



# The DISPATCHER

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## Inside Line

### Changing Outside, Changing Inside

It's one thing to learn 20,000 people in the U.S. got fired last year for union activity. It's another listening to the guy on the phone tell you he hasn't found a job since he got canned for signing a petition, and might have to hock his guitar. He's a musician. Meantime his boss rolls on with life. It's just not right.

Port truckers get charged with price-fixing when they try to organize, while transportation giants like AP Moeller enjoy anti-trust exemptions. It's upside down. Read about trucker Ruben Lopez and why he needs a union on page 3.

Weak statutes, slow enforcement and mild penalties do little to deter employers bent on beating unions. The Local 142 organizing training focused on building strategy and changing the law to fix this (see page 6). Top AFL-CIO organizers Stewart Acuff and Sam Luebke talk about it more on page 7.

A few things became real clear in the training. Without strong leadership and membership involvement, unions can't grow. And without strong unions, people have no rights at work—and no champion in the political arena.

"The need to organize to build the political side really stood out for me," said Mike Bunyard from the Westin Maui. Mike got serious about the union when he married a woman with children and suddenly became a dad. "Now I definitely need to protect my job security, so I can protect the kids," he said.

Organizing changes people as well as their conditions. "The union has turned me around from negative to positive," said Leina Badiyo, who held a string of crap jobs before becoming a member of 142 at Hawaii Job Corps. "I've registered to vote for the first time. I'm ready to go out in the community and be responsible."

#### CONGRATULATIONS IN ORDER

*The Dispatcher* won awards in every category of the journalism contest sponsored by the Western Labor Communications Assn., an organization of AFL-CIO union publication editors and communications workers. The contest covered materials published in 2003.

*The Dispatcher* won first place in the "Best Overall" category for newspapers of more than eight pages; first place in "Best Feature" for David Bacon's story "No Justice and No Peace: The U.S. occupation's war on Iraqi workers"; first place in "Best In-Depth Analysis" for Tom Price's story on seafarers snagged by the war on terrorism, "ITF pushes for seafarer rights: Caught between sweatshop ships and port security"; first place in "Best Original Cartoon" for Jim Swanson's Golden Turkey Award graphics; first place in "Best Photograph" for David Bacon's shot of women workers at the State Leather Industry Factory in Iraq; first place in "Best Series" for Harvey Schwartz's oral histories of veterans of the Northwest ports; second place in "Best Column" for Steve Stallone's "It's the Economy, Stupid"; second place in "Best News Story" for Steve Stallone's account of the police assault on ILWU members and anti-war protesters, "Bloody Monday at the Port of Oakland."

—Marcy Rein,  
ILWU Organizing Dept.

# PRESIDENT'S REPORT

## Solving the port congestion crisis

By James Spinoso  
ILWU International President

Everyone groans at the thought of Christmas shopping in mid-summer, but retailers are already stocking up for the winter shopping frenzy, kicking off the peak shipping season. Record volumes of imports feeding into an ill-prepared transportation system threaten to create an unprecedented level of port congestion. This congestion in turn endangers the country's economic health and national security as well as the safety everyone who lives and works on or near the docks.

The employers are trying to blame the backup on the union. In fact, this crisis has been brewing for a long time and has many linked causes. The ILWU has proposed solutions over and over, but we can address only part of the problem and we can't do it alone. Our members need to see through all the rhetorical smoke and understand that the union wants to talk about solutions.

Since we approved our current contract with the Pacific Maritime Assn. (PMA) in early 2003, total container volume of imports has increased by 10 percent. This is not unexpected. For the last several years, the employers have been seeing projections that the volume of cargo coming in to the West Coast would double and triple by 2020. Now the new generation of super-sized container ships is coming on line, ships that bring in nearly 40 percent more cargo than the older models.

The employers have ignored the warnings, moving slowly to accommodate this growth either with infrastructure improvements, appointment systems, or increased ILWU registration.

The union warned of labor shortages many times during the past 10 years. We recently gave the PMA a proposal to substantially increase the workforce at the Ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach, the largest and most congested under ILWU

jurisdiction. The union proposed registering 2,000 more "B" members in longshore Local 13 and adding 8,000-11,000 casuals. Recently the employers have agreed to smaller increases in staffing. This is a step in the right direction.

Having more ILWU members available for work can speed loading and unloading of cargo and allow for expanded hours of operation and better port security, but it will not address the problems plaguing the truck and rail systems.

On the railroad side, the employers need to address the labor and equipment shortages resulting from their own poor planning. They now plan to increase train crews and buy new locomotives and cars. That is a good sign. We need to do more to get the containers to the rail yards in a way that the trains can be made up efficiently.

If the terminals, steamship lines and railroad yards coordinated their needs, containers could flow from the dock to rail yard on a priority basis. This would speed the trains and more efficiently use trucks, tracks and railcars. The union stands ready to help, and our clerks have the knowledge to make it work.

Other operational solutions could also be put in place. An appointment system for truckers and 24-hour gates would save time, cut congestion and reduce air pollution. The union has supported low-emissions equipment and tried to negotiate reduced diesel emissions as a health and safety regulation in the 2002 contract. The employers resisted these solutions.

The same practices that are slamming the port truck drivers are thickening the congestion at the ports. They have their roots in the industry deregulation of the 1980s.

Before deregulation rates were regulated by the Interstate Commerce Commission so trucking companies could make money. Deregulation launched a downward spiral of cutthroat competition. Trucking companies could no longer afford to maintain fleets, so the work fell to independent owner-operators.

These operators bear all their own expenses and get paid by the load. The more crowded the docks get, the fewer trips truckers can make each day. Trucking companies respond by putting more operators on the road, causing more congestion.

Truckers lose more time and money because some steamship lines hoard safe chassis, and give truckers beat-up chassis that have to go to the repair shop before they can carry a load. Terminal operators need to take responsibility for the road-worthiness of the chassis. This would save truckers time and speed the flow of cargo. The ILWU is supporting Teamster-backed bills in Congress (HR-2863 and S-1776) that would assign legal responsibility for chassis safety to terminal operators rather than truckers.

The recent spike in diesel fuel prices proved the last straw for these truckers. Some are going out of business. Others are organizing.

They withdrew their labor in two large-scale actions on the East, Gulf and West Coasts over the last few weeks. So far these actions have had little effect, but in our eyes it will be difficult to make port trucking more efficient without correcting the balance of power between these truckers and the terminal operators who set their rates.

Truckers also need to be part of the information system on the docks, linked by internet technology so that marine clerks can send orders to their companies and they can dispatch quickly to the terminal to meet their appointments.

*Solving this crisis will require a vision that places the country's security and economic well-being ahead of profit.*



The union has also proposed separate off-dock yards where containers can be transhipped as another strategy for relieving congestion.

Retailers, who insist on "just-in-time" delivery, bear some responsibility for congestion too, since they're effectively using the docks to supplement their warehouses and passing on that cost to the rest of the transport system. They also need to keep their warehouses open for evening and night shifts so a 24-hour gate operation can provide the maximum relief possible.

Congestion also adds to the challenge of providing port security. More people will be needed to do adequate inspection on container empties, seals and documentation. The union has advocated strongly in Washington D.C. for these measures. Many employers have skimped on security to keep costs down.

These solutions will require cooperation and a vision that places the country's security and economic well-being ahead of profit. The steamship, stevedoring, truck and rail companies all look after their own interests rather than those of the cargo stream as a whole.

