

International Brotherhood of Teamsters

Officer Candidates Forum

Moderator:

Thomas Burr

**Washington Correspondent for the Salt Lake Tribune
and President of the National Press Club**

Candidates:

Ken Hall

IBT General Secretary-Treasurer on the Hoffa-Hall 2016 Slate

Fred Zuckerman

IBT General President on the Teamsters United Slate

Location:

The National Press Club

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*Transcript By
CastingWords*

Mr. Burr: Good evening, and welcome to the National Press Club. My name is Thomas Burr. I'm the Washington correspondent for The Salt Lake Tribune, and the 109th president of the National Press Club. I'm also tonight your moderator, for the only debate between the candidates in the election for leadership of the 1.3 million members International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

This debate, part of the National Press Club Newsmakers series, is organized by the Office of the Election Supervisor, an independent authority that supervises the election of the top officers of the Teamsters Union. Richard Mark is the Election Supervisor. He served as Election Supervisor for the 2011 and the 2016 Teamster officer elections as well.

Let me first introduce the candidates, and the panel of journalists who will question them. The election rules require a debate among candidates nominated for general president, but the rules give candidates the option to appear themselves in this debate or designate their running mate, their candidate for general secretary treasurer to appear in their stead.

Tonight presidential candidate Fred Zuckerman appears here in person. Mr. Zuckerman joined the Teamsters when he helped organize Chemical Express in Houston, Texas, in 1979, and later took a job as a Carhauler in Kentucky Local 89.

After serving as steward for seven years, Mr. Zuckerman became a business agent and was elected Local 89 president in 2000. Mr. Zuckerman has served as a grievance panel chair under General President Carey and General President Hoffa, and was the IBT Carhaul Director.

He is currently the president of Local 89 and of Joint Council 94. Welcome, Mr. Zuckerman.

Mr. Zuckerman: Thank you.

Mr. Burr: Candidate Jim Hoffa has chosen to be represented by his running mate for Secretary Treasurer, Ken Hall. Mr. Hall is a second-generation Teamster. He started out as a Teamster member of Local 175 in Charleston, West Virginia, in 1976, where he worked in the oil fields for Pennzoil.

Since then he has served as a shop steward, business agent, officer of the joint council, president of Teamsters Local 175, package division director, international vice president, trustee on health, welfare and pension plans, and general secretary treasurer.

Mr. Hall has served as the chief negotiator of the UPS National Master Agreement since 1997 and the chief negotiator of the UPS Freight Agreement. Welcome, Mr. Hall.

Mr. Hall: Thank you.

Mr. Burr: Let me introduce tonight's panelists. Closest to me on the panel, Michael Rose, the senior labor reporter at Bloomberg BNA, where he reports on various labor issues and trends, including collective bargaining agreements, union organizing efforts, National Labor Relations Board decisions and litigation and developments within labor unions, including the Teamsters.

He reported from the union's convention in Las Vegas, both earlier this summer and in 2011. Michael joined Bloomberg BNA in 2008 and has served as Bloomberg BNA labor reporter on

Capitol Hill. He has a bachelor's degree from Brandeis University and masters in journalism from New York University.

Kimberly Atkins is the chief Washington reporter and columnist for the Boston Herald, and also a guest host of C-SPAN's morning show, "Washington Journal." She's also been a staff writer for the "Journal News" in Westchester County, New York, and the "Boston Globe."

Before launching her journalism career, Kimberly practiced labor and employment law. She is a graduate of Wayne State University, Boston University School of Law and the Columbia University School of Journalism.

Harold Meyerson is the Executive Editor of the American Prospect, the Washington-based liberal magazine where he has been since 2001. From 2003 to 2016 he also wrote a weekly op-ed column for the Washington Post.

From 1989 through 2001 he was executive editor of the "LA Weekly," the nation's largest metropolitan weekly. His articles on politics, labor, the economy, foreign policy and American culture have also appeared in "The New Yorker," "The Atlantic," "The New Republic," "The Nation," "The New Statesman," the op-ed, commentary and book review sections of "The New York Times" and "The Los Angeles Times," and in numerous other publications.

He is a member of the editorial board of Dissent. His print journalism has won numerous awards. He is a senior fellow at the Center for American Progress. Educated in Los Angeles public schools and at Columbia University, Harold currently resides here in Washington.

We have a live audience here at the National Press Club in Washington, and the debate is being distributed live now on C-SPAN and over the Internet at the Teamster's Union website and on their Facebook page.

In addition to questions from our panel, audience members may submit questions in writing on the cards provided. Please pass them to David Hodes. Mr. Hodes is over here, right now, the vice-chair of our Newsmakers Committee.

Also, those watching online or on C-SPAN will be able to submit questions by email to candidatesforum@ibtvote.org. That's candidatesforum@ibtvote.org, or text questions to 202-270-8026. Once again, that number is 202-270-8026, for consideration.

Tonight's debate is the one opportunity for Teamsters to see leaders of rival slates at the same time discussing major issues confronting their union. On October 6th the Election Supervisor will mail ballots to each of the 1.3 million members of the Teamsters, and members will cast secret ballot votes for 21 contested offices. The ballot count will begin on November 14th.

Candidates, you know the rules. Each candidate will have two minutes for an opening statement. The order of the opening statements has been determined by the drawing of lots a little while ago. By that drawing of lots, Mr. Zuckerman gets the first opening statement, and Mr. Hall will give the closing statement.

When we begin questions, as moderator I will direct the flow of all questions, calling on the panelists in order, and alternating between the candidates, with the first question going to Mr. Hall.

The candidate to whom the question is addressed will have 90 seconds to respond. The other candidate is then given 45 seconds for a rebuttal or comment, and the candidate first questioned will have 30 seconds for the rebuttal.

If I think an answer needs further clarification or follow-up, I may ask, or my panelists may ask for follow-up questions and you're entitled to 45 seconds. After questions, the candidates will have an opportunity to deliver a two-minute closing statement.

We have a timekeeper in the auditorium in the back, and the candidates and panelists can see the time displayed for their answers. When the time is up, I will stop the answer to keep the debate moving. Borrowing a line from Harold over here, I may let you finish your sentence, but not your paragraph.

Finally, let me caution the audience against any outburst or any kind of result that may take away speaking time from the candidate of your choice tonight, or even further sanctions from the election supervisor. With that, let's begin with candidate opening statements, starting with Mr. Zuckerman.

Mr. Zuckerman: Thank you. Thank you to the National Press Club, moderator, panelists, and everyone here tonight for this debate. Again, General President Hoffa is a no-show. As you know, Hoffa has never debated in front of the membership during an election.

You may not know this, but this is the third debate that he's ducked this year. It's time for Hoffa to stop being a coward, stand in front of the membership, and answer the members' questions. They sent Ken Hall, who I feel is the most dishonest and corrupt union official in the Teamsters.

During the 2011 election debate, in Hoffa's absence, Ken took shots at me and stated Carhaul declined by half during my tenure as Carhaul director, which is not true. I'm here now and we can debate that issue.

He also claimed I turned UPS full time jobs into part time jobs, which is also untrue and I'm open to debate those issues. In fact, unlike General President Hoffa, I'm here willing to debate any issue. The worst thing you can do as a Teamster official is to lie to the membership. Because you can't start a conversation to fix a problem when the conversation starts with a lie.

I believe we should be able to talk about the implementation of the UPS contract, how the IBT lied to the membership and told them that it was only implemented because of healthcare, and why the team care proposal was the IBT's proposal.

I also believe we should talk about the bribe Ken Hall offered me six years ago, so I would not run against them in the election. He was willing to spend hundreds of thousands of dues dollars to get me to support their campaign. Then we should talk about the continued corruption at the IBT that, as a member of the general executive board, he continues to ignore.

We have real problems in this union, corruption, loss of membership, lack of organizing, deteriorated contract and standards, and loss of pensions for over half a million teamsters. Thank you.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Hall.

Mr. Hall: Thank you for giving me the opportunity to address a number of issues facing teamster members. I'm proud of what the Hoffa/Hall team has done. We've organized over 200,000 workers in the past 10 years, with nearly half of those coming in just the past five years.

We have FedEx Freight at the table, which nobody thought would happen. We have contracts that provide the best healthcare for our members than anyone in this country. But we have to work on a major problem. And that's our pension problems.

We've got to make sure that we are working together, that we continue to work together, because we need to hold those members of Congress, whether they be Republicans or Democrats, accountable, and to ensure that our members get the same kind of relief that those greedy bastards on Wall Street, who destroyed the economy and with it, our pension.

