

# The III

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### nside Line

#### **BEYOND TRADITIONAL HISTORY**

"Philosophers have interpreted history in many different ways. The point, however, is to change it.'

History as we learn it in school text books is the story of great men and great wars determining the outcome. Rarely if ever is the centuries old basic conflict in human society between the rulers and the workers referred to. Yet from the ancient Greek democracies that were based on a slave economy, to the feudal societies where landlord royalty kept serfs in line, to capitalists exploiting wage workers, humanity has too long an historical tradition of oppressor and oppressed to be ignored.

And that's what the history of the ILWU—the history that shaped the traditions of this union—are all about and what the Longshore Division's latest seminar on its history and traditions held in September was about (see story pages 6-7). It is essential the rank and file have an understanding of that history and that they keep constant, vigilant watch over that heritage.

The bloody birth of the union in the 1934 strike, with its six deaths and hundreds of injuries coastwise and the ferocity of the 1948 strike, with the ILWU's first Taft-Hartley injunction and the inyour-face rank-and-file rejection of government coercion—both ending in great victory—seem sometimes to be heroic myths, legendary tales of a time when people of greater stature dared defining battles and emerged victorious.

But 2002 served notice that the ever-consolidating global companies that make up the ILWU's employer group are still willing to take great risks to bust this union. Their lockout broke the cargo supply chain and it took them months to fix it. The ship owners and terminal operators lost millions, their customers, the shipper and retailers, lost even more, and the damage to the economy is difficult to calculate. They backed off and the union won an agreement with a six-year extension of its Cadillac health plan, the biggest pension increases in the history of the American labor movement and jurisdiction over the new computer technology, but they're not done yet.

At the seminar, after the academics praised the union, and the historians had recounted its glory and the international unionist guests paid homage to the ILWU, the scary part was the last day's look to the future—the scenes of the automated ports of Rotterdam and Singapore where so few workers run operations larger than the Los Angeles/Long Beach complex.

Yes, you have the best wages, conditions and benefits of any workers. And, yes, as Professor Peter Turnbull of the University of Wales who specializes in the shipping industry, said, whenever he asks any dockworker union in the world which union they most admire, they respond without exception, "the ILWU." But also, whenever he asks the CEOs of the world's largest steamship and terminal operator companies which union they most would like to get rid of, they respond without exception, "the ILWU."

Yes, you are a great big target, and they are already setting the groundwork for the 2008 contract. So get ready—it's time to make some history of your own.

> -Steve Stallone Editor

# PRESIDENT'S REPO

# Crisis and solutions

By James Spinosa **ILWU International President** 

he shipping industry on the West Coast is in a crisis, with dozens of ships backed up at the Ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach, turn-around times twice as long as usual and congestion on the docks exacerbating pollution and safety problems. Diverting ships to other West Coast ports has not relieved the problem in Southern California, but only spread it to those other docks. The entire cargo transportation system is overwhelmed, the current infrastructure and mode of operation pushed past its capabilities.

It's not as if this wasn't foreseen or isn't the obvious result of policy decisions. Industry analysts have for the last decade been forecasting annual double-digit percentage growth in the number of containers hitting West Coast ports, with only 9-11 and the Pacific Maritime Association's lockout in 2002 providing temporary speed bumps. The free trade agreements U.S. government officials have been promulgating have had the predicted effects—manufacturing jobs have been sent to Asia in search of cheap labor and since little is made here any more, all those goods must be shipped in. China's monster economy continues to export at an accelerating rate and Wal-Mart's Asian-made Christmas goods could by themselves over-

whelm just about any port. And since the industry as a whole has done little to coordinate and prepare for it besides build bigger and bigger ships, the doomsday scenario industry analysts project "if something isn't done soon" are coming true.

For more than three years now the ILWU has been proposing solutions, talking about long-term infrastructure needs and short-term fixes to get by in the meantime. But the ship owners and terminal operators who make up our employer group, the PMA, have ignored and resisted our proposals. This has

to change if the industry both the union and the employers depend on is going to survive and grow, if our port communities are going go be healthy and sustainable and if the American economy is to thrive.

Clearly there has been a large underinvestment in the transportation infrastructure that needs to be addressed. The railroads need more locomotives, rail cars, track and skilled workers. Trucking needs expanded highways and rigs that burn cleaner fuels. Stevedore companies need off-dock terminals and staging areas to relieve congestion and cargo-handling equipment that burns cleaner fuels.

This is admittedly a huge investment, some of which must come from the industry, but much of which must come from government. But we're not likely to get that kind of money until we've made the most of what we have now. And once funding is secured, these projects will still take time to complete and the crisis is upon us now. So we need to implement some immediate short-term solutions.

We need to start utilizing the infrastructure we have to its fullest capacity, and that means running the terminals 24/7. For several years now the ILWU has been advocating night gates. Spreading the truck traffic out over 16 or 24 hours instead of trying to squeeze it all into eight hours will reduce long lines of trucks idling and spewing diesel emissions. It will also give the truckers a chance to make more than the 1.7 turns a day they now average and make a better living. And it will reduce highway traffic during peak hours—fewer traffic jams equals less pollution.

Let's be clear here. We are never going to get the buy-in for

growth from port communities and elected officials as long as the ports are seen as the giant industrial pollution generator. We must make every incremental move possible to clean up our industry. ILWU members have a real stake in this—before these emissions become pollutants in the community they are in the air we breathe at work all day. And we live in these communities. We want to come home from work to healthy families and clean neighborhoods.

But terminal operators resisted the night gates proposal arguing, with some legitimacy, that truckers wouldn't use them because they couldn't drop off their loads with warehouses closed at those hours. So shippers, especially those with large warehouses, need to do their part and have their receiving operations working night hours.

Still, the terminal operators never took the night gates notion seriously until California Assembly member Alan Lowenthal threatened legislation to force the matter. Then they came forward with their own "voluntary" night gate program to start in November. So Lowenthal withdrew his bill. But now that plan is being postponed until next March.

The reason for the delay, say terminal operators, is the labor shortage at the Ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach. But that is the result of poor management planning.

We need to start utilizing the infrastructure we have to its fullest capacity, and that means running the terminals 24/7.

Since last February the leadership of Southern California longshore Local 13 has been requesting PMA bring 2,000 casuals up to registered "B" status and sign up 5,000 new casuals. But it took until August, when the peak season crunch was upon us, for the employers to concede the wisdom of the union and begin promoting, hiring and training. The problem is that it takes months to train that many people and get them working effectively on the ground. By then the peak season will be

Another bad management decision also contributes to the so-

called "labor shortage." As the railroads restricted the number of containers they would accept from each terminal and the docks backed up, container yards had to switch from "wheeled" operations, where containers are stored on chassis and are ready to roll, to "decked" operations, where containers are stacked three, four and five high. Decked operations require six times more skilled cargo-handling equipment operators to run top picks, side picks and strads. The union has been calling for more members to be trained on the heavy equipment, but the PMA has been slow to respond.

The employers' solution has been to ask workers to double back, to work two shifts back-to-back. But fatigue is a major factor in accidents. And the congested docks with containers stacked high and more heavy equipment running around are raising the risks of an already dangerous job.

The last time we saw a situation this bad was in 2002 when we had a record five deaths in five months. We are not going to pay the price again to save employers from their own bad decisionmaking, especially since we warned them well in advance and offered solutions.

It is time for all stakeholders in the industry—ship owners, terminal operators, railroads, the trucking industry, shippers and the unions, along with the port communities, environmentalists and elected officials—to begin working together for real long-term solutions. And it's time for all to start taking seriously the proposals of the people who do the work of running the industry day-to-day.

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www.ilwu.org Steve Stallone

Tom Price



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The DISPATCHER September 2004

# Union-busting is an environmental hazard

orkers at Marine Spill Response Corp. (MSRC) in Long Beach fear their effectiveness and their safety on the job have been compromised since MSRC took over local oil spill response activities three months ago and ditched their contract with the IBU.

MSRC absorbed Clean Coastal Waters (CCW) July 1. CCW responders had voted in 1998 to join the Inlandboatmen's Union of the Pacific. They say MSRC should honor its obligation to bargain with the union, because it hired all of them when it took over CCW. MSRC has refused.

Like firefighters, spill responders must be available 24/7, 365 days a year. They use a variety of equipment, including trucks, trailers, barges and small boats, and they need to know how to operate and maintain them all. They need to know how to deal with hazardous materials and monitor release of toxics at a spill site, and they must be intimately acquainted with the area they work.

"We not only need to know our equipment, but the tides, currents, environment and animal life," said MSRC responder Garrick Gilham. "We have to know the ins and outs of the Harbor like the backs of our hands."

CCW had handled oil spill response from Point Dume to the Mexican border since 1972. While CCW had a local focus, MSRC operates all over the world, and has claimed the right to send workers from Southern California wherever they're needed. It calls this staff shuffle "cascading."

The workers say they need three

full teams of six people available. Two people had already been reassigned from the Los Angles-Long Beach area to San Diego when MSRC "cascaded" five more to the Gulf Coast.

We were already short-handed, and you never know when something's going to happen," said MSRC worker Jose Esqueda.

The company has told the workers they can use contractors to fill staffing holes.

