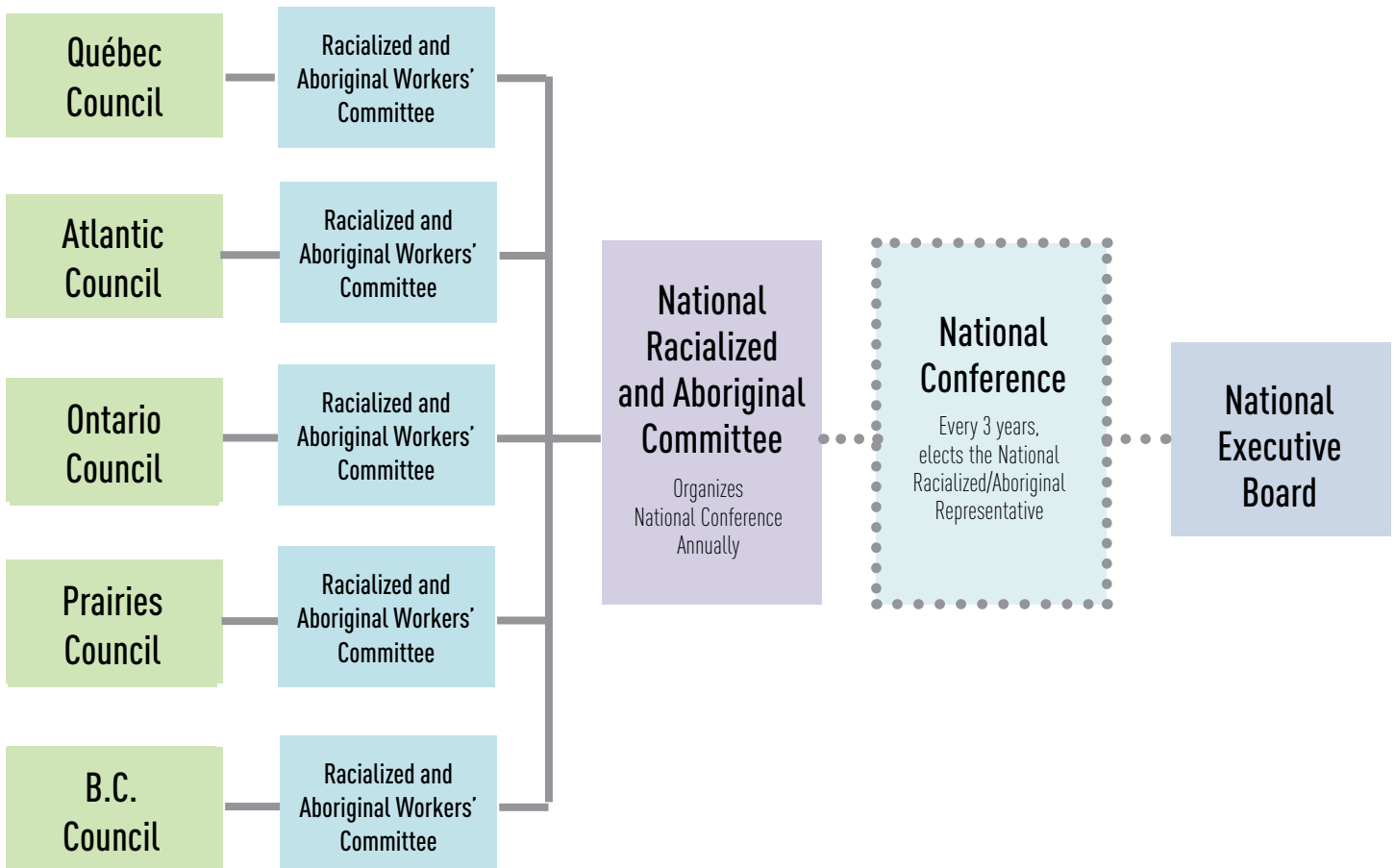
In the new union there will be no levy for the Canadian Council.

Financing Industry Councils

Industry Councils will establish their own affiliation fees to be charged to those local unions who are members of an industry council.

EQUITY AND DIVERSITY IN THE NEW UNION

Racialized and Aboriginal Workers' Representation



9 EQUITY AND DIVERSITY

In their fight for justice, women, racialized workers, aboriginal workers, LGBT, workers with disabilities, youth and other equity-seeking groups, have brought inspiration, innovation, and dignity to our unions. When equity-seeking groups see their union as an organization for progressive change, they become engaged and the union becomes stronger in the fight for the rights of all workers.

The CEP and the CAW have long recognized the valuable contribution of equity-seeking groups within our unions. Over the years, often starting with small, informal gatherings of the like-minded, our unions have developed formal processes, committees, and departments to advance the work of equity-seeking groups. We have strong anti-harassment policies with an investigation process that speaks to our commitment to create a respectful culture within our unions and within our workplaces.

We know that there is much more work to do. Equity-seeking groups are active in the affairs of the union and hold leadership positions and staff appointments but not in sufficient numbers. Our unions have made major gains in collective bargaining on childcare, pay equity, maternity and parental leaves and other equity issues. Yet today, women in the private sector earn 73% of men's wages; working parents cannot find quality, affordable childcare; youth and aboriginal unemployment is disgracefully high; precarious work is largely the domain of racialized workers.

Equity-seeking groups need strong unions; and the new union must ensure their full participation. The new union will renew and strengthen its commitment to equality:

- The National Executive Board of the new union will have a representative from racialized and aboriginal workers and will ensure that women, at a minimum, will hold board positions in the same proportion as their membership in the new union;
- The new union will establish clear policies that promote equity and include strong anti-harassment policies and investigation procedures;
- The new union will review the best practices of our two unions to establish formal processes and committees to ensure the full participation of equity-seeking groups at all levels of the union;

The CEP and the CAW have long recognized the valuable contribution of equity-seeking groups within our unions.



