

International Brotherhood of Teamsters

Presidential Debate

Moderator:

**Harold Meyerson,
Editor at Large, The American Prospect and
Columnist, Washington Post**

Participants:

**Fred Gegare,
International Vice President at-Large and President, Wisconsin Teamsters
Joint Council 39**

**Ken Hall,
International Vice President at-Large, and
President, Teamsters Local 175**

**Sandy Pope
President, Teamsters Local 805**

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*Transcript By
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HAROLD MEYERSON: Welcome. And from the Jack Morton Auditorium of The George Washington University in Washington, D.C., welcome to the debate among the Presidential candidates, or their designated surrogates, for the presidency of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

I'm Harold Meyerson; I'm a – the Editor at Large of the American Prospect magazine and an op-ed columnist for The Washington Post. And I am joined tonight by two terrific journalistic colleagues: to my left, Michelle Amber, who is a Senior Reporter for the BNA “Daily Labor Report” and “Labor Relations Week,” and to my right, Ryan Grim, who is the bureau – D.C. Bureau Chief of The Huffington Post.

And the candidates of whom we will be asking questions tonight – I'm going to introduce the candidates. Then I'm going to go through the rules, and we will, at that point, begin the debate.

From my left, we have Ken Hall, a candidate for Secretary-Treasurer on Jim Hoffa's slate. Ken Hall joined the Teamsters in 1972; he's a member of Local 175 from Charleston, West Virginia, and is a(n) International Vice President At-Large and heads the Teamsters Package Division.

In the middle, from my left or right, in the middle is Sandy Pope, who joined the Teamsters in 1978. She comes from – she is President of Teamster Local 805 since the year 2004, and she's a candidate for President. Five years ago, she was a candidate for Secretary-Treasurer of the Teamsters.

And the gentleman over here, Fred Gegare, joined the Teamsters in 1970 – is that 1977 – I may have that backwards.

FRED GEGARE: '72.

MR. MEYERSON: '72.

And you joined in '77, right?

KEN HALL: '76.

MR. MEYERSON: '76. What the – (laughter.) OK.

Fred Gegare, who is President of the Wisconsin Teamsters Joint Council 39, a longtime Teamster official and candidate for President of the Teamsters Union.

Now, what's going to happen is the candidates have drawn for the opening and closing statements. The opening statements, each candidate is entitled to a 90-second opening statement,

and each candidate will be given, at the conclusion of the debate, two minutes for the – their closing remarks.

In between the opening and the closing, the panelists and some members of the audience, who've written out questions, will be posing questions to the candidates. The candidate who is asked the question gets 90 seconds to answer, and then the other two candidates each get 45 seconds to respond.

And I might add something – if one of us on the panel feels obliged to follow something up, I'm – we – we're going to do that. So everyone has been warned.

And when the candidates have 15 seconds to go until their allotted time, whatever it may be, is up – I'm sorry; tell me your name again?

MS. : (Off mic.)

MR. MEYERSON: Kayleen–

MS. : Kaili Mumme.

MR. MEYERSON: Right, Kayleen will – Kaili will lift the yellow sheet, that means you've got 15 seconds, and the red sheet, which is more of a pink sheet, means your time is up. I'll let you finish your sentence, but I won't let you finish your paragraph. So that's how that's – that's how that's going to go.

So the order that the candidates had picked by lot at the beginning, the opening statements, each candidate gets 90 seconds. The order begins with – Fred Gegare will go first, Sandy Pope will go second, Ken Hall will go third.

So welcome to you all and, Brother Gegare, you're on.

MR. GEGARE: Thank you, Harold.

Good evening, everybody. I want to thank the university for hosting this great debate. But the big problem we have here tonight is that, where's Jim Hoffa? I think this past weekend we've seen Jim Hoffa on cable network, boasting his power, boasting his unity, boasting himself like he's fighter. Far thing – far thing from the truth.

Jim Hoffa has deserted his own membership.

Why am I saying that? Because look at his record. He leaves the members on the street that take on corporate America, that are fighting for their pension. It happened in Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois. He's not fighting for the multiemployer pension funds. What's he doing? He's dividing local against local, union against union. This is criminal, as far I'm concerned. He should be up here on this daises (ph) and answering to the membership. He's afraid of the membership.

Jim Hoffa does not have a record that he can boast about. He's not organizing in the core industry. He's closing down departments. In 2010, we took in \$172 million and spent \$212 million. He got caught trying to bribe three people that were on my slate, running with me, supporting me, and would have cost the membership over a \$1 million in dues money.

This has to stop. This is not the reputation that Teamsters were born to be known for. This organization is proud; it's militant. But we always were superior in our collective bargaining agreements. Nobody has any use of the constitution anymore to fight for Article 12, Section 10, where there should be parity in the industry.

What's happening with our public sector? Everybody's talking about war on workers. Yeah, there's a war on workers, but there's a war on the membership by Jim Hoffa in this union. And if he did – if he disagrees with me, why ain't he here tonight? The membership is hungry for leadership, and he's not providing it.

MR. MEYERSON: OK, Mr. Gegare, time.

MR. GEGARE: Oh, thank you.

MR. MEYERSON: All right, the opening statement from Sandy Pope.

SANDY POPE: Thank you.

Good evening. I'd like to thank the moderator, panelists, guests and all the Teamster members for the opportunity to talk with you tonight about the future of our union. This election is about choosing our General President for the next five years.

Ken Hall is not in that race, but Hoffa knows that after 13 years, members have had enough of his empty promises. So he sent Ken here as his stand-in. I feel bad for you, Ken. Defending Hoffa's record? I wouldn't want that job.

Over the last 13 years, Teamster members have faced concessions and pension cuts. Hoffa gave concessions to UPS when the company was making record profits. Management dominates the grievance procedure and is walking all over the contract. In the freight industry, Hoffa has driven our union over a cliff. The Central States Pension Fund is on the brink. Corporate America has launched a full-scale attack on working people. Teamsters in every industry are looking for action plans from our International Union to help us fight back. We need a General President who will be a field general, not an empty talker-in-chief.

I look forward to the opportunity tonight to lay out my vision and my plans for our union. We face tough times, but there's nothing wrong with our union that can't be fixed with what's right with our union.

MR. MEYERSON: All right. The third opening statement comes from Ken Hall.

MR. HALL: Good evening, I'm Ken Hall, candidate for General Secretary-Treasurer on the Hoffa-Hall 2011 slate. I'm representing our team in this debate, and you're entitled to know why.

If you choose to entrust our team with leadership of this union for another term, you elect officers who'll work together to tackle the difficult issues that are confronting all of us. For the past 72 hours, Jim Hoffa has been the target of right-wing forces in the tea party and the Republican Party. He has been vilified on Fox News for speaking the truth. But Jim Hoffa won't back down. But I'll be damned if I would support him coming to this debate to have the two of you, who have been sitting on the sidelines in this battle for America's workers, attacking him, giving our enemies like Fox News and Rush Limbaugh more ammunition.

Our members know where he stands because he's been fighting for them every day for the past 12 years. On the picket lines, in Congress, at organizing rallies and on Wall Street, Jim Hoffa defends our members and fights for them. I'm proud of our record.

Even in this economy, we've organized 130,000 new members and used all the resources of this union to protect our members in industries that have been hardest hit during the recession. And I'm going to spend the next hour talking about the plan and vision that the Hoffa-Hall slate has for the next five years. If my opponents have real proposals or real alternatives to what we've done, let's discuss them, because all I've heard from them is criticism, not a single plan.

There's going to be a union after this campaign is over. Let's see if we can spend the next hour discussing ways to make it better rather than tearing it down.

MR. MEYERSON: All right. Let's get – we have opening statements. Hopefully we've got applause out of our system until the closing statements. (Laughter.)

The first question goes to Sandy Pope, and it comes from me.

Fred Gegare alluded to organizing in core industries in his question and in his opening statement, and some of the partners that the Teamsters have in Change to Win have made a big deal about trying to get a – you know, a certain level of density in core industries. The Teamsters have something of a reputation for organizing just about anything anywhere. And you've spoken about the Teamsters organizing more strategically. Do you think there's some workers, some industries, that Teamsters shouldn't organize? And should there be more focus on just sort of the core industries where Teamster workers work? But are there any workers the Teamsters shouldn't organize?

MS. POPE: Probably, but I think that a lot of workers come to the Teamsters anyway to join us because we are the strongest union out there.