"State law requires dedicated, local responders," Gilham said.
"Contractors won't necessarily be familiar with the Harbor and with the specific equipment we use."

The workers also worry that MSRC pays less attention to safety than did CCW. They cite insufficient training and lack of basic safety pre-

While CCW used to hold safety trainings once or twice a month, MSRC held none in the three months after it took over. Some of MSRC's barges lack non-skid covering on their decks and protective guard rails, responder Joe Elder said.

"The decks are super-smooth and not slip protected," Elder said. "If there were oil on things during a spill, you'd be done. When there's no guard rail with an open propeller, you could be ground up if you fell off the stern."

Though MSRC has set up a safety committee, that body lacks any power to enforce its decisions.

"The grievance procedure in our contract gave us a way of addressing safety issues and enforcing solutions, said IBU Southern California Regional Director Peter Korody. "Without a contract we can't follow through."



IBU members and supporters tell MSRC its excuse for union-busting puts the LA-Long Beach Harbor at risk. MSRC claims it doesn't have to bargain with the union in Southern California because its workers respond to oil spills all over the world.

would be covered by an IBU contract with MSRC in Southern California signed a petition reiterating their desire for union recognition and everyone who was at work Sept. 13 delivered it to management.

MSRC workers and their supporters, including one in a Flipper the Dolphin costume, leafleted a meeting of MSRC's clients Sept. 23. Around 100 people, including Long Beach City Council member Laura Richardson, joined the workers in a rally the next day in front of MSRC's Long Beach headquarters. Hector Cepeda of the South Bay Community Center,

Fifteen of the 20 workers who ILWU longshore Local 13 President David Arian, and a representative from Long Beach City Council member Dan Baker's office also spoke at the rally. In addition to the Harbor Area ILWU locals, several other port unions sent members, including the MMP, MEBA, MFOW and SUP, as did the Teamsters, PACE and the United Teachers of Los Angeles.

MSRC Vice President and CFO Douglas Ferrari agreed to talk with the IBU, but then hired attorney Roger Schnapp—a self-described "union avoidance" specialist—to speak for the

-Marcy Rein

# Putting faith to work for justice

BERKELEY, CA—"My sister-in-law was diagnosed with liver cancer and given a year to live," UFCW 870 member Diane Powe told the members of Temple Beth-El in the tranquil Berkeley hills. Sun lit the stained glass behind Powe as she spoke during Shabbat services the Friday before Labor Day as part of the annual "Labor in the Pulpits" program coordinated by the National Interfaith Committee for Worker Justice (NICWJ).

"My brother is also a member of 870. Because he has benefits, she was able to get chemo and is now cancerfree," Powe said, underlining the urgency of passing Prop. 72, the November ballot measure that would provide health insurance to more than a million working families in California.

Two days later, ATU Local 192 Executive Board member Yvonne Williams and Dr. Steven Pitts of the Center for Labor Research and Education at UC Berkeley brought their stories to the Liberty Hill Missionary Baptist Church just a couple miles away on a busy corner near downtown. As Rabbi Ferenc Raj did at the temple, Rev. Dr. Marvis V. Peoples added his emphasis to the visitors' message.

"We understand what labor is all about here," Pastor Peoples said, "and we all want Prop. 72 to pass."

"Labor in the Pulpits" has been one of the signature events for the eight-year-old Chicago-based NICWJ, which educates and mobilizes religious groups on low-wage workers' issues. Its national board draws in Catholics, Jews, Muslims and Protestants of numerous denominations, as do its 60 affiliate groups around the country.

NICWJ draws on deeply rooted values to build awareness, alliances and actions. Members of affiliate groups have been on the lines recently supporting grocery workers and

hotel workers and dozens of local struggles. They have campaigned for living wage laws in many cities, for fair treatment for poultry workers and for workers at USF Dugan trucking terminals and at CINTAS—the nation's largest industrial laundrywho want to join a union.

NICWJ sent clergy members on fact-finding delegations to six CINTAS facilities across the country, then produced and publicized a report, "Airing Dirty Laundry." It got congregations around the country to pledge to not use CINTAS until the company sat down and talked with workers about their desire for representation. Finally, the company agreed to meet with eight NICWJ representatives Oct. 4.

"We can add another voice at the table that strengthens the workers when we act in partnership," said NICWJ Executive Director Kim Bobo. Most faiths have a strong social justice tradition, Bobo said, but the Committee has a key role to play in reframing issues so people understand how unions fit under that umbrella.

"We have to explain that union issues are not labor/management disputes, but community economic justice questions," she said.

Though Islam places a strong emphasis on justice, the American Muslim community is just getting active on workers' issues, said NICWJ board member Hussam Ayloush, executive director of the Southern California office of the Council on American-Islamic relations.

"The teachings of the Koran stress over and over the importance of treating well the people who work for you," Ayloush said. Drawing on these teachings, he and his colleagues flyered and spoke at mosques to build support for the Southern California grocery workers.

As Ayloush's work makes clear, religious services offer an opportunity



"Labor in the Pulpits" brings workers' issues to churches, mosques and synagogues the weekend before Labor Day. Here, UFCW Local 870's Diane Powe speaks to Congregation Beth El in Berkeley, Calif.

for credible and effective outreach.

Once the word is spread in church, there's no telling how widely it will be received," said Glen Houston, a member of the Board of Deacons at Liberty Hill and shop steward with SEIU 250. But connecting through faith can bring much more than that to organizing. Being supported and accompanied by clergy can refresh and encourage workers involved in drawnout struggles, many suggested, and can help unions strengthen their roots in the community and their ties with their members.

"Labor is about family, the welfare of families and working people," said Yvonne Williams. "Churches work on spiritual welfare. I like the idea of bridging the two." Dr. Steven Pitts,

who shared the pulpit with her at Liberty Hill, took that idea one more

"A stronger labor movement leads with people's whole selves," Pitts said. "By exploring the whole, we can see how people are connected on and off the job. These connections represent the glue you need to build solidarity."

The NICWJ also partners with the national AFL-CIO to run "Seminary Summer," which places student clergy in union internships, does voter registration, and is planning a national conference on religion and labor for May 22-24, 2005. To get more information on the group, the conference or local affiliates, call 773-728-8400 or visit www.nicwj.org.

-Marcy Rein

#### Solidarity and survival

#### **ILWU Canada locals assist each other**

LWU Canada locals have shown great solidarity with one another, helping a struggling local to try to retain its work and then taking many of its members into their locals when much of that work was lost.

In 1971 Local 518 Testers and Samplers was given a charter by the ILWU Canadian Area. Besides testers the local also represents marine surveyors and lab technicians. From 1971 to 1989 they were very successful in capturing work from all the small sampling operations around the waterfront and were able to greatly expand their jurisdiction. But beginning in 1990 the two main employers started finding ways to go around Local 518 and do the work with non-union employees. This came to a head in 1998 when a company with ties to one of the large employers won the sampling contract for all the sulphur shipped out of the west coast of Canada. This was the beginning of the bad times for the members of Local 518.

Although all the Canadian locals and many retired members took part in numerous protests, and there were several shutdowns of the sulphur terminals, the contract for sulphur testing was passed on to a non-union company. Seven ILWU pensioners and most of Local 518's members were arrested at various times for illegal picketing of these terminals. The pensioners were all found not guilty, but the 518 members were found guilty and given a range of fines. In solidarity fashion, the cost of the fines were covered by the members of ILWU Canada. Despite this brave fight the sulphur contract was lost.

On several occasions Local 518 took the fight to Washington and Oregon chasing ships that had their cargo sampled by non-union testers when they were loaded in Canada. When Local 518 was looking for help Locals 4, 8 and 21 all came to their aid by refusing to work ships that had been sampled non-union. Also, through the ITF, Japanese longshore workers also showed great solidarity, refusing to discharge several vessels.

The situation grew worse in January 2000 when several coal companies decided to move their coal sampling contracts to the same nonunion company. Since that time the level of unemployment in Local 518 has been very high. In March 2002 Canpotex, the international potash conglomerate, decided to move all potash sampling to the same non-



Some of the Local 518 members being welcomed to their new home by Local 502 members and casuals. Back row left to right: Wally Rabey 518 and new 502 D Board; Mike Birmingham, 502 Dispatcher; Rick Cookson, outgoing Vice President of 518 and new 502 D Board; Louise Mackay, 502 F Board; Mark Gray, 502 H Board; Ron Audet, 518 member and new 502 D Board; Dave Cochrane, outgoing President 518 and new 502 D Board; Larry Kalish, 502 Executive Member; and Gary Newman, 518 member and new 502 D Board. Front left to right: Local 502 casuals Samantha McPhee, Cindy Miller and Carol Gwartney.

union company. This non-union company has taken away almost twothirds of the work formerly done by members of Local 518.

During this time Local 518 members were forced into a position that, if they did not take severe concessions, the unionized company that still employed them would lose what work it had to the non-union company. They gave away their short term disability benefits, pension, weekend premiums and four years of previously agreed to raises in order to hold onto the work they had.

Although ILWU Canada was not successful in turning back this challenge they were very helpful in coordinating the support of other locals of ILWU Canada. Local 517, a mediumsized local mainly comprised of port authority workers, was able to find employment for one 518 member. Longshore locals 500 and 502 were able to begin registering Local 518 members and allowing them to work in either of these locals, although initially there was some reluctance on the part of the employers to register members who had been convicted of illegally picketing. This originally began as seven members, but over time has grown now to 26 Local 518 members

working full- or part-time in the longshore locals. This support helped Local 518 regain some of the concessions at a recent bargaining session.