- The new union will support conferences, forums, caucuses, and other gatherings that develop activists and leaders from equity-seeking groups, and which provide platforms for those groups to express their ideas and demands into the broader union;
- The new union will commit to considering all aspects of the union's work through an equity lens (including governance, campaigns, staffing, organizing, etc.).

Our approach to these issues now is neither perfect nor permanent, and our approach must continue to embrace changing demographic and political realities.

10 ORGANIZING TO LAUNCH AND CATCH A WAVE OF NEW MEMBERSHIP

Organizing is essential

The long-run decline in union density in Canada has eroded the labour movement's power, both economically and politically. The new union will commit to making the organizing of new members a central priority. This commitment reflects our identity as a movement fighting for economic and social justice on behalf of all working people. Only by organizing new members can we provide workers with the power they need to win a better quality of life, fairness, respect, and democracy.

To achieve our goal, we will devote ample resources to organizing, make it a top priority for our national and local leadership, and use innovative organizing strategies and techniques.

The new union will build a culture of organizing that is shared universally from top to bottom. Every elected leader, staff person, and activist must understand that successful organizing is critical to our future. And our organizing campaigns will need the active support of our leadership, staff, and activist base at all levels if they are to be successful.

The new union's founding documents will refer prominently to the importance of organizing new members.

Pushing for fair legislation

Labour laws set an important context for our efforts to organize new members and new locals. The increasingly



Successful organizing ultimately depends on the initiative, efforts, people, contacts, and visibility of strong locals.

anti-union bias of labour laws in most Canadian jurisdictions has been a key factor behind the decline of union density over the past three decades.

Worse yet, conservatives and business lobbyists are now readying for an all-out attack on the foundations of post-war industrial relations. Already, right-wing parties in three provinces (Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Ontario) have proposed U.S.-style right-to-work laws. By prohibiting Rand Formula union security and dues check-off rules, right-to-work laws would make it effectively impossible to sustain unions in hostile workplaces.

Attacks on public sector bargaining rights are also escalating at all levels of government in Canada, as governments brush aside the democratic rights of their employees in their rush to reduce deficits.

If anything, there is a strong case for improving opportunities and protections for union organizing – not weakening them. The growing inequality of income distribution in Canada; the increased power and flexibility of private employers under globalization; and the erosion of union membership and union activity in Canada are all testimony to the need to update and reform laws. The goal should be levelling the playing field and giving workers a better chance, not weakening existing provisions that are already inadequate.

Progressive legislative initiatives could include improved certification opportunities (including the use of membership cards for certification); expanded use of first-contract arbitration for newly certified units; potential for sectoral certifications; and stronger protections for union organizers during certification drives. Recently proposed labour law changes in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland represent small steps in this direction. We will work to support those changes, and campaign for stronger improvements in labour law in all jurisdictions.

However, right-wing politicians and some business lobbyists now clearly dream of a world without unions altogether. They will use the current economic and political moment, and current hostility to unions in many parts of the population, to try to push through radical anti-union laws that would lock in the current declining trend in union power. Their agenda must be rolled back at all costs.

The new union's overall organizing strategy will therefore need to encompass a strong political action component, to resist the dismantling of existing labour legislation, and to campaign instead for better laws that give unions a fighting chance.

Locals are key

Successful organizing ultimately depends on the initiative, efforts, people, contacts, and visibility of strong locals. That's how unorganized workers first learn about the union. That's how they come to appreciate what we can do – for their income, for their security, for their community. Therefore, our national organizing strategy must build on locally based efforts and capacities.

To that end, the new union will develop cost and revenue-sharing practices to support new member organizing by the locals. Where several smaller locals exist in any community, they will be encouraged to coordinate their community-based organizing efforts.

Strategic priorities

The new union will be strategic about identifying organizing priorities. We must be careful that our organizing efforts reflect thoughtful decisions and planning regarding the most promising opportunities in key industries and communities.

Our first priority will be to build density and bargaining power in the major industries where our members currently work. In those key industries, our organizing will be supported by the work of our Industry Councils. Wherever possible, we will use new organizing in those industries to strengthen and expand more broadly based and pattern bargaining. Our organizing efforts must keep up with structural and technical change in those sectors, unionizing new entrants, and preserving union density in the face of outsourcing and other corporate trends.

The new union will also expand its organizing efforts into new sectors and communities to become a union for all Canadian workers. We are committed to providing union organizing opportunities to all workers.

Specialized resources and support

To support these efforts, the new union will maintain a national organizing department with specialized staff and resources to support local and industry organizing efforts. The work of the national organizing department will be further supported by specialized resources in the fields of strategic research, campaign planning, labour law and communications.

The new union will also immediately begin developing a national database of members and contacts, to support organizing and mobilizing more generally.

By allocating 10% of national dues revenues to a dedicated fund to support new member organizing, the new union is undertaking the largest and best-resourced organizing campaign in the history of Canadian unions. We will commit more than \$50 million over the first five years of the union's existence to new organizing – doubling what the two unions currently spend on organizing.

“Launching a wave”

The new union must be ready to undertake an ambitious program of major organizing initiatives coinciding with its launch, to take maximum advantage of the public attention and interest our foundation will generate. This “wave” of organizing activity will establish the new union as an organizing force; it must be well-planned and well-resourced. In the lead-up to the founding convention of the new union, an organizing working group will be established to lay the groundwork for this exciting campaign.

Opening membership

The new union will even organize and mobilize workers who currently have no access to union membership: including workers without certified collective agreements, unemployed workers, and young people. This is crucial to allow us to involve a broader range of working people in our mission to build a powerful social movement fighting for all working people.

We will offer opportunities for union membership to:

- unemployed workers (including those laid off from unionized positions);
- members who joined the union during an unsuccessful organizing drive (and hence are not members of a certified bargaining unit);
- individual workers in non-union workplaces;
- workers in precarious, temporary, contract, self-employed, and freelance positions where high turnover and other barriers have prevented traditional unionization;
- students and other young people.

