

No. 16-1466

IN THE
Supreme Court of the United States

MARK JANUS,

Petitioner,

—v.—

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY, AND
MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES, COUNCIL 31, *ET AL.*,

Respondents.

ON WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES
COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE SEVENTH CIRCUIT

**BRIEF FOR FAITH IN PUBLIC LIFE,
RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS, AND FAITH LEADERS,
AS *AMICI CURIAE* SUPPORTING RESPONDENTS**

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QUESTION PRESENTED

Should *Abood v. Detroit Board of Education*, 431 U.S. 209 (1977), be overruled and public-sector fair-share agency-fee arrangements declared unconstitutional under the First Amendment?

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INTEREST OF AMICI¹

Amicus curiae Faith in Public Life files this brief joined by religious organizations and faith leaders who share a deep conviction that labor unions are indispensable to achieving social justice.

Social justice for laborers has deep roots in scripture and tradition and the importance of unions has been acknowledged by organized religion since the nineteenth century. In addition to expressing our denominational support for unions, amici are also interested in protecting the rights of our community members, our parishioners, to form and be part of fully functional unions. Representing many faith traditions, the religious amici filing this brief feel compelled to speak on behalf of labor unions, as many have before them.

In his 1891 encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, Pope Leo XIII addressed working people's rights and the critical importance of labor unions to human dignity in the modern workplace because, as he put it, "by keeping silence we would seem to neglect the duty incumbent on us." *Rerum Novarum* (no. 16). On *Rerum Novarum's* centenary, Pope John Paul II reiterated that duty to speak on behalf of labor. *Centesimus Annus* (no. 53) (quoting *RN* (no.16)).

¹ Pursuant to Supreme Court Rule 37.6, counsel for amici curiae certifies that he personally authored this brief, that no party or counsel for any party authored any portion of the brief, and that no person or entity other than amici and amici's counsel has made or promised any monetary contribution to the brief's preparation or submission. Pursuant to Rule 37.3(a), all parties have consented to the brief's filings, through blanket letters of consent filed with the Clerk.

In the spring of 1968 the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the well-known Progressive National Baptist pastor and civil-rights leader, answered a call to speak for social justice in the City of Memphis, where sanitation workers were on strike against a City that refused to recognize their union or to facilitate the collection of dues to finance its operation. Struck by an assassin's bullet, the Rev. Dr. King "perished in the struggle for union rights."² But his public witness and personal sacrifice helped Local 1733 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) to gain recognition, and "gave added impetus for an organizing surge among public employees that made AFSCME into one of the largest unions in the country."³

Once again, religious voices have an interest in speaking on behalf of labor unions and their ability to collect the funds they need to operate.

Faith and Public Life is a strategy center advancing faith in the public square as a positive and unifying force for justice, compassion and the common good. Religious organizations and faith leaders who join it in filing this brief are listed in the Appendix to the brief.

² Michael K. Honey, *Introduction*, in MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., "ALL LABOR HAS DIGNITY" xvi (Michael K. Honey, ed.; Boston: Beacon Press, 2011).

³ *Id.*

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

Petitioner Mark Janus asks this Court to rule that public employees' unions cannot enter agreements under which public employers withhold from represented workers' paychecks the fair-share fees that the unions need to function as effective representatives of all employees, both union members and non-members alike. This Court should decline the invitation.

As religious organizations and faith leaders, amici know that labor unions are indispensable components of a just society. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King knew this. The Roman Catholic Church's papal encyclicals have for more than a century called for nations to encourage the formation and functioning of robust labor unions. Amici of many faith traditions unite in this brief to affirm the importance of organized labor for securing human dignity and social justice.

They also unite in recognizing that labor unions must be able to collect fair-share agency fees from all who benefit from the union's representation. Without doubt, some states have hindered labor unions by enacting right-to-work laws. That may be their political prerogative, however ill-advised the policy of right-to-work laws may be. But this Court should not preempt normal democratic processes by outlawing fair-share agency fees for public employees' unions.

ARGUMENT

This case concerns the ability of public employees' labor unions to collect from all the employees whose interests they represent in collective

bargaining and in grievance proceedings the fair-share agency fees that are needed to cover all the necessary expenses of effective representation. This Court's decision in *Abood v. Detroit Board of Education*, 431 U.S. 209 (1977), struck a balance recognizing public employees' right to opt out of financing labor unions' political expenditures, while preserving the unions' ability to collect the fair-share agency fees needed to sustain effective representation in collective bargaining and in grievance proceedings.

With *Chicago Teachers Union v. Hudson*, 475 U.S. 292 (1986), this Court gave full effect to *Abood*, setting out procedures protecting public employees' right to opt out of supporting political speech to which they object, while preserving the fair-share agency fees needed to cover the funding for effective representation in collective bargaining. For decades *Abood* and *Hudson* were settled law, effectively and fairly balancing employees' right to opt out of financing political activities, while bearing their fair share of the costs of representation in the workplace.⁴

Though dictum in two later decisions has questioned this balance, fueling Petitioner's contentions that *Abood* should be overruled, amici respectfully submit that the balance established by this Court's precedents for the past four decades should be preserved, so that unions may continue to effectively represent public employees.

⁴ See *Locke v. Karass*, 555 U.S. 207 (2009); *Davenport v. Washington Educ. Ass'n*, 551 U.S. 177 (2007); *Lehnert v. Ferris Faculty Ass'n*, 500 U.S. 507 (1991); *Chicago Teachers Union v. Hudson*, 475 U.S. 292 (1986); *Ellis v. Brotherhood of Ry. Clerks*, 466 U.S. 435 (1984).