In 2003 Local 502 decided it was time to do something about this "temporary" arrangement. They took the question of the 15 members working in their port to a referendum vote to make their solution permanent. For the past six or seven years Local 502 has been the beneficiary of gigantic growth in their work opportunity and the officers of the local recommended that these unemployed Local 518 members, who were the junior members in seniority in their own local, should be transferred to the D Board (casual board) in Local 502. These junior members who were displaced all had between 18 and 25 years service in the unionized sampling industry.

In early 2004 this question of transferred members was put to a referendum vote of Local 502 and it passed. With the work increasing in Local 502 there has not been one day since the transfer was completed that they have not been able to work. They are now fully integrated into the workforce and most of them are currently receiving training to allow them to continue to maintain their

lifestyles and their dignity.

In the meantime 10 other Local 518 members who were registered for longshore are still working part-time in the testing industry and are currently working part-time in Local 500. Due to this generosity Local 518 has still been able to carry on. This has allowed the local to continue to function, although with the loss of the 15 members to Local 502 there is some question as to whether this will be the situation for the future. Still, about 20 samplers who are not registered for longshore are underemployed in the sampling industry.

There are some rumors of sampling contracts returning to Local 518, but at this time they are only rumors. The remaining members are all still facing varying levels of underemployment, but without the help of Locals 500, 502, 517 and ILWU Canada it is doubtful that the local would have survived up to now. Meanwhile with all the difficulties faced by Local 518 members the non-union sampling company continues to thrive on the British Columbia waterfront.

—Dave Cochrane, outgoing President of Local 518 and one of the new 502 D Board members —Mark Gordienko, Local 500

Dump Dubya

# Local 21 gives "union books" new meaning

ongshore Local 21's fifth annual charity golf tournament raised twice as much money as organizers hoped, bringing in \$4,200 for the literacy group "Reading Is Fundamental." Around 144 people participated in the Sept. 14 event, held at the Lewis River Golf Course in Woodland, Wash. Members of longshore Locals 4, 8, 12, 19, 21, 27, and 50 and walking bosses' Local 92 joined golfers from local businesses and the Ports of Longview and Klamath.

"We wanted to have a union tournament where guys could have a good time with each other off the job, and we wanted to get the word out that longshoremen aren't a bunch of hohums who just go to the job and don't care about the community," said Local 21's John Philbrook, who chaired the event. Local 21 members Mike Mackey, Lyle Mackey, Bill Brister, Mick Seidel and Bud Lile also

helped pull off the event. They wanted their efforts to benefit children in their community and chose RIF after screening several programs.

A national, all-volunteer group, RIF raises money from individual and corporate donations, grants and the U.S. Dept. of Education. The Cowlitz County program Local 21 donated to focuses on children in kindergarten through third grade. It sends volunteers into the schools to read to children and give away books.

"The \$4,200 will buy about 1,700 books," said RIF's Cowlitz County Coordinator Jody Kirkpatrick. Many of these go to children who otherwise wouldn't have books of their own, she said.

"These guys [Longshore Local 21] have been absolutely wonderful," Kirkpatrick said. "They are the champions of RIF."

Don't forget to take out the trash Nov. 2

-MER

September 2004 The DISPATCHER

### New Zealand dockers strike against casualization

by Tom Price

ockworkers in New Zealand already had enough of casualization, with some union members on the casual board for a decade or more. They brought the issue to the bargaining table, but nine months after their contract expired and no movement from the employers in negotiations they had enough. The 260 dockers in Auckland, that nation's largest container port, voted Aug. 25 for a four-day walkout beginning Sept. 8.

"The Maritime Union will increase the pressure through industrial means on any employer who treats its workers as disposable commodities rather than as human beings," said Maritime Union of New Zealand General Secretary Trevor Hanson. Casualization is the largest remaining issue in negotiations.

Many dockers "lived at the end of a telephone," according to MUNZ Local 13 Branch President Denis Carlisle. They would never get regular work because the company preferred to keep them divided and competing for jobs.

"The action we are taking is to help our members and all workers who are trapped in part-time and casual jobs," Carlisle said.

New Zealand's employers are importing more horticulture and fishing workers, and even prison guards, from low-wage countries. Now the government is signing "free" trade deals with China and Thailand, countries with horrible labor rights records. The New Zealand merchant marine has descended into a mostly flag-of-convenience fleet, with low-paid workers replacing New Zealand's proud seafarers. Steamship companies often try to make the

crews load the ship themselves, a violation of dockers' rights. The dockers are concerned for their own jobs and they are deeply concerned about the exploitation of foreign workers who might be imported to take union jobs.

"Workers are under threat from a globalized labor market where employers can move labor around as a commodity, without regard to the economic effects on local workers or the human rights of overseas workers," the MUNZ said in its Sept. 6 press release.

The MUNZ also has a reputation of defending distressed sailors on flag-of-convenience ships.

"Our members work on a daily basis with ships and crews from Third World countries who are exploited, silenced and endangered on these ships of shame, and we will fight any attempt to introduce Third World conditions or casualized sweatshop labor into New Zealand," Hanson said.

Worldwide support was quick in coming. The International Transport Workers' Federation put out the word on the strike, and support came from places like Europe, Korea, Japan and the U.S.

"Transport workers around the world have shown that globalization has more than a corporate face—it has a human face as well," ILWU International President Jim Spinosa said in his Sept. 9 letter of support. "Let the employers know that the ILWU stands ready to support our sisters and brothers in New Zealand."

By Sept. 10 the strike had shut down most of Auckland, with 260 dockers on the line. Australian wharfies from the Maritime Union of Australia arrived at Auckland that



New Zealand dockers strike against casualization. They see their strike as an action for all who are trapped in part-time work.

day and the event turned into a sort of party the New Zealanders call a "Maori welcome."

The streets around the terminals were blocked as MUA Sydney Branch Secretary Robert Coombs and Victoria Deputy Branch Secretary David Schleibs arrived at the line. One of the picketers, dressed in the Maori costume of New Zealand's native peoples, did a ceremonial warrior's dance challenging Coombs' peaceful intentions. Coombs made a gesture showing he and his mates were peaceful, and they were welcomed into the picket line with open arms.

While there Coombs took the opportunity to tell New Zealand National Television that his Australian members, who work for

the same companies that operate the docks in New Zealand, have vowed whatever support was necessary for a successful resolution to the dispute.

The union met with employers and government mediator Colleen Hicks later that day. Carlisle reported the employers had moved a little, with new contract offers.

The strike continued until its planned end on Sept. 12. Workers met the following day and voted to give negotiators authorization for a sevenday strike if further negotiations produced no better results.

"The members are very determined at this stage, they feel strongly about the issue of casualization and want to hold the line for permanent, secure jobs," Carlisle said.

### Dutch workers protest government austerity plan

by Tom Price

Rotterdam dockers closed the world's largest port for a second time in two weeks Oct. 2 as they joined thousands of other Dutch workers in a national strike against government austerity schemes. Those rail workers who were not striking provided free transportation under an agreement reached with railway companies and as many as 250,000 workers and citizens rallied in front of the famous museums in Amsterdam.

At issue in both demos are proposals from the right-wing government to "liberalize" the economy by raising the retirement age to 66, lengthening the workweek without increasing pay, cutting pensions and slashing support for the disabled and unemployed. Education costs would rise. The plan included no provisions to raise taxes on the rich or corporations. These measures were read to parliament Sept. 21 by Dutch Queen Beatrix, who spoke for Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende. The social budget cuts would total \$7.4 billion this year, on top of \$16 billion in cuts in the past two years.

Docker demonstrations led closed the port of Rotterdam the day before

the Queen's speech, leaving between 10 and 20 containerships anchored and waiting for the 24-hour strike to be over. Nearly 60,000 participated in Rotterdam that day, according to Agence France Presse. About 20,000 others demonstrated in The Hague and Amsterdam, the nation's capital, in a dress rehearsal for the massive Oct. 2 rally.

Workers pulled many side demonstrations in between the two big ones. Workers in the food and metal industries joined workers in public transport, retail trades, civil services and even the military all over the country for noon rallies Sept. 27. Truckers pulled off the roads in protest at noon two days later in efforts coordinated by CB radio and cell phone.

Amsterdam was packed with a quarter million demonstrators Oct. 2. As many as another 70,000 couldn't make it to the museum plaza. Those who did heard unionists demand the government put any further cuts to a popular vote, something the government so far has refused to do. A referendum would find at least 60 percent of voters opposed to the cuts, according to recent polls. Union members, who make up 27 percent of the workforce, overwhelmingly oppose the

plan. Polls also show the current coalition government is deeply unpopular with the voters.

The strike and demo were over social issues, not surprising given that the main Dutch labor federation, the FNV, also includes large numbers of unemployed and disabled people among its 1.2 million members.

