Union mergers: 1985–94 update

With the 40th anniversary of the merger between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, unions continue to merge to face the challenges and economic uncertainties of the future

Lisa Williamson

This year marks the 40th anniversary of the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations into a single entity. The unification of the two major groups of labor unions in 1955 ended a nearly two decade rivalry that was sometimes contentious and costly. It placed most unionized workers under one umbrella labor organization, and brought together 135 affiliated unions.[1] The formation of the AFL-CIO led to expectations that there would be mergers among constituent unions, particularly those with overlapping jurisdictions. Despite the 1955 AFL-CIO constitution encouraging mergers, unions were relatively slow getting together.

Since the AFL-CIO amalgamation, 133 mergers have occurred.[2] (See table 1.) During the first two decades following the creation of the AFL-CIO, 48 mergers occurred, while 45 mergers occurred during the following decade alone. This 1976–85 period was the busiest decade in terms of union mergers. Afterwards, the pace slowed somewhat with 40 mergers during the 1986–94 period.

Historically, there have been three types of mergers: between two AFL-CIO unions, between an AFL-CIO union and an independent union, or between two independent unions. During the first two decades following the AFL-CIO formation, 50 percent of the mergers were between two AFL-CIO members, 35 percent were between an AFL-CIO union and an independent union, and 15 percent were between independent unions. Since 1975, 54 percent of the mergers have been between AFL-CIO unions, even with a reduced number of member unions. However, 40 percent of the mergers have been between an independent union and an AFL-CIO union, and only 6 percent have been between two independent unions.

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Why mergers continue?

Union membership declined by nearly 4.4 million between 1979 (when union membership reached its peak) and 1994. The decrease was widespread in the private sector, particularly in the primary metals, automobile and aerospace equipment manufacturing, transportation, and communications industries, which have large numbers of unionized workers. Although unions have experienced membership growth in the public sector (attributed to changes in labor laws covering government workers) and some organizing victories in the growing service sector, these additions have not been able to keep pace with the overall loss of union jobs.

One of the strategies unions have employed to cope with declining membership is to merge. Mergers generate economies of scale, reducing costly duplication of expenditures and combining efforts to achieve similar goals. Unions also merge to address mutual concerns and increase

lobbying power, improve the expertise or experience of their staffs and, in some cases, strengthen their strike funds. Another reason, at least for independent unions to merge with AFL-CIO unions, is to prevent the "raiding" of their members by other AFL-CIO unions. Unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO are prevented from organizing or raiding each other's members by the AFL-CIO constitution, which addresses internal dispute procedures and sanctions against members who are not in compliance. Unions that are not affiliated with the federation do not receive such protection and may become targets of affiliated unions trying to increase membership.

Recognizing the continuing importance of mergers to the labor community, the AFL-CIO adopted a set of guidelines in 1985 for its members who were considering mergers. The following quotation suggests that mergers will continue, and appears to encourage unions to seek merger partners within their industry to promote a concerted process as opposed to competing with other unions for scarce membership:[3]

> Since the merger of the AFL and CIO in 1955, the number of AFL-CIO affiliates has declined from 135 to 96, primarily through the process of merger. A review of the membership trends and structure of the remaining affiliates, together with an analysis of structural changes in the workforce, demonstrates that more and more unions are considering mergers as a means to increased collective bargaining power and heightened organizing ability.
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> While most of the mergers that have taken place to date have proved to be mutually beneficial to the organizations and membership involved, it is important that future mergers provide the optimum combination to confront the problems of a rapidly changing economy. As the emphasis on mergers increases and the number of unions declines, care must be taken to insure that future mergers represent the optimum, beneficial combination.