I think that we do have to focus on core industries, and the way that we do it is by enforcing our contracts in our core industries, which hasn't been happening. Our members are getting shellacked out there, and once that we start to turn our attention to enforcing our

contracts at UPS, in freight, at Waste Management, in the grocery industry, then those members will be our best organizers out there, and we'll be able to build.

We have lost more jobs than we have gained in organizing because we have not been focused on protecting the jobs that we do have in those industries.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. You each get 45-second responses.

Ken Hall, are there some members – some folks out here that Teamsters shouldn't organize? And have you – has the union been focused sufficiently on the Teamsters' core industries?

MR. HALL: Well, I agree with Sandy. This is the strongest union under Jim Hoffa's leadership.

But, no, we represent and we pride ourselves in representing everyone from A to Z, airline workers to zookeepers. And I don't think we're going to change that, but when we talk about the core industry, let's talk about what that is.

We organized UPS Freight, which is the largest organizing – that's a core industry for us, in case some folks don't understand it. We organized Freight. We have brought another – we brought – we organized CSI with that same company. So it is true that when workers are satisfied they go out and help us do that.

But, yes, I mean, we're organizing the core industry every day. I think perhaps Sandy is confused with her local where the membership has actually declined. We've organized 130,000 workers in three years, even in this recession.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Time there.

Fred Gegare.

MR. GEGARE: Yeah, we organize anybody from A to Z. Anybody who knocks on our door, we should be organizing them.

But the core industry is valuable to the current membership with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters whether it be in the private sector, the public sector, the rail industry, the airline industry. Whatever industry it is, we have to pay attention because what happens is that, if you've seen what happened with deregulation, we've lost a lot of our clout because a lot of our employers went out of business. And in 1980, when it was passed, we got hurt big time.

So we have to concentrate on organizing the unorganized. No excuse. Hoffa has not had a game plan to organize in the core industry since he's been in office, period.

MR. MEYERSON: OK.

The next question comes from Michelle Amber, and it goes to Ken Hall.

MICHELLE AMBER: Thanks.

MS. AMBER: When he was challenging Ron Carey for the Teamsters' presidency, Jim Hoffa challenged Carey to debate. Since he was elected President though, this is the third debate – one in 2001, one in 2006 and now tonight – that President Hoffa has ducked. Where's Jim Hoffa? And why isn't he here tonight?

MR. HALL: First of all, you're right that Jim Hoffa did challenge Ron Carey and, as I recall, Ron Carey declined to do that.

Where Jim Hoffa is tonight is where he needs to be. If anyone has picked up a newspaper or turned on the TV, you would find that he's all over the country fighting for our workers and fighting against these right-wing politicians and folks at Sandy's favorite station, Fox News, to make it clear and to be talking about what's most important to our members. It's about our pensions, it's about our health care. And you know what else? He's been working with folks because, right now, the number one thing our members need is to have jobs. It's about jobs, jobs and jobs.

And he has advised everyone including the President of the United States, and that's been some of the ongoing discussions over the past 72 hours about drawing a line in the sand and stopping negotiating with these Republicans who don't care about working people and taking a hard line tomorrow night when we talk about jobs. That's where he's at. He's out there doing his job.

MS. AMBER: Thank you.

MR. MEYERSON: OK, Fred Gegare, a comment on President Hoffa's attendance, nonattendance.

MR. GEGARE: Well, in May of 2010, I sent Hoffa a letter telling him I was going to run against him for the general presidency. And in my letter, I told him that I wanted to debate him in front of each joint council throughout the United States and Canada. He declined; he ran. He didn't want to debate. In the same letter, I asked him to debate me before the delegates at the convention would vote on the candidates for General Presidency, General Secretary-Treasurer and Vice Presidents. Again, he ran, just like he's running from the membership.

He should be here tonight. He's always got an excuse to run from the membership. You can't lead when you hide, and doing nothing is not the answer.

MR. MEYERSON: OK.

Sandy Pope.

MS. POPE: First, for the record, Hoffa turned down being at this appearance months ago, so he didn't know that this was cooking with Fox.

And by the way, with Fox, a lot of our members and a lot of working people watch that news station, and I've been on there defending our – the unions and defending the Teamsters every time I get the opportunity, and that's where I think we need to be.

So he's just chicken; that's all there is to it. He can't do anything that's not prepared.

MR. MEYERSON: Our next question comes from Ryan Grim, and it goes to Fred Gegare.

RYAN GRIM: So, earlier tonight, you criticized President Hoffa for his failure to organize more of the carhaul industry. But one of the members of your slate, Fred Zuckerman, has been a director of that since about 2005 or so. Shouldn't a lot of the responsibility fall on him as well? And –

MR. GEGARE: Absolutely, and Fred Zuckerman did a great job with this past agreement. But the truth be told, Hoffa and his outside consultants tried to put roadblocks in front of Fred Zuckerman trying to negotiate a national car-haul agreement. And let me explain why.

Bob King, the President of the UAW, went with Fred Zuckerman to Japan to protest the outsourcing of the car-haul jobs. Fred Zuckerman and Bob King worked hand in hand. Jim Hoffa took that authority away from Fred Zuckerman.

Can you imagine a General President saying, you can't talk to the President of UAW anymore, when we're trying to negotiate a master agreement for our carhaul members? I mean, we were really down to like 40 percent in that industry. Fred Zuckerman, because of his tireless efforts, raised that industry back up to over 60-some percent working today. And Jim Hoffa tried to put the roadblock in.

Go on my website and see Fred Zuckerman's letter to the General President telling him, why are you stopping me from getting help from the UAW so our members can get a good contract and secure them and their dependents with a good agreement? And Hoffa refused to answer him. They wanted him to write out the questions, and they would present them to Bob King. Well, I told Fred, you should have booted them in the ass! You don't have to take that. You're there for the membership, not Jim Hoffa.

But they played politics with it, and that's wrong; the members deserve better, and that's what I'm going to do when I'm elected General President. Thank you.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Sandy Pope on carhaul or –go ahead.

MS. POPE: I'm just surprised. Fred has been part of the Hoffa administration for the last 12 years, and now he's suddenly criticizing, and all these things that could have been

brought up when they were going on. All these problems in carhaul and other core industries have been going on for years.

I'm not tied to the Hoffa administration. That's the bottom line. I'm the only candidate that's for real change in this race. If people are happy with what's been going on, then they should vote for one of my opponents.

MR. MEYERSON: And Ken Hall on carhaul.

MR. HALL: Well, I have to agree with Sandy that Fred has voted for every issue and every policy that Jim Hoffa's had up until the last six months.

But, in terms of Fred Zuckerman, I'm held responsible for what happens in UPS, and Fred Zuckerman's held responsible for what happens in car haul. And it's been a dismal failure, as everybody knows.

Fred Zuckerman has taken that division and reduced it to half its size. Of course, Fred's the same guy who, with UPS, cut a deal – when we talk about all these 22.3 jobs that you guys like to talk about, he cut a deal to make – turn 8-hour, full-time jobs into 6 hour, the only place in the United States of America. That's how Fred Zuckerman operates, and that's what we'll have if Fred Gegare's team wins.

MR. MEYERSON: During the evening, we're going to take a few questions from the folks in the room as well. And the first of those comes from Denis Taylor of Teamsters Local 355, and it's a question to Sandy Pope, I believe.

Q: This question is for Sandy Pope. Sandy, you have been accused of losing assets and watching your pension plan go downhill since you've become the principal officer of your local union. Is it true – isn't it true, your pension is in the critical zone and that a majority of your members lost early retirement benefits?

MS. POPE: It's true that my pension is in the critical zone, like many of the pensions in the Teamsters including the Central States fund. My members – I fought hard to maintain the early retirement. And what I did was I got an agreement with the employer trustees that if you are within five years of retiring that you would still keep your 25 and out benefit. And we're – I have since bargained record increases for our pension fund with a blank check each year from the – our – my biggest employer.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Ken Hall, you want to respond to that?

MR. HALL: Well, first of all, let's make sure the record's clear. This agreement that you reached meant that about 40 members out of 500-and-some were protected with the 25 and 30 and out benefits. The rest lost their benefits. And, you know, it's just more of the same of nobody – you two don't want to take any responsibility for anything. I have a pension fund that's three times your size, and it's in the green zone; it's been in the green zone. And that's the

kind of financial leadership that you're going to find with the Hoffa/Hall team as opposed to the dismal record of both of our opponents here today tonight concerning pension.

MR. MEYERSON: And Fred Gegare?