Opposition Labor Party leader
Wouter Bos had demanded in parliament Sept. 21 that the government negotiate with the union on the cubacks, but the government refused.
This violates a long-standing practice councils on alm example, on characteristic, we prepared er with the embut bit this cabinet of the society at all.

of consultation between labor, government and business on important social issues. Speaking for FNV, its Chairman Lodewijk de Waal explained the union's position on this change to Radio Netherlands:

"We have a long tradition of consensus economy in The Netherlands," de Waal said. "We had meetings and councils on almost everything. For example, on changes in social legislation, we prepared alternatives together with the employers' federations, but this cabinet doesn't want to listen to society at all."

# **Dutch dockers defeat government** withdrawal from **ILO** convention

When The Netherlands' government unilaterally announced Jan. 26 it would no longer abide by a crucial ILO convention protecting dockers' rights, the dockers union went to court. On Oct. 4 the Netherlands' high court ruled the government should implement the convention through parliamentary action.

International Labor Organization Convention 137 protects dockers from casualization by requiring a list of registered dock workers be kept by the government and that workers be hired from it. It also gives hiring preference to dockers laid off due to automation. The ILO, an agency of the UN, is made up of labor, business and government representatives. It sets standards called conventions that countries ratify to protect worker rights.

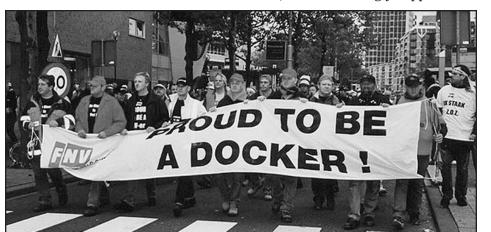
The Dutch government ratified the convention in 1976, but never passed legislation to implement it, relying instead on the employers to keep a list and use it.

The employers decided in 2000 to scrap the registration list. Rather than pass legislation to enforce the list, the government chose to scrap the convention altogether. The government claimed it was following "open market" principles that would open docker jobs to just about anyone, without protection for existing workers' job rights.

The dockers' union, *FNV Bondgenoten*, part of the largest union in The Netherlands' FNV federation, protested loudly and gathered international support.

"If we lose in The Netherlands then the Belgians and Germans also lose," FNV Bondgenoten Coordinator Niek Stam told The Dispatcher at the time. "If they can cheapen labor in Rotterdam, that will affect them because the ship owners will say their ports must lower prices or lose cargo to Rotterdam. If they can do it to the largest port in the world, they can do it anywhere."

Recognizing this danger, dockers around the world vowed support. The court's ruled the government was obligated under the convention to pass a law implementing its provisions. The union will ask its friends in parliament to propose legislation.



Dutch dockerslead the social strike in Rotterdam, September 20.

# Longshore History and Traditions:

Story by Steve Stallone Photos by Frank Wilder

s part of its ongoing member education program, the ILWU Longshore Division developed the new "Longshore History and Traditions" seminar designed to mine the past to prepare for the future. Held Sept. 26-30 in Palm Springs, Calif., the seminar spanned the West Coast longshore story from before the union's beginning in 1934 through the 2002 contract campaign and up to this moment.

Retired ILWU veterans, well-known political writers and critics, labor history professors and ILWU officials all made presentations. Some 150 members from all the longshore locals on the West Coast, Hawaii and even British Columbia attended, the majority of them younger union activists. They absorbed speeches, PowerPoint presentations and videos, and took home piles of documents for further review and study. And in the ILWU tradition the attendees took every opportunity to hit the mic with questions and opinions.

International Vice President Bob McEllrath opened the Sunday afternoon welcoming session. Then Pacific Coast Pensioners Association President Arne Auvinen, one of several ILWU veterans making presentations who embody the union's history, explained the origins of the pensioners group. The union negotiated its first pension with the employer group the Pacific Maritime Association in the 1951 contract and the first pension checks were cut in July 1952. At first the pensioners gathered as a social club to keep in touch with old pals and then they started working on seniors' issues. In 1953 the union gave them voice, no vote in union affairs and the PCPA was officially formed in 1956. They continue to work on senior and peace issues and this year in particular for pro-labor legislation and candidates.

Auvinen was followed by 88-year old Ah Quon McElrath, who with her late husband Bob McElrath was involved in the ILWU's organizing in Hawaii in the 1940s and spent decades working as the Hawaii ILWU's social worker. She read a cou-



Bay Area PCPA President and former Coast Committeeman Bill Ward.



International Vice President Bob McEllrath

ple of dramatic passages from Mike Quin's book "The Big Strike" about the 1934 maritime strike (every participant received a copy). She then spoke of the 1948 longshore strike, the first imposition of the Taft-Hartley injunction on the ILWU and the wave of anti-communism in the 1940s and 1950s that was used to throw longshore workers off the docks, chase union activists and officials out of the movement and destroy many unions. Although the ILWU defied and survived those attacks, McElrath posed the question and challenge to the attendees—with that kind of history, what does the future hold for the ILWU?

The seminar began in earnest Monday morning with an historical overview of the early years of maritime labor and the first organizing attempts on the West Coast by San Francisco State University labor history professor Robert Cherny. He described how the first West Coast ports developed and how the awful working conditions spurred the first organizing drives by stevedores and riggers. Strikes were lost in all four major ports in the few years following WWI, leading to work conditions so appalling that in the 1920s longshore work was second only to mining as the most dangerous industry in the country. The desperation of the Great Depression and the election of Franklin Roosevelt as president in 1932 led to the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act that for the first time in U.S. history codified workers' legal rights to organize. This gave rise to maritime workers on the West Coast striking and winning union recognition. Longshore workers won a unioncontrolled hiring hall, a coastwise contract, wage increases and a six-hour day and 30-hour week.

Cherny's talk was followed by Ian Ruskin, the actor/playwright who impersonates ILWU founding leader Harry Bridges. He performed a segment of one of his plays where Bridges tells the story of the 1934 organizing and strike, bringing a personal perspective to the bigger historical overview.

Then International President Jim Spinosa stepped up to put the history and the week's presentations into perspective. We need to take back our history so we can understand where we need to go from here, he said. We can't rest on the 1934 victory, there are many tough battles ahead, like what the union went through in 2002.

"The game plan of this union is to never get caught off-guard," Spinosa said. "We must be looking to the future, for the survival of this union and the labor movement."

Next up was Bill Fletcher, formerly special assistant to AFL-CIO President John Sweeney (during which time he led the AFL-CIO's national campaign in support of the Charleston Five), and now president of TransAfrica Forum, which undertakes educational projects in support of worker rights around the world, particularly in South Africa. Fletcher addressed the issue of labor unity, what it has been and has not been in recent American history. The AFL in the 1930s was a federation of craft unions that refused to organize the new mass production industries. Harry Bridges and other labor leaders started the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) not just to organize the unorganized in these industries, but to create a mass social movement. CIO unions not only raised workers' living standards, but increased civil liberties, broke down racial and gender barriers and opposed fascism and militarism. Union membership increased dramatically in the 1930s and early 1940s until the anti-communism in the late 1940s and early 1950s reduced unions' strength, numbers and relevancy

Fletcher laid out some basic strategies to redefine "labor unity" in the 21st century. Labor must stop acting like a private club and organize all workers. International solidarity is essential in a globalized economy. Labor must stand against all injustice and build its ranks on the basis of equality and fairness.

Then Chuck Mack, Teamsters Western Region Vice President and head of his union's port truckers organizing campaign, noted the long history of the Teamsters and the ILWU working together and said it was to both unions' advantage to organize the port truckers. If the truckers are not part of the labor movement, they could end up undermining the unions' wages and conditions. The drivers want to unionize, but under government deregulation they are defined as independent contractors and this needs to be overcome.

"We're convinced we can win with the unity we have forged on the waterfront," Mack said.

Professors Margaret Levi and David Olson, of the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies at the University of Washington, Seattle, made a presentation on union democracy. Olson gave an in-depth review of how the ILWU has dealt with democratic procedures within its organization and with its affiliations with other union federations and how the rank and file have participated in the union's democratic processes over time. Levi presented a comparative study she did of the effectiveness of the ILWU's democratic process versus the idealized American version, concluding that the ILWU model works best when the rank-and-file participate.

"The union will make us strong, but it's up to the rank and file to make the union strong," she said.

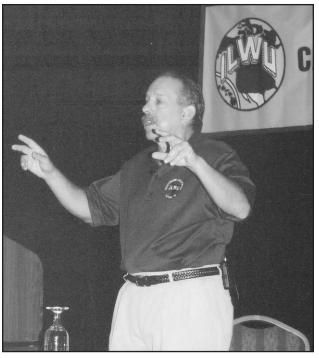
Bill Ward, president of the San Francisco Bay Area Pensioners and a Coast Committeeman for more than 20 years under Harry Bridges and Jimmy Herman, emphasized the importance of rank-and-file participation for success. As difficult and hazardous as the 2002 negotiations were, 2008 negotiations will be harder.

"You all have a job to do," Ward told the members. "If you have the discipline of the rank and file and the ranks design your programs at the Caucus and the International Convention, you will win."

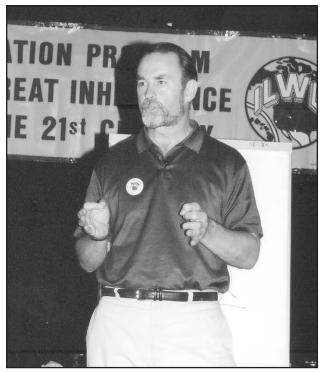
Moved by the day's discussions, Bill Fletcher tossed his prepared remarks on "Social Justice Unionism" and spoke passionately and bluntly about the situation unions now face.