Our goal is to give individuals a chance to identify with and join the union, even when they cannot feasibly organize a certified bargaining unit in their workplace or do not even have a workplace. This strategy to broaden

our membership will be undertaken in a manner that supports our ongoing efforts to certify conventional bargaining units which will remain the core strength of the union.

These new groups of members will pay union dues, and will have the opportunity to participate in the campaigns, activities and structures of the broader union. Special emphasis will be placed on training and education to enhance the capacity of these members to fight for fair treatment in their jobs. Specific details regarding their membership, dues, servicing, and democratic participation will all need to be carefully developed.

Get ready!

The formation of a new union is an exciting opportunity to reposition the image of the labour movement in the eyes of the tens of millions of Canadians who need a union but do not yet have one. Our deep commitment to organizing new members, symbolizing our struggle on behalf of all workers, will be a defining feature of the new union. And by preparing in advance to launch the new union with an unprecedented and innovative wave of organizing activity, we have the potential to spark a huge political and cultural shift among Canadian workers. We can mobilize the hope of working people for a better future, and their continuing willingness to stand up for fairness, into a powerful movement that wins genuine progress for them, their families and their communities.

11 STRONG LOCAL UNIONS, EDUCATION AND SERVICES

Our new union will represent more than 300,000 members working in more than 3,000 workplaces and represented by 826 local unions in every industry sector, community and region of Canada.

It will be strongly rooted in the workplace and local unions will be the building blocks for making our new union strong and effective. If we are to successfully stand up to corporate and government attacks, protect and improve our collective agreements, attract and organize new members and mobilize our members in political campaigns, we must have strong local unions with a visible presence in our communities.

Our proposal for a new union has taken into account the needs of local unions and is committed to respecting

The new union must be ready to undertake an ambitious program of major organizing initiatives coinciding with its launch, to take maximum advantage of the public attention and interest our foundation will generate.



The success of union education depends on leadership commitment, financial resources, engaging courses and member participation.

local autonomy and providing the supports necessary for building strong local unions.

First and foremost, a commitment to servicing our members and building our union around their concerns will be one of the core strengths of new union.

Our new union will provide an array of supports for strong locals, including:

- **Leadership development** – increased education opportunities and funding to improve planning, leadership and organization skills.
- **New union structures** – such as the Canadian Council and Regional and Industrial Councils which will bring locals together to share information, learn from and support each other and participate in governing the union.
- **Financial arrangements** – a dues structure that provides adequate resources for local unions.
- **Organizing** – increased organizing to build local membership and sector density, including cost-sharing for local organizing.
- **Campaigns** – developing a strategic campaign capacity to assist locals in bargaining, organizing and other campaigns.
- **Servicing** – staff support for bargaining units in the local.

The new union will promote and support voluntary local restructuring and mergers into larger locals with increased size, capacity and resources to organize, mobilize and fight and win crucial struggles.

Community presence

Community action and community presence are critical to revitalizing our union and the labour movement. Our new union will promote and support locals in the same community to come together and cooperate in new and different ways, including: councils of locals in the same community, shared space; shared organizing campaigns; and joint participation in community coalitions, campaigns, labour councils and political campaigns.

Locals with the critical mass and capacity to develop strong, effective leaders, participate fully in our new union, negotiate and enforce collective agreements and undertake organizing and political campaigns in the community will effectively build our union in workplaces and communities. Larger, stronger local unions and councils of locals in the same community will not only

increase our credibility, support, power and influence, but also increase our community visibility – presenting the union as the voice of workers and the broader community.

Union education

Rank-and-file activism is a critical foundation for building union power and reviving the Canadian labour movement. There is no substitute for active, informed members who understand the value of unified action in the workplace and community. Belonging to a union should offer members more than just a better material life and protection from a bad boss. It should also promote an understanding of our economic and political systems and an opportunity to become actively engaged in the fight for social justice and a better society.

A stronger, more effective new union implies an engaged and committed membership and the educational program to support their development. Union education helps us develop the knowledge, skills and confidence to fight for our rights. It provides an opportunity to share our experiences and develop a critical analysis about what is going on in our workplace and society. Union education helps situate our struggles within the broader political and economic context and as part of a larger movement for social change. Union education informs and motivates and builds our capacity to fight back and win.

The success of union education depends on leadership commitment, financial resources, engaging courses and member participation. The new union will make negotiated funds for union education a top priority in all its collective bargaining.

Our new union will provide a comprehensive, progressive, union-controlled education program. Education activities will occur at all levels of the union: in workplaces, locals, communities, regionally and nationally. The Family Education Centre at Port Elgin will be an essential component of the new union's education program, and the union will run extensive educational activities across the country.

Our approach to union education will be broad and developmental, shaped by the principles of adult education and committed to action. There will be courses for members, activists and leadership and their families. There will be courses that are skills and tools-based; courses that build analysis around topics such as history and economics; courses that strengthen our capacity in organizing and political action; and courses designed for particular groups of workers, industry sectors and equity seeking constituencies.



The new union is committed to providing comprehensive, first-rate service to its local unions and members.

Our new union will expand education opportunities, with increased funding dedicated to union education. Our education program will be the largest and most ambitious any union has ever undertaken in Canada.

Union servicing

The new union is committed to providing comprehensive, first-rate service to its local unions and members. Whether it is responding to day-to-day enquiries, supporting bargaining or mobilizing members, our approach to union services is rooted in respect for our members and a commitment to making gains for working people and their families.

Local unions are key to a strong new union. Our goal is to enhance the capacity of local unions to succeed in their bargaining, organizing, and campaigning. The services of the new union will be geared to the interests and needs of the local unions.

The new union will develop and organize union services, resources and supports around our priorities: Collective bargaining, administering the collective agreement, organizing new members, education programs and campaigns on workers' issues. While we have strengthened our commitment to organizing new members, we will ensure excellent services to current members.

The new union will have service staff in area offices to support local unions in collective bargaining and administering the agreement. It will have departments that specialize in particular areas to ensure top notch services. These departments include: organizing, communications, education, political mobilization, legal services, research, pensions, women, human rights, international affairs and administration and technical services.