Table 1. Union mergers, 1956–94

Year	Total mergers	AFL-CIO only	AFL-CIO and indendent	Independent only
Total 1956–94:	133	70	51	12
1956	3	3	0	0
1957	2	1	0	1
1958	1	1	0	0
1959	3	2	1	0
1960	4	1	2	1
1961	3	2	1	0
1962	3	0	1	2
1963	0	0	0	0
1964	1	0	1	0
1965	1	1	0	0
1966	1	0	0	1
1967	1	0	1	0
1968	4	3	0	1
1969	6	2	4	0
1970	1	0	1	0
1971	3	2	1	0
1972	5	3	2	0
1973	2	1	1	0
1974	1	1	0	0
1975	3	1	1	1
1976	3	2	1	0
1977	3	2	0	1
1978	3	2	1	0
1979	5	3	2	0
1980	6	4	1	1
1981	3	2	1	0
1982	6	3	3	0
1983	5	2	3	0
1984	5	2	3	0
1985	6	2	3	1
1986	5	3	2	0
1987	3	1	2	0
1988	4	3	1	0
1989	5	4	1	0
1990	1	0	1	0
1991	5	2	3	0
1992	5	3	2	0
1993	7	2	3	2
1994[1]	5	4	1	0

[1] Includes Service Employees International Union and International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers merger to be effective February 1995.

Mergers after 1984

Union mergers generally take one of three forms: The uniting of two organizations or more to form a new entity; the absorption of one organization by another, usually by a much larger one; or the affiliation of two organizations with each retaining its own identity. Most of the mergers since 1955 have been absorbtions. This has been the case particularly since 1984, when union merger activity was last reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.[4] Since then, there have been 46 mergers, almost half of which were accounted for by four unions: the Service Employees International Union, with nine; the Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers and the United Food and Commercial Workers each with 5; and the Communications Workers of America with 4.[5] The following discussion focuses on some of the mergers that occurred with these unions during 1985–94; for a complete list, see exhibit 1.

Service Employees International Union. In 1985, the 2,000-member Georgia State Employees Association (Ind.) voted to affiliate with the Service Employees after talks with two other unions. Under the affiliation agreement, the statewide local maintained control over union affairs and finances, but gained the financial stability and political clout to better negotiate with the State.

The Connecticut Employees Union Independent (Ind.), with 8,000 members, chose to affiliate with the Service Employees in 1985 because the independent union had grown during its 18

Exhibit 1. Chronology of mergers between labor organizations, January 1985 to September 1994

1985

United Steelworkers of America (AFL-CIO)
Upholsterers International Union of North America (AFL-CIO)

Service Employees International Union (AFL-CIO)
Georgia State Employees Association (Ind.)

Service Employees International Union (AFL-CIO)
Connecticut Employees Union Independent (Ind.)

Service Employees International Union (AFL-CIO)
Licensed Practical Nurses Association of Washington State (Ind.)

International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Warehousemen (Ind.)
National Industrial Union (Ind.)

United Transportation Union (AFL-CIO)
Railroad Yardmasters of America (AFL-CIO)

1986

International Union of Electronic, Electrical, Technical, Salaried and Machine Workers (AFL-CIO)
United Furniture Workers of America (AFL-CIO)
Formed: International Union of Electronic, Electrical, Salaried, Machine and Furniture Workers (AFL-CIO)

Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees (AFL-CIO)
Brotherhood of Railway Carmen (AFL-CIO)

Communications Workers of America (AFL-CIO)
United Telegraph Workers (AFL-CIO)

Service Employees International Union (AFL-CIO)
Iowa State Police Officers Council (Ind.)

International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers (AFL-CIO)
National Association of Planners, Estimators and Progressmen (Ind.)

1987

Communications Workers of America (AFL-CIO)
International Typographical Union (AFL-CIO)

International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (AFL-CIO)
International Die Sinkers' Conference (Ind.)

National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees (AFL-CIO)
United Nurses Association of California (Ind.)

1988

Glass, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers (AFL-CIO)
International Molders and Allied Workers Union
Formed: Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers International Union (AFL-CIO)

International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (AFL-CIO)
Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America (AFL-CIO)

Service Employees International Union (AFL-CIO)
Maine State Employees Association (Ind.)

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America (AFL-CIO)
Tile, Marble, Terrazzo, Finishers, Shopworkers and Granite Cutters International Union (AFL-CIO)

1989

National Maritime Union (AFL-CIO)
National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association (AFL-CIO), District 1
Formed: District 1 MEBA/NMU of the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association (AFL-CIO)

Insurance Workers International Union (AFL-CIO)
Insurance Workers of America (AFL-CIO)

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO)
National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees (AFL-CIO) (part)

Service Employees International Union (AFL-CIO)
National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees (AFL-CIO) (part)

United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (AFL-CIO)
National Brotherhood of Packinghouse Workers (Ind.)