"The framework of trade unionism we've been working under is dead," Fletcher said. "Capital has no interest in labor as a partner any more—it wants to annihilate us."

Capital is being reshaped in the era of globalization. The Group of 8, the eight industrialized nations that meet to decide the fate of the world's economy (Fletcher called them the Gang of 8), currently have two factions that could be seen in the build up to the Iraq War. Germany and France, the multi-lateralists, wanted the U.S. to check in with the gang before moving, but Bush's faction will act alone. Both sides want to dominate the world. Kerry is with the multi-lateralists, what Fletcher called the "velvet-covered steel bat" group, but at least workers have some space in his scenario. Too often union leaders in the U.S. don't speak out against American imperialist foreign policies, Fletcher said, and the



Longshore Local 13 President and Education Committee member Dave Arian.



Organizing Director Peter Olney.

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# review the past, build the future

labor movement has to change this.

International Secretary-Treasurer Willie Adams followed Fletcher to re-emphasize his point.

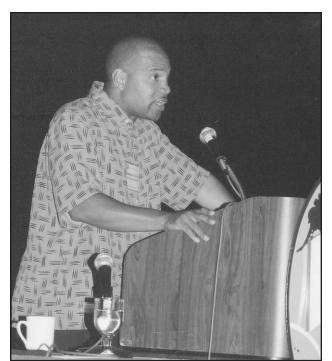
"This is a call to conscience," Adams said. "We spoke out against Vietnam, Korea, apartheid and Iraq, We have been a progressive union, but now we are being called to a bigger challenge."

Tuesday morning President Spinosa, Vice President McEllrath and Coast Committeeman Joe Wenzl gave a PowerPoint presentation on how the Longshore Division works, the different locals and contracts for longshore, clerks and walking bosses, the Coast Committee officer structure and the Coast Committee's functions in administering the contract with arbitrations with the employers, serving as Trustees of the Pension and Welfare Plan and how the Coast Pro Rata (Longshore Division dues) are administered.

Foreman's Local 91 President and Education Committee member Sanders Robinson gave a power point presentation of the history of walking boss locals in the ILWU. The walking bosses in California, Oregon and along the Columbia River in Washington remained in their local longshore locals until 1947 and the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act. Only those in the Puget Sound had their own local in the early years, and it remained an ILA local long after most of the other West Coast locals turned ILWU. Under Taft-Hartley employers were not obligated to bargain with supervisory personnel. But through strikes and work actions the foremen's local in Northern California gained recognition in 1947 and the Southern California local did so in 1948. By 1958 the foremen locals in the Columbia River area and the Puget Sound gained recognition as separate ILWU locals.

Pensioner Al Perisho, a retired marine clerk out of Local 63 in Southern California and a former International Executive Board member, recounted the history of ILWU clerks.

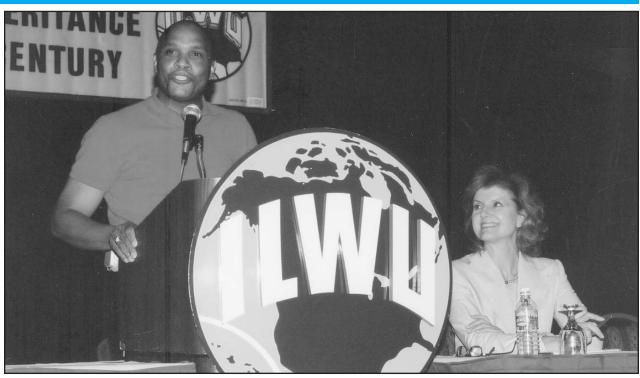
In 1945 clerks from Local 40 (Portland), Local 34 (Bay Area) and Local 63 (Wilmington) met to draft their first separate coastwise clerk agreement. But the then-employer group, the Waterfront



Foremen's Local 91 President and Education Committee member Saunders Robinson.



Clerk's Local 63 Secretary and Legislative Action Committee member Peter Peyton.



International Secretary-Treasurer Willie Adams and Arianna Huffington.

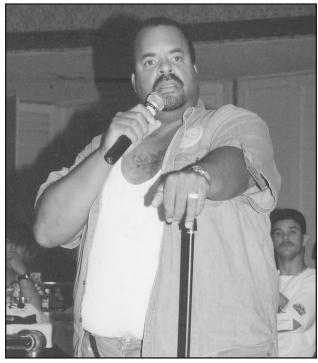
Employers Association, resisted. The 1948 strike was won and settled with the new employer group, the PMA, in December, but the clerks didn't get their first coastwise agreement signed until March 1949. Welfare benefits were applied coastwise, but wages and conditions were set on a local level. In 1958 job descriptions and work opportunity rules were negotiated coastwise and in 1965 Local 34 started the first transfer of longshore workers to clerks. The one-door policy-clerks registration would only come from longshore locals—was established in the 1980s. This close association of longshore workers and clerks is beneficial, Perisho observed, especially now when clerks need the muscle of longshore in the enforcement of clerks' rights under the 2002 contract provision covering the introduction on new technology.

The unique experience of Hawaii longshore workers was presented in a video on the state's 1949 longshore strike that was produced by the University of Hawaii's Center for Labor Education and Research with the cooperation of ILWU Hawaii Local 142. Hawaii longshore workers were making nearly 25 percent less than their West Coast counterparts while doing the same work for the same employers. They demanded something a little short of equal pay. Still, the employers refused and refused arbitration. As the strike dragged on, the employers hired scabs to work the ships and the governor signed the Dock Seizure Act allowing the state to take over and operate the docks. The union was redbaited and slandered. But the workers held out as the union organized soup kitchens and hunting and fishing committees to feed the workers. After 157 days Bridges negotiated a contract with wage increases and the strike was settled.

International Vice President, Hawaii Wesley Furtado said that longshore is the only part of Local 142 that negotiates a statewide contract. Oahu Business Agent Tyrone Tahara acknowledged that the West Coast still sets the guidelines for Hawaii longshore bargaining.

Frank Kennedy, Secretary of the Vacouver, British Columbia Pensioners Association and longtime ILWU Canada Secretary-Treasurer, spoke of the Canadian longshore experience. The first attempts to build longshore unions in the early 1900s had little success and the post-WWI strikes were broken, leading to company unions running the docks through the 1920s and early 1930s. In 1934 longshore workers started their own new union and in 1936 they signed a five-year contract with employers. In 1937 the ILWU chartered its first locals in Canada and they grew in the early 1940s. In 1959 the ILWU Canadian Area was established and set out to get all its locals under the same contract and organize all waterfront workers. Since then the Canadian longshore locals have had more and more government interference in their contract bargaining, but have continued to make progress.

Harvey Schwartz, labor historian, curator of the ILWU's Oral History Project and author of "The March Inland," the definitive book on the ILWU warehouse origins, told the story of how the new West Coast longshore union turned to organizing warehouse workers. They immediately started organizing waterfront warehouses, but soon found the only way to protect the wages and conditions they had won was to spread them to warehouses further inland. When longshore workers went out on strike in 1936-37, the unionized warehouse workers went out as well to make sure they



Seminar participant Keith Shenklin of Clerk's Local 34.



International Affairs Director Ray Familathe.

weren't forced to handle diverted cargo. And when the Bay Area warehouse workers settled a month before longshore did, the warehouse local voted to give money to help those still out.

By organizing warehouse, the longshore workers took strategic action to protect their flanks and build union density—the percentage of the industry that was unionized. With union density declining in the U.S. and especially in the rapidly changing cargo-handling industry, the ILWU needs a similar strategy today, Organizing Director Peter Olney said in his presentation.

"We have reached a point where we will have to organize or die," Olney said. The organizing will need to be done at points along the cargo-handling chain where the ILWU can build leverage, and it

