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#### Biden’s reconciliation bill passes now but compromises are delicate

Caygle and Everett 10/20 (Heather and Burgess, Congress reporters at Politico) “Dems edge closer to ditching disarray” <https://www.politico.com/news/2021/10/20/dems-edge-closer-ditching-disarray-516312> EE, DebateDrills

Nancy Pelosi and Chuck Schumer’s strategy to force through Democrats’ domestic agenda flamed out spectacularly in September. They’re ready to try it all over again.

With their party’s long-sought priorities on the line, the speaker and Senate majority leader are hustling to clinch a deal as soon as possible that would lock in evasive centrists on a framework for President Joe Biden’s $2 trillion social spending package. That framework, in turn, would free up needed progressive votes for a bipartisan infrastructure bill by Oct. 31.

It’s a rerun of the playbook Democratic leaders used just weeks ago, [only to have it blow up](https://www.politico.com/news/2021/10/01/house-democrats-biden-infrastructure-deal-514878) in their faces. But Democrats insist it actually might work this time, with political and legislative incentives aligning more neatly than they did in September.

Pelosi and Schumer are telling their members they need to secure an agreement on the social spending bill by the end of this week. The House could even vote by the end of the month.

“We’re getting there. The gaps are closing. The vibe in our caucus is different. Folks are being more clear-eyed about: ‘We’ve got to get this done,’” said Sen. Chris Coons (D-Del.), who is close to Biden. “There’s a lot of reasons why these next 10 days are critical. To chip shot this into December is really, really problematic.”

Democrats are also getting more specific, with Sen. Joe Manchin (D-W.Va.) tossing a carbon tax and a green utilities program overboard while insisting on means testing much of the bill. Biden also told progressives Tuesday that an expanded boost to the child tax credit could be made shorter and that free community college could be jettisoned.

Biden’s price tag for the bill at the moment is around $2 trillion and he wants to lock down an agreement before heading overseas at the end of this month for climate talks, according to Democrats familiar with Tuesday’s discussions.

Rep. Jimmy Gomez (D-Calif.) said he left Biden’s meeting with progressives thinking “the president is committed to getting this done as soon as possible. And I was kind of surprised by that.”

Gomez said things remain “touch and go” and it’s unclear how much is finalized, even as Democratic leaders hope to close in on a framework in the coming days.

But it’s clear the momentum has shifted in recent days. Biden and Democrats are having substantive conversations about which programs will stay in the bill, which priorities will be cut and how to knit the rest together into a package both centrists and liberals can support.

“He's being decisive, he’s showing leadership,” Rep. Debbie Dingell (D-Mich.) said of Biden after progressives’ two-hour Tuesday meeting at the White House. “I think it’s going to get done this time.”

There’s still much more to get through, however. And Democrats have a crunch of deadlines waiting later this year that they must balance with [their last, best chance](https://www.politico.com/news/2021/10/17/democrats-agenda-last-chance-516160) to capitalize on their full control of Washington and pass once-in-a-generation legislation that would significantly shore up the nation’s social safety net.

Manchin and Sen. Kyrsten Sinema (D-Ariz.) are the toughest votes to secure, but both were whirlwinds of activity on Tuesday. Each of the centrists met with Biden. And while Manchin was in the Democratic lunch with his colleagues settling on a quick timeline, Sinema was meeting with senior White House staff, according to her office. Sinema’s office declined to comment on her commitment to finishing things by the end of the week.

Though the odds are still stacked against the party, Democrats say it’s clear there’s a renewed sense of urgency among party leaders. Schumer is nudging his holdouts more than ever before, Pelosi is free from the constraints of [an agreement with moderates](https://www.politico.com/news/2021/08/24/gottheimer-house-dems-pelosi-deal-506819) that imploded and Biden is finally engaged in a meaningful way. Plus, nearly everyone has accepted the bill won’t be $3.5 trillion, as originally proposed.

“There’s a real consensus that it’s time,” said the party’s No. 3 Senate leader, Patty Murray (D-Wash.). “We all see the timeline, there’s a lot of struggle about what’s going to go in a bill that’s literally half the size of what people envisioned.”

A month ago, some Democrats privately grumbled that Pelosi was working with an artificial deadline based on an agreement she made with moderates in her chamber — but one that didn’t motivate, and maybe even alienated, key Senate holdouts from cutting a deal. Manchin and Sinema, specifically, are still fuming that the House hasn’t passed the Senate’s bipartisan infrastructure bill.

Still, just a few weeks later, several Democrats involved in the negotiations insist that even the centrists much-maligned by their party's base for chipping away at the bill are springing into action. At a caucus meeting Tuesday, Manchin listened intently to his colleagues in what one attendee called a “turning point, in that there was more of a focus on urgency.”

Importantly, Democrats on all sides are coming to grips with the reality that all of their demands will not be met. The Obamacare subsidies that House Democratic leaders have pushed for are still in the package, while liberals’ demand for a massive Medicare expansion — something Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) called non-negotiable last week — may be significantly pared back.

While jettisoning some policy proposals and slimming the bill seem like unwelcome developments for Democrats, the more specific negotiations indicate that the party is actually down to brass tacks. Still, Gomez said some of the discussion involved “trial balloons to see what the reactions of the different factions are.”

Sen. Jon Tester (D-Mont.) said on Tuesday morning that the “fact we don’t have a deal and have been gone for 10 days [on recess] means we’ve got to do better.” But after meeting with Biden Tuesday afternoon, his opinion had changed: “I think there’s a lot that’s happened the last 10 days, I just wasn’t aware of it. We’re getting to a point where we can move pretty well.”

It's critical for Pelosi and Schumer to show they can govern in a sharply divided Congress with the thinnest of majorities. Biden needs a huge win ahead of a global climate summit in Glasgow. And every Democrat wants to put a victory on the board to boost Virginia gubernatorial candidate Terry McAuliffe, whose loss would be [a major setback](https://www.politico.com/news/2021/10/16/democrats-reckoning-virginia-governor-race-516086) to the party’s agenda and midterm prospects.

Plus, the nation's highway trust fund runs dry at the end of October and will need more money from Congress — which the bipartisan infrastructure bill will supply once it clears the House.