See footnotes at end of exhibit.

years and needed the additional support provided by a large union. According to Connecticut Employees Union vice president Salvatore Chilone, members voted to merge with the Service Employees after receiving personal service from the union's State representative and a personal visit by the Service Employees president John Sweeney, who presented the union's affiliation proposal.

Also in 1985, the 1,000-member Licensed Practical Nurses Association of Washington State (Ind.) chose to affiliate with the Service Employees after considering four other unions. According to Licensed Practical Nurses' president Mickie Eckley, the Service Employees union was selected because it had expertise in negotiating contracts and overall had experienced local leaders.

In 1989, the Service Employees had its fourth and largest merger, absorbing a part of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. The Hospital and Health Care Employees was formed when it split from Local 1199 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union in 1984 and was chartered as an independent (separate) organization by the AFL-CIO at that time. The original local in New York, from which the Hospital and Health Care Employees split, retained the designation of Local 1199 and remained in the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union. At their 1987 convention, delegates of the Hospital and Health Care Employees voted to seek affiliation with a larger labor organization to increase their resources and or-

Exhibit 1. **Continued—Chronology of mergers between labor organizations, January 1985 to September 1994**

1990

Service Employees International Union (AFL-CIO)
Wyoming Public Employees Association (Ind.)

1991

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (AFL-CIO)
American Train Dispatchers Association (AFL-CIO)

International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (AFL-CIO)
National Writers Union (Ind.)

United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (AFL-CIO)
Independent Food Handlers and Warehouse Employees Union (Ind.)

United Paperworkers International Union (AFL-CIO)
Independent Workers of North America (Ind.)

International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (AFL-CIO)
Pattern Makers League of North America (AFL-CIO)

1992

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO)
State Employees Association of Mississippi (Ind.)

International Union of Operating Engineers (AFL-CIO)
Jersey Nurses Economic Security Organization (Ind.)

Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers International Union (AFL-CIO)
Coopers' International Union of North America (AFL-CIO)

International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (AFL-CIO)
International Association of Siderographers (AFL-CIO)

Communications Workers of America (AFL-CIO)
National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians (AFL-CIO)

1993

United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (AFL-CIO)
International Union of Life Insurance Agents (Ind.)

United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (AFL-CIO)
Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (AFL-CIO)

United Paperworkers International Union (AFL-CIO)
International Union, Allied Industrial Workers of America (AFL-CIO)

Communications Workers of America (AFL-CIO)
Union of Professional and Technical Employees (Ind.)

United Electrical Workers (Ind.)
Iowa United Professionals (Ind.)

United Electrical Workers (Ind.)
National Industrial Workers Union (Ind.)

Service Employees International Union (AFL-CIO)
United Service Workers of America (Ind).

1994

International Association of Machinists (AFL-CIO)
International Woodworkers of America (AFL-CIO)

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America (AFL-CIO)
Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers (Ind.)

United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (AFL-CIO)
United Garment Workers of America (AFL-CIO)

International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers (AFL-CIO)
Stove, Furnace, and Allied Appliance Workers' International Union of North America (AFL-CIO)

Service Employees International Union (AFL-CIO)
International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers (AFL-CIO)

[1] The 1989 merger was terminated effective December 1993.

NOTE: The second union listed in the merger pairs was absorbed by the first union listed, unless otherwise indicated.

SOURCE: The dates of the union mergers are based on information from the AFL-CIO Convention reports and from the information supplied by the unions involved in the mergers.

ganizing power. At the end of the following year, half of the union's 26-member executive board voted in favor of affiliating with the Service Employees, while the other half favored merging with the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees. The merger dispute was resolved by having members of the Hospital and Health Care Employees' vote by district on affiliation with the two larger unions. About 45,000 members were in districts which chose affiliation with the Service Employees, while the remaining 25,000 were in districts which elected to go with the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

The International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, with 27,000 members in the railroad, and service industries will merge with the Service Employees effective February 1995. The Firemen and Oilers had been seeking a merger partner for some time, and with only about 20 percent of its membership still in the railroad industry and the remainder primarily in office building services, health care, and other service industry jobs, the Service Employees became a likely partner.