MR. GEGARE: Well, you know, I'm not a follower of Sandy's pension fund at her local union. I run one of the biggest multiemployer funds in the country, Central States. And Ken Hall let UPS out of Central States pension fund with Jim Hoffa, but he didn't let UPS out of his fund; that's why he's boasting about it being the green zone. I lost 40 percent of my revenue because I lost 45,000 participants. And I've had, since that date – 192 since April of '08 have left Central States pension fund because of their actions.

So if they're going to take shots across the bow, get your facts straight. People are out there suffering and they're hurting. And it's not even funny because they worked their whole lives for their pension and when Hoffa leaves them on the street fighting for their pension it's a dirty shame.

MR. MEYERSON: Next question comes from Ryan and it goes to Sandy Pope.

MR. GRIM: Sandy, you said in a recent interview that if elected you would lease out the Teamster building here in Washington. Could you elaborate on that? What's the strategy and thinking behind that?

MS. POPE: I didn't exactly say that. I said that I felt that we should spend a lot more time out in the field and out of Washington, and that's what I believe. The minute that I get elected, I'm going to set up Teamster power tours. We're going to go out there and we're going to set up conferences and meetings with the members to hear what they have to say and get their ideas with the local officers all around the country.

The President of this union should be out in the field with the members, because if Hoffa had been out there he'd be hearing how upset people are at UPS and in freight and in waste and in grocery industry and all across our – and the public employees out there. He's out there making speeches while what we have to do is listen and bring people together, bring the locals together to fight against our common enemies which are the corporate – corporations right now that are just greedy beyond belief and they're trying to bring us to our knees.

And we really have to fight. But we can't do it if we don't organize the members, if we don't listen, if we don't involve them. They are totally alienated right now from the union. We've got to get them involved to fight back effectively.

MR. MEYERSON: Let's do a follow with Fred Gegare. Is the union too centralized and too big here in Washington? Does it need to redeploy some resources elsewhere?

MR. GEGARE: Absolutely. You've got to give more authority to the local unions and the joint councils. This union is in real trouble because it's being ran from the top down. I've told Hoffa that – Ken Hall has witnessed this – at board meetings where I say: You can't run this

union from the top down. You got to run this union from the bottom up. You have to activate the rank and file; that's what the Teamsters are all about.

We need more clout on the local levels. Right now what's happening with the International is that they send in one of the consultants into a joint council or a local union and they don't know what the hell they're talking about. I mean, you imagine one of those people coming into my local union or my joint council? It won't be nice because we have the experience because we're hitting the ground running with the membership. They don't get it, though; Hoffa's gone all the time.

MR. MEYERSON: OK, Ken Hall, what about concentration of resources here in D.C. and use of resources out in the field?

MR. HALL: Well, it's just outrageous to talk about the leasing out the IBT. We're here at the center of power in entire country but given the – what I've seen of Sandy's LM-2s, her – she has lost over 83 percent of her assets from her local union. So she may very well be looking at leasing out the IBT.

We have – when Fred talks about top down I don't know what he's talking about. Yes, I heard him say that after he decided to run for President, but he knows the same as I did – I've been in the union for 35 years – I believe it's bottom up. But Fred didn't complain about that for all the years he's been on the board until he decided to run for General President.

And last but not least, Fred, please stop calling Central States your fund. I lost 40 percent of my revenues. You lost 40 percent of our member's revenues. And by the way, that plan was in the red to start with.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Thank you. The next question goes to Ken Hall and it comes from me. Teamster mechanics at United Airlines relatively recently rejected the contract that the Teamster bargainers had bargained with the company. Why did that happen and does that confirm the contention of the other two candidates here tonight that the Hoffa administration has been conceding too much in bargaining generally with UPS and other companies?

MR. HALL: Well, first of all, we lost that election – it's 14,000 people involved in that election and we lost by 300. And the real reason we lost is because the two opponents who were both running a TDU campaign put literature out that the Machinists used to go after us.

MR. MEYERSON: No, I understand that. But before that in June a unit you already had at United Airlines, the mechanics, voted down a contract that was – been negotiated and been proposed. And so the question is did – is that reflective of some failure on the part of the Hoffa administration, and does it reflect a broader discontent with the contacts the union's been getting over the last several years?

MR. HALL: No, I don't think so. I mean, I think it's always possible to have a contract that's not ratified. That's happened for as many years as I've been here. I mean, there's been times when the national contracts of both freight and UPS have been rejected. We have one of

the highest percentages of ratification. For example, at UPS Freight that I hear a lot of criticism from our opponents – that group represented – they ratified it by 92 percent.

So there was an issue that perhaps there was some difference of opinion as to what there was – what the priority was. And it's something that we'll go back and address, but it's not something out of the ordinary for a contract to get turned down.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Sandy Pope, want to respond?

MS. POPE: This is part of a pattern in the International where major corporations that are making a ton of money are given concessions. And the United Airlines mechanics voted down that contract because they were going to have to give up health benefits in it. And the International went around and they tried to push that contract down people's throats, and they voted no. And, by the way, on the other vote in the Airline Division, that has to do with the fact that this union agreed to subcontracting in the contract – has nothing to do with anybody's campaign literature.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. And Fred Gegare, response?

MR. GEGARE: Well, I've been negotiating contracts for 35 years. I wear several hats for the Teamsters. And, you know, when you get into ratifications, you know, it all involves, like, how the offer is presented, what are the issues that are on the table that are pro and con. So for me to play armchair quarterback with regards to what they were thinking when they voted it down, I'd have to speak to the membership or be at the membership meeting because, you know, each local union has its own autonomy when they ratify a contract, and they should be presenting those offers to their membership and in writing so they understand what they're voting on. But for me say, well, they should have got this or they should have got that, that's not fair to say to that local union.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Next question comes from Michelle Amber for Fred Gegare.

MS. AMBER: Your campaign wasn't able to get enough support to put you on the ballot in all the various regions. Can you explain why you were unable to obtain the required number of signatures, and are you really running a national campaign?

MR. GEGARE: Yeah. Number one, I am running a – really a national campaign. I'm very pleased with it. The Gegare/Sheard team is out there with a very diversified slate – the most diversified slate since the longevity of the Teamsters. And it was a miscalculation. I didn't think the Election Supervisor was going to disqualify all my petitions on the West Coast that Lucio Reyes has collected who was running with me as a Vice President of the Western region.

And they disqualified those petitions and we didn't send them in – we should have sent more petitions in. Call it hindsight, but, hey, everybody knows me around the country, the energy is there, the membership is involved, we're getting a lot of support out there. The members are upset. And they want this election to be about them, the issues, and what this

International is going to do for the membership. No more glossy photos, no more cable network TV. They want this International to be ran from the bottom up.

So the Election Officer threw us a curveball as far as I'm concerned – hey, I lived with it. I didn't appeal it. I accept the decision so I got to live with it. Thank you.

MR. MEYERSON: Any – Ken Hall, response?

MR. HALL: The last time I checked it's not about petitions as to whether you field the slate; you must get delegates at the convention. And the issue is Fred couldn't get the delegates at the convention to field a full slate. You know, I've listened to this – well, what kind of campaign he's run. I've always had a great deal of respect for Fred until he got into this race. And now the accusations that's coming out – I mean, he posts everything that – in his campaign and claims to – last week he claimed to lead the '97 UPS strike. So I don't know what's going on, but I think we should talk about the truth. And the truth is he couldn't get the delegates at the convention.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Comment from Sandy Pope?

MS. POPE: Well, the truth is that you need a national organization to run it successfully and that's what I had. And I got the – I got 50,000 votes – or, sorry, signatures – which is even more than what was required. And I've been out there in the field the entire time – every weekend of the year I've been out campaigning. And that's what's necessary to win here is the national organization of volunteers that we have. We have Teamster members all around the country and in Canada and in Puerto Rico who are committed because they are sick and tired of the direction that – and they want to see a new direction in this union. (Applause.)

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Let's take another question from one of the Teamsters here in the hall tonight. This second question would come from Rich Bauer who's from Teamsters Local 697 and it goes to Ken Hall.

Q: Yes, Ken, my question is President Hoffa's own number two man, Tom Keegel, is retiring next year. And in a public letter he criticized the campaign violations by the Hoffa administration and the use of outsiders to run our union. Do you support his comments on that, and if so what are you going to do about it?

MR. HALL: I'm not sure whose comments he's asking?

MR. MEYERSON: Tom Keegel, he said.