Now, as you have already heard, my opponent here is a self-described angry man, but he's not angry for all the reasons that he tells you. He's angry because in January of 2010, he practically begged us to let him get on the Hoffa/Hall slate as a candidate, and we rejected that.

It wasn't personal at the time. I liked Fred. It was just because of his absolute horrible record as Carhaul Director. You're going to hear him talk a lot tonight about his local, because he doesn't want you to hear about his record on an international level.

By the way, Fred, I don't know why you're complaining that Jim Hoffa's not here, and that you're having to debate me. I'm the number two person on our slate and you were the second choice to be General President on your slate, only after Tim Sylvester lost his own local election, your number two and your running mate. Thank you.

Mr. Burr: Thank you, Mr. Hall. The honor of the first question, by the rules, goes to me. The question goes to you, Mr. Hall. Let's get right into it and answer this directly. The election rules state that you, the presidential candidate, may appear or send his running mate. You're with us here tonight, Mr. Hall. Where is Mr. Hoffa? Why isn't he with us?

Mr. Hall: Again, it seems like a fair fight here for both number twos, but Jim Hoffa's out doing what he's supposed to be doing. He's out representing our members.

The fact is Jim Hoffa's been in office for 17 years. Our members have seen him walking picket lines. They've seen him making speeches at rallies, supporting people, trying to organize. They've seen him on the picket lines. They've seen him in negotiations. They know who Jim Hoffa is, and they know what he stands for.

There's frankly no good reason that Jim Hoffa would be standing here and letting an angry local union officer just run down this union. He has more important things to do than that.

Mr. Burr: Thank you, sir. You still have time left, but we can move on. Your response, Mr. Zuckerman?

Mr. Zuckerman: Jim Hoffa should be here. We've got big problems in this union, and he should be held accountable in front of the membership to tell him what his solutions are going to be going forward for the next five years.

Like I said in my opening statement, this is the third debate that he's ducked this year. I invited him to a debate in February, to have a debate before the membership and before the convention. They bailed out on that.

Local 344 in Milwaukee, a UPS local, invited the candidates to debate in that local union in front of their membership as a request of their membership. He's ducked that debate. He's not here today either. That tells you the type of leadership that he's going to provide.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Hall, you have 30 seconds to respond, if you'd like.

Mr. Hall: Again, I would just remind the audience that up until 2010, Fred supported every issue and every policy that Jim Hoffa had. He didn't have these issues in previous debates, only when he wasn't selected to run on our campaign as a vice president.

That's when he became angry in 2010. Now, you haven't heard him deny that because it's facts. Let's get on with the debate. We've got more important things to do than talk about where Jim Hoffa is. Let's talk about the issues.

Mr. Burr: Let's move on to the debates. Turn to the panel now. The first question is going to Mr. Zuckerman, and Mr. Rose, you have the first question.

Mr. Rose: Shifting gears a little bit. The Teamsters is a union that's known for its independent streak. More than 10 years ago, the Teamsters left the AFL-CIO. I was wondering if you could discuss the significance of that decision and whether you think it was a good move.

If you were elected president, Mr. Zuckerman, would you consider rejoining the AFL-CIO? If so, under what circumstances? Also, do you feel that the Teamsters should work with other unions more than they already do?

Mr. Zuckerman: Absolutely, they should. One of our failures is because we've divided the house of labor by pulling out of the AFL-CIO and creating this Change to Win. Change to Win has been a failure. It started with nine international unions in 2005, and now it's down to three. They do nothing.

It was supposed to be a vehicle to continue organizing, and we're not organizing. Right now, all we do is steal members or merge with other international unions. The International union claims they have 1.4 million members. That's incorrect. The last numbers were 1.25.

If you take the mergers from the BLET, the maintenance of way folks, the GCIU. That was 130,000 that we brought in. You take that off the 1.25, now you're at 1.1. If you take the recent organizing victories that they claim -- Ken claimed it in his opening statement -- they were not organizing drives.

They were mergers with other local unions, or they were raiding other local unions. Like in 2011, the local down there which they took from the FOP. We are not organizing anybody. What we are doing is taking them from other areas.

Union density in the United States is down to eight percent now, and that's because we're not organizing new people.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Hall, you have 45 seconds to respond.

Mr. Hall: I just told you. The numbers are what the numbers are. We've organized over 220,000 people in 10 years. Now, in terms of whether we should have gotten out of the AFL, we still work together with the AFL on lots of different programs, and currently we are working with them on political programs.

We work with unions all over the country. Fred's just not aware of that, but I would point out once again 10 years ago when we did this, Fred was a supporter of it. He was on board. He supported the policies, but then they don't call you Flip-Flop Freddy for nothing.

The fact is in Local 89 you haven't done any organizing. You've organized four companies in the last five years. Out of eight attempts, four companies, 108 members.

Mr. Burr: 30 seconds to respond.

Mr. Zuckerman: Let's talk about Ken Hall's record. In 17 years that Hoffa's been in office, Ken Hall has lost 25 percent of his membership. That's a fact. His pension fund is in the toilet. That's a fact. Now, he can't hide from that.

As for me not objecting to the policies for the last 10 years, that is inaccurate because I went to Hoffa in 2008. That's when we broke ranks when he would not organize in Carhaul.

Mr. Burr: Thank you. The next question is directed to Mr. Hall, and it comes from Kimberly Atkins.

Ms. Atkins: Mr. Hall, last week UPS CEO, David Abney, urged other business leaders to push Congress to support the Trans Pacific Partnership deal, saying that it was important to support small and mid-size businesses.

What, specifically, is your message to Congress about the TPP as it affects your membership? If it passes, what would you do to protect your membership from the perils of the TPP, as you see them?

Mr. Hall: First of all, we don't expect it to pass because we have been working day and night over the past couple of years to make sure the TPP doesn't pass. Because Dave Abney, the CEO of UPS, supports it, it doesn't mean anything to us.

That doesn't mean we should support it. In fact, Dave Abney and UPS supports ALEC, another group that we despise. We have a lot of disagreements over what the support is. I can tell you that we're not looking for what we're going to do to protect our members once it passes.

We're looking to keep the pressure on to make sure that TPP doesn't pass. Now, we're in a position where both presidential candidates have seemed to be against it and lots of members of Congress. We think we're going to be successful in being able to do that.

That's really my answer on this issue, but I do want, with the rest of my time...it's fact check time, Fred. You said you broke with Jim Hoffa in 2008. Here's a letter from you on January 8, 2010, not only talking about how you supported him forever. This is the letter you sent asking to be put on the board and pledging your undying support from your local and your joint council. This is January, 2010, on your letterhead signed by you.

It's time to tell the truth, something that hasn't happened a lot in your campaign.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Zuckerman, you have 45 seconds to respond to both counts, I guess.

Mr. Zuckerman: Sure. We're against TPP and that's pretty obvious, so let's talk about this letter. This letter – and it doesn't say all the things you say in it, OK? This letter was requested at a joint council meeting in Charleston, West Virginia in December 2009.

Ken Hall came to me. We were at Randy's Bar. You had requested that I write the general president a letter to make that request. I specifically said, "You know what, Ken? I'm not going to beg nobody for a job." I refused to do that and Rich Leebove was the one that wrote that. I signed it, but Rich Leebove was the one that wrote that. Don't come in here telling lies in here like that.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Hall, redirect?

Mr. Hall: The only thing I can tell you is that the bottom of it says, "Fred Zuckerman." It's got your signature on it and it does say, "I've been an active and strong supporter of your administration since 1998, and have worked hard to have our local and joint councils support your policies and programs."

It goes on to say, "As you know, Local 89 is one of the largest locals in the IBT and is the home of the UPS air hub. I would be honored to serve on the general executive board, and as president of both Joint Council 94 and Local 89, would promise you the full support of our officers." It wasn't my fault you wrote this letter.

Mr. Burr: Our next question goes to Mr. Zuckerman, from Harold Meyerson.

Mr. Meyerson: Mr. Zuckerman, the travails of the Central State Pension Fund are fairly well known. Is there anything the previous generation of the Teamster leadership should have done about that pension fund to have kept it in better shape?

And now going forward, now that Mr. Fienberg has struck down the arrangement, is there anything different that a Zuckerman administration would do that's different from what a Hoffa administration would do in trying to get Congress to resolve these problems?