The interests of ILWU members lie in keeping the flow of work steady and maintaining our jobs. This, of necessity, requires the union to see the entire picture and commit to finding solutions that protect the security of the communities we live in and keep our economy running.

## The DISPATCHER

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# A day in the life of a port trucker

by Tom Price

Port trucker Ruben Lopez begins his struggle for survival before the seagulls wake up in the morning. By 7:30 on July 12 he had left the Port of Oakland, carrying an empty container on his truck and bound for Napa to pick up a load of wine.

It took nine gear shifts to get onto the I-80 freeway entrance. Ruben, as he is known on the docks, shifts smoothly and sees everything. His 360 diesel horses strained to haul the truck up the flyover and seemed to pause at its summit to allow their stomachs to catch up. Ruben looked down over eastbound I-80. Traffic was miraculously light.

"This looks good," he said about the traffic. "And from up here in the truck you can see everything, including all the crazy stuff the cars do."

His white Freightliner coughed slightly as Ruben downshifted to ease its descent. He could drive for miles without touching the brakes, keeping a constant strain on his engine that provided its best gas mileage. He needs every bit of his eight miles-per-gallon, because with the cutthroat competition in the trucking industry since deregulation the slightest cost increase or delay could mean he works for free. He's paid by the load, not the hour.

Like most other port truckers around the country, Ruben is a contract driver who leases his own truck to the company that dispatches him to the docks. In late April he joined thousands of West Coast drivers in a strike against low pay that shut the ports of Oakland and Los Angeles, but with little result. Thousands more struck late last month on the East Coast, but the federal courts have ruled the drivers are owners, not employees, and it is illegal under antitrust law for them to bargain collectively. Independent truckers are a small cog in scheme of global transport, an industry dominated by huge steamship companies, the world-dominating Chinese industries, and huge retailers like Wal-Mart that are powerful enough to set their own rates. It's a good job, Ruben says, but he has no leverage against companies that big. Ruben bears all the costs of his operation. He pays the fuel, tires, repairs, tickets and several kinds of insurance.

"Everything is insured except me," he said, referring to his lack of healthcare coverage.

Ruben was born in a small town in Guatemala 32 years ago. His family owned a farm in the mountains, and Ruben learned the transport business early on.

"We had to truck the corn from the mountain, where they were poor, to the city, where they were rich," he said. He supports a wife and two girls, aged four and 16. A compact and active man, Ruben is quick to smile and greets everyone he meets. Toll takers smile back. "Sometimes they see you as just a truck, not a person," he said, "but I try to treat everyone like human beings."

He drove north, discussing the quality of truck chassis at various terminals. One of the shipping lines had chassis that "looked like they belong in Jurassic Park." If the Highway Patrol pulls you over for a bad chassis, he said, the ticket is yours.

Just before the Albany exit he suddenly downshifted, slowing the truck to allow a less thoughtful driver to cross his bow from the left and make the exit. Two toots of a diesel horn reminded the driver of his nar-

row escape. Trucks are supposed to hold to the shoulder lanes, leading to constant lane changes as less skilled drivers try to merge. More wasted fuel.

By 8:35 Ruben reached the wine warehouse in Napa. He backed to the loading dock with skill approaching clairvoyance, his trailer kissing the rubber pads as lightly as a bee on a flower.

"Made really good time getting here today," Ruben said. "Went to Turlock last week. Left at 9 a.m. didn't get back till midnight."

Sometimes clerks at the port can waste truckers' time. "They might say they'll be back in 15 minutes, but they measure time with a rubber band," he said with a smile, stretching an imaginary rubber band with his hands.

"Since our strike last month, there's been an improvement on the docks," he said. "When you can't find a box they used to look at you like you were stupid. Lately, the clerks have been more helpful. Sometimes people don't realize we wait on our own time."

He's friendly with the people working at the warehouse, and they respond by loading efficiently. They know he's on his own time. Ruben hauled away from the loading dock and headed through gently rolling hills covered with grape vines. The timing couldn't be better, he said, meaning he had a chance to make some money on this trip. But costs were never far from his mind as he explained the costs of fueling his rig.

"Diesel is around \$2.15 a gallon now," he said. "I filled up on Friday, \$300 to \$320, but by Thursday noon I had to take another \$150 worth to finish the week."

Rolling down I-80 more cell-phone-wearing drivers cut in, merging badly. Ruben deftly changed lanes, shifted, and seemed to anticipate every move they might make. By 10:30 he made it back to his dispatch terminal. His boss, Bill Aboudi, operations manager at AB Trucking, was eager to chat.

"Port trucker economics are very simple," Aboudi explained. His company gets about \$200 per container delivered and \$150 goes to the driver. Out of that the driver pays all costs of his rig: fuel, insurance, installment payments, repair; leaving only a few dollars left over for the driver. Anything more than a three-hour turnaround and drivers make less than the minimum wage. Sometimes Ruben waits three hours just to get into the terminal.

"I have no trouble with my employees joining a union tomorrow," Aboudi said, explaining that it was the only way to get any leverage against the steamship companies. He says it's a scandal the way steamship companies are exempt from anti-trust laws while drivers are not. One company recently increased the late fee on containers to \$65 per day, and all the others responded, to exactly the same amount.

"Is that how the 'free market' is supposed to operate?" Aboudi asked. "Look at deregulation of energy, phones, banking, trucking. What we get is Enron, World Com, the savings and loan scandal, and hungry truckers."

High workers' compensation insurance rates and the costs of having employees forced Aboudi to turn his workers into contractors, he said.

A unionized workforce and rate regulation would help everyone, Aboudi said. Ruben went to



Ruben Lopez ready to harness his 360 horses.

Washington, D.C. in June with other truckers to plan strategy with Teamsters' president Jim Hoffa and the heads of the longshore unions, Jim Spinosa of the ILWU and John Bowers of the ILA. He remains hopeful a solution will be reached.

The wine Ruben delivered will soon be on its way to San Antonio, Chile. He picked up another empty, this one for Vallejo, and a load of recycled cardboard. He talked to a driver who had lost his job for reporting an

overloading violation, and got back to Oakland by 2:30. The container would then travel to Shanghai, China on the *Ming Asia*. One more container trip and he would make some money today.

"We hope something will change for us," Ruben said. "We need to be organized, and we need to be able to bargain together against the steamship companies. We're in a hole right now and we're going to dig our way out."

## "If you got it, a truck brought it..."—Charleston picket sign More port trucker action back east

by Tom Price

Port truckers on the East and Gulf Coasts parked their rigs between June 28 and July 13 in protest of the low pay and high cost of delivering cargo to and from the ports. They nearly shut down the ports of Boston, Savannah, Charleston and Miami. Job actions also disrupted the ports of New York, Newark, Baltimore, New Orleans, Los Angeles and Long Beach.

The strike came to a rolling stop in Miami on July 9 when U.S. District Court Judge Patricia Seitz ordered Miami drivers to cease "engaging in any conspiracy combination, or boycott in violation of any provision of the Sherman or Clayton [antitrust] Acts." She extended the injunction to Sept. 3, when she will hold another hearing. Miami drivers had picketed under a protest permit that expired July 9.

Seitz based her ruling on the status of drivers as "owner-operators" who are forbidden by law from bargaining over shipping rates. Meeting together to discuss rates could be a "conspiracy." Forming a union to collectively bargain would also be a "price-fixing conspiracy," so drivers have no right to form a union. Even though they might work 14 hours a day, they are not considered workers.