MR. HALL: Well, first of all, let's be clear about one thing: Tom Keegel is – I have more respect for Tom Keegel than almost anyone in this organization. He's been the greatest General Secretary-Treasurer of our – of my lifetime. And what I will tell you is while I don't want to – I'm not going to speak for Tom. But I am going to tell you that contrary to what you're implying in your question, at our International convention Tom Keegel came to the

Hoffa/Hall fundraiser. And he came to that fundraiser and spoke to the Hoffa/Hall supporters. So I believe that any implication that you have made here, Rick, is a little misplaced.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Comment from Sandy Pope about the Tom Keegel –

MS. POPE: I've grown to respect Tom Keegel a lot over the years even though we've been on different sides in most things, but – and I don't believe that Tom would put something out like that if he hadn't really thought about it and didn't really feel it. And that was that the – that Hoffa was leading this union in the wrong direction. And maybe one of the main reasons was because of what happened with Central States, which was letting UPS pull out of Central States, which has left it devastated and caused YRC to go on the brink. So I think that Tom knew what he was talking about but has backed off.

MR. MEYERSON: OK, and Fred Gegare?

MR. GEGARE: The truth of the matter is, is that they're talking about the Keegel July 2010 letter to the general executive board where Keegel talks about outsiders coming in and running the International Brotherhood of Teamsters Union. He talks about how the election process is going. And what brought this all on was that Hoffa back-doored Keegel, went behind his back, cashed in the scholarship fund, the strike and defense fund and the general fund. He cashed it in on the worst days of the market, March 6th of 2009. By the end of 2009, guess what Hoffa lost? Over \$30 million, he lost in revenue.

What does that mean to the membership? A one-time assessment to every member in this great International Union of \$23 to \$24 to make up for Hoffa's screw up. That's what Keegel's upset about. That's why Keegel dumped him.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Next question comes from Michelle Amber, and it goes to Sandy Pope.

MS. AMBER: In his acceptance speech, President Hoffa said that neither of his challengers spoke up at the convention, nor did they submit any resolutions or amendments. Can you explain why you didn't take the opportunity to show the delegates what policies you stand for?

MS. POPE: (Chuckles.) Are you done? OK. I'll tell you a couple of reasons. The last convention I was booed and yelled at every time I got up at the mic, which is fine; I still was able to speak. But it was really pretty ridiculous and disrespectful. This time I was prepared for it and I did get up at the mic, only I was blocked by a very large person who kept me from getting to the mic. And then the next time I got up I was followed around by somebody who was getting ready to pounce on me to attack me as soon as I got up there.

It soon became clear that this convention was going to be nothing but a dog and pony show, which is what it was. And so submitting resolutions? We tried that the last time and the time before. And they were all dismissed by the committees that are all picked by Hoffa. So the whole thing is very controlled. So I decided that my campaign is going to take it to the streets, to

take it to the members and on Facebook and email and every other way that we can get that campaign out there. I just went there to get nominated and that's what I did.

MR. MEYERSON: Response from Ken Hall. Do you know if Sandy Pope was blocked from getting to the microphone?

MR. HALL: Absolutely not. Sandy – and the decision was made quite frankly, do not boo Sandy Pope because that's what she wants. She likes to talk about what happened five years ago and we knew that that was what she would come expecting and it was very clear. To suggest that she was blocked from making amendments or constitutional changes is just ridiculous. And if I felt that way, I certainly wouldn't be in this race.

But the fact is that neither of our opponents got on the floor. And I'm sure that Fred, as tough a guy as he is, is not going to say that he was intimidated from getting on the floor. Neither side made one constitutional amendment or resolution at the convention.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Fred Gegare on the convention and –

MR. GEGARE: Well, the convention was a dog and pony show – it was a big party for Jim Hoffa at the expense of the membership's dues money. Let's face it, at the constitution committee where we had a meeting – myself and Fred Zuckerman and Brad Slawson and Henry Perry who all sat on the constitutional committee – we wanted to reduce the amount of time you have to wait for strike benefits from 10 days to five days. And we got shot down. So we made up our mind, let's go get nominated because all it was was a Hoffa party.

I mean, I've never seen so many acolytes that were wrong about Hoffa bringing in the movie stars – let's talk about the issues. We didn't talk about Waste Management people losing their pension in Milwaukee, getting screwed. We didn't talk about how people were left on the street when they asked for help. None of that was discussed. And they say, well, bring up resolutions. Thank you.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Next question comes from Ryan Grim and it goes to Ken Hall.

MR. GRIM: All right. So you've spoken tonight about one of the Teamsters greatest victories, the UPS contract in the '90s, which created, you know, thousands of full-time, middle class jobs. But the most recent UPS contract – you know, in order for UPS to be able to represent freight workers one of the concessions was that there would be part time – part-time work allowed. So it gets to the question of what is the union good for? If a union job is part time, close to the minimum wage without health care benefits, you know, what is a union job?

MR. HALL: Well, I'm not sure which contract you're talking about because the contract that we negotiated in 1997 with the strike, we got a settlement of \$4.7 billion. Under – in 2002, under Jim Hoffa's leadership with the same negotiator we got \$9.6 billion. Part-time employees do have both health insurance and pension benefits, which is – under that contract, which is very, very rare.

And what it's good for is a contract that for every full-time employee who goes out on the road beginning next year, they'll be making \$48.58 an hour in wages, health care and pensions. That's what a union is worth to those people.

MR. MEYERSON: Fred Gegare?

MR. GEGARE: Well, Kenny may be right on his facts on that, but the problem you have out there is that there are so much disgruntled workers within these hubs, and these drivers that I've met throughout the country talking to them, looking at them – the standards that they're forced to work under – and they're saying, for what? We get no respect. Our grievances are not being processed. Nobody's listening to us.

Do you know they have a mountain of grievances, like this Atlanta grievance procedure, with regards to the agenda – that they transfer 300 to 400 grievances month to month? Nobody's representing the members. One of the things I tell the members out there is that – let me make it clear: What I see on those grievance procedures, and why members talk about their jobs and that the grievances are not being processed, is that you've got too big of a cozy relationship with the panel members and UPS management.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. And Sandy Pope on the UPS contract?

MS. POPE: 1997, Ron Carey was the President that was in charge then, and I worked in his administration. And we were committed to getting full-time jobs.

And I believe that you said that Hoffa is out there fighting for full-time jobs in the economy and everything, when he's looked the other way with UPS. UPS hasn't hired a full-timer in five years, practically. The part-timers, they are happy with what little they're getting, but they want full-time jobs too. They're waiting, again, 10, 11, 12 years for full-time jobs. You've completely given up on the 22.3 jobs as well.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Next question comes from me. And it goes to Fred Gegare. The Teamsters are still dues-paying members to the Change to Win Federation, which just is down at this point to four unions. At this point, what is the point of Change to Win, and does it even make sense to have two separate labor federations? And if you were President of the Teamsters, what would you do about that?

MR. GEGARE: Well, I believe in a unified labor movement, but on Change to Win, we left the AFL-CIO and we formed the – we were one of the unions that went in with other labor organizations to form Change to Win. And it's a unified body, but the problem we had, if you look at it, Harold, was that we were paying for duplicate services. We're not doing that today. You know, we have a voice at the table. The other unions that are part of Change to Win, they're working with us on common problems.

I think Change to Win is out there with regards to letting the public know and letting their voice be known, is that they do have rights with regards to this organization and getting involved with it. So Change to Win, to me and the other unions, would seem to be working. And I wish

they would be a little bit more militant, though, with regards to getting the message out there on the attack on workers with regards to the public sector.

Because the public sector is taking a shellacking in a lot of those states, like in my state. Change to Win was very successful in Wisconsin. We were ground zero. We see what Governor Walker did to the collective bargaining with regards to the state of Wisconsin in the public sector. So we're working hard. We're working with the other entities within Change to Win. We worked with the other entities within the AFL-CIO, but we elected to go into the Change to Win, and that's where we are today.

MR. MEYERSON: Sandy Pope, Teamsters should still belong to Change to Win?

MS. POPE: I don't think it helps us to be separated. I think we should all be together. I'm not sure about – I wasn't involved in why people left it. In fact, I was pretty upset that local officers weren't consulted about leaving the AFL-CIO at all. But we desperately need unity today. We need to have solidarity in the entire labor movement. We all need to be working together, whether we're in two separate organizations or not. So I hope that we will make the effort to get back – everybody to get back together.