Mr. Zuckerman: Sure. Even in 2008, when I went to the general president and told him that it was important to organize, and he rejected that, I feel that we have to organize in the core

industries and put participants into the funds. When Ken Hall took UPS out of Central State, that collapsed the fund.

At the time, when UPS was in the fund, there were 104,000 participants. It was like a two to one ratio. Add on the fact that they didn't organize since 2000 when Jim Hoffa took office or put any participants in. Had they not taken UPS out of the fund, and had they organized and put participants into the fund, the fund would be healthy today. It's not healthy because of a lot of bad decisions, and they're still trying to take people out of the funds.

In 2007, the Central States Fund took in \$1.44 billion in participant contributions. Today, they take in \$568,000 in participant contributions. It's minus \$880 million, almost a billion dollars that they're not taking in. The fund cannot survive without participants.

Right now, Central States has 59,000 participants to 235,000 retirees. It's going this way. They're trying to take Kroger out now, which would make it 52,000. They are purposely collapsing this fund.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Hall...I'm sorry.

Mr. Meyerson: Mr. Hall, can I ask you to follow up with the specific allegation of taking UPS out of the Central States Pension Fund?

Mr. Hall: I'd be happy to because Fred's rewriting history again. He said he broke with Jim in 2008, which I just proved was a lie, but in 2007, Fred Zuckerman sat as a member of the National Negotiating Committee at UPS. He didn't show up very much, but he was appointed as a member.

He voted for it. His members voted for it at his recommendation in his local union. They voted for that contract. Now he tells you this. This is the facts. This is not angry rhetoric. The facts are that in January of 2015, Central States submitted to the treasury department that if the economy hadn't collapsed in 2008, 2009, with the \$6 billion they got from UPS, would have made the fund fully funded by 2028. That's their words.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Zuckerman.

Mr. Zuckerman: They were advised by Central States not to do it. They did it anyway. That's a part of bargaining. You either keep people in the pension funds or take people out of the pension funds. Everybody knew that it was a mistake to do that.

We were told in that negotiation that you had done some due diligence. The officials that were advising you said that it was a good thing for Central States. We didn't know that Central States had recommended that they didn't do it, and that it would be a very bad thing. Ultimately, that's what happened.

Mr. Burr: Thank you. Now, let's start over on the panel again. Mr. Rose, you have a question for Mr. Hall?

Mr. Rose: Yes. This is a question about organizing. The union recently has touted its inroads in organizing new industries, such as health care and municipal government workers. Are you

concerned that the union is putting too much emphasis on new industries at the expense of its traditional basis of support in industries such as freight and Carhaul?

How do you strike a balance between organizing in industries where the Teamsters had historically represented many workers and branching out into new areas?

Mr. Hall: As part of the 220,000 people we have organized in the past 10 years, I would just point out that 12,000 of those was at a freight company that used to be called Overnite that's now UPS Freight, the first major organizing campaign in 50 years in freight.

Some of the naysayers said this wouldn't happen. We're now sitting across the table from FedEx Freight, which a lot of people said would never happen. We're in negotiations with them. We've organized a lot of people, but you continue to hear...I don't think there's anything wrong with organizing healthcare workers and others.

In fact, I think everybody deserves an opportunity to be represented by our union and to have better working conditions and better pay and benefits. If my opponent can tell you which of the companies that we've organized that shouldn't be organized and should not be in a union, that's fine, but I've heard this core industry argument for the past two elections.

I listened to this from one of his running mates five years ago. We believe everyone has a chance. We have organized just in the past seven or eight years, more in the core industry than there has been in the past 50 years in this organization.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Zuckerman.

Mr. Zuckerman: That's just not true. Organizing the core industries keep the standards up in those industries. They talk about UPS Freight. UPS Freight was given to them when they agreed to get out of the UPS Pension Plan.

UPS Freight has been a disaster. Worst freight contract out there. Didn't help anybody in the freight industry. What happens in the core industries such as warehousing, such as grocery, such as freight, such as Carhaul and others, if you don't keep those standards up, every time you get to the bargaining table, the first thing they say is, "We need concessions because we got to negotiate down here."

If we were to bring these people up, it raises our standard of living, it raises our contracts, and we can put people into the pension funds, which we need to do.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Hall.

Mr. Hall: I can only respond by saying UPS Freight has the highest-paid freight workers, whether they're union or non-union, in the United States of America. How Fred can say it didn't raise them up, I don't know.

The one thing that I can tell you is it is strange to me that you would bring that up. Your drivers at Kroger, the largest grocery warehouse in the country, has gotten a six-year contract that they get a total of 64 cents an hour increase over six years. Take care of your business at home.

Mr. Burr: Next question goes to Mr. Zuckerman from Ms. Atkins.

Ms. Atkins: Mr. Zuckerman, you accused the Hoffa/Hall administration of negotiating "weak, concessionary contracts." Can you point out specific instances in contracts you've negotiated where you successfully blocked the kind of concessions you accuse your opponent of supporting?

Mr. Zuckerman: Sure. We'll talk about that Trans Service, that Zenith contract that he was just talking about. In 2006, Kroger wanted to subcontract a lot of our work and they wanted concessions to do that. We negotiated with those companies, and we negotiated far superior contracts than the IBT has negotiated in the Kroger master contract.

We don't pay for healthcare. We got better healthcare. We're in the Central States Pension Fund. We have far superior conditions and benefits that they negotiate and we continue to do that.

Ms. Atkins: Mr. Hall, just to follow up, can you point to specific instances where you pushed back against proposed management concessions?

Mr. Hall: We do that every negotiation we have. If you sit down with an employer, they want concessions from the very first day. I do want to. We have to look at not just issues of subcontracting and other things.

For example, I didn't hear Mr. Zuckerman say anything about that 66 cents over six years, but he's also failing to tell you that in that Kroger contract, they have unlimited use of casual employees, which is worse than subcontracting.

We face concessionary attempts by employers every time we sit down at the table. He calls the UPS contract concessionary. I call it people who make between \$88,000 as a package driver and \$105,000 as a feeder driver, and total benefits of \$138,000 to \$150,000. That's hardly concessionary, and it's much better than the contracts I've seen him have.

Mr. Burr: Your response, Mr. Zuckerman.

Mr. Zuckerman: Yeah. The UPS contract that he identifies is a small segment of the UPS people that work there. They have a lot of part timers that start at \$10 an hour. They don't get healthcare for the first 12 months. They only have a three-hour guarantee.

You know, I was campaigning in New York City not too long ago, down at Foster Avenue in Brooklyn. You had people showing up on city buses for \$10 an hour for these part time jobs. Then they leave and go to a homeless shelter. We've got to do better than that. That's a huge majority of the workers at UPS. They're part time employees.

Mr. Burr: I'm going to stop you there, sir. Your time is up. Thank you. Our next question goes to Mr. Hall from Harold Meyerson.

Mr. Meyerson: Mr. Hall, by my count, the Teamsters are one of only three national unions that hasn't made endorsements in that other presidential election that seems to be going on as we speak. Most of the other unions have concluded that whatever her flaws may be, Hillary Clinton would be a more pro-worker president than Donald Trump.

Do you think that's an accurate assessment? Why have the Teamsters not to date made an endorsement in the American presidential contest?

Mr. Hall: Let me try and answer this. First of all, it's obviously important to our members and it's something that we are...We're in a process right now. We don't from the top down just declare we're going to support one person over the other.

We do surveys with our local union leaders, our joint council leaders. We just sent a survey to Fred and we get the pulse of what our people across the country are saying. We are in that process right now, and I would expect that there will be an announcement from us coming very, very shortly.

Not only are we talking about the presidential election, we're also very, very focused on what is going to happen in Congress. As I said in my opening, we want to make sure that the people we are supporting is going to be working with us and is going to frankly vote with us, and support pension reform because that's the biggest issue facing our unions.

We want to make sure our members can retire with some dignity and it's not going to get done by name calling so we've got to make sure that whoever we endorse is going to support our cause. The same thing is going on because ALEC and others have moved from state to state with Rights to Work. I've been fighting Right to Work in West Virginia.

Fortunately, we just got a preliminary injunction against it, but we are looking at the big picture, not just the presidential race. To answer your question, I think you will see an announcement from us. We are not going to support somebody who supports Right to Work, that's for certain.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Zuckerman.

Mr. Zuckerman: We got the surveys. We are filling them out. We are going to support the person that best supports the Teamsters Union. At least that's what Local 89 will reflect on their survey. I want to talk about the Right to Work thing a minute and the AFL-CIO. In Kentucky, we work very hard with the AFL-CIO to make sure that we always defeat Right to Work, and we did defeat Right to Work.