The strike issues were the same as in the West Coast protest from April 30 to May 6—high fuel costs, insurance rates, maintenance rates, and low pay. Truckers want some kind of collective bargaining power so they don't have to go up as individuals against the huge multinational corporations that rule the shipping and retailing industry. Many truckers are also demanding the right to join a union.

The drivers get a set fee from a trucking broker whose rates are set by terminal operators or steamship lines. In many cases, the rates haven't changed in 10 to 20 years. Out of that truckers pay all the expenses of running a truck. Anything left over is their wages. When their turnaround time takes more than a couple hours, they work for less than minimum wage.

The notion of re-regulation has floated around the docks for some time. In 1948 Congress passed the Reed-Bullwinkle Act that allowed trucking companies to agree amongst themselves on rates, a practice that the courts would rule "anti-competitive" today. Many economists said the regulation was too tight, that it stifled competition too much and led to high rates. Reed-Bullwinkle was largely repealed in 1980. Since then, trucking rates have fallen, but so have wages. By 1985 only 28 percent of truckers were organized, down from 60 percent in the 1970s, according to Thomas Gale Moore of the Hoover Institution. And since 1985 the competitive squeeze has lowered rates and wages on the least powerful competitors, the port truckers.

Truckers want increased container rates, pay for excessive wait times, fuel surcharge increases, posted rates, safer chassis and a federal investigation of insurance rate hikes.

The Teamsters, the ILWU and the American Trucking Assn. support a drive to make truck chassis owners responsible for maintenance.

The West Coast strike got some relief on these issues. Some terminal operators agreed to increase rates to the trucking brokers, but it was spotty, according to Oakland trucker Ruben Lopez.

"No papers were signed," he said. "Once the press left, a lot of them backed out."

**LOCAL 142 ORGANIZING TRAINING****When the going gets tough, the tough get growing**

by Marcy Rein

HONOLULU—Before Hawaii Local 142 did its training, Alex Torres thought organizing was for professionals. “I always thought it was only the organizing department that does organizing,” said Torres, who works at the Dole Plantation Store on Oahu and helped bring it into Local 142. “Here I learned that it’s about everyone getting involved,” he said.

The June 4-7 workshop brought 53 rank-and-file activists together with 25 of the local’s full-time elected officers and the ILWU International organizing staff. The Hawaii participants represented the full diversity of Local 142, with people from Oahu, the Big Island (Hawaii), Maui, Kauai and Lanai who worked in agriculture, tourism, general trades, the longshore division and the Inlandboatmen’s Union.

“We wanted to put together a training with the national AFL-CIO’s top trainers to show us what we can do to move forward not only in Hawaii but on the mainland too,” said ILWU International Vice President Wesley Furtado. National AFL-CIO Organizing Director Stewart Acuff, Organizing Institute Director Sam Luebke and Director of Strategic Research Ken Zinn led the Thursday and Friday sessions, with Alison Reardon presenting on the Employee Free Choice Act Saturday morning. Over the two and a half days participants absorbed a brain-splitting amount of information and practiced the fundamentals of targeting and outreach.

Workers’ declining power in politics and on the job make organizing imperative, said Jonathan “Lono” Kane, IBU Regional Director for Hawaii. “We’re in the fight of our lives. If we don’t get together, those guys—the employers and their politicians—are going to have our lunch,” he said.

Union density, the percentage of unionized workers, has fallen sharply over the last 50 years. Now only one U.S. worker in eight belongs to a union, compared to more than one in three in 1955. When you take public workers out of the picture, it gets even gloomier. Fewer than one in ten private-sector workers have union representation.

Though Hawaii does better, with nearly one in four workers belonging to unions, it has lost density over the last 20 years. Shrinking numbers equal shrinking power, said Local 142 President Fred Galdones.

“People listen to numbers,” Galdones said. “Employers have fear when they see a mass group of employees united. They have respect for that organization. Politicians will listen to us when they see the vast group of people we represent.”

Dwindling union membership testifies to the erosion of workers’ rights, Acuff said.

“American workers have lost the right to organize,” he said. He and the other presenters offered studies and statistics proving the point. Some 20,000 workers got fired last year for trying to organize, even though that’s illegal. During organizing drives more than 90 percent of employers force people to attend mass anti-union meetings on work time. About three-fourths haul people in for one-on-one sessions, and about half predict the shop will have to close if the union comes in, though that’s illegal too.

Just to show the pull of the anti-union spiel, Sam Luebke put participants through a mock-anti-union meeting à la Wal-Mart. Imagine how odd it was to walk into a room full of



The organizing training gave people from different islands and industries a chance to work together. Above, (L to R) Frank Chargualaf and Lena Staton from the Renaissance Wailea Beach Resort, Maui; International Rep. Tracy Takano; Tessie Shinozawa from New Otani Kaimana Beach Hotel, Oahu; Simplecia Timosan from King Kamehameha Kona Beach Hotel and Gary Duguran from ML Macadamia Orchards, Hawaii island.

Photos by Eadie Omonaka



Above, Merlita Crispin from Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Co., Maui.



Left, Ted Quismondo, IBU, Oahu (L) and Local 142 organizer Bill Udani.

Local 142 members and hear them chanting, “Give me a ‘W’...”

The drawn-out timeline for NLRB-supervised elections allows for all these abuses. To better the odds of winning a union, the AFL-CIO advocates a change in the law as well as a change of strategy. The Employee Free Choice Act would make card checks the standard way of getting union representation. [See box, page 5] But unions have already scored major wins with strategic organizing, using the leverage they have in bargaining to persuade employers to agree to card-check at non-union plants.

For example, UAW members bargaining with Daimler-Chrysler got a card-check neutrality agreement at two unorganized Freightliner plants in rural North Carolina. The employer agreed not to campaign against the union and to recognize the UAW if a majority of the workers signed cards. In one week in February 2003, the union signed more than half the 3,100 Freightliner workers.

Bringing on Freightliner made sense to the UAW because it helped boost the union density in their industry, and that helped build power. “You don’t build power one workplace at a time,” Ken Zinn said. “Where and who you organize matters.” With

Peter Olney of the University of California’s Institute for Labor and Employment, Zinn walked participants through the fundamentals of strategic targeting.

Strategic targets may be non-union competitors of unionized companies, or related businesses, like the golf courses belonging to a union hotel, or new types of companies, like the wireless subsidiaries of traditional phone companies. A good target also has pressure points. Perhaps the union can appeal to users of its services, expose its failure to comply with labor and environmental regulation or intervene when it needs government permits—while workers put the heat on from the inside.

“This is basic, fundamental ILWU stuff,” said Local 142 Secretary-Treasurer Guy Fujimura. The union targeted hotels as an emerging industry on Maui in the 1960s and again in the late ’70s and early ’80s during the hotel boom fueled by Japanese capital. It used its political power and community support to get neutrality agreements and then win contracts.

Given the rapid changes in the cargo-moving industry, longshore needs to be concerned with organizing as well, said Local 142 Longshore Division BA Tyrone Tahara.

“We should have a bunch of longshoremens listening to this,” he said. “Our jobs will be protected if we help the guys on our flanks.” West Coast longshoremens had that same insight in the late 1930s when they began the “March Inland.” They organized the warehouse workers who handled the when it left the docks, turning potential scabs into powerful allies.

