



# THE DISPATCHER

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June 4-8, 2018



THE NEXT CHAPTER  
BEGINS



**Gearing up for a great convention:** Members of the Host Committee are busy preparing for the ILWU's upcoming 37th Convention in Portland. (L-R) Local 8's Mike Stanton and John Miken, Auxiliary #5's Denise Miken, Local 8's Crystal Barnes and Sherry Stewart, Local 5's Ryan Takas, Local 4's Terri Nelson, Local 21's Mike Wilcox, Local 5's Ron Solomon, Local 8's Jeff Smith, Local 40's Rebecca Jones and George O'Neil, IBU's Brian Dodge and Local 40 member Dawn Des Brisay.





## Notice of Nomination and Primary Elections at ILWU Convention and Longshore Division Caucus

The tri-annual Convention will be held at the Hilton Portland Downtown, 921 SW 6th Ave, Portland, OR 97204 beginning at 10:00 a.m. on Monday, June 4, 2018, and closing on or about Friday, June 8, 2018. The elected Convention delegates will vote to decide the International budget, proposed increases in per-capita rates, as well as policies and direction of the ILWU for the next three-year period. Pursuant to Article VI, Sections 3 through 7 of the ILWU International Constitution, nominations and primary elections for the offices of the International President, International Vice President (Mainland), International Vice President (Hawaii), International Secretary-Treasurer and for approximately 21 International Executive Board members will be held on the last day of the Convention, which is expected to be on Friday, June 8, 2018.

All credentialed Convention delegates have the right to nominate candidates for titled office. Nominations shall be from the floor and shall be conducted separately for each titled office. No person may be a nominee in Convention for more than one titled office. There shall be no limit for the number of nominees per office. No one not an accredited delegate from his/her own local to the Convention may be nominated, except that titled officers who by virtue of having held office in the previous term shall be eligible to be nominated for office. If necessary, a roll call vote shall be held and the two (2) nominees receiving the highest number of delegate votes shall be declared nominated by the primary election for placement on the referendum ballot. No person may be nominated for any International office unless such person has been a dues paying member of the ILWU for at least five (5) years, including having worked as a rank-and-file worker under jurisdiction of the ILWU for at least two (2) years, or has been a dues-paying member of the ILWU for a period of at least ten (10) years. The nominees so elected in the primary election shall be placed on a referendum ballot for a vote of the entire International active membership for final election.

At the Convention, caucuses of the delegates from each geographical area shall be held at the time and place designated by the International President for the purpose of nominations and primary election of Executive Board members. The nominations and primary election of Executive Board members shall be conducted by each caucus in the same manner as such nomination and primary election are conducted for titled officers by the Convention, provided that no more than twice the number of Executive Board members to be elected from the respective area shall be declared nominated at the primary election. Executive Board members shall in no case be a candidate to succeed themselves unless they are accredited Convention delegates from their own local at the time of nomination. A referendum ballot shall be conducted for the election of Executive Board members in the same manner and at the same time as titled officers, provided that only the eligible, active members of the local within each area designated by the Convention shall vote for executive board members for their respective area and provided further that, exclusive of titled officers, there shall not be over one executive board member from any one local. This restriction shall not apply to Local 142 in Hawaii. In Hawaii, there shall not be over one executive board member from any one industrial group in Local 142.

With respect to any primary election held at the Convention, such election shall be conducted by the International President, provided he/she is not a candidate for office. In the event the International President is a candidate for office, he/she shall appoint another International titled officer who is not a candidate for office to conduct the primary election. If all titled officers are candidates for office, the International President shall appoint an incumbent IEB member who is not a candidate for office, and if none is available then a credentialed Convention delegate who is not a candidate to conduct the primary election.

Each credentialed Convention delegate may vote for up to two (2) nominees in the primary election of Titled Officers. A roll call vote shall be taken either by each affiliate or by individual Convention delegate within an affiliate as determined by the procedures of each affiliate.

A local may send as many delegates as it chooses to the International Convention. Delegates shall be elected by either secret referendum ballot of the entire membership or by secret ballot at a regular meeting of the local, or where for geographical reasons meetings of the entire membership are not practicable, by secret ballots of regular meetings of its subdivisions. Nominating procedures for delegates shall be established by the local. Where a local has more than one division or unit, it is up to the local to allocate delegates among the divisions or units. A local's constitution and/or by-laws may provide that one or more officers of the local, elected in a secret ballot election, are Convention and/or Caucus delegates. The credentials of delegates elected shall be signed by the President and Secretary of the local, must bear the seal of the local and certify that the delegate was elected as provided herein.

All credentials must be in the International Office thirty (30) days prior to the Convention.

