## <sup>116TH CONGRESS</sup> 1ST SESSION **S. 1491**

To prohibit forced arbitration in work disputes, and for other purposes.

#### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

#### MAY 15, 2019

Mrs. MURRAY (for herself, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. BROWN, Mr. CASEY, Ms. CORTEZ MASTO, Mr. DURBIN, Mrs. GILLI-BRAND, Ms. HARRIS, Mr. KING, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. REED, Mr. SANDERS, Mrs. SHAHEEN, and Ms. WARREN) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions

# A BILL

To prohibit forced arbitration in work disputes, and for other purposes.

1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-

2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

#### **3** SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

4 This Act may be cited as the "Restoring Justice for

5 Workers Act".

#### 6 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

7 Congress finds the following:

8 (1) Millions of workers are currently forced to9 accept, as a condition of employment or work, con-

tractual provisions that block their access to the courts or prohibit them from joining together with other workers to seek joint, class, or collective relief for violations of their rights. This has led to widespread nonenforcement of workers' rights and has permitted significant violations of those rights to continue unabated.

8 (2) Most workers have little or no meaningful 9 choice regarding whether to accept these provisions. 10 Often, workers are not even aware that they have 11 given up the right to seek recourse in court or have 12 waived their right to join other workers in joint, 13 class, or collective actions.

14 (3) The Federal Arbitration Act (now enacted 15 as chapter 1 of title 9, United States Code) was in-16 tended to clarify the ability of commercial entities of 17 generally similar sophistication and bargaining 18 power to voluntarily agree to use arbitration to re-19 solve disputes between them. Despite this congres-20 sional intent, the Supreme Court of the United 21 States has interpreted the Federal Arbitration Act 22 so that it now extends to work disputes.

23 (4) The National Labor Relations Act (29
24 U.S.C. 151 et seq.) protects employees' right to en25 gage in concerted activities for the purpose of mu-

1 tual aid or protection. This was intended and long 2 understood to encompass employees' right to collec-3 tively seek relief for violations of their workplace 4 rights. However, contrary to the plain text of the 5 law and congressional intent, the Supreme Court of 6 the United States, in Epic Systems Corp. v. Lewis, 7 138 S. Ct. 1612 (2018), decided that employees may 8 be forced, as a condition of employment, to waive 9 their right to act collectively with regard to employ-10 ment actions.

(5) Forced individual dispute resolution undermines workers' rights and exacerbates the inequality
of bargaining power between workers and employers
because joining a joint, class, or collective action is
often the only way workers can afford to seek relief
for violations of their rights.

17 (6) Workers who are forced to submit to indi18 vidual dispute resolution often seek no redress at all
19 due to well-founded fear of retaliation.

20 (7) Protecting the rights of workers to individ21 ually or concertedly seek relief for violations of their
22 labor rights through appropriate forums protects the
23 public interest and safeguards commerce from in24 jury.