MR. MEYERSON: And Ken Hall on Change to Win.

MR. HALL: On Change to Win, one of the issues is that the AFL-CIO provides a lot of benefits for smaller unions, where the Teamsters have our own internal departments and don't really need that assistance. And so we pay, quite frankly, a lot less of our members' dues money into Change to Win, while at the same time we're working together on political issues and other issues.

But I just have to follow up. Sandy's comment –

MR. MEYERSON: It's your time.

MR. HALL: – that UPS hadn't hired a full-time employee in five or six years: I know you've never represented an employee. I don't know where you came up with the '97 strike, because you weren't there. I was. But it shows how little you know. They've hired thousands of full-time drivers in the last five years.

MR. MEYERSON: OK, I want to clarify that members are free to use their time, also, to respond to previous comments. But it doesn't add to your time, nor did that. But you are free to do that.

Let's take one more – another question from one of the Teamsters in the hall. This one comes from Dennis Stout of Local 135, and I think it goes to Fred Gegare.

Q: Good evening. Fred, you were the chairman of Central States Pension Fund, but you said nothing when Hoffa pulled out of the – out of Central States and destroyed the fund. You even seconded Hoffa's nomination in 2006, when the Central States and UPS selloffs were

already in the works. Why didn't you say anything when it counted, and how can you possibly win this election after the Central States disaster happened on your watch? Thank you.

MR. GEGARE: You're welcome. First of all, you got your facts all wrong. I did second Hoffa's nomination in '06 because in '06 I did not know that him and Ken Hall cut a deal with the UPS management when they got card-check – if you recall – at the convention – to bring in 12,000 nonunion drivers into the Teamsters where we could not organize in the past.

So they cut this deal – and now you've got to remember this – move fast forward, April '07, I get dispatched to Detroit, and all of the sudden, there's Hoffa, Hall, Keegel. UPS management is outside and goes, what the hell's going on here at this meeting? Oh, UPS wants to propose to get out of Central States? Let's tell them to go to hell.

He says, no, no; they're going to put a DVD out on me, Hoffa says. I say, then put two out on them. Oh, no, no, they're going to get out and that's it. Their withdrawal liability is getting too high. I said, let me take you down memory lane, Hoffa. This institution has paid \$42 billion in benefits. Your father developed this plan, like all other plans around the country. You do this, you're destroying everything your father built.

The deal was cut. The deal was cut, and guess what? They never put Overnight in a Teamster multi-employer fund. Those members are in a health and welfare fund. They cut the deal before the convention. Why do you think UPS gave them the 12,000 members of Overnight?

And what other deal did they get at this past convention? Ken Hall gets up there and he starts talking about him and Hoffa – we got the right to organize 1,000 clericals at Overnight. What price did we pay now? Who's going to get dispatched next year that we lost something?

MR. MEYERSON: Response from Ken Hall.

MR. HALL: First of all, Fred, there's something you don't understand; it's called leverage. And secondly, let's tell the story. When UPS was pulled out of Central States, first of all, Central States – your representatives – and some good people who tried to work through this problem and prevent that – you didn't show up. When you showed up, it was way down in the process.

But let's be clear. They negotiated, and Central States got \$6.1 billion, plus another billion and a half dollars in transfer of liabilities. They got \$7.5 billion. Had you hit the numbers that you told us you would hit, that fund would have been fully funded in 2028, because we were concerned about what the other participants – going to do. We didn't want to leave them behind. And that's what we did. Unfortunately, you lost the entire \$6 billion the next year. But more importantly – I'll finish.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Well, you guys can get back to this as you see fit, and further, when you have more time from other questions. Sandy Pope responds.

MS. POPE: Fred, you didn't answer the question. Why didn't you say something when it was happening to everybody else, when Hoffa wouldn't listen to you? This has to be one of the biggest mistakes ever made in this union. It has caused so many problems everywhere else.

Everybody knows – that is involved in pension funds – that you have to have young blood. You have to have new people coming in to keep a pension fund going. Withdrawal liability isn't enough. Tom Nyhan, the director of the fund, said so to people. And we were – I was one of the only people, and other people in my camp, that were raising this issue and concerned about it. And now look at what's happened to YRC and hundreds of other companies that are just going to break under the withdrawal liability.

MR. MEYERSON: OK, next question comes from me. And it goes to Sandy Pope. About 40 percent of the union members in the United States are female, and that's a percentage that's been rising steadily over the decades. Would there be any special significance if you become Teamster President, and would that actually help Teamster image and increase Teamster membership among female workers? Do you think that'd make a difference?

MS. POPE: I think so. I am very proud of the fact that I'm running and that I've been getting the support that I have both from men and women in the union. And a lot of the women in the union are very excited about that idea. And I've been working for a long time to help women move ahead and get involved.

Unfortunately, our union has not been so great at moving women up. We only have a handful of women as principal officers, and Hoffa's slate only has one woman out of the, I believe, 26 people on the slate. So I think it will be great and I'm very excited about it, but I think mostly people really want to see a fighting President. And it's not as important that I'm a woman running in this race.

MR. MEYERSON: OK, Ken Hall?

MR. HALL: I have no issue with gender. I think that this is not about – I would be perfectly fine to have a woman leading the Teamsters Union, if that woman was the most qualified person. I mean, I've demonstrated that in the Package Division. We have more women in leadership positions than anywhere in the union.

But I would point out that while the Hoffa slate has one woman on her (sic) slate, Sandy doesn't have any women on her slate – or any men. But I would –

MR. MEYERSON: And that's because Sandy doesn't have a slate, is that correct?

MR. HALL: Sandy doesn't have anybody running with her. But I do have to step back and say I resent the fact that someone who has bankrupted their own pension plan, bankrupted their own health care plan, is now giving me advice. My plan's in the green, Sandy. But I have listened to you; you never take a position.

And I would say to both of our opponents – you’ve both described pulling UPS out of Central States as the biggest disaster in the union. Stand up in front of these people tonight and take a position, and tell them, if you are elected, are you going to put them back in Central States in the South and the Central? Take a position on one issue.

MR. MEYERSON: Fred Gegare, you can respond to the original question, or if you wish, you can also respond to what Ken Hall just said.

MR. GEGARE: Well, first of all, I have no problem with gender, and I have more women on my slate than in the history of the executive board of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. But I don’t support Sandy’s candidacy, for the record, so everybody understands that.

But on the pension issue, getting back to Central States – you know, a lot of people don’t realize that I opposed this very, very vigorously. They’re putting on a dog-and-pony show now because it’s campaign mode. But you’ve got to remember something. The trustees don’t have a seat at the bargaining table. Ken Hall and Jim Hoffa negotiated that contract. They cut the deal to take those members out of Central States, period.

And Jim and Hall wanted us to take 4 billion (dollars), and I told them to go to hell, because Jim Hoffa says, you’re stopping me from getting the Gatorade poured on my head and getting carried off the field.

Well, my time’s up.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Next question comes from Michelle Amber, and it goes to Ken Hall.

MS. AMBER: Delegates to your last convention adopted a resolution expressing their desire that the 1989 consent decree with the federal government be ended. What, if anything, are the current officers doing to try to end the trusteeship?

MR. HALL: Well, the current officers of our union has been, for some time, having some dialogue with the government. We obviously want to be out from under the consent decree. I don’t think that any of our opponents here tonight would disagree with me when I say that we don’t have corruption issues in our union. Our union is probably cleaner than any union, and certainly cleaner than most Wall Street institutions.

The problem is that we want an agreement that’s reasonable, that’s not going to put such restraints on the union, and it turns us into – we’re more than happy to police our union, but we don’t want to be put into a position where it’s just – unreasonable and outrageously expensive plan that the government wants. We need something that’s reasonable.

MR. MEYERSON: OK, Sandy Pope?

MS. POPE: I think we have to show that we can police ourselves, and I don't think that the union has shown that they can do that. We continue to have issues with locals. It may not be at the same level that it was before, but it continues to happen. Ever since Ed Stier was fired by Hoffa – I don't know the reason or anything like that, except for that he wanted to investigate in Chicago. So I haven't seen anything happening since then – no concerted effort to get rid of the IRB.

MR. MEYERSON: And Fred Gegare.

MR. GEGARE: Yeah, as everybody knows by now, I filed a lawsuit with 50 members getting rid of the IRB, out of our union, for the sheer fact is that it's become a menace to our membership. A hundred and forty-seven million dollars they have taken out of our treasury; \$13 million was taken out during the Stier administration for Project RISE. Seven million dollars was taken out for special investigations.