The International determines the number of votes allocated to each local or division based on the average per capita payments on union members in the prior calendar year (2017). The number of votes for locals of ILWU Canada and the Panama Canal Division is based on the average membership of those locals in the prior calendar year (2017). The number of votes allocated to each local is provided in the Convention Call which is sent to each local. The International will send each of the locals copies of all resolutions, statements of policy, and proposed Constitutional amendments for distribution to their delegates at least two (2) weeks prior to the beginning of the Convention.

All members in good standing of any affiliate of the ILWU shall be eligible to vote in the referendum election in accordance with such affiliate's established rules defining membership in good standing that conforms to the International Constitution.

Pursuant to Rule 6.C of the ILWU Election Rules, which are an Appendix to the ILWU Constitution, any credentialed delegate to the International Convention who publicly declares an intention to run for International office may request from the International Union a list of accredited delegates to the International Convention at any time within thirty (30) days prior to the Convention. A list of addresses of those delegates will also be available at the International Union but only for inspection. The International Union will not provide copies of the addresses of delegates or members of the Union.

Any accredited delegate to the International Convention who publicly declares an intention to run for International office may designate an individual to view on his/her behalf, the list of accredited delegates to the Convention with the following provisions: 1) The candidate must specify in writing the name of the individual designated to view the delegate list and the writing must be signed by the delegate; 2) the individual so designated by a candidate must be an ILWU member in good standing; 3) the rules governing the inspection of the delegate list will apply to the designated representative (see Rule 6 of ILWU Election Rules); and 4) if the candidate's designated representative inspects the delegate list, that will constitute the candidate's permitted one inspection of the delegate list.

The custodians of the Convention delegate list are International Research Director Russ Bargman and Executive Secretary Alexa Jurczak located at the ILWU Headquarters Building at 1188 Franklin Street, 4th Floor, San Francisco, California. For inspections, please first contact Russ Bargman and only if he is unavailable then ask for Alexa Jurczak. Inspections of the delegate list may only occur during regular business hours between 9:00 a.m. and 1:00 p.m., and between 2:00 p.m. and 5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday.

Nominations and primary election for the offices of two (2) ILWU Coast Committeeman positions will take place during the Longshore Division Caucus, which will convene on Monday, June 11, 2018 and close on or about Friday, June 15, 2018. The Longshore Division Caucus will also be held at the Hilton Portland Downtown, 921 SW 6th Ave, Portland, OR 97204. The elected delegates of the Longshore Division Caucus may vote to decide such matters as the budget, any proposed increases or decreases of the Coast pro-rata and other fees as well as the policies and direction of the ILWU Longshore Division and ILWU Coast Pro-Rata Committee. All Longshore Division Caucus delegates have the right to nominate candidates for the two positions of Coast Committeeman. Nominations shall be from the floor and shall be conducted separately for each position. No person may be a nominee for more than one Coast Committeeman position. There shall be no limit to the number of nominees. No one not an accredited Caucus delegate from his or her own local may be nominated, except that an incumbent Coast Committeeman by virtue of having held office in the previous term shall be eligible to be nominated for office. If necessary, a roll call vote will be held and the two (2) nominees receiving the highest number of votes per position shall be declared nominated by the primary election for placement on the membership referendum ballot. The nominees so elected in the primary election shall be placed on a referendum ballot for a vote of the entire Longshore Division membership for final election.

Publicly declared candidates for the position of Coast Committeeman have the right to inspect the list of accredited delegates to the Longshore Division Caucus at any time within thirty (30) days prior to the Caucus meeting. The procedures for inspection shall be the same as those provided above with respect to nominations and primary elections held at the ILWU International Convention.

## DISPATCHER

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ILWU TITLED OFFICERS  
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Ray A. Familathe, Vice President, Mainland  
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William E. Adams, Secretary-Treasurer

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**T**he Thirty-Seventh Convention of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union will be held beginning June 4, 2018 in Portland, Oregon. Representation at the Convention and voting strength of the locals/affiliates will be determined in accordance with Article XI of the Constitution. For convenience, reference sections of Article XI, applying to the Convention, found on Page 3 of The Call.

The number of votes to which each local/affiliate will be entitled at the Convention will be based on the average membership during 2017. The Constitution does not limit the number of delegates a local/affiliate may send. The official voting strength of each local/affiliate is divided among the official delegates representing the local/affiliate.

## CREDENTIALS

Credentials to the Convention are enclosed. They are in triplicate. The blue copy is for the delegate to bring to the Convention to present at registration. The yellow copy must be sent to the International Office, to be received no later than May 7, 2018. The green copy is to be kept in the local's/affiliate's files.

In order to be entitled to send delegates to the Convention, each local/affiliate is required to have paid up its per capita, assessments, and any other indebtedness to the International (through May 2018) at least one month prior to the Convention.