The issue is an important one to people of faith who recognize the importance of public employees' unions as organizations critical to empowering workers seeking justice in the workplace.

A. As People of Faith, Amici Affirm that Labor Unions are Critical Components of a Just Society

In 1968, after two public employees were crushed to death in their City garbage truck's trash compactor, sanitation workers went on strike against the City of Memphis. They demanded that the City recognize their union, and asked it to deduct dues from their paychecks, so that the union could effectively represent the public employees' interests. The City refused, answering strikers and their supporters – including clergy – with billy clubs, tear gas, and mace.⁵

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., could not remain silent in the face of sanitation workers' plea for union rights and social justice in the workplace. He repeatedly flew to Memphis in the spring of 1968, to speak and organize on behalf of the public employees' right to collective bargaining. The strike had dragged on as the City refused to honor the sanitation workers' demand for effective union

⁵ Jason Sokol, *Dynamics of Leadership and the Memphis Sanitation Strike*, 60 TENN. HIST. Q. 258, 266 & 270-72 (2001); see generally MICHAEL K. HONEY, *GOING DOWN JERICHO ROAD: THE MEMPHIS STRIKE, MARTIN LUTHER KING'S LAST CAMPAIGN* (New York & London: W.W. Norton & Co., 2007); JOAN TURNER BEIFUSS, *AT THE RIVER I STAND* (Memphis: St. Lukes Press, 1990).

security including deduction from paychecks of dues sufficient for the union to function. Struck by an assassin's bullet while in Memphis to support the strikers, the Rev. Dr. King "perished in the struggle for union rights."⁶ But his public witness and personal sacrifice helped to achieve recognition for Memphis sanitation workers' Local 1733 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), and providing "added impetus for an organizing surge among public employees that made AFSCME into one of the largest unions in the country."⁷

King recognized that public employees need labor unions to represent their interests, and that their labor unions need adequate funding in order to function effectively.

With this proceeding, however, Petitioner Mark Janus seeks to destroy the ability of public employees' union representatives to obtain by payroll deductions the fair-share agency fees needed to provide effective representation.

Dr. King was a Progressive National Baptist pastor. But concern for the rights of working people, and the necessity of effective union representation, are not limited to one denomination. Speaking in Memphis, on March 18, 1968, Dr. King declared: "We have Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, members of the Church of God in Christ, and members of the Church of Christ in God,

⁶ Michael K. Honey, *Introduction*, in MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., "ALL LABOR HAS DIGNITY" xvi (Michael K. Honey, ed.; Boston: Beacon Press, 2011).

⁷ *Id.*

we are all together,” along with the many “other denominations and religious bodies that I have not mentioned.”⁸ Local churches of many denominations had, indeed, provided space for mass meetings, and their clergy offered leadership for the sanitation workers’ strike.

Some of those clergy had been gassed and maced when local police attacked marching strike supporters. And Dr. King, for his trouble on behalf of striking employees, received death threats – causing the delay of Dr. King’s April 3, 1968, flight from Atlanta back to Memphis, when authorities felt compelled to screen luggage for bombs. Dr. King spoke about the death threats that night, in what would be his last public address before being felled by an assassin’s bullet the next morning. He told striking sanitation workers that God had “allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I’ve looked over and I’ve seen the promised land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight that we as a people will get to the promised land.”⁹

⁸ Martin Luther King, Jr. *All Labor Has Dignity* in MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., “ALL LABOR HAS DIGNITY 171 (Michael K. Honey, ed.; Boston: Beacon Press, 2011) (Dr. King’s March 18, 1968, speech before a rally for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), at Memphis, TN, March 18, 1968). On the contribution of Catholics to the Memphis movement see Amy Delong, *Change from the Inside Out: The Contribution of Memphis Catholics in Civil Rights Activism, 1961-1968*, 67 *Tenn. Hist. Q.* 125, 138-44 (2008).

⁹ Martin Luther King, Jr., April 3, 1968, speech at an AFSCME rally, in MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., “ALL LABOR HAS DIGNITY 171 (Michael K. Honey, ed.; Boston: Beacon Press, 2011) (from Dr. King’s April 3, 1968, speech before a rally for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees 9AFSCME0, at Memphis, TN, March 18, 1968).

Dr. King was by no means the first, nor will he be the last religious leader to speak on behalf of effective unions as a basic element of social justice. Honor for organized labor is embedded in many of our nation's faith traditions.

The Roman Catholic Church is by far America's largest religious denomination, with perhaps a quarter of the nation's population identifying as Catholic.¹⁰ Since the late nineteenth century, the Roman Catholic Church has recognized the critical importance of labor unions to achieving social justice for working people. Many of its clergy and lay people have worked tirelessly on behalf of America's workers.¹¹ Current church doctrine "*recognizes the fundamental role played by labor unions,*" which clearly "are a positive influence for social order and solidarity, and are therefore an *indispensable element*

¹⁰ See YEARBOOK OF AMERICAN & CANADIAN CHURCHES 2012 at 12 (Eileen W. Lindner ed.; Nashville: Abingdon Press, for the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States, 2012) (placing the Catholic Church first among denominations for U.S. church membership); *id.* at 18 (tables showing that Catholics account for roughly 24% of the U.S. population).