All the participants at the training had a chance to brainstorm strategic targets, working in small groups then sharing the results with everyone. Frank Chargualaf from the Renaissance Wailea Beach on Maui kicked off the presentation for the first group. “Forgive me, I’m shy, but I think we’re all in the same boat here,” he said. “A-men!” someone replied from the crowd, to general laughter.

That shyness got sorely tested when participants practiced house-calling. Many organizing drives are built on house calls, where the organizers and organizing committee members drop by workers’ homes unannounced to “talk union.”

“Organizing is one person talking to one person,” Luebke said. “But these are deeper and more serious conversations than selling aluminum siding. You’re dealing with deep hopes and fears, hopes for your future and your family’s.”

To make house calls work, you have to listen, listen and listen more, Luebke stressed. Local 142 staff role-played the targeted workers, and some of them played hard. Even more experienced participants noted that the clutch of nerves while opening the conversation was as real as the real thing.

But in the training, and real life, people realized they could do things they never thought possible.

“It’s brought me out of my shell,” said Leina Badiyo, who works at Hawaii Job Corps. “I know now I can talk to people.”

Carol Reyno, a soft-spoken former school teacher, never thought she could organize, even though she’s been unit secretary-treasurer at Young Brothers on Kauai for 18 years. “I always thought I couldn’t be an organizer because I wasn’t aggressive,” she said. “But you don’t have to be. You’re a listener, not a talker.” She also noted the need to apply the lessons of the training to internal organizing.

“We’ve got to begin from home, from within, so we have a larger resource,” she said.

Local 142 will never be able to meet its high goals for growth without this new resource, said Vice President Donna Domingo. “That’s how we grow, through our members. We believe in them. They get it. We just need to give them tools and encouragement.”

Besides providing information and skills, the weekend gave members from the different islands and divisions a rare opportunity to work together, and eat and hang out together as well. The local brought in breakfast, lunch and dinner, food traditional to the Islands and the people who came there—pork and squid luau, ahi tuna and lomi salmon, fried chicken and pancit noodles and tako (octopus).

Before dinner on the first night, Wes Furtado summoned everyone within earshot, instructing them to hold hands around the serving table. Then Ray Mook from First Hawaiian Bank sang the “Doxology,” a blessing offered at all kinds of gatherings of Hawaiian people—a reminder that when we join hands, hearts and minds, we create “a force far greater than the feeble strength of one.”

## Q&A WITH TOP AFL-CIO ORGANIZERS

# How can we win back our right to organize?

During the Local 142 organizing training, national AFL-CIO Organizing Director Stewart Acuff and Organizing Institute (OI) Director Sam Luebke took time out to talk in more depth on some of the issues raised in the workshops.

Both men have long histories as organizers. Acuff started out as a community organizer, working for groups affiliated with ACORN and Citizen Action. He then worked for SEIU, organizing home care workers in Texas and building the state workers' union in Georgia. Before coming to the AFL-CIO, he served as president of the Atlanta Labor Council for nine years. Luebke spent 12 years with garment workers' unions, starting with the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) and ending up as assistant organizing director of UNITE. Three years ago he became director of the OI, the AFL-CIO's organizer recruitment and training program.

Marcy Rein of the ILWU International Organizing Dept. did the interview.

**Q: Could you give a capsule description of strategic organizing?**

**SA:** The law no longer protects American workers when they try to form unions. Strategic organizing is a way to develop enough leverage with employers to convince them they should agree to a more free and fair process than the law allows for. It generally involves card-check—workers simply signing a card or a petition saying they want to join a union—and some degree of employer neutrality in lieu of a government guarantee of the right to organize. The key in strategic organizing is leverage. You can develop it from any number of places. There are two key places where unions have leverage in our society and economy: in bargaining and in politics.

**Q: How are workers central to strategic organizing?**

**SA:** When you're bargaining to organize, clearly workers who are already organized are central to bargaining for organizing rights for unorganized workers, either within the same company or within a sister company that the organized workers' company has a lot of influence or power over.

Strategic organizing doesn't work if workers aren't part of it. You can never develop enough leverage to force a company to grant union recognition absent the workers being in motion.

Workers have to be more visible and more active than in a [National Labor Relations] Board election process. Workers have to be the public face of the campaign, they have to be the face to the employer, they have to be in motion, moving issues and raising hell, and then they have to be organized into a leadership committee or group that once the employer agrees to a card-check can get their co-workers to sign a card or a petition.

**SL:** Workers are at the center of the activity but we're not asking them to jump through any hoops set up by the government. What workers need to do in this type of organizing is just start acting like a union inside the workplace. You can't have a campaign unless workers are willing to stand up to the boss, start organizing for better wages and hours and working conditions.

**Q: Workers have the same level of vulnerability when they stand up, whether they go for an NLRB**



Stewart Acuff (with microphone) addresses the Local 142 organizing training while Ken Zinn (partly hidden) and Sam Luebke look on.

**election or not. How do you address that, especially now, when times are so tough?**

**SL:** This is the same dilemma workers have faced going back to the Boston shoemakers. The boss has power and workers have a decision to make: Either live with what the boss is putting on your plate or take a risk to make it better. Workers make the decision, we don't. They decide whether it's worth the risk.

But American workers absolutely have their backs to the wall. Just in the last 15 years things have gotten worse for our non-union brothers and sisters. Look at the numbers of hours American workers put in, the stress of not having a nationalized health care program. Every single campaign revolves around access to health care.

I can't think of anything more stressful than not being able to take your kids to the doctor when they get sick, and there are millions of people making the decision whether they're going to pay rent or take their kids to the doctor if they have strep throat. These are people working 40, 60, 80 hours a week at two or three jobs. When do they sleep?

**Q: How does union density affect organized and unorganized workers?**

**SA:** With the lack of union density, workers have fallen further and further behind in terms of wages. The minimum wage hasn't kept in line with inflation. The floor is lower and lower.

Union density—the percentage of unionized workers in an economy or an economic sector—translates into bargaining power. The drop in density means workers are losing bargaining power. It's the single most important reason unions don't go to the bargaining table with plans to get significant gains.

Workers in the ILWU have a direct and clear self-interest in organizing workers in their sector and geographic area—workers in the transportation, cargo and freight industries. ILWU members in Hawaii where Local 142 represents such a broad group of workers have a clear and direct interest in organizing workers in this state, in this geographic area.

For a long time organizing was seen as something unions did for other people, and that was a real fallacy. It absolutely benefits current members just as much. The ILWU presents the best example. Decades ago it sewed up its entire jurisdiction, and now its members enjoy some of the best wages and conditions of any unionized workers in the country.

**Q: What arguments can mobilize**

**existing members around organizing?**

**SL:** People either perceive their union as an institution or a movement. Things will work well with the ILWU because people see you as a living, breathing, purposeful organization. You do this by being engaged in social movements. It's always in self-interest, sometimes direct and sometimes broader. Good union members get that every person brought in makes the circle stronger.

Trade unionists want to help other workers so that's what they do. And they do that if they understand that their union is about a social movement, not just about getting a cleaner water fountain. Look at the article in Local 142's newspaper about the union helping a group of agricultural workers keep from being evicted from their housing. The union I worked for, ACTWU, built the first low-income housing for workers in Manhattan. Unions are the vehicles through which working people get broader power in society.