International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. On December 1, 1987, the 2,400 member International Die Sinkers Conference merged with the Machinists' union, following 13 months of negotiations. The Die Sinkers considered merging with other unions, but voted

overwhelmingly to merge with the Machinists. The latter credited its ability to provide training and leadership opportunities as the major impetus in the Die Sinkers' Executive Board's unanimous recommendation. The merger process required the larger Die Sinker locals to be assigned new Machinists local charters and to affiliate with existing Machinists districts, while smaller Die Sinker locals were merged into existing Machinists locals.

On May 1, 1994, the 20,000 member International Woodworkers of America affiliated with the Machinists' union. Under the merger agreement, the Woodworkers became a division of the Machinists, retaining its autonomy and the union's office building near Portland, Oregon. The agreement between the two unions also provided that the Woodworkers' locals will continue to function as they did before the merger. A drop in membership from 58,000 to 20,000 over the past 20 years may have encouraged the Woodworkers to seek a merger partner. Declining employment in the wood products industry due to automation and environmental issues are blamed for the loss in membership. The Woodworkers had become a separate entity in 1937, when it split from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. The Woodworkers joined the CIO, while the Carpenters remained with the AFL.

United Food and Commercial Workers. The Brotherhood of Packinghouse and Industrial Workers Union (Ind.), representing 3,500 workers nationwide, voted to merge with the Food and Commercial Workers in 1989. According to the Packinghouse Workers president, affiliation with a larger union became necessary because of corporate restructuring and company militancy.[6] The merger of the 50-year-old independent union with the Food and Commercial Workers increased packinghouse membership to 105,000.

The 80,000 American members of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union voted at the union's convention in August 1993 to merge with the United Food and Commercial Workers, with 98 percent of the delegates in favor of the move. In Canada, local union leaders representing about 19,000 Retail, Wholesale and Department Store members voted not to merge with the Food and Commercial workers, choosing instead to become an independent union, while 13 Canadian locals, representing about 6,000 workers chose to merge with the Food and Commercial Workers.[7] The merger is expected to be completed in 1997.

The Retail, Wholesale and Department Store union's merger with the United Food and Commercial Workers was by far the largest during the 1985–94 period. According to William Wynn, former president of the Food and Commercial Workers, the two unions share traditions, structure, and outlook, as well as common jurisdiction, and "the merger promises to be a situation in which the whole is greater than the sum of the parts."[8] This statement follows the lines envisioned by George Meany in 1965[9] and later reiterated by the AFL-CIO's 1985 "Report on the Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions," in which AFL-CIO affiliated unions were encouraged to seek merger partners among unions with overlapping or similar jurisdictions, in order to reduce duplication and strengthen industrywide bargaining.

The United Garment Workers of America, with 18,000 members, held a special convention in Las Vegas, NV, in early November 1994 and decided to merge with the United Food and Commercial Workers Union to form the National Apparel, Garment and Textile Workers Council effective December 1, 1994.

Communications Workers of America. The United Telegraph Workers with 5,800 members, merged with the Communications Workers in 1986, following a runoff with the Machinists, the Auto Workers, and the Electrical Workers unions. The Telegraph Workers had been seeking a merger partner for some time, and had held talks with the Telecommunications International Union, whose local affiliates eventually merged with the Communications Workers and the Electrical Workers in 1985 and 1986.[10] Under the affiliation agreement with the Communications Workers, the Telegraph Workers kept their own office building and officers, but by previous agreement at their convention, had decided to eliminate the secretary-treasurer and vice president positions, and reduce their regions from five to three.