When is the IRB going to 'fess up to our membership and say, enough's enough? We ought to be policing ourselves with our own ethics panel. This is criminal – legalized criminality, stealing money out of our members' treasuries. There's no more mob. Give me a break.

MR. MEYERSON: OK, time. All right, the next question comes from Ryan Grim, and it goes to Fred Gegare.

MR. GRIM: I want to follow up again on Central States and ask a version of the question that Ken Hall had raised. You know, we've talked about how much of a disaster the original decision was, but what would you do going forward?

MR. GEGARE: Oh, well, what I'm doing is – we're doing the different proposals to the PBGC, like the different amendments we're asking for to get rid of orphans for current employers that pay off their withdrawal liability, but they don't have accumulation of more withdrawal liability in the future. But I would have never taken them out of Central States, first of all.

You've got to go down memory lane about Central States. It was an institution that gave UPSers, back in 1965, 10 years of past-credited service, with 10 years of contributory-credited service, and they gave them a 20-year pension. We need participants in our fund. What Hoffa and Hall did to Central States, putting everybody in harm's way today – because of their actions, we have 4.1 retired for every one working. The longevity of Central States is until June of '24. That is the projection. We cannot continue to go down this path.

Because of Hall and Hoffa's stupidity and dumb decisions, and what they did in cutting a deal with UPS behind everybody's back at the '06 convention, that nobody knew about, this is what happened. I have lost 192 more employers, got out of Central States Pension Fund because they let UPS out. And I'm telling you, I don't know how long this longevity's going to go. We're obligated to pay – time's up.

MR. MEYERSON: Response from Ken Hall.

MR. HALL: Should I wait till he answers that question? The question is, to both of our opponents, who constantly criticize but never have an answer, I'm waiting to hear – if this was the biggest decision – biggest disaster in the union, are you going to tell the people tonight you'll put those UPSers back in Central States? I'm waiting to hear that answer.

But before that, let's once again be clear. Fred Gegare, who today says he was totally against it – not only is that not true, Fred Gegare met with UPS before there was an agreement with UPS at the bargaining table because we stopped negotiations to let them meet. They reached their agreement. Fred reached an agreement and signed it, letting them out eight months early because they had an agreement that I couldn't have gotten them out of. And the truth is, Fred, you voted for it. Every contract has to be voted by the GEB in a national contract to be sent out, and you voted for it.

MR. MEYERSON: And response from Sandy Pope.

MS. POPE: I believe in asking the members what they want to do, and if the members in the South and the Central don't want to go back into Central States after being informed, then that's – then we're not going to do it. But the point is that we need to find ways to rebuild our pension plans. We have to focus on that and make a huge commitment to doing that – not just Central States but all of them. I understand that the New England pension plan has been working on new ways to bring new companies in, and that's the sort of thing that we have to keep on doing.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Now, the next question comes from Ryan Grim, and it goes to Sandy Pope.

MR. GRIM: Sandy, you've been critical of the Hoffa administration for its failure to organize FedEx, but doesn't a lot of that have to do with the federal law? And what would you have done differently, were you President over the last five years, to organize FedEx?

MS. POPE: Oh, FedEx – we had started building a list of FedEx workers years ago. And I'm not saying it would have been easy to organize them, but we definitely had to have an ongoing campaign and a more focused effort on organizing in our core industries. It's critical.

Yes, we have to – I believe in working on legislation through having members lobbying, through mobilizing our members, educating them, not paying lobbyists to go to Washington and deal with these issues. We need to have our own people out there demanding these things and reaching out to FedEx workers. We can organize without the law for a while. You don't need to have – you can start building a union at FedEx before you change this law.

MR. MEYERSON: Response on FedEx from Ken Hall.

MR. HALL: Well, Sandy, if you have that list you've had from years ago, I wish you'd share it with us, but –

MS. POPE: You were there.

MR. HALL: The legislation – I've been there at every step – so the legislation that you're talking about, you know that we have to change the law, and we just – we lacked five Republican votes to be able to change that law to take them from under the Railway Labor Act over the past year.

And we work tirelessly to do that while you, Sandy, in your local, have you and one other member who participates in our political action fund. And Fred, yours is the lowest joint council participation in the entire country.

We are working to organize FedEx. We have launched a FedEx Freight campaign in the West. Once again, it's people who say, I don't like your idea, but they don't have one. And let me say: Sandy, that is the lack – that is the biggest lack of leadership with your answer, we'll ask the members if they want to go back. Did you ask your members if they wanted you to cut their benefits?

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Time there. And response from Fred Gegare on FedEx.

MR. GEGARE: I agree with regards to taking on FedEx.

But getting back to the pension issue, Ken Hall lied to this body here tonight saying that I met with UPS and I supported allowing UPS out of Central States – furthest thing from the truth. Like I told the young man that came up here and asked me the question why I didn't do anything in '06, remember, go back – now, I said, April of '07, I was dispatched; that deal was cut. I didn't invite UPS to that meeting; Hoffa and Hall did. I had to bring Tom Nyhan, my executive director and my actuary to that meeting because they already had the deal cut. How can I meet with UPS when I don't even negotiate their contract? It was a done deal by Hoffa and Hall.

MR. MEYERSON: OK, time.

And the next question comes from me, and it goes to Ken Hall. If – it's a multipart question – if the Consent Decree were lifted, would you continue to have members elect the Teamsters national officers, or would you revert to having the convention elect them, as it did before the decree? And – I said it's multipart – if you continue to have the members vote, would you continue to keep the current threshold of 5-percent support from convention delegates as a precondition for running for national office, or would you raise it? And would you try to retain the position of the independent Election Officer?

MR. HALL: Frankly –

MR. MEYERSON: I can repeat those as we go, if needs be. OK.

MR. HALL: I'm going to try to take them one at a time.

MR. MEYERSON: OK.

MR. HALL: Let me be very clear. First and foremost, I would continue to support a direct election by the membership. We are the most democratic union in the country and we're going to continue to be that.

In terms of the – if we looked at what the threshold was, I think that – I think we should look at what is a normal threshold, what do we look at for other unions, what is any other union that's under these same conditions, and do whatever is the average. Is 5 percent pretty low? Yes, we've demonstrated over the years that people who can't muster much more than 5 percent don't have – have not been very effective in trying to win election, and it costs our organization 10 (million dollars) to \$12 million for somebody just to decide to run when they don't have any ground support to begin with. So that would be something I would consider.

But clearly, we are always going to have a democratic vote by our members.

MR. MEYERSON: Fred Gegare, on member voting and threshold of convention support?

MR. GEGARE: Yeah, I believe in members participation and voting, but we have to look at this whole structure. What's happened in this election, if you see what's happening, we're paying \$320,000 a month to the Election Officer to conduct an open, honest and fair election for our membership. And as far as I'm concerned, when Ken Hall, Jim Hoffa, Tyson Johnson and Rome Aloise all tried to bribe people off of my ticket and conspire to steal \$1 million of the membership's dues money, and then the Election Officer puts on a ruling after the eight-month investigation – there was corruption; there was misleading statements; there was not truthfulness; they just – they tried to disrupt the investigation – and all they said to these people was that cease-and-desist – give me a break. This ain't an open, honest and fair election.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Sandy Pope, on member voting, on delegate threshold, the conventions and Election Officer.

MS. POPE: I'm the only person here who's been consistently fighting for the right to – for the rank-and-file to elect directly the officers. And I would say that when I got 50,000 signatures out of the 300,000 people that voted the last time, one-sixth of the people signed petitions for me. A hundred thousand people voted for me in the last election out of 300,000. So, no, I don't think that that's a low – too low of a threshold at all.

And what's important here is accountability and for the members to feel that they can – that the elected officers are accountable to them. And that's why we need to continue with the same threshold and with the supervision until we can show we can police ourselves.

MR. MEYERSON: Next question comes from Michelle Amber, and it goes to Fred Gegare.

MS. AMBER: In your campaign literature, you've been calling for a more militant union as well as organizing more in core industries. Do you think the union's strike fund and its organizing budget need to be enlarged? And, if so, how would you do that since you support freezing members' dues?

MR. GEGARE: By organizing more members. More dues-paying members, the more revenue you bring in, the more per capita – 22 percent.

Yeah, I believe in organizing in the core industry.