**Q: What does this perspective say about unions' relationships with other community organizations and movements?**

**SA:** At the foundation of our thinking about organizing is the Voice@Work campaign, about changing the climate for organizing and restoring the freedom to form unions. This campaign should exist at every level of

society, at the community level, the city and state and federal levels. At the federal level we're trying to change the law. At the community and city levels, we're trying to engage allies, engage people to support workers and pressure employers who abuse workers.

You can't do this unless you're prepared to engage in a process of reciprocity. At the local level there are tons of good examples around the country. The Wisconsin state federation is working on statewide health care reform with a coalition of other groups. When I was with the Atlanta Labor Council, we intentionally engaged in broader issues that really had nothing to do with union members. For instance, we had a big fight over the cost of prescription drugs at the county charity hospital, which had everything to do with poor people and homeless people. The responsibility to engage in broader issues of justice is both a moral responsibility and a tactical, strategic responsibility. The labor movement has to be challenged to meet that responsibility.

**Q: You said the Employee Free Choice Act means this November's election could be about much more than a change in the country's top leadership. Could you explain?**

**SA:** The best route out of poverty for working people in the history of the human race is collective action, specifically unionization. Restoring the freedom and the right to form unions will allow millions of people to lift their kids out of poverty. Now something like 25 to 30 percent of American kids live in poverty. The quickest way to raise their standard of living, the nutrition of the food they eat, the condition of the environment they find themselves in, the quickest way is to give their parents the right to form a union on the job. That's why the Employee Free Choice Act, the potential for its passage and the promise of its policy, makes this election about something more fundamental than most of the issues the candidates are talking about.

The possibility of millions of American workers forming unions absolutely will address the balance of power, both economic and social—but we've got a lot of addressing of the balance of power to do. It will only begin that process.

## Employee Free Choice Act aims to change the rules

Current labor law does little to protect workers who try to organize and less to punish employers who break the rules. The Employee Free Choice Act (H.R. 3619 and S. 1925) aims to change that. It would:

- Make card-check recognition, rather than NLRB-supervised elections, the primary means of winning union recognition. "Card check" agreements bring in the union if a majority of workers in a shop sign cards or petitions saying they want representation. Current law allows card check but doesn't require it. Most employers opt for the more drawn-out election procedure, which gives them time to campaign against the union.

- Set up arbitration and mediation requirements for first contracts. Now employers can stall first contracts for years. Under the Act, either side can call in a federal mediator if the parties don't reach agreement within 90 days. If they don't get a deal after working with the mediator for 30 days, they will have to go to binding arbitration. The contract that comes out of arbitration will last for at least two years.

- Require the NLRB to seek court injunctions against employers when there is "reasonable cause to believe" their law-breaking will have a major impact on an organizing drive; require employers to pay triple the back pay due when they're found guilty of illegally firing workers during a drive; and allow the Board to fine employers up to \$20,000 per violation committed to thwart organizing.

—MER

# California labor takes on the governor

by Marcy Rein

SACRAMENTO, CA—A pre-summer heat wave soaked Sacramento April 26-27 when the California Labor Federation came to town for its 2004 Legislative Conference. The weather whispered of global warming and added to the sense of unrolling disaster that hung over the Capitol as the Federation kicked off its first lobbying effort with "Governator" Arnold Schwarzenegger in the statehouse.

The Federation brought in 500 activists from 225 union locals and labor councils—including seven from the ILWU—to advocate for its "good jobs and health care" program. Key elements include bills to stem the flood of jobs lost to offshoring, ensure the affordability of prescription drugs, and raise the state minimum wage, as well as an all-out campaign to defend the Health Insurance Act passed last year against a big-business-backed ballot initiative to repeal it.

Over two days the Legislative Conference participants waded through detailed issue workshops and met with about half the state legislators. The event brought new activists into the political process and set groundwork for the months ahead.

"It was an eye-opener for me," said Dan Hultgen of longshore Local 46 in Port Hueneme. "We got to see who the face of labor was, and I got to find out more about how the political process works. It's a struggle across the board. We need to be heard as the house of labor."

But to make itself heard and make its program work, labor will have to bring dramatic climate change to the State Capitol. The unions face a wily governor working hand-in-glove with corporate interests and setting the terms of debate, while Democrats struggle for initiative.

Action-film star Schwarzenegger gave Democratic Gov. Gray Davis the boot in the October 2003 recall election. While pretending to spurn special interests, Schwarzenegger took nearly \$10.3 million from finance, real-estate, construction, high-tech, insurance and health care companies, and car dealerships.

Once in office, Schwarzenegger started trying to cut his way out of the state budget deficit. His first budget proposal would've taken home

care services away from 75,000 people, pushed home-care workers back to minimum wage and kept 300,000 eligible children out of the Healthy Families program. It would've cut \$2 billion from K-12 education, \$90 million from community colleges and \$240 million from the California State University system.

"Schwarzenegger has taken aim at all human services," said Fred Pecker, Secretary-Treasurer for the ILWU Northern California District Council (NCDC) and warehouse Local 6. "The elderly, the disabled, children, poor people, none of them matter to him."

State employees would be forced into a two-tier pension system under the governor's plan, and the University of California's Institute for Labor and Employment (ILE) would lose all its funding. No other UC research institute got targeted for elimination—but no other institute focuses on issues important to workers and unions.

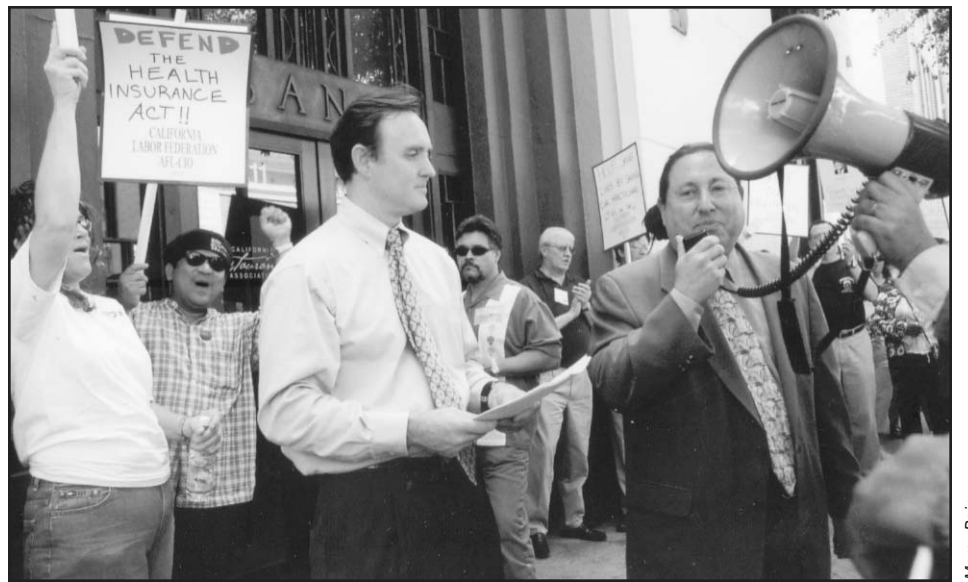
The governor also initiated a stealth plan to "reorganize" state government. The California Performance Review Commission met behind closed doors and heard only from bureaucrats and business types. It produced a 2,000-page plan to overhaul state boards, commissions, departments and regulations. Once the Commission releases the report, the legislature will have 90 days to respond. If it fails to act, the recommendations take effect. This could be a silent time bomb, said State Building and Construction Trades Council President Bob Baganorth.