We worked, and we worked, and we worked, we had a special election. We won three seats. Any politician in Kentucky will tell you that if it wasn't for the efforts of labor that we would have Right to Work. That is not true in West Virginia. West Virginia, they didn't do the job to keep it out of there, Ken Hall's law.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Hall, your response.

Mr. Hall: I can only respond at the record is pretty clear. Not only did we work with AFL-CIO unions but I was the person designated for labor to testify for three hours at a Senate judiciary committee. Two weeks ago, I was the person that the AFL asked to represent the entire labor movement in West Virginia in a court hearing where we sought a preliminary injunction to stop Right to Work for now, and we were successful at that.

But for Fred to suggest that that somehow means we're not working with the AFL-CIO is yet another thing that's not exactly true.

Mr. Burr: It is my discretion here to ask a follow-up question, give both of you 45 seconds to respond because I want to get at this issue. Obviously, you are in a hard spot given this is a presidential election cycle.

Is there any truth the idea that the Teamsters would like to endorse Hillary Clinton, but a worry that would rankle the rank-and-file who maybe supporting Donald Trump? Mr. Hall, can I start with you.

Mr. Hall: Let's be clear. If you look at working people across this country, our members have questions about both of the candidates. I think it's pretty clear that I'm reminded of other people. One of them is seems to be an angry man who spews out lots of falsehoods.

He's already demonstrated his for Right to Work, and I think, once we've given them that message, and once they understand where he and the Republican platform, we have been educating our members about the Republican platform to do exactly what you are talking about. To make sure you are not just saying, "Hey, we tell you to support this."

They've got to be on board with that and that's what we are doing but the answer is we are not going to wait. You will see, I would guess in the next seven to 14 days, an endorsement from the Teamsters.

Mr. Burr: You hear to her first. Mr. Zuckerman 45 seconds.

Mr. Zuckerman: I think the IBT has squandered an opportunity. Typically, in these types of elections, you go and you talk to the candidates. You identify the ones that you want to endorse and then you work with them to make sure that they are going to help you going forward. You negotiate with them. The IBT has squandered that. We are only 75 days away from the elections. It's too late to do that now.

Mr. Burr: Thank you. We are going to need one more round from the panel here and then we'll go to questions submitted by the campaigns and by people, members as well. Next question is for Mr. Zuckerman from Mr. Rose.

Mr. Rose: As you know, the union has touted the end of the 1989 Consent Decree that dictated federal supervision of the union, restricted many of the union's activities but it was replaced by different document. The Final Agreement which permanently replaced the independent review board with a different enforcement mechanism also still requires that elections be independently supervised.

I'm wondering your view of how significant are these changes, and how do you expect union governance to change under the new Final Agreement?

Mr. Zuckerman: I think it was a mistake to petition to court and to try to get out of the Consent Order at the time that they did last January. They are fully aware that there's still corruption in the union. They went to court and told them that we were corruption free and we are not. Every day you hear something new about corruption and the IBT is not doing anything to correct it.

We have an International Vice President out west, Rome Aloise, who's been brought up on charges that the IBT has delayed for twice now. His hearing won't be till October 11, and there's

no question he's going to get thrown out of the union for what he did. I've read the deposition. I've read the charges. He admitted to a lot of the things that they accused him of. There's no getting out of that. We had another incident with the Ohio conference.

Ken Hall was directly involved in that, because he didn't do his job to monitor what the Ohio conference was doing. Year after year after year, in our business, we are required to send in monthly trustee reports and the IBT has the ability to go there and audit the conference, and he didn't do that. In 2006, we were given a recommendation by the IBT to shut all the conferences down.

I was the president of the Kentucky West Virginia conference. Ken was on that conference. We shut it down for exactly the reasons why they took the Ohio conference down and put it into trusteeship.

Mr. Burr: Your response Mr. Hall.

Mr. Hall: Fred, I just want to point out, you were the head of that conference at the time, but first of all, he is talking about people who's been charged. There is people that's been charged and there will always be people who has been charged.

I don't believe Fred's going to be judge and jury on this, but we believe in the same concept that we believe for our members. If they get terminated by the company, they are not guilty until proven innocent.

They are innocent until proven guilty. If the court is to decide, then we will address it in the manner we should. I just want to point out Fred's buddy, his running mate, Brad Slawson embezzled \$220,000 from the union, and this is what Fred said, "Whatever I can do to help. I'm in, brothers forever." He supported him breaking the union for \$220,000 because he was his running mate. This is your email.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Zuckerman, your response.

Mr. Zuckerman: Brad Slawson was James Hoffa's buddy and his pick for vice president. When he needed some help, probably, what that email says, I told him I was going to help him with legal fees or whatever, but that was before the IRB reports got out and those kinds of things.

Ken Hall knew in 2006, and I was president of the Kentucky West Virginia conference, and we closed it down because we were told to close it down for all the reasons why the Ohio conference should have been closed down.

Mr. Burr: Next question goes to Mr. Hall, and that comes from Kimberly Atkins.

Ms. Atkins: Mr. Hall, like with all elections, turn out is important. In the last election in 2011, about 250,000 members voted. That's less than a fifth of the total membership. Why is the membership so tuned out?

Mr. Hall: Turn out is and always has been a problem for us since we started the direct elections. I absolutely support always having our members have the opportunity to vote for the top offices.

One of the things, we tried a lot of different things. The election office themselves, the last time actually had celebrities doing robocalls to our members to try to get them to come out and vote.

I think a lot of the issues, quite frankly, is that if a member is satisfied with their contract. They are satisfied with the way things are going. They don't bother to get involved in the process and that's unfortunate. It would certainly benefit me in this campaign or the Hoffa/Hall team if we had 90 percent turnout. That's something that we've all been working towards to see how we can get more people to turn out.

Mr. Burr: Your response Mr. Zuckerman.

Mr. Zuckerman: Members are angry just like I am. The members are angry. They've lost hope, and quite frankly, they want something different. That should turn out the vote. I think it will in this election. Last time we didn't have a campaign going. A lot of people were shielded from the election.

This time it's different. It's not. We are getting the word out. We are making sure that people have an opportunity to know that there's an election, and that they are going to have to get out there and vote.

Mr. Burr: Would you like a 30 seconds response?

Mr. Hall: I will just point out that Fred was on a slate on the opposite side the last time and was the lowest voter turnout that we've had in all the elections, so I don't believe that's quite accurate.

Mr. Burr: Next question is for Mr. Zuckerman from Mr. Meyerson.

Mr. Meyerson: Mr. Zuckerman, in Seattle at the prompting of some Seattle Teamsters and Teamster's lawyers there, the Seattle city council voted to give collective bargaining rights to independent contractors that are driving in Uber, and Lyft, and cab drivers as well.

Obviously, the whole issue of whether your members are mislabeled as independent contractors, that's been an issue with the port truckers, but all of this leads to the question of the next time labor people and progresses push for labor law reform.

You are looking at a different job market, where all kinds of people may not be in traditional employment relations, what do you think the Teamster should be talking about in terms of the next generation of labor law reform? Who should be covered? How should that work?

Mr. Zuckerman: First of all, I think the Teamsters need to fix their own house first before they start getting into discussions about going outside of our core industries. We've had a lot of problems with standards. We've got a lot of problems with pension. We've got a lot of problems with all those things. Fundamentally, I believe that everybody in America has a right to get together in joining union.

I would not be an opponent to that. I think that the Teamsters union should fix their own problems before we start going outside and fixing somebody else's problems.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Hall.

Mr. Hall: I don't consider organizing new workers outside. I consider that something that's our duty to do. Doesn't quite square with me to say we should fix our problems before we organize when I have heard us criticized because we don't organize enough.

I'm a little confused but in terms of trying to answer directly to the question of Uber, Uber and others like them. With all the technology we know, this is the new frontier, and so we have to be very careful. We want to give them the representation.

We've also been leading the fight against mis-classification of workers, so we are not going to enter into a contract that waves our right to challenge the misclassification, so that's really the struggle right now. We are looking to get into those industries and we should, because we have to move with the times, but we also have to protect the integrity of those contracts.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Zuckerman, you have 30 seconds to respond.