# ILWU election endorsements Nov. 2, 2004

President of the United States:John Kerry	19No Endorsement	41Fran Pavley (D)
Vice President of the United States:John Edwards	20	42
Oregon endorsements	22No Endorsement	44Carol Liu (D)
United States Senator:Ron Wyden	23	45
Representative in Congress  1st District:	25	47
3rd District:Earl Blumenauer	26Cynthia M. Matthews (D)	48Mark Ridley-Thomas (D)
4th District:	27	49Judy Chu (D) 50Hector de la Torre (D)
Statewide Candidates	29	51Jerome E. Horton (D)
Secretary of State:	30	52
State Treasurer:	32Hilda L. Solis (D)	54Betty Karnette (D)
Legislative Candidates	33	55
State Senator, District 1:	35	57Ed Chavez (D)
State Senator, District 4:Floyd Prozanski	36	58
State Senator, District 5:	37Juanita Millender-McDonald (D) 38Grace Flores Napolitano (D)	59
State Senator, District 14:	39Linda T. Sanchez (D)	61
State Senator, District 18:	40	62
State Senator, District 23:	42No Endorsement	64Robert Melsh (D)
State Senator, District 25:Laurie Monnes Anderson	43	65Rita Ramirez-Dean (D) 66Laurel Nicholson (D)
State Senator, District 27:	45	67David Silva (D)
State Senator, District 29:David Nelson	46	68
State Representative, District 5:Peter Buckley State Representative, District 6:John Doty	47	69
State Representative, District 7:Shirley Cairns	49Mike Byron (D)	71Bea Foster (D)
State Representative, District 8:	50	72
State Representative, District 10:	52No Endorsement	74
State Representative, District 11:	53	75
State Representative, District 12:E. Terry Beyer State Representative, District 13:Robert Ackerman	California State Senate (District /Candidate)	77
State Representative, District 14:Bev Ficek	I	78Patty Davis (D)
State Representative, District 15:	5Michael J. Machado (D)	79
State Representative, District 18:Jim Gilbert	7Tom Torlakson (D)	
State Representative, District 19:Brian Grisham State Representative, District 22:Betty Komp	9	Ballot Proposition Recommendations  1A Protection of Local Gov't RevenuesNo Recommendation
State Representative, District 23:Dick Reynolds	13Elaine Alquist (D)	59 Access to Government InformationYES
State Representative, District 27:	15Margaret A. Pinard (D) 17Jonathon Daniel Kraut (D)	60 Primary Elections (No Open Primaries)YES 60A Surplus Property SalesNO
State Representative, District 28:Jeff Barker State Representative, District 29:Chuck Riley	19Paul Graber (D)	61 Children's Hospital ProjectsYES
State Representative, District 31:Betsy Johnson	21	62 Primary Elections (Open Primaries)NO 63 Mental Health Services Expansion and FundingYES
State Representative, District 32:Deborah Boone State Representative, District 33:Mitch Greenlick	25	64 Limitations on Enforcement of Unfair Business Competition Laws
State Representative, District 34:Brad Avakian	27	SE Local Covernment Funding and State Mandatas NO
State Representative, District 35:Larry Galizio State Representative, District 36:Mary Nolan	29	65 Local Government Funding and State MandatesNO 66 Limitations on "Three Strikes" LawYES
State Representative, District 37:	33	67 Telephone Surcharge for Emergency and Medical Services
State Representative, District 38:	35	68 Tribal Gaming Compacts (Racetracks & Card Clubs Measure)
State Representative, District 40:	39Christine Kehoe (D)	NO
State Representative, District 41:	California State Assembly (District /Candidate)	69 Collection of DNA Samples for State DNA DatabaseNO 70 Tribal Gaming Compacts (Agua Caliente Measure)NO
State Representative, District 42:Diane Rosenbaum State Representative, District 43:Chip Shields	I Patty Berg (D)	71 Stem Cell Research and Funding RecommendationNO
State Representative, District 44:	2	72 Referendum Petition to Overturn Amendments to Health Care Coverage Requirements (Health Insurance Act of 2003) .YES
State Representative, District 45:Jackie Dingfelder State Representative, District 46:Steve March	4	
State Representative, District 47:Jeff Merkley	5	Solano County recommendations
State Representative, District 48:Mike Schaufler State Representative, District 50:Jim Buck	7	Vacaville City CouncilCharles Dimmick/Steve Wilkins
State Representative, District 51:Kathryn Firestone	8Lois Wolk (D)	Rio Vista City CouncilSam Bhakta/Janice Vick Suisun City CouncilSamuel Derting/Mike Segala
State Representative, District 54:Judy Stiegler State Representative, District 58:Bob Jenson	9	Dixon City Council
State Representative, District 59:	IIJoe Canciamilla (D)	
Statewide Ballot Measures	12Leland Y. Yee (D)   13	Napa County recommendations
Measure #34—Timber Production/ConservationOPPOSE	14Loni Hancock (D)	American Canyon City CouncilGudy Coffee/Joan Bennett
Measure #35—Limits Healthcare Negligence Damages OPPOSE	15	Sacramento-Yolo Counties
Measure #37—Pay for Reduced Property ValuesOPPOSE Measure #38—Abolishes SAIFOPPOSE	17Barbara S. Matthews (D)	Sacramento County Board of Supervisors .Roberta MacGloshan
California endorsements	18	W. Sacramento City Counci .Bill Kristoff / Mark Montemayor
United States Senator Barbara Boxer (D)	20	Contro Costo Countr
United States Depresentatives in Congress (Biship)	21	Contra Costa County
United States Representatives in Congress (District—Candidate)	22	Antioch MayorDon Fruetar
1	24	City CouncilReegie Moore/Brian Kalinowski
3	25	Concord
4Bill Kirby (l)	27John Laird (D)	City CouncilWilliam Shinn/Harmon West
5	28	El Cerrito
7	30Nicole M. Parra (D)	City CouncilLetitia Moore/Jan Bridges/William Jones
8Nancy Pelosi (D) 9Barbara Lee (D)	31	Hercules
10Ellen O. Tauscher (D)	33Tom Hutchings (D)	City CouncilEd Ballico/Kris Valstad/Charlene Raines
I	34	Martinez
13Fortney "Pete" Stark (D)	36	Treasurer
14	37	City Council
16Zoe Lofgren (D)	39	Pittsburg
17	40Lloyd E. Levine (D)	City CouncilLou Rostas

Pleasant Hill	Prop L Use of Hotel Tax to Preserve Movie TheatersNO	3rd –		Alex Wood
City CouncilJohn Hanecak/Sue Angeli	Prop N Withdraw US Military Personnal from IraqYES			Timm Ormsby
Pinole	Prop 0 Use of Sales Tax FundsYES	14h		Lisa Brown
City Council	Prop AA BART G.O. BondYES	4th –		James Peck
only obtained				Tim Hattenburg
Richmond	Santa Clara County	5th –		Barbara DeMichele
City CouncilEddrick Osborne/John Marquez/	Measure C Binding ArbitrationNO			Jeffrey Griffin
Andress Soto/Tony Thurmond	0,, 10, 1		Senate:	Kathleen Huckabay
	City of San Jose	6th –		Don Barlow
San Pablo	Measure S Library and Reading Protection Measure YES			Douglas Dobbins
City CouncilSharon Brown/Joe Gomes/Leonard McNeil		7.1		Laurie Dolan
	San Mateo County	7th –		Jack Miller Bill Hinkle
Special Districts	Pacifica	8th –		Shirley Hankins*
BART District #3Bob Franklin	City CouncilPete De Jarnart/Cal Hinton	oui –		Jerad Koepp
AC Transit At Large DistrictChris Peeples	P. J. O.			John David
AC Transit Ward #1Joe Wallace	Daly City	9th –		Eileen Macoll
CCC SanitaryMarco Menesini	City CouncilDenise Kelly/Sal Torres		Senate:	
	Menio Park	10th –	House 1:	Nancy Conard
	City CouncilKelly Fergusson/Mike Lambert		House 2:	Mark Norton
Initiatives and Bond Measures	ony bounds			Mary Margaret Haugen
Measure BB Parcel Tax for AC TransitYES	East Palo Alto	11th –		Zack Hudgins
Measure J to Renew 1/2-cent Transit Expansion TaxYES	City CouncilRuben Abrica			Bob Hasegawa
	Measures A/B/C/D/E/G/H/I/J/M/N/P/Q/RYES	12th –		Margarita Prentice Tony Zinman
Alameda County		12th – 13th –		
BART District #3Robert Franklin	San Joaquin-Calaveras Counties	14th –		Clarence Gipson
DANI DISHIGL#3	Calaveras County	16th –		
AC Transit	District #2 Board of SupervisorsSteve Wilensky			
District #2	<b></b>	17th –	House 1:	Ilene Ferrell
District #4Dennis Hayashi	San Joaquin County			Deb Wallace
At Large	District #1 Board of SupervisorsSteve Gutierrez			
	0	18th –		Pam Brokaw
Regional Ballot Measures	Stockton			Brian Beecher
AA YES	Lincoln Unified School BoardDavid Gould	10+6		David Seabrook
BBYES	Humboldt-Del Norte Counties	19th –		Brian HatfieldBrian Blake
CC	Supervisor, Del Norte County			
rriE3	Supervisor, Del Norte CountyLeslie McNamer	20th –		loel Staloch
Berkeley	Arcata City Council	20111		Chuck Bojarski
Fund Essential Services: J, K LYES	Arcata City Council	21st -		
City Council District #2Darryl Moore	Arcata City CouncilMichael Machi			Brian Sullivan
City Council Dist. #3 (dual) .Maudelle Shirek/Max Anderson	Eureka City Council	22nd –	House 1:	Brendan Williams
City Council District #5Laurie Capitrelli	Humboldt Bay Municipal Water District .Kaitlin Sopoci-Belknap			Sam Hunt
City Council District #6Betty Olds		001		Karen Fraser
Ocatro Valley Conitory District	Sonoma/Marin Counties	23rd –		Sherry Appleton
Castro Valley Sanitary District Sanitary DistrictTim McGowan/Dennis Wacspi	Marin Co. Measure A Transportation TaxYES			Terrell DucheanePhil Rockefeller
Samilary District	Judge, Marin CoFaye D'Opal	24th –		Kevin Van DeWege
Emeryville	Supervisor, Marin Co. District #3Charles McGlashen	25th –		Ron Morris
Measure TNO		20111		Dawn Morrell
Measure UNO	Petaluma Measure K High School Parcel TaxYES			Jim Kastama
	Petaluma City Council	26th -	House 1:	Patricia Lantz
Alameda	Cindy Thomas/Mike O'Brien		House 2:	Derek Kilmer
City Council	Sebastopol Measure WYES	27th –		Dennis Flanagan
Blacconton	Sebastopol Measure T, Sales TaxYES			Jeannie Darneille
Pleasanton MayorJennifer Hosterman	Sebastopol City CouncilSam Pierce/Craig Litwin	0041-		Debbie Regala
mayorjenniler nosterman	consistency council and the control of the control	28th –		Deborah SrailTami Green
San Leandro	Sonoma Measure M, Transit Sales TaxYES			Helen McGovern
City Council .Surlene Grant/Tony Santos/Joyce Starosciak		29th –		Steve Conway
, , ,	Santa Rosa Measure 0YES	Lotti		Steve Kirby
Fremont	Santa Rosa City CouncilCaroline Banuelos/Don	30th -		
MayorBob Wasserman	South Rose In College Record of Trustees Mounts Von Duran			Joseph Henry
City CouncilBob Wieckowski	Santa Rosa Jr. College Board of TrusteesMarsha Vas Dupre	32nd –		Maralyn Chase
	Healdsburg City CouncilMike Maguire	33rd –	House 1:	Shay Schual-Berke
San Francisco City & County				
			House 2:	Dave Upthegrove
Board of Supervisors	Mendocino Supervisor District #1Joe Louis Wildman	34th –	House 2: House 1:	Eileen Cody
Board of Supervisors District 1	Mendocino Supervisor District #1Joe Louis Wildman Mendocino Supervisor District #2Richard Shoemaker		House 2: House 1: House 2:	Eileen Cody
District 2		34th — 35th —	House 2: House 1: House 2: House 1:	Eileen CodyJoe McDermottKathy Haigh
District 1	Mendocino Supervisor District #2Richard Shoemaker		House 2: House 1: House 2: House 1: House 2:	
District 1	Mendocino Supervisor District #2Richard Shoemaker  Washington State endorsements	35th –	House 2: House 1: House 2: House 1: House 2: House 2:	Eileen CodyJoe McDermottKathy Haigh
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### Review the past, build the future