"We could be looking at outsourcing of government jobs, firings of around 1,500 people and abolishing of boards and commissions that help working people," Baganorth said.

Schwarzenegger repaid his benefactors from the insurance industry by giving the legislature a proposal for workers' comp "reform" that would have provided less care and skimpier benefits for injured workers. He threatened to take this to the voters in November if the legislature wouldn't go along.

After months of discussion and debate, the legislators reached a compromise April 19. (See story, page 7.)

Union activists had been ready to rumble on this issue, so passage of the compromise bill the week before the conference brought people down a



State Assembly member Paul Koretz (with bullhorn) rallied the troops on the "Walk of Shame" that kicked off the campaign to save SB-2. The walk called out all the organizations that bankrolled the ballot challenge to this health insurance measure, including the California Restaurant Assn., pictured here. To save health insurance, vote "Yes on 72" this November.

bit. They listened intently as legislators and Federation officers explained the deal at the conference's opening plenary. Looking down the rows of tables you saw guys with elbows on the table, showing arms that do heavy work. Firefighters and teachers sat next to tradesmen and women, office and warehouse and hospital workers. Some wore union colors, some their go-to-meeting suits.

Unions and their Democratic allies made a painful political calculation on the comp bill. They decided it would hurt workers less than the governor's threatened initiative. A bad ballot measure would be hard to beat, they figured, and they wanted to focus on defending last year's health insurance gains and winning regime change in Washington.

"The newspapers up and down the state have portrayed injured workers as scam artists taking money out of the pockets of honest employers," said State Senate President Pro Tem John Burton. "Tom and Art [CalFed President Tom Rankin and Secretary-Treasurer Art Pulaski] saw the big picture. We got as much as we could in negotiations, but we were bluffing on a low pair."

After the plenary, conference participants broke into workshops to get the gritty details on the Federation-backed bills this session. (See box.) Of particular interest to the ILWU is SB-888 sponsored by Joe Dunn (D-Santa Ana), which would ensure that ILWU workers inspect containers moving in and out of California ports.

Perhaps the most exciting moment Monday came in the mobilization workshops, which unveiled new tactics to use this fall to save health insurance for working families.

Last year's legislature passed SB-2, a "pay or play" health insurance bill. The bill requires employers of more than 50 workers to provide health benefits or pay into a state fund that will buy insurance for eligible workers and their families.

SB-2 would cover more than a million uninsured workers and help unions at the bargaining table in a few ways. It limits increases in copays and out-of-pocket expenses, requires employers to pay at least 80 percent of monthly premiums and cuts the competitive advantage non-union companies gain from not providing health care.

"Our employers are already coming after us at the bargaining table," said San Mateo County Central Labor Council Executive Secretary-Treasurer Shelley Kessler. "We aren't getting raises—it's all going to health care—and it's going to get worse."

Some ILWU members are already feeling the pinch, said Pecker. The

local represents workers at Calcott, a cotton warehouse south of Fresno.

"After a meeting one brother came up and showed me his check," Pecker said. "He gets paid weekly. The week they take out medical, he pays more for his co-pay than he takes home. He pays \$242 for medical and takes home just \$172 and change."

## VOTE YES ON 72!

The California Chamber of Commerce, Restaurant Association and Retailer's Association raised around \$3 million to put an initiative challenging SB-2 on the November ballot—so the CalFed kicked off the campaign to save SB-2 with "Walk of Shame," visiting their offices and those of SBC, which was hardballing on health care in negotiations with its 100,000 members. About 200 people yelled and sweated their way around downtown Sacramento on the noon-time march.

SB-2 will appear on the November ballot as Proposition 72. Supporters are organizing as "Yes on 72," urging voters to uphold the bill passed by the legislature. For more information, see [www.SaveOurHealthCare.org](http://www.SaveOurHealthCare.org).

The Tuesday walk gave activists a break from back-to-back meetings with legislators that gave careful listeners some clues to the power-plays, maneuvers and calculations that move issues at the Capitol.

Schwarzenegger has rearranged the rules, many said, with his fondness for going directly to the voters and facility at cutting special deals, playing divide-and-conquer.

"The governor is working his program to outmaneuver anyone who doesn't share his view," said Assembly member Mark Ridley-Thomas (D-Los Angeles). "He also is expert at breaking off Democrats, as he did with workers' comp and is doing on the budget. In all candor, we haven't figured out a way to tag him yet, but we will."

"He's good at using television to put things over and going around the legislature, which isn't perfect but has a process for studying legislation," NCDC's Don Watson said.

This pattern challenges the Democrats to hold their members accountable, said State Sen. Richard Alarcon (D-Sun Valley). "We must fight internally too," Alarcon said. "Even some Democrats are hard to convince on issues fundamental to the Democratic Party."

Instead of going to each legislator's office on Tuesday, the county labor councils hunkered down in hearing rooms and scheduled appointments for their local legislators

*continued on page 7*

## Six bills for good jobs and health care

The California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO, is working hard to pass legislation which would:

### Raise the minimum wage:

AB-2832 would boost the state minimum wage from \$6.75 per hour to \$7.75 per hour over two years. The majority of minimum-wage workers are adults supporting families. With one wage-earner making \$6.75 per hour at a full-time job, a family of three would still fall below the federal poverty line.

### Stop offshoring:

AB-1829 would guarantee that work done under state service contracts would be done by U.S. workers. (Already the state has overseas workers answering its Food Stamp hotline and keeping up its criminal fingerprint database.)

AB-3021 would require California employers to report to the state Employment Development Dept. the number of jobs they have in California, in the U.S. and overseas.

SB-888 would require all work affecting "homeland security" to be done in the U.S. This would ensure that ILWU members inspect containers moving in and out of California ports. The bill also requires health care providers to get patient consent before shifting records-handling overseas.

### Make prescription drugs more affordable:

AB-1960 will make Pharmacy Benefit Managers (PBMs) disclose kickbacks they get from drug companies. This should help health and welfare trust funds negotiate better prescription benefits. Now PBMs act as middlemen between drug companies and healthcare purchasers, while receiving millions of dollars in rebates and other incentives from the companies. This raises costs and can skew the choices of drugs available.

AB-2326 creates a "prescription drug report card" so Californians can compare the cost, safety and effectiveness of common medications.

All these bills passed their first legislative house in June, pushed along by constituent calls, faxes and visits. Equal pressure will be needed to see that they make it through the second house and get signed by the governor.

# CAFTA stalls in Congress

by Tom Price

The Bush administration seems to have run out of Congressional gas on its way to extend NAFTA to five Central American nations. The Central American Free Trade Agreement, signed by President Bush May 28, must be approved by Congress on a simple up or down vote with limited debate and no amendments allowed.

"There are so many people committed to voting 'no' they don't have the votes. There is a solid Democratic front, plus a number of Republicans who are looking at the loss of jobs in this country and deciding they can't vote for it this [election] year," ILWU Legislative Director Lindsay McLaughlin said.

Many House Democrats, including Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.), support increased trade but oppose the agreement.

"This integrated market cannot be built upon the suppression of workers," Pelosi said in a May 27 statement. "In fact, respect for the environment and for core, internationally recognized labor standards, could have been a key selling point for the region."

There are other reasons to oppose



CAFTA, including its promotion of privatization of public property in third world countries. Like NAFTA, it lacks: public input into trade issues, immigrant worker protection, third world debt relief and protection for displaced workers.