### 1 SEC. 3. PURPOSES.

2	The purposes of this Act are to—
3	(1) prohibit predispute arbitration agreements
4	that require arbitration of work disputes;
5	(2) prohibit retaliation against workers for re-
6	fusing to arbitrate work disputes;
7	(3) provide protections to ensure that postdis-
8	pute arbitration agreements are truly voluntary and
9	with the informed consent of workers; and
10	(4) amend the National Labor Relations Act to
11	prohibit agreements and practices that interfere with
12	employees' right to engage in concerted activity re-
13	garding work disputes.
14	SEC. 4. PROTECTION OF CONCERTED ACTIVITY.
14 15	<b>SEC. 4. PROTECTION OF CONCERTED ACTIVITY.</b> (a) AGREEMENTS.—Section 8(a) of the National
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15 16	(a) AGREEMENTS.—Section 8(a) of the National Labor Relations Act (29 U.S.C. 158(a)) is amended—
15 16 17	<ul> <li>(a) AGREEMENTS.—Section 8(a) of the National Labor Relations Act (29 U.S.C. 158(a)) is amended—</li> <li>(1) in paragraph (5), by striking the period at</li> </ul>
15 16 17 18	<ul> <li>(a) AGREEMENTS.—Section 8(a) of the National Labor Relations Act (29 U.S.C. 158(a)) is amended—</li> <li>(1) in paragraph (5), by striking the period at the end and inserting "; and"; and</li> </ul>
15 16 17 18 19	<ul> <li>(a) AGREEMENTS.—Section 8(a) of the National Labor Relations Act (29 U.S.C. 158(a)) is amended—</li> <li>(1) in paragraph (5), by striking the period at the end and inserting "; and"; and</li> <li>(2) by adding at the end the following:</li> </ul>
15 16 17 18 19 20	<ul> <li>(a) AGREEMENTS.—Section 8(a) of the National Labor Relations Act (29 U.S.C. 158(a)) is amended—</li> <li>(1) in paragraph (5), by striking the period at the end and inserting "; and"; and</li> <li>(2) by adding at the end the following:</li> <li>"(6)(A) to enter into or attempt to enforce any</li> </ul>
<ol> <li>15</li> <li>16</li> <li>17</li> <li>18</li> <li>19</li> <li>20</li> <li>21</li> </ol>	<ul> <li>(a) AGREEMENTS.—Section 8(a) of the National Labor Relations Act (29 U.S.C. 158(a)) is amended— <ul> <li>(1) in paragraph (5), by striking the period at the end and inserting "; and"; and</li> <li>(2) by adding at the end the following:</li> <li>"(6)(A) to enter into or attempt to enforce any agreement, express or implied, whereby prior to a</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<ol> <li>15</li> <li>16</li> <li>17</li> <li>18</li> <li>19</li> <li>20</li> <li>21</li> <li>22</li> </ol>	<ul> <li>(a) AGREEMENTS.—Section 8(a) of the National Labor Relations Act (29 U.S.C. 158(a)) is amended— <ul> <li>(1) in paragraph (5), by striking the period at the end and inserting "; and"; and</li> <li>(2) by adding at the end the following:</li> <li>"(6)(A) to enter into or attempt to enforce any agreement, express or implied, whereby prior to a dispute to which the agreement applies, an employee</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

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ment of such employee in any forum that, but for 2 such agreement, is of competent jurisdiction; 3 "(B) to coerce such an employee into under-4 taking or promising not to pursue, bring, join, liti-5 gate, or support any kind of joint, class, or collective 6 claim arising from or relating to the employment of 7 such employee; or 8 "(C) to retaliate or threaten to retaliate against 9 an employee for refusing to undertake or promise 10 not to pursue, bring, join, litigate, or support any 11 kind of joint, class, or collective claim arising from 12 or relating to the employment of such employee: 13 *Provided*, That any agreement that violates this 14 paragraph or results from a violation of this para-15 graph shall be to such extent unenforceable and 16 void: *Provided further*, That this paragraph shall not 17 apply to any agreement embodied in or expressly 18 permitted by a contract between an employer and a 19 labor organization.".

20 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 10(b) of 21 the National Labor Relations Act (29 U.S.C. 160(b)) is amended by striking "discharge" and inserting "dis-22 23 charge, or unless the person aggrieved thereby is an em-24 ployee alleging a violation of section 8(a)(6) whose charge involves a postdispute arbitration agreement that meets 25

the requirements under section 402(a)(2) of title 9, United
 States Code, or an agreement described in section
 402(a)(4) of such title that meets the requirements under
 subparagraphs (A) through (D) of section 402(a)(2) of
 such title, in which event the six-month period shall be
 computed from the day the waiting period described in
 subparagraph (C) of such section ends".

#### 8 SEC. 5. ARBITRATION OF WORK DISPUTES.

9 (a) IN GENERAL.—Title 9 of the United States Code10 is amended by adding at the end the following:

# 11 "CHAPTER 4—ARBITRATION OF WORK 12 DISPUTES

"Sec."401. Definitions."402. Validity and enforceability.