House Majority Leader Steny Hoyer (D-Md.) insisted Tuesday that Democratic leaders are still pushing to finalize both a roughly $2 trillion social infrastructure bill and pass the $550 billion infrastructure bill by the end of the month. But even if party leaders can get their warring factions to agree to a framework for the spending bill after weeks of public feuding, that too will amount to a triumph after months of jockeying.

“We're working very hard to have both of those bills ready to be passed by the House of Representatives before that date,” Hoyer told reporters. “Now, if we make significant progress, that'll also be success towards those ends.”

#### The plan gets lumped in with the reconciliation bill and causes conflict

Mueller 09/21/2021 (Eleanor, labor reporter) “Unions squeeze pro-labor priorities into Democrats’ spending bill” Politico, <https://www.politico.com/news/2021/09/21/unions-reconciliation-bill-513423> EE, DebateDrills

Tucked amid the investments in child care, higher education and clean energy are below-the-radar provisions that would make it easier for workers to organize, such as giving the National Labor Relations Board sharper teeth and empowering it to conduct union elections online.

Both of those policies are also included in the Protecting the Right to Organize Act — an overhaul of U.S. labor law Democrats drafted to resuscitate tapering union membership, which is stalled in the Senate.

How much the language in the spending bill could really move the needle on the fortunes of organized labor remains to be seen. It must also survive the Byrd rule, which allows only spending-related legislation to move through the reconciliation process that Democrats intend to use to pass the bill. Democrats have had one of their other top priorities — immigration reform — stymied by the rule already.

Union officials are pouring time, money and energy into making sure the provisions — which they helped shape — make it across the finish line. If they are successful, it could constitute the biggest pro-union shift in U.S. labor law since the National Labor Relations Act was enacted in 1935, labor experts said.

“Labor is not only all over supporting it, it has helped craft it,” American Federation of Teachers President Randi Weingarten said in an interview.

Some on the employer side of the table say the provisions are far too consequential to be tucked into a massive spending bill.

“These are cataclysmic questions of the most fundamental policy that have gargantuan implications for the way labor and management is going to work together or not work together in this country,” said attorney Michael Lotito, who represents employers for the law firm Littler. “And this type of fundamental policy change is being done using a backdoor approach.”

Republican lawmakers have also denounced the tactic.

"The PRO Union Bosses Act was dead upon arrival in the Senate, so Speaker Pelosi and Committee Democrats are manipulating the legislative process to enact portions,” said Rep. Virginia Foxx (N.C.), the top Republican on the House Education and Labor Committee.

Unions and their allies have seen the reconciliation bill as a possible vehicle for the labor provisions since they were introduced in the PRO Act.

#### Infrastructure only passes if reconciliation does

Cochrane et al 10/18/2021 (Emily Cochrane, Luke Broadwater, and Jonathan Weisman, NYT reporters) Biden Meets With Feuding Democrats and Expresses Confidence a Deal Can Be Reached, <https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/10/01/us/infrastructure-bill-house#house-infrastructure-delay-vote> EE, DebateDrills

President Biden, facing an intraparty battle over his domestic agenda, put his own $1 trillion infrastructure bill on hold on Friday, telling Democrats that a vote on the popular measure must wait until Democrats pass his far more ambitious social policy and climate change package.

It was largely a bid to mediate the impasse that has stalled a planned vote on the bipartisan infrastructure bill, which progressives refuse to support until they see action on the remainder of Mr. Biden’s agenda in a major budget bill to expand health care, education, climate change initiatives and paid leave.

“I’m telling you, we’re going to get this done,” Mr. Biden said at the Capitol after huddling with Democrats who have been feuding over the two bills. He added: “It doesn’t matter when. It doesn’t matter whether it’s in six minutes, six days or six weeks. We’re going to get it done.”

In private remarks, he counseled Democrats that while he wanted both pieces of legislation to become law, final passage of the Senate-passed infrastructure bill needed to wait until the party agreed to the details of the broader reconciliation package. But he also warned liberal Democrats that a proposed $3.5 trillion price tag would probably need to drop in order to accommodate centrist holdouts, and he tossed out a range of figures around $2 trillion as a possible alternative.

“He is the president of the United States, and he says that he wants to get this done, and he basically linked them together,” said Representative Henry Cuellar, Democrat of Texas. “I think if we get it done, there’ll be a victory. The question is when do we get that victory?”

Mr. Cuellar noted that moderates had an agreement with Speaker Nancy Pelosi of California to vote on the bill this week, and said it was up to her how to handle that promise.

On Friday evening, Ms. Pelosi indefinitely postponed a vote on the infrastructure bill that she had promised to moderates who had publicly pushed for a stand-alone vote. She wrote in a letter to colleagues, “Clearly, the bipartisan infrastructure bill will pass once we have agreement on the reconciliation bill.”

“Our priority to create jobs in the health care, family and climate agendas is a shared value,” she wrote, adding that leading lawmakers were “still working for clarity and consensus.”

Representative Pramila Jayapal of Washington, the chairwoman of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, said Mr. Biden “was very clear” that the two bills were tied together.

#### Failure of the infrastructure package locks in catastrophic climate change---extinction

Paul Bledsoe 9/4, strategic adviser at the Progressive Policy Institute and a professorial lecturer at American University’s Center for Environmental Policy. He served on the White House Climate Change Task Force under former President Bill Clinton, “Climate devastation is upon us. Congress must act.,” NY Daily News, 9-4-2021, https://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/ny-oped-climate-congress-20210904-mqbe75qni5b77ocke5orzrmjce-story.html?outputType=amp

Many Democrats publicly expressed the need to act on climate change, and offered legislation at the federal and state level. Yet while the ability of Democrats to pass needed legislation was hindered by some divisions within their own ranks, resistance came primarily from Republicans who overwhelmingly opposed any serious actions to limit climate change and the greenhouse gas emissions that cause it. With a few prominent exceptions like former Sen. John McCain, most Republicans derided climate concerns as alarmism and claimed any attempts to limit emissions would be devastating to the U.S. economy.

Fast forward 20 years, and our climate situation has grown immeasurably more grave. As predicted climate change impacts are inflicting huge human and economic costs in the U.S., with much worse to come without immediate action. Yet stunningly, our broken politics on climate change seem much the same as decades before.

Democrats, beginning with President Biden, are desperately pushing to enact hundreds of billions of dollars in climate change and clean energy measures later this month as part of a wider economic and budget bill. These actions can cut U.S. emissions by 50% below 2005 levels by the end of the decade, and put the U.S. in a stronger position to force other nations to act in key climate negotiations in November.