After merger proposals with three other unions fell through, the International Typographical Union voted to merge with the Communications Workers in November 1986, becoming the Printing, Publishing and Media sector of the Communications Workers. During the affiliation discussions, several issues arose which the Typographical Union members addressed at their convention ratifying the merger proposal. The major issue was a different philosophy on strike funds. The Typographical Union had strike benefits paying up to $250 a week, one of the highest strike benefits of any union financed with a strike fund assessment of 0.5 percent of income per member. By contrast, the Communications Workers paid strike benefits only in hardship cases and assessed 50 cents per member per

month for the strike fund. Following the merger vote, Typographical Union members voted to create a supplemental strike fund similar to their previous plan with 0.5 percent of straight time wages to go to the strike fund, and to pay up to $200 per week in strike benefits. As part of the merger agreement, the two unions resolved other issues such as eventually closing the Typographical Union headquarters in Colorado Springs, CO. and moving the sector office to the Communications Workers' national headquarters in Washington, DC. One of the major incentives for members of the Typographical union to join the Communications Workers was that their per capita dues would decline by about two-thirds, from 1.5 percent of straight-time wages to 0.46 percent (without the additional payment for the strike fund). In addition, the international, through its regional offices, would pay all the costs of legal assistance to the locals. Legal costs were a substantial expense for the Typographical Union's locals, which handled all arbitration cases.

After unsuccessful merger talks with other unions, such as the Electrical Workers, the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians approved a merger with the Communications Workers in December 1992. After a 1-year affiliation process, the merger was completed on January 1, 1994. The 9,000 Broadcast Technicians became a sector of the Communications Workers, similar to the organization created when the International Typographical Union merged with the Communications Workers in 1986. According to the Communications Workers president, Morton Bahr, the merger of the Broadcast Technicians with the Communications Workers will be helpful to his union in its efforts to expand representation into the cable television industry.

Mergers among railroad unions

Following the merger of the AFL-CIO, mergers among many craft unions in the historically important railroad industry have decreased the number of rail unions from 19 in 1956 to 5 in 1994. Railroad employment has declined drastically over the past 40 years as other modes of passenger and freight transportation became more popular in the United States, and new technology replaced or combined the duties of various crafts. For many unions, the only way to survive was through mergers.

Four mergers became effective for unions in the railroad industry between 1985 and 1994. The Railroad Yardmasters of America, with 2,400 members, voted by a 3-to-1 margin to merge with the United Transportation Union in August 1985. Under the merger agreement, the Yardmasters would maintain autonomy within the United Transportation Union.

Effective August 1986, the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of the United States and Canada, with 50,000 members, merged with 175,000 members of the Brotherhood of Railway Airline and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees as a semi-autonomous division within the Railway Clerks. The merger agreement provided that the Carmen's division would do its own bargaining and retain its Kansas City headquarters for an indeterminate period. At their 1987 convention, the Railway Clerks voted to change their name to the Transportation Communications Union.

The American Train Dispatchers Association and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers authorized a merger in 1991. Under the terms of the affiliation agreement, the Train Dispatchers, with 2,000 members, became a division of the Locomotive Engineers, which has about 50,000 members. Rather than maintain separate operations, which occurs in many mergers, the two unions planned to coordinate bargaining, and combine recordkeeping and data processing functions.

Also, as mentioned earlier, the Firemen and Oilers will be merging with the Service Employees in February 1995.

Affiliations and disaffiliations

While not counted as mergers, a number of union affiliations with the AFL-CIO occurred between 1985 and 1994. The AFL-CIO issued charters to six unions considered unaffiliated with the AFL-CIO, two of which were previously part of the AFL-CIO: the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, chartered in November 1987,[11] after 28 years as an independent union, and the United Transportation Union, whose charter became effective August 1989 after a 2-year absence. The four unions receiving charters for the first time were the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union in August 1988, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in April 1989, the Writers Guild of America, East, Inc. in August 1989, and the United Mine Workers of America in October 1989.[12] The Mine Workers had been an affiliate of both the AFL and CIO at different times, but never of the merged organization. The former president of the Mine Workers, John L. Lewis, pulled the union out of the AFL in 1937 and affiliated it with the CIO, which he had helped found. Five years later, he withdrew the union from the CIO and rejoined the AFL in 1946. In 1947, Lewis scribbled a now famous note to the former AFL president, William Green,

10-4-89
Lane
We Affiliate
Rich

and the union became independent. In his affiliation bid with the AFL-CIO, Richard Trumpka, the current Mine Workers president, sent a similar note to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland:[13]

Green—A.F. of L.
We disaffiliate
12-12-47. Lewis.