¹¹ See generally, e.g., PATRICK J. SULLIVAN, CATHOLIC LABOR PRIESTS IN THE UNITED STATES: A 20TH CENTURY STORY OF SOLIDARITY – VOLUME 1, FIVE GIANTS IN THE BISHOPS' SOCIAL ACTION DEPARTMENT AMONG MORE THAN 400 U.S. CATHOLIC LABOR PRIESTS (Washington, D.C.: Pacim in Terris Press, 2014); GEORGE GILMARY HIGGINS & WILLIAM BOLE, ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE CHURCH: REFLECTIONS OF A "LABOR PRIEST" (Paulist Press, 1993); JOHN J. O'BRIEN, GEORGE G. HIGGINS AND THE QUEST FOR WORKER JUSTICE: THE EVOLUTION OF CATHOLIC SOCIAL THOUGHT IN AMERICA (Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005); HARRY J. BROWNE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1949).

of social life.”¹² “Properly speaking, unions are promoters of the struggle for social justice, for the rights of workers in their particular professions[.]”¹³

This understanding that robust labor unions are critical components of a just social order is firmly grounded in the Church’s papal encyclicals.

Pope Leo XIII’s 1891 encyclical *Rerum Novarum* spoke to the rights of working people because “by keeping silence we would seem to neglect the duty incumbent on us.” *Rerum Novarum* (no. 16). The pope emphasized that under the Church’s view of social justice, “whatever shall appear to prove conducive to the well-being of those who work should obtain favorable consideration.” *RN* (no. 34). Of associations addressing workers’ needs, moreover, Pope Leo XIII wrote that “[t]he most important of all are workingmen’s unions.” *RN* (no. 49). He declared it is “greatly to be desired that they should become more numerous . . . how notably they are needed.”

Later popes have reiterated Pope Leo XIII’s central points. Pope John Paul II declared in his 1981 encyclical *Laborem Exercens*, for example, that the “experience of history teaches” that labor unions are “an indispensable element of social life, especially in modern industrialized societies.” *Laborem Exercens* (no. 20) (Sept. 14, 1981).

A decade later, Pope John Paul II declared Pope Leo XIII’s *Rerum Novarum* an “immortal

¹² PONTIFICAL COUNCIL FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE, COMPENDIUM OF THE SOCIAL DOCTRINE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH (no. 305) (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, 2004) (emphasis in original).

¹³ *Id.* (no. 306) (emphasis in original).

document,” whose Centenary in 1991 marked “an occasion of great importance for the present history of the Church and for my own Pontificate.” *Centesimus Annus* (no. 1). John Paul II observed that principles of social justice required society and the state to ensure adequate wages, and that “[t]he role of trade unions in negotiating minimum salaries and working conditions is decisive in this area.” *Centesimus Annus* (no. 15). Trade unions play a critical role “in negotiating contracts,” and also “serve the development of an authentic culture of work,” helping “workers to share in a fully human way in the life of their place of employment.” *Centesimus Annus* (no. 15). Both “the freedom to join trade unions and the effective action of unions . . . are meant to deliver work from the mere condition of ‘a commodity,’ and to guarantee its dignity.” *Centesimus Annus* (no. 16).

Here we find a wide range of *opportunities for commitment and effort* in the name of justice on the part of trade unions and other workers’ organizations. These defend workers’ rights and protect their interests as persons, while fulfilling a vital cultural role, so as to enable workers to participate more fully and honorably in the life of their nation and to assist them along the path of development.

Centesimus Annus (no. 35).

Warning against governmental actions that may “limit the freedom or the negotiating capacity of labor unions,” Pope Benedict XVI in 2009, reiterated “[t]he repeated calls issued within the Church’s social doctrine, beginning with *Rerum Novarum*, for the promotion of workers’ associations that can defend their rights must therefore be honoured today even more than in the past.” *Caritas in Veritate* (no. 25).

Pope Francis also speaks powerfully on behalf of labor. When he addressed the United States Congress, Pope Francis chose to specifically honor just four Americans who “shaped fundamental values which will endure forever in the spirit of the American people”—namely, “Abraham Lincoln, Martin Luther King, Dorothy Day and Thomas Merton.”¹⁴ King, a Progressive National Baptist pastor, was a civil-rights agitator and union organizer. Just two of the four were devout Catholics: Dorothy Day, leader of the Catholic Worker Movement, and Thomas Merton, who published articles in *The Catholic Worker*. The choice of Day and Merton is particularly significant, in light of how the “*Catholic Worker* supported labor for ‘the fundamental truth that men should be treated not as chattels, but as human beings, as ‘temples of the Holy Ghost.’”¹⁵ Taking the side of organized labor in cemetery workers’ 1949 strike against the Roman Catholic Archdiocese, Dorothy Day was arrested for leafleting and picketing the residence of Cardinal Spellman himself.¹⁶ Pope Francis could not have

¹⁴ *Address of the Holy Father before the Joint Session of the United States Congress*, Sept. 24, 2015.

¹⁵ NANCY L. ROBERTS, *DOROTHY DAY AND THE CATHOLIC WORKER* 116 (Albany: SUNY Press, 1984); see David L. Gregory, *Dorothy Day’s Lessons for the Transformation of Work*, 14 *HOFSTRA LABOR L.J.* 57, 124-25 (1996).