Locals/Affiliates with a combined membership of 500 or less may consolidate for the purposes of nominating and electing delegates. Methods of election should be worked out by the locals/affiliates involved in accordance with Article XI, Section 4(a) of the International Constitution.

## RESOLUTIONS

Resolutions or amendments to the Constitution that a local/affiliate wishes to propose for the consideration of the Convention should be received at the International Office no later than May 14, 2018. Each resolution or amendment should be separately typed, double-spaced on 8-1/2" X 11" paper. Resolutions may also be submitted electronically, either on disc or by email to [resolutions@ilwu.org](mailto:resolutions@ilwu.org).

**Please note:** Rules adopted by previous Conventions specify that no resolution or Constitutional amendment will be accepted by the Convention unless submitted by the local's/affiliate's membership or by the local's/affiliate's delegation, and that no resolution or Constitutional amendment shall be accepted for consideration after 4:30 p.m. on the second day of the Convention, except by unanimous vote of the delegates present.

## ACCOMMODATIONS

Information on hotel reservations and accommodations are enclosed with The Call. Reservations should be made directly with the hotel. Other questions regarding accommodations should be addressed to Alexa Jurczak, Office Manager, at the International Office. Any questions concerning Convention procedures, voting strength, or the number of delegates assigned to each local/affiliate should be addressed to William E. Adams, Secretary-Treasurer, at the International Office.

In Solidarity,

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHORE  
AND WAREHOUSE UNION  
1188 Franklin Street  
San Francisco, California 94109

ROBERT McELLRATH  
President

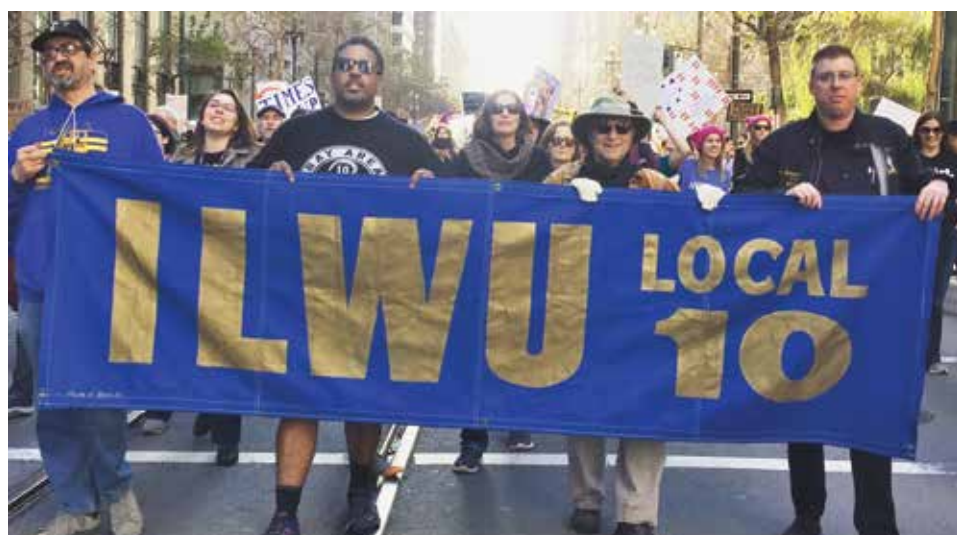
RAY A. FAMILATHE  
Vice President

WESLEY FURTADO  
Vice President

WILLIAM E. ADAMS  
Secretary-Treasurer



**Rain didn't dampen their spirits:** ILWU supporters showed up at the Seattle Women's March despite the rain to make a point that there's no going backward. Among those participating were (L-R) Local 19 members Sarah Esch and Ali Vekich; Cathy Davis (mother of Local 19 member Max Proctor) and granddaughter Lala Proctor; Local 19 member Zoe Connell, Local 19 pensioner Chris Lincoln and Local 19's Leith Jasinowski-Kahl. The little ones in front are Laszlo Vekich (Ali's son), Josephine (a friend's daughter), and Zane Connell (Zoe's daughter).



**Men support the women's march:** For the second year in a row, more than a million women marched across the country in January to protest President Trump's physical assaults, insulting comments and hurtful policies against women. Bay Area ILWU members were among more than 100,000 who marched in San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose and Santa Cruz. Other major events drew 600,000 in Los Angeles, 300,000 in Chicago and 200,000 in New York. Pictured above are Local 6's Fred Pecker, Local 10's Person Hearing III, ILWU Historian and honorary member Harvey Schwartz, and Local 10's Chris Christensen who also serves as President of the Bay Area Longshoreman's Memorial Association (BALMA).

## ARTICLE XI CONVENTION

The following excerpts from Article XI of the ILWU International Constitution are reprinted here for reference.