Mr. Zuckerman: I'm sorry. Like I said before, they have a right. Americans have a right to have a voice in what they want. If they collectively assert that voice, I think that that is a good thing. Like I said before, we need to fix our problems first. We've got a lot of problems. We are not organizing. We've lost 400,000 members in the 17 years that Hoffa's been there, and we need to focus on the industries that we already have.

Mr. Burr: Thank you. We are now going to go to a portion where I'm going to ask some questions submitted by your campaigns to each other, as well as questions submitted by members of the Teamsters. The question now goes to Mr. Hall. This question is from Frank Villa of Local 630 in Los Angeles. I'm going to read some words here, these are from Mr. Villa.

"You celebrated, Mr. Hall, government getting out of the union but your former anti-corruption Czar, Ed Stier, said the test is how leaders respond to corruption, circle the wagons or repudiate.

When your trade showed division, director had thugs extort, and assault members you found him innocent. Today he is in jail. You refused to hold hearings on corruption charges against your running mate Rome Aloise, for taking in player gifts in exchange for contracts and sessions.

Why don't you take action against corruption, and will you repudiate Rome Aloise right now for labor racketeering?

Mr. Hall: First of all, I think, I'm not certain. They didn't name any names, but I believe they are talking about somebody in the first instance who we did not try and find innocent. They went through the court system, and was found guilty, and once they were found guilty, then they were removed.

Again, they get their day in court, and we complied with it. The one thing that's clear, let me be clear about this, the Teamsters union does not condone violence nor do they condone corruption.

In the case of Rome Aloise, I've already answered the question once, but he is going through the system. We are not delaying anything. We followed our constitution, and his hearing is scheduled, and that is what's supposed to happen. We will deal with that once his case is heard just like we have for the last 25 years.

Mr. Burr: Your response Mr. Zuckerman.

Mr. Zuckerman: Corruption in the Teamsters Union is just unacceptable. The first gentleman he was talking about was John Perry, Local 82 in Boston. The IBT knew for years about what was going on up there and never would act on it.

He was the director of division, I forget which division, but tonight he is sitting in jail because the IBT never did do anything about it, and they allowed him to continue in his capacity in leadership when they knew the things were wrong. The same things happen to Rome Aloise.

Rome Aloise is the director of the dairy division. He is the director of the warehouse division, I think, and they should have at least suspended him instead of continuing to allow him to represent the membership in any of those divisions.

Mr. Burr: Your response, Mr. Hall.

Mr. Hall: Have you sent him any money for his legal expenses like you did Brad Slawson? We've covered this ground. They are entitled to a hearing, but Fred, there is something you have a chance to fix. One of your delegates was disqualified by the election office, and was not only disqualified, but banned from being at the convention, banned from even being in a hotel. What action did you take? I will tell you what action.

You appealed that decision, and in the appeal after the first denying that it happened, your lawyers agreed it happened, but you didn't like the penalty. Have you done anything? Have you removed him as steward?

Mr. Burr: I give you 45 seconds to answer that, Mr. Zuckerman.

Mr. Zuckerman: To answer that question?

Mr. Burr: Please answer your several questions.

Mr. Zuckerman: We are getting off track and this is getting ridiculous. We had one guy, pushed a guy, he got disqualified for being a delegate, and that was the end of it. As for me sending Brad Slawson any money, I never sent Brad Slawson any money. How do you make this stuff up? You are making it up. As you keep going, you are making stuff up, and that's the problem when you tell a lie because you will always get caught in it.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Hall, I'll give you 45 seconds, and then we are going to get back to our regular order.

Mr. Hall: When I read you what you said in the email, I think you said, "Maybe I'll send him that, maybe I'll do something about legal expenses." That was before the IRB report. I took it from what you just said, but I would point out in your email, it was clear that he'd already been put in trusteeship and your words are your words.

Now, it's not just a small incident that happened in Local 89, this was battery on another of your members in your local union who is a steward.

I'm going to ask you one more time, did you remove him as a steward, or you are allowing someone to serve and represent your local union who was convicted, not charged, as you've talked about some of our other people, convicted of committing battery against another of your members.

Mr. Burr: Gentleman, we can go on and on about this for a little while it seems, so I'm going to move on to the next question. You can use your time at any point later on to respond to that if you would like. This question is for Mr. Zuckerman. This is submitted by Tommy Ratliff of local 639. Mr. Zuckerman, you have said that the solution to the pension problem is to organize workers into pension plans.

Out of the four small companies you have organized in the last five years, how many have you put into your central state pension fund?

Mr. Zucherman: Three.

Mr. Burr: Three out of five?

Mr. Zuckerman: Three out of four I think you said.

Mr. Burr: I'm sorry.

Mr. Zuckerman: Three out of four, I think you said. Let me just say this about that. I am a proponent of supporting the Central States Pension Fund unlike the International union. They are doing everything that they can do to kill it. I organized three companies recently. We put in, it was Precision Auto. It was World Class Corrugated, and it was the Voith people that we got back after the International union wouldn't help us at all doing a two-and-a-half-year battle that we got a \$20 million back pay over.

We need to continue to do that. I can tell you one thing is that I have got more Central States pension participants than Ken Hall's even got in his local. He's lost 25 percent of his local, and I've got more that just participate in Central States.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Hall, would you like to respond?

Mr. Hall: I'm trying to see. At one point, Fred, I thought you are just was confused and now I think you might just be lying. 400,000 members that we lost, 25, did we have a 1.8 million members at some point that I didn't know about? 25 percent of my local, you are just making it up as you go. But let's do this, let's talk about the Voith.

You have told everybody around the country about Voith and how the IBT wouldn't help you. I have an email here where you thanked our General Counsel for giving him assistance on a strike benefits.

Let's talk about this. IBT's lawyer represented you and won the case for you. Then you went off and met with the company, cut a deal for 15 million. The regional director for the NLRBB refused to take it, and had to send you back to get \$20 million. You settled short again, Fred.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Zuckerman, 30 seconds to respond.

Mr. Zuckerman: 30 seconds, I ain't gonna be able to respond to this. There was no agreement for \$15 million. It was always \$21.6 million. The regional director never sent us back to get no money, that's a damn lie. What else was there? There is plenty more lies out there. I can't keep up with them all. You keep spewing them out there.

Mr. Burr: I think we are going back to Mr. Hall next. Mr. Hall, a question for you from Paul Hazlett, Local 377 in Youngstown, Ohio. I haul GM cars out of the Lordstown plant in Ohio. Auto companies are making record profits, but Hoffa negotiated a concessionary contract which was rejected by 87 percent of our members.

When the UPS contract was negotiated, two-thirds of the members voted down their supplements after their healthcare was cut. Freight concessions were voted down repeatedly.

Doesn't this show the national leadership is totally out of touch with the members?

Mr. Hall: My opponent's been going around trying to get people to turn down the current Carhaul contract. I understand that. Here's what I would point out, in terms of how we negotiate.

Fred became the Carhaul director in 2005. I took the same years that he was the Carhaul director and matched them, the same years that I was director of UPS. Here's how it turned out. UPSers got \$6.60 an hour in raises and car haulers got \$1.75 in hourly raises.

We're not talking about concessions here. We're just talking about somebody who is, just like he did with UPS, now Fred's playing politics with the Carhaul contract.

The Carhaul contract is better than the one that he negotiated, and by the way, his in 2008 was rejected by the members, and he also forgot to get the work preservation agreement signed, and tried to claim that he did. He didn't.

He went to the NLRB. The NLRB rejected that. Fred sold the members the bill of goods and said, "You got work preservation, and it's signed by Allied," and the fact is it wasn't. I don't need any lectures from someone who has been such a failure.

By the way, Fred, I was wrong, and I'm going to admit it, when I said you lost half of our members. It went from a little over 9,200 down to 4,200, so that's just a little more than half the members.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Zuckerman, 45 seconds.

Mr. Zuckerman: Look, there's not a lot of truth in that, either. Ken doesn't understand that in 2008 when we negotiated that contract, there were three manufacturers that were in bankruptcy or close to bankruptcy.

Ford Motor Company mortgaged everything that they had and borrowed money so that they could avoid bankruptcy. General Motors and Chrysler had gone into bankruptcy, and the government had to bail them out.

Those were pretty tough times back then, there's no question about that. You got to understand these Carhaul companies don't have a lot of customers. They've got a handful of customers.

You got GM. You got Ford. You got Chrysler. All of them were in the toilet, and then you got Toyota. You got some Hondas and Nissans, and those kind of things.

Those were very tough times, but I will tell you one thing, is that Tom Keegel, and Ken has the utmost respect for Tom Keegel...