But right now Republicans are unified in opposition to any but cursory climate actions. John Barrasso of Wyoming, the top Republican on the Senate Energy Committee, claimed the Biden climate measure was a “spree to impose this green new disaster on every American,” willfully ignoring the real climate disasters all around us that Biden’s legislation will help limit. This summer, every single Republican member of the key Senate Finance Committee voted against tax incentives for solar, wind, geothermal, electric vehicles and dozens of other clean energy sources.

The stakes of the climate crisis are far more profound and long-lasting than most leaders seem to recognize. What’s needed is a united, bipartisan front like that the U.S. created during the Cold War, in part to force other key nations like China to cut their emissions as aggressively as we do. An inkling that this may be possible is found in bipartisan support for recent legislation promoting American technology innovation to compete globally, and significant bipartisan support for infrastructure legislation.

But slow action to cut emissions won’t work. We must act decisively and quickly now in Congress this fall to create a clean energy future and cut emissions that are destabilizing our climate. Otherwise, we are consigning ourselves and all of those who come after us to a devastated and denuded world.

**Warming is linear—every decrease in rising temperatures radically mitigates the risk of existential climate change.**

Xu and Ramanathan 17, Yangyang Xu, Assistant Professor of Atmospheric Sciences at Texas A&M University; and Veerabhadran Ramanathan, Distinguished Professor of Atmospheric and Climate Sciences at the Scripps Institution of Oceanography, University of California, San Diego, 9/26/17, “Well below 2 °C: Mitigation strategies for avoiding dangerous to catastrophic climate changes,” Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America, Vol. 114, No. 39, p. 10315-10323//recut CHS PK

We are proposing the following extension to the DAI risk categorization: warming greater than 1.5 °C as “dangerous”; warming greater than 3 °C as “catastrophic?”; and warming in excess of 5 °C as “unknown??,” with the understanding that changes of this magnitude, not experienced in the last 20+ million years, pose existential threats to a majority of the population. The question mark denotes the subjective nature of our deduction and the fact that catastrophe can strike at even lower warming levels. The justifications for the proposed extension to risk categorization are given below. From the IPCC burning embers diagram and from the language of the Paris Agreement, we infer that the DAI begins at warming greater than 1.5 °C. Our criteria for extending the risk category beyond DAI include the potential risks of climate change to the physical climate system, the ecosystem, human health, and species extinction. Let us first consider the category of catastrophic (3 to 5 °C warming). The first major concern is the issue of tipping points. Several studies (48, 49) have concluded that 3 to 5 °C global warming is likely to be the threshold for tipping points such as the collapse of the western Antarctic ice sheet, shutdown of deep water circulation in the North Atlantic, dieback of Amazon rainforests as well as boreal forests, and collapse of the West African monsoon, among others. While natural scientists refer to these as abrupt and irreversible climate changes, economists refer to them as catastrophic events (49). Warming of such magnitudes also has catastrophic human health effects. Many recent studies (50, 51) have focused on the direct influence of extreme events such as heat waves on public health by evaluating exposure to heat stress and hyperthermia. It has been estimated that the likelihood of extreme events (defined as 3-sigma events), including heat waves, has increased 10-fold in the recent decades (52). Human beings are extremely sensitive to heat stress. For example, the 2013 European heat wave led to about 70,000 premature mortalities (53). The major finding of a recent study (51) is that, currently, about 13.6% of land area with a population of 30.6% is exposed to deadly heat. The authors of that study defined deadly heat as exceeding a threshold of temperature as well as humidity. The thresholds were determined from numerous heat wave events and data for mortalities attributed to heat waves. According to this study, a 2 °C warming would double the land area subject to deadly heat and expose 48% of the population. A 4 °C warming by 2100 would subject 47% of the land area and almost 74% of the world population to deadly heat, which could pose existential risks to humans and mammals alike unless massive adaptation measures are implemented, such as providing air conditioning to the entire population or a massive relocation of most of the population to safer climates. Climate risks can vary markedly depending on the socioeconomic status and culture of the population, and so we must take up the question of “dangerous to whom?” (54). Our discussion in this study is focused more on people and not on the ecosystem, and even with this limited scope, there are multitudes of categories of people. We will focus on the poorest 3 billion people living mostly in tropical rural areas, who are still relying on 18th-century technologies for meeting basic needs such as cooking and heating. Their contribution to CO2 pollution is roughly 5% compared with the 50% contribution by the wealthiest 1 billion (55). This bottom 3 billion population comprises mostly subsistent farmers, whose livelihood will be severely impacted, if not destroyed, with a one- to five-year megadrought, heat waves, or heavy floods; for those among the bottom 3 billion of the world’s population who are living in coastal areas, a 1- to 2-m rise in sea level (likely with a warming in excess of 3 °C) poses existential threat if they do not relocate or migrate. It has been estimated that several hundred million people would be subject to famine with warming in excess of 4 °C (54). However, there has essentially been no discussion on warming beyond 5 °C. Climate change-induced species extinction is one major concern with warming of such large magnitudes (>5 °C). The current rate of loss of species is ∼1,000-fold the historical rate, due largely to habitat destruction. At this rate, about 25% of species are in danger of extinction in the coming decades (56). Global warming of 6 °C or more (accompanied by increase in ocean acidity due to increased CO2) can act as a major force multiplier and expose as much as 90% of species to the dangers of extinction (57). The bodily harms combined with climate change-forced species destruction, biodiversity loss, and threats to water and food security, as summarized recently (58), motivated us to categorize warming beyond 5 °C as unknown??, implying the possibility of existential threats. Fig. 2 displays these three risk categorizations (vertical dashed lines).