¹⁶ See David L. Gregory, *Dorothy Day, Workers’ Rights and Catholic Authenticity*, 26 *FORDHAM URBAN L. J.* 1371, 1384 (1998); JOHN COONEY, *THE AMERICAN POPE: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CARDINAL SPELLMAN* 180 (New York: Dell, 1986); see also Francis Barry, *Why Pope Francis’ Embrace of Dorothy Day Matters*, *CHICAGO TRIBUNE*, Sept. 28, 2015, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/sns-wp-blm-news-bc-pope-day-comment28-20150928-story.html> (visited Jan. 15, 2018)

selected a stronger advocate of organized labor than Day.

This underscores the depth of Pope Francis’s commitment to the right of working people to organize in unions that can operate within a structure that enables them to be effective representatives. “Unions are an expression of the *prophetic* profile of society,” according to Pope Francis, that “are born and reborn every time that, like the biblical prophets, they give a voice to those who have none,” and that at their best “unmask the powerful who trample the rights of the most vulnerable workers.”¹⁷ “The capitalism of our time does not understand the value of the trade union because it has forgotten the *social nature of economy*, of business. This is one of the greatest sins.”¹⁸

(“Day supported the strikers and was even arrested for passing out leaflets in front of Spellman’s residence.”); Teresa Tritch, *When Prominent Catholics Opposed Dorothy Day*, TAKING NOTE – THE EDITORIAL PAGE EDITOR’S BLOG, New York Times, Sept. 30, 2015, <https://takingnote.blogs.nytimes.com/2015/09/30/when-prominent-catholics-opposed-dorothy-day/> (visited Jan. 2, 2018) (discussing Day’s challenge to Cardinal Spellman in supporting the cemetery workers’ strike).

¹⁷ Pope Francis, *Address of His Holiness Pope Francis to Delegates from the Italian Confederation of Workers’ Unions (CISL)*, June 28, 2017 (online https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2017/june/documents/papa-francesco_20170628_delegati-cisl.pdf (visited Jan. 6, 2018)).

¹⁸ *Id.*; see also John Gehring, *Francis Revives the Workers’ Church*, The American Prospect (October 23, 2017) (online <http://prospect.org/article/francis-revives-workers'-church>) (visited Jan. 6, 2018).

America's Catholic Bishops have, for their part, reiterated the Church's social doctrine supporting organized labor. In 1986, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops declared:

The Church fully supports the right of workers to form unions or other associations to secure their rights to fair wages and working conditions. . . . No one may deny the right to organize without attacking human dignity itself.¹⁹

Religious support for working people's right to organize and bargain collectively cuts across denominations.

The Central Conference of American rabbis in 1993 reiterated that "Jewish leaders, along with our Catholic and Protestant counterparts, have always supported the labor movement and the rights of employees to form unions for the purpose of engaging in collective bargaining and attaining fairness in the workplace."²⁰ In 2005 the Union for Reform Judaism resolved "to support the rights of workers to organize and bargain collectively," and to oppose the adoption

¹⁹ NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS, ECONOMIC JUSTICE FOR ALL: PASTORAL LETTER ON CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING AND THE U.S. ECONOMY (NCCB, Washington, DC: 1986).

²⁰ Preamble to Workplace Fairness Resolution, *Annual Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis* (1993) (as quoted in KIM BOBO, WAGE THEFT IN AMERICA: WHY MILLIONS OF WORKING AMERICANS ARE NOT GETTING PAID – AND WHAT WE CAN DO ABOUT IT 314 (New York: The New Press, 2010).

of “right-to-work” laws that hinder unions’ ability to function.²¹

The 75th General Convention of the Episcopal Church resolved in 2006 to “reaffirm[] the right of workers in the United States to organize and form unions as a means to securing adequate wages, benefits, and safety conditions and encourage all levels of the church to be informed about, and act accordingly, when rights of workers to associate is being jeopardized”²² Episcopalians pledged to “support actively the right of workers to form a union, and increase the support in our cities and states for passage of ‘living wage’ legislation That the Convention commit the Church at all levels to contract solely with union hotels in its meetings, or to obtain confirmation that local prevailing ‘living wages’ are paid by all hotels the Church uses.”²³ The

²¹ *Workers’ Rights in the United States*, 68th Union for Reform Judaism General Assembly, at Houston, November 2005 (online <https://urj.org/what-we-believe/resolutions/workers-rights-united-states> (visited Jan. 6, 2018)), reprinted in *A WORKER JUSTICE READER: ESSENTIAL WRITINGS ON RELIGION AND LABOR* 98, 100 (Joy Hein, ed.; Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2010).

²² *Reaffirm the Right of Workers to Organize and Form Unions*, Resolution 2006-C008, *JOURNAL OF THE 75TH GENERAL CONVENTION OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH, COLUMBUS, 2006* at 455-56 (New York: General Convention, 2007) (online https://www.episcopalarchives.org/cgi-bin/acts/acts_resolution.pl?resolution=2006-c008) (visited Jan. 6, 2018); see BOBO, *supra* note 20, at 315-16.

²³ *Support Worker Unions and a Living Wage*, Resolution No. 2006-D047, *JOURNAL OF THE 75TH GENERAL CONVENTION OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH, COLUMBUS, 2006* (New York: General Convention, 2007), pp. 667-668 (online <https://www.episcopalarchives.org/cgi->

76th General Convention of the Episcopal Church in 2009 resolved to “urge the Congress of the United States to pass, and the President to sign into law, labor law reform legislation designed to better protect employees seeking to engage in collective bargaining, to simplify and streamline the procedures by which employees may choose to organize, and to assist employers and employees in reaching agreement.”²⁴

The Twenty-First General Synod of the United Church of Christ in 1997 spoke to the right of workers, including public employees, to organize and bargain collectively: “Therefore, Be It Resolved that the Twenty-first General Synod reaffirms the heritage of the United Church of Christ as an advocate for just, democratic, participatory and inclusive economic policies in both public and private sectors, including ... the responsibility of workers to organize for collective bargaining with employers regarding wages, benefits, and working conditions, and the responsibility of employers to respect not only worker rights but also workers’ dignity, and to create and maintain a climate conducive to the workers’ autonomous decision to organize.”²⁵

[bin/acts/acts_resolution.pl?resolution=2006-d047](https://www.episcopalarchives.org/cgi-bin/acts/acts_resolution.pl?resolution=2006-d047)) (visited Jan. 6, 2018).

