



The DISPATCHER

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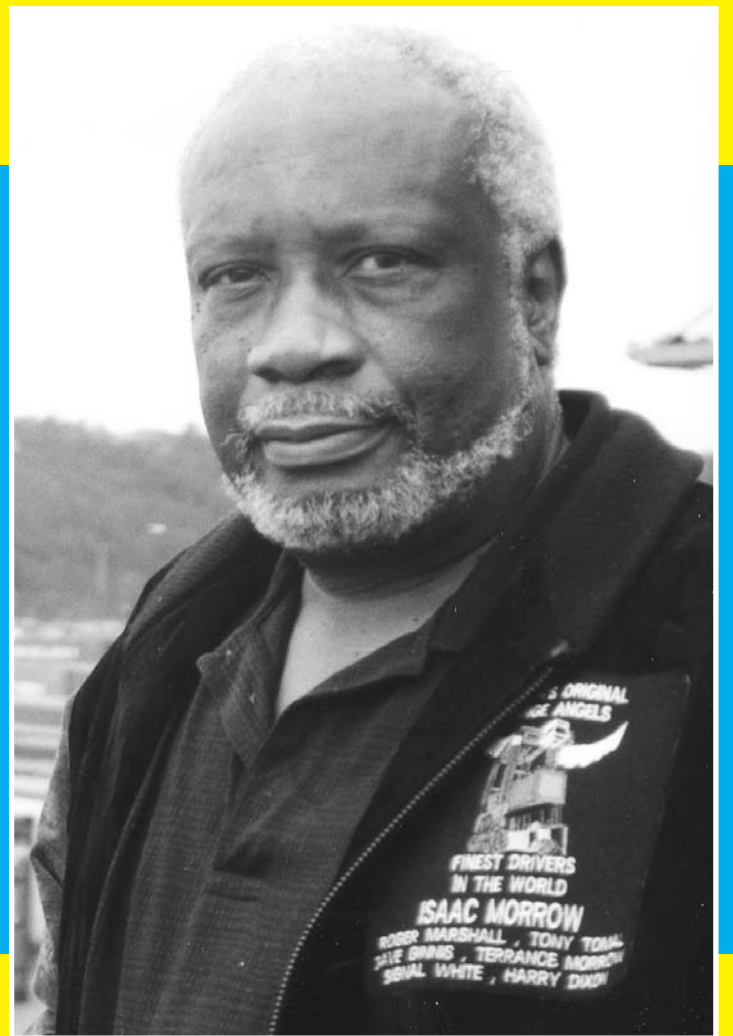
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Inside Line

A CASE FOR HOPE

Take faith, take a deep breath, take the challenge. Bush can be beaten and we can make it happen.

Recent polls show Bush's popularity at an all time low, with more people saying he shouldn't serve another term than those who say they like how he's doing and that either Kerry or Edwards could beat him now by double digits. Exit polling during Democratic primaries shows more people making their decision based on who they think can beat Bush than on any other issue.

The anti-Bush movement is growing wider and deeper as job losses accumulate under globalization, as health care and pensions are lost to corporate profit, as the "economic recovery" appears invisible to most people and as the Iraq war chews up and spits out not just the lives of our sons and daughters, our husbands and wives, our fathers and mothers, our families and friends, but also every hope of improving our lives and those of generations to come.

This is one factor Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz, et al did not figure into their calculations. Just how much does hope—the belief that somehow we will get through this and be better off someday, hopefully soon—matter to people living on the edge?

Bush could count on the support of the corporate mass media and he could manipulate fear to keep people in line. But when they lose all hope that tomorrow may bring a brighter day—watch out—they just might turn around and surprise you.

So now we see the Bush PR machine switching gears and going on the defensive—something they don't have much practice in and it shows. The weakness of their position makes them cave into creating an investigative committee on their Iraqi intelligence failures, hoping that having Bush appoint every member, diluting it by expanding its investigation to all intelligence matters and having its report due after November 2004 would throw off the scent of their bull. Now we see all kinds of new reasons being argued for the Iraq war since the WMDs, the ones Colin Powell showed us aerial photos of, can't be found. And now we see the PR machine release Bush's total National Guard record knowing it doesn't prove their point, but hoping the sheer mass of records will make the matter too complex for public attention.

But the accumulation of all the blatant lies and manipulations, and more importantly, how the policies behind those lies and manipulations devastated workers, their families and communities, hits people on a gut level you can't put a poll percentage number on.

So, yes, Bush is vulnerable and we can send him packing in November. But we can't fall into the trap of over-confidence. We can win, but many things can and will happen between now and November. Only our hard work can assure those things will turn our way.

—Steve Stallone
Editor

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

The employers' plan to shred the longshore contract

By James Spinosa
ILWU International President

If you think ratifying a contract with longshore employers that guarantees ILWU jurisdiction is a lock on your job, think again. The shipping and stevedoring companies that make up the Pacific Maritime Association—the employer group under contract with the ILWU—are setting up another organization designed to make an end run around your legal contract and outsource your job.

The ILWU contract developed through decades of wrestling with the employers. Our first contract that established the union after the great strike of 1934 brought us the dispatch hall and protections against unfair and unsafe conditions on the job. The employers didn't stop assaulting our dispatch halls until we won the bitter strike of 1948. Then the employers reorganized as the Pacific Maritime Association and agreed to our system of cooperation and arbitration.

But today the PMA is moving away from those past commitments to the ILWU. The days the union could work with the employers to build a better industry for everyone seem far away. A faction within the PMA is trying to frustrate the 2002 contract settlement and undermine it in new and devious ways.



The organization this faction has set up is called the West Coast Marine Terminal Operators Discussion Agreement. They have to call themselves a "Discussion" group and get approval to meet from the Federal Maritime Commission in order to avoid prosecution under federal anti-trust laws. But it's not as if all they were doing was getting together and talking about matters of mutual concern. They are already moving those discussions into ways to violate our jurisdiction, to outsource the work that Section One of our contract defines as ILWU jobs. Without those jobs we will not have our wages, benefits and pensions or a union to defend them.

The Discussion group has formally put out to high tech companies a Request For Proposals (RFP) to develop an electronic tag or transponder to be put on each truck that services the terminals. They will have encoded in it all the information about the contents of the container being brought into the terminal. As the truck enters the gate, this information will be automatically transferred to a central command center as the truck rolls past.

These transponders, set up outside the ILWU and the contractual obligations, programmed and serviced by non-ILWU workers, will impact clerks' work at the gate and terminal operations. The contract clearly states that the work of operating the technology documenting the flow of the cargo is ILWU clerks' work, including any work modified by new technology.

Longshore—particularly Maintenance and Repair—also would find themselves losing jobs. The work of installing and

maintaining the employers' transponders is rightfully theirs.

This whole plan, this whole Discussion organization, is a blatant violation of our contract. All these companies are members of the PMA and they define current and future members of the Discussion group as marine terminal operators in California, Oregon and Washington, that is, the exact geographic area of jurisdiction in the ILWU-PMA contract. This is clearly an alter-ego organization established to avoid their contractual obligations to the ILWU, obligations to confer with the union about the new technology and to have the technology operated by ILWU members.

The legally binding contract that these employers, as well as all the PMA employers, signed sets up a framework on how new technology is to be introduced on West Coast docks. That framework is designed to allow the union a chance to see if the technology simply enhances productivity or if it tries to do that by outsourcing ILWU jobs. For more than a year now PMA has frustrated all our efforts to get the information we need to make that determination. We have had to take them to arbitration several times. Each time we have won. The arbitrator ruled the employers must give us the information on how the technology works because the contract clearly states that was the deal—they get to implement labor-saving technologies as long as we are certain it's not being done to outsource our jobs.

But the employers' strategy is what it always has been since they first started with computer technology in the 1980s, that is, to use it to hide and outsource our jurisdiction. The only difference now is they are doing it more aggressively and on a

A faction within the PMA is trying to frustrate the 2002 contract settlement and undermine it in new and devious ways.

larger scale.

Your Coast Committee—myself, International Vice President Bob McEllrath and Coast Committeemen Ray Ortiz, Jr. and Joe Wenzl—are stepping up to the challenge and will fight this with every weapon in our arsenal. But the best weapon we have is you—the rank-and-file longshore workers. We need you to always be vigilant when your employer implements new technology. Look to see if there is anything suspicious in how it's being done and report it to your Business Agent so we can investigate it and, if necessary, arbitrate it. And we need you to stand strong and united—longshore workers, clerks and walking bosses. Together we can enforce our contract and beat back this attack of subterfuge and outsourcing.

The Coast Committee is on the move and has an arbitration scheduled for March 24 on the legality of the Discussion group. We are confident we will be sustained in our position and set the employers back for now. But even if we do, this is far from the end of this conflict. The PMA has people whose job is just to figure out ways to violate their contractual obligations. If this one doesn't work, they'll come up with another.

But again, we can and will prevail, if we stay alert, strong and united.

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ILWU Titled Officers

JAMES SPINOSA President	ROBERT McELLRATH Vice President	WESLEY FURTADO Vice President
WILLIAM E. ADAMS Secretary-Treasurer		

AROUND THE UNION

LOCAL 5 WINS HEALTH CARE FIGHT

After fighting for nearly eight months to maintain health benefits, ILWU warehouse, retail and allied Local 5 reached a tentative agreement with Powell's Books March 2. The two sides were still ironing out details as *The Dispatcher* went to press, but Local 5 Union Representative Ryan Van Winkle was upbeat.

"We saved our health care," he said.

Local 5 and Powell's slogged through non-economic issues for a few months after they opened negotiations in July 2003. Bargaining then bogged down completely when management started talking money. Powell's first health care proposal would have almost doubled monthly premiums, imposed new co-pays on doctor visits and made some prescription drugs six times more expensive than they had been.

Months of traditional and creative mobilizations by Local 5—including a solid unfair labor practice strike on the day after Thanksgiving, the busiest shopping day of the year—didn't move management a bit. Early on, ILWU International Vice President Bob McEllrath and longshore Local 8's Leal Sundet started coming to negotiations, making it clear that Local 5 had the backing of the whole ILWU. Powell's stalled, cancelled sessions, then refused to meet from Nov. 25 on.

Local 5 filed unfair labor practice charges in late January over the failure to bargain, and got nearly three-fourths of the membership to sign a letter urging management back to the table. The two sides began meeting with a mediator immediately after Powell's got the letter.

Portland Jobs with Justice (JwJ) organized a "day of action for health care" Feb. 14 that put the talks back in the local spotlight. The roving rally targeted Powell's as well as Safeway, linking the contract struggles of the 400-plus Local 5 members at Powell's with those of the Southern California grocery workers.

The event began with some 80 activists quietly shopping at Powell's main store as a couple hundred gathered at a nearby park. At an appointed hour, the "shoppers" converged in the center of the store, leafleting other customers and belting out love songs tweaked for the occasion.

"Michael, don't be cruel," they sang to the Elvis tune. "Don't be cruel, for our hearts are true. / To enhance your wealth/ Don't you cut our health, man, that ain't cool!" They presented the workers with a hatbox full of chocolates and gave Powell's CEO Ann Smith a not-so-sweet Valentine's card when she showed up to try to quiet the ruckus.

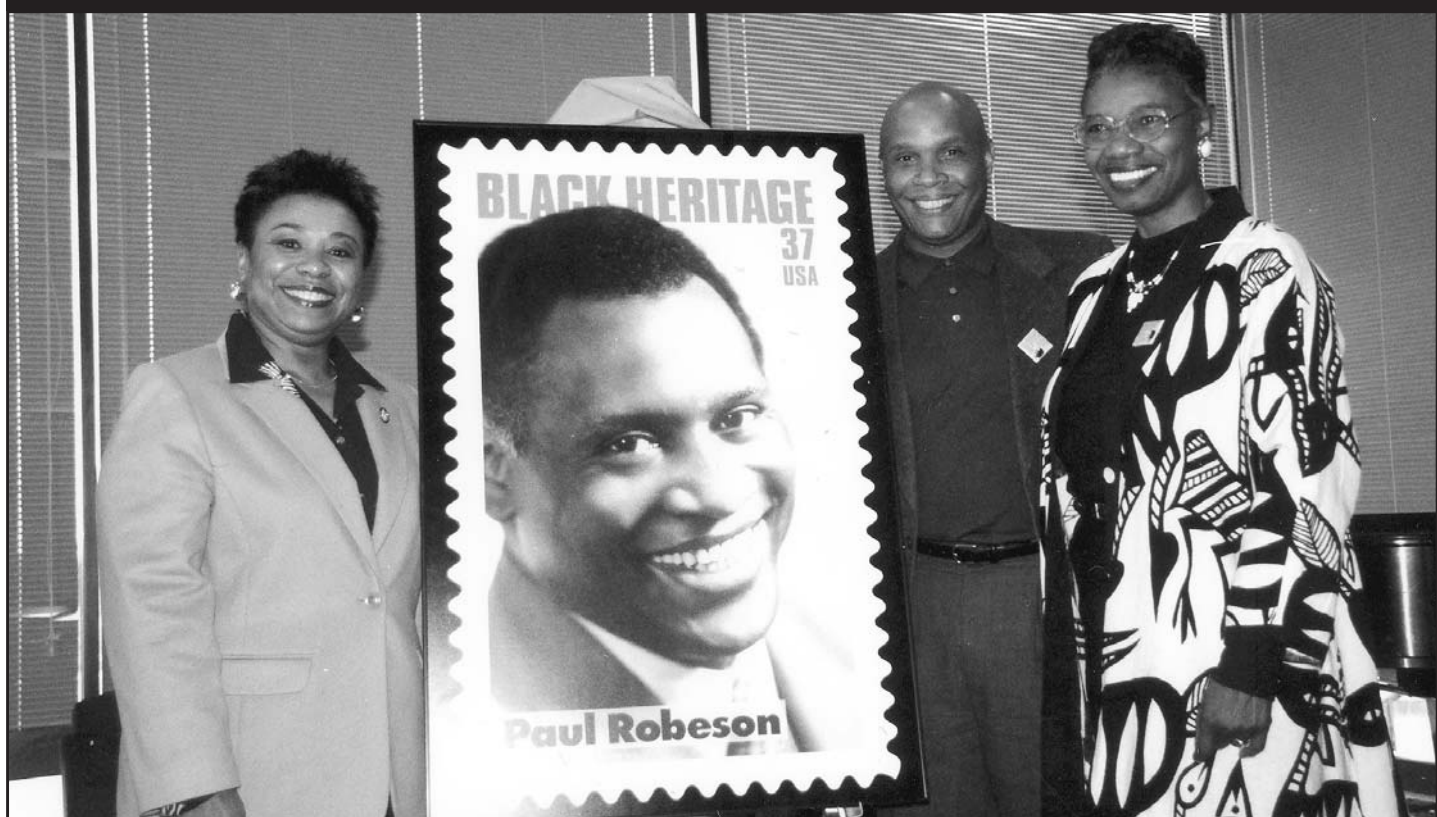
Meanwhile the group from the park marched up and started a spirited rally on the sidewalk in front of Powell's, with words of encouragement from Oregon AFL-CIO President Tim Nesbitt and ILWU International Secretary-Treasurer Willie Adams.

Still singing, the shoppers strutted out of Powell's in a conga line. Some 45 members of Local 5 walked off the job and joined them. Altogether, more than a dozen unions and community groups showed their colors, among them ILWU longshore Locals 4, 8 and 23 and marine clerks Local 40, SEIU 49 and 503, Teamsters 206, the Portland Association of Teachers and Sisters in Action for Power, which organizes young women of color.

They strode off to Safeway, where again some people went inside to leaflet while the others picketed outside.

"People really got that our situations were linked and were willing to demonstrate that by going to Safeway," said Local 5 Shop Steward Cal Hudson. "We've never had a for-

PAUL ROBESON HONORED



ILWU International Secretary-Treasurer Willie Adams (center), Congresswoman Barbara Lee (left) and Merritt College President Evelyn Wesley (right) unveiled the new Paul Robeson commemorative stamp at a Black History Month celebration Feb. 18 on the community college campus in Oakland.

Adams, who had to forego his regular Labor and Black History extravaganza in Tacoma this year because of his new duties as a Titled Officer, was the keynote speaker at the event. Adams told the audience of mostly African American students how Robeson was an actor, singer, athlete, scholar and political activist who performed and spoke against racism and for peace and workers' rights.

"Paul Robeson was a Renaissance man," Adams said. "He excelled in everything he did."

Adams pointed out how Robeson worked for unions and that the ILWU was his favorite union.

"Paul Robeson was an honorary member of the ILWU," Adams said. "He was our bright and shining star."

But during the McCarthy period in the 1950s, the same time Harry Bridges was being prosecuted by the U.S. government, the government also tried to erase Robeson because of his progressive politics and activism. It banned his music from being played on the radio, barred him from concert halls and removed his name from the Football Hall of Fame where he had been an All-American at Rutgers University.

"It's a shame we honor him now when he's dead," Adams said. "How come we couldn't give him applause when he was with us?"

Congresswoman Lee, who was the sole Representative to vote against giving Bush a blank check for the war in Afghanistan and who has been a leader against the whole Bush agenda, told the audience how she has turned to Robeson's works.

"I have often gone back to the speeches and music of Paul Robeson for inspiration when times get tough," Lee said.

Oakland Postmaster Lawrence Barnes spoke of the significance of a commemorative stamp honoring Robeson.

"Stamps allow us to learn about our past and the world around us," Barnes said. "There's a story behind every commemorative stamp and that's important because history is in the footnotes." —SS

mal action before where we as a group linked ourselves to the larger labor movement."

The Powell's contract should provide a shot of encouragement to unionists starved for good news. Local 5 beat back the co-pays for visits to doctors in the PPO group and substantially scaled back the premium increases demanded by management. They got less than the hoped-for raise, but will see two percent wage increases in each year of the three-and-a-half year contract.

"We have to fight for health care for all and these contracts are a big part of it," said Portland Jobs with Justice organizer Laurie King. "We need to fight for no cuts in employer health care and some kind of national health care plan. Health care is not a privilege. It's something we all need and not having it grinds us down to a very low level."

—Marcy Rein

BIG RALLY FOR OAKLAND 25 DEFENDANTS

OAKLAND—A boisterous crowd of several hundred people rallied outside Oakland's Superior Court building to oppose the prosecution of 25 people arrested April 7, 2003 at a dockside antiwar rally. Their demand—the district attorney must drop the charges at a hearing later that afternoon.

Large numbers of ILWU workers, retirees and Federated Auxiliary members turned out. So many longshore members attended that the SSA terminals couldn't get enough

staffing to operate until the evening shift. The dockers were particularly incensed that police had brutally arrested longshore Local 10 BA Jack Heyman while he tried to get his members out of the police line of fire.

A visiting delegation from ILA Local 1422 in Charleston, South Carolina pledged their support and thanked the ILWU for its help in 2000 when the "Charleston Five" dockers were falsely arrested after a police riot.

"We found ourselves facing seemingly insurmountable odds, but when labor heard we needed help, Local 10 became the catalyst for national and international actions, and those actions led to our acquittal," Local 1422's Leonard Riley told the crowd. "The message we want to send here is that you also have the right to picket and protest."

Activists called the April 7 demonstration to oppose the Iraq war. Demonstrators targeted the SSA terminal, they said, because that company signed a \$4.8 million contract to operate the Iraqi port of Umm Qasr under the guns of the British army. The demonstrators also targeted the adjacent APL terminal for shipping war supplies. Longshore workers stood well away from the demonstration and awaited the arbitrator's ruling on the legality of the picket line.

Suddenly the Oakland Police charged into the crowd, firing pellets, gas and beanbags. Police injured at least 31 in the ensuing action, including nine ILWU members. The National Lawyers Guild reported

injuries to six of its ten observers and three arrests. Police shot Local 10's Billy Kepoo with a wooden pellet, breaking his thumb and exposing the bone. Activist Willow Rosenthal, shot in the leg, suffered permanent nerve damage and disfigurement on her calf.

The district attorney's office filed misdemeanor charges June 23 against Heyman and 24 protestors. Injured protestors and all nine injured ILWU members filed a federal lawsuit June 26, charging the police with violation of civil rights.

The Feb. 6 hearing was part of a long battle to get the prosecutors to turn over documents and video tapes the defense needs for its case. This time Judge C. Don Clay made it clear there should be no more delay, and the prosecutor agreed to turn over the documents. One of the subpoenaed video tapes, however, was blank. The judge ordered the prosecutor to make the master copy available, but denied motions to dismiss the charges. Clay set a hearing date for March 19. Heyman said there would be another rally that day.

"April 7 wasn't just about being against the war, it was a wakeup call," Billy Kepoo, a Local 10 longshoreman shot by the police that day, told the crowd. "It was a wakeup call about how quickly they can take away our rights and our liberties, and we need to wake up and voice our opinions and make ourselves heard, not just for ourselves, but also for our children and the future of our country."

—Tom Price

WASHINGTON REPORT

Bush lies, proposes dishonest budget

By Lindsay McLaughlin
ILWU Legislative Director

A national budget is a statement about our principles, values and priorities as a nation. On Feb. 3, 2004, President Bush presented his proposed budget to the U.S. Congress. It slashes programs to create jobs, to provide health care for Americans and to strengthen public education. Instead, Bush proposes to funnel money to the wealthiest of Americans and supports more “outsourcing” of American jobs.

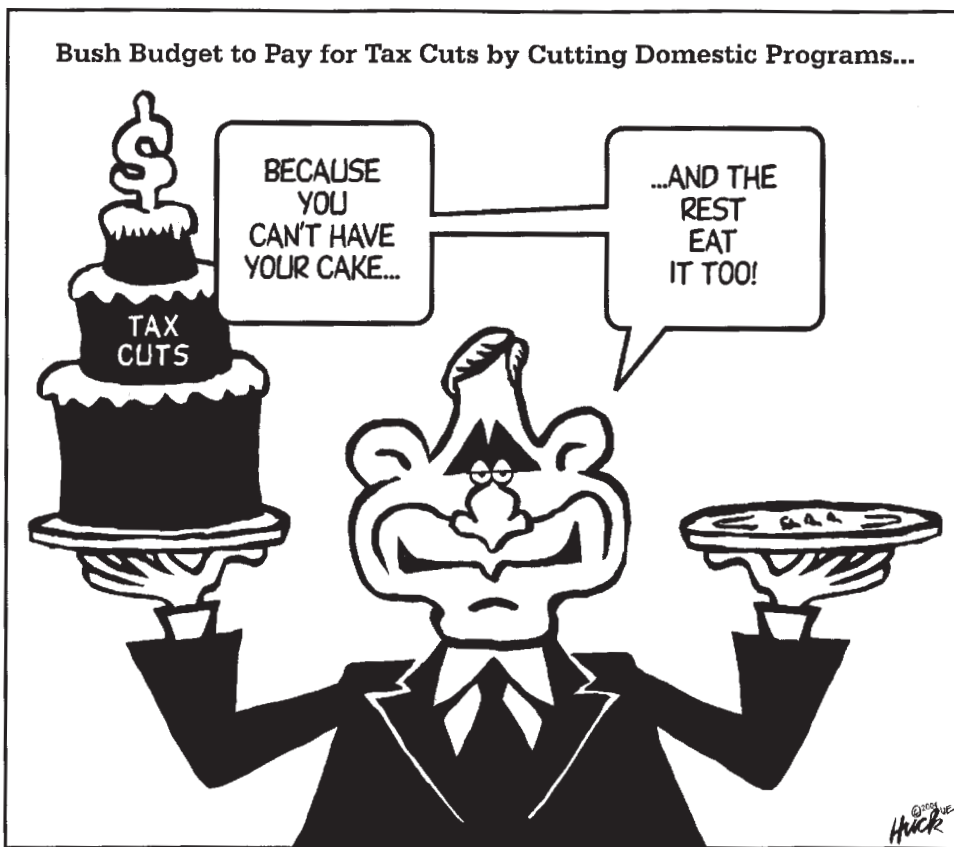
Just four years ago, the U.S. had a \$236 billion surplus that we were using to strengthen Social Security by paying down America’s debt. Today, we are faced with a budget that creates the largest deficit in the history of the U.S. Worse, Bush’s budget is wholly dishonest. Its numbers are cooked for political purposes and it fails to include the out-of-control costs of the military occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan.

Bush claims his budget will create jobs. He has to at least pretend it will because he has the worst jobs record since Herbert Hoover. Over the last three years, the U.S. has lost three million jobs. And his projections of jobs created by his policies are at best delusional—at worse, just more lies.

The Bush budget will only make a bad situation worse. It cuts \$286 million from job training and employment services, on top of the \$1.5 billion in cuts to job training and related services Bush has proposed since he took office. It also puts funds for adult and dislocated worker programs in block grants to states, jeopardizing the few remaining resources to retrain laid off workers for other occupations.

Two million Americans are expected to exhaust their unemployment benefits over the coming months. The Republicans refuse to extend these benefits to the needy because they want more money for the greedy. To do that Bush proposes to make his expiring tax cuts permanent at a cost of \$131.6 billion over five years. The budget would give away approximately \$1 trillion of tax cuts to the wealthy over the next 10 years.

Under Bush’s plan, the wealthy



est five percent of Americans would receive nearly half of the payoff from the trillion-dollar tax cut, more than what the bottom 90 percent of American households receive.

The budget includes tax breaks for companies that move jobs overseas. Bush’s economic report as well as his chief economic advisor Gregory Mankiw said it was good to send jobs out of the country. Bush’s report says, “The loss of work to other countries, while painful in the short term, will enrich our economy eventually.”

In Bush’s State of the Union Address Jan. 20 he said, “Much of our job growth will be found in high-skilled fields like health care.” But his economic advisor Mankiw said, “We will outsource jobs to lower-wage countries as a way to help control the upward spiral of health care costs in the United States of America.”

So Bush lies about trying to create jobs, and then sends his minions out to tell the truth that they are intentionally trying to destroy good-paying jobs because it is good for some corporate bottom line. What

planet is this guy from?

Bush fails to fund a part of the budget that economists agree would create jobs—transportation infrastructure. For every \$1 billion spent on infrastructure, 47,000 jobs are created. Under the six-year, \$256 billion proposal for highway and transit spending unveiled in Bush’s budget, 5.6 million fewer workers would land good jobs than under leading bipartisan proposals in Congress. That plan would create about twice the number of jobs Bush has destroyed since he took office.

“The budget is all talk, no action when it comes to meeting the transportation needs of our country,” Ed Wytkind, President of the Transportation Trades Department, AFL-CIO said. “Instead of fixing crumbling roads and bridges, improving and expanding public transit and Amtrak, and making air travel safer and more efficient, President Bush has put forward a budget blueprint that is heavy on rhetoric, but light on accomplishment.”

On other infrastructure programs, Bush’s budget shortchanges our ports by refusing to adequately fund the Army Corps of Engineers to proceed with critical navigation projects. The marine transportation system is facing a crisis as a result of continued insufficient federal funding for the Corps to perform dredging to deepen channels. The Corps is not maintaining the Port of Redwood City, California which employs ILWU members, because the administration

has refused to release money to maintain the channel.

Bush’s budget ensures that American workplaces will be dangerous. Adjusting for inflation, Bush proposes to slash the Occupational Safety and Health Administration by \$6.5 million. For the third year in a row, he is proposing to slash OSHA’s worker training and education programs, from \$11.1 million to \$4 million.

The Bush budget is most callous in its cuts to health care for the nation’s impoverished. This year’s budget once again proposes to disperse Medicaid funds through block grant to states. Under the proposal, states have the option to cut benefits to certain Medicaid populations and to roll back benefits.

The Bush budget also gives lie to his much-touted commitment to education. It provides only half the funds promised for after-school programs, freezes funding for Pell grants for students trying to afford college and cuts \$22 million from reading programs. The administration highlighted \$250 million of funding for job training programs for community colleges, but other job-training funds were cut by close to \$300 million. The budget cuts another \$316 million in vocational training funding from the Department of Education. In all, Bush has proposed \$1.5 billion in spending reductions for job training and vocational education since he took office.

The bipartisan Congressional Budget Office reviewed Bush’s budget and concluded that it not only would fail to cut the deficit in half in five years as Bush claims, but it would actually add another \$2.75 trillion to the debt over the next 10 years. And that does not even include any money for the biggest sink hole of Bush policies—the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq—past this September. The White House has acknowledged it will ask Congress for another \$50 billion for the wars after the election.

The only way for Bush to pay for his military ventures and pay off Halliburton, SSA and other corporations profiteering on the war during this period is to steal yet more money from programs that help the poor and needy and transfer the money to Iraq and Afghanistan.

Values, principles and priorities: The Bush budget VALUES the wealthy. Its PRINCIPLE is to take money from the needy and give it to the greedy. The Bush PRIORITIES include job destruction and more profits for corporations. If you disagree with the Bush budget, let your member of Congress know. They can be reached at 202-225-3121.

Judge okays Bush union reporting rules

Rejecting AFL-CIO arguments, U.S. District Judge Gladys Kessler upheld the new, onerous union reporting rule the Bush regime created, but she stalled it until at least July 1.

In her 57-page Jan. 23 decision, Kessler said the rule was within the limits of the 1959 Landrum-Griffin Act, but that Bush Labor Secretary Elaine Chao acted arbitrarily and capriciously by ordering it to start on March 1.

That date didn’t give the 4,778 unions affected enough time to retrain their workers and redo their accounting systems to obey, Kessler said. She said the date could be even later than July 1 if the Labor Department doesn’t produce its promised, free, software by then to help unions comply.

And, as a practical matter, since most unions’ fiscal years have already started, the first reports under the new rule are due March 31, 2005, Kessler ruled.

Kessler issued a court order halting Bush’s rule last Dec. 31, saying the AFL-CIO could very well prove its case. The AFL-CIO challenged the rule, arguing it would cost unions more than \$700 million, impose huge personnel burdens and detract

unions from their prime purpose—representing their members. Kessler now says the federation failed.

“The court concludes the rule is reasonable, adequately explained and not arbitrary or capricious” under federal law, she wrote.

Chao hailed Kessler’s decision as giving “members access to meaningful information about their union’s fiscal health, management and priorities.”

Bush and Chao demand unions—and other labor groups such as CLCs, state feds and trusts—with receipts of at least \$250,000 itemize all spending over \$5,000 into six specific categories, including bargaining, organizing and legislation. Staffers would also have to report their pay and how they spent their time.

“The record demonstrates (Chao) carefully weighed the costs and benefits and concluded, on balance, that technological advances made it possible to provide the level of detail necessary for union members to have a more accurate picture of their union’s financial condition and operations without imposing an unwarranted burden on reporting unions,” Kessler said.

—Mark Gruenberg
PAI Staff Writer

The ILWU Political Action Fund

The ILWU Political Action Fund has a goal of raising more than \$500,000 for the union’s work on the November 2004 elections and for contributions to pro-worker candidates’ campaigns. The International officers and the Coast Committee are asking all members to donate \$50 each to the fund. All contributions are voluntary, are not part of your union dues or a condition of union membership. You can give more or less than the officers suggest—all contributions are valued—and there are no reprisals for giving less or not participating in the union’s political activities. Contributions to the ILWU Political Action Fund are not tax deductible.

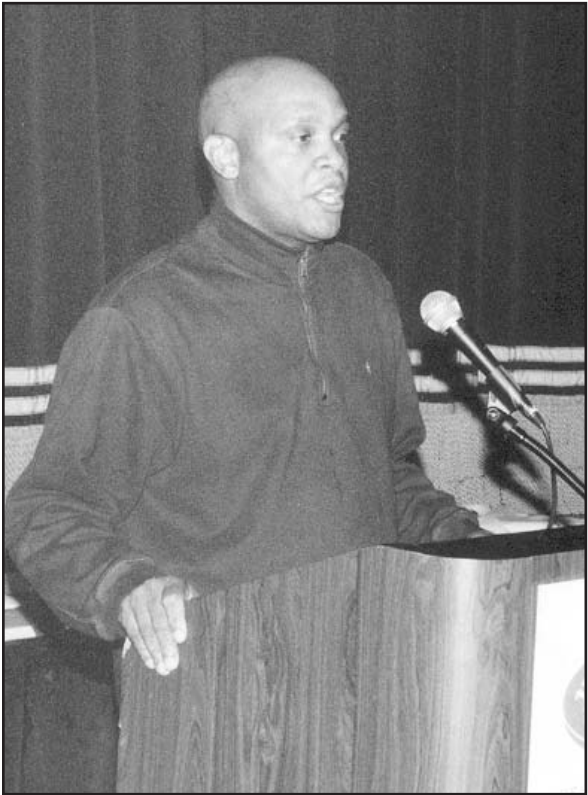
To satisfy federal election laws, please include with your check your name, address, occupation and employer. The ILWU International wants you to list your local number and registration number to track participation rates. Retirees are not eligible to donate to the ILWU PAF. They should make donations to the Pacific Coast Pensioners Association or other pensioner groups.

Donations should be sent to:

ILWU-PAF
1188 Franklin St., 4th Floor
San Francisco, CA 94109

Checks should be payable to: ILWU-PAF.

Secretary-Treasurers Conference



International Secretary-Treasurer Willie Adams.

By Gene Vrana, ILWU Director of Educational Services & Librarian
Photos by Frank Wilder

The ILWU’s Secretary-Treasurers Conference has not fared well under the Bush administration. In 2001 the events of 9/11 interrupted the proceedings and shocked the participants. This year’s edition was burdened by new anti-labor administrative regulations and procedures imposed by Bush.

Yet once again the gathering pulled together to prevail in difficult circumstances and increase their knowledge and skills in order to better carry out their financial and organizational responsibilities for the benefit of the rank and file. Of the 66 participants, 36 were local officers, 21 were trustees, and nine clerical employees—representing 34 locals and IBU regions from Alaska to San Diego, making it by far the most representative group yet to attend a Secretary-Treasurers Conference.

International Secretary-Treasurer Willie Adams opened the conference by emphasizing the importance of learning how to survive the Bush administration’s anti-labor program, including the increased burden placed on unions by more complicated, time-consuming, and expensive federal regulatory procedures.

He also noted how the conference’s mix of local

officers, trustees, and clerical employees continues to be a uniquely ILWU approach to training that enriches the educational and union-building experience of the sessions.

The program was initiated in 1999 to help improve compliance with federal regulations and internal union procedures. Held this year Feb. 2-5 in Palm Springs, California, the hot topics were recent changes to procedures in the Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act on LM-2 forms, and procedures controlling political action fundraising that are greatly impacting how the union collects money for its Political Action Fund.

Instructors were a combination of ILWU attorneys, International officers and staff and local union officers.

Participants got a chance to get their hands dirty in an audit workshop set up to help provide the knowledge and skills to fulfill the internal financial obligations of their offices—their “fiduciary responsibility.”

Other topics included clarification of compliance with Beck procedures and case law governing “financial core members,” an overview of compliance with federal regulations, ILWU procedures governing the conduct of union elections and a training session on bookkeeping software increasingly popular among several locals and compatible with electronic filing of government forms.



ILWU attorney Peter Salzman, left, and Terri Mast, IBU National Secretary-Treasurer, join with Local 142 Secretary-Treasurer Guy Fujimora to lead session proper procedures to safeguard union funds.



San Francisco region compares notes with Local 10 trustee Gail Yui. (Left to right) Dennis Young, Local 200 Alaska Longshore Division, David Butler, IBU Alaska Region, Terry Miyashito, IBM.



From Right to Left, Local 24 Secretary-Treasurer Billy Swor collaborates with Local 21 Secretary-Treasurer William Roberts and Local 21 bookkeeper Kristi Hanna.



Local 30 officers (L-R) Ray Panter, Keith Baird, and Trinidad Esquivel, III, join with Local 34 Secretary-Treasurer Russell Miyashuz (second from right) to analyze new LM-2 regulations.



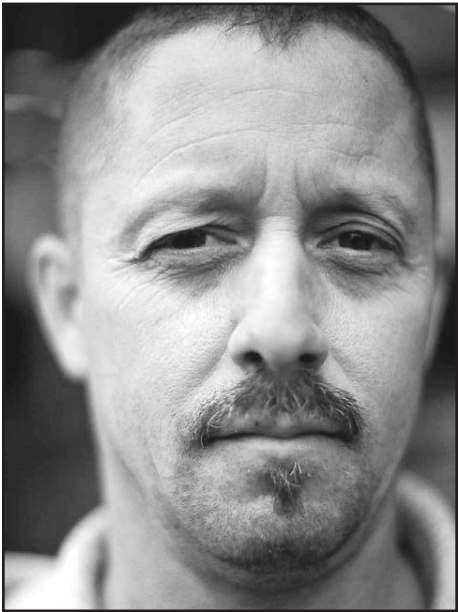
From Alaska Local 200, Unit 2201 W. Juneau, President Dale Manowskia (left), and Secretary Marjorie Fisher keep track of how to audit union’s finances.



From left to right, Gene Davenport (Local 54), Secretary-Treasurer, concentrates on workshop materials with Edward Antonovich, Local 17 Office Manager, Jack Wyatt, Sr., Local 17 Secretary-Treasurer, Fred Pecker, Local 6 Secretary-Treasurer, and Marilyn Ilagan, Local 6 bookkeeper.

UFCW rank and filers: Why we walked the line

Photos and interviews
by Slobodan Dimitrov



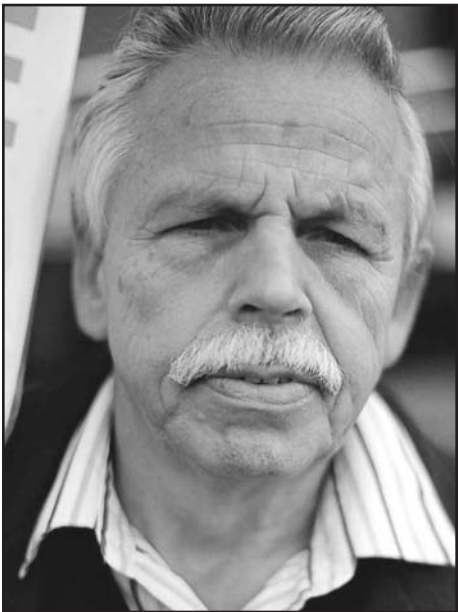
Kevin Portnall



Lori Rodriguez



Tanae Sanders



John Hunter

I’ve worked for Von’s for 34 years, and I’ve never gone through anything like this in my life. I raised two children as a single mother. This particular job got me through that. And I’ve always been very, very proud to work for Von’s. It just upsets me so much to see what the corporations are trying to do to the labor force of the United States of America. It scares me, and that’s why I’m standing strong, and I’ll continue standing strong for the labor movement from this moment on.

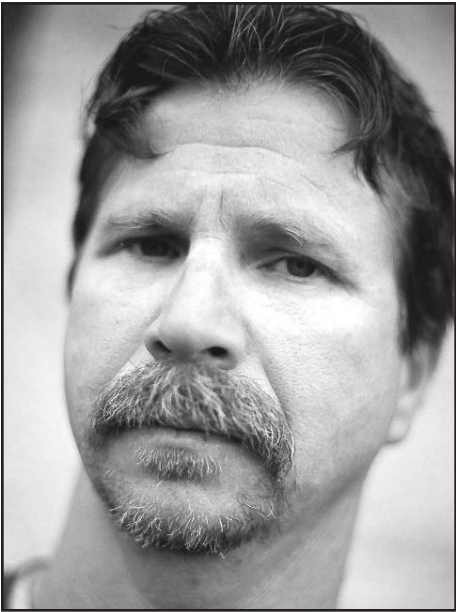
Kevin Portnall

No one’s really pleased being out here, especially with the company making money hand over fist. Not just Von’s by itself, but all three of them combined. Profits have risen 225 percent over the last 10 years. Let us get back to work. They can also make concessions. In the latest union proposals, we gave in a lot, and they just walked away from the table like we slapped them in the face. They are just trying to bust the union. It’s a disgrace, because from the workers, our high integrity is making them a high profit. I have no complaints on how I’ve been treated over the last 23 and-a-half years. Why all of a sudden do they want all these take-aways now? They’re heartless.

Bee Cali



Bee Cali



John Fiddler

John Fiddler

This strike is not about Wal-Mart. They do not fear Wal-Mart, they’re inspired by Wal-Mart. They want to see us get their [Wal-Mart’s] type of wages, their type of benefits. When I took this job 25 years ago, they promised me the best benefits, the best medical and the best pension program. Now they want to take it away from us. There are over 40 take-aways on the table. They don’t tell the public that. They claim it’s a family-run business, but it’s not. It’s just plain corporate greed, that’s all it’s about.

Lori Rodriguez

I’ve been working for the company for 29 years, and I think this really sucks. I’m about to lose my benefits and my retirement. I just want to go back to work.

Nancy Mehlmauer

We’re doing this to keep affordable health care and to keep this a class industry to be proud of. We want to make sure that the employer maintains the contribution to our pension plan, and not the lower levels they are now offering. I want to retire with a decent pension.



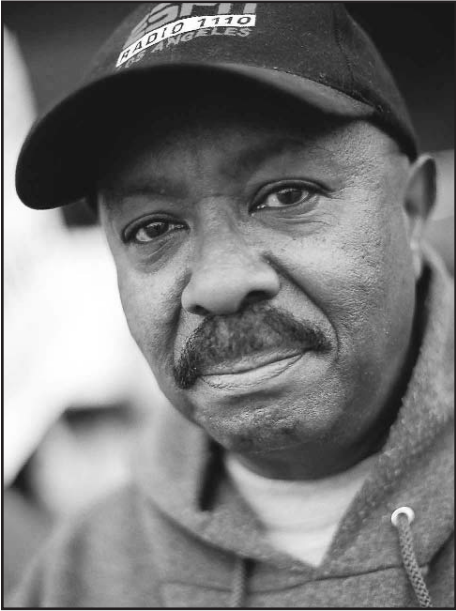
Nancy Mehlmauer

Tanae Sanders

I’m concerned about the older employees who have kids and bills to pay. Myself, I live with my mom, so the effect on me hasn’t been as bad. We broke the record for being out here. We do appreciate all the people who support us by shopping elsewhere.

Jim Griffin

I’m out here to protect my pension and my medical benefits. I’ve been with the company 39 years, but I’m out here for the people behind me to make sure they have a decent living standard and medical benefits. The union has made California what it is, it brought wages up, it’s what made the middle class. Now they are trying to downsize the middle-class. I don’t think it’s right. Everyone is entitled to a decent wage and medical benefits. I don’t want to be on welfare, I don’t want food stamps and I don’t think the State of California and L.A. County should pay for my medical benefits. That’s why I am here, and I think the company owes me that.



Jim Griffin

John Hunter

I’ve been with company for 34 years, working in produce. As a produce manager, I went through several strikes. This is the worst the retail clerks have ever had, and the longest. We’ll be out here during the whole duration, and we’ll be out here as long as it takes. We’re fighting for our benefits. They want us to make a co-payment that no one can afford. They want to put caps on the medical, make us pay 50 percent of our hospital, doctor and prescription bills. They want to have two-tiered wages. This would devastate the future of our union. We have to stay strong.

Other locals organize for upcoming contracts

SoCal grocery workers accept troublesome pact

By Steve Stallone

Though striking and locked-out grocery store workers in Southern California voted 86 percent to accept a contract settlement over the Feb. 28-29 weekend, they showed more resignation than enthusiasm for the three-year pact. After nearly five months on the picket lines, with strike pay being reduced, health care coverage vanishing and people living in a state of high anxiety and insecurity, the majority had had enough. Despite the best efforts of the ILWU and many others within and outside the labor movement, they could not hold out longer than the huge grocery corporations.

"Nobody liked the contract," said Carmen Wilson, a Local 770 shop steward and picket captain locked out from her job at Albertson's. "When we went to vote, the union reps handed us a copy of the contract and told us to vote 'yes.' They said, 'We can't do better than this.' I know people who voted 'yes' just because they had to go back to work. There was no more strike pay to support us. We got screwed."

The contract they ratified is significantly better than the package companies were trying to shove down their throats at the beginning of the conflict. It buffers the workers from some of the worst employer proposals, but only temporarily. They were forced to accept a two-tier system that will haunt the union and weaken the workers' position as time goes on. But the companies took a big hit too, showing their vulnerability as more contracts expire across the country.

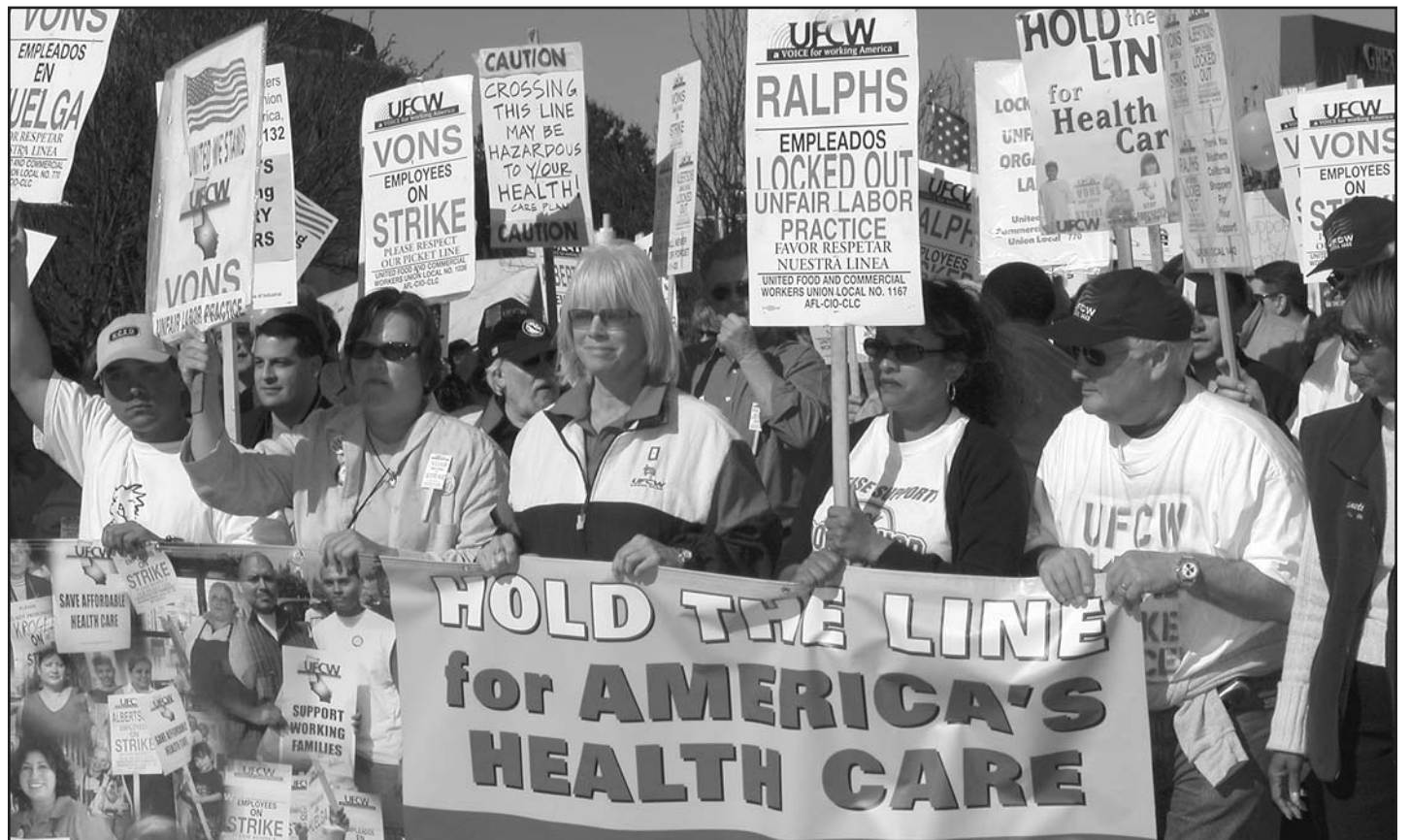
TERMS AND CONDITIONS

The contract covers more than 70,000 workers at 852 Albertsons, Ralphs and Safeway-owned Von's stores throughout Southern California. The main issue of contention—other than the two tiers—was health care. The grocery workers had long enjoyed 100 percent employer-paid premiums. The employers wanted to slash that and their proposal would have had the workers contributing up to one-third of their net wages in co-pays. But what the union came out with—and like just about everything in the contract it is broken down into two tiers—is different.

Current employees, those hired before the contract's ratification, will maintain their employer-paid coverage for the first two years. In the third year they will pay up to \$5 a month for individual employee coverage, \$10 per month for employee plus children and \$15 per month for employee plus spouse with or without children. But they could be paying more for less. If after the first two years the money in the benefit fund is insufficient to cover the increased costs of health care, the contract allows the trustees to reduce the benefits offered. To help offset this, the employers will contribute \$190 million to rebuild the reserves in the fund that were depleted during the strike/lockout.

New hires, those employed after the contract ratification, will receive drastically less. The employers' contribution to the benefit fund for them will only be \$1.10 per hour (as opposed to \$3.80 for current employees) and they will have to pay 20 percent of their premium to retain coverage and will have higher co-pays as well. Also, they will not be eligible for coverage until they have been employed for a year. They will have to work for two-and-a-half years before they can buy coverage for their dependents.

The wage situation is equally dismal. Current employees will see no raises over the life of the three-year agreement, effectively getting a pay cut as the cost of living goes up. They will



Thousands of workers and dozens of unions march in support of southern California grocery workers January 31, 2004.

Slobodan Dimitrov

get a "contract ratification bonus" of about \$500 in March and another similar "lump sum bonus" in March 2006.

But employers will save a bundle on new hires. Food clerks currently make \$17.90 per hour, while new hires in that category will start at \$8.90—less than half—and will take four years or more to get to a top scale of \$15.10. While a meatcutter makes \$19.18 per hour now, a newly hired meatcutter will start at \$11.18 and top out after four years at \$16.38. At these wages, paying the 20 percent premium for health care will be a real challenge.

The pension situation is even worse. Although all vested pension payments will remain, the employers are slashing their contributions and payments. From now on current employees will only accrue pension benefits at 65 percent of their previous rate and new hires will get only 35 percent of that old rate. So where current employees were accruing pension payments at the rate of \$51.82 per month per year of service for the first ten years and \$69.09 per month per year of service after that, they will now only get \$33.70 per month for the first ten years and \$44.90 after that. New hires will only accrue \$18.14 per month per year of service for the first ten years and \$24.18 per month for each year after that.

New hires will also see much skimpier vacations and holidays. And the union lost some jurisdiction with new language allowing a certain amount of stocking to be done by vendors and suppliers.

The real nastiness of the employers comes through in the way they structured the two tiers. It is not only those hired after the contract ratification that get the lower tier. Anyone promoted after the ratification, no matter how much seniority they have, will immediately fall into the lower tier. Welcome to 21st century labor relations: When you get promoted, you get demoted.

The union negotiators also signed off on a separate document, a "Labor Dispute Settlement Agreement." Among other things it relieves employers from having to abide by their work-hour and scheduling guarantees for the first 21 days back at work and allows vendors to do some bargaining unit work during those three weeks.

It also allows the companies to terminate workers who "engaged in serious misconduct" during the dispute, defining that as material property damage or bodily injury. The

agreement limits those firings to 30 for Von's, 30 for Albertson's and 23 for Ralph's, gave the companies 36 hours to identify those people and gives the union the right to arbitrate any such terminations.

THE FIGHT GOES ON

UFCW locals throughout North America with contracts expiring in the coming months watched the Southern California conflict closely. They are not conceding the conventional wisdom that the Southern California contract will determine the fate of their negotiations.

"We will not agree to a two-tier system or health care cuts," said Ron Lind, secretary-treasurer of UFCW Local 428 in San Jose, California.

The Northern California contract expires Sept. 11 and the contract covering Sacramento-area stores expires July 17. The Northern California locals learned something from the conflict in Southern California. They know they must organize early on and build on the momentum generated there towards the end of the struggle.

Bay Area locals have called an organizing meeting for March 14 at ILWU longshore Local 10's hall with activists from all eight Bay Area locals, as well as activists from Detroit, Houston, Hawaii, Calgary, the Puget Sound and Baltimore-Washington, D.C. locals that have upcoming negotiations. Many other labor and community supporters will join them in a rally at Local 10 and a march on Safeway at 2:00 p.m. that afternoon.

"I've got people calling me every day asking what they can do to help," Lind said. "They understand this is not about just grocery workers."

The March 14 meeting will be part strategy brainstorming for the upcoming bargaining and part activist training, said Jim Grogan, a Northern California organizer for the UFCW. He said he anticipates about 1,000 rank-and-file activists will show for the meeting.

"We need a nationally coordinated bargaining strategy," Grogan said. "And we need to train rank and filers to be able to talk about issues like two tiers and caps on health care to their co-workers. They hear it better from other workers."

Where the locals have always put out a questionnaire to members about what they want out of an upcoming contract, this time rank-and-file activists will be trained to make the inquiries one-on-one, Lind

said.

"And we are going to take the next step with the questions and ask how much they are willing to do to get what they want," Lind said. "We are going to tie actions to the demands."

The UFCW International leaders have been invited to the March 14 meeting. There's hope that newly installed president Joe Hansen (10-year president Doug Dority retired two days after the Southern California contract was ratified) will be more actively engaged in the upcoming battles.

"Hopefully we can get more cooperation from the International," Grogan said. "We need someone to help unite the clans and Hansen could play that role."

The task at hand now is organizing the union's strengths and exploiting the companies' weaknesses.

"This is a protracted fight and we need to figure out how to keep pressure on the employers in different ways," Grogan said.

Part of that will be enforcing the contract on the shop floor, like making sure vendors don't do the clerks' work. Part of that will be public pressure, building on the high-profile demonstrations and media work done in Southern California and mobilizing all the community and faith groups and the elected officials who came out in support towards the end of the Southern California fight. Local Central Labor Councils and the California Labor Federation are geared up for the fight and the AFL-CIO's field staff are itching for another shot at the companies.

"What the Southern California locals were doing eight weeks into the strike, we're already doing now," Lind said.

The UFCW organizers know that the grocery companies lost more than \$2 billion in sales in Southern California even though there wasn't a statewide or national boycott in force and that rattled the stockholders. So now there's talk of beginning to organize an effective boycott of the stores. In the next few months UFCW will get politicians, unions and community and faith groups to sign petitions pledging to boycott if necessary, so they are ready to move in short order.

"We will have that all lined up and then say to the companies, 'if you even put two-tier systems or caps on health care on the table, we will pull the boycott,'" Grogan said.

Ike Morrow: Tacoma's Legend

Introduction by Harvey Schwartz

In honor of Black History Month, February's oral history profiles Isaac (Ike) Morrow, a legendary figure on the Tacoma waterfront who just retired January 31. Morrow, a tough, hard-working realist with a powerful streak of kindness, was the original inspiration behind the Port of Tacoma's unique straddle carrier-driven North Intermodal Yard. He started on the waterfront in Local 23 during the early 1960s, became a Local 98 foreman in 1972, and a Port of Tacoma Terminal Foreman in 1981.

Morrow became a father confessor to a new generation of Black and White longshore workers. He was awarded a handsome plaque for this service by Tacoma's African American Longshoremen's Association in the 1980s. In applauding his contribution to the waterfront community, the plaque's inscription characterized him as "head engineer of the soul train" in a reference to his influence and to the celebrated fact that his four longshore sons then worked for him.

I interviewed Morrow in late January, during his last week on the waterfront. From the tower that served as his command center overlooking the North Intermodal Yard that he helped create, he tirelessly aided my work and even arranged a straddle ride for me with one of his top drivers, Daryll Dixon. Here is Morrow's story.

ISAAC (IKE) MORROW

Edited by Harvey Schwartz,
Curator, ILWU Oral History Collection

I was born in a little place called Frogsville Bottom in Choctaw County, Oklahoma in 1940. My dad's family was sharecroppers, but by World War II my dad couldn't survive sharecropping and he couldn't find other work in Oklahoma. He came north when he was recruited to work at the Hanford nuclear project in Eastern Washington. His first day there he worked mixing construction mud. He had no idea what the Hanford project was, but he knew he was making more money than the nothing he was making in Oklahoma.

The real beginning for our family was Eastern Washington. My dad was special. It took him almost two years to get his whole family up north. He had five kids, just like I did. I was brought north when I was four or five years old. My dad would get a little money and drive south, and in those days, if you were Black, you didn't stop at a Motel 6 or nothing like that. You'd stop for gas and keep on going.

It took my dad three trips to bring his whole family north. He taught me many things, like how to work and all about responsibility. He said, "If you're man enough to make a baby, you've got to be man enough to take care of a baby." And that's what he did. He didn't just leave us down south.

My dad taught me how to deal with discrimination, too. He said, "Don't cry about discrimination. You look at the mirror in the morning. You know you're Black, and therefore you have a problem. Your job is to figure a way to get around that prob-

lem. You got to go over it, around it, or through it, or sometimes you got to put it on its ass." That was my daddy. I've lived my life by that rule. In other words, I didn't turn everything into a Black and White issue. If you didn't like me, I dealt with it, and I never used anything for an escape.

Dad always had at least two jobs, maybe three. My mom worked until I was 13 or 14. We always had food on the table. One day, to beat the heat and the cold in Eastern Washington, dad just packed us up and came over here to Tacoma. He was a natural-born heavy equipment operator and wound up working 25 years for McChord Field. I guess I am my father's son, because that's what got me goin' on the waterfront—my ability to handle equipment. In my early days in Local 23 I became a real good crane driver.

I went into the Marine Corps in 1959. That's how I got on the waterfront when I got back to Tacoma. James Cook, a guy in my Marine outfit, was a reservist from here who worked as a longshoreman. He asked me what I did for a living. I told him I worked in the bar at the Winthrop Hotel. I'd worked my way up in another place from dishwasher to bar manager. Cook asked me what I made, and I told him. Then he asked me if I ever thought about being a longshoreman. "Come on down," he urged, "And try it some time." And I did. That was 42 years ago.

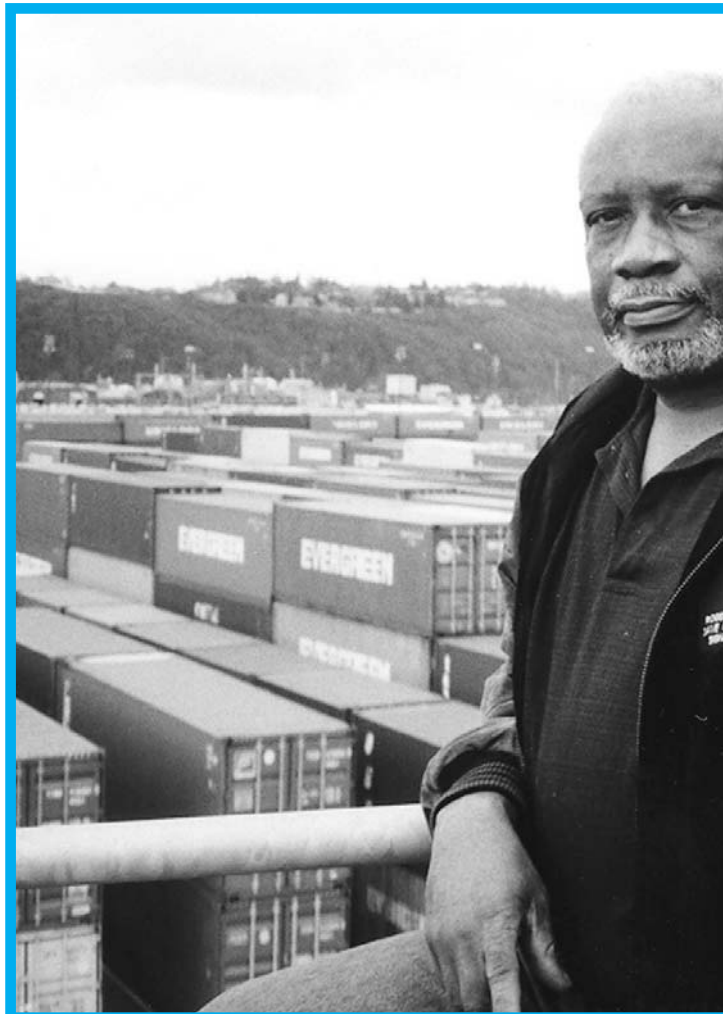
I started coming down to the waterfront when I had a chance—a day here, a day there. When I went home from my first day throwing these big flour sacks there was nothing left in my tank. My fingers were raw and every joint in my body ached. It was a horrible day, but I refused to quit.

At first I hated the waterfront because it was dirty and the people were so rough in those days. But it was good money and I got lucky and made the bench, which meant you became a permit man. I got picked, I eventually learned, partly because of my work attitude and partly because they mistakenly thought I was the grandson of a legendary longshoreman named Barney Ruckers.

Actually, the only thing that kept me on the waterfront is that I got pissed off. Once the guys realized I didn't belong to anyone, they kind of ostracized me. Nepotism was strong back then. For six months hardly anybody would talk to me or teach me anything. The Black guys ostracized me same as the Whites. So I decided I'd show them. And that's why I'm still here today!

I came to love the waterfront. Eventually all four of my sons became longshoremen. They earned their way in through a high school program. When I started I was just a little shit, a 145 pounder tossin' 150-pound sacks and 450-pound bales of pulp. It was never easy, although it didn't take me long to start to get it. My wife's support helped, too.

Then I ran into a Black guy named Willie Lee. One day, he says, "I'm goin' to show you how to be a longshoreman." And he would yell and scream and harass me. I was with that man so much he made me a damn good longshoreman. It seemed like all the Black guys then were huge, 6'2", 6'3", 240, 250. Here I was 150 pounds. I couldn't muscle



Ike Morrow presides over his domain at the North Intermodal Yard.

it like the big guys. So Willie Lee taught me how to use every ounce of my body for leverage.

To use your body you had to use angles. One time we had this 450-pound bale of pulp wedged in tight on its edge. These big guys were down in the hold sweating with peaveys trying to get it in place. Finally Harvey Matthews, the hatch tender, came down. He wasn't a big guy. There were two bands holding that pulp that you could get your hands on—one in back, one in front. Matthews reached back with two hands, grabbed the bands, squatted down, humped the bale with his body, picked it up, and shoved it in place, using his legs and everything. That's leverage. I never forgot that lesson.

Back when I was still new you didn't talk with your mouth because they'd send you down the road. I can recall how this White old-timer, Bud Mostrom, used to show me so much disrespect. One day he asked this other young man to work a pulp ship with him. We were the only two younger guys there. Mostrom looked me right in the eye and said, "I picked a young stud, because some of these kids can't handle it."

I was seething. I told my partner, Willie Lee, "OK, you big mother—Willie weighed 275—today we're goin' and we ain't stoppin'." We humped and hollered all day long. That last hour we took 60 ton of pulp in 55 minutes. Then we had to go to chow and come back. I had thrown so hard my arms locked up. I said to Willie, "What am I gonna do? Listen to this S.O.B. talk some more?"

Well, I went back, and Mostrom approached me and said, "Hey, kid, you're all right." After that he always talked to me in a positive way. It wasn't that he couldn't stand me. I guess I just had to prove myself. That's how most of those old-timers were. Years later, when women began to come on the waterfront, I thought "no" at first. Then, as the work became mechanical and gentrified, I said to myself, "Well, that's what they once thought about you," changed my mind and decided I'd never hard-time women on the waterfront. In fact, I've come to admire them.

I had my own little civil rights movement on the waterfront in the 1960s, teaching people to respect me. Every time I'd see the pictures of the dogs and the hoses attacking Blacks in the South I'd get mad, and Lord help the first guy who crossed me the next day. The union itself wasn't prejudiced, but we had our individual problems on the waterfront.



Strads working shipside, North Intermodal Yard

ILWU ORAL HISTORY
Volume V

Ike Morrow
Tacoma's Legend
Train Engineer

ndary “Soul Train Engineer”



al Yard

Harvey Schwartz

For instance, just after Martin Luther King died we were working rubber when our gear broke down. Back then you waited for repairs. I heard these White kids down below from where I was. They were talking about shooting Black people. Foul names came up. I got madder and madder. Finally I exploded. I grabbed a bear claw, which is like an axe handle with a triangle end with nubs to pull the rubber. I jumped down 12 feet to where these guys were and landed on boards. It sounded like a gun shot.

I screamed, “Come on!” I’d tried to hold it all in, but I’d had enough. I got these four guys in one corner and I was going to kill somebody. All of a sudden I heard this soft, caressing voice. “Take it easy, Ike. It’s not worth it.” It was Dick Tulare. He was 6’4”, 280 pounds, a gentle giant. After much talking, he finally touched me and massaged my shoulders. I sighed, looked at those guys, looked at Dick, and said, “Thank you, brother.” He was a white guy.

Tulare kissed me on the side of my head and said, “Let’s go.” He led me upstairs. There was no more noise from downstairs the rest of the night though! That’ll be in my mind as long as I live, because I was about to commit murder over words. Later on we all became good friends.

I became a foreman in 1972. Because I’d seen a Chinese seaman killed in a lashing accident, I made myself one of the best lashing foremen on the waterfront. Back then the company that sponsored you—in my case, Stevedoring Services of America (SSA)—generally was the company you ultimately went steady for. I always thought I’d be an SSA man, but they kept dangling jobs in front of my face and those jobs would disappear. Finally, in 1981, the Port of Tacoma approached me, and I said, “I’m going to take their steady job.”

The Port was the first company that had enough courage to look past my color and look at my work ethic. That’s why I’m so loyal to them. They’re as big o’ jerks as anybody else, but they gave me that first shot, and I’ve busted hump for them. That’s why, around 1983, I worked hard to give the Port its start toward its North Intermodal Yard, which is an accomplishment I’m very proud of.

Here’s how the intermodal program came about. In the early 1980s our biggest line was Star Shipping. They’d come into town and dump 300 cans [containers] at Pier 4 where I was foreman. The next day there’d be 46

Burlington Northern (BN) truck drivers at our gates plus our regular traffic. We’d be overwhelmed with everybody pissed off and the customers unhappy. One day I’m in my office, and here is this Star agent, Judith Novik, talking about taking her business someplace else. So I told her, “Maybe I can help.”

“Where,” I asked, “are these guys going?” She said, “Up to Tukwila” where the BN rail yard was. “Well,” I says, “why can’t we make rail delivery right here instead of putting all those trucks at our gate?” She said, “Why can’t we? Let’s give it a shot.” We talked to management. The Port had a little rail setup with 21 cars in the North Yard and 10 elsewhere. We had house and dock tracks. I said, “I’ll make it work.”

I talked to all the longshoremen. The Port gave us the next ship. We had all these rail cars waiting when the ship discharged. Fast as the cans got on deck we loaded the cars using straddle carriers (strads). Our tallest strads could maneuver right over the cars. It worked beautifully. The pressure was off the doggone gate. Then, after months of success, the BN said, “That’s enough. You’re not going to get any more railroad cars. You’re cutting into our load center profits.” That really ticked Judith Novik off. I don’t know where she applied pressure, but six months later they relented and I got those cars again.

Then it just kind of blew up as people got interested. Maersk Line came to town because of our intermodal yard. Everybody up and down the coast had little mom and pop operations with a few conventional cars, but no intermodal dock. But here the Port started expanding in our North Intermodal Yard because Maersk bought into Tacoma’s program. When Maersk got to town, they initially took the car loading process out of our hands. This was really insulting. We’d been loading railcars successfully for years.

Maersk fumbled around for several months. The last train they loaded was 300 cans in 16 hours. That seemed the proper time for me to step in.

“Look,” I said, “just give us three sorts of containers—20 footers, heavy 40 footers for bottoms and light 40 footers for tops—and get out of our way.” What they were doin’ was flooding the yard with different kinds of equipment so nobody could move. Our adjustment cut out all that traffic. The next week or so we moved 571 cans in one shift. Then we started setting records like crazy.

Of course, every system in the North Intermodal Yard was put together by the ILWU. At first nobody knew anything about loading railcars. But we’d have a meeting, me and my guys. And they just worked their asses off. Now you’ve got all those lines—Evergreen, Maersk—because we were so productive. It’s been a boon to Tacoma and to the men. Once we got up and cranking it opened doors for the entire coast, too. But we were the grandfather of them all.

I had a terrific crew of drivers, ground men, and

clerks in those early days. My six crack pioneer strad drivers were Harry Dixon, Dave Ginnis, Roger Marshall, my son Terry Morrow, Ramo Natalizio, and Tony Tomal. We used to give synchronized shows loading railcars before we attracted customers. Our strads were painted orange, so the group got nicknamed the Orange Angels. Early on we also employed a great top pick driver to complement our strads. His name was Signal White. There should be a statue of those “Magnificent Seven” drivers, as they were called, down at Local 23.

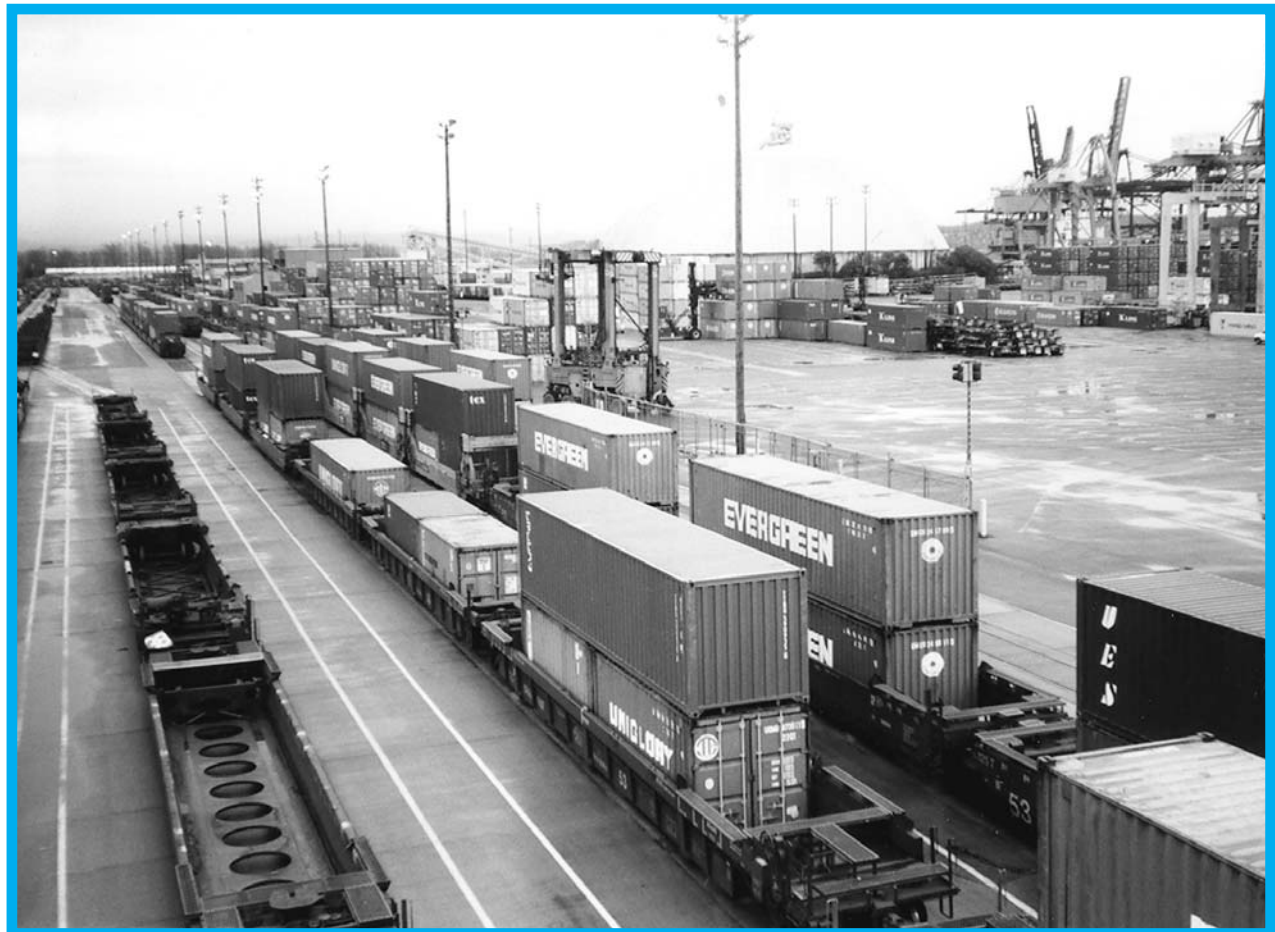
The zenith was 1987. We set a record of 937 lifts in one shift. We’ve done over 1200 moves in a shift since then, but that 937 was made with just three tracks and six three-high machines that could go over railcars. Later we had eight tracks and more strads. Some of those 937 runs were over two miles long. When I look back on it now it still blows my mind.

After a while most guys called me “Pops.” They seemed to dub me a kind of a father figure. White guys, too—even more White than Black—would ask me to counsel them. I wanted to help, and I didn’t believe in polarization, which is horrible. I tried to get guys together. We formed a group called the African American Longshoremen’s Association (AALA) so guys could at least have somebody to talk to.

Our union back in those days lacked any line of communication, even for White guys. If you had a problem with a foreman or a guy, who did you talk to? I tried to get people together so they could talk and solve problems. In the 1980s some Black guys got transferred up here from Portland, which was racist. They had chips on their shoulders. I tried to settle them down and urge them not to make every situation a Black and White issue, because every situation is not that way. Eventually the AALA awarded me a plaque in appreciation of my work. That really touched me.

Looking back, this waterfront has been good to me. It’s given all my sons a job. And the waterfront is about the only place I know where a man, especially a Black man, can be as much of a man as he wants to be. That’s worth its weight in gold. Sure, there are racists on the waterfront, but the union is not racist. If it was, how come I was so successful? And how come my son Terry was elected Dispatcher, one of the most powerful jobs on the waterfront? How could Willie Adams get elected International Secretary-Treasurer? You get those votes because the union people respect you, not because you’re White or Black.

Today we have many new people on the waterfront who don’t know anything about unions. If you’re going to come into this industry, you have to be taught where you have been, where you are now and where you are going. You have to be taught the longshore way. We can only do this by education. I think the 2002 lockout was a wake-up call to us. Now everybody knows we’re here and what we control. We better be ready for 2008. Don’t sit there thinking you’re a fat cat. You’d better be ready for a fight.



Harvey Schwartz

Containers stacked on railcars, North Intermodal Yard

TORY PROJECT
III, Part I

Morrow:
gendarly Soul
Engineer

FROM THE LABOR MOVEMENT

DUTCH GOVERNMENT PLANS PORT DEREGULATION

The Netherlands declared it will no longer abide by an international labor standard protecting dockers' work and jurisdiction. The announcement came at a Jan. 26 meeting attended by maritime employers, the dockers' union *FNV Bondgenoten*, the labor ministry and the International Labor Organization to review the country's implementation of those labor protections.

Labor minister Aart Jan de Geus claimed that the standard, ILO Convention 137, violated his labor market deregulation policy. The convention was ratified by The Netherlands in 1976, and requires signatory countries to maintain a registry of dockworkers and give preference to registrants laid off because of technological advances when new jobs open up. Now the government desires an "open market" approach that would award dockers' work to the lowest bidders.

Abandoning the convention will harm all dockers, *FNV Bondgenoten* Coordinator Niek Stam said.

"If we lose it in The Netherlands, then the Belgians and Germans also lose," Stam told *The Dispatcher*. "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 in the largest port in the world, they can do it anywhere."

The ILO, founded under the League of Nations in 1919 and now under the UN, proposes labor standards that individual countries are encouraged to ratify and make part of their labor laws. Even Saddam Hussein's Iraq adopted Convention 137—the U.S. has not.

Convention 137 came out of dockers' struggles during the imposition of containerization in the 1960s. Workers fought for their jobs, and trade disruptions followed. The ILO sought to solve the problem by establishing international standards. Even though workers only represent one-third of the tri-partite ILO, all three partners—labor, employers and governments—agreed that workers should share in the benefits of containerization. Article 5 of the Convention charges governments to find ways to reduce the harm new technologies cause workers. It also says workers should share in the wealth their increased productivity generates.

The union found out in 2000 that the Rotterdam port employers had unilaterally abolished the registry list of dockers. The employers had previously guaranteed they would keep the list required by Convention 137 and maintained that meant the government did not need to. When the employers would not reinstate the list, the union asked the government to either re-establish the old list or set up a new one. When the government declined this request, the union took legal action to force it to comply. The case is still pending.

ITF Dockers' Section Secretary Kees Marges said the Dutch government's move was another attempt to privatize ports and bust docker unions, just like the European Union's Port Directive that unions beat back just last November.

"It's perfectly in line with the attitude of the employers," Marges told *The Dispatcher*. "They follow their master's voice—the dogma of free trade and deregulation."

Dockers in the U.S. see it in much the same way.

"We see governments abandoning social protection for the permanent, registered dockworkers," said Ray Familathe, Director of the ILWU



On the job in Rotterdam. Three longshore workers are lowered by a crane to remove twistlocks on the containers. The seven-high stack is too tall to be worked with lash sticks, so the lashers go over the side. The person on the top is a radio operator who stays in touch with the crane operator for safety reasons.

International Dept. "This is a horrible sign of times ahead. We're looking at the de-unionization of the docks through casualization. Failure to maintain the lists is a direct threat to the future of our employment on the docks."

The Dutch dockers called for the support of all workers.

"This is an international problem for us to solve," Stam said. "We are preparing for the second half of this year because then The Netherlands will be chair of the EU [it rotates semi-annually]. There will be a lot of attention then. All unions should send us a letter to the ILO and I will deliver it."

—Tom Price

BANGLADESH DOCKERS RESIST SSA PORT PRIVATIZATION

The members of the Chittagong Port Workers' Union knew they were in for a long fight when they heard in 1997 that Stevedoring Services of America had cut a deal with their government to build a huge private terminal at their port. The two parties signed the agreement in 1998, and since then dockers have fought it to a standstill with strikes, demonstrations and court battles. But if the project is built, it would undermine the union contracts with the public port and threaten the Bangladeshi dockers union's very existence. Now the union is asking for international support, beginning with a workers' conference in Chittagong March 18-19.

The Port of Chittagong sits on the banks of the Karnafuli River, about nine nautical miles up from the Bay of Bengal in one of the poorest countries on earth. The half-billion dollar terminal SSA wants to build would make SSA the main player in that country's trade. Its location would effectively block much of the public port's traffic and its huge capacity would suck up most of its work. According to the union, this would have enormous

social consequences.

"The main center of Bangladesh's communication and trade with the outside world is supposed to become the private property of a U.S. multinational which will be free to hire, dismiss and impose its rules on Bangladeshi workers," General Secretary Shariat Ullah said in an appeal for international support. "No job will be secure. Previous [union] contracts will no longer operate."

With a public facility workers' rights as citizens in a parliamentary democracy give them some input to governmental decision-making. But with an anti-union, foreign corporation in control only answerable to its owners, citizens will have little chance of affecting corporate decisions. Without a union, dockers would become casual employees.

Union members objected to SSA taking over most of the work in Bangladesh's main port largely because of that company's anti-union attitude. Longshore Local 10 Executive Board member Clarence Thomas attended the Dec. 6-7 All-Asia Workers' Conference Against Privatization and Deregulation in India with the Chittagong dockers, and SSA was on the agenda.

"SSA was one of the most belligerent of PMA member companies at the ILWU-PMA negotiations in 2002," Thomas told the conference. "They're outsourcing our jobs at the same time they are privatizing Chittagong."

The company has a cozy enough relationship with the Bush administration to have won a no-bid contract to run the docks at Umm Qsar in occupied Iraq. Its officials also met with the Oakland Police before the April 7 demonstration against war profiteering at which police opened fire with "less lethal" weapons on demonstrators and longshore workers.

Chittagong's workers began their fight in 1997, as soon as they heard of

the pending agreement with SSA. By July 2001 they had shut the port down a total of 33 days with protests, according to *The Cargo Letter*, an industry journal. The government called off the plan after a three-day strike July 7, 2001, and it looked like the scheme might founder.

But the U.S. government intervened. U.S. Ambassador Mary Ann Peters bluntly warned Bangladesh in September 2002 that U.S. investment would be imperiled if SSA didn't get the terminal, according to the Bangladesh magazine *The Holiday*. The 50,000 port workers continued demonstrations and hunger strikes. They formed a coalition with the port and Chittagong Mayor Mohiuddin Chowdhury, and took the government to court.

The coalition won a major round last May 19 when Bangladesh's Supreme Court found that the government's deal with SSA was illegal. The court ruled the government had bypassed the jurisdiction of the Port Authority. The government granted the lease in "an arbitrary manner, without...a competitive bidding procedure through public auction," the ruling said.

The decision also exposed how one-sided the deal was—in SSA's favor.

"The agreement gave SSA a 198-year lease on the land," National Workers Federation President Tafazzul Hussain told Local 10's Thomas. "Even under British rule it was only 99 years. All rights would remain with SSA, all rules will be SSA's rules, there will be no Bangladesh rules applied to that port. Only a small royalty would be given to the country."

Since the court decision the Port of Chittagong secured loans and bought nine new yard cranes, according to a Feb. 19 *Journal of Commerce* report. Planned new construction will raise the annual capacity to 1.2 million TEUs. This increased capacity will help ease port congestion and could make the SSA plan unnecessary, though SSA is still trying to build the private port.

Meanwhile the dockers are globalizing their struggle. Their delegation to the Dec. 6-7 conference explained their struggle to the 85 attendees, and invited them to a March 18-19 convention to find ways to save the port. Local 10's Clarence Thomas will attend the convention.

"We are calling the convention to save our ports, save Chittagong and save our country," Hussain said.

--TomPrice

HEALTH CARE COSTS TAKE CENTER STAGE

The most tangible sign yet of the breakdown of the American health care system was when some 70,000 grocery workers in southern California struck and were locked out for more than four months. Their beef? Not the industry's notoriously low wages, but the life-and-death issue of who will pick up the tab for their health care.

Precarious though their economic well-being is, the baggers, checkers, stockers and other employees at Vons—a Safeway subsidiary—gave up their paychecks Oct. 11 rather than submit to a company demand that they pay a substantially larger share of their health care costs. The average weekly wage for Los Angeles supermarket workers was \$312. Safeway's demands, according to the United Food and Commercial Workers, would have cost them as much as \$95 a week in co-pays by the end of the contract.

As soon as the UFCW-represented employees at Vons and Pavilions—

FROM THE LABOR MOVEMENT

another Safeway subsidiary—walked off the job, Albertsons and Kroger subsidiary Ralph's locked out their UFCW members, too. Subsequent talks produced a contract that saved current employees' health package temporarily, but will eventually dismantle one of the best union health care plans in the country (see story page 7).

The grocery chains say they have to shift their costs to compete with Wal-Mart, a notorious job market bottom-feeder whose health plan is so expensive most employees can't purchase coverage. Their argument is overstated—at this point, most southern California Wal-Marts don't sell groceries—but it does underscore the problems that arise when the cost of providing essential human services is left in the hands of profit-maximizing corporations. And while the resulting burden is shifted most readily to the weakest and poorest sectors of society, the same logic gradually filters up into the ranks of middle-class America.

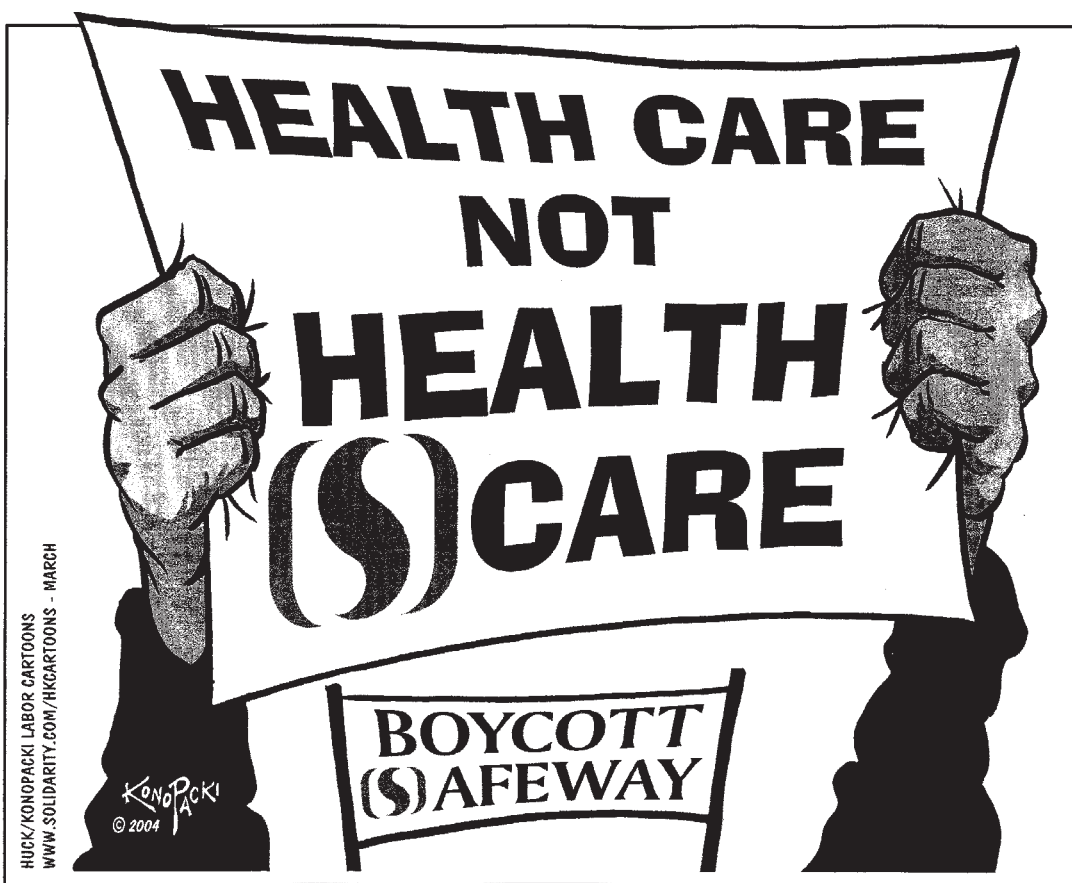
The health care squeeze, as illustrated by the grocery workers' struggle, is two-fold. On the one hand, the U.S. remains the only industrialized country in the world without a national health care system, leaving costs subject to the vagaries of an imperfect market in which the customers—patients—usually have artificially limited choices and little access to relevant information. The suppliers, meanwhile—hospitals, drug companies, insurance companies, HMOs—have few effective price restraints. The inevitable result is health care cost increases that regularly outstrip overall economic growth: the U.S. now spends 15 percent of total gross domestic product on health care, according to the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, an amount equal to \$5,440 per person in 2002.

Further adding to costs is the sheer wastefulness of the current, jerry-rigged system. A Harvard Medical School study, for instance, concluded that the U.S. spends \$209 billion a year on useless health-care paper work, tripling the cost of treating an American patient compared to one in Canada. One example: WellPoint in the U.S. had an administrative staff of 13,900 for 10.1 million customers, while the Ontario Health Insurance Plan covered a slightly larger population—11.7 million—with a staff of 1,400.

But as costs go up, the U.S. default position of privatized health insurance is breaking down because employers are balking at the higher bills. Indeed, the Commonwealth Fund, a private foundation that supports independent research on health and social issues, reports that 32 percent of all uninsured workers in 2001 were employed by big companies.

Enrollment in health plans offered by employers fell in 2001 and in 2002 because of rising unemployment, but also because some workers dropped coverage they could no longer afford. Wal-Mart, again, is the prototypical example, although it's hardly alone. The retailer requires its workers, on average, to pick up 42 percent of the total cost of their health coverage, or roughly twice the average of all large employers. As a result of such practices, the number of medically uninsured Americans is back on an upswing and approaching 44 million.

Employers also are whacking



retiree health plans. Roughly 10 percent of companies with more than a thousand employees eliminated such coverage in just the past year, according to a recent study by the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, and another 20 percent are expected to do so over the next three years. Meanwhile, of those that continue to offer retiree coverage, 71 percent hiked premiums last year and 86 percent plan to do so over the next three years.

Diminished coverage is even more extreme at the economic fringe, as exemplified by the grocery worker strike. Workers with the lowest fifth in incomes spent approximately 17 percent of their 2002 after-tax earnings on health care—or simply went without.

If employers are no longer willing to keep up their end of the social contract they accepted after World War II, the U.S. finally may have to adopt some kind of national health plan. Just such a step was urged in mid-January by the National Academy of Sciences, which concluded after three years of research that “lack of health insurance for tens of millions of Americans has serious negative consequences and economic costs, not only for the uninsured themselves but also for their families, the communities they live in, and the whole country.”

Although Canadian members of the ILWU have enjoyed the benefits of a nationalized health care system for several decades, U.S. opponents of such a plan frequently claim it results in health care “rationing” and lower overall levels of care. Statistics comparing U.S. and Canadian outcomes, however, don't support the argument. Infant mortality rates are lower and life expectancy is longer in Canada than in the U.S. And while middle class U.S. and Canadian residents have similar odds of surviving cancer, those in the bottom one-third of the socio-economic ladder have a 35 percent better survival rate north of the border than south of it.

Which may explain as nothing else why the grocery workers fought for their scraps of health care coverage, and why the rest of us should pay attention.

—Andy Zipser

Editor, The Guild Reporter

SAN FRANCISCO GETS A RAISE

SAN FRANCISCO—The lowest-paid workers here got a hard-earned raise Feb. 23 when the city's new minimum wage law took effect.

Strong grassroots campaigning by low-wage workers and their advocates pushed Proposition L to victory in the November 2003 election. Prop. L, approved by more than 60 percent of San Francisco voters, raised the minimum wage for anyone working in the city to \$8.50 per hour. This is the highest rate in the country and \$1.75 per hour more than the California minimum.

The raise will make a marked difference in their lives, said several workers at a City Hall press conference celebrating the new law.

“Now my family can eat more healthily and live more healthily,” said Lily Zhu, a waitress and member of the Chinese Progressive Association (CPA). “This can get us out of the SRO [single-room occupancy] hotel we're living in.”

“Tuition at City College of San Francisco has gone up almost 100 percent,” said Ruby Kalson-Bremer of Young Workers United (YWU). “This will help young workers support themselves, get an education and stay in San Francisco.”

More than 55,700 workers will get an average annual pay increase of \$1,946, according to a study by the UC Berkeley Center for Labor Research and Education. The study also found that 91 percent of San Francisco businesses would see cost increases of no more than 3 percent under the new law.

Using this to rebut business-owners' claims the raise would ruin them, the Minimum Wage Coalition called and visited voters in San Francisco's working-class neighborhoods. Besides the Young Workers and the CPA, the coalition included SEIU Local 790 and HERE Local 2, the Day Laborers' Program, ACORN, People Organized to Win Employment Rights, the Central City SRO Collaborative and other community organizations.

—Marcy Rein

WORLD'S UNIONS BLAST U.S. LABOR LAW

Just in time for the Jan. 14-16 review of U.S. practices by the World Trade Organization, the world's largest confederation of trade unions issued a highly critical report of U.S. enforcement of internationally recognized labor rights.

Noting that the U.S. is the world's largest single economy and its largest trading party, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions—of which the AFL-CIO is a member—nevertheless observed that

it has ratified only two of the eight international labor conventions adopted by the U.N.'s International Labor Organization and subsequently affirmed by the first WTO Ministerial Conference in 1996, then reaffirmed in 2000.

But as the ICFTU report makes clear, the U.S. refuses to live up to its responsibilities even as labor rights in the country continue to deteriorate. Specifically:

- *The U.S. has not ratified Convention No. 87 on the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize, nor Convention No. 98 on the Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining.*

Although the National Labor Relations Act is the primary U.S. labor law, it excludes substantial categories of workers, including agricultural and domestic workers, supervisors and independent contractors. In addition, only 40 percent of all public sector workers have the right to bargain collectively, for a total of 32 million civilian workers who have no right under any law to negotiate their wages, hours or terms of employment.

Meanwhile, those workers who have such rights must claim them under an NLRB-prescribed process that employers routinely pervert. Union supporters are fired in one of every four organizing campaigns, 75 percent of employers hire outside consultants to derail such campaigns, 92 percent force employees to attend closed-door meetings to hear anti-union propaganda.

“In practice,” the report observes, “the right to organize is often violated and sanctions on employers in cases of violations do not provide sufficient deterrents. The right to strike is recognized but restricted.”

- *The U.S. has not ratified Convention No. 100 on Equal Remuneration, nor Convention No. 111 on Discrimination (Employment and Occupation).*

The U.S. has addressed issues of discrimination and pay equity in a series of laws, including Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act, the Americans with Disabilities Act and the Equal Pay Act of 1963. Yet despite these legislative milestones, pay inequities remain marked. Forty years after passage of the Equal Pay Act, for example, women still are paid only 76 cents of every dollar paid to men. The discrepancies are seen across all occupational categories: female physicians in 1999 were paid 62.5 percent of the average wage paid to male physicians, while among sales occupations the corresponding statistic was 59.9 percent.

Discriminatory wage patterns are even more pronounced among minority workers. In 2000, for every \$1 in median white male pay, black men received 78.2 cents; Hispanic men, 63.4 cents; white women, 72.2 cents; black women, 64.6 cents; and Hispanic women, 52.8 cents.

- *The U.S. ratified Convention No. 182, the Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention, in 1999; it still has not ratified Convention No. 138, the Minimum Age Convention.*

ILO statistics showed 8.4 million economically active children in the U.S. between the ages of 16 and 19 in the year 2000; somewhere between 300,000 and 800,000 of them were in agriculture, which is second only to mining in providing hazardous work conditions. More than 100 were killed on the job.

—Andy Zipser

Editor, The Guild Reporter

Outlawing Vertical Tandem Lifts:

A report on the new ILO port safety code

By Albert Le Monnier
ILWU Canada Second Vice President

A special meeting of experts on security, safety and health in ports was held Dec. 7-17, 2003 at the International Labour Organization office in Geneva, Switzerland with the mandate to achieve two things:

Formulate a Code of Practice on Port Security.

Revise and modernize the ILO Code of Practice on Safety and Health in Dock Work, eliminating obsolete sections and introducing guidelines on new technologies in ports and on health issues not dealt with in the previous code.

This report concentrates on the Safety and Health Code, which covers all aspects of work in ports, including loading/unloading of goods or passengers onto or from ships, and specifically the section on lifting appliances and loose gear, their safe use, operations on shore and operations afloat.

The Workers group at the meeting—the ILO is a tri-partite organization composed of representatives from governments, employers and labor—made most of its input in the sections on safety and inspection standards for lifting appliances and loose gear.

To fulfill our responsibilities in examining the “tools of our trade,” the rules state that **“Round slings should not be used for cargo handling.”** The reason for this is, by design, a round sling (bundled endless twined yarn wrapped inside a sleeve) cannot be properly examined. Broken fibres inside the sling of the sleeve still intact would go undetected.

The code specifically states that **“every item of loose gear should be visually inspected by a responsible person before use.”** Even more to the point it states that: **“During discharge pre-slung slings should be inspected prior to each lift as damage can occur while the ship is at sea as a result of movement between the packages.”**

The original draft text of the code advocated that a Vertical Tandem Lift (VTL), the procedure of lifting as many as three containers vertically by using the inter-box connectors called lift locks, not exceed 20 metric tons and be done only when all parties concerned are in agreement. It closed the subject with the suggestion to use the International Cargo Handling Co-ordination Association's (ICHCA) *“Guidelines on Vertical Tandem Lifting and Checklist.”*

The guidelines acknowledge that a VTL operation has potential hazards and the purpose of the guidelines was to establish the safest methods possible. But if all guidelines were followed to the letter, a VTL operation would be less productive than a regular operation. The Worker's group presented an amendment to this proposal by requesting that all reference to VTL be deleted and replaced with the statement “Vertical Tandem Lifts should never be allowed.”

The Employer's group main arguments were that VTLs have been conducted in several ports in the U.S. and elsewhere for some years, and that there are no recorded serious accidents relative to such operations, although there have been many close calls. They also reiterated their standard, off-the-shelf position that if an operation was so unsafe and an accident so imminent, the cost in productivity would create a disincentive to promoting it. The answer to that, of course, is employers would indeed

push for a riskier operation if the increase in productivity outweighs the odd severe loss incurred by a serious accident, including a fatality. Car manufacturers have done that many times in the past.

The Employer group's other argument was the sheer increase in global container transportation volume that is projected for the next 20 years forces the terminals to maximize the utility of their equipment in order to keep up with the demand. If that's the case, then we say engineer the problem out just like they did with the horizontal twin/twenty spreader head. Don't introduce a new operation by simply skewing and relaxing safety rules by way of changing a non-loose gear into a loose gear and rename it liftlock instead of twistlock.

We opened our arguments by stating our outrage that both an employer and an occupational safety regulatory body would give consent to a major operational modification without so much as consulting the workers' representatives. OSHA should have declared the operation illegal right on the onset by stating it was contrary to its Rules 1917 and 1918 that require inspection of all gear employers provide at regular intervals since that cannot be done with twistlocks.

This was a classic case of putting the cart before the horse. The Occupational Safety and Health regulatory body is advocating and justifying an acknowledged hazardous procedure based on a calculated increase in productivity—a clear and unabashed declaration that productivity takes precedence over safety.

But the main thrust of our arguments revolved around the fundamental principle that we, the longshore

We, the longshore workers, have not only the obligation, but the right to examine any tools of the trade at our disposal in order to do our job safely.

workers, have not only the obligation, but the right to examine any tools of the trade at our disposal in order to do our job safely.

Twistlocks by their very design and construction cannot be properly inspected. Only the outside surface of the triangular ends of the device can be seen by the naked eye. The same reasons condemning the round slings above are applicable with twistlocks. Furthermore, as another example, the 4 X 29 wire rope that was utilized on many ship cranes was banned not because the individual wires were breaking off (they all do eventually), but because they were breaking off from the inside of the rope. It was the fact that their breaking off was undetectable that made that particular wire illegal. The very same situation exists with twistlocks, and not because of a particular manufacturer flaw but by basic design. Therefore twistlocks should never become a loose gear even if they meet tensile strength originally.

Even if they were examinable, in the unloading mode the twistlocks are not even accessible for inspection. That would mean that VTL should be carried out only in the loading mode, effectively defeating the purpose.

The other main problem with VTL is the examination scheme for the containers themselves. That scheme,



ILWU Canada 2nd Vice President Al Le Monnier, right, and co-spokesperson ITF Secretary, Dockers Division, Kees Marges, at the ILO Tripartite meeting of Experts on Security, Safety and Health in Ports Geneva 2003.

named the Container Safety Convention, was originally developed in the 1970s by another UN organization, the International Maritime Organization (IMO). It basically called for each container to be examined after five years from manufacture and every 30 months thereafter by a competent independent person. This proved to be a little too rigid for the

added risk of VTL would be catastrophic in case of a spill. That proves to us that VTL is an unsafe operation. Each lift is a leap of faith.

We could have brought up many more arguments, but we were constrained by time limits in presenting our case. The added stress factor for the crane operator has never been taken into account for example. What about his safety should a failure occur?

The Employer group never countered any of our arguments. They made it clear, however, that ratification of the document would be impossible with our amendment in place. As a compromise, it was agreed to have all references to VTLs removed from the text.

In place we developed an “innovation” clause directing that before any new technological or work practice is introduced in a work place, it must be proven, based on facts, that it is safe, that full consultation with workers representatives is done and an agreement is reached with the participation of the competent authority of the state. Where the technology has global ramifications, a special small Tri-Partite meeting is to be held at the ILO office in Geneva before its introduction into the work place.

The ILO Code of Practice includes many other aspects of port operations. The document is indeed all-encompassing and well thought out. It was put together by two experts who have a combined global experience in port-related activity of some 90 years. I encourage all ILWU Safety Committees, both in the U.S. and Canada to adopt this code and make it the cornerstone of our safety program.

For a full transcript of the new code and a final report, I urge all interested readers to go to the ILO web site:

<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/dialogue/sector/sectors/mariti.htm>.

An article on the subject jointly written by the International Transport Workers Federation's Docker Division Secretary Kees Marges and myself will appear in the up-coming April issue of Transport International, the publication of the ITF.

Everyday terror: The national insecurity state

By Adam Cornford

Recent poll numbers, including George W. Bush's sliding approval ratings, make visible what most of us have known for some time—that ordinary working Americans are a lot less scared of what foreign terrorists might do to them than of what daily life is doing to them already. Such fear may reach the point at which Bush & Co. are replaced by a Democratic administration. But this by itself will not change the underlying causes of the constant intimidation most Americans are subjected to by the corporate elite and its allies in government and the media.

ECONOMIC TERROR

The biggest single cause of fear in most people's lives is economic. It's well known that in the last four years, America has lost over three million jobs, most of them in manufacturing. We are facing the highest levels of unemployment and underemployment since the engineered recession of the early Reagan era—the last time this kind of terror was deliberately applied. To be fair, some of the jobs are simply disappearing because of competition from locally owned firms in low-wage zones such as Mexico, China and the Philippines. But many are being exported to these same low-wage zones by U.S.-based corporations.

Meanwhile, the Federal government continues to put new terror weapons in the hands of employers. The I-91 program used to import engineers and other skilled technical workers from South Asia, or Bush's proposed Guest Worker bill that would "legalize" undocumented workers on temporary visas as the virtual indentured slaves of their employers, are two examples.

And it's not only that an ever-increasing proportion of America's workers face job insecurity. The jobs they are likely to get when they are rehired mostly pay less and have inferior benefits and conditions. Meanwhile, even workers with relatively well-paid and secure jobs—the UFCW grocery clerks, for instance—are facing brutal employer pressure to cut their health benefits. Big business likes high levels of unemployment because they enforce what economists like to call "market discipline," that is, they scare workers into tolerating the intolerable.

The lack of decent health insurance—or any health insurance at all for more than 40 million Americans—is another major source of economic terror. With little or no coverage for catastrophic hospital care, millions of aging but not-yet-retired Americans live in dread of serious or chronic illness. Again, workers accept ever-increasing premiums and co-pays imposed by employers because they're afraid of ending up in a worse situation, possibly with no insurance at all. This warms the hearts of the insurers, just as the Bush administration's new

Anyone says I'm naked . . . is a terrorist.



Medicare bill banning the cross-border sale of cheaper drugs from Canada, puts smiles on the faces of pharmaceutical executives. A steady flow of money from these interests into state and federal politics, as well as into media campaigns, keeps the idea of tax-funded universal national health insurance a la Canada and Western Europe beyond serious discussion.

If illness is as scary as a monster movie, retirement is a slasher flick. Countless workers have already lost much of their retirement money through irresponsible investing by their 401(k) and mutual fund managers during the high-tech "bubble" that burst in late 2000. Meanwhile, although contrary to alarmist propaganda from right-wing pundits, Social Security is still solvent, the Bush strategy of starving the Federal government of funds via tax cuts and overspending is designed to force its privatization. This would release a huge flow of capital into the coffers of investment banks and insurance companies, but leave most of us vulnerable to market fluctuations in the assets we will depend on in old age.

SOCIAL TERROR

Americans are also experiencing higher social and familial anxiety. Much of this anxiety can be traced to the defunding of public services over the last two decades. Most states now

face severe deficits as a result of the Bush administration's cuts in grants for health, welfare, education and transportation.

The results are everywhere visible. Decaying public schools with demoralized, underpaid teachers. Skyrocketing college tuition alongside flat financial aid. Mass transit that goes fewer places less often for higher fares. A public health system on the verge of collapse.

So working parents face a host of worries about their kids. How they'll get to school on time. How good an education they'll get there and how safe they'll be. How they'll pay for college. How to keep them from abusing alcohol and drugs, contracting an STD or HIV, or getting pregnant—and how to get them treatment or an abortion if they do. No wonder suicide is the second largest cause of death among teenagers after car accidents, no wonder divorce rates are so high and no wonder the market for antidepressants and anti-anxiety drugs is booming.

POLITICAL TERROR

Finally, Americans face direct as well as indirect political intimidation. For most of the two years after 9/11, it was difficult in many places to voice any serious criticism of the Bush administration for fear of being labeled a traitor. A concerted government and media campaign from the very day of the Al Qaeda atrocities set out to exploit them for political purposes. The PATRIOT Act of 2001 authorizes a host of repressive measures, including the virtual suspension of privacy rights, and allows the Attorney General to define "terrorist" and "terrorist support" organizations more or less at will.

As dissent beyond the timidly ineffectual is increasingly tarred with the "terrorist" brush, so protest is treated with much greater brutality by the police, as seen in the violence dealt out last year to antiwar protesters and longshore workers in Oakland and to global justice demonstrators in Miami. In this climate, it has been much easier for the Republican leadership to continue its campaign of gerrymandering

(as in Texas), vote-rigging (as in Florida) and demagoguery (as in the California Governor recall).

ISOLATION VERSUS SOLIDARITY

The corporate elite is able to impose this regime of fear not only because a mere 13 percent of the U.S. workforce belongs to any kind of union and because the already biased framework of labor law is consistently enforced against organizing efforts, but for another, deeper reason too. Until the middle of the last century, workers for a given enterprise, or even industry, as in the New York garment district, tended to live close together and close to the workplace, in tenements or row houses. They had strong social networks and practiced mutual aid out of necessity. Union organizing, despite an even more hostile legal situation, was easier because workers knew and supported each other outside of work.

But today's employees seldom live near each other or their extended families, commuting to work from scattered suburban homes. Despite the phone and the Internet, this makes the logistics of organizing much harder. More profoundly, it creates isolation, rendering us vulnerable to the dizzying stream of pro-business, pro-privatization propaganda pouring from our radios and TV sets. It reinforces the constant theme in American culture, propagated relentlessly for the last quarter-century by right-wing foundations and think tanks, that we are all entrepreneurs competing in the great marketplace, pitching our skills and personalities as merchandise to the highest bidder. If we find ourselves poor, broke, sick or unemployed, it's nobody's fault but our own. Life is a race, and we're the losers—end of story.

The first step in overcoming fear, then, is overcoming the *shame* we feel at what seem our own failures. Of course we may have made mistakes. But the economic and social conditions that have been imposed on us make the consequences of otherwise minor errors potentially deadly. It's as if the force of gravity has been doubled, so that even a small fall always breaks bones.

Once we recognize that millions of other people, including some of our neighbors, face the same terrifying conditions we face, we can take the next step, moving to overcome isolation. If we're lucky enough to belong to a union—a real, fighting union like the ILWU—that's obviously the first stop. But other grassroots groups, from patients' rights and tenants' organizations to neighborhood and church groups, can also provide support.

Beyond the immediate crisis, the key to rolling back the everyday terror we face is *solidarity*. Solidarity is based on trust, a trust built face-to-face, in small groups, out of dialogue and shared experience. Each time our trust is rewarded, we grow stronger, as individuals and as a group. We begin to believe that if we stumble, others will help us to our feet again, as we will help them. At the same time, we are reinforced in our understanding that the source of our worst problems and most excruciating fears is the existing political, social and economic system—a system designed to benefit the few at the expense of the many and to terrorize the many into passively accepting it.

It's a cliché that love conquers fear. Solidarity does not mean love—though, as veterans of labor, civil rights, and women's struggles can tell you, it often leads to love. But it does mean acting *as if* we loved and were loved by the people we fight alongside, for justice, for freedom, for a secure and decent life for all—and against the insidious tyranny of fear.

EVERYDAY TERROR ALERTS

In the wake of 9/11, the Bush administration established a system of "terror alerts" with four levels, Green, Yellow, Orange, and Red. A similar system might well be established for the levels of terror most Americans face in daily life.

Green: Background worry. My job seems secure, I can pay my bills and my housing costs, I'm reasonably healthy, I have health insurance even though the premiums and co-pays have risen, my marriage seems stable, my kids are doing OK, but I still feel concern about how long this will last.

Yellow: Focused anxiety. My employer is making noises about the need to cut back, my rent or mortgage payment is going up, so are my health premiums, my spouse and I are fighting a lot, my kids' grades are down.

Orange: Dread. Layoffs have been announced in my division, I don't know how I'm going to pay for housing without using up the last of my savings, I'm sick and waiting for test results, my spouse is talking divorce, I've found out my kid is an addict.

Red: Panic. I've been laid off, I'm about to be evicted, I have cancer and no health insurance, my spouse has left me for someone else, my kid has been charged with a felony and faces trial as an adult.

LETTERS

YOU *#@% B*S+%#D!

A couple of letters in *The Dispatcher* of Jan. 2004 incite me to make some comments. First though, I want to commend you for printing them. Seems to me the democratic thing to do.

The letters I'm referring to are from those writers who object to the liberal policy of *The Dispatcher*. Someone who is a member of this union taking such an attitude shocked me. I find it hard to believe. I realize that in this country everyone is entitled to his personal opinion, but for anyone who has partook of the benefits of belonging to the ILWU to object to a liberal policy is mind boggling.

Any organization, union or otherwise, that is progressive has to be liberal. Or else be content with the status quo, and willing for the only change to be backward.

One of these writers called you liberal bastards. That is much, much nicer than what I think he, and the other of the same stripe, should be called! Keep up the good work.

Jim Hammons
Local 12, retired

INDEBTED FOR SPOTLIGHT

In response to two letters to the editor from *The Dispatcher's* January publication complaining of *The Dispatcher's* "liberal slant," Webster's Dictionary defines a liberal as one who is progressive in thinking or principles, open handed, generous, broadminded especially as to religious or political ideas.

I, for one, am indebted to *The Dispatcher* for spotlighting the Bush administration's attack after blatant attack on unions, the working class, civil rights, the U.S. Constitution, Social Security, healthcare, our judicial system, the environment, and the financial solvency of United States.

The Dispatcher has filled a void in which the mainstream and rightwing are reticent and remiss to cover.

Denise Schafte
Local 4

LIBERAL IS NOT A 4-LETTER WORD

Regarding those letters in the last *Dispatcher*, I wonder if those two who sent them would like to see a liberal union which helps and protects all its members suddenly deregister those people who do not know the meaning of the word "liberal?"

If you remember correctly, you will note that it was the Reagan administration that turned the word liberal into a four-letter word. Reagan never knew the meaning of the word and believed that most of his listeners didn't know either. So every time he wanted to say "crap" he said "liberal," meaning, to him, "Democrat." Seeing that at one time Reagan was a Democrat before he saw the opportunities of being a dirty labor-hating GOP he found himself Governor then President. All the time pretending that he loved all Americans, which he didn't. When he was in all the programs for seniors went out the window, as did all the student loans. Congress wouldn't give him the money to kill all the liberals in Nicaragua so he had Ollie North sell weapons to our enemies in Iran and then turn that money over to the death squads in Nicaragua. You know, I don't want the GOP to learn the definition of liberal, they might try to steal it like they stole the White House three years ago!

The big dictionary (something that Reagan or Bush, Jr. never opened) says that liberal means: worthy of a man of free birth, free not servile or mean, not restricted. Bestowing in large noble way, gener-

ous, bounteous, open handed, not narrow or contracted in mind, a generous opponent; warm hearted readiness to give, free from bigotry and restraints, favors greater freedom in political or religious matters. In other words liberal refers to a Union like the ILWU.

Let it be known that the Bush people went into Iraq to steal the oil and for no other reason. It isn't the business of the USA to police the world of tyrants. As a matter of fact, Bush Jr. is one!

How many conservatives were in the picket lines in 1934? What did conservatives ever do to help the working man? When conservatives get into the ILWU it is so they can reap the union benefits that they never fought for. Hey! I'm a Korean War veteran but I'm not trying to show how I have a right to express my opinion by tearing down the greatest labor union ever created!

Jess E. Stewart
Local 52, retired

TOP 10 REASONS NOT TO BE ASHAMED

Regarding Mr. Weinberg's letter printed in *The Dispatcher* Jan. issue: Mr. Weinberg:

I am the wife of a retired member of ILWU Local 63. This is my answer to your letter of hate for the union that you are too embarrassed to be affiliated with. Here is my list of the "Top Ten" situations you would have to endure without the "horrible" union:

- 1934 wages
- all white union
- no dispatch hall
- kickbacks
- none of our children in college
- no power in elections
- no safety rules
- no bathrooms on docks
- still using just the cargo hook
- never knowing Harry

Myrt Perisho

GET A JOB AT WAL-MART

Hard to believe the two letters from "conservatives" in the January issue of *The Dispatcher*.

I find it really sad and disturbing that men who claim to be part of our wonderful union do not have any idea of what it is all about.

For an example, they sound like the kind of reactionaries who for so many years tried to get rid of Harry Bridges. The only explanation I can come up with is that they have gotten such incredible benefits from being members (maybe they are not) of our union they think of themselves as part of the conservative Republican elite!

If our union and our philosophy are so disturbing to these two men, (and others like them) I suggest they quit and get a job at Wal-Mart.

Robert "Skip" Melcher,
Local 10, retired

MAJORITY RULES IN ILWU

The authors of letters entitled "Ashamed of *The Dispatcher*" and "Unfair to Conservatives" are certainly entitled to their opinions, but their opinions differ from ILWU Convention action. Without going into detail I'll simply point out that a majority of the delegates at the last Convention passed membership resolutions that spoke to the war on Iraq. Those resolutions are reflected in some articles in *The Dispatcher*. The delegates also supported our men and women in uniform. They called on the U.S. to bring them home—alive.

The history of our union is a fascinating saga. One should take the time to read old editions of *The Dispatcher*, and in particular, Harry

MAY IS MEDICAL, DENTAL CHOICE MONTH

Active and retired longshore families in the ports where members have a choice can change medical plans during the open enrollment period May 1 to May 31, 2004. The change will be effective July 1, 2004. San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Portland/Vancouver active and retired longshore workers may change dental plans in the month of May for coverage effective July 1, 2004. In addition to the May open enrollment period, members may change their health coverage once at any time during the Plan Year (July 1-June 30).

The July 1, 2002 Memorandum of Understanding between the ILWU and PMA provides that new registrants in the ports where members have a choice of medical plans shall be assigned Kaiser HMO Plan or Group Health Cooperative HMO Plan for the first 18 months of registration. After 18 months, those registrants who have qualified for continued eligibility under Mid-Year/Annual Review hours requirement will have a choice of medical plans. New registrants in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland/Vancouver and Washington will have a choice of dental plans on the first of the month following registration, and may change dental plans during the Open Enrollment period and one additional time during the Plan Year.

MEDICAL CHOICE: The medical plan choice is between Kaiser Foundation Health Plan and the ILWU-PMA Coastwise Indemnity Plan for Southern California Locals 13, 26, 29, 63 and 94; Northern California Locals 10, 18, 34 (San Francisco), 34 (Stockton), 54, 75 and 91; and Oregon-Columbia River Locals 4, 8, 40, and 92. In the Washington State area, the choices for Locals 19, 23, 32, 47, 52 and 98 are Group Health Cooperative and the ILWU-PMA Coastwise Indemnity Plan.

DENTAL PLANS: For Los Angeles Locals, dental choice is between Delta Dental Plan and the Sakai, Simms, Simon and Sugiyama group plan. For San Francisco Locals, dental choice is between Delta Dental Plan, City Center Dental and Naismith group plan. For Portland/Vancouver Locals dental choice is between Blue Cross of Oregon Dentacare, Oregon Kaiser Dental Plan and Oregon/Washington Dental Service. For Washington Locals dental choice is between Washington Dental Service and Dental Health Services.

Information on the dental plans, and Kaiser and Group Health Cooperative medical plans, and forms to change plans can be obtained at the Locals and the ILWU-PMA Benefit Plans office. The ILWU-PMA Coastwise Indemnity Plan description booklet is under preparation and will be furnished as soon as it is available.

All enrollment cards must be completed and submitted to the Benefit Plans office by May 31 for the change to be effective July 1.

Bridges' "On the Beam" columns. They'd find progressive, working class oriented articles.

As to the harangue against "liberals:" It appears too many workers are listening to the likes of Rush Limbaugh, Sean Hannity and Bill O'Reilly on hate radio. What I really fail to understand is why *any* worker would listen to those manicured-hands non-workers. It might be wise for them to instead do their own independent and analytical research on what "liberals" support. Here are a few examples: A liberal Congress brought us Medicare, the Civil Rights Act, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Head Start, protection of OSHA standards, job training—you know, "liberal" causes like those—that were and are supported by the ILWU.

Conservatives, I might add, love to hate organized labor. They also voted to end block grants to states and now our schools go begging for money. When it comes to tax breaks for the rich and famous, however, conservatives toss money around like it grew on trees. And don't forget, conservatives want to privatize your Medicare.

Their duplicity in Iraq, however, is a horror of horrors. Read Michael Dobbs' article "U.S.—Iraq Ties in 1980s Illustrate Downside of American Foreign Policy," and draw your own conclusions.

Finally, anyone who objects to what is written in *The Dispatcher*

might try writing a resolution, get it passed at a membership meeting, and have it sent on to our International Convention for debate and action. Unless our rank-and-file Convention delegates decide otherwise, I want *The Dispatcher* to continue to write articles that reflect ILWU Convention policy.

Richard Austin
Local 32, retired

WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?

Do the hands of brothers Seymour and Morse shake when they pick up their pay or pension cheque?

They ask for balance in reportage on our working class newspaper vis-à-vis "liberal versus conservative" outlook.

Yes, they are correct when they say there are two sides; however, the opposing sides are corporate and working class, there are no other. And if there is a middle class, of whom do they speak? Do they rub elbows with the CEOs in the beer parlours?

I'm sure George W. Bush wasn't very concerned about balance when he went ahead with his (conservative) program of gutting workers' hard-won rights and benefits.

Our union and its press are to be congratulated for taking the hard positions required to face up to the onslaught of the employers and THEIR government—there is no middle ground!

Dave Arland
Local 500, retired



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PEOPLE



Helen Kaunisto

Federated Auxiliaries Helen Kaunisto passes

by Tom Price

The ILWU Federated Auxiliaries lost a major organizer when Helen Kaunisto passed away recently at the age of 87.

Born in Detroit Nov. 29, 1915, Kaunisto moved to California in 1944 and got a job at the Coronet Bar in Long Beach. There she met longshore Local 13 member Art Kaunisto and married him in 1948. She joined Ladies Auxiliary 8 in May 1956 and carried on until just before her death, helping out wherever she was needed.

All told, she served seven terms as Auxiliary 8 president and held numerous other positions in the Federated Auxiliaries over six decades. Far from shrinking violets, the women she worked with were on the front lines of political action, strike support and progressive politics in their communities. She helped with everything from welcoming new members to campaigning on the big political issues of the day, and she kept them informed by editing the auxiliary's newsletter for 20 years.

As part of an introduction to the ILWU family, Kaunisto held teas in members' homes and asked the wives of newly registered ILWU members to join the auxiliary. She took an interest in making the auxiliary active and interesting, finding ways to keep people involved. She chaired the dinner-dance committee for longshore Local 13, helping people get acquainted off the job and building the social bonds that keep the union strong.

"She was a really caring person," Auxiliary 8 President Carol Chapman said. "And could she tell jokes! She was a really caring person who helped me about six years ago when I took over the newsletter."

Kaunisto served her first term as Auxiliary 8 President in 1970-71, coinciding with the 1971-72 longshore strike, a grueling 134-day battle. The auxiliary stood by the longshore workers, on the line and with food and support, serving between 800 and 1,000 sandwiches per day. In the early 1970s she and other auxiliary members went to toy stores after Christmas and bought toys for the following year at healthy discounts.

Kaunisto served in the Coffee Klatch at the Local 13 hall during

meetings, and on the Bloody Thursday picnic committees for many years. But it wasn't all cooking and cleaning—she also organized. While serving as Southern California Vice President in 1971-73, she and Ruth Harris and Peggy Chandler helped organize Auxiliary 19 in Port Hueneme. In December 1979 Kaunisto traveled to San Diego with Harris and Lois Grey and helped organize Auxiliary 9.

The Auxiliaries take on many social and political issues. Back in 1972, when Kaunisto was Southern California vice president, the FBI arrested a 17-year-old girl in Portland whose elder brother was AWOL from the Navy. The FBI burst into their house unannounced, looking for him, and grabbed her 14-year-old brother. The agents brutalized her and her two sisters, ages two and 15, and accused the 17-year-old girl of striking one of the heavily armed officers. The Auxiliary mobilized up and down the coast, raising bail and legal fees. Kaunisto, according to a March 1972 report in *The Dispatcher*, visited the girl regularly in jail and left donated money in the prison commissary for her meals. After eight months in prison, the girl's supporters got a federal appeals court judge to release her.

Kaunisto stayed active to the end. "Last summer we sent 100 boxes of personal items to soldiers in Iraq," Chapman said. "We felt so bad for those young kids, they don't need to be there."

When Kaunisto was too ill to drive to the meetings, her friend Jean Enyeart took her.

"The Auxiliary was her baby, she was totally devoted to the ILWU and all its facets," Enyeart said. "She never missed a pensioners' or auxiliary meeting."

Helen also took care of her husband's mother, who passed away at the age of 107. Helen visited her daily when she finally had to go to a rest home. Helen was especially fond of quoting one of her mother-in-law's sayings, Enyeart said. It could apply to Helen as well.

"Ma didn't want a preacher when she died," Enyeart said, quoting Helen. "Just have someone stand up and say 'She was a damn good union woman.'"



Mike and David Lomeli play cards at the Harry Bridges Institute office.

Father and son pensioners

Hardly anyone working the waterfront in the ports of L.A./Long Beach doesn't know at least one member of the Lomeli clan. Fathers, sons, brothers, cousins—they've done every job there ever was on the docks and been doing it practically since the union started. Now with David Lomeli joining his dad Mike in retirement they are pioneering something else—a father/son pensioner team.

Mike Lomeli started working on the San Pedro waterfront in 1937, three years after the founding of the West Coast longshore union and the same year it split from the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association and became the ILWU. He started working in Local 56 shipsalers and transferred to longshore Local 13 during WWII and was registered in 1943. He became a Local 94 walking boss in 1959 and retired in 1977, the same year Harry Bridges did.

David Lomeli followed his father into the industry, becoming a Local 13 casual in 1959 at the tender age of 19. He retired last October under the new contract.

Both men have seen big changes in their times on the waterfront. When David started as a casual he got all the leftover jobs others didn't want, working bananas, rubber, copra and black sand. At that point he was making \$22 a day. It was hard work, but he loved it.

"I could hardly wait to get up in

the morning and go to work," he said.

He was fascinated by steam winches and learned to drive them. In 1972 he moved onto mobile cranes, but they were phased out in favor of hammerheads and he was assigned to them.

"Back then there were no elevators," David said. "You climbed up the crane."

In 1988 David became a crane instructor and did that for eight years before going back to driving cranes.

He went through the union's alcohol recovery program—he has been clean for 20 years—and went on to be a coordinator of it for 10 years.

"The union's recovery program is the best thing the ILWU ever did," he said. "I can't say enough about it."

Both men were active in the Local's affairs. Within two or three years of joining Mike ran for and served on the local executive board and membership committee. After his recovery David also joined the local's executive board and its membership and grievance committees. He continues to run the car shows at the Bloody Thursday celebrations and father and son have been active in the pensioner club.

Both men have some advice for the young folks coming up in the union.

"Take care of your union," Mike said.

"Go to the meetings and do something for the union rather than just take from it," David said. "Get involved."

—SS

Longshore retired, deceased and survivors

RECENT RETIREES:

Local 8—Donald Hagen, Eric Wiskoff, Joe J. Willis; **Local 10**—Henry Beasley, Samuel Brooks, James Railey, Ralph Rooker, Ollie Banks; **Local 13**—Chester Mondor, William Stumpp, Frank Grajeda, Jim Tafoya, James Polette; **Local 19**—Harry Acker, Stephen Gehrke, William Greenhalgh; **Local 23**—Darrell Booth, Thomas Rapozo, Kenneth Arneberg; **Local 32**—Robert W. Nelson; **Local 34**—Thomas Gentile, Edward Larkey, Patrick Callahan, Brian H. Nelson, Robert Lind; **Local 46**—Leandro Franco; **Local 50**—Madison Olvey; **Local 52**—Thorleif Michalsen, Ronald Turner, John Snyder; **Local 63**—David Negrete, Walter Quadres, Joseph De Nichols, Stephen P. Johnson; **Local 91**—Enrique Rodriguez; **Local 94**—Victor Salcido, Gary E. Dawson, Tony S. Montoya; **Local 98**—Steven Baretich.

DECEASED:

Local 4—Richard Plummer (Verna), Ray Benson; **Local 7**—Edward F. Miller; **Local 8**—William Anderson, Alan Coppock, James Garley, Samuel DeLoach Jr.; **Local 10**—William Morris (Ann), Gordon Mineke (Helen), William Dodge (Marilyn), Edwin Nelson (Avon), Alfred Jackson, Charlie Sawyer, Joseph

Charleston, Joel L. Valdivia, Jesse Davis, Henry Evans, Freddie Cuba; **Local 13**—Vincent Hernandez (Ruth), Rafael G. Gutierrez, Larry Hiatt, Edmond F. Mendoza, Lou Stinson, Theodore Moody, Tony L. Martinez; **Local 19**—Gunnstein Rystad, Roy Wagner; **Local 21**—Stanley Hanson; **Local 23**—Murray Ferris (Ruth), Richard Winter (Phyllis), Martin Butler, Roland Allen, LeRoy Still; **Local 29**—Raul A. Frias; **Local 34**—Frederic Schuder (Rachel), George Neecke, Frank R. Sierra, Frank M. Smith, Laurice Walker; **Local 46**—John Ford (Sandra); **Local 47**—James Pavlick; **Local 63**—George Mitchell; **Local 75**—Joe Mullen Jr., Henry Reaves; **Local 91**—James Baker (Mae), **Local 92**—Virgil L. Baker; **Local 94**—Roy Rohar (Gloria), Howard Crumby (Vera). (Survivors in parenthesis.)

DECEASED SURVIVORS:

Local 4—Eula Vail; **Local 12**—Valerie Taylor; **Local 13**—Viola Trombly, Delia Driscoll; **Local 19**—Iris Larson, Ruth Brock; **Local 23**—Rugh Bungler, June Elaine Kiske; **Local 34**—Ellen Connelly; **Local 40**—Hildegard McCurtain; **Local 47**—Maudie Seaman; **Local 63**—Marjorie Maki, Merle Cannady; **Local 91**—Estelle Machado; **Local 94**—Grace Hoy; **Local 98**—Dorothy Edwards, Margie Bjornson.

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