You have to understand the big picture here, what's going on in our building in Washington here. Construction is a lame duck right now; public sector is a lame duck right now. They're basically not getting anything done. There's no uniformity in communications. You don't see any conferences being held with people making them be accountable towards Article 12, Section 10 of the constitution where you keep parity. Right now, you got members fighting against other local unions – scratch that, local unions fighting against other local unions for jurisdiction.

We don't have any leadership. We got to have these divisions fully funded, fully staffed and supporting and assisting the local unions, because I don't believe in a dues increase. And I'm not going to raise the membership's dues then because the sheer fact is that you have to learn to give more autonomy to the local union and the joint councils. Then you have to look at the revenue you got to deal with.

Remember, Hoffa collected \$172 million in 2010; spent 212 million (dollars). And I think he mismanaged our fund; he put us in harm's way, and it's a matter of public record. Go on to the Department of Labor; there's a website. You'll see our expenditures for 2010. And that's because you're bringing in so many outsiders. We don't need these outsiders. Your best bang for the buck is the member.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Sandy Pope, on increasing strike funds and organizing funds and levels of dues.

MS. POPE: I've been accused of losing the assets of my local. I didn't lose those assets; I spent them on organizing one of the biggest food warehouses in our area that was in competition. And if we had a warehouse division that had more than two staff people for the biggest division in the union, if we had coordination between the locals and if we had organizing funds, whether it's co-ops between locals, we would have been able to tackle that as a group. Instead, my local was forced to spend this money on my own. And then, the second time, we were promised money, and then suddenly the organizing department ran out of money and staff to help us after we stuck our necks out on organizing. That's not how it should go. We need to turn that around and help the local unions and coordinate for organizing and enforcing the contracts.

MR. MEYERSON: Response from Ken Hall.

MS. HALL: Sandy, the record reflects you had \$2.1 million in 2005; about 2010, you had 300,000 (dollars), and it's still sinking. To suggest that you used all that on organizing campaigns is ludicrous. And by the way, here's a letter signed by you on January 29th, 2008, to the General President, thanking him for all the work that the IBT did in assisting you in those organizing campaigns. So I guess you are also having some memory problems.

And I want to – I want to be clear about the public sector, Fred. You got to be kidding me. Jim Hoffa came to Wisconsin in ground zero when you were in Florida and in Southern California campaigning. You came back and finally campaigned in Wisconsin and got busted by the Election Officer for using Fred Gegare signs at that campaign. You didn't spend a penny of your money – your PAC money in Wisconsin on this rerun election for our own members.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. The next question comes from Michelle Amber and it goes to Sandy Pope.

MS. AMBER: Your local has just over a thousand members. The International Union has 1.3 million (members). Do you have the kind of experience leading a major organization that you'd need as President of the Teamsters?

MS. POPE: Absolutely. The head of this union needs to be the chief bargainer, the chief field operative, the person who is leading with a vision, with a strategy for how we're going to fight back, how we're going to deal with companies like UPS that are tearing our members apart, how we're going to fight production standards, how we're going to organize new members.

I have done every single one of those things. I have organized; I have bargained contracts with major corporations; I fought Mayor Bloomberg and won. Not too many union leaders can say that. So there's a lot of things that I have done.

That's the type of leadership we need as General President. I don't have to be the chief administrator; that's what Ken Hall and other people are going to be doing. I'm the one that's got to lead the way for how we're going to rebuild the Teamsters union and lead the rest of the labor movement.

MR. MEYERSON: Response from Ken – from Fred Gegare.

MR. GEGARE: What was the question now?

MR. MEYERSON: The question was about whether Sandy Pope's experience heading a local of a little over a thousand people was adequate for – you know, as experience for heading the International.

MR. GEGARE: Well, I don't agree with that. I don't think Sandy is ready for prime time, no disrespect to Sandy, for the sheer fact is that, look at my resume; that's why I'm running. I've never had opposition. I've always been elected to all these posts within the Teamsters organization. You can take my resume and compare it to Hoffa's or Sandy's. I always tell everybody out there, I says, Hoffa wishes he had my resume. And I'm very proud of

it because I've done it very forcefully but with honor when I represented the memberships throughout the United States and Canada.

And I got to tell you something, is that you got to know what you're doing at the bargaining table because this day and age, they come after you fast, hard, and they don't care what they do to their employees. And you got to be ready to protect their members – your members.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. And response from Ken Hall.

MR. HALL: Fred, you need to check your bio. You've claimed in your magazine to be the principal officer of Local 662; I don't think you are.

But Sandy, you talk about – Sandy talks about, she's going to be the chief bargainer. Well, that's curious to me because in New Jersey, at a large UPS facility, you told those members I was going to negotiate the UPS contract if you won. And you told the people in Los Angeles – in Local 396 – you told those UPS members the same thing, that I was going to negotiate the contract with your supervision.

Now, I hear you fired me in Indiana. (Laughter.) But I would like to know, it's a big decision – and frankly, I've been about thinking of these negotiations for a long time. You can't wait till it's time to negotiate it. Do you have – while you're not willing to take a position on what to do with those members and their pension funds, are you willing to tell us tonight who will be negotiating that contract?

MS. POPE: Sure.

MR. MEYERSON: We're kind of running out of time, so you do want to take a few seconds just to talk about that contract that –

MS. POPE: Are you looking at me?

MR. MEYERSON: Yeah.

MS. POPE: Yes, I'd be happy to.

I intend to be at the head of the table. I never said that you were going to be in charge of bargaining. And I am sure that I told people that you're going to be Secretary-Treasurer of the union, likely, which is a very big, very important job in this union. You have a lot of experience and I expect to have you there involved because I know that anyone, any local leader, or any International officer that's been involved with UPS is going to be asked to be in – to help in this negotiation which is going to be one of the biggest challenges that we face.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. All right. Question – question to Ken Hall. And it comes from Ryan Grim.

MR. GRIM: Sure. So last fall – last fall, out in California, the Local 2865, mostly representing TAs and other UC – other UC graduate students – overthrew the established board, the executive board, with a – with a very militant message. At the same time out there, there are about 15,000 clerical workers that have recently affiliated with the Teamsters but don't have a contract yet. Should those clerical workers ally themselves with this more militant executive board, or do you think that they should continue to operate more autonomously?

MR. HALL: Well, I think there's – they have their own local union. And our union is – contrary to what you may hear – is bottom-up. And so, obviously, they're going to have the opportunity to form their own strategies. But they are going to be getting assistance, as they are now, from our public employees division that – Fred doesn't seem – (chuckles) – to know where it is now, but one of the places they are is out there working with that union.

So that's going to be dictated, quite frankly, by what our members' needs are and by meeting with those members and determining what their needs are, just as we do all over the country. There's not – you know, we're not a top-down union. We're not going to say to them, this is how you're going to bargain, this is what your – the results are going to be. We're going to determine that as we are now, as we're building some unity among those members.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Response from Sandy Pope.

MS. POPE: I don't think that you care about what the members think on this. Look at what happened with the United Airlines mechanics in California. You split up – split them up into two groups from one local and by their last name, so that – so one group is in Northern California, another group is in Southern California, when these people want to be together. But it looks like maybe this was a gift to the different locals; I'm not really sure.

But I believe that we really need to talk to the members about what they see as important. And the airline division has a lot of issues like that that need to be examined.

MR. MEYERSON: Fred Gegare?

MR. GEGARE: I believe in talking to members too with regards to getting their suggestions, their ideas. And what do they want? This is their union, not Jim Hoffa's union.

But I want to go back to what Ken Hall said earlier about – with regards to the public sector and me being out on the West Coast out there, is that we were able to get two chartered planes to come from the West Coast to support us in our efforts protesting the anti-union legislation that was in Wisconsin. What did Jim Hoffa do? He knew I was out of town. He jumped in a car, went to Wisconsin for a two-hour photo op, and he hasn't been back since.

Now, give me a break. That's not leadership. That's taking advantage of a media stunt.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. Question – and this is actually the final question, and after the response and the two responses to the response, we're going to go to closing statements, just in

case you think you've been up there forever – final question comes from me and it goes to Fred Gegare.

A couple of days ago, President Hoffa was at a rally in Detroit with President Obama where everyone seemed to be chanting “four more years.” At the same time, the Teamsters have a lawsuit against the Obama administration about Mexican trucks. And the labor movement generally has expressed some level of ambivalence about President Obama and levels of support as well. So what's your assessment of President Obama? And how much should the Teamsters do, in the next election campaign, to ensure his reelection?