Like NAFTA it would allow foreign corporations to sue governments if local laws interfered with corporate profits. Such a case went to a secret NAFTA trade tribunal June 7. The State of California had banned the polluting gasoline additive MTBE several years ago and Methanex, the Canadian company that makes it, brought a case against the U.S. for "taking" \$970 million in future profits. The tribunal should issue its rul-

ing in three to six months. If it agrees with Methanex, California will either have to revoke its environmental regulation or Methanex gets \$970 million.

"Technically the U.S. government is on the hook to pay it, but the Bush administration is hinting strongly that they would take it out of federal appropriations to the state if California doesn't overturn its law," said Jesse Swanhuysen, Director of the California Coalition for Fair Trade and Human Rights.

For now CAFTA covers Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras. The Dominican Republic is expected to join soon. CAFTA could be the first step in imposing other unfair trade deals covering the entire Western Hemisphere.

President Bush has lost the support of free-trade advocates like Senator Max Baucus, (D-Mont.) who co-authored the Fast-Track trade authority bill in 2002. Fast-Track is Congress' way of giving up its Constitutional authority to pass

treaties with Senate "advice and consent." Instead, the President negotiates and Congress only votes up or down, without amendments. Montana stands to lose its sugar industry if CAFTA passes.

Teamster President James P. Hoffa quit Bush's Advisory Comm. on Trade Policy and Negotiations June 24.

"While I had hoped that the Teamsters could maintain some semblance of a working relationship with this administration through my service on the ACTPN, President Bush's decision to sign CAFTA has left me with no choice but to resign," Hoffa said in a press release.

"In contrast to the race-to-the-bottom deals you have negotiated culminating with CAFTA, the Teamsters support trade rules that lift up the living conditions of people in the countries of our trading partners," Hoffa said in a letter to President Bush.

The ILWU lobbied hard against CAFTA in Washington, D.C. in April, sending officers, legislative staff and 45 rank-and-filers to the Hill.

"Workers going to members of Congress telling them this is a bad deal for workers made all the difference," McLaughlin said.

# Workers' comp deal aids business, hurts workers

by Tom Price

California workers dodged a big bullet and took a smaller one when Gov. Schwarzenegger signed the new workers' compensation bill into law April 19. The bill, worked out as a compromise between Governor Schwarzenegger and the legislative leadership, will not be as harmful to workers as the ballot measure the governor threatened to put on the November ballot.

The compromise means savings for insurance companies and cut-backs for injured workers. Insurers came out of the fight unscathed, avoiding rate regulation. They will be able to charge whatever the market will bear.

Injured workers will swallow some bitter pills. Most will not be able to choose a doctor under the compromise. They will have to choose a doctor from pool of physicians approved by their employer. Those doctors will be able to apportion the award based on how much the injury was caused by work and how much by such factors as age and obesity, or even childbearing. A person could be disabled at work, and the doctor could rule only a part of that was caused by the job and reduce the award proportionately. Temporary disability benefits will be ended after two years, while previous rules allowed extension of payments. However, permanent disability payments can go on longer under the new bill.

Another improvement allows injured workers to collect up to \$10,000 in medical care payments immediately after an injury. Previously the company could stall for 90 days while injured workers had to come up with care on their own.

Union workers will be able to negotiate out of the employer-approved doctor pool at the bargaining table.

The insurance industry won big. They have no requirement to pass on their savings to the businesses paying the rates. In fact, the industry-funded Workers' Comp Insurance Rating Bureau proposed a 3.5 percent increase in insurance rates, the July 23 *Los Angeles Times* reported.

Schwarzenegger staunchly opposes capping rates. He also took

\$500,000 in campaign donations from workers' comp insurers, according to the May 17 *New York Times*. Some of that came after the election.

Schwarzenegger campaigned against "special interests" and said he was rich enough to finance his own campaign. However, since taking office last November he raised millions to pay back loans he made to himself. He never published a statement of his total wealth, but CNBC's business reporter Jane Wells estimated his worth at between \$200 and \$850 million. With that much money

the governor is himself a special interest. He holds stock in companies such as Wal-Mart, General Electric and Coca Cola, which could profit from lower rates.

California workers have spoken before on the issue of insurance rate gouging. Proposition 103, passed by the voters in 1988, regulated insurance rates for homeowners and several other types of insurance. State Insurance Commissioner John Garamendi said state auto insurance rates went down 7.9 percent from 1989 to 2001, according to the April 5

*Los Angeles Times*.

Workers' comp went the opposite way, with deregulation setting in between 1993 and 1995. At first rates went down, but then skyrocketed to 220 percent above the national average as a few companies cornered the market.

Established in 1913, workers' compensation insurance protects employers from lawsuits injured workers might file. In return, workers are supposed to get medical care and compensation for on the job injuries.

## Taking on the Governator

from page 6

to come to them. Each group had a slightly different style. Los Angeles had to keep a tight schedule to see everyone on their list. The 20-minute appointments seemed almost like campaign stops, with candidates giving short spiels and then answering set questions.

Keith Richman (R-Northridge), talked at people uncomfortably, but most of the others got warm welcomes. Miguel Contreras, executive secretary-treasurer of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, proudly introduced Assembly Speaker Fabian Nuñez, the Federation's former political director. The union folks there soaked up the information, quiet unless they had been tapped to ask a question.

"Some politicians are good at blowing smoke, some are straight shooters, and you can see which is which in the first five or 10 minutes of meeting them," Hultgen said afterwards.

The Alameda and Contra Costa County Labor Councils met their legislators together, as did San Francisco and San Mateo, and held more informal, conversational sessions than the Los Angeles contingent.

The Alameda/Contra Costa folks got politely chewed out by the poised and stylish State Sen. Liz Figueroa (D-Fremont) when they asked her support for AB-1829 and AB-3021, which deal with offshoring.

"Why aren't you tracking my bills?" Figueroa asked, noting that the media had even covered the Senate on hearings on her offshoring bills (SB-1451, 1452, 1453 and 1543).

"I would appreciate my friends and partners paying some attention," she said, but went on to answer the rest of the questions in a most businesslike fashion.

If anyone had doubts about whether the trip was worth it, Assembly member Mark Leno (D-San Francisco) reassured them. "Your presence is very moving for those of us here, given what we're up against," he said.

To follow up on the groundwork laid these two days, the Northern and Southern California District Councils are planning their first joint meeting ever. Pecker suggested it would also make sense for the ILWU to become part of the AFL-CIO's voter list.

"There were good historical reasons, given the red-baiting that went

down, for not giving them our members' names," Pecker said. "But now we're in a different situation. We need to maximize the power of our vote, and that means being able to contact people in a systematic way."

Money will be important too, Hultgen stressed.

"We're a bit of a broken record on this, but we want the PAF fully funded," he said. "People need to realize the union is no longer the place where you can collect your paycheck and go home and not worry about it. It's time to step up and be heard."



The ILWU's rank-and-file lobbyists meet with legislators. Above, Lee Sandhal from Local 34 (L) and pensioner Don Watson. Below, sitting, (R to L) Louis Hill, Local 94; Dan Hultgen, Local 46; and Mike Ford, Local 13.

Marcy Rein

## ILWU Reading List

Over the years, several books have been written about the ILWU. The following list, compiled by ILWU Director of Educational Services Gene Vrana, details the author, title, publisher, price, main subject or theme, and availability of these books. These and other publications about the ILWU can also be read at the ILWU Library.