²⁴ *Reform Labor Laws to Protect Collective Bargaining Rights*, Resolution No. 2009-D039, JOURNAL OF THE 77TH GENERAL CONVENTION OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH, AT ANAHEIM, 2009 at 378-79 (New York: General Convention, 2009) (online at https://www.episcopalarchives.org/cgi-bin/acts/acts_search.pl) (visited Jan. 6, 2018).

²⁵ *Resolution Affirming Democratic Principles in an Emerging Global Economy*, Resolution No. 97-GS-18, Twenty-first General Synod of the United Church of Christ; see United Church of Christ, *Unions: Why People of Faith Support Labor Unions*,

American Baptists too have declared: “We reaffirm our position that workers have the right to organize by a free and democratic vote of the workers involved. This right of organization carries the responsibility of union leadership to protect the rights of workers, to guarantee each member an equal voice in the operation of its organization, and to produce just output labors for income received.”²⁶

The Unitarian Universalist Association 2017 Statement of Conscience on *Escalating Economic Inequity* specifically decries “actions and policies” that “have led to the decline of labor unions,” and calls on individuals to “[a]ctively support or participate in unions, union retiree groups, worker centers, and organizing drives.”²⁷ The UUA’s 2003 Statement of Conscience on *Economic Globalization* asserts that recognizing the inherent worth and dignity of every person requires national governments to respect workers’ right “to bargain collectively in

http://www.ucc.org/justice_worker-justice_unions_whysupportunions (visited Jan. 6, 2018); United Church of Christ, *Labor Unions*, http://www.ucc.org/justice_worker-justice_unions (visited Jan. 6, 2018); see BOBO, *supra* note 20, at 317.

²⁶ *American Baptist Resolution on Labor*, Resolution No. 8083:3/81 (adopted by the American Baptist Convention in 1966, and affirmed as an American Baptist Churches Resolution, March 1981) (online <http://www.abc-usa.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/LABOR.pdf> (visited Jan. 6, 2018)).

²⁷ *Escalating Economic Inequity* (2017 UUA Statement of Conscience) (online <https://www.uua.org/action/statements/escalating-economic-inequity> (visited Jan. 18, 2018)).

independent labor unions.”²⁸ The UUA has over the years issued many other statements supporting working people, organized labor, and union activity.²⁹

**B. Effective Unions Require
Effective Financing, with All
Represented Employees
Bearing Their Fair Share of
the Union’s Expenses**

The imperative duty of unions to bargain effectively on behalf of workers requires, however, that the unions have adequate funding – which Petitioner Janus seeks to deny public-employee unions by making it unlawful for contracts permitting all employees to be assessed agency fees sufficient to support the union’s collective bargaining on their

²⁸ *Economic Globalization* (2003 UUA Statement of Conscience) (<https://www.uua.org/action/statements/economic-globalization> (visited Jan. 8, 2018)).

²⁹ See, e.g., *Support of the United Farm Workers’ Boycott of Gallo Wines* (2005 UUA General Assembly Action of Immediate Witness) (online <https://www.uua.org/action/statements/support-united-farm-workers-boycott-gallo-wines> (visited Jan. 8, 2018)); *Interfaith Action for Economic Justice* (1985 UUA General Assembly Resolution) (online <https://www.uua.org/action/statements/interfaith-action-economic-justice> (visited Jan. 8, 2018)); *Support UFW Boycott* (1974 UUA General Assembly Resolution) (<https://www.uua.org/action/statements/support-ufw-boycott>) (visited Jan. 8, 2018); *Boycott of Safeway and A&P Stores* (1973 UUA General Assembly Resolution) (<https://www.uua.org/action/statements/boycott-safeway-and-ap-stores>) (visited Jan. 8, 2018); *Lettuce Boycott* (1972 UUA General Assembly Resolution) (<https://www.uua.org/action/statements/lettuce-boycott> (visited Jan. 8, 2018)).

behalf. He would have this Court override democratic processes to impose, by judicial fiat, the rule mandated in some states by right-to-work legislation. This Court should not give Janus what he cannot, in Illinois, win at the ballot box.

Many people of faith see injustice and oppression in so-called “right-to-work” laws, through which some states prohibit union shops and fair-share agency fees, permitting employees to become “free riders” who opt out of paying fair-share agency fees.³⁰ Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, of the Diocese of Detroit, declared in 2012 that right-to-work legislation “should not just offend Catholics, but all Christians and members of all faith traditions,” since “[a]t the core of Christianity, Judaism, Islam and all great religions are the values of dignity and respect, values from which economic justice and the right to organize can never be separated.”³¹

Dr. King joined other faith leaders in opposing “right-to-work” laws in the late 1950s. “As early as 1958, he spoke out against deceptively worded ‘right to work’ laws, and in 1964, he helped to defeat such a proposal in Oklahoma that he said ‘provides no

³⁰ See, e.g., GENE BURNS, *THE FRONTIERS OF CATHOLICISM: THE POLITICS OF IDEOLOGY IN A LIBERAL WORLD* 94 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) (noting the “widespread Catholic opposition to right-to-work laws in the 1950s”).