#### 13 **"§ 401. Definitions**

15 "(1) the terms 'commerce', 'employee', and 'e	m-
(1) the terms commerce, employee, and e	
16 ployer' have the meanings given the terms in section	on
17 3 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 (	29
18 U.S.C. 203);	
19 "(2) the term 'covered entity' means—	
20 "(A) an employer; or	
21 "(B) an individual or entity that is r	ot
22 acting as an employer and engages the service	es
23 of a worker;	

1	"(3) the term 'predispute arbitration agree-
2	ment' means any agreement to arbitrate a dispute
3	that had not yet arisen at the time of the making
4	of the agreement;
5	"(4) the term 'postdispute arbitration agree-
6	ment' means any agreement to arbitrate a dispute
7	that arose before the time of the making of the
8	agreement;
9	"(5) the term 'worker' means—
10	"(A) an employee; or
11	"(B) an individual who is engaged by a
12	covered entity to perform services or work as an
13	independent contractor (regardless of the label
14	or classification assigned or used by the covered
15	entity); and
16	"(6) the term 'work dispute'—
17	"(A) means a dispute between one or more
18	workers (or their authorized representatives)
19	and a covered entity arising out of or related to
20	the work relationship or prospective work rela-
21	tionship between the workers and the covered
22	entity; and
23	"(B) includes, but is not limited to—
24	"(i) a dispute regarding the terms of,
25	payment for, advertising of, recruitment of,

1	referring of, arranging for, or discipline or
2	discharge in connection with such work;
3	"(ii) a dispute arising under any law
4	referred to or described in section 62(e) of
5	the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, includ-
6	ing any part of such a law not explicitly
7	referenced in such section that relates to
8	protecting individuals on a basis that is
9	protected under a law referred to or de-
10	scribed in such section; and
11	"(iii) a dispute in which an individual
12	or individuals seek certification—
13	"(I) as a class under rule 23 of
14	the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure;
15	"(II) as a collective action under
16	section 16(b) of the Fair Labor
17	Standards Act of 1938 (29 U.S.C.
18	216(b)); or
19	"(III) under a comparable rule or
20	provision of State law.
21	"§ 402. Validity and enforceability
22	"(a) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding any other chap-
23	ter of this title—

1	"(1) no predispute arbitration agreement shall
2	be valid or enforceable if it requires arbitration of a
3	work dispute;
4	"(2) no postdispute arbitration agreement that
5	requires arbitration of a work dispute shall be valid
6	or enforceable unless—
7	"(A) the agreement was not required by
8	the covered entity, obtained by coercion or
9	threat of adverse action, or made a condition of
10	employment, work, or any employment-related
11	or work-related privilege or benefit;
12	"(B) each worker entering into the agree-
13	ment was informed in writing using sufficiently
14	plain language likely to be understood by the
15	average worker of—
16	"(i) the right of the worker under
17	paragraph (3) to refuse to enter the agree-
18	ment without retaliation; and
19	"(ii) the protections under section
20	8(a)(6) of the National Labor Relations
21	Act (29 U.S.C. 158(a)(6));
22	"(C) each worker entering into the agree-
23	ment entered the agreement after a waiting pe-
24	riod of not fewer than 45 days, beginning on
25	the date on which the worker was provided both

1	the final text of the agreement and the disclo-
2	sures required under subparagraph (B); and
3	"(D) each worker entering into the agree-
4	ment affirmatively consented to the agreement
5	in writing;
6	"(3) no agreement shall be valid or enforceable,
7	whereby prior to a work dispute to which the agree-
8	ment applies, a worker undertakes or promises not
9	to pursue, bring, join, litigate, or support any kind
10	of joint, class, or collective claim arising from or re-
11	lating to a work dispute in any forum that, but for
12	such agreement, is of competent jurisdiction;
13	"(4) no agreement shall be valid or enforceable,
14	whereby after a work dispute to which the agree-
15	ment applies arises, a worker undertakes or prom-
16	ises not to pursue, bring, join, litigate, or support
17	any kind of joint, class, or collective claim arising
18	from or relating to a work dispute in any forum
19	that, but for such agreement, is of competent juris-
20	diction, unless the agreement meets the require-
21	ments of paragraph (2) of this subsection; and
22	"(5) no covered entity may retaliate or threaten
23	to retaliate against a worker for refusing to enter
24	into an agreement that provides for arbitration of a
25	work dispute.