A staff that is engaged in the union and committed to its goals is an essential ingredient to building a new union. Staff at all levels – from those who work in support and administrative functions to resource staff and those in servicing assignments – work with dedication and commitment to building the union. Staff commitment is based on a culture of respect, a collective agreement with decent compensation and working conditions, and recognition of the skills and knowledge that staff members bring to the union. The new union will foster an environment in which staff members have the resources, training and working conditions to excel in their work.

12 POLITICAL ACTION, STRATEGIC CAMPAIGNS AND GLOBAL SOLIDARITY

Working class politics is the collective struggle by workers for more control over our economic and social lives. We fight for better policies and programs from government. And we fight to expand democratic control and accountability throughout our society and economy.

A union exists to enable collective action by its members, to improve our overall circumstances. We use collective action in collective bargaining, and we use it in politics.

Our new union is committed to social unionism. We recognize that workers' issues can never be fully addressed through collective bargaining alone. Our broader social, community and political activism are central and necessary to improving the lives of our members and all working people.

Our political goals are to make progress on those immediate demands that would improve the lives of workers in very important ways. But they are also about fighting for more fundamental, long-term changes in our politics and society. Our political activism is motivated by the desire to challenge capitalism and to transform the economy.

These goals shape how we think about and do our politics. Our priority is to educate, engage and mobilize our members. It is to define politics in broad terms to encompass a range of political activities from issue-based campaigns, to pressuring governments, to being actively engaged in elections. It is to work in our own name and to make common cause with other progressives.

Both CAW and CEP view politics, political action and campaigning as the foundation of everything we do in our unions. Both unions are broadly engaged in politics and campaigning, mandated by a variety of union policies and convention decisions:

Issue campaigns – Membership mobilization, lobbying and media campaigns on issues affecting our members and industries, such as pensions, free trade, gun control, forest policy, manufacturing policy, National Energy strategy, foreign ownership of media, telecommunications and other important industries.

Labour campaigns – Participating with other unions in campaigns organized by the Canadian



Labour Congress, provincial labour federations and local labour councils.

Coalitions – Participating in coalitions and supporting allied civil society organizations.

Elections – Actively participating in federal, provincial and municipal elections by supporting progressive political parties and candidates.

Our new union will continue and expand the work of educating and mobilizing our members; working with coalition and community partners, lobbying and campaigning, and participating in the electoral process.

The new union will establish political committees in our local unions to organize opportunities for our members to participate in electoral and issue campaigns (currently known as Union in Politics Committees in CAW and Political Action Committees in CEP). The goal of these political committees at the local and national level will be to promote involvement by the union and our members in politics, broadly defined. The union's political committees will undertake a full range of political activities, including:

- educating our members about critical issues and about politics in general;
- engaging in issue-oriented campaigns in our workplaces and communities;
- participating with broad and diverse community groups and in coalition campaigns;
- participating in elections at all levels (including municipal, provincial, federal).

Decisions regarding our new union's electoral strategies will be decided on a case-by-case basis by the appropriate democratic body of the union. In Quebec, both CAW and CEP's political orientation is based on the interests of our members in Quebec.

Both the CAW and the CEP have been strong supporters of the NDP but have different relationships with the party. The CEP is affiliated to the NDP on behalf of CEP members who are also NDP members, but the CAW is not. These different policies were adopted by our members at national conventions and the policy of the new union will, therefore, be determined by our members at a future convention of our new union. In Quebec, our political orientation and affiliation will be determined by delegates to the Quebec Council.

The new union will continue the commitment of both CEP and CAW to global worker solidarity.

Strategic campaigns

As corporations have become larger and more powerful, they are becoming more ruthless and sophisticated in their attacks on workers and their unions – illegally threatening and firing workers in organizing drives and attacking the wages, working conditions and job security of union members. They are also using their power and influence over our governments to weaken legal protections for workers, often in violation of international law.

While our members and other workers have demonstrated time and time again that they are prepared to stand up to these corporate bullies, it has become increasingly clear that we need to develop new strategies and tools to win. Strategic campaigns enable unions to supplement our traditional strengths to mobilize and fight back and put pressure on companies, their directors, management and shareholders to resist their regressive agendas and achieve our members' goals.

Our new union will develop the capacity to mount comprehensive, strategic campaigns to counter employer tactics, including membership mobilization, community coalition building, publicity and public pressure, political and regulatory pressure and economic and legal pressure. This will require a new level of strategic planning based on detailed research and analysis of a corporation and its important relationships.

This will also require that the new union be in a "state of readiness" prepared to fight back at all levels – locally, sectorally, regionally and nationally. It will also require that our local and national organizers and negotiators and specialized services departments work together, including research, education, political action and membership mobilization, to mount campaigns that are both strategic and comprehensive.

Global solidarity

The new union will continue the commitment of both CEP and CAW to global worker solidarity. The growing assault on jobs and union security by global corporations such as Caterpillar and Rio Tinto underscores the need for the union to defend its members by acting locally, nationally and globally. Our efforts to stop a globalized race to the bottom means supporting and uniting with workers in other parts of the world who are determined to protect and advance their standard of life. Our struggle for democracy and social progress is one we share with workers in other countries. The recognition of mutual interdependence and the need for international solidarity

is now even more pronounced in the wake of the global financial crisis and the impact of neoliberal austerity programs around the world.

CEP and CAW are active participants in global union federations and the new union will continue these important relationships. We welcome the merger of smaller, sector based global union federations to create new stronger global unions focused on organizing workers, strengthening unions and international solidarity and taking on multinational corporations. Most recently, the former International Metalworkers Federation, ICEM and Textile Workers Federation created a new global union – IndustriALL, uniting 50 million workers around the world in diverse sectors from manufacturing to mining. The new union will play a key role in IndustriALL and other global union affiliations, such as Union Network International (UNI), the International Federation of Journalists and the International Transport Workers’ Federation (ITF).