There was only one disaffiliation from the AFL-CIO between 1985 and 1994, that of the United Transportation Union effective April 1, 1986. The union's action followed the AFL-CIO's Executive Council's finding that the union was in noncompliance with the Federation's Article XX internal dispute procedures and subject to sanctions.[14] However, as noted earlier, the Transportation Union reaffiliated in 1989.[15]

Possible mergers

For many years, labor professionals have speculated privately and publicly about future mergers. One of the prime possibilities is between the National Education Association (Ind.) and the American Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO). They broke off merger discussions on December 19, 1994, after a year and a half of talks. According to an Education Association spokesperson, no one issue caused the breakdown, but rather, difficulties in resolving cultural and structural differences. The Education Association was scheduled to bring an agreement to its Representative Assembly on July 1, 1995. Some reported unresolved issues surrounding this possible merger are the Federation of Teachers' affiliation with the AFL-CIO and limiting organizing to persons in the same field as the affiliated union, in this case, in education. In addition to persons in the education field, the Federation of Teachers has members who work in government and health care. Also at issue is whether such a large organization could effectively bargain and lobby for policy issues beneficial to all of its members.

The executive board of The Newspaper Guild voted unanimously in favor of a merger with the Communications Workers last October. A merger agreement must be worked out and voted on by the Guild's convention and then submitted to the union membership for approval. According to Guild President, Charles Dale, the Communications Workers' size and expertise in the developing area of electronic media technology were seen as advantages.

The United Rubber Workers and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers also held discussions in 1993, although no agreement was reached at the Rubber Workers' convention that fall. Recent reports have also indicated that both the Chemical Workers and the United Mine Workers are actively seeking a merger partner, but neither has found one that is satisfactory.

MERGERS ENABLE UNIONS to enhance bargaining and organizing power, achieve economies of scale, eliminate costly duplication of efforts, and increase financial and administrative resources. But they also have negative aspects, especially for the union that is absorbed: an abandonment of history and tradition, and a loss of the institution's identity; and a loss of status for the leadership, and the need for the membership to adapt to the policies, practices, and philosophy of another organization. Nevertheless, as the AFL-CIO enters its fifth decade, mergers are likely to continue to play an important role in organized labor's adaptation to the changing conditions in which it operates. □

Footnotes

[1] *Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the United States, 1957* Bulletin 1222 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1957), p. 4.

[2] As in previous studies, this study includes unions that were affiliated with the AFL-CIO or unaffiliated unions that have collective bargaining agreements with different employers in more than one State (except those meeting requirements for exclusive recognition). Professional or State employee associations are included if they reported that they engaged in collective bargaining or representation activities and claimed membership in more than one State or, if claiming membership in only one State, they represented employees in two counties or more within the State. Every effort was made to include all unions and associations meeting these standards.

[3] The guidelines were presented in "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions, *Report of the AFL-CIO Committee on the Evolution of Work,*" Appendix A.

[4] The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported on this subject in Larry T. Adams, "Labor Organization mergers 1979–84: adapting to change," *Monthly Labor Review,* September 1984, pp. 21–27; Charles J. Janus, "Union mergers in the 1970's: a look at the reasons and results," *Monthly Labor Review*, October 1978, pp. 13–23; and Lucretia M. Dewey, "Union merger pace quickens," *Monthly Labor Review*, June 1971, pp. 63–70.

[5] Unions are affiliated with the AFL-CIO except where noted as independent (Ind).

[6] *UFCW Action,* September–October 1993.

[7] *UFCW Action.*

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Proceedings of the Sixth Constitutional Convention of the* AFL-CIO, December 19, 1965, p. 21.

[10] The Telecommunications International Union was an affiliation of independent single-employer local unions which BLS determined to be autonomous units. Therefore, its merger with the Communications Workers of America and with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers is not within the scope of this article.

[11] *Report of the AFL-CIO 1987 Convention.*

[12] *Report of the AFL-CIO 1989 Convention.*

[13] *The Washington Post* displayed copies of the two notes side by side to illustrate their similarity. See *The Washington Post*, Oct. 5, 1989.

[14] *Report of the AFL-CIO 1987 Convention.*

[15] *Report of the AFL-CIO 1989 Convention.*