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#### CP Text- A just government ought to provide an unconditional right to strike except for Ambulance and Paramedic workers

#### There are large paramedic Shortages right now, this is exacerbated in rural areas where health services are most needed

Kate Rogers, FEB 1 2019, “The need for EMTs and paramedics is growing, but finding people to fill the jobs isn’t easy,” CNBC, <https://www.cnbc.com/2019/02/01/the-need-for-paramedics-is-growing-but-strong-labor-market-makes-hiring-hard.html> | DD JH

On any given day, Eric Mailman may transport a baby born into a neonatal intensive care unit from one hospital to another, or he could answer a call for an elderly person in cardiac arrest. The paramedic and operations coordinator at Northern Light Health’s medical transport and emergency care in Bangor, Maine, can answer anywhere between four and 17 calls in a day, on shifts that can stretch from 12 to 24 hours. The only guarantee is that work will be busy and unpredictable. “The positive is that you get to step in on the chaos of the worst day of someone’s life and bring some calm and peace — to me that is priceless,” Mailman said. “But there are days when you can’t intervene, where things are out of your control. It’s impossible to help everybody, and those days are the hardest.” At Northern Light, some 170 people work in emergency medical services and transport, but the system is currently about 10 percent understaffed. Challenges are many in hiring — the community is rural, and while the pay and benefits can be competitive, the job itself is a big commitment, requiring sometimes up to two years of training, recertification and continuing education. Roughly five years ago, there were 15 to 20 applicants per open position, says Joe Kellner, vice president of emergency services and community programs at Northern Light. Today, however, it’s not uncommon to post a job and have zero applicants respond, he said. The tight labor market is particularly weighing on the health sector. The health-care industry added 42,000 new jobs in January, with more than 22,000 in ambulatory health-care services and another 19,000 in hospitals, [according to Friday’s closely watched Labor Department report](https://www.cnbc.com/2019/02/01/nonfarm-payrolls-january-2019.html). The health-care sector has added 368,000 jobs over the past year, while unemployment continues to hover near historic lows. “Fewer people are entering the profession, unemployment is low, and this is also a job that many people used to get into through volunteerism and in local communities — there is a lot less of that,” Kellner says. “The pathway in is harder and harder, but we try to create solutions for that.” Northern Light’s system is run in partnership with a larger nine-hospital system throughout the state, allowing for more reliable funding and options for those using emergency medical services as a stepping stone to other areas of health care. The company also reimburses for tuition, offers competitive paid time off and a retirement plan with a matching employer contribution. Highly trained paramedics are paid about $27 an hour. Emergency medical technicians and paramedics like Mailman are in demand, not just in Bangor but around the country. Challenges persist beyond just finding people to fill jobs in more rural areas, however — [2017 median nationwide pay](https://www.bls.gov/ooh/healthcare/emts-and-paramedics.htm) was just more than $33,000, or about $16 an hour. Funding can also be an issue in some communities, as reimbursements from insurers, patients, and Medicare and Medicaid are outpaced by wage pressures and costs to operate. This is especially common in volunteer programs, funded in large part by community donations and local taxpayer dollars. “If people really want to feel confident that they can call 911 and someone will come, they need to support their community so it will provide that kind of service,” says Kathy Robinson, program manager for the National Association of State EMS Officials. Health-care hiring boom The need for EMT and paramedic workers comes as the health-care sector continues to boom. “The strong economy definitely has an impact,” says Ani Turner, co-director of sustainable health spending strategies at nonprofit research organization Altarum. “We are at full employment, so along with expanded insurance coverage in the Affordable Care Act that started to take effect part way through 2014, we have a lot of people that now have health insurance coverage. More people with health benefits, more people with insurance increases the demand for health care and therefore health jobs.” Much of this growth came from the ambulatory sector, with an emphasis on outpatient care, which added 37,800 jobs in December 2018. What’s more, out of the 30 fastest-growing occupations through 2026, per BLS, [nearly half fall under the health-care category](https://www.bls.gov/ooh/fastest-growing.htm), and analysts say there’s likely no slowing down ahead. The workforce continues to age, as does the population in need of care, the opioid epidemic persists, and the pool of skilled labor remains tight. With all that growth, there’s no doubt demand will continue within systems like Northern Light, where trained professionals like Mailman are ready to answer the call. “I love my job. I can’t imagine doing anything different than what I do,” Mailman said.

#### Ambulance strikes in countries lead to increased mortality rates and massively delayed response time.

The Times ,3-27-2012, "Pensioner’s death linked to ambulance strike," No Publication, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/pensioners-death-linked-to-ambulance-strike-m89w3tkcx3t> | DD JH

An elderly patient died in London while waiting for a delayed ambulance during autumn’s mass strike, in which more than half of the capital’s ambulance workers walked out. An official NHS report will today claim the death could be linked to the industrial action on November 30, revealing how it led to major delays in the 999 emergency service. Some patients in “life-threatened” situations were forced to wait for more than two hours for a response, while many others were left in “distress and pain”, it finds. The study, seen by The Times, claims that the death - at 4.35pm - was “potentially linked to a delayed response”. A further investigation is expected to confirm that the patient was waiting too long for the ambulance but cannot conclusively blame that for the patient’s death. The NHS London report says the death occurred over three hours after the London Ambulance Service declared an “Internal Major Incident” and called on the unions to repudiate the strike. Services were so clogged up by then that dozens of emergency cases were being held with many patients forced to wait an hour or longer for a response. However, the strike continued and very few members of staff returned to work, the study says. Hundreds of people who needed urgent medical attention received delays in their care. Some 875 patients in “potential immediately life-threatened” situations - classified as category A - were forced to wait longer than the eight-minute target for an urgent response. Of those, 318 waited longer than 19 minutes. By the evening some patients whose lives were at the highest level of risk classified had to wait more than two hours. The NHS London report concludes that the action had a “significant effect” on the operational capability of the ambulance service. It fears that “timely, consistent, effective and safe clinical care” was not delivered. “Undoubtedly some patients waited too long for an ambulance, in particular those patients with non life-threatening conditions and it is recognised that these patients were often in distress and pain,” it concludes. The report finds that the majority of patients had to wait longer than nationally mandated standards. The expectation was that 30 per cent of staff would walk out but over half actually did and the service was not able to handle it. In some parts of the capital staffing levels fell to just 10 per cent. ADVERTISEMENT The report reveals how 117 calls were being held by 1pm, with over 50 waiting more than an hour. By 4pm four category A patients were being held for more than an hour. By the evening dozens of emergency cases were not responded to for between one or two hours. The ambulance service has a target of responding to three quarters of category A calls within 8 minutes. On November 30, that fell to below one quarter. It insists that future strikes must be better dealt with.