CAW and CEP are also leaders in international trade union development through the CAW’s Social Justice Fund and the CEP Humanity Fund. The new union will continue the important work in international development and international labour solidarity that these funds have established. The new union will continue to negotiate funding for these programs in all our collective bargaining. Both CEP and CAW have always approached international development as active solidarity to build the capacity of workers globally to defend worker rights and achieve democracy and social justice. Worker-to-worker contact and exchanges have been and will remain an integral part of this solidarity.



13 PROPOSAL AND NEXT STEPS

After several months of intensive discussions, research, and consultations, the Proposal Committee has agreed that the foundation of a dynamic new Canadian union has immense potential to strengthen our work on behalf of our members and all workers. A new union committed to organizing and mobilizing working people in defence of their rights and a better country will make an enormous contribution to the revitalization of the entire Canadian labour movement.

The goal is not just to become larger by combining our resources. We are making a commitment to renew and strengthen all our practices – including organizing, bargaining, education, communications, and political action. The formation of a new Canadian union is therefore an opportunity not just to become bigger, but to become stronger and better.

Through its work, the Proposal Committee has mapped out a vision for the structure, operation, and culture of a new Canadian union that will be a stronger, more effective organization. The broad proposals described in this report do not reflect a negotiated “compromise” between the existing structures and practices of the two founding organizations. Rather, they represent the Committee’s judgment as to the best practices for positioning the new union to fight effectively and democratically for workers, their families, and our entire society.

FROM THE MEDIA

The Super Union is talking about offering a menu of benefits to people who join, including subsidized health care and legal advice. Maybe child care too? I’ve argued before that Canadian unions need to do more of this. So, I am fully supportive of the idea of associate union membership that would involve unions providing useful services to make life somewhat easier for any worker.

I also think that the law offers unions potential to aid workers in nonunion workplaces in other ways. Unions can try to make collective representations on behalf of any workers who join, regardless of whether their workplace is unionized. As it stands now, the Supreme Court has found (in *Dunmore and B.C. Health Services*) that the Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees workers: (1) a right to join unions; and (2) to make “collective representations” to their employers, a right which includes a requirement for the employer to consider the representations “in good faith” and possibly to “bargain in good faith”; and (3) a right of workers not to be disciplined or dismissed for exercising these rights. This is a form of Constitutional minority unionism (what I call, the “Thin Model of Freedom of Association”). One day soon, we may learn that this Constitutional model includes also some form of a right to strike.

— David Doorey’s Workplace Law Blog (York University), <http://www.yorku.ca/ddoorey/lawblog/?p=5269>

FROM THE MEDIA

According to Brock University labour professor Larry Savage, “I think organizing the unemployed, or casual and precarious part-time workers who don’t have access to unionization through the traditional statutory avenues is not an easy task at all.”

“For any union to want to take that on as a project is very interesting.”

Savage said the two unions have traditionally represented workers in the manufacturing sector. Decades of de-industrialization have seriously eroded that base.

One strategy has been to organize other sectors, “but another part of this ... is that more and more jobs are falling into these categories of non-traditional contract-based jobs, people who don’t have unionization within their reach.”

— *St. Catharines Standard*, May 29, 2012

On the assumption that both conventions approve this recommendation and accept this report, the leadership of the two unions will then need to begin preparations for the formation of the new union and its founding convention.

Therefore, the Proposal Committee respectfully recommends that the CAW and the CEP unite to found a new union, in line with the founding principles outlined in this document. We recommend that the two unions work toward a founding convention sometime in 2013. We recognize that there are many logistical and operational issues to be worked out before this founding convention so our timeline must remain flexible.

Furthermore, we make this recommendation with the expectation that other unions in Canada will also be interested in joining the new union in the future.

We therefore respectfully propose to the members of CAW and CEP at their respective conventions in 2012 that these two great unions now agree to cooperatively create a new Canadian union based on the following principles.

Whereas the Report of the Proposal Committee of the New Union Project has fulfilled the mandate set out in the joint protocol of the CAW and CEP Executive Boards, and

Whereas the Report of the Proposal Committee describes the purposes, goals and objectives, structure, finances, and other main operating principles of a new union,

Therefore Be it Resolved that the (CAW Convention) (CEP Convention) accepts the recommendation of the Proposal Committee to cooperatively create a new Canadian union based on the proposals set out in the report, and

Be it Further Resolved that the Executive Boards of each union establish working groups to prepare the constitution and other founding documents and to organize a founding convention of the new union in 2013.

Next steps

The Proposal Committee’s recommendation that the CAW and CEP unite to form a new Canadian union is submitted respectfully to the coming conventions of both unions.

On the assumption that both conventions approve this recommendation and accept this report, the leadership of the two unions will then need to begin preparations for the formation of the new union and its founding convention.

We suggest that to facilitate the preparations for the foundation of the new union, several joint working groups (composed of leaders and staff from both unions) be struck to undertake the following tasks:

1. Constitutional Working Group:

This group will be assigned to draft a formal constitution for the new union (reflecting the principles outlined in this report), and the other founding documents and policies that will be required to form the new union. This working group will also take responsibility for ensuring the smooth maintenance of bargaining rights as the new union is formed.

2. Implementation Working Group:

This group will be assigned to develop an implementation and transition plan for consolidating the two unions into one organization (including the integration of offices, information systems, and other operational matters). This implementation process must take place with full respect for the continuing independence of local unions, and the rights of the unions’ staff.



The new union will enjoy a “window of opportunity” when we can take maximum advantage of the publicity, interest, and hope our new organization will generate.

3. Staff Relations Working Group:

A leadership team from both unions will initiate and undertake negotiations with the various staff unions (representing both national reps and support staff) at both the CAW and CEP in order to ensure a fair, secure transition for the unions’ employees (including non-represented employees). The leadership of both unions have committed that none of the unions’ staff will lose their jobs as a result of the formation of the new union.