MR. GEGARE: Well, I think we ought to take a strong stance because Obama's administration did not get us EFCA – card check. They reopened up the borders in Mexico, letting the trucks come in, take our members' jobs away. And they haven't helped us out with the Consent Decree. That's why myself and 50 members from around the country filed a lawsuit to get rid of the Consent Decree.

I mean, there have been some things that the Obama administration has worked with us, but we got to start getting something from these politicians. All we're doing is pouring money down the drain, and everybody is at our doorstep. I think the PAC money should be controlled more so by the states. Give the states more juice for the bang or their buck because they're the ones who know who their congressional leaders are, their Senate leaders are; they are the ones who get the feedback about the President's positions on certain issues in that.

But I think that if we continue to go down the path that we're going – I mean, we've had the majority of the Senate and the majority of the House the first two years of his administration. What did we get out of that? I mean, we keep going back and forth with all this fighting, and I just think that he's got to deliver and give us something before we commit so much this go-around. We don't know what's going to happen in 2012. We don't know if there is going to be a candidate against Obama in 2012.

MR. MEYERSON: You mean in the Democratic –

MR. GEGARE: In the Democratic side.

MR. MEYERSON: All right, OK.

Sandy Pope, the Teamsters and President Obama.

MR. POPE: The inside-the-beltway and professional-lobbying approach of the Hoffa administration has totally failed us. And it's very late now to be looking to see what we can do when he's going to be giving – Obama is going to be giving a big speech on jobs tomorrow, and now people are saying, there's almost nothing that he can do.

Two years ago, I proposed at a national meeting that we have a march in Washington, that we bring our members down there, demanding jobs, the infrastructure spending, demanding support for our pensions. And we were told – and a lot of officers supported it because our

members were clamoring for some action. And we were told to back off by the – by the lobbyists that control our political action department. And no, it's too – you know, we – it's too soon; we should leave them alone to figure something out. And look at what – look at what's happened now.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. And Ken Hall, the Teamsters and President Obama?

MR. HALL: Sandy, you're giving us advice when you have two people participating in our political action fund. And Fred, you want more control of the PACs in your – in local areas. You have control of your joint council PAC – you have \$130,000 in it. Biggest fight in the country was in Wisconsin; you didn't give a penny, even, to a former Teamster who was running for Senate in the reelection – not a penny. So we can't go there.

In terms of Obama, I guess my question to our opponents is, who is your choice? Is it Michele Bachmann? Is it Mitt Romney, who just came out this week and said, part of the problem is these labor unions? The fact is, we need to do what Jim Hoffa's doing right now, and that is, put the – talk to the President and say to him, stop negotiating with people who don't care about working people. Draw a line in the sand and do the right thing and let's continue with some of the success like we've gotten just recently with the NLRB decisions.

MR. MEYERSON: OK. We are now moving into our closing statements. And as a result of the drawing of lots or whatever they drew at the – before the debate began, the order of statements has Sandy Pope first, Ken Hall second and Fred Gegare third. Each candidate can speak for up to two minutes. And we begin with Sandy Pope.

MS. POPE: OK, thank you.

Tonight, we got to debate some of the serious issues facing Teamster members and our union, and I thank you for that opportunity for our members to hear it.

Hoffa sent Ken Hall to put a new face on his failed administration, but it was the same old empty talk and excuses. I'm still very disappointed that Jim Hoffa didn't show up, especially because of the critical issues facing our union.

Fred Gegare was a member of the Hoffa administration for 13 years. He went along with Hoffa's disastrous policies, including in the Central States.

It comes down to this. If you're happy with what's happening in our union, vote for one of my opponents because I am not about more of the same. I started as a Teamster in 1978 when "Teamster Power" meant something. I cut my teeth on picket lines and organizing drives, and I worked my way up through the ranks. As an International Union Representative and Local Union President, I've taken on some of the biggest multinational corporations, bargained strong contracts and organized the nonunion competition, even with a small local. Our small local is small but we fight big.

I also know how to win. I've taken on Mayor Bloomberg. I've taken on C&S Wholesale. I was the first person to get a union contract with C&S Wholesale, the biggest grocery distributor. Now Hoffa's allowed C&S to move thousands of Teamster jobs out that have gone nonunion. Our contracts are being gutted with C&S. We had a neutrality agreement that I negotiated that he let expire.

So as Teamster General President, I'm going to set our union on a new course, building on our strongest traditions but making a decisive break with the Hoffa years.

If you're a Teamster who believes our union needs a new direction, then I'm asking for your support. Visit my website at sandypope2011.org, get information and spread the word to Teamster members. This is a grassroots effort. This is a members effort. And I need your help. So this is about our union and about our future. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. MEYERSON: Thank you. The next closing statement comes from Ken Hall.

MR. HALL: Our members have many issues that are important to them, but none are more important than pensions and health care.

And what – after watching this debate tonight, on the one hand, we have a candidate who, according to the records that she has submitted by herself to the Department of Labor, has bankrupted her local union treasury, bankrupted her pension plan, bankrupted her health care plan, never negotiated a national contract and has no slate to support her. The question for our members – and when she talks about C&S, she forgot to tell you about Kroger and her and Tom Leedham and how they negotiated that wonderful national contract that within three years, 80 percent of our members were working for subcontractors.

So the real question is, do you want someone with that track record to be responsible for protecting your pensions or responsible for protecting your health care? Or do you want them to be the person that's in charge of your strike fund because it's that financial mess that got us into the situation before where we had no strike fund? And quite frankly, those who know us best is our own local union members. Sandy's members voted her in office by 66 mere votes last year. And they know her best.

On the other hand, we have a slate that's made up of inexperienced candidates who have no strategy, no plan and no vision for this union. It's led by Fred Gegare, the first chairman in the history of the Central States to slash members' pensions. His running mate, Fred Zuckerman, who Fred plans to put in charge of UPS, cut a deal with UPS to convert eight-hour full-time jobs to six-hour jobs with reduced pensions. And then, when I – when we tried to help him with these 22.3 jobs, found he didn't file a grievance because he wanted to blame the International more than he wanted to help his members.

And Fred's running mate, Brad Slawson, who will be running the Freight Division, he negotiated a contract with DHL, a company much larger and with much more money than UPS where the independent contractors who were package drivers made \$12 to \$14 an hour with no pension benefit and no dependent health care unless they paid for the full amount.

MR. MEYERSON: Ken, we're hitting time. OK. Thank you.

And the final closing statement (Applause) – OK – OK, the final closing statement comes from Fred Gegare.

MR. GEGARE: Well, I want to thank the panel for their expertise and the questions that you submitted to the panel tonight here.

But let's talk about leadership and let's talk about commitment to this organization. Nobody can boast about the Gegare-Sheard slate commitment to this organization. It's the most diversified board that's been – going to be elected in the history of this organization.

But let's go down and talk about the issues here. What we didn't talk about tonight – we didn't have a chance – if you're a UPS worker, why are you losing 90 percent of your grievances under the Hoffa-Hall administration? If you're a UPS worker, are you enforcing your agreements under 22.3, 9.5? What is the deal with UPS getting their way all the time with regards to the collective bargaining agreement? And why do the members at UPS, when they go to these grievance panels, get chastised by the union officials that are supposed to be representing them? Under my watch, I'm going to fire all of those people because it ain't right to chew out a member in front of management and downgrade them.

The other thing we got to talk about is – under my administration – is that we're going to organize in the core industry. And the core industry is going to be our top priority. But I'm going to ask for the members' help, not for outside consultants.

This is an act of crime that Hoffa is not here. Jim Hoffa's been running from you for years – 12 years, as a matter of fact. Why ain't he here debating the issues and answering the hard questions?

I'll tell you why. Jim Hoffa don't have the answers. He listens to outsiders and consultants. Look at Ken Hall sweat up here tonight. He's sweating so bad that I'm ready to get him a towel. (Laughter.) He knows he's in a fight because the members are upset out there – they're mad. And you talk about Kroger with Fred Zuckerman? Talk about how they screwed 600 people at Kroger in Louisville, Kentucky. That's what you should be talking about.

Thank you very much. Vote the Gegare-Sheard slate. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. MEYERSON: And – I want to thank my fellow panelists, Michelle Amber, Ryan Grim. I want to remind everyone watching this that the ballots are going to be mailed out on October 6th. It's your union. You can decide who runs it so you'll be getting the ballots in the mail. Do something about it. And I want to thank all three candidates who have joined us here tonight. Thank you very much.

(END)