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will have to involve local elected officers and rank-and-file, he said.

Wednesday morning started with a discussion of the longshore contract. Education Committee member Brad Clark of Local 4 compared the Mechanization & Modernization agreement to the 2002 contract. What was revolutionary in 1960 was the changes in cargo handling brought about by containerization and the M&M contract negotiated how the new work would be done. In 2002 the contract worked out changes in information and documentation handling brought about by computer technology.

Local 13 President and Education Committee member Dave Arian then discussed the evolution of the contract and how you could tell the history of the Longshore Division through the changes in the contract. He walked the participants through the early years of job actions on the docks in 1934-1948; through the 1948 strike and Taft-Hartley injunction and the new arbitration system that still exists; the big work rule changes brought by containerization and the M&M Agreement of 1960; to the introduction of the new computer technology framework of the 2002 contract.

Then Bill Ward and pensioner Art Almeida recounted personal experiences as officers during and after the M&M agreement and the Coast Committee, Spinosa, McEllrath, Wenzl and Ray Ortiz, Jr. commented on the 2002 contract.

Local 54 President and chair of the Education Committee Dennis Brueckner told the story of how the ILWU took the inadequate safety standards on docks before 1934 and turned them into a collectively bargained document that evolved into the Pacific Coast Marine Safety Code. It has been and continues to be changed to reflect the changing working place.

Coast Arbitrator John Kagel, son of the original Coast Arbitrator, Sam Kagel, who held the position from 1948-2002, impressed upon the participants the importance and value of the longshore contract.

"Two guys got killed and a whole city had to shut down to get your contract," Kagel said. "You should know what's in it in detail."

Kagel explained the grievance and arbitration procedure and how to

use it and not use it for the good of the union.

"You have the best and if you don't keep it that way, it's your fault, no one else's," he said.

That afternoon gadfly political commentator and former California gubernatorial candidate Arianna Huffington dropped by to encourage union activists to organize and work to defeat Bush. While acknowledging not everyone is completely thrilled with John Kerry as an alternative, she advised, "When your house is on fire, it is not time to talk about remodeling."

Huffington charmed her audience with her repertoire of one-line zingers like "We have to give the Democrats a spine transplant" and "George W. Bush has nothing to fear except the end of fear itself." She autographed copies of her new book "Fanatics and Fools: The Game Plan for Winning Back America" for participants and sold out all the copies she brought.

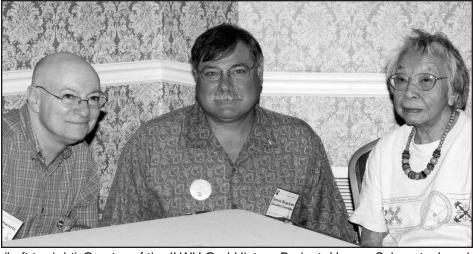
ILWU attorney Rob Remar followed with an historical overview of U.S. labor law. He prefaced his remarks with his usual disclaimer.

"The law is not your friend," Remar said. "In the U.S. it is adopted, created, molded and interpreted by those in control."

Remar explained how workers had no legal rights to bargain collectively until the National Labor Relations Act was passed in 1935. This led to an explosion of union organizing in the U.S. But after WWII and the defeat of fascism in Europe and Asia, the 1947 Republican Congress brought the first moves in that direction to the U.S. with the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act that restricted many of the rights workers had won in the 1930s. Along with the anti-communism of the time, militant unions were targeted and the labor movement declined.

The harassment continues as witnessed by Bush's intervention into the 2002 longshore bargaining, the Patriot Act of 2001 requiring background checks on certain transportation workers and the new Maritime Transportation Security Act setting out draconian restrictions on activities in ports that "interfere with commerce."

ILWU Legislative Director Lindsay McLaughlin gave a Powerpoint presentation on how the union's



(Left to right) Curator of the ILWU Oral History Project, Harvey Schwartz, Local 54 President and Chair of the Education Committee Dennis Brueckner, and ILWU Hawaii Local 142 former social worker Ah Quon McElrath.

Washington, D.C. lobbying office functions and a quick summary of the issues affecting longshore he and his staff have been working on.

Local 63 Secretary and member of the Coast Legislative Action Committee Peter Peyton presented the Longshore Division's campaign strategy for the November 2004 elections. Other members of the Legislative Action Committee, Lawrence Thibeaux (Local 10) and Max Vekich (Local 52), explained the work they have been doing in Washington, D.C. and where the union needs to go in the immediate future with its lobbying work.

Ah Quon McElrath followed up the next morning with lessons from the ILWU's political work in Hawaii, always following the adage of rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies. Union organizers registered workers to vote in the plantation camps, elected their own representatives and then pushed through legislation for their causes. They passed laws legalizing union organizing for agricultural workers, raising the minimum wage and instituting temporary workers disability and prepaid health care.

"We have to let the politicians know what we want or we'll get stuck with Democrats who act like Republicans," she said.

Peter Turnbull, a professor at the University of Cardiff who specializes in longshore labor relations, addressed historic trends in international ports and longshore unions. Longshore work in the early 20th century was casual work, with shape-ups, low pay and dangerous conditions. Unionization and government regulation happened in many places during the 1930s and 1940s. When containerization hit the industry, many docker unions entered into "productivity bargaining" like the ILWU did with the M&M agreement, making deals for higher wages, benefits and pensions, as well as for training on the new machines and getting various income protection

Now world ports are going through a deregulation restructuring that is consolidating the industry, with five companies moving 40 percent of international cargo. These companies want to eliminate unions and hiring halls, leaving them a core of highly skilled steady workers, a pool of casual workers to use as needed and the "flexibility" to assign shifts and make work rules that suit their profitability. And their power is growing as globalization makes the shipping industry more essential than ever to the world economy.

ILWU International Affairs Director Ray Familathe added that long-shore workers should be apprehensive about these tendencies.

"I call 'flexibility' the 'F-word,'" Familathe said, "because you will get..."

Familathe showed a film about longshore work at modern mega-ports like Singapore and Rotterdam. The

process is so mechanized one hardly sees a worker involved at all. In Rotterdam a single robotized UTR drives a "train" of five containers along rails. Since this automation hit the port, the local there has gone from 7,000 to 2,000 longshore workers.

Mick Doleman, the Maritime Union of Australia's Assistant National Secretary, and John Maitland, National Secretary of the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU), the Australian miners union, closed the event talking about international solidarity and near future plans for it. Doleman recounted how the ILWU helped out the MUA in 1998 by refusing to work a scab-loaded ship, the Columbus Canada, which came to the Port of LA when the Australian government and employers locked out the wharfies there. Likewise, the MUA supported the ILWU throughout 2002 when the employers in collusion with the Bush government locked out ILWU longshore workers.

Maitland said that miners and dockers have long been the vanguard of the labor movement and have an industrial connection since a billion tons of mined products are transported every year, the vast majority by ship. The two Australian unions hosted a Maritime and Miners Conference in 2002 to develop strategies to deal with the giant global corporations that are their employers and the ILWU will host the next such conference in Southern California in May 2005.