³¹ Thomas Gumbleton, *Right to Work Laws Devastate Economic Justice*, MLive.com, http://www.mlive.com/opinion/kalamazoo/index.ssf/2012/12/right-to-work_laws_devastate_e.html (Dec. 10, 2012) (last visited Jan. 16, 2018).

‘rights’ and no ‘work.’”³² King emphatically warned that in working for civil rights and human dignity,

we must guard against being fooled by false slogans such as ‘right-to-work.’ It is [a] law to rob us of our civil rights and job rights. . . . Its purpose is to destroy labor unions and freedom of collective bargaining by which unions have improved wages and working condition[s] of everyone. Wherever these laws have been passed, wages have been lower, job opportunities are fewer and there are no civil rights.³³

Some who supported right-to-work laws hoped to maintain social structures of white supremacy.³⁴ Dr. King, for his part, declared that

³² Michael K. Honey, *Introduction*, in MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., “ALL LABOR HAS DIGNITY” xvi-xvii (Michael K. Honey, ed.; Boston: Beacon Press, 2011); HONEY, GOING DOWN JERICHO ROAD, *supra* note 5, at 175.

³³ EMMETT MURRAY, THE LEXICON OF LABOR: MORE THAN 500 KEY TERMS, BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES, AND HISTORICAL INSIGHTS CONCERNING LABOR IN AMERICA 178-79 (New York: the New Press, rev. ed. 2010) (quoting King in entry on “right-to-work law/right-to-work state”); SCOTT SERNAU, SOCIAL INEQUALITY IN A GLOBAL AGE 314 (Los Angeles: SAGE/Pine Forge Press, 2014) (also quoting King). *See also* Oklahoma NAACP, Vote No on State Question 409 (1964), available at <http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/vote-no-state-question-409-oklahoma-naacp#>

³⁴ The Christian American Association was perhaps “the first in the nation to champion the ‘Right-to-Work’ as a full-blown political slogan.” Marc Dixon, *Limiting Labor: Business Political Mobilization and Union Setback in the States*, 19 J. OF POL’Y HIST. 313, 321 (2009). Its leader, Vance Muse, lobbied tirelessly against unions – and for segregation. *See* GLENN

it is no accident that the forces of race hatred . . . are also the partisans of reaction on every other issue. The American labor movement has discovered this when it tries to organize workers or when it faces the fact that “Right-to-Work” laws are a favorite instrument of the leaders of the White Citizen Councils and the Klan.³⁵

Religious authors have long recognized that effective bargaining requires an effective means for unions to collect the funds that they need to operate.³⁶ For public employees’ unions to be able to bargain collectively, they need the agency fees that *Janus* would have this court outlaw by overruling *Abood*.

Yet, the values that *Abood* balanced remain important ones – and in order to provide effective representation in collective bargaining, unions need financial support from all the employees whose interests they work to represent.

FELDMAN, THE GREAT MELDING: WAR, THE DIXIECRAT REBELLION, AND THE SOUTHERN MODEL FOR AMERICA’S NEW CONSERVATISM 79 (2015). Testifying before a U.S. Senate Special Committee, he bragged that he was “for white supremacy.” Vance Muse [III], *Making Peace with Grandfather*, TEXAS MONTHLY, Feb. 1986, at 142.

³⁵ Martin Luther King, Jr., *The Negro is Part of that Huge Community who Seek New Freedom in Every Area of Life* (New York, Feb. 1, 1959), in 5 THE PAPERS OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.: THRESHOLD OF A NEW DECADE, JANUARY 1959-DECEMBER 1960, at 116-17 (Clayborne Carson, ed.; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

³⁶ See, e.g., John F. Cronin, *Right-to-Work Laws*, The Catholic Lawyer, July 1956, at 189.

CONCLUSION

This Court should honor the ability of public employees to organize and bargain collectively, by rejecting the invitation to overrule the settled precedent established by *Abood*, and the many decisions that have applied and followed it over the last four decades.

Respectfully submitted,

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Faith in Public Life, Religious
Organizations, and Faith
Leaders Supporting Worker
Justice

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Organizational amici joining this brief

Aytzim – Ecological Judaism

Aytzim is a New York-based Jewish-environmental nonprofit, would be proud to sign the amicus brief supporting unions in the Janus case. At Aytzim, we are concerned about people as well as the planet, and recognize that unions have played a large role in building America by strengthening its middle class.

Bend the Arc: A Jewish Partnership for Justice

Amicus curiae Bend the Arc: A Jewish Partnership for Justice is the nation's leading progressive Jewish voice empowering Jewish Americans to be advocates for the nation's most vulnerable. Bend the Arc mobilizes Jewish Americans beyond religious and institutional boundaries to create justice and opportunity for all, through bold leadership development, innovative civic engagement, and robust progressive advocacy.

California Council of Churches

The California Council of Churches (“CCC”) is a faith-grounded public-policy voice educating and clarifying issues within the public arena. Standing on the social justice tradition of Protestant Christianity, CCC helps our 1.5

million members within 20 denominations understand the background and import of today's most pressing concerns. Founded in 1913, CCC has provided over a century of leadership in creating a living and effective democracy. Guided by the Constitution and by respect for the separation of church and states, CCC helps our members speak from their faith values for a vibrant democracy without seeking to impose narrow rules upon that system.