Mr. Burr: Your time is up, sir.

Mr. Zuckerman: He had testified in the deposition where Ken Hall tried to bribe me, and he said that I had done an outstanding job in Carhaul.

Mr. Burr: Sir, I'm going to have to stop you now. Your time is up. Mr. Hall?

Mr. Hall: I think facts do matter sometimes, in most cases. The numbers I gave you is the numbers that are reflected as the number of active numbers that we have working.

The contract -- you may have had tough times in 2008, but you did negotiate another contract in 2011. In 2011, you had the same kind of wage increases. In fact, Fred, when you started as Carhaul director, and look at what car haulers were making, at the same time UPSers -- I took exact same time periods of time.

When we started, when you took over as Carhaul director, Carhaul members were within \$5.00 of UPS workers. That is now over \$10. That is the kind of leadership that you provided. You don't know how to settle anything.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Hall, thank you. Next question is for Mr. Zuckerman. This is again, was submitted by the other campaign.

You have campaigned against TDU in your local for years. At one point, the question says, you called them "Tear-Down Unions." In fact, you had vanity plates on your motorcycle that said TDU SUCKS.

Why have you flip-flopped and taken their support? That question comes from Chris L. Holtz of Local 177.

Mr. Zuckerman: Sure. I don't consider it flip-flopping. I don't support anybody other than the membership. The membership is who pays my salary, and whatever is right for the membership, that's what I support.

If you say that I've flip-flopped because I don't support Hoffa anymore or you say that I've flip-flopped on this TDU issue, I don't consider it flip-flopping. What we've done is formed a coalition to run against a corrupt organization, a corrupt executive board, and they're on board with that.

I have never been TDU. I want everybody to hear that, because all of you are going around saying, "He's a TDU guy, and he's going to tear down the union." I've never been TDU. In fact, in the latest TDU magazine, even TDU says I'm not TDU. Never happened.

We have formed a coalition. They agree on the same principles in this campaign that we agree on. We have to eliminate corruption. We have to eliminate the weak contracts. We have to eliminate the IBT lying to the membership, particularly what Ken did on the healthcare proposal in the last UPS contract.

We've got to stop all that. They agree with me on all those issues. They support my campaign, and quite frankly, I appreciate the support of that group, including at least thousands and thousands and thousands of ex-Hoffa supporters.

They support my campaign, too. I guess they're all TDU guys now, too.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Hall, what do you have to say?

Mr. Hall: You are angry. Let's put it this way. 10 out of 11 people who are around today on the Teamsters, who ran on your slate the last time, are now supporting the Hoffa/Hall slate because they figured out who you are.

I would say this. TDU...I know they're pretty accurate. At one time, they had your picture on a milk carton and said you were missing. In 2008, you made \$239,000 off their dues and you were missing as the director. This came from TDU. I can't answer to whether you're TDU or not, and frankly don't care.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Zuckerman, you want to redirect?

Mr. Zuckerman: No.

[laughter]

Mr. Zuckerman: There's no sense in it.

Mr. Burr: All right, we're saving time. The next question is for Mr. Hall. This came in from a text. I don't have the member's name. How could the last contract with United Parcel Service be imposed on the membership, despite repeatedly being voted down by Central Region? This contract is concession-filled and now UPS bargaining unit employees are stuck with reduced benefits, deplorable working conditions, and no right to strike. How do you explain this?

Mr. Hall: I don't even know what they're talking about...Right to strike. Nothing changed in the contract about that. I just saw some information that said about four to one of our members think that their healthcare's pretty darn good.

I've heard a lot from Fred about it and I would actually challenge him tonight to tell me specifically what about it that is bad. Let's call it the way it is. The reason this contract was rejected is because Fred decided that he's going to play politics with it.

Now, let's talk about what happened in Fred's negotiations. The company had \$1,000 per member over a shuttle issue on the table. That's \$8 million that Fred took off the table and traded it for a pension problem that he failed to fix in 2002.

Fred has six-hour full time jobs...I don't know what he calls them, but I know this. Instead of worrying about full time jobs, he's got 600 and some jobs that have a six-hour guarantee, part time benefits, part time wages, except the part timers don't get overtime when they work over 5:00 like they do everywhere else in the United States of America.

If you look at how much money that company saves, it's over \$8 million a year on that. That's \$16 million that Fred gave back to them in concessions. It's no secret why UPS has the largest air hub in their operation in Louisville, Kentucky. It's because they got such a sweetheart deal with Fred Zuckerman.

Mr. Burr: Your response...

Mr. Zuckerman: That air hub's been there a long time and even before me, so that's a pretty ridiculous statement. You did give up the right to strike in the contract because you failed to file the F-7 notices, which is a federal requirement to have the legal ability to strike.

I did eight FOIA requests during that period of time, and you never sent it in on time. The healthcare is concessionary. Ken Hall stood up there and said, "We're not going to pay \$90, or \$9, or nine cents for healthcare."

I just left New Jersey and instead of the 40-cent raise that they were supposed to get, they got a 10-cent raise, because 30 percent of that raise had to go to healthcare. On the West Coast, they got to use their pension money. The benefits are far inferior than the company plan and we got a deposition from a guy at UPS that said you were the one that proposed Teamcare. It wasn't a company that proposed Teamcare.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Hall?

Mr. Hall: I don't know where to start with all that. What I would tell you is first of all, I've sent you letters. I sent you copies of them. I know you're sensitive to the issue of not opening a contract because you did that with Jeffboat and had a wildcat strike in your local.

I also am told that you didn't open the contract in Carhaul. That's why you couldn't get the work preservation agreement. I am going to one more time say to you, tell me specifically...Instead of the rhetoric, tell this audience what the problem is with the health insurance. If there is a legitimate problem, I would be happy to try to address it.

Mr. Burr: I'll ask him your questions over here. Mr. Zuckerman, we've had a lot of questions about pensions coming in from viewers outside this room. I would like to pin you down specifically. What would you do differently from the current administration on the Central States Pension Plan?

Mr. Zuckerman: What I would have done...

Mr. Burr: What would you do differently?

Mr. Zuckerman: What would I do now to try to fix it? A couple of things. Number one, we got to work with the plan instead of against the plan. They've never worked with the plan. Number

two is that we're going to need some kind of government help to stabilize the fund. They only got enough money to last about 8 or 10 years now. We need to make sure that that happens.

Nobody is going to give us money to continue to pay our bills. You're not going to get it from the government. You're not going to get it from the tooth fairy. We have to implement some kind of self-help. What that takes is organizing in our core industries and putting people back into pension funds.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Hall, would you like to comment?

Mr. Hall: Look, I don't disagree with it. The more members we have, the better. That's part of a solution. The fact is to say that it's not me, that it's my campaign that's been going around bashing Central States. I will tell you that we do have to work together.

I said that earlier. I said earlier we got to continue. We're working on plans now, and part of it is going to have to be getting help from the government. Look, they bailed out, they gave loans to all these people who destroyed the economy, and we've got to put the kind of pressure on them to do it.

There's other things that we can do, that we're trying to do, that's going to be able to convince everyone. We've got to make this work. We've got to all stop finger pointing, stop the blame game. Everybody should be working together because this is the most important issue facing our members and particularly our retirees.

Mr. Burr: Redirect, Mr. Zuckerman?

Mr. Zuckerman: I think that's just precious for them to come up here. They've destroyed the fund over 17 years and tell you a couple of days before an election that we're out there trying to get something done. You have got to be kidding me.

They're the ones that destroyed this pension fund. Now, you're out there trying to...Why weren't you doing that out there 17 years ago? Trying to protect this fund? You're the one that took them out. You're the one that collapsed the fund.

You're the one that sat on the executive board and didn't do a damn thing about organizing in the core industries since 2003. Now, they want to say, "Well, yeah, it's a bad situation. Let's try to do something about it."

You know what? You're too late for it. You need to leave, and you need to put people in there that are going to get the job done.

Mr. Burr: You're over time there. I'm going to give you 45 seconds, Mr. Hall, if you would like to respond.

Mr. Hall: First of all, we're not too late. To say it's too late to do something, to fix our members pension, is irresponsible. We have to continue to fight this. Again, I don't know what part of this you don't understand.

Since 2003 you say we haven't done this, we haven't done that. We're not organized. We have brought more people into the freight industry since 2003 than we did the previous 40 years. You know that, Fred.

You continue to talk about letting UPS out, and the fact is you sat on the National Negotiating Committee and voted for it, went back and recommended it to your members, and they voted for it.