Maitland noted that this year marked the 20th anniversary of when British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher busted the country's miners strike and union.

"Thatcher and Reagan worked together to try to destroy the world union movement," Maitland said. "They're both gone and we're still here."

One measure of the conference's success was that nearly 100 participants chose to stay over an additional day to take part in an expanded meeting of the Education Committee to discuss how to take the information and materials they received in Palm Springs and put them to use in educating and mobilizing other members back home.

The Longshore History and Traditions Conference was developed and produced by the Coast Education Committee (chair, Dennis Brueckner, Local 54; Dave Arian, Local 13; Brad Clark, Local 4; Saunders Robinson, Local 91; Darren Williams, Local 7; Al Perisho, PCPA; Art Almeida, PCPA and coordinated by ILWU Director of Educational Services and Librarian Gene Vrana.

Many of the presentations made at the History and Traditions Conference are available on the ILWU's web site at <a href="http://www.ilwu.org/longshore/his-torytraditionsconf.cfm">http://www.ilwu.org/longshore/his-torytraditionsconf.cfm</a>

### **Advanced LEAD Institute**

International Secretary Treasurer William Adams is announcing the first ILWU Advanced Leadership Education and Development Institute (LEAD III) to be held in Palm Springs, Calif., Jan. 31-Feb. 4, 2005.

The curriculum will focus on collective bargaining, from the nuts and bolts of developing contract proposals and hammering out an agreement at the table, to ILWU principles of rank-and-file control of the process and membership mobilization in defense of the union. Presentations will include labor laws affecting collective bargaining and an examination of how today's economic and political environment affects ILWU negotiations.

Instructors will be drawn from the ranks of active and retired members as well as staff from the International, the AFL-CIO, and the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

Application will be made to the Titled Officers, who may seek input from the applicant's local union. In addition, the local union may nominate participants, who will also be required to fill out the LEAD application. For reasons of space and diversity, we anticipate having to limit each affiliate to two participants, but we will create a waiting list in case of cancellations or non-participation by any locals. Applications and registration forms have been sent to each Local and IBU Region by fax and mail, and are available on the ILWU website (www.ilwu.org).

Participation will be limited to a maximum of 75 members of the ILWU and the IBU who have also been active in their ILWU local or IBU region as committee members, stewards, trustees, executive board members, officers, or caucus and convention delegates. Priority consideration will be given to members who have participated in either of the previous LEAD programs (1998 and 2002), and served (or are about to serve) on an ILWU contract negotiating committee.

Completed applications must be returned by fax or mail by Dec. 3 2004 to: LEAD Applications, c/o William Adams, ILWU Secretary-Treasurer, 1188 Franklin Street, San Francisco, CA 94109 (Fax: 415-775-1302).

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# FAR PEOPLE

# Brother Jerry Martin killed in car wreck

LWU International Representative Jerry Martin died suddenly in a car wreck Sept. 15. He was 57. When Martin was born, his family lived in a one-room house his dad helped build on Grace Street in Fresno. A half-century later, Grace Street still has not been paved. Chickens flap next to the small houses and trailers squatting under the flat San Joaquin Valley sky.

"Jerry never forgot where he came from," said ILWU International Organizing Director Peter Olney. "He was a multi-faceted man whose achievements became all the more amazing when you looked at his roots."

Martin's dad, a heavy-equipment operator, walked out on the family when Jerry was about 10. His mom had already been in and out of the hospital for years with nervous breakdowns. They lived with his grandmother in Fresno's tight-knit Portuguese neighborhood, A Cidade. When she could, his mom worked as a maid in local motels and later in fruit packing houses. Martin got a paper route when he was just a kid and never quit working after that. He worked all the way through high school and went out for track too, acing sprints and hurdles. He graduated from Roosevelt High in 1965.

A music teacher gave Martin a plastic flute to play towards the end of fourth grade. He showed enough chops to be chosen for more lessons—and so began 40 years of making music. He played trumpet, French horn and guitar, majoring in music at Fresno City College and then at Fresno State. After college he moved to San Francisco and then to Maui, looking for a better place than the wild and crazy City by the Bay to raise his young daughter. Starting in 1978 he played first chair French horn in the newly formed Maui Symphony. In 1986, the Symphony chose him as its music director and conductor.

"He was an amazing French horn player who could've made it in a major orchestra," said Lisa Owen, who was the Maui Symphony's principal tuba player. "He hadn't had a lot



Jerry Martin

of conducting experience, but he learned on the job," she said. "He did that all through his life."

Martin also drew high-powered musicians to come play with symphony, which then was a community orchestra with no auditions required. "People would be coming to Honolulu and he would get them to come over here too," Owen said. "He was so charismatic he just talked them into it."

Owen played with Martin in other ensembles as well, including the Original Sandwich Isles Swing Band and the Valley Isles Brass Quintet, and the two toured Maui with the "Artists in the Schools" program, demonstrating brass instruments to children of all ages.

Even gifted music directors can't

always make a living from their art, so Martin worked first as an auto-body rust-proofer and then as a hotel maintenance painter. In 1981 he landed a gig with the El Dorado Resort, which was organized by ILWU Local 142. Soon his co-workers elected him shop steward, then unit chair. The local tapped him to do some organizing on lost-time, then brought him on staff in 1991 when new hotels were popping up all over Hawaii. Martin helped organize the Maui Prince, the Ritz-Carleton, the Grand Wailea and other properties before moving back to the mainland in 1997.

"His whole heart was in organizing," said Local 142 Business Agent Jerrybeth Demello, who was unit chair at the Westin Maui when Martin worked for the El Dorado. "He would take it very hard when he lost, because he worked so hard."

While most people would buy food for a meeting, Martin would cook up a big pot of Portuguese bean soup or some other dish. "He wanted people to have the experience of good food and get into the motion of the discussion," Demello said.

"No matter who he was talking to—what nationality, what race, what religion—he could relate to them and explain what unionism is," said Local 142 Maui Division Director Willie Kennison.

Hawaii's mix of cultures made this flexibility essential, Kennison said, but it also helped Martin in his job as an International organizer. He worked on drives with all kinds of workers and all divisions of the union up and down the Coast—bicycle messengers and telefundraisers, warehouse workers and barge operators, office clericals and workers at an inter-modal yard.

Many people Martin helped organize came to the memorial the union held for him Sept. 22, as did several dozen ILWU officers and rank-and-filers, co-workers and friends. Barbara Gunther, a driver who worked with Martin on several San Francisco messenger campaigns before she moved away, drove all night from Eugene,

Oregon to be there.

"He drove all over for us," Gunther said. "He always had our backs."

Longshore Local 4 President Brad Clark and Vice President Cager Clabaugh flew down from Vancouver, Wash. to pay their respects to the man who'd rescued their effort to organize auto detailers four and a half years ago.

"Jerry would be in the hall every morning, making signs, talking with people, working out what had to happen next," Clabaugh said. "He showed up, saved our drive, and made a huge difference in the lives of those 65 workers."

Others at the memorial echoed that point. People who worked with Martin knew him as careful with details and rock-solid reliable. You could count on him to take care of business, whether that was schlepping sound equipment or leafleting at 5 a.m. in the rain or negotiating with a recalcitrant employer.

"Here he was an organizer, but he looked like one of us, acted like one of us, felt like one of us," warehouse Local 17 Secretary-Treasurer Jack Wyatt said. "He'd do whatever, and he had that warmth about him, that quality. He'd bring things out of you that you didn't know you had in you."

On house calls, talking to potential new members, Martin could win over the most skeptical by just telling his own story in his typical low-key manner.

"People believed him because they knew he'd been there," attorney Bill Carder said.

If you worked with Martin you also knew his quirky side—how he showed up for work at 5 a.m. when he couldn't sleep, used feng shui to arrange his office and did biofeedback to help calm his sky-high blood-pressure. He wasn't one to brag on himself, though. Until you knew him for a while, you wouldn't know he'd conducted a symphony. Maybe you'd find out he'd been a hurdler, stared down an armed robber at an all-night gas station or remodeled the bathroom in the house in Benicia that was his pride and joy. You were more likely to hear about his wife and daughter, Jan and Jennifer, who lit his life, or get a dryly funny story—or have him ask you how you were doing, or what you thought about whatever he was working on at the time.

"Despite having many more years of experience than me, he always treated my ideas with great enthusiasm," former ILWU Columbia River Organizer Vanessa Veselka wrote. "He was one of the hardest-working and humblest men I've known."

Martin's San Francisco memorial ended with everyone in the room on their feet, singing all six verses of "Solidarity Forever."

"His life's goal was to make a better world for all of us," Jan Martin wrote later in a letter she sent to the ILWU. "If you ever hear a voice over your shoulder, telling you to keep on keepin' on when you don't believe it's possible, know that Jerry Martin is still on your side."

-Marcy Rein

Martin's family has requested that contributions in his memory go to America Coming Together, a group that is mobilizing to send volunteers to swing states to defeat Bush. You can send checks to ACT at 1120 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 1120, Washington, D.C., 20036, or visit them on line at <a href="https://www.actforvictory.org">www.actforvictory.org</a>.



Jerry Martin (right) played a key part in the effort to organize bike messengers and drivers in San Francisco. Here he joins UltraEx workers on a picket line during their campaign for a first contract with warehouse Local 6.

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