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#### The U.S economy is surging and on the rise – optimism from investors and manufacturing sectors seeing a big boost proves the economy is expanding

Harrison and Hannon 20 [David Harrison is a reporter that covers the U.S. economy and the Federal Reserve from The Wall Street Journal's Washington D.C. bureau. Paul Hannon is a reporter that covers economics and central banks for the Wall Street Journal.] “U.S. Economic Recovery Gains Steam While Others Stutter.” Wall Street Journal. August 30, 2020. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/global-economies-show-signs-of-stuttering-recovery-from-coronavirus-lockdowns-11598001890> BSPK

The U.S. economy picked up momentum this month as companies shook off the effects of the pandemic-induced downturn, though recoveries in other parts of the world slowed, according to new surveys of purchasing managers.

The data released Friday suggest U.S. firms are seeing demand return as they reopen from the lockdowns imposed in the spring and early summer. They also indicate the economy has so far managed to weather July’s sharp rise in new coronavirus infections and business closures that threatened to knock the recovery off course.

Data firm IHS Markit said its composite purchasing-managers index, a measure of manufacturing and services activity, rose to 54.7 from 50.3 in July, an 18-month high, with both sectors seeing a big increase. A reading above 50 is a sign of expansion while a reading below 50 is a sign of contraction.

The index of manufacturing output was up to 53.6 from 50.9 in July. The services activity index rose to 54.8 from 50.

“It’s solid,” said Michael Pearce, senior U.S. economist at Capital Economics. “We’ve had a few reasons to worry that the recovery might have lost momentum or gone into a bit of a reverse but they don’t seem to have materialized. The economy seems to be powering ahead.”

In a separate report Friday, the National Association of Realtors said sales of previously owned homes surged 24.7% in July from June, propelled by low interest rates and people’s desire for more space.

Economists warned that the unusual economic environment—a sharp and deep contraction in the spring caused by a global pandemic—makes it harder to interpret recent data. For instance, Mr. Pearce said, since the PMI numbers only measure month-to month change, they don’t show how much ground the U.S. still needs to make up.

U.S. output fell at an annualized rate of 32.9% in the second quarter, the worst contraction on record, the Commerce Department said. Economists surveyed by The Wall Street Journal earlier this month expected an 18.3% annualized pace of increase in the third quarter.

Other indicators suggest the U.S. economy remains vulnerable. New applications for jobless benefits rose last week, the Labor Department reported Thursday. Payroll gains slowed in July from June. More pain could be on the way as several companies, including Boeing Co., have announced job cuts.

The Federal Reserve said last week that industrial production was still 8.2% below its level a year ago. Restaurant reservations are about 50% of where they were a year ago, according to OpenTable, an improvement from April and May, when they had almost completely frozen up.

A rise in demand drove the August expansion, IHS Markit said, thanks to returning customers, new marketing campaigns and the easing of lockdowns overseas, which helped boost exports. Survey respondents said they remained optimistic about the next 12 months although they expressed concerns about the pandemic.

Arne Sorenson, chief executive of Marriott International Inc., said business at the hotel chain had been recovering, driven largely by cooped-up leisure travelers eager to get out of the house.

“I am no more optimistic about the virus than I was a month ago,” he told analysts last week. “I am, however, more optimistic about the recovery of travel and the recovery of our business.”

#### Strikes deck economy– 3 warrants

#### 1] Stop investment

Tenza 20 - Tenza, Mlungisi. . [Senior Lecturer, University of KwaZulu-Natal] “The Effects of Violent Strikes on the Economy of a Developing Country: A Case of South Africa.” Obiter, Nelson Mandela University, 2020, http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci\_arttext&amp;pid=S1682-58532020000300004VS

These strikes are not only violent but take long to resolve. Generally, a lengthy strike has a negative effect on employment, reduces business confidence and increases the risk of economic stagflation. In addition, such strikes have a major setback on the growth of the economy and investment opportunities. It is common knowledge that consumer spending is directly linked to economic growth. At the same time, if the economy is not showing signs of growth, employment opportunities are shed, and poverty becomes the end result. The economy of South Africa is in need of rapid growth to enable it to deal with the high levels of unemployment and resultant poverty.

One of the measures that may boost the country's economic growth is by attracting potential investors to invest in the country. However, this might be difficult as investors would want to invest in a country where there is a likelihood of getting returns for their investments. The wish of getting returns for investment may not materialise if the labour environment is not fertile for such investments as a result of, for example, unstable labour relations. Therefore, investors may be reluctant to invest where there is an unstable or fragile labour relations environment.

#### 2] Strikes negatively impact labor and confidence, causing major economic losses

Tenza 20 - Tenza, Mlungisi. . [Senior Lecturer, University of KwaZulu-Natal] “The Effects of Violent Strikes on the Economy of a Developing Country: A Case of South Africa.” Obiter, Nelson Mandela University, 2020, http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci\_arttext&amp;pid=S1682-58532020000300004. VS

When South Africa obtained democracy in 1994, there was a dream of a better country with a new vision for industrial relations.5 However, the number of violent strikes that have bedevilled this country in recent years seems to have shattered-down the aspirations of a better South Africa. South Africa recorded 114 strikes in 2013 and 88 strikes in 2014, which cost the country about R6.1 billion according to the Department of Labour.6 The impact of these strikes has been hugely felt by the mining sector, particularly the platinum industry. The biggest strike took place in the platinum sector where about 70 000 mineworkers' downed tools for better wages. Three major platinum producers (Impala, Anglo American and Lonmin Platinum Mines) were affected. The strike started on 23 January 2014 and ended on 25 June 2014. Business Day reported that "the five-month-long strike in the platinum sector pushed the economy to the brink of recession".7 This strike was closely followed by a four-week strike in the metal and engineering sector. All these strikes (and those not mentioned here) were characterised with violence accompanied by damage to property, intimidation, assault and sometimes the killing of people. Statistics from the metal and engineering sector showed that about 246 cases of intimidation were reported, 50 violent incidents occurred, and 85 cases of vandalism were recorded.8 Large-scale unemployment, soaring poverty levels and the dramatic income inequality that characterise the South African labour market provide a broad explanation for strike violence.9 While participating in a strike, workers' stress levels leave them feeling frustrated at their seeming powerlessness, which in turn provokes further violent behaviour.10 These strikes are not only violent but take long to resolve. Generally, a lengthy strike has a negative effect on employment, reduces business confidence and increases the risk of economic stagflation. In addition, such strikes have a major setback on the growth of the economy and investment opportunities. It is common knowledge that consumer spending is directly linked to economic growth. At the same time, if the economy is not showing signs of growth, employment opportunities are shed, and poverty becomes the end result. The economy of South Africa is in need of rapid growth to enable it to deal with the high levels of unemployment and resultant poverty.