Brown, Lee and Robert Allen. **Strong in the Struggle: My Life as a Black Labor Activist.** Rowman & Littlefield, 2001. Hardcover: \$26.95. A stirring account of an African American man's lifelong commitment to left-wing political activism, much of it in service to the ILWU in New Orleans. Bookstores and libraries.

Buchanan, Roger. **Dock Strike: History of the 1934 Waterfront Strike in Portland, Oregon.** The Working Press, 1975. Valuable primarily because it illuminates the Columbia River experience. University libraries.

Bulcke, Germain. **Longshore Leader and ILWU-PMA Arbitrator.** Bancroft Library, Regional Oral History Office, University of California at Berkeley, 1984. The oral history and anecdotal account of Bulcke's San Francisco career as a member and officer of the ILWU. University libraries.

Fairley, Lincoln. **Facing Mechanization: The West Coast Longshore Plan.** Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California at Los Angeles, 1979. An overview of the origins and early impact of the historic longshore Modernization and Mechanization agreements 1960-1971, by the late ILWU Research Director and Area Arbitrator. University Libraries.

Finlay, William. **Work On The Waterfront: Worker Power and Technological Change in a West Coast Port.** Temple University Press, 1988 (\$24.95). A provocative analysis of the impact of longshore mechanization and higher wages on ILWU members and union militancy, primarily in Los Angeles. University libraries and bookstores, or from the publisher.

Fox, Joan, editor. **A History of Federated Auxiliaries of the ILWU 1934-1984.** Federated Auxiliaries, 1993. A thorough compilation of histories of local auxiliaries and the Federation. For ordering information and availability contact ILWU Auxiliary #3, c/o ILWU Local 19, 3440 E. Marginal Way, South, Seattle, WA 98134.

Goldblatt, Louis. **Working Class Leader in the ILWU 1935-1977.** Bancroft Library, Regional Oral History Office, University of California at Berkeley, 1980. The oral history and anecdotal account of Goldblatt's career, in California and Hawaii, primarily as Secretary-Treasurer of the ILWU.

Hartman, Paul. **Collective Bargaining and Productivity: The Longshore Mechanization Agreement.** University of California Press, 1969. University libraries.

Hinkle, Warren. **The Big Strike: A Pictorial History of the San Francisco General Strike.** Silver Dollar Books, 1985. Stunning photographs and an informative narrative. University libraries.

Holmes, T. Michael. **The Specter of Communism in Hawaii.** University of Hawaii Press, 1994. Perhaps the best overview of political persecution in the name of anticommunism, and the central role of the ILWU as both a target and a rallying point for resistance. University libraries and the publisher.

ILWU. **The ILWU Story: Six Decades of Militant Unionism.** ILWU, 1997. An informative combination of oral histories, photographs, and historical narrative about the ILWU. Check *The Dispatcher* for ordering information.

ILWU. **Men and Machines: A Story about Longshoring on the West Coast Waterfront.** ILWU & PMA, 1963. An extraordinary pictorial essay about the Union and technological change. Out of print. ILWU local union offices.

ILWU Local 500. **Man Along The Shore! The Story of the Vancouver Waterfront.** ILWU Local 500 Pensioners, 1975. The only book about the ILWU longshore experience in Canada, told plainly and effectively through interviews and illustrations. Newly re-issued. Contact the Local 500 Service Committee for ordering information at (604) 254-7131.

Jenkins, David. **The Union Movement, The California Labor School, and San Francisco Politics, 1926-1988.** Bancroft Library, Regional Oral History Office, University of California, 1993. The oral history of an ILWU stalwart, with rare insights into the Union's leadership and the CIO. University libraries.

Kimeldorf, Howard. **Reds Or Rackets: The Making of Radical and Conservative Unions on the Waterfront.** University of California Press, 1988 (\$24.95). Paperback: \$13.00. An innovative analysis of how and why the ILWU rank and file built the union, and often took a different course than the ILA. Libraries, bookstores.

Larrowe, Charles. **Harry Bridges: The Rise and Fall of Radical Labor in the United States.** Lawrence Hill & Co., 1972. An unauthorized but respectful biography that highlights the trials and triumphs of Harry Bridges. Out of print. Libraries.



Polishuk, Sandy. **Sticking to the Union: An Oral History of the Life and Times of Julia Ruuttila.** Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. A remarkable and moving account of a radical woman's life as a union activist and labor journalist in the Pacific Northwest—much of it in the ILWU. Paperback, \$22.95. Libraries, bookstores, and at a 20% discount from the publisher.

Magden, Ronald E. **The Working Longshoreman.** ILWU Local 23 and the Washington Commission for the Humanities, 1991. A comprehensive and balanced narrative of longshore unionization in Tacoma the Northwest. ILWU Local 23 and university libraries. Available by mail from John Usorac, ILWU Local 23, 1306 Alexander Ave. E, Fife, WA 98424 (\$12.00 per copy, checks or money orders only, payable to ILWU Book Fund).

Magden, Ron. **A History of Seattle Waterfront Workers 1884-1934.** ILWU Local 19 and the Washington Commission for the Humanities, 1991. An invaluable account of longshore unionization in the Northwest, particularly Seattle and the Puget Sound region. Available by mail from David Vigil, Sr., ILWU Local 19, 3440 East Marginal Way South, Seattle, WA 98134 (checks or money orders only in the amount of \$15.00 per copy, payable to the ILWU Local 19 Centennial).

Markholt, Otilie. **Maritime Solidarity: Pacific Coast Unionism 1929-1938.** Pacific Coast Maritime History Committee, 1998. Paperback: \$15.00 (plus \$3.50 shipping). A unique and controversial contribution to the history of the ILWU in the Northwest by a veteran union activist, notable for its original scholarship and strident criticism of Harry Bridges and the CIO. Available by mail from the Pacific Coast Maritime History Committee, 3049 S. 36th Street, Suite 201, Tacoma, WA 98409; Telephone: (253) 473-3810.

Nelson, Bruce. **Divided We Stand: American Workers and the Struggle for Black Equality.** Princeton University Press, 2001. Hardcover: \$39.50. A new and controversial analysis of race, ethnicity, and class solidarity among longshore and steel workers that focuses primarily on the ILA and ILWU experiences in New York, New Orleans, and Los Angeles. Bookstores and libraries.

Nelson, Bruce. **Workers On The Waterfront: Seamen, Longshoremen, and Unionism in the 1930s.** University of Illinois Press, 1988. Hardcover: \$29.95. The most comprehensive discussion of the

growth of maritime unions on the Pacific Coast. Libraries, bookstores. Paperback edition available from the ILWU library by mail at a discount—watch *The Dispatcher* for details.

Pilcher, William. **The Portland Longshoremen: A Dispersed Urban Community.** Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1972. A narrow sociological study of how the Union's solidarity has been affected by the political and ethnic roots of the rank and file. University libraries.

Quin, Mike. **The Big Strike.** Olema Publishing Co., 1949, and New World Paperbacks, 1979 (re-issue). The classic and comprehensive account of the San Francisco General Strike of 1934. Libraries. Paperback edition only, \$7.50. Available from the ILWU library at a discount—watch *The Dispatcher* for details.

Raineri, Vivian McGuckin. **The Red Angel.** International Publishers, 1991. A stirring account of the activist life and political times of Elaine Black Yoneda (1906-1988), including her role in the 1934 strike and the ILWU Auxiliaries. Libraries and the publisher.

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