Catholic Labor Network

The Catholic Labor Network is a place for Catholics — lay, religious and clergy — who find inspiration in Catholic Social Teaching on labor and work, and wish to share it with the world. For more than two decades, the Catholic Labor Network has promoted the cause of worker justice and Catholic Social Teaching in labor unions, Church organizations and to the wider public.

Catholic Scholars for Worker Justice

CSWJ's mission is to promote Catholic Social Teaching on the rights of workers and the indispensable role that unions play in securing justice (1) for workers and their families, (2) in the workplace, and (3) for the universal common good.

The Center for Jewish Ethics at the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College

The Center for Jewish Ethics of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College was

established in 1994 to address Jews' struggle for ethical learning and their need for guidance as they encounter the ethical demands of contemporary life. The Center for Jewish Ethics generates ethical guidance grounded in Jewish tradition and responsive to the diverse challenges of contemporary life.

The Church of the Village

We follow the Holy Spirit's call to maintain a ministry in the West Village. We strive to share our faith in Christ, to provide compassion and understanding to all God's children, to carry out God's will in transforming our community, and to build a deeper relationship with God through prayer, worship, study, and action.

Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice

As CLUE, we educate, organize, and mobilize the faith community to accompany workers and their families in their struggle for good jobs, dignity, and justice. CLUE's mission is to bring together clergy and lay leaders of all faiths to join low-wage workers and other economically-disadvantaged communities in their struggles for justice.

Conference of Major Superiors of Men

The Conference of Major Superiors of Men (CMSM) is organized as the national representative body of the leadership of male religious institutes, monastic communities, and societies of apostolic life in the United States.

Faith in Public Life

Amicus curiae Faith in Public Life is a strategy center advancing faith in the public square as a positive and unifying force for justice, compassion and the common good. Faith in Public Life has played an important role in changing the narrative about the role of faith in politics, empowering new religious leaders to fight for social justice.

Franciscan Action Network

The Franciscan Action Network is a grassroots organization amplifying the justice efforts of Franciscans and Franciscan-hearted people around the country. Join our growing movement that endures from St. Francis of Assisi and his call for compassion for the poor and for creation over 800 years ago.

General Synod of the United Church of Christ

Amicus curiae General Synod of the United Church of Christ is the representative body of this Protestant denomination of more than 900,000 members and more than 5000 churches. The General Synod of the United Church of Christ has a long history of standing with unionized labor and fighting for economic justice for workers, and believes people of God must stand with workers as they seek dignity on the job, a voice at work, safe workplaces, and fair and adequate compensation for their labor.

The Institute Leadership Team of the Sisters of Mercy

Sisters of Mercy is an international community of Roman Catholic women who dedicate our lives to the Gospel of Jesus and take vows of poverty, chastity, obedience and service. Inspired by the life of Jesus and by our founder Catherine McAuley, we envision a just world for people who are poor, sick and uneducated. We commit our lives to God and our resources to serve, advocate and pray for those in need around the world.

Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR)

Amicus curiae Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility is a coalition of over 300 global institutional investors whose managed assets currently exceed \$400 billion. ICCR pioneered the use of shareholder advocacy to press companies on environmental, social, and governance issues. ICCR members regularly engage management to identify and mitigate social and environmental risks resulting from corporate operations and policies.

Interfaith Worker Justice

Interfaith Worker Justice (IWJ) is a national network that builds collective power by advancing the rights of workers through unions, worker centers, and other expressions of the labor movement and by engaging diverse faith communities and allies in joint action,

from grassroots organizing to shaping policy at the local, state and national levels.

Islamic Circle of North America Council for Social Justice

ICNA CSJ is a social justice organization that strives to systematically facilitate assertive Muslim involvement for the rights of the poor and oppressed.

Jewish Alliance for Law and Social Action (JALSA)

The Jewish Alliance for Law and Social Action (JALSA) is a membership-based non-profit organization based in Massachusetts, working for social, economic, and environmental justice and civil rights and liberties for all people. Inspired by Jewish teachings and values, JALSA has a history of supporting the rights of working people and the labor movement, which allows workers to have a collective voice in creating a humane and dignified workplace.

Justice and Witness Ministries of the United Church of Christ

One of four Covenanted Ministries in the UCC, the Justice and Witness Ministries helps local congregations and all settings of the church respond to God's commandments to do justice, seek peace and effect change for a better world. The work of JWM is guided by the pronouncements and resolutions approved by the UCC at General Synod.

Leadership Conference of Women Religious

The Leadership Conference of Women Religious (LCWR) is an association of the leaders of congregations of Catholic women religious in the United States. The conference has about 1350 members, who represent nearly 80 percent of the approximately 48,500 women religious in the United States. Founded in 1956, the conference assists its members to collaboratively carry out their service of leadership to further the mission of the Gospel in today's world.

Nuns on the Bus, Ohio

Inspired by Jesus, motivated by Catholic Social Teaching, impelled by a vision of an interdependent creation, in solidarity with those at the margins, Nuns on the Bus Ohio network and advocate for a just and peaceful world.

Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association

Established in 1974, the Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association ("RRA") is the professional association of Reconstructionist rabbis. The RRA represents the rabbinic voice within the Reconstructionist movement, bringing the teachings, stories, and traditions of Judaism to bear on contemporary issues and challenges, and helping to define Reconstructionist positions on Jewish issues for our time.