"(b) STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS.—During the waiting
 period described in subsection (a)(2)(C), the statute of
 limitations for any claims that arise from or form the basis
 for the applicable work dispute shall be tolled.

5 "(c) CIVIL ACTION.—Any person who is injured by reason of a violation of subsection (a)(5) may bring a civil 6 7 action in the appropriate district court of the United 8 States against the covered entity within 2 years of the vio-9 lation, or within 3 years if such violation is willful. Relief 10 granted in such an action shall include a reasonable attorney's fee, other reasonable costs associated with maintain-11 ing the action, and any appropriate relief authorized by 12 13 section 706(g) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. 14 2000e-5(g)) or by section 1977A(b) of the Revised Stat-15 utes (42 U.S.C. 1981a(b)).

16 "(d) Applicability.—

17 "(1) IN GENERAL.—This chapter applies to cov-18 ered entities and workers engaged in activity affect-19 ing commerce to the fullest extent permitted by the 20 Constitution of the United States, including the 21 work of persons engaged in domestic service in 22 households, as described in section 2(a) of the Fair 23 Labor Standards Act of 1938 (29 U.S.C. 202(a)). 24 An issue as to whether this chapter applies to an ar-25 bitration agreement shall be determined under Fed-

eral law. The applicability of this chapter to an 1 2 agreement to arbitrate and the validity and enforce-3 ability of an agreement to which this chapter applies 4 shall be determined by a court, rather than an arbi-5 trator, regardless of whether any contractual provi-6 sion purports to delegate such determinations to the 7 arbitrator and irrespective of whether the party re-8 sisting arbitration challenges the arbitration agree-9 ment specifically or in conjunction with other terms 10 of the contract containing such agreement.

11 "(2) Collective bargaining agreements.— 12 Nothing in this chapter shall apply to any arbitra-13 tion provision in a contract between a covered entity 14 and a labor organization, except that no such arbi-15 tration provision shall have the effect of waiving the 16 right of a worker to seek judicial enforcement of a 17 right arising under a provision of the Constitution of 18 the United States, the constitution of a State, or a 19 Federal or State statute, or public policy arising 20 therefrom.".

(b) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—
(1) IN GENERAL.—Title 9 of the United States
Code is amended—

1	(A) in section 1, by striking "of seamen,"
2	and all that follows through "interstate com-
3	merce'';
4	(B) in section 2, by inserting "or as other-
5	wise provided in chapter 4" before the period at
6	the end;
7	(C) in section 208—
8	(i) in the section heading, by striking
9	"Chapter 1; residual application"
10	and inserting " <b>Application</b> "; and
11	(ii) by adding at the end the fol-
12	lowing: "This chapter applies to the extent
13	that this chapter is not in conflict with
14	chapter 4."; and
15	(D) in section 307—
16	(i) in the section heading, by striking
17	"Chapter 1; residual application"
18	and inserting " <b>Application</b> "; and
19	(ii) by adding at the end the fol-
20	lowing: "This chapter applies to the extent
21	that this chapter is not in conflict with
22	chapter 4.".
23	(2) TABLE OF SECTIONS.—
24	(A) CHAPTER 2.—The table of sections for
25	chapter 2 of title 9, United States Code, is

1	amended by striking the item relating to section
2	208 and inserting the following:
	"208. Application.".
3	(B) CHAPTER 3.—The table of sections for
4	chapter 3 of title 9, United States Code, is
5	amended by striking the item relating to section
6	307 and inserting the following:
	"307. Application.".
7	(3) TABLE OF CHAPTERS.—The table of chap-
8	ters for title 9, United States Code, is amended by
9	adding at the end the following:
	"4. Arbitration of work disputes
10	SEC. 6. EFFECTIVE DATE.
11	This Act, and the amendments made by this Act,
12	shall take effect on the date of enactment of this Act and

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shall apply with respect to any dispute or claim that arises

or accrues on or after such date, including any dispute

15 or claim to which an agreement predating such date ap-