4. Organizing Working Group: The new union will enjoy a “window of opportunity” when we can take maximum advantage of the publicity, interest, and hope our new organization will generate. This working group will draft an ambitious organizing strategy, to ensure that the new union is ready to spring into action with an unprecedented “wave” of organizing initiatives, right from the moment of its formation. This work will include planning and launching an ambitious set of traditional organizing drives, as well as designing and implementing the Proposal Committee’s vision for new forms of membership.

5. Communications Working Group:

This working group will begin initial research, consultation, and testing work associated with selecting a name and logo for the new union. It will also prepare an ambitious communications strategy (involving both traditional and new media forms) to ensure that the new organization’s launch generates the public attention that it deserves.

6. Convention Working Group: An important set of organizational and logistical tasks will need to be completed in order to facilitate the founding convention of the new union.

Regular reports from these working groups will be made to the elected leadership of both unions (including their respective National Executive Boards), who must approve all major steps taken toward the formation of the new organization. The existing democratic structures of both founding unions will remain fully in place up to the founding convention of the new organization. At that point the new union will be born – and a new chapter will begin to be written in the history of Canada’s labour movement.

We fully acknowledge that bringing these two great organizations together, and establishing a new union

(with new structures, new ways of working and a new culture) is an enormous, challenging undertaking. Our initiative holds great promise for improving our current work, and revitalizing the entire Canadian labour movement. But at the same time, there are many challenges and problems still to be confronted. And we have learned from the failed restructuring of other unions in the past that these challenges must be confronted carefully, honestly, and with utmost solidarity. For the formation of the new union to be successful, all participants must be willing to commit their time, goodwill, and patience to the project. We are prepared to address and resolve the inevitable challenges and disagreements that we know we will face, because we know that the new union will leave us in a stronger, more hopeful position.

In closing, the members of the Proposal Committee thank the thousands of CAW and CEP members, activists, local leaders, and staff who offered us their ideas, their feedback, their criticism, and above all their hope for a labour movement that can struggle and win a better life for all workers. Despite the hostile environment facing workers and unions today, we remain fully convinced that workers’ collective action is still the crucial force for building a more just, safe, and sustainable world. And we are deeply excited at the potential of our new Canadian union to make a historic contribution to the ongoing struggle of working people everywhere for a better world.

What’s new about the new union?

- **New identity, new name, new image among workers:** The new union will unite more than 300,000 workers in all regions and major sectors of the economy, with a new name, a new logo, and a new image. From the beginning, the new union will be identified as a force working on behalf of all workers.
- **Strong regional base, with unified Canada-wide power:** The structure of the new union is an innovative and powerful way to combine excellent regional representation and participation (including full account for Quebec’s national character), with the ability to come together with one voice on the national stage.
- **Unprecedented rank-and-file accountability:** National leaders and staff reps will be held accountable to rank-and-file delegates several times per year, including at



The new union represents a critical mass of members, and power, in at least 20 identifiable industries: energy, auto, manufacturing, communications, transportation, resources, public services, paper and forestry, hospitality, media, wholesale and retail trade, and more.

meetings of the new Regional Councils, and at a Canada-wide meeting (either a Canadian Council or a convention) held every year. The new union's National Executive Board has a strong majority (19 out of 25) of rank-and-file representatives.

- **Bargaining power in critical industries:** The new union represents a critical mass of members, and power, in at least 20 identifiable industries: energy, auto, manufacturing, communications, transportation, resources, public services, paper and forestry, hospitality, media, wholesale and retail trade, and more. This union will have the power to make its presence felt, whenever and however we need to.
- **Beyond craft and industrial unionism:** The new union will be a union for all Canadian workers in all regions, industries and sectors. The new union will be uniquely positioned to go beyond the limitations of craft and industrial unionism with a working class unity of Canadian workers across the economy and the country.
- **Stronger, more capable locals:** The new union will support its locals to the fullest, as they are the backbone of our activity and our power. And locals will retain full democratic authority over their structures and actions. The new union will help locals come together to share resources and undertake stronger campaigns, just as our two unions are coming together at the national level.
- **Better community presence and visibility:** Our local unions will be visible, respected, and influential in communities across Canada. They will participate in local political campaigns, charities, and community building, as well as campaigning around workers' causes. We know this is how to win the support of our neighbours and coworkers for the principles of collective action, and to have them eventually join our movement.
- **Enhanced capacity to communicate:** From the beginning, the New Union Project was committed to a very high standard of transparency and interaction in its communications (including a joint web site, regional meetings, and active use of social media). The new union will carry on that commitment. We will use traditional media, new

media, and other communications strategies to become truly “connected” – to our members, to the public, and to all workers – like no union before it.

- **Historic commitment to organizing:** The new union is predicated on an awareness that the labour movement must reverse the erosion of union density at all costs. To that end, the new union begins life by making an unprecedented commitment to organizing. It will allocate 10% of national dues (\$50 million over 5 years) to organizing. It will creatively use its new scope and power to organize workers in all industries and regions of the economy. It will introduce innovative new forms of membership to provide union representation opportunities to new segments of the working class.
- **Strategic campaigns capacity:** Employers and governments use sophisticated campaign strategies to plot their attacks on working people and social programs. We need to be just as effective in our own campaign strategizing. To this end, the new union will develop the capacity for state-of-the-art strategic planning, utilizing research, education, communications, and information to coordinate effective multidimensional campaigns around organizing, bargaining, and political action.
- **Stronger commitment to equity and diversity:** Both the CEP and the CAW were fully committed to equity and diversity. The new union will extend that commitment with several new features: including a representative for racialized and aboriginal workers on the National Executive Board, elected by their peers at a new union conference; and a constitutional requirement that women's representation on the NEB must at least match women's share of our membership.

Moreover, while the formation of a new Canadian union provides a unique opportunity to implement improvements in all our practices, our commitment to renewal and innovation will not stop the moment the new union is founded. Through two centuries of union history, we have learned repeatedly that the labour movement must innovate to keep up with the economic and political changes around us, or else our power and credibility will inevitably erode. The new union will commit fully to continuing the same spirit of honest self-criticism, internal dialogue, and innovation that has infused the



work of the Proposal Committee from the outset.