You know what? Why don't you tell the audience, would you take UPS out of their plan and put them back into Central States, if you're elected?

Mr. Burr: 45 seconds, Mr. Zuckerman?

Mr. Zuckerman: You're not going to be able to do that. You've already convinced the UPSers that you're not going to be able to get that job done because you destroyed the fund. You could not go back to the UPSers and say, "Hey, you know what, guys? Let's put them back in the fund."

I'll tell you another thing that you did. You destroyed the pensions for every UPSer that retired prior to 2008. Because under this last submission to Treasury, under MEPA, those folks were going to get cut 70 percent.

It's a damned good thing that that got rejected because the people that you were supposed to represent would have lost everything that they had because of your decisions.

Mr. Burr: Thank you. Next question goes to Mr. Hall. Almost all unions have backed Ted Strickland for Ohio Senator. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters has endorsed Rob Portman, a well-known free trader. Can you explain the endorsement?

Mr. Hall: I can. I can tell you that it is simply because of the issue that we've been talking so much about. It was a very, very difficult decision because we are certainly opposed to free trade. We've demonstrated that by leading the fight on TPP and others.

As a matter of fact, we refer to TPP as NAFTA on steroids. The reason, the sole reason, is because we got a commitment that he would vote for our members on the issue of pension reform. We've sent this message. I told you earlier. You've heard me say it a couple of times.

It doesn't matter if you're a Democrat or a Republican. We have got people who we have supported in the past who were not willing to step up to the plate when it came to the pension issue. That's our litmus test.

If they're not going to stand up for our members' pensions, they're not going to get our support. If it's a Republican who comes forward and demonstrates, by his vote, which he did that he would support our pension issue, then we're going to swallow hard on some other issues and make sure that we're supporting somebody who's going to address the most important issue we have facing our members and retirees today.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Zuckerman?

Mr. Zuckerman: I can't tell you what they're thinking up there because they don't communicate with me at all ever since I started opposing their leadership. They took me off all the National Committees. They took me off the Grievance Committees.

They don't return my letters. They don't return my phone calls. Whatever they're thinking up there with regards to some support for anybody, I've got no idea what they're doing. I would like to jump back though just a minute and talk about these six hour jobs that he's talking about because he brought that up last time.

He said I converted full-time jobs to part-time jobs, which is an absolute lie. The day before I took office, the then incumbents had signed an agreement with UPS to have six hour jobs. The six hour jobs actually come from the part-time ranks, not the full-time ranks.

The three hour guys get to bid on six hour jobs. These guys are making \$70 and \$80,000 a year. Initially, we had gone to the IBT for help in trying to get them to invalidate that agreement. Because it was signed the day before we had taken office. He knows about it.

Mr. Burr: I need a little bell up here. Your time is up, sir. I'm sorry. Mr. Hall?

Mr. Hall: Let me be clear. He did ask us for help. I drove from my local to Louisville, Kentucky, to prep with his lawyers to go to arbitration to overturn that because someone from his local had, indeed, signed it on their last day in office.

The person that did that's name was Tom Trinnaman. Fred sued him over other issues. Fred then turned around three years ago and hired him and paid him lots of money as a consultant to help represent UPS workers.

Mr. Burr: Thank you. Next question goes to Mr. Zuckerman. This is from Raoul Gonzalez, Local 988. He says he's a second generation freight Teamster out of Local 988 in Houston.

He wants to ask you, Mr. Zuckerman, what you would have done in 2014 if you were the general president when the YRC asked the Teamsters for an extension of the Memo of Understanding, or they would shut the doors. Also, what would you do to rebuild Teamster power in freight?

Mr. Zuckerman: Good question because the YRC thing is a mess. At the first MoU, they negotiated that without knowing what was going to happen to the Teamsters. I was at the two-man committee in Dallas, Texas. Tyson Johnson was making a presentation. He said that we're going to agree to a 25 percent contribution rate.

I was the guy that asked the question. How is that going to affect everybody in these plans? He says that he hadn't talked to anybody in those plans. Because of that, I went back to my membership and told them to reject the agreement, which they did unanimously.

Nobody knew, when the Teamsters were voting on that agreement, that they were going to kick them out of the Western Conference Pension Fund. They kicked them out and put them in a 401(k). I was out there campaigning not too long ago in Gardena, California.

There was one guy wanting to retire early, was within 300 hours, 300 paid hours to retire, and they told him that he couldn't do it. Now he's got to work until he is 65 years old, all because the IBT failed to do their job.

With regard with the 2014 negotiations, I don't know because I'm not privy to any communication with the IBT, because I'm in the doghouse. That's the way they put it. I don't know exactly what the negotiations were. One of the things I certainly would have done is to involve the membership in these discussions, which they didn't do. How are we going to...Time's up.

Mr. Burr: Yes, thank you sir. Mr. Hall.

Mr. Hall: Fred, is there anything going on right with the Teamsters?

Mr. Zuckerman: No.

Mr. Hall: YRC is tough. There's no question about it. In 2008, we found out that they were on the brink of bankruptcy because frankly, their CEO, Zollars, had run the company totally in the ground. What we are left with, it's what we are dealing with today.

We don't agree with lots of things they do. We don't agree with management getting paid bonuses. We don't agree with any of that, but we've got a company that provides about \$2 billion per year in wages and benefits for our members, and we can't make the decision because we are an angry man that we're just want to walk away from it.

We've got to give our member an opportunity, and that's what we did. We negotiated an agreement and said to our members, "Do you want it, or do you don't want it? We're not recommending it. You make the decision." It was a tough one.

Mr. Burr: 30 seconds, Mr. Zuckerman.

Mr. Zuckerman: Yeah, I want to respond to the gentleman's question about how you rebuild in freight. Contrary to what Ken says with the UPS freight, we have not been organizing in freight. They blame the pension problems on deregulation. Deregulation is 36 years ago. You got to give it a break, man.

It was a long time ago. There's just as many trucks, freight companies, freight being moved, drivers on the road today that there was back then. Our problem is we haven't done anything about it. We haven't gone out there and organized anybody. Had we done that, the YRC guys would not be in the problem that they're in today, because they would not be competing with the non-unions that are way down here...

Mr. Burr: Time is up, sir. Thank you. I'm going to go back to one more round with the panel as we close this up. The next question is for Mr. Hall. Mr. Rose, would you like to start?

Mr. Rose: It's another pension question. A Teamster's Vice President told one of my colleagues in May that the union was working on a proposal that will create other sources of funding for multiemployer plans that will require legislative action, but it wouldn't involve government

funding. Can you tell us the status of that, or any other Teamsters proposal, to deal with the crisis facing multiemployer plans such as Central States?

Mr. Hall: I can tell you that we continue to work on a plan that is similarly structured to what you talked about. I have to say it's one thing to be giving all of corporate America an opportunity to watch us sit here and spar with each other and have somebody downgrade everything that goes on in the Teamsters.

I cannot nor will not reveal specifically what it is that we are talking about, because at this point it's confidential, and if that were to leak, it damages our ability to move forward to the next step of the plan.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Zuckerman, would you like to respond?

Mr. Zuckerman: Sure. The only reason why we're sparring up here is because there is a tremendous amount of people out here that believe that the administration is corrupt, they're not doing their job, they're not organizing, and so on.

I've seen a copy of that plan. The plan is a disaster. Because it's confidential I am not going to reveal what's in the plan, but it's not going to work. It's a plan that they say that they have, that they're putting around, that has zero chance of success, and it's not going anywhere.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Hall, rebuttal?

Mr. Hall: I only say I am absolutely certain that he hasn't seen the plan that I'm talking about. I don't know how you have seen anything anyway, because as he said we don't talk to him according to him.

[laughter]

Mr. Hall: This is too important of an issue to play games with, and that's what's been going on here, and it's got to stop. We've got to get all over it. We're debating tonight. There's going to be an election.

When this election is over, there's still going to be a Teamsters union to run, and we don't need to run it into the ground tonight just for the sake of elections. We need to be looking at the future, and that's exactly what we're going to do on this pension issue.

Mr. Burr: Thank you. Next question.

Ms. Atkins: As a political reporter, I hear a lot about the dwindling power of organized labor in general across the country. What will you do, if elected, to boost the power of labor unions to benefit your members?

Mr. Burr: It goes to Mr. Zuckerman. Yes, I'm sorry.

