

115TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

**S.** \_\_\_\_\_

To amend the National Labor Relations Act to establish an efficient system to enable employees to form, join, or assist labor organizations, and for other purposes.

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. SANDERS (for himself, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Ms. WARREN, Mr. BROWN, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Ms. HARRIS, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. MARKEY, and Mr. BOOKER) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on \_\_\_\_\_

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**A BILL**

To amend the National Labor Relations Act to establish an efficient system to enable employees to form, join, or assist labor organizations, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “Workplace Democracy  
5 Act”.

1 **SEC. 2. AMENDMENTS TO THE NATIONAL LABOR RELA-**  
2 **TIONS ACT.**

3 (a) **COVERAGE.**—Section 2 of the National Labor Re-  
4 lations Act (29 U.S.C. 152) is amended—

5 (1) in paragraph (3), by adding at the end the  
6 following: “An individual performing any service  
7 shall be considered an employee (except as provided  
8 in the previous sentence) and not an independent  
9 contractor, unless—

10 “(A) the individual is free from control and di-  
11 rection in connection with the performance of the  
12 service, both under the contract for the performance  
13 of service and in fact;

14 “(B) the service is performed outside the usual  
15 course of the business of the employer; and

16 “(C) the individual is customarily engaged in an  
17 independently established trade, occupation, profes-  
18 sion, or business of the same nature as that involved  
19 in the service performed.”; and

20 (2) in paragraph (11)—

21 (A) by inserting “and for a majority of the  
22 individual’s worktime” after “interest of the  
23 employer”;

24 (B) by striking “assign,”; and

25 (C) by striking “or responsibly to direct  
26 them,”.

1 (b) UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICES; SECONDARY BOY-  
2 COTTS AND PICKETING.—

3 (1) IN GENERAL.—Section 8 of the National  
4 Labor Relations Act (29 U.S.C. 158) is amended—

5 (A) in subsection (a)—

6 (i) in paragraph (5), by striking the  
7 period and inserting “; and”; and

8 (ii) by adding at the end the fol-  
9 lowing:

10 “(6) to coerce any employee into attending or partici-  
11 pating in campaign activities that are unrelated to the em-  
12 ployee’s job duties.”;

13 (B) in subsection (b)—

14 (i) by striking paragraphs (4) and (7);

15 and

16 (ii) by redesignating paragraphs (5)

17 and (6) as paragraphs (4) and (5), respec-

18 tively; and

19 (C) by repealing subsection (e).

20 (2) PREVENTION OF UNFAIR LABOR PRAC-

21 TICES.—Section 10 of the National Labor Relations

22 Act (29 U.S.C. 160) is amended—

23 (A) by striking subsections (k) and (l); and

24 (B) by redesignating subsection (m) as

25 subsection (k).

1           (3) FACILITATING COLLECTIVE BARGAINING  
2           AGREEMENTS.—Section 8 of the National Labor Re-  
3           lations Act (29 U.S.C. 158), as so amended, is fur-  
4           ther amended by adding at the end the following:

5           “(h) Whenever collective bargaining is for the pur-  
6           pose of establishing an initial agreement following certifi-  
7           cation or recognition, the provisions of subsection (d) shall  
8           be modified as follows:

9           “(1) Not later than 10 days after receiving a  
10          written request for collective bargaining from an in-  
11          dividual or labor organization that has been newly  
12          organized or certified as a representative as defined  
13          in section 9(a), or within such further period as the  
14          parties agree upon, the parties shall meet and com-  
15          mence to bargain collectively and shall make every  
16          reasonable effort to conclude and sign a collective  
17          bargaining agreement.

18          “(2) If after the expiration of the 90-day period  
19          beginning on the date on which bargaining is com-  
20          menced, or such additional period as the parties may  
21          agree upon, the parties have failed to reach an  
22          agreement, either party may notify the Federal Me-  
23          diation and Conciliation Service of the existence of  
24          a dispute and request mediation. Whenever such a  
25          request is received, it shall be the duty of the Service

1 promptly to put itself in communication with the  
2 parties and to use its best efforts, by mediation and  
3 conciliation, to bring them to agreement.

4 “(3) If after the expiration of the 30-day period  
5 beginning on the date on which the request for me-  
6 diation is made under paragraph (2), or such addi-  
7 tional period as the parties may agree upon, the  
8 Service is not able to bring the parties to agreement  
9 by conciliation, the Service shall refer the dispute to  
10 an arbitration board established in accordance with  
11 such regulations as may be prescribed by the Serv-  
12 ice. The arbitration board shall render a decision  
13 settling the dispute and such decision shall be bind-  
14 ing upon the parties for a period of 2 years, unless  
15 amended during such period by written consent of  
16 the parties.”.