Indeed, the ultimate “test” of this new union project will be whether we are successful in reversing the trend of de-unionization and defeatism that is the intended outcome of the neoliberal agenda. If the formation of the new union can be a catalyst for us to revitalize

our practices, to develop new ways of organizing and fighting, to inspire all workers with hope that through collective action they can win a better future for themselves and their families, then we will truly have succeeded in creating a new union – not just a bigger one.

FROM THE MEDIA

Michael Lynk, a labour law professor at Western University, said the new category ... might give unions a toehold in workplaces where they would normally be totally shut out. Workers advocating for change would also benefit from legal protection against discrimination for participating in labour organization or union activities.

“We have this cookie cutter style of unionization, the all-or-nothing approach,” he said. “You’ve either got a majority and you represent everybody or you don’t get a majority and you represent nobody.”

“They’re probably two of the most innovative unions in the country,” he said of the CAW and CEP. “So if anybody can make these ideas work and successfully transplant them into Canada, it’s probably them.”

— *Windsor Star*, May 24, 2012

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The proposal

The following resolution will be put to members of CAW and CEP at their respective conventions in 2012:

Whereas the Report of the Proposal Committee of the New Union Project has fulfilled the mandate set out in the joint protocol of the CAW and CEP Executive Boards, and

Whereas the Report of the Proposal Committee describes the purposes, goals and objectives, structure, finances, and other main operating principles of a new union,

Therefore Be it Resolved that the (CAW Convention) (CEP Convention) accepts the recommendation of the Proposal Committee to cooperatively create a new Canadian union based on the proposals set out in the report, and

Be it Further Resolved that the Executive Boards of each union establish working groups to prepare the constitution and other founding documents and to organize a founding convention of the new union in 2013.

We believe a new, Canadian union will better represent our members, organize and build union power and revitalize and renew the Canadian labour movement.

We therefore respectfully propose to the members of CAW and CEP at their respective conventions in 2012 that these two great unions now agree to cooperatively create a new Canadian union based on the following principles.

Name and identity

Following agreement at both unions' conventions to create a new union, a process to select a name and a logo will be put in place. The process will include membership involvement, professional advice and appropriate testing. The name of the new union and the logo will be approved by the founding convention and incorporated in the Constitution of the new union.

Constitution: preamble, founding principles and union objectives

A clear framework has been established that describes the central characteristics as well as the objectives of the new union. This serves as a starting point for subsequent post-convention work.

Structure

All existing local unions of CAW and CEP shall continue as successor chartered locals of the new union.

The highest authority of the new union will be its convention, which will meet every three years.

Canadian Council, Regional Councils and Industry Councils

All local unions will be members of Regional Councils or the Quebec Council. These five councils will form the base of the union, and be represented in a Canadian Council that will bring together all local unions from all of Canada.

The Canadian Council will meet each year when there is no convention.

The executive of the Canadian Council will be composed of the national officers and the elected chairpersons of the Regional Councils and the Quebec Council.

In addition to the Quebec Council, the proposed Regional Councils are: British Columbia Council, Prairies Council, Ontario Council and the Atlantic Council.

The elected chairpersons of the Regional Councils and the Quebec Council will be members of the union's National Executive Board (NEB).

The new union will also include voluntary Industry Councils.

National Executive Board

The NEB is the highest authority of the union between conventions and will meet a minimum of 3 times per year.

The NEB will have 25 members, reflecting a balance of regional, industrial, gender and equity representation. Based on the rank and file principle, 19 of the 25 members will be rank and file leaders. These 19 members include:

- 5 elected Chairpersons of the Regional Councils and the Quebec Council
- 1 representative of racialized and aboriginal workers
- 1 representative from skilled trades
- 1 representative from retirees
- 11 representatives from Industry Councils

The representative of racialized and aboriginal workers will be selected by his or her peers at an annual conference organized by a standing committee of aboriginal and workers of colour.

Representatives from Industry Councils will be nominated by Industry Councils and elected by delegates to the Canadian Council based on recommendations from the National Executive Board to meet constitutional provisions for gender, equity and regional balance.

The first National Executive Board will include representation from seven existing CAW Sectors and from four CEP sector groups, including telecom, media, forestry and energy.

The NEB will also include 6 full-time positions, including:

- President
- Secretary Treasurer
- Quebec Director
- 3 Regional Directors - Atlantic, Ontario and Western Canada

The NEB will be based on a principle of gender equity with provisions in the constitution requiring that the number of women on the Executive Board is at least equal to the proportion of women members in the union.

A constitutional provision will also require a regional balance by prohibiting members from any one region from holding more than 13 seats on the NEB.

Officers

The union will have 3 full time national officers: the President, Secretary Treasurer and the Quebec Director. The President and the Secretary Treasurer will be elected by the convention for three-year terms. The Quebec Director will be elected by the Quebec Council immediately prior to convention and affirmed for a three-year term by the convention.

The 3 Regional Directors will have responsibility for the Atlantic Region, the Ontario Region and Western Canada, which will be comprised of the BC and Prairie Regions.

Staff

Assistants to the President, Secretary Treasurer and Quebec Director, will act on behalf of the national officers in carrying out the responsibilities of the national union.

All National Representatives and Area Directors, Department staff, Department and Industry Directors will report regularly on their assignments and activities to meetings of the Canadian Council and to their relevant Regional Council or Quebec Council.

Staff are appointed by the President.

Dues and finances

The Proposal Committee recommends that the dues formula for the new union be set as a percentage of members' regular wages. This represents a change for former CAW members, whose dues were determined on the basis of a certain number of hours' pay. However, former CEP members already pay dues on a percentage basis, so for them there is no change in basic practice.

Dues will be defined separately for the national union, and the local union.

The new national union rate will be 0.735% of the worker's regular wages. This is slightly lower than the existing national dues rate for CEP members (0.78%). For CAW members, this rate is roughly equivalent to the national union's share of total dues under the previous formula (54% of 2 hours and 20 minutes of pay per month), for those members who worked 40 hours per week.

