



THE DISPATCHER

www.ilwu.org

VOL 71, NO 11 • DECEMBER 2013

THE INSIDE NEWS

LETTERS TO *DISPATCHER* 2

ICTSI update 2

ITF Inspector Barry Binsky passes 2

TRANSITIONS 8

ILWU BOOKS & VIDEO 8



Mandela passing recalls ILWU anti-apartheid solidarity
[page 3](#)



Learning from the past: One-hundred and twenty longshore division members attended a 6-day History and Traditions conference to learn lessons from ILWU history and apply them to current struggles.

Longshore Division's "History & Traditions Conference" looks back to plan ahead

One-hundred and twenty lucky ILWU Longshore Division members attended an intensive 6-day "History and Traditions Conference" in San Francisco on December 1-6. The event was planned by the ILWU Coast Longshore Division's Education Committee and featured a host of outside experts who joined ILWU officers and leaders for the jam-packed agenda.

Knowing the history

The event opened with remarks from ILWU International President Bob McEllrath who welcomed participants and urged them to learn more about the union's history in order to be better prepared for the future. "We're facing some big fights and need all hands on deck," said McEllrath. After

just 20 minutes of preliminaries, the Conference quickly got down to business and involved all participants in an exercise, led by Local 63 member Patricia Aguirre who chairs the ILWU Longshore Education Committee.

Exercise reveals unity

Aguirre said a central goal of the Conference would be to gather lessons from the union's history – and apply them to current challenges, including the upcoming negotiations for the new Longshore and Clerk Contract that expires on July 1, 2014. With participants divided into a dozen small discussion groups, Aguirre asked each team to rank the various factors that would be essential for building union power and winning a good contract in 2014. The conference room exploded in animated discussion as members at each table debated the relative importance of many factors that could make the union stronger – and a better contract more likely. While some differ-

ences were noted between the groups, a consensus quickly developed around ranking the top three factors needed to build a strong union and win good contracts in 2014:

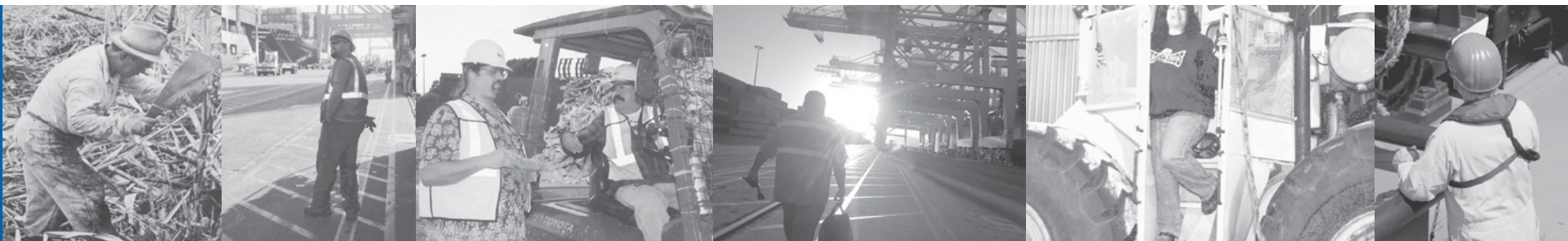
1. Support and solidarity of Longshore workers.
2. Well informed workforce who knows their contract.
3. Strength & support from community allies.

History lessons

Day two began with comments and context from Coast Committeeman Leal Sundet who reviewed the extensive materials provided to all participants, including three books: "Solidarity Stories, An Oral History of the ILWU" by Harvey Schwartz; "Reviving the Strike" by Joe Burns; and Richard Brisbin's "A Strike Like No Other Strike: Law and Resistance During the Pittston Coal Strike of 1989-1990." Other materials

continued on page 4

Postmaster: Send address changes to The Dispatcher, 1188 Franklin St., San Francisco, CA 94109-6800.



LETTERS TO THE *DISPATCHER*

Dear Editor,

I'm living in a small Irish village near Dublin, where I look forward each month to receiving my copy of *The Dispatcher*, which has become my lifeline. The 31 years that I spent as a member of Local 6, followed by 7 years at Local 10, left me committed to the ILWU, trade unionism and the working class. Now that I'm retired, I do my best to spread the gospel of progressive trade unionism and try hard to let people know what's happening back in America and the ILWU. You might be interested to know that Irish unions are facing many of the same problems as the ILWU and unions in the US. We're increas-

ingly isolated from the great majority of workers who have no union, and the reluctance to organize leaves us weaker each year. I'll keep doing what I can, but hope a new generation of union members will take up the cause of organizing to help us grow again and help so many workers who need our help. Greetings and solidarity to all,

Gerry Butler, ILWU Pensioner
Black Rock, County Dublin
Ireland

Send your letters to the editor to: *The Dispatcher*, 1188 Franklin St., San Francisco, CA 94109-6800 or email to editor@ilwu.org

Oregon Governor announces a step toward resolving one aspect of ongoing issues at Portland's Terminal 6

Rogue terminal operator ICTSI still has no services agreement with Hanjin and continues with a labor management model that impedes terminal ops

On December 12, Oregon Governor John Kitzhaber announced that all work associated with maintaining refrigerated containers at the Port of Portland, Terminal 6, will be assigned to workers represented by ILWU Locals 8 and 40.

Prior to the announcement, a small portion of this work had been performed by port employees. Governor Kitzhaber's announcement marks a step toward the resolution of one aspect of the ongoing issues that plague ICTSI, the Philippines-based global terminal operator that began its first U.S. venture in 2010

when it leased Terminal 6 from the Port of Portland.

"The men and women of the ILWU appreciate the assignment of work as required by our Master Contract with PMA member company ICTSI and the PMA member carriers such as Hanjin," said Leal Sundet, Local 8 Longshoreman and ILWU Coast Committeeman. "But in order to normalize things at Terminal 6, it's incumbent on ICTSI to improve labor relations and negotiate reasonably with Hanjin to secure a fair terminal use agreement."

ICTSI inherited the Port's Terminal Use Agreement with Hanjin when it took over operations at Terminal 6. That agreement expired a year ago,

and negotiations on the terms of a new agreement stalled over ICTSI's insistence on charging Hanjin excessive service rates and eliminating the throughput arrangements Hanjin had with the Port.

Independent of negotiations over a new terminal use agreement with Hanjin, ICTSI imported a model of labor relations at Terminal 6 that has severely hindered terminal operations. ICTSI's labor management model is authoritarian and intimidation-based. The company's systematic use of employer complaints, legal claims, and NLRB charges to threaten and control workers is without parallel historically among Pacific Maritime Association member

companies. Worker morale at Terminal 6 has reached an all-time low.

"The members of Local 8 and Local 40 want Terminal 6 to be as productive as it can be, but that requires labor and management working together toward a common goal," said Dane Jones, ILWU Local 40 Business Agent. "As a representative of the workers who are at the terminal everyday helping ICTSI makes its profits, I really hope that ICTSI takes to heart the initiative of the Governor and the message that it needs to find a way to improve morale with its Longshore and Clerk workforce."

IN MEMORIUM

Barry Binsky: ITF Inspector

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

It is with sincere regret that I inform you of the passing of Barry Binsky. Barry was an ITF Inspector on the West Coast USA in the Port of San Francisco from 1996 until 2005. A memorial was held on November 23 in Castro Valley California at the Holy Cross Monastery and was attended by Barry's friends and comrades from various walks of life including several from the waterfront including Lila Smith the ITF Inspector from Seattle who worked with Barry for a number of years while he was with the ITF.

Like a lot of us in the Inspectorate, Barry had a long history in the Maritime Labor Movement dating back to 1967 when he first sailed Deep Sea with the Sailors Union of The Pacific before joining the Inland-boatmen's Union of the Pacific, which at the time was part of the Seafarers International Union (SIU). Barry was part of the rank-and-file movement in the IBU that lead the struggle to disaffiliate with the East Coast-based SIU and join the more Democratic ILWU in 1980. He did this while holding an elected officer position as a Patrolman.

Barry was a dedicated and intelligent Seafarer who had the ability to tell sea stories, think on his feet, and outwit the employers – all while keeping a straight poker face. But alas, he has finally dropped the hook for good and hopefully is sitting around the mess room with all his old shipmates in the sky, telling sea stories about the old days.

In Solidarity,
Jeff Engels ITF Coordinator
West Coast USA



Barry Binsky, ITF Inspector
June 2, 1942-October 23, 2013

DISPATCHER

Craig Merrilees
Communications Director and Managing Editor
 Roy San Filippo
Editor

ILWU TITLED OFFICERS
 Robert McEllrath, President
 Ray A. Familathe, Vice President, Mainland
 Wesley Furtado, Vice President, Hawaii
 William E. Adams, Secretary-Treasurer

The *Dispatcher* (ISSN 0012-3765) is published monthly except for a combined September issue, for \$5.00 a year and \$10.00 a year for non-members by the ILWU, 1188 Franklin St., San Francisco, CA 94109. Periodical postage paid at San Francisco, CA. The *Dispatcher* welcomes letters, photos and other submissions to the above address © ILWU, 2012. Postmaster: Send address changes to The *Dispatcher*, 1188 Franklin St., San Francisco, CA 94109-6800.



Death of Nelson Mandela recalls decades of ILWU support for anti-apartheid struggle

Nelson Mandela, the first Black president of South Africa, Nobel Peace Prize winner, former political prisoner and leader of the African National Congress who became a worldwide symbol in the struggle against apartheid passed away on December 5th at the age of 95. Local 10 President-elect and International Executive Board member Melvin Mackay attended Mandela's funeral in South Africa on behalf of the ILWU.

"A figure like Nelson Mandela comes along once in a lifetime. He became a world-wide symbol for human rights and the struggle for social justice. He helped South Africa along the path to democracy. The world is a better place because of him. He will be missed," MacKay said.

Striking the *Nedlloyd Kimberly*

ILWU Local 10 members helped put the anti-apartheid struggle in the national spotlight in 1984 when they refused to unload South African cargo from the Dutch ship, *Nedlloyd Kimberly*, at San Francisco's Pier 80. Although they unloaded the rest of the ship, the South African "bloody" cargo of steel, auto parts and wine remained in the ship's hold for 10 days while community supporters held daily demonstrations outside protesting South Africa's apartheid regime. At its peak, the demonstration reached an estimated 700 people. Employers tried to find another West Coast port to take the ship, but because of solidarity from other ILWU locals, no port was willing to accept the *Nedlloyd Kimberly*. Local 34 clerks played a crucial role in the action by identifying the South African cargo. The cargo was finally unloaded on the 11th day under threat of a federal injunction and fines for Local 10 and individual members.

"Fifty percent of the membership was black," said Local 10 pensioner Lawrence Thibeaux who was the night side Business Agent at the time. "To keep unloading cargo meant we were helping their government continue their program of apartheid."

The contribution made by ILWU members to fighting apartheid was recognized by Mandela when he spoke at

the Oakland Coliseum in 1990 shortly after his release from prison. "[The ILWU] established themselves as the front line of the anti-apartheid movement in the Bay Area," Mandela said to the sold-out crowd.

The role of labor

Peter Cole, a professor of history at Western Illinois University is one of the few writers to highlight the important role played by labor unions in the global movement to end South African apartheid. "To my knowledge, no other US union engaged in work stoppages in support of the anti-apartheid struggle and ILWU was one of the few unions around the world to do so," Cole said. "The other documented instances of union workers taking strike action against South African apartheid were also dock workers—from the Maritime Union of New Zealand (MUNZ) and the Maritime Union of Australia."

Long history of ILWU support for the anti-apartheid struggle

The striking of the *Nedlloyd Kimberly* was the result of extensive organizing efforts by Local 10's Southern Africa Liberation Support Committee (SALSC). The rank and file committee of black and white workers was formed in 1976 when Local 10 passed a resolution authored by member Leo Robinson after the Soweto student uprising and subsequent brutal repression by South African police.

SALSC was likely the first anti-apartheid group formed in a labor organization. They raised awareness and material support for South Africa and other freedom struggles across the subcontinent including Mozambique, Namibia and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). In the 1970's and 80's Robinson with SALSC-member Larry Wright screened the documentary, *Last Grave at Dimbaza*, along the coast which helped to lay the foundation for the *Nedlloyd Kimberly* action. After screening the film to 400 Local 10 members in 1984, Robinson offered a motion to boycott South African cargo on the next *Nedlloyd* line vessel that arrived.

Robinson, who passed away in January of 2013, was honored posthumously by the government of South Africa. Ebrahim Rassol, the South African Ambassador to the United States, presented the Nelson Mandela Humanitarian Award to Robinson's widow,



Photo courtesy of the ILWU Library and Archives

Early apartheid protest: In 1962 Local 10 longshoremen refused to cross a community picket line of activists from the American Committee on Africa who were protesting a ship containing South African goods.

Mrs. Johnnie Bell Robinson, at Local 10's March 2013 membership meeting where Robinson was recognized for his leadership in the Bay Area anti-apartheid movement.

Decades of opposition

The striking of the *Nedlloyd Kimberly* in 1984 was a part of long tradition in the ILWU of workers using their power on the docks to fight for social justice at home and abroad. In 1935 Local 10 dock workers refused to load metal that was bound for the war machines of fascist Italy and Japan. In the 1970s, Local 10 members refused to load US-made military supplies being shipped to Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet.

The ILWU *Dispatcher* newspaper began shining a spotlight on apartheid in 1948, the year the racist system was formally instituted by the South African National Party. Coverage by *The Dispatcher* increased in the 1950s and 60s as the anti-apartheid struggle began to heat up. A 1960 *Dispatcher* editorial drew comparisons between the South African system of segregation and Jim Crow in the American South. The editorial also noted the similarities between the brutal repressions by police forces in both countries of movements for social justice.

Also in 1960 the Longshore Caucus endorsed a boycott of South African Cargo. This resolution laid the foundation for a Local 10 boycott of a ship carrying South African cargo in 1962. Anti-apartheid activists held a community picket at Pier 19 in San Francisco protesting the Dutch ship *Raki* which was carrying hemp, coffee and asbestos from South Africa. Over 100 Local 10 members refused to cross the community picket and the ship remained unloaded for both the day and night shifts. In 1963 *The Dispatcher* published a letter from Acting Secretary-General of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, John Gaetsewe, thanking ILWU members for their solidarity in the fight against apartheid.

In the 1970's and 80's, the ILWU general convention passed numerous resolutions against apartheid and racial injustice throughout Southern Africa.

Other resolutions criticized US policy of "business as usual" with South Africa's apartheid regime. In 1976, Local 10, Local 13, the International Executive Board and the Southern California District Council supported a boycott of South African and Rhodesian cargo and in 1977 Local 6 set up a South African support committee.

As early as 1978 the ILWU began the process of divesting pension fund monies from companies that did business with South Africa. Because the pension fund is jointly managed with the employers, ILWU activists had to lobby the employers to support the divestment policy.

Local 26 President Luisa Gratz recalled that in the early 1980's ILWU warehouse workers at Thrifty Drug Stores in Southern California discovered that the store was selling flannel shirts made in South Africa. "We approached the company when we found this out and told them we did not want to handle these South African goods. To their credit, Thrifty removed the product from their stores and warehouses and discontinued the item."

In April of 1985, then ILWU International President Jimmy Herman, International Secretary-Treasurer Curtis McClain, Local 6 President Al Lannon and IBU Patrolman Charlie Clarke were arrested for civil disobedience along with other labor activists at a sit-in at the offices of South African Airways. During the 1985 ILWU General Convention, Harry Bridges joined convention delegates at large anti-apartheid demonstration on the campus of UC Berkeley.

"The decades-long activism among rank-and-file members of the ILWU is a wonderful example of the power of ordinary people to make the world more just," said Professor Cole. "Few historians have, thus far, investigated the important role of workers and unions in the American branch of the global fight against apartheid. Fortunately, South Africans—including none other than Nelson Mandela—very much appreciated the centrality of working class power to their cause. That Mandela thanked the ILWU for its 1984 boycott of the

continued on page 8



Photo courtesy of the ILWU Library and Archives

Building bridges: During the 1984 General Convention, Harry Bridges joined convention delegates at an anti-apartheid protest on the campus of UC Berkeley.

Longshore Division's "History & Traditions Conference" looks back to plan ahead

continued from page 1

were distributed throughout the week "I think you'll see a clear pattern if you read these materials and listen to the speakers," said Sundet. "The labor laws in this country, along with the courts and agencies like the National Labor Relations Board, are not our friends. They're all working to limit what workers and unions can do, while protecting business and commerce so they can operate as freely as possible."

West Coast longshore history was the focus for the remainder of the day, with the topic divided into three periods (up to 1934, the 1934 strike, and post-1934), each featuring a noted labor history expert.

Early longshoring

Retired San Francisco State University History Professor Robert Cherny provided an overview of West Coast longshoring from 1848 to 1934. He emphasized the role of the Gold Rush in launching San Francisco's status as the top West Coast port for 70 years until being eclipsed by Los Angeles in the 1920's. Cherny provided interesting statistics, including the fact that 83% of San Francisco Longshore workers in the 1920's were either immigrants or born to immigrant families. He also surveyed developments at other ports, including Los Angeles, which was a sleepy backwater until 1899 when millions in federal dollars helped build San Pedro's breakwater that transformed the Port.

In Portland and Tacoma, the lumber boom and growing agricultural exports fueled the rise of their ports, eclipsed by the Port of Seattle in the 1890's which grew rapidly by serving as a staging point for the massive Klondike Gold Rush.

First Longshore unions

Cherny used the bulk of his time to explain the lengthy and difficult effort by longshore workers to improve conditions on the waterfront. The first effort to

organize longshore unions on the West Coast was undertaken in 1853 by San Francisco's "Riggers and Stevedores" (terms used at the time to encompass longshore work). Twenty-five years later, Portland workers formed their own union of "Stevedores, Longshoremen and Riggers" in 1878. Eight years later, workers in Seattle and Tacoma formed similar unions. A "National Longshoremen's Union" was formed by workers on the Great Lakes in 1892, winning a nationwide charter from the American Federation of Labor (AFL). They renamed themselves two years later as the International Longshoreman's Association (ILA) and quickly chartered new West Coast locals, beginning with I.L.A. Local 38 in Everett, WA. By 1902, there were 16 ports with ILA locals along the West Coast.

Limited success & decline

Each local union was limited to a contract covering only their port, which made workers vulnerable to "whipsawing" by employers who sought to pit workers against each other in order to drive down wages. Sporadic strikes at individual ports occurred in the early 1900's. The first efforts to coordinate "coastwise" strikes happened in 1916 and failed. The First World War began in 1914 and ended in 1918, with the U.S. entering the fray in 1917. Union officials at the AFL were swept up in a patriotic fervor – discouraging strikes and encouraging union members to enlist. Labor organizing continued among Longshore workers who attempted more strikes in 1919 and 1921 that failed. General strikes were also attempted in Seattle and Helena, Montana, but a conservative mood followed the war, climaxing with raids against immigrant militant union leaders, including members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and those inspired by Russia's Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 that called for factories to be run by worker-run councils.

The combination of government and employer repression, along with post-war economic prosperity, left most unions – including maritime unions – weak and disorganized. Most fell apart or barely managed to survive during the 1920's. Working conditions deteriorated, with stagnant wages and hazardous work that disabled an average of 5 workers per eight-hour shifts involving 2,000 men in San Francisco. Professor Cherny concluded his talk by explaining how the 1929 Great Depression set the stage for a resurgence of militant organizing that eventually turned the tide and gave rise to the ILWU.

Resurgence & triumph

ILWU Librarian and Archivist Robin Walker chronicled the successful effort by Longshore and other maritime workers to organize a coastwise strike and contract fight in 1934 that secured a uniform coastwise contract with jointly-managed dispatch halls.

While emphasizing the central role played by workers who joined in a nationwide upsurge of militant union organizing during the early 1930's, Walker also emphasized the critical importance of new legislation enacted during the early Depression years.

Pro-worker laws

The Norris-LaGuardia Act passed by Congress in 1932, prohibited employers from using court injunctions to ban strikes, and outlawed "yellow" or "fink unions" controlled by employers. Franklin Roosevelt's National Industrial Recovery Act passed in 1933 included Section 7(a) that protected the right of workers to organize, negotiate with employers and strike. Both laws passed in response to the economic chaos of the early Depression, and massive, militant protests by unemployed workers who demanded jobs.

1934 waterfront strike

Despite the new laws, the 1934 West Coast maritime strike was an immense struggle, with employers using the same brutal strategies to defeat previous union efforts by Longshore workers. Employers hired strikebreakers, private police, goons and spies. Massive advertising campaigns attempted to smear strikers and confuse the public. Employer-friendly politicians were mobilized against the union. Municipal police forces attacked strikers at every port, often coordinating efforts with company thugs and anti-union vigilante committees.

Following the death of seven strikers and supporters, a general strike in San Francisco, and massive resistance at ports up and down the coast, employers finally agreed to meet most of the union demands, including recognition of the new Longshore union, a single contract with uniform standards for all West Coast U.S. ports, jointly-managed dispatch halls, wage increases, limitations on hours and better working conditions.

New organizing, new laws

In addition to creating a union that would eventually become the ILWU, the West Coast strike helped pressure Roosevelt and Congress to pass the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) in 1935 that guaranteed the right of workers to form unions, negotiate contracts and take action. Roosevelt made a point of signing the NLRA exactly one year after Bloody Thursday, on July 5, 1935, in Tacoma, Washington.

The West Coast waterfront strike helped trigger massive union organizing campaigns throughout the U.S. The impact was boosted by other dramatic labor actions in 1934 including a general strike in Minneapolis led by radical Teamsters and a bloody strike at the Auto-Lite plant in Toledo that killed two workers and injured 200. In the years following their waterfront victory, Longshore workers reached out to help organize warehouse and factory workers near the docks, a move that would become known to ILWU members as "The March Inland."

How laws shaped unions

San Francisco State University Professor John Logan provided an important perspective on how labor laws shaped union behavior and possibilities. Logan noted that before pro-labor laws were passed in the 1930's, unions faced brutal repression from employers. He said that new labor laws passed in 1932, 1933 and 1935 were one factor that led to a dramatic rise in union membership and re-shaped American politics for decades that followed.



ILWU International Vice President
Ray Familathe



ILWU International Vice President
Wesley Furtado

Workers forced the law

But in addition to new laws, Professor Logan emphasized the importance to militant mass labor organizing led by activists who believed in "organizing the unorganized" and empowering the working class. Thousands of dedicated activists helped organize millions of union members during the 1930's and through World War II. It was the fear of these militant mass actions that forced politicians – led by President Franklin Roosevelt – to pass pro-labor laws.

During the Second World War, unions including the ILWU agreed to moderate demands and curtail strikes in order to support the national cause of defeating fascism in Germany and Japan. The governments of the U.S. and Britain also established a wary but formal alliance with the Soviet Union in order to defeat fascism.

Post war reversal

After the war, political opinion in the U.S. shifted quickly against unions. The alliance with the Soviet Union was replaced with a "Cold War" waged against former Soviet allies. Labor unions – particularly those with leftist leaders like Harry Bridges – came under fierce attack. Anti-Communist crusades were led by Congressmen Joseph McCarthy, Richard Nixon and hundreds of other national and local politicians in both parties. Witch-hunts were launched to expose "Reds" teaching in schools, working in government offices, acting or writing in Hollywood or employed by private industry. The FBI monitored and harassed millions of Americans, including many ILWU members, who were suspected of being "un-American." The horrors of Joseph Stalin's reign of terror in Russia confirmed the public's worst fears about the Soviet Union and discredited radicals who had staked their hopes and dreams on a belief



Coast Committeeman Ray Ortiz, Jr.



Coast Committeeman Leal Sundet

that the Soviet Union was a worker-friendly alternative to U.S. capitalism.

Backlash

When the ILWU and other union members tried to gain ground through strikes after the war ended, they encountered hostile politicians and a not-so friendly public. President Truman set the tone early after the war by ordering the U.S. Army to break a railroad strike in 1946. Industrial leaders pushed hard for legislation to restrict union power, portraying unions and strikes as dangerous threats to American democracy. Special hostility was directed at unions with left-wing leaders, such as the ILWU, which had refused to purge its ranks of activists. The ILWU left the CIO in 1950 to avoid expulsion.

Taft-Hartley repression

It was in this context that Professor Logan explained details of the anti-worker Taft-Hartley Act, that was passed by Congress in 1947, which:

- Outlawed strikes intended to establish union jurisdiction.
- Outlawed wildcat strikes (unsanctioned actions by union members).
- Outlawed strikes over political issues that concerned union members and the public.
- Outlawed “secondary” boycotts and picketing.
- Outlawed mass pickets so employers could more easily employ strikebreakers.
- Outlawed union shops so that union membership became optional.
- Outlawed donations of union funds to support pro-workers candidates.

The Taft-Hartley Act also restricted many rights granted just 12 years earlier by the 1935 National Labor Relations Act:

- Taft-Hartley allowed unions to be charged with “Unfair Labor Practice” violations.
- Taft-Hartley required unions to provide 80-day notices before holding economic strikes.
- Taft-Hartley prohibited federal employees from striking.
- Taft-Hartley allowed individual states to adopt their own anti-union laws and restrictions.
- Taft-Hartley granted the President new rights to break strikes with court injunctions.
- Taft-Hartley allowed employers to sue unions for damages from “secondary” boycotts.

Despite union opposition, the growing right-wing tide and power of big business made Taft-Hartley impossible to stop. In 1948, the ILWU and a few other



Conference Organizers: *The Longshore Education Committee planned and organized the “History & Traditions Conference” on Dec. 1-6. (L-R): Local 54’s Marc Cuevas, Local 4’s Brad Clark, Local 13’s Alberto Bonilla, Local 19’s Rich Austin, Jr., Local 8’s Adam Wetzell, Local 91’s Fred Gillam, Committee Chair and Local 63 member Patricia Aguirre, Local 23’s Dean McGrath, International Vice President (Mainland) Ray Familathe who closed the Conference, Local 10’s Mike Villeggiante, and Local 63 Pensioner Lewis Wright. Not pictured, Local 29’s Ray Leyba.*

unions backed a third party led by Henry Wallace. It was hoped that the “Progressive Party” could rally union members and working class support, but the effort failed miserably; winning no electoral votes and only 2.7% of the popular vote – mostly from New York.

Longshore courage in 1948

Amidst this seemingly hopeless political situation, ILWU Longshore workers dared to confront their aggressive maritime employers and hostile politicians in 1948 by challenging provisions of the new Taft-Hartley legislation and organizing a bold strike.

The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) decided to impose a new provision of Taft-Hartley on ILWU members that required workers to vote on the employers’ “last, best and final” contract offer. When longshore employers issued their “last, best and final offer,” Longshore Caucus delegates recommended that members boycott the election proceedings. In a remarkable show of solidarity, not a single one of the 26,965 members cast a ballot. Employers responded to the standoff by announcing there was one issue that must be addressed, which they said was “Communist leadership in the ILWU.” Again, members refused to be divided and launched a strike effort that lasted 95 days. When it was over, the ILWU’s unity prevailed, and employers agreed to back-down and accept a contract with better terms for workers.

Mine worker solidarity

A similar story of courageous union members overcoming powerful employers and Taft-Hartley restrictions was told by retired professor Richard Brisbin of West Virginia University. He explained how the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), like the ILWU, had been built on militant struggles during the 1930’s, when the union was led by President John L. Lewis who also founded the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) that launched massive union organizing efforts in the 1930’s. Lewis and his team of radical organizers formed the CIO – with immediate support from Harry Bridges – because the labor establishment in the American Federation of Labor (AFL) was refusing to organize millions of industrial workers who weren’t wanted by narrow craft unions. Like Bridges, John L. Lewis remained in office four decades, was respected within his union and became notorious for mak-

ing alliances with Communists, and a willingness to confront employers with militant strikes.

Fighting corruption

When Lewis left the leadership in the 1960’s, a period of corruption ensued, leading to the 1969 murder of union reformer Jock Yablonski who’s killing was ordered by UMWA incumbent President Tony Boyle. Reformers eventually won control of their union and led a series of militant strikes.

Striking Pittston Coal

One of the most famous battles was the 1989 strike against the Pittston Coal Company, triggered when the company dropped out of the coal employers association, then refused to pay pension and health payments covering 1500 retired miners, widows and disabled miners. Pittston warned employees they would be replaced if there was a strike, so miners remained on the job without a contract for another 16 months, before finally striking in April of 1990. UMWA members established a “Camp Solidarity” outpost that accommodated up to 2,000 miners and supporters; built a network of 40,000 workers who engaged in wildcat strikes, actively involved family members including a group of 500 militant women, and conducted a series of dramatic actions – including the non-violent occupations of Pittston properties and road blockades – all of which eventually forced the company to settle, sign a contract and resume paying health and welfare benefits. The struggle also generated millions in legal fees and court fines, most of which stemmed from violating court injunctions, many related to the Taft-Hartley Act. The union was eventually successful in reducing some, but not all, of the court fines.

How the ILWU works

Ray Familathe, International Vice President (Mainland), walked participants through a detailed explanation of the ILWU’s current structure. Familathe noted some new developments, including the addition of a Panama Canal Division.

Information about the non-longshore aspects of the ILWU were provided by ILWU historian Harvey Schwartz, who curates the Oral History Collection at the ILWU library. Joining Schwartz was Local 8 member Adam Wetzell.

The ILWU experience in Hawaii, Canada and Alaska was also covered

in the conference. ILWU International Vice President (Hawaii) Wesley Furtado provided a detailed overview of past organizing and current struggles by non-longshore workers living in the Hawaiian Islands. He covered the dramatic political changes that resulted from ILWU efforts to organize pineapple and sugarcane workers in the past, and current efforts to organize tourism, service and retail workers on the island. “The ILWU helped ease the transition from plantations to tourism where the ILWU is fighting for good union jobs,” said Furtado.

ILWU Canada President Mark Gordienko hoped to attend the Conference but was unable to join due to a scheduling conflict. Gordienko prepared a letter expressing fraternal greetings to conference participants on behalf of the members of ILWU Canada. A three-page history of ILWU Canada, prepared by Local 500 pensioner Dave Lomas was also distributed.

ILWU Alaska President Chuck Wendt was on hand to present a summary of the challenges and opportunities facing union members in the 49th State. His overview covered ILWU activities from the southern part of the state in the nation, to the ILWU presence in Dutch Harbor, a rugged fishing town situated in the remote Aleutian Islands chain.

ILWU Coast Committeeman Ray Ortiz, Jr., explained “How the ILWU Longshore Division Works,” explaining the various committees and procedures.

Local 94 President Danny Miranda explained the historical and present-day status of Walking Bosses and Foremen in the ILWU.

Safety & health

Longshore Division Safety Committee Chair Tim Podue and Safety Committee member Adrian Diaz joined with Local 91 President Fred Gilliam, Local 13 member Alberto Bonilla and Local 10 President Mike Villeggiante, to explain the history of the Pacific Coast Marine Safety Code. The presentation and discussion covered the ILWU’s efforts to reduce hazards and risks on the job, and their Committee’s involvement with federal and state rulemaking and enforcement agencies.

Contract history

A discussion of the historical development and evolution of the Longshore and Clerk Contract was presented by

continued on page 7



**ILWU International Secretary
Willie Adams**

Crisis in union meeting attendance must be explored

By **J.R. Robertson**

Originally published March 19, 1965

The Officers and Executive Board Members of the Pacific Coast Pensioners Association – ILWU asked that the following article be reproduced for all to read. It is as relevant today as when it was first written by ILWU Vice-President J.R. Robertson.

– PCPA Officers and Executive Board members

A growing concern affecting practically all ILWU locals is the lack of membership interest and participation in local union meetings. This problem was discussed at length at the last International Executive Board meeting. Although no practical solutions were forthcoming, the Board was deeply interested and recognized that the problem of attendance at meetings has become increasingly serious.

Any investigation, almost anywhere in the country, will show that this problem is not confined to ILWU locals, but is general throughout the nation. Pick up almost any labor paper and you will discover that in most local unions they face similar issues. Of course, in the case of many tight little craft unions this is rarely discussed—if for no other reason than that many of these are run from above, and don't really want the local meeting to exert any control or pressure.

Membership attendance and participation in ILWU locals, however, is historically of tremendous significance. Our "secret weapon"—the real answer to the ILWU strength ever since it was formed—has always been this active participation of the members in all phases of union life and rank-and-file control.

At the recent Local 6 annual convention with over 500 delegates

present, considerable discussion was devoted to this matter of meeting attendance. Again, no tailor-made answer to this question was evolved, proving that the problem has fairly deep roots and doesn't lend itself to simple formulas.

So the question has to be asked: Who knows better than a member himself why he doesn't attend meetings, and why he doesn't participate in vital discussions where basic policy is made and adopted? In addition to the individual member, the same question can be asked of shop committeemen, stewards, local officers, and to all of us who are in any way involved at any level.

Whatever the cause for lack of interest, solutions must be found.

Here's one example of how important this is: We are now less than three short weeks from the International Convention to be held in Vancouver, British Columbia.

All local delegates are expected to come to the convention prepared with what amounts to orders from the membership to act on resolutions on a variety of subjects.

It is essential that the same convention delegates come well prepared to cope with this subject of meetings as well. At the local level, and that's where the ball starts rolling, convention delegates should prepare themselves now with ideas, suggestions and, if possible, practical plans to instruct the entire convention how the membership can be integrated into the everyday life of the local.

As has been said before, the ILWU cannot rest on any laurels nor can it be satisfied to be like any other union in the country. We are not a stand-still organization.

Ask yourself this question: Has the labor movement—including the ILWU—reached the point where members feel so secure that all they have to do is throw up a lot of demands, and then just turn these demands over to their officers and negotiating committees and expect them to produce?

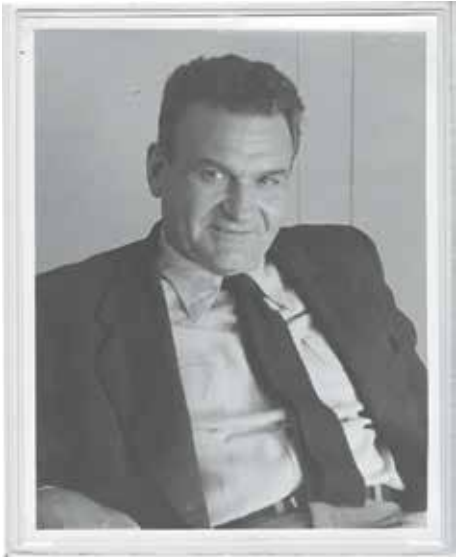
If such feelings do exist to any great extent in the minds of the members then we better start beating the drums to wake ourselves up to the hard facts of life. If this is the way members feel, then they had better be warned that this could be the first step in losing both what we've gained and any hopes for future advances.

Let's put this into practical terms. Keep in mind that in 1966 three basic contracts are open for negotiation.

1. The Coast Longshore contract.
2. The general warehouse contract in the Bay Area.
3. The sugar contract in Hawaii.

Look at that list. And keep in mind that these three areas represent a substantial majority of our membership!

There are straws in the wind already noted that the employers in these three major areas have no intentions of standing still—they are on the move—and they would like to set us back a notch if they could.



J.R. Robertson

JR Robertson photo credit ILWU Library and Archives

As we've learned in the past—and we had to learn the lesson the hard way—the only guarantee workers ever had is the capacity to fight to maintain what we've won and to move ahead to achieve greater security.

This capacity to fight depends not only on muscles and numbers, but on membership understanding of the major role they play—in discussions, in debate, in analyzing and in reaching areas of agreement in which they are willing to act to achieve a common good.

That goal is not only winning a better economic life for their families but also to keep the union itself in tip-top shape, always ready to fight another day.



THANK YOU ILWU BROTHERS AND SISTERS!!

During this holiday season, we and our families would like to extend our sincerest thanks to all of you and your families for the sacrifices that you all made during our 32 month contract battle and for supporting our 8 day strike!

Without your support, we would not have been successful. We were called to defend the American right of Unionism and the strength of SOLIDARITY prevailed.

Thank you, thank you, thank you.

Fraternally,
ILWU Local 63 Office Clerical Unit (OCU)

Flood the Coast with 2014 Contract Victory Buttons



Buttons are 1 and 3/4 inches in diameter with blue lettering on a yellow background.

Buttons are 35 cents each plus shipping

Send name, phone and quantity to:

Seattle Pensioners Club
3440 E Marginal Way South
Seattle, WA 98134

Longshore Division's "History & Traditions Conference" looks back to plan ahead

continued from page 5

Local 4's Brad Clark, and Local 19's Rich Austin, Jr. who Co-Chairs the Division's Grain Negotiating Committee.

Court injunctions

A panel composed of ILWU Librarian and Archivist Robin Walker, with ILWU attorneys Rob Remar and Rob Lavitt, explained how ILWU Longshore Division members were hit hard with federal court injunctions under the Taft Hartley Act soon after the new law was passed in 1947. Injunctions were imposed during the 1948 Longshore strike that lasted 95 days. Longshore workers in that strike managed to protect their jointly-managed dispatch halls and raise wages despite efforts by employers and the government to crush the ILWU with Taft-Hartley. The government also used Taft-Hartley in 2002 and 2008.

Longshore Jurisdiction

A panel moderated by Kirsten Donovan, Coast Longshore Division Director of Contract Administration and Arbitration, provided a detailed discussion of efforts to protect Longshore Division jurisdiction under a set of challenging labor laws, including the National Labor Relations Act, subsequently modified by the Taft-Hartley Act. The labor laws are being used by employers on a daily basis to attack ILWU members and their union.

Coast Committeeman Leal Sundet discussed the Contracts' Maintenance and Repair (M&R) provisions.

Attorney Rob Remar discussed the ILWU's struggle with International Container Terminal Services Inc., (ICTSI), the rogue Philippine-based employer who operates Terminal 6 at the Port of Portland. Although ICTSI is a PMA-employer, they have openly defied the Longshore Contract.

Attorney Eleanor Morton discussed jurisdictional challenges in Southern California.

Attorney Rob Lavitt discussed how the rogue grain companies, Marubeni/Columbia and Mitsui/United, are using federal labor laws to secure court injunctions that limit the right of union members to picket barges transporting the company's grain on the Columbia River, while the illegal lockout continues against ILWU grain workers.

Welfare Plan history

Coast Benefits Specialist John Castanho, with attorneys Chris Hwang and Peter Saltzman, provided an extensive history of the union's effort to improve health benefits to Longshore members over the past 64 years. Castanho traced the progression of an innovative but modest plan that began in 1949 – to the comprehensive services provided under today's plan.

Pensioner power

President Rich Austin, Sr., of the Pacific Coast Pensions' Association (PCPA), closed the 5th day of the conference by delivering an address that explained the historical role played by the PCPA – an organization of retired Longshore Division activists who evolved from a small group in 1968 to the dozen chapters in today's network. Austin also noted that ILWU Canada has two Longshore pensioner clubs. After citing examples

of the PCPA's work to promote domestic and international labor solidarity, holding the PMA accountable for maintaining quality health benefits, and supporting the ILWU's organizing and political action efforts, Austin concluded by citing a motion passed at the 2013 Pacific Coast Pensioners Association to "...do all we can to help win a good contract in 2014."

Political Action

ILWU International Secretary Treasurer Willie Adams joined ILWU Legislative Director Lindsay McLaughlin to kick-off the 5th day of the History and Traditions Conference. Adams emphasized the ILWU's rank-and-file culture and need to support politicians who understand the union's concerns and are willing to fight for working class issues.

Adams told of a recent trip to Washington he led with Longshore Legislative Committee Chair Max Vekich, Jr. of Local 52, Local 8 President Jeff Smith, Local 19 member Dan McKisson and Grain Negotiating Committee Co-Chair Rich Austin, Jr. of Local 19. They met with administration officials and members of Congress about the lockout by rogue grain companies Marubeni/Columbia and Mitsui/United. Adams said the upcoming Longshore Contract negotiations are a time when the union will need help from politicians in Washington who share our concerns, and he urged everyone to consider contributing to the ILWU Political Action Fund. Legislative Director Lindsay McLaughlin explained the difficulty of working with members of Congress, where worker-friendly legislation has been blocked by an extreme group of anti-union Republicans in the House of Representatives. McLaughlin outlined the union's continuing effort to address problems with port security and Transportation Worker Identification Credential (TWIC) cards, and the latest efforts to address the grain lockout.

International Solidarity

International President (Mainland) Ray Familathe introduced a special guest who came to the conference from London; Sharon James, Dockers Section Secretary of the International Transport Workers Federation. She provided a compelling overview of the global struggle by dockworkers against powerful international employers. James noted the similar strategic pattern employed by the handful of companies who control the world's terminal operations. She said that companies are privatizing public ports, outsourcing labor or seeking "individual contracts" with workers to bypass unions, and investing heavily in automation systems. James said the challenge is for docker unions to coordinate, share as much information as possible, and use the power of solidarity to take on the global employers. Vice President Familathe reinforced her comments and said that the ILWU will continue practicing international solidarity, not just to help other unions, but because it benefits the ILWU as well.

Reviving the strike

Joe Burns, veteran union negotiator, labor lawyer and author of the book, "Reviving the Strike: How Working People Can Regain Power and Transform America," spoke at the Conference. Burns



Conference participants listened carefully to speakers, asked questions, and put in long hours at the History and Traditions conference.

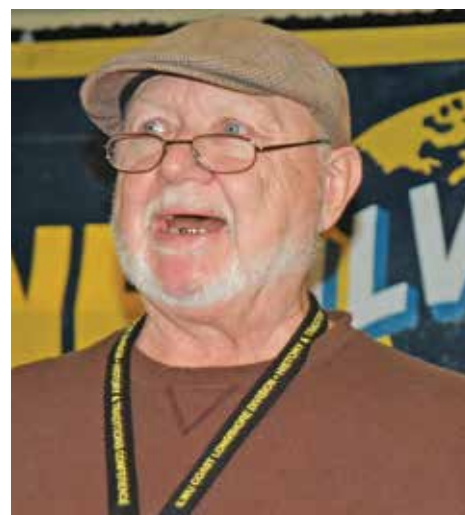
said workers and unions won't recover from their current position of weakness without organizing bold, powerful strikes that can bring industries to a halt; just like unions did in the 1930's until the early 1960's. He praised the ILWU's willingness to battle powerful employers. He believes that unions aren't likely to survive in their present form by relying on political contributions, lobbying and contract negotiations that approach employers from a position of weakness.

Organizing to win

The remainder of days five and six were spent exploring new skills and approaches to increase unity among Longshore Division members as the battle for a new contract looms ahead in the summer of 2014. The last session on day five was led by the team of Patricia Aguirre, Chair of the Longshore Education Committee and Teresa Conrow, long-time labor organizer and educator. Their presentation focused on a comparing and contrasting two different approaches to unionism which they described as "servicing versus organizing." Through a host of examples including contract negotiations, health and safety, legislative action and education, participants were asked to consider the strengths and weaknesses of solving problems by organizing or servicing. The conclusion didn't require participants to choose one or the other approach; it asked everyone to suggest an ideal balance that combined the best of both approaches.

Communication

The last day began with a presentation by Coast Communications Director Jennifer Sargent, who delivered a presentation that compared traditional union communication methods (union meetings, newspapers, letters, flyers) with the challenges posed by new forms of social media (websites, Twitter, FaceBook). She emphasized the problems that can arise when well-intentioned members communicate using social media – without realizing that their communication is easily monitored by employers and the government. Sargent urged participants to carefully consider the impact of what they share online – before hitting the "send button" – by imagining how the information could be used against the union by employers and government agencies, including the National Labor Relations Board.

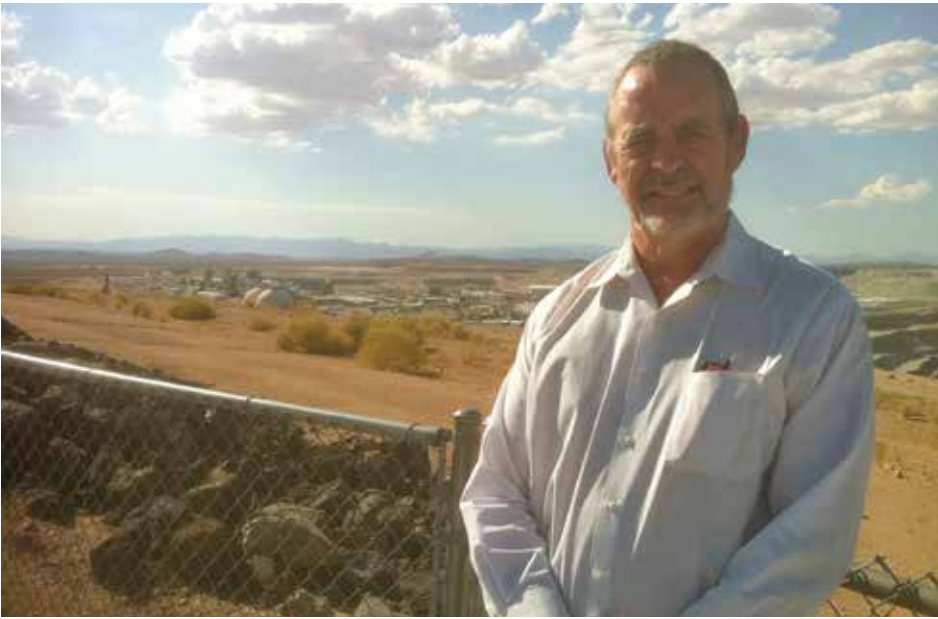


Walt "Pee-Wee" Smith

Looking ahead

The final exercise at the History and Traditions Conference was led by the team of Patricia Aguirre and Teresa Conrow, who asked everyone to consider the advantages of building a "member-to-member" communication network in each Longshore local. They started by posing a question: "Are the largest group of co-workers in your union involved, not involved or anti-union?" Most participants agreed that the largest group of workers were the ones who aren't actively involved. Aguirre and Conrow noted this was typical of most unions, and suggested that a "one-on-one" or "member-to-member" approach was the best way to reach and involve this group. Before the session ended, most participants filled out a form with the names of co-workers they could invite to get more involved. A series of educational events was suggested, where less-involved members could attend and feel welcome. "The key to building the network is personal conversations with members that have us listen to their concerns and urge them to get more involved in something they care about," said Aguirre.

Concluding remarks for the Conference were delivered by ILWU Vice President (Mainland) Ray Familathe, who thanked everyone for spending six days together to learn about the ILWU's history and traditions. "Let's go back and put what we've learned into action," said Familathe who recognized and thanked the Coast Education Committee and staff for organizing the event.



ILWU Organizing Director Peter Olney retires

ILWU Organizing Director Peter Olney retired at the end of November after serving the union for 16 years. Olney thanked “the entire ILWU for providing me with the opportunity to work with this great and historic organization.” ILWU Vice President (Mainland) Ray Familathe praised Olney’s efforts to help organize new union members and assist with contract campaigns for many existing members. “We wish him well in his retirement and thank him for his many years of service.”

TRANSITIONS

NEW PENSIONERS:
Local 7: Larry G. Brooks; **Local 8:** Mark R. Rendell; John C. Miller; **Local 12:** Tony E. Richards; **Local 13:** Leonard E. Armstrong; Svetozar Valerija; Daryl L. Grippando; John D. Mc Farland, Jr.; Frank R. Warth; Rodger W. Goddard; Gerald R. Lewis; **Local 19:** Jim F. Mallou; **Local 21:** Gerald M. Hanson; Vernon E. Jacobson; **Local 23:** Randall M. Lovitt; Ralph L. Hopf; Patrick J. Casey; **Local 46:** Gregory L. Holloway; **Local 63:** Roger A. Rizzi; Charles W. Gobbell; Joycelyn M. Gordon; Manuel R. Velasquez; Clarence Wiltz Jr.; Vernita W. Brown; **Local 92:** Michael B. Ragland; **Local 94:** Marco S. Mazarovich;
DECEASED PENSIONERS:
Local 4: George Roemmich; Arnold K. Sanchez (Cynthia);

Death of Nelson Mandela recalls decades of ILWU support for anti-apartheid struggle

continued from page 3
Nedlloyd Kimberly is one example. The South African ambassador to the USA honoring Leo Robinson, posthumously, is another. I hope that the ILWU continues to take such principled stands when needed. And, it will be needed!”

“Harry Bridges and Nelson Mandela

both understood that the struggle for workers and the struggle for civil rights was the same fight,” said Melvin Mackay. “That ILWU members used their power on the docks to support the freedom struggle in South Africa reflects the best traditions of this union: solidarity, racial equality, internationalism and working class power.”



Southern Africa support: Members of Local 10’s Southern Africa Liberation Support Committee coordinated shipments of clothing to assist refugees from the racist government of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Committee members were (LtoR) Larry Wright, Clarence C. Cooper Jr., Alton Harris, Leo Robinson, Bill and Max Proctor, Bailey M. Buffin, Charles Jones, Amile Ashley and David Stewart. Not pictured: LeRon “Ned” Ingram, Lawrence Thibeaux and Herb Burnley.

Local 8: Frank Kirk Jr; Local 10 Luther Bailey; Joseph J. Castel; Peter P. Elias Sr (Mary); **Local 13:** Eddie P. Ruiz (Elisa); John L. Nappi (Rita); Enoch Nixon; **Local 19:** John Wikene (Alice); **Local 29:** Dewey K. Mookini; **Local 40:** Troy W. Slinger; **Local 50:** Larry L. Hall (Martha); **Local 51:** Donald E. Lund; **Local 63:** John Randle (Tonya);

DECEASED SURVIVORS:
Local 8: Ruth E. Moffit; **Local 10:** Bernice Campbell; Clara M. Castle; Maria L. Nevel; Willie M. Smith; Carmen Cartahena; **Local 13:** Emma Chor; Carmen Juarez; **Local 14:** Bonnie Romines; Maryeveline Anderson; **Local 19:** La Vonne A Williams; **Local 23:** Annette Sundquist; **Local 24:** Zora Simac; **Local 29:** Jeannie Harman; **Local 63:** Billie Kelly; Ruby H. Rinehart;

ILWU BOOKS & VIDEOS

Books and videos about the ILWU are available from the union’s library at discounted prices!

BOOKS
Solidarity Stories: An Oral History of the ILWU. By Harvey Schwartz. An inspiring collection of first-hand accounts from ILWU union leaders and rank-and-file workers. \$17.00.
A Spark Is Struck: Jack Hall & the ILWU in Hawaii. By Sanford Zalburg: A high quality re-issue of the informative epic account of Jack Hall and the birth and growth of the ILWU in Hawaii \$13.50 (paperback).
The Legacy of 1934: An historical exhibit by the ILWU. Produced as a catalogue to accompany the new traveling historical art exhibit about the origins of the ILWU in the 1934 maritime strike, this brief but vivid publication stands on its own as a pictorial history of the coastwise strike and an account of the extraordinary sacrifices and democratic principles of the founding members of the union. **Two (2) for \$5.00**
Harry Bridges: The Rise and Fall of Radical Labor in the United States. By Charles Larrowe. A limited number of copies of this out-of-print and useful biography are now available through the book sale by special arrangement with Bolerium Books in San Francisco, which specializes in rare publications and documents about radical and labor history. **\$10.00**
The ILWU Story. This book unrolls the history of the union from its origins to the present, complete with recollections from the men and women who built the union, in their own words, and dozens of rare photos of the union in action. **\$5.00**
The Big Strike. By Mike Quin. The classic partisan account of the 1934 strike. **\$9.00**
The Union Makes Us Strong: Radical Unionism on the San Francisco Waterfront. By David Wellman. The important new study of longshoring in the ILWU. **\$20.00** (paperback)
The March Inland: Origins of the ILWU Warehouse Division 1934-1938. By Harvey Schwartz. A new edition of the only comprehensive account of the union’s organizing campaign in the northern California warehouse and distribution industry. **\$9.00**

VIDEOS
“Eye of the Storm: Our Fight for Justice and a Better Contract.” A 58-minute DVD feature documentary film produced and directed by Amie Williams, Eye of the Storm tells the story of the 2002 longshore lockout on the West Coast. DVD Version **\$5.00**
“We Are the ILWU.” A 30-minute color video introducing the principles and traditions of the ILWU. Features active and retired members talking about what the union meant in their lives and what it needs to survive and thrive, along with film clips, historical photos and an original musical score. DVD or VHS version **\$5.00**
“Life on the Beam: A Memorial to Harry Bridges.” A 17-minute DVD of the original video production by California Working Group, Inc., memorializes Harry Bridges through still photographs, recorded interviews, and reminiscences. Originally produced for the 1990 memorial service in San Francisco. DVD **\$5.00**

ILWU BOOK & VIDEO ORDER FORM

ORDER BY MAIL

___ copies of **Solidarity Stories** @ \$17 ea. = \$____
___ copies of **A Spark Is Struck** @ \$13.50 ea.= \$____
___ copies of **The Legacy of 1934** @ two for \$5 = \$____
___ copies of **Harry Bridges** @ \$10 ea.= \$____
___ copies of **ILWU Story** @ \$5 ea. = \$____
___ copies of **The Big Strike** @ \$9.00 ea. = \$____
___ copies of **The Union Makes Us Strong** @ \$20 ea. = \$____
___ copies of **The March Inland** @ \$9 ea.= \$____
___ copies of **Eye of the Storm** DVD @ \$5 ea. = \$____
___ copies of **We Are the ILWU** VHS @ \$5 ea. = \$____
___ copies of **A Life on the Beam** DVD @ \$5 ea. = \$____
Total Enclosed \$____

No sales outside the U.S.
We regret that U.S. Customs and postal regulations create too great a burden for our staff to maintain book sale service to our members and friends outside the United States.

Name _____

Street Address or PO Box _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make check or money order (U.S. Funds) payable to “ILWU” and send to

ILWU Library, 1188 Franklin Street, San Francisco, CA 94109

Prices include shipping and handling.

Please allow at least four weeks for delivery. Shipment to U.S. addresses only