17 (c) STREAMLINING CERTIFICATION FOR LABOR OR-  
18 GANIZATIONS.—The National Labor Relations Act (29  
19 U.S.C. 151 et seq.) is amended—

20 (1) in section 3(b) (29 U.S.C. 153(b))—

21 (A) by striking “and to” and inserting  
22 “to”; and

23 (B) by striking “and certify the results  
24 thereof,” and inserting “, and to issue certifi-  
25 cations as provided for in that section,”; and

1           (2) in section 9(c) (29 U.S.C. 159(c)), by add-  
2           ing at the end the following:

3           “(6) Notwithstanding any other provision of this sec-  
4           tion, whenever a petition shall have been filed by an em-  
5           ployee or group of employees or any individual or labor  
6           organization acting in their behalf alleging that a majority  
7           of employees in a unit appropriate for the purposes of col-  
8           lective bargaining wish to be represented by an individual  
9           or labor organization for such purposes, the Board shall  
10          investigate the petition. If the Board finds that a majority  
11          of the employees in a unit appropriate for purposes of col-  
12          lective bargaining has signed valid authorizations desig-  
13          nating the individual or labor organization specified in the  
14          petition as their bargaining representative and that no  
15          other individual or labor organization is currently certified  
16          or recognized as the exclusive representative of any of the  
17          employees in the unit, the Board shall not direct an elec-  
18          tion but shall certify the individual or labor organization  
19          as the representative described in subsection (a).

20          “(7) The Board shall develop guidelines and proce-  
21          dures for the designation by employees of a bargaining  
22          representative in the manner described in paragraph (6).  
23          Such guidelines and procedures shall include—

1           “(A) model collective bargaining authorization  
2           language that may be used for purposes of making  
3           the designations described in paragraph (6); and

4           “(B) procedures to be used by the Board to es-  
5           tablish the validity of signed authorizations desig-  
6           nating bargaining representatives.”.

7           (d) **PREEMPTING STATE RIGHT-TO-WORK FOR LESS**  
8           **LAWS.**—Subsection (b) of section 14 of the National  
9           Labor Relations Act (29 U.S.C. 164) is repealed.

10          (e) **JOINT AND SEVERAL LIABILITY.**—The National  
11          Labor Relations Act (29 U.S.C. 151 et seq.) is amended  
12          by adding at the end the following:

13          **“SEC. 20. JOINT AND SEVERAL LIABILITY.**

14          “(a) **IN GENERAL.**—A joint employer shall be jointly  
15          and severally liable under this Act for any violations of  
16          this Act involving one or more employees supplied by an-  
17          other employer to perform labor within the joint employ-  
18          er’s usual course of business.

19          “(b) **JOINT EMPLOYER.**—An employer shall be con-  
20          sidered a joint employer of employees of another employer  
21          for purposes of this Act, if such employer possesses, re-  
22          serves, or exercises enough direct or indirect control over  
23          such employees’ essential terms and conditions of employ-  
24          ment to permit meaningful collective bargaining between  
25          the employer and such employees.”.

1 **SEC. 3. AMENDMENT TO THE LABOR MANAGEMENT RELA-**  
2 **TIONS ACT, 1947, WITH RESPECT TO SEC-**  
3 **ONDARY BOYCOTTS.**

4 Section 303 of the Labor Management Relations Act,  
5 1947 (29 U.S.C. 187) is repealed.

6 **SEC. 4. AMENDMENTS TO THE LABOR-MANAGEMENT RE-**  
7 **PORTING AND DISCLOSURE ACT OF 1959.**

8 (a) **PERSUADER REPORTING AND DISCLOSURE PAR-**  
9 **ITY REQUIREMENTS.**—Section 203 of the Labor-Manage-  
10 ment Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (29 U.S.C.  
11 433) is amended—

12 (1) in subsection (c), by striking the period at  
13 the end and inserting the following: “: *Provided,*  
14 That this subsection shall not exempt from the re-  
15 quirements of this section any arrangement or part  
16 of an arrangement in which a party agrees to draft  
17 speeches, presentations, or other written, recorded,  
18 or electronic communications to be delivered or dis-  
19 seminated to employees for an object described in  
20 subsection (b)(1).”; and

21 (2) by adding at the end the following:

22 “(h) **ANTI-LABOR ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGNS.**—

23 “(1) **PAYMENT REPORT.**—

24 “(A) **IN GENERAL.**—An employer who  
25 makes any payment (including reimbursed ex-  
26 penses) to a labor relations consultant or other

1 independent contractor or organization pursu-  
2 ant to an agreement or arrangement described  
3 in subsection (a)(4) involving activities to dis-  
4 favor a labor organization or weaken the rights  
5 of employees to organize and bargain collec-  
6 tively shall, except as provided in subparagraph  
7 (C), provide a report described in subparagraph  
8 (B) to the Secretary every 7 days if such a pay-  
9 ment was made during such 7-day period.