Union funds

In recognizing the goals and priorities of the new union, the national will distribute the revenues into the following funds:

General Fund:	75.00%
Defense/Strike Fund:	10.00%
Organizing Fund:	10.00%
Education Fund:	3.75%
Convention Fund:	1.25%

Strike/Defense Fund and Strike Pay

The new union will have a Strike Fund / Defense Fund of more than \$135 million.

The Proposal Committee recommends increasing the pay to striking members as follows: The new union will provide strike pay of \$250 for each week of the conflict, prorated by day, including the first week. Strike pay will cease on the later of: seven days following ratification date or seven days following the bargaining unit's return to work date, not to exceed 28 days following ratification date.

This move provides additional support to all members of the new union who are on strike or lock-out. In addition, members will receive some health care benefits.

Other financing

A per capita levy of 0.0135% of regular wages will finance the Regional Councils.

The expenses of the Canadian Council will be paid from the General Fund.

Industry Councils will establish their own affiliation fees and per capita.

Equity and diversity

In addition to the composition of the National Executive Board, the new union will commit to considering all aspects of the union's work through an equity lens.

The new union will renew and strengthen commitments to equity. There will be formal processes/committees that recognize and support equity-seeking groups (including women, racialized and aboriginal workers, LGBT, disability, youth and others).

Organizing

The new union will make organizing a top priority by building a culture of organizing that is shared universally from top to bottom. The Organizing Fund is projected to generate more than \$50 million in five years.

There will be cost and revenue-sharing arrangements with local unions to support new member organizing.

The new union will have a national organizing department with specialized staff and resources to support local and industry organizing efforts.

A national data base will be established to support strategic organizing and campaigns.

Membership in the new union will be open to workers who currently have no access to union membership, including:

- individual workers in non-union workplaces
- members who joined the union during an unsuccessful organizing drive (and hence are not members of a certified bargaining unit)
- workers in precarious, temporary, contract, self-employed, and freelance positions where high turnover and other barriers have prevented traditional unionization
- unemployed workers
- students and other young people

Strong local unions

The new union will represent more than 300,000 members working in more than 3,000 workplaces represented by 826 local unions in every industry sector, community and region of Canada.

The new union will provide support for local unions including:

- Leadership development – increased education opportunities and funding to improve planning, leadership and organization skills.
- New union structures – such as the Canadian Council and Regional and Industrial Councils, which will bring locals together to share information, learn from and support each other and participate in governing the union.
- Financial arrangements – a dues structure that provides adequate resources for local unions.
- Organizing – increased organizing to build local membership and sector density, including cost-sharing for local organizing.
- Campaigns – developing a strategic campaign capacity to assist locals in bargaining, organizing and other campaigns.
- Servicing – staff support for bargaining units in the local.

The new union will promote and support locals in the same community to come together and cooperate in new and different ways, including: councils of locals in the same community, shared space; shared organizing campaigns; and joint participation in community coalitions, campaigns, labour councils and political campaigns.

Union education

The new union will provide a comprehensive, progressive, union-controlled education program. Education activities will occur at all levels of the union: in workplaces, locals, communities, regionally and nationally. The Family Education Centre at Port Elgin will be an essential component of the new union's education program, and the union will run extensive educational activities across the country.

Our approach to union education will be broad and developmental, shaped by the principles of adult education and committed to action. There will be courses for members, activists and leadership. There will be courses that are skills and tools-based; courses that build analysis around topics such as history and economics; courses that strengthen our capacity in organizing and political action; and courses designed for particular groups of workers, industry sectors and equity seeking constituencies.

The new union is committed to providing a broad range of union services, resources and supports to its local unions and members.

The new union will expand education opportunities, with increased funding dedicated to union education.

The new union will make negotiated funds for union education a top priority in all its collective bargaining.

Union services

The new union is committed to providing a broad range of union services, resources and supports to its local unions and members. The new union will have service staff in area offices to support local unions in collective bargaining and administering the agreement. It will have departments that specialize in particular areas to ensure top-notch services. These departments include: organizing, communications, education, political mobilization, legal services, research, pensions, women, human rights, international affairs and administration and technical services.

Political action

The new union will continue to expand the work of educating and mobilizing our members; working with coalition and community partners; lobbying and campaigning, and participating in the electoral process.

Political committees will be established in our local unions to organize opportunities for our members to participate in electoral and issue campaigns (currently known as Union in Politics Committees in CAW and Political Action Committees in CEP).

Decisions regarding our new union's electoral strategies will be decided on a case-by-case basis by the appropriate democratic body of the union. In Quebec, our political orientation and affiliation will be determined by delegates to the Quebec Council.

Strategic campaigns

To counter employer tactics, the new union will develop the capacity to mount comprehensive, strategic campaigns, including membership mobilization, community coalition building, publicity and public pressure, political and regulatory pressure and economic and legal pressure.

Global solidarity

The new union will continue the commitment of both CEP and CAW to global worker solidarity by supporting and uniting with workers in other countries, active membership in Global Union Federations and through the continuing work of the CAW Social Justice Fund and the CEP Humanity Fund.

NEXT STEPS

On the assumption that both conventions adopt the resolution and accept this report, the leadership of the two unions will begin preparations for the formation of the new union and its founding convention by establishing the following working groups:

Constitutional Working Group

This group will be assigned to draft a formal constitution for the new union and the other founding documents that will be required to form the new union.

Implementation Working Group

This group will be assigned to develop an implementation and transition plan for consolidating the two unions into one organization.

Staff Relations Working Group

A leadership team from both unions will initiate and undertake negotiations with the various staff unions at both the CAW and CEP in order to ensure a fair, secure transition for the unions' employees.

Organizing Working Group

A working group will be established to prepare plans for a large organizing campaign to be launched simultaneously with the new union.

Communications Working Group

This working group will begin work associated with selecting a name and logo and prepare a communications strategy for the launch of the new union.

Convention Working Group

This working group will organize the founding convention of the new union.

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