Mr. Zuckerman: Organizing. You got to get out on the streets. We are wasting a lot of money not putting it where it deserves. We got to organize. We got to get out there and reach out folks. That should be a number one priority. I've got three priorities that I think are very important.

One is to fix the pension problem. Two is to rid the Teamsters union of corruption. Three is organizing. Those are the top three things that need to be done. If we do that, I think we stand a chance of success.

The way we are doing it now, not many people want to join the Teamsters union because of all the things that I just said. Everybody knows it's out there. Everybody knows that there's a reputation out there and it's very difficult to organize. We've got to change that.

We've got to change that mindset to make people want to be in the Teamsters union. I tell this story a lot, because I think it's a very important story. 37 years ago, I joined the Teamsters union. I used to look at them guys in the trucks, in the freight trucks and stuff, and I admired them guys.

Them guys had everything. They had good wages. They had benefits. They had job security. They had vacation time. They had a boat in their driveway. They went home at a decent hour at night. They had it all. You know what? I wanted that. Today, it's not like that. We have got to get that back.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Hall.

Mr. Hall: I can tell you one thing for certain. I still admire Teamsters and I still admire this organization. In terms of your question...It's one of the things I said earlier. We're not just talking about a presidential race. We are talking about members of Congress and on the state level.

One of the things that we're doing is trying to go and operate more at the state level, because we know nothing is going happen in Congress. They can't agree on what day it is. A lot of the action, so to speak, in politics is at the state level, and that's why we're gearing up. We're having meetings with our activists around the country.

We invite you too, Fred. We're trying to work on some of the legislation at the state level, so that we're building power among our members. That's what we have to do to get there. We're not going to get there through traditional means of dealing with Congress.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Zuckerman.

Mr. Zuckerman: I appreciate the invite. For years and years and years, I haven't been invited to anything. In fact, you couldn't even return my phone calls, my letters, or whatever else. That's all I got.

Mr. Burr: Thank you. Now, we are going to move to Mr. Harrelson with...I'm sorry Meyerson, excuse me, with the last question for Mr. Hall.

Mr. Meyerson: Mr. Hall, there has been an upsurge in worker mobilization on the streets in the last couple of years, in the Fight for 15, and a lot of low-wage workers mobilizing. None of the unions involved in that have really been able to translate that into membership gains. It's really hard.

I hardly need to tell both of you guys that organizing in the private sector is really difficult right now. Is there any way the Teamsters can really play a greater role in these mobilizations, and do

you see any possibility of translating some of that energy into real gains for the Teamsters down the line?

Mr. Hall: Actually, I do, and I think, as I said, we partner with lots of other unions on a daily basis. I think that's one of the ways. To really go back to the previous question, one of the ways of us building power is getting more people in this country who have the respect and the desire to join unions.

It's not going to happen overnight. We knew when the Fight for 15 started, that's not going to result in a lot of new membership now, but it builds on their progress. A lot of people don't know this. We've got UPSers. Their average part-time rate is \$14.98 an hour, but when you plug in their benefits, it's about \$31 an hour.

We try to use those kinds of examples to inspire people to be able to work, to go to the boss. And that's what we've been trying to do. We've been trying to empower them to go to the boss, demand it, and be willing to stand up for it. It's difficult. It's not going to happen in the next year or two, but I would say to you that we're making progress on that issue. We're going to continue to do that.

Mr. Zuckerman: The current Teamsters administration needs to change their focus on the mergers and raiding of other unions. We're not going out into the public sector and trying to organize those folks. Under my administration, that's exactly what we're going to do.

The public sector folks, they need representation, and that's great. We'll get all we can get, but we can't neglect our core industries, which we have done. I've said it probably a dozen times tonight because it is absolutely critical that we do that, or we are going to lose our core industries.

Mr. Burr: Mr. Hall, 30 second rebuttal.

Mr. Hall: Again, I continue to hear about core industries, and I continue to tell you that we've organized more of the core industry than we have in the past 12 years, than we have in the previous 30. It hasn't caught on in Fred's local yet.

He's got more resources in the most locals, and he's organized, I believe, 108 workers in the last five years, four out of eight. By the way, during that time you lost...You had four companies that decertified or said, "We want out of the Union," out of five because, I assume, no representation.

Mr. Burr: Gentlemen, thank you. We're now going to move to the closing statements, again as drawn by lot. Mr. Hall will go first. Mr. Zuckerman will go last. Mr. Hall, two minutes.

Mr. Hall: I'm incredibly proud of the union. I predicted that Fred might be a little angry, and I think you've seen that, but I think this union is...We have a great union. We're responsible for keeping people in the middle class and moving them up, but we do have issues.

We've got issues, like pension, that we've got to continue to work together on regardless of who wins this election. We don't need to have scorched earth and destroying this union in debates and in campaigns. We need to let the members vote, and I would urge all of our members to vote, by the way.

We need to be talking about what the real issues are and pension is a real issue. I just got to say, Fred is running with a guy...The guy was running for Fred's spot. He lost his own election. The people who knew him best voted against you by 70 percent in his own Local 804. Now he's running for General Secretary Treasurer.

Fred has played games with these contracts for political purposes, and it's a shame. He's got his running mate, Randy Shepler in Local 30. He and both of the principal officer, Geno, who signed off saying they're going to endorse their supplement, and it was a great supplement or whatever.

We even found some emails the other day where he has emailed the company saying, "We're out there trying to sell it." They just played politics, then lied to their members and said that they didn't do it.

He talks about corruption. He hasn't answered a question yet. In my local, that would be an incredibly easy decision. If we had a steward who committed battery and was found guilty, I'd remove him as a steward. We haven't heard what happened there. He's taken money from somebody in Rhode Island, one of the delegates and one of his running mate's people, who retaliated against another member and got them disciplined.

That's not what this union's about. This union's about us all working together. This union's about continuing to have the best contracts in the labor movement, which we do. It's about working together to solve the problems that face us. I thank you for the opportunity to be here, and I ask you regardless of who you're going to vote for, cast your ballot.

Mr. Burr: Thank you. Mr. Zuckerman, two minutes.

Mr. Zuckerman: Hoffa can't run on his record. It's a record of 17 years of failure. That's why he's not here tonight. Hoffa campaigns on providing strong contracts, better healthcare coverage, and good pension and retirement benefits. Nothing can be further than the truth. Contracts in every industry have been gutted because of Hoffa's failed leadership.

Healthcare has also been gutted by this administration. UPSers remember Ken Hall saying, "We're not going to pay \$90, \$9, or nine cents for healthcare." We ended up paying much more through a reduction in benefits, using wage increases and pension contributions to pay for our healthcare in addition to a 600 percent cost increase in retirement benefits.

Now, over 500,000 Teamsters in Central States, Local 707, Local 469, New York State, and others are at risk of losing their pensions because of Hoffa's neglect to organize, his failure to put participants into the Teamster pension plans, and by allowing participating employers to leave the funds.

It's time to stop lying to the membership. We face serious challenges in our union that will never be fixed with an administration that is corrupt, inept, weak, and in bed with the employers. Our members are willing to fight for a better future. They want leadership to fight with them.

It's time we had leadership that will stand with the members instead of taking the sides of the employers. My promise to you is I will get rid of the corruption in our union. Anyone who commits a crime against the membership has no business being in the leadership position.

We will organize in our core industries and increase membership, because that's what will strengthen the job security and pensions in those industries. We will find solutions to the multi-employer pension crisis in order to save the pensions of the hundreds of thousands of Teamsters who will otherwise lose their pensions because of Hoffa.

Vote Teamsters United. Let's fix the problems standing between us and get a brighter future. Thank you.

Mr. Burr: Gentlemen, thank you very much. This concludes the 2016 Teamster International Officer Candidate Forum.

[applause]

Mr. Burr: I would like to thank our audience for abiding by the rules. I know that hasn't been easy. I'd like to thank our panelists. Mr. Rose, Ms. Atkins, Mr. Meyerson, thank you very much for being here.

[applause]

Mr. Burr: Thank you. I'd also like to thank David Hodes and Jamie Horwitz, the vice chair and chair of the Press Club's Newsmakers Committee. The recording of this debate will be available at Ibtvote.org. That's ibtvote.org. We will let the candidates continue their campaigns.

Teamster members, please look for your ballots in the mail in October. Ballots will be mailed on October 6th to all members in the United States and Canada. Cast your secret-ballot vote and mail it back so your vote can be counted.

Thank you from the National Press Club, where news happens. Good evening.

[applause]

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