10 “(B) CONTENTS OF REPORT.—The report  
11 described in this subparagraph shall contain—

12 “(i) the contents of the report de-  
13 scribed in subsection (a) with respect to  
14 any payment described in subparagraph  
15 (A) made during the applicable period of  
16 the report; and

17 “(ii) the total amount of all such pay-  
18 ments made pursuant to the agreement or  
19 arrangement described in such subpara-  
20 graph.

21 “(C) REPRESENTATION ELECTIONS.—For  
22 the 7-day period immediately prior to the date  
23 of a representation election, an employer re-  
24 quired to provide a report under subparagraph  
25 (A) shall provide such report to the Secretary

1 every 24 hours if such a payment was made  
2 during such 24-hour period.

3 “(D) THIRD-PARTY ENTITY REPORTING.—

4 The Secretary shall establish procedures for any  
5 third-party entity that enters into an agreement  
6 or an arrangement with an employer to engage  
7 in activities to disfavor a labor organization or  
8 weaken the rights of employees to organize and  
9 bargain collectively to provide reports to the  
10 Secretary that are consistent with the proce-  
11 dures for the reports required of employers  
12 under subparagraphs (A) through (C).

13 “(2) NEGATIVE INFORMATION.—Not later than  
14 7 days after an employer disseminates to employees  
15 information that disfavors a labor organization or  
16 the rights of employees to organize and bargain col-  
17 lectively, the employer shall disclose such informa-  
18 tion, including the names and contact information  
19 for employees receiving the information, to the af-  
20 fected labor organization and to the Secretary.

21 “(3) REGISTRATION AND CERTIFICATION OF  
22 PERSUADERS.—

23 “(A) IN GENERAL.—A labor relations con-  
24 sultant or other independent contractor or orga-  
25 nization that provides services pursuant to an

1 agreement or arrangement described in para-  
2 graph (1)(A) shall prior to, and as a condition  
3 for, providing such services register with and be  
4 certified by the Office of Labor Management  
5 Standards.

6 “(B) PROCESS FOR REGISTRATION AND  
7 CERTIFICATION.—The Secretary shall prescribe  
8 a process for the registration and certification  
9 required under subparagraph (A). Such process  
10 shall include requiring the labor relations con-  
11 sultant, other independent contractor, or orga-  
12 nization described in such subparagraph to—

13 “(i) provide its name, address, busi-  
14 ness telephone number, and principal place  
15 of business;

16 “(ii) provide the name of its principal  
17 officers, if any;

18 “(iii) provide a general description of  
19 its business activities; and

20 “(iv) submit to a criminal background  
21 check conducted by the Secretary at the  
22 expense of such consultant, independent  
23 contractor, or organization.

24 “(C) PROHIBITION AGAINST REGISTERING  
25 AND CERTIFYING CERTAIN PERSONS.—The Of-

1            fice of Labor Management Standards shall not  
2            register and certify under this paragraph any  
3            labor relations consultant, independent con-  
4            tractor, or organization that has been convicted  
5            of any offense described in section 504(a).”.

6            (b) PENALTIES.—Section 210 of the Labor-Manage-  
7            ment Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (29 U.S.C.  
8            440) is amended—

9            (1) by striking “Whenever” and inserting “(a)  
10            Whenever”; and

11            (2) by adding at the end the following:

12            “(b)(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), the Sec-  
13            retary shall impose on any employer that violates para-  
14            graph (1) or (2) of section 203(h) a civil penalty in an  
15            amount not to exceed \$10,000 for each violation.

16            “(2) An employer shall not be subject to a civil pen-  
17            alty under paragraph (1) if the employer can show a good  
18            faith attempt to comply with paragraph (1) or (2) of sec-  
19            tion 203(h).

20            “(3) The Secretary shall impose on any labor rela-  
21            tions consultant or other independent contractor or orga-  
22            nization that violates section 203(h)(3) a civil penalty in  
23            the amount of \$250 per day for each day the consultant,  
24            independent contractor, or organization is not in compli-  
25            ance with such section.”.