Reconstructionist Rabbinical College/Jewish Reconstructionist Communities

Reconstructionist Rabbinical College/Jewish Reconstructionist Communities is the seat of the Reconstructionist movement. We train religious leaders, provide support and services for communities affiliated with Reconstructionism, and offer a progressive Jewish perspective in the public square.

T'ruah: The Rabbinic Call for Human Rights

T'ruah: The Rabbinic Call for Human Rights brings together rabbis and cantors from all streams of Judaism, together with all members of the Jewish community, to act on the Jewish imperative to respect and advance the human rights of all people. Grounded in Torah and our Jewish historical experience and guided by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we call upon Jews to assert Jewish values by raising our voices and taking concrete steps to protect and expand human rights in North America, Israel, and the occupied Palestinian territories.

Unitarian Universalist Association

Amicus curiae Unitarian Universalist Association is a denomination comprising more than a thousand congregations in the United States, from New England's founding churches to recently organized fellowships. Unitarian Universalists everywhere affirm human dignity and freedom.

Faith leaders joining this brief as individuals

with institutional affiliations indicated for purposes of
identification only

Imam Taha Hassane, Islamic Center of San Diego,
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Rev. Maurita Bernet, Franciscan, Little Falls, MN

Rev. Megan LeCluyse, Presbyterian, Philadelphia, PA

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Rev. Kara Wagner Sherer, St. John's Episcopal
Church, Chicago, IL

George Marsh, Associate Sisters of St. Francis of
Tiffin, Tiffin, OH

Rev. Dr. Lori Dick, MCC, Claremont, CA

Pastor Jeff Wells, UM Church of the Village, New York, NY

Rev. Christine Jones-Leavy, Unitarian Universalist, Westerville, OH

Rev. Bruce Tischler, Presbyterian Church (USA), New Rochelle, NY

Rev. Joan VanBecelaere, Unitarian Universalist Justice Ohio, Columbus, OH

Dr. Daniel DiLeo, Creighton University, Omaha, NE

Emma Amos, Atlantic Institute, Atlantic Beach, FL

Rev. Dr. Mark Wendorf, United Church of Christ, Sanford, ME

Sandra Miller, Interfaith Sacred Conversation on Race & Diversity, Takoma Park, MD

Rev. Phil Tom, Presbyterian Church USA, Mount Vernon, NY

Rev. Jennifer Marie Marcus, Esquire, Association of Roman Catholic Women Priests, Rochester, MI

Pastor Kevin Johnson, Calvary Presbyterian Church, Detroit, MI

Rev. Belinda Curry, Louisville, KY

Rev. Emily Mcginley, Urban Village Church, Chicago, IL

Rev. Dr. Wesley Woo (Retired), San Francisco, CA

Tom Heger (Retired), San Antonio, TX

Shannon Webster, Presbytery of Sheppards and
Lapsley, Birmingham, AL

Rev. Karen Hernandez-Granzen, WPC, Princeton, NJ

Prof. Paul Voytas, Redeemer Lutheran, Springfield,
OH

Rev. Mark Burnham, South Presbyterian Church,
Bergenfield, NJ

MT Davila, Andover Newton Theological School,
Newton Center, MA

Rev. Martha M Cruz, Member of ELCA Church, Port
Chester, NY

Rev. Brian Hamilton, Westminster Presbyterian,
Washington, DC

Rev. Dr. Christian Losso, Louisville, KY

Prof. Peter Beisheim, Ph.D., Stonehill College, North
Easton, MA

Rev. Brint Keyes, All Souls Presbyterian Church,
Henrico, VA

Sister Brigid Lawlor, Congregation of our Lady of
Charity of the Good Shepherd, Silver Spring, MD

Dr. Christopher Conway, College of St. Benedict and
St. John's University, Saint Joseph, MN

Rev. Dr. Michael Patella, Saint John's Abbey,
Collegeville, MN

Rev. Sally May, Malletts Bay Congregational Church,
UCC, Jeffersonville, VT

Juliann Heller, College of Saint Benedict/Saint John's
University, Grey Eagle, MN

Dr. Patricia Kennedy, College of Saint Benedict, St.
Joseph, MN, Saint Joseph, MN

Dr. Vincent Smiles, College of St. Benedict & St.
John's University, Saint Joseph, MN

Alexandros Taliadoros, Kalmanovitz Initiative for
Labor and the Working Poor, Washington, DC

Dr. Gerald Beyer, Villanova University, Ardmore, PA

Thomas Foley, Georgetown University, Silver Spring,
MD

David Jacobs, Fabranken DC, Silver Spring, MD

Rev. Grace Kaori Suzuki, San Francisco, CA

Dawn Carpenter, Georgetown University,
Washington, DC

Jason Kelley, Unitarian Universalist, West Jordan,
UT

Ellen Payzant, South Valley Unitarian Universalist
Society, Sandy, UT

Sister Elizabeth Lavelle, Congregation of St. Joseph,
Rocky River, OH

Prof. Kenneth R Himes, OFM, Theology Department,
Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA

Dr. Jeffrey Kaster, Saint John's University School of
Theology and Seminary, Collegeville, MN

William Austin, Eno River Unitarian Universalist
Fellowship, Durham, NC

Rev. Michael Livingston, The Riverside Church, NYC

Rev. Dr. Ken Brooker Langston, Executive Director,
Disciples Center for Public Witness Christian Church

Sister Patricia McDermott

Rabbi Mordechai Liebling, Reconstructionist
Rabbinical College, Board Member, Philadelphia
Jewish Labor Committee