#### 3] Strikes harm key industries, stunting economic growth

McElroy 19 John McElroy [MPA at McCombs school of Business] 10/25/2019 "Strikes Hurt Everybody" <https://www.wardsauto.com/ideaxchange/strikes-hurt-everybody> VS

This creates a poisonous relationship between the company and its workforce. Many GM hourly workers don’t identify as GM employees. They identify as UAW members. And they see the union as the source of their jobs, not the company. It’s an unhealthy dynamic that puts GM at a disadvantage to non-union automakers in the U.S. like Honda and Toyota, where workers take pride in the company they work for and the products they make. Attacking the company in the media also drives away customers. Who wants to buy a shiny new car from a company that’s accused of underpaying its workers and treating them unfairly? Data from the Center for Automotive Research (CAR) in Ann Arbor, MI, show that GM loses market share during strikes and never gets it back. GM lost two percentage points during the 1998 strike, which in today’s market would represent a loss of 340,000 sales. Because GM reports sales on a quarterly basis we’ll only find out at the end of December if it lost market share from this strike. UAW members say one of their greatest concerns is job security. But causing a company to lose market share is a sure-fire path to more plant closings and layoffs. Even so, unions are incredibly important for boosting wages and benefits for working-class people. GM’s UAW-represented workers earn considerably more than their non-union counterparts, about $26,000 more per worker, per year, in total compensation. Without a union they never would have achieved that. Strikes are a powerful weapon for unions. They usually are the only way they can get management to accede to their demands. If not for the power of collective bargaining and the threat of a strike, management would largely ignore union demands. If you took away that threat, management would pay its workers peanuts. Just ask the Mexican line workers who are paid $1.50 an hour to make $50,000 BMWs. But strikes don’t just hurt the people walking the picket lines or the company they’re striking against. They hurt suppliers, car dealers and the communities located near the plants. The Anderson Economic Group estimates that 75,000 workers at supplier companies were temporarily laid off because of the GM strike. Unlike UAW picketers, those supplier workers won’t get any strike pay or an $11,000 contract signing bonus. No, most of them lost close to a month’s worth of wages, which must be financially devastating for them. GM’s suppliers also lost a lot of money. So now they’re cutting budgets and delaying capital investments to make up for the lost revenue, which is a further drag on the economy. According to CAR, the communities and states where GM’s plants are located collectively lost a couple of hundred million dollars in payroll and tax revenue. Some economists warn that if the strike were prolonged it could knock the state of Michigan – home to GM and the UAW – into a recession. That prompted the governor of Michigan, Gretchen Whitmer, to call GM CEO Mary Barra and UAW leaders and urge them to settle as fast as possible. So, while the UAW managed to get a nice raise for its members, the strike left a path of destruction in its wake. That’s not fair to the innocent bystanders who will never regain what they lost. John McElroyI’m not sure how this will ever be resolved. I understand the need for collective bargaining and the threat of a strike. But there’s got to be a better way to get workers a raise without torching the countryside.

#### Just the right to strike contributes to econ damage– the right to strike is accompanied with increased strikes, many of them being violent, devastating key industries and the economy

Tenza 20 - Tenza, Mlungisi. . [Senior Lecturer, University of KwaZulu-Natal] “The Effects of Violent Strikes on the Economy of a Developing Country: A Case of South Africa.” Obiter, Nelson Mandela University, 2020, http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci\_arttext&amp;pid=S1682-58532020000300004. VS

Economic growth is one of the most important pillars of a state. Most developing states put in place measures that enhance or speed-up the economic growth of their countries. It is believed that if the economy of a country is stable, the lives of the people improve with available resources being shared among the country's inhabitants or citizens. However, it becomes difficult when the growth of the economy is hampered by the exercise of one or more of the constitutionally entrenched rights such as the right to strike.1 Strikes in South Africa are becoming more common, and this affects businesses, employees and their families, and eventually, the economy. It becomes more dangerous for the economy and society at large if strikes are accompanied by violence causing damage to property and injury to people. The duration of strikes poses a problem for the economy of a developing country like South Africa. South Africa is rich in mineral resources, the world's largest producer of platinum and chrome, the second-largest producer of zirconium and the third-largest exporter of coal. It also has the largest economy in Africa, both in terms of industrial capacity and gross domestic product (GDP).2 However, these economic advantages have been affected by protracted and violent strikes.3 For example, in the platinum industries, labour stoppages since 2012 have cost the sector approximately R18 billion lost in revenue and 900 000 oz in lost output. The five-month-long strike in early 2014 at Impala Platinum Mine amounted to a loss of about R400 million a day in revenue.4 The question that this article attempts to address is how violent strikes and their duration affect the growth of the economy in a developing country like South Africa. It also addresses the question of whether there is a need to change the policies regulating industrial action in South Africa to make them more favourable to economic growth.

#### Econ collapse goes nuclear — extinction

Mann 14 (Eric Mann is a special agent with a United States federal agency, with significant domestic and international counterintelligence and counter-terrorism experience. Worked as a special assistant for a U.S. Senator and served as a presidential appointee for the U.S. Congress. He is currently responsible for an internal security and vulnerability assessment program. Bachelors @ University of South Carolina, Graduate degree in Homeland Security @ Georgetown. “AUSTERITY, ECONOMIC DECLINE, AND FINANCIAL WEAPONS OF WAR: A NEW PARADIGM FOR GLOBAL SECURITY,” May 2014, <https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/bitstream/handle/1774.2/37262/MANN-THESIS-2014.pdf>)

The conclusions reached in this thesis demonstrate how economic considerations within states can figure prominently into the calculus for future conflicts. The findings also suggest that security issues with economic or financial underpinnings will transcend classical determinants of war and conflict, and change the manner by which rival states engage in hostile acts toward one another. The research shows that security concerns emanating from economic uncertainty and the inherent vulnerabilities within global financial markets will present new challenges for national security, and provide developing states new asymmetric options for balancing against stronger states.¶ The security areas, identified in the proceeding chapters, are likely to mature into global security threats in the immediate future. As the case study on South Korea suggest, the overlapping security issues associated with economic decline and reduced military spending by the United States will affect allied confidence in America’s security guarantees. The study shows that this outcome could cause regional instability or realignments of strategic partnerships in the Asia-pacific region with ramifications for U.S. national security. Rival states and non-state groups may also become emboldened to challenge America’s status in the unipolar international system.¶ The potential risks associated with stolen or loose WMD, resulting from poor security, can also pose a threat to U.S. national security. The case study on Pakistan, Syria and North Korea show how financial constraints affect weapons security making weapons vulnerable to theft, and how financial factors can influence WMD proliferation by contributing to the motivating factors behind a trusted insider’s decision to sell weapons technology. The inherent vulnerabilities within the global financial markets will provide terrorists’ organizations and other non-state groups, who object to the current international system or distribution of power, with opportunities to disrupt global finance and perhaps weaken America’s status. A more ominous threat originates from states intent on increasing diversification of foreign currency holdings, establishing alternatives to the dollar for international trade, or engaging financial warfare against the United States.

## OFF

#### Counterplan Text: A just government ought to recognize a right of workers to strike when authorized by a majority of striking workers through a secret balloting process

#### That solves

Tenza 19 -- Mlungisi Tenza (LLB, LLM, LLD @ University of KwaZulu-Natal), Investigating the need to reintroduce a ballot requirement for a protected strike in South Africa, August 1 2019, *Obiter*Volume 40, Issue 2, https://journals.co.za/doi/10.10520/EJC-1936af7594 WJ

Violent protracted strikes can have devastating effects on employers, employees and the economy at large. Despite the fact that workers have a constitutional right to strike, it is important that the exercising of such a right not be allowed to go beyond the necessary limits. Currently, strikes are often characterised by violent conduct. Resolution of strikes also takes a long time, leaving many people unemployed by the time a solution is found. This not only affects the employees concerned, but is a contributing factor to poverty. To prevent long and violent strikes from taking place, it is suggested that there should be changes to existing labour law so as to include a ballot requirement. The law should compel a convening union to ballot members before staging a strike. To be credible, the balloting process should be chaired by an independent body, such as the IEC or a representative from the CCMA. This is the position in Australia and Canada. In these countries, if a union calls a strike without having balloted its members, such a strike is unlawful and civil action can be taken against the union and its members. Balloting members prior to strike action would help to establish their willingness to embark on a strike. If the majority vote in favour of a strike, it would send a signal to the employer that workers are serious and that it must consider their concerns or demands in a serious light. The employer and employee representatives are expected to engage fruitfully during negotiations and to avoid impending industrial action.

#### Secret ballots ensure democratic consultation which reduces long-run poverty and violence – it ensures strikes represent workers, not leadership

Tenza 19 -- Mlungisi Tenza (LLB, LLM, LLD @ University of KwaZulu-Natal), Investigating the need to reintroduce a ballot requirement for a protected strike in South Africa, August 1 2019, *Obiter*Volume 40, Issue 2, https://journals.co.za/doi/10.10520/EJC-1936af7594 WJ

If balloting members prior to a strike is made a requirement for a protected strike, the article argues that the ballot must be secret. The LRAA 2018 hints at a move in this direction.72 This would be in line with our voting traditions, as it would reinforce worker control of unions. Von Webster believes that workers must have the sense of having democratic control of the strike and this would be ensured by a confidential balloting of members before and during the strike.73 If workers exercise democratic control of the strike, the possibility of strike violence would be reduced, and the union would be more likely to take responsibility for the consequences of the strike. In this way, the strike could be used more strategically and employers could respond more constructively.

The voting process must be fair and secret and there must be no intimidation of those who cast their ballot, or of those who do not want to vote. Concerns may be raised about the secrecy of the voting process. In MAWU v Natal Die Casting,74 a ballot was conducted from the boot of a car near the company premises. The Industrial Court found that holding the ballot in the open, did not mean it was not secret. The court accepted that trade unions do not have the same facilities as employers. It said that what mattered was that the voter should not be put under constraint. In White v Neill Tools,75 the court stated that the strike ballot provides the individual with an opportunity to cast his or her vote in secret and to consider the consequences of the contemplated action privately and without being unduly influenced, pressurised or intimidated by having to make choices in the open.

Voting secretly is important because, in a strike context, the employer is entitled to know that it is dealing with the majority of members in question, which is so demonstrated by a ballot properly conducted in terms of the law.76 A secret ballot, as opposed to a “hands-up” system, avoids the scenario of the union putting pressure on members to vote in favour of the strike. There is a strong belief that if voting takes place by a show of hands, intimidation may occur and some employees may be targeted by other employees.77 In addition, a secret ballot prior to a protected strike would ensure that strikes are taken seriously, and they are not viewed just as actions of “uncivilised hooligans” because of the current concomitant damage to property and the intimidation and killing of people.

Although the reintroduction of ballots was discussed before the introduction of the LRAA of 2018, the new amendments to the LRA on balloting members do not change the position and will not have any effect on violent and unprotected strikes. It can be argued that by removing the ballot requirement from the Amendment Bill of 2012, the legislature lost an opportunity to refashion and refresh strike law, taking into account contemporary social and economic realities.78 If a ballot requirement could be made law, strikes would only commence if the majority of the employees agreed, and that would lead to less intimidation of non-strikers and greater coherence among strikers. If the reintroduction of a secret ballot were given a chance, things might change for the better as a strike would go ahead if it was supported by a majority of the members. However, labour will have to be thoroughly consulted and convinced that the aim is not to disadvantage them, but rather to improve the economy and reduce the loss of jobs, which is the normal consequence of prolonged and violent strikes. A secret ballot ensures that the union has a democratic mandate for a strike, and, if necessary, further ballots can be held during negotiations, for example, when a provisional agreement is reached. In addition, if the ballot is secret, it prevents unions from putting pressure on employees to vote in favour of the strike. It would also ensure that the right to protected industrial action is not abused by union officials, who might want to push agendas unrelated to the interests of workers at the workplace concerned. Moreover, a secret ballot does not stand in the way of the protection of strike action, but provides a mechanism to ensure that a protected strike is the genuine choice of the majority of employees employed by the employer or in the workplace. If the vote is in favour of a strike, it means there is an appetite for it and perhaps the concerns or demands of employees are genuine. A secret ballot can also protect jobs by avoiding unnecessary strikes that may result in dismissal on the basis of operational requirements of the business.79 It is important to note that, in this context, employers can reduce the number of employees if the business is no longer making a profit; this might happen if no production takes place, which in turn results in a loss of customers. Importantly again, if a strike goes on for an unduly long period, customers or clients might shift loyalty to other businesses resulting in a loss of profit.

## CASE

#### Labor unions effective – no need for more strikes

Graham 16’ Graham, James. "A Reconsideration of the Right to Strike." *The Catholic Lawyer* 9.2 (2016): 4.

Employers in certain industries almost always bow to union demands because, having banded together in collective bargaining associations with their competitors, they are in a position to make the public pay the price of increased wages or shorter hours. This is an oversimplification, of course, but it would not be naive not to suppose, for example, that at least one effect of the inflated wage scales in the building trades is to make it more difficult for the lowerincome groups to increase their earnings and someday to buy a home. Conclusion In any 'event, it would appear that government neutrality in labor disputes is fast becoming a thing of the past. The Kennedy administration has to date shown no reluctance to invoke the Taft-Hartley injunction procedures in labor disputes affecting the national welfare. A proposal by former Secretary of Labor Goldberg that government representatives participate as "observers" in major negotiations was greeted with a cry of indignation from George Meaney and a chilly "no thanks" from management spokesmen, but Goldberg's proposal does reflect an increasing concern for the public interest in labor-management disputes. It seems that government mediators often will intervene in disputes that only remotely affect national defense interests. Perhaps this tendency has been influenced by the widely-held view among labor practitioners that public tolerance for strikes is much lower today than during the years when unions were organizing in the mass production industries.3 6 In conclusion, it is safe to say that additional legislation to curb illegal strikes and to compel arbitration in certain industries may not only be inevitable but necessary as well. We also can expect government regulation over other areas of collective bargaining unless the powerful unions pay heed to the principle enunciated by Pope Pius XI in Quadragesimo Anno that the right to strike should be exercised only as a last resort and in situations where it needs no justification.

#### Thumpers to collective bargaining – employers use legal intimidation tactics that strikes can’t solve

Lafer and Loustaunau 20 - Gordon Lafer and Lola Loustanunau, [Gordon Lafer is a political economist and is a Professor at the University of Oregon’s Labor Education and Research Center. He has written widely on issues of labor and employment policy, and is author of The Job Training Charade (Cornell University Press, 2002). Lola Loustaunau is an assistant research fellow at the Labor Education and Research Center, University of Oregon, Eugene.] 7-23-2020, "Fear at work: An inside account of how employers threaten, intimidate, and harass workers to stop them from exercising their right to collective bargaining," Economic Policy Institute, <https://www.epi.org/publication/fear-at-work-how-employers-scare-workers-out-of-unionizing/>

What this report finds: Most American workers want a union in their workplace but very few have it, because the right to organize—supposedly guaranteed by federal law—has been effectively cancelled out by a combination of legal and illegal employer intimidation tactics. This report focuses on the legal tactics—heavy-handed tactics that would be illegal in any election for public office but are regularly deployed by employers under the broken National Labor Relations Board’s union election system. Under this system, employees in workplace elections have no right to free speech or a free press, are threatened with losing their jobs if they vote to establish a union, and can be forced to hear one-sided propaganda with no right to ask questions or hear from opposing viewpoints. Employers—including many respectable, name-brand companies—collectively spend $340 million per year on “union avoidance” consultants who teach them how to exploit these weakness of federal labor law to effectively scare workers out of exercising their legal right to collective bargaining.

Inside accounts of unionization drives at a tire manufacturing plant in Georgia and at a pay TV services company in Texas illustrate what those campaigns look like in real life. Below are some of the common employer tactics that often turn overwhelming support for unions at the outset of a campaign into a “no” vote just weeks later. All of these are legal under current law:

Forcing employees to attend daily anti-union meetings where pro-union workers have no right to present alternative views and can be fired on the spot if they ask a question.

Plastering the workplace with anti-union posters, banners, and looping video ads—and denying pro-union employees access to any of these media.

Instructing managers to tell employees that there’s a good chance they will lose their jobs if they vote to unionize.

Having supervisors hold multiple one-on-one talks with each of their employees, stressing why it would be bad for them to vote in a union.

Having managers tell employees that pro-union workers are “the enemy within.”

Telling supervisors to grill subordinates about their views on unionization, effectively destroying the principle of a secret ballot.

#### Labor unions corrupt and they don’t help the people

Graham 16’ Graham, James. "A Reconsideration of the Right to Strike." *The Catholic Lawyer* 9.2 (2016): 4. //RD Debatedrills

We need not conclude from all this that the right to strike is, or shoud be, obsolete. 4 Baerwald, The Labor Encyclicals Today, 49 CATHOLIC MIND 622, 629 (1951). 35 WEBB & WEBB, THE HISTORY OF TRADE UNIONIsm 664 (1920). Proposed alternatives which have been successful in other nations, such as compulsory arbitration and the formation of a Labor Party, might prove unworkable here and even obnoxious to the American eco-political system. It is also true that in this country most employers will never welcome unions with open arms and in the last analysis, despite the protections and prohibitions of the federal and state labor statutes, unions, in most cases, will be forced to resort to a show of economic strength to force recognition and/or just bargaining demands upon recalcitrant employers. But the point sought to be made here is that the right to strike is by no means absolute. A democratic desire to sympathize with the "underdog" should not obscure the fact that the entire community, including employers, has a legitimate interest in industrial peace. Mr. Justice Brennan argued in his vigorous dissenting opinion in the Sinclair case that the justification for the Norris-LaGuardia Act in 1932 was that federal court injunctions had stripped unions of their strike weapon without substituting any reasonable alternative. However, an agreement, freely made, to arbitrate all disputes arising during the term of the contract obviously does offer such an alternative. Ironically enough, the Sinclair decision will also add to the woes of many harassed union leaders. It is unfortunate but true that those labor organizations which are most democratic in their internal affairs are often most guilty of illegal strike activities;

either the leaders cannot control dissident elements in the ranks or, facing re-election difficulties, must cater to the desire of the members for dramatic action to protest real or imagined grievance. In the past, the threat of an imminent injunction has been urged when necessary by union officials, 9 CATHOLIC LAWYER, SPRING 1963 without losing face, as a compelling reason for resorting to arbitration rather than a work stoppage for satisfaction of the grievance