**SECTION 1.** A Convention of the International shall be held every three (3) years beginning at 10 a.m. on the second Monday following Easter Sunday. However, the International Executive Board may authorize a different Convention location and starting date which shall be no earlier than March 1<sup>st</sup> nor later than June 30<sup>th</sup> of the year in which the Convention is to be held...

**SECTION 2.** In Order to be entitled to send delegates to the Convention and receive voice and vote, a local must have its International per capita, together with assessments and any overdue indebtedness to the International paid up one month prior to the Convention.

**SECTION 3.** Representation at the International Convention shall be as follows: each local shall be entitled to one vote regardless of membership up to one hundred (100) members, and one vote for each additional one hundred (100) members or major fraction thereof of its paid membership averaged for the one (1) year period immediately prior to the year in which the Convention is held.

**SECTION 4.** Delegates to the International Convention shall be elected either by secret referendum ballot of the entire membership or by ballot at a regular meeting of the local, or where for geographical reasons meetings of the entire membership are not practical, by ballot at regular meetings of its subdivisions. Nominating procedures shall be established by the local. The credentials of delegates elected shall be signed by the president and secretary of the local, must bear the seal of the local, and certify that the delegate was elected as provided herein...

**SECTION 4a.** Locals within any geographical subdivision with a combined membership of 500 members or less may consolidate for the purposes of nominating and electing a Convention delegate. Any method of nominating and electing said delegate should be worked out by the said locals involved, providing other provisions of the International Constitution are adhered to. The delegate elected shall cast the full voting strength of the locals he/she represents in Convention. No proxy vote will be allowed. The delegate's wages and expenses, travel and transportation shall be borne equally by members of the locals the delegate represents.

**SECTION 5.** All credentials must be in the International office thirty (30) days prior to the Convention. The President may appoint a pre-Convention committee to consist of that number of delegates to the Convention that he/she deems necessary to carry out the functions of the committee, to be selected by him/her with due regard to proportionate representation so far as possible from all areas, with the International Officers to act as ex-officio members of the committee. All work of the pre-Convention committee shall be subject to the approval of the Convention...

**SECTION 6.** During each Convention, at times and places designated by the International President, each occupational group or geographic area within the International may hold a caucus for the purpose of discussing its specific problems with full authority to set up such machinery as it may deem necessary and appropriate to deal with its collective bargaining problems...

**SECTION 7.** The Titled Officers and Coast Committeemen who are not elected delegates from their respective locals shall have a voice and vote in the Convention, except on roll call votes.

**SECTION 8.** Executive Board members who are not elected delegates from their respective locals shall have voice and vote in the Convention, except on roll call votes.

**SECTION 9.** Pensioners designated by their pension clubs shall be fraternal delegates at Conventions with voice, but no vote, on all matters before the Convention.

**SECTION 10.** Auxiliary members designated by their auxiliaries shall be fraternal delegates at Conventions.

**SECTION 11.** Each District Council shall be entitled to send one fraternal delegate to the Convention with voice, but no vote, on all matters before the Convention. The delegate costs shall be borne by the individual District Councils.



# Young dockworkers in London

Good people share and aren't scared about letting other people have a go," Paddy Crumlin told a room full of International delegates in London this November. Crumlin is President of the International Transport Workers Federation (ITF), and he welcomed dozens of youth delegates to participate in the ITF Dockers Section meetings in London on November 14th-17th.

A day earlier, I joined 30 young dockworkers from 16 countries who attended the ITF Youth Dockers Section meeting, which helped us prepare for the following days when youth delegates observed and sat with representatives from many of the world's dockworker unions as they conducted business.

I had the honor of representing the Local 23 Young Workers Committee and was part of an ILWU delegation that included International Vice President (Mainland) Ray Familathe, ILWU Canada President Rob Ashton, Local 502 youth delegates Ashley Bordignon and Dan Kask, Local 400 member and Canadian area ITF Coordinator Peter Lahay, Local 63 members Joe Gasperov, and Robert Abordo, and Kelly Dondero from the brand new Local 63 Superintendents Unit.

The ITF leadership understands that the new generation of workers have to participate in decisions because we will be most affected by automation and other changes in our workplaces.

Dan Kask and I were invited to give a presentation about the work we have been doing to build a young workers movement in our union. We shared successes and lessons learned from ILWU Canada and Local 23. We discussed ideas and showed pictures of young workers volunteering in local communities, participating in conferences, leading peer-to-peer education events, marching in the streets and standing with other workers on their picket lines. We provided examples of how to use social media effectively and how to take stock of our individual skills and put them to work building the union.

The ITF leadership tasked the youth delegates with building a global framework for the ITF's Youth Movement. We elected chairs, set up a strategy for navigating languages and regions using email and social media, and gave ourselves six months for each of our affiliated unions to start a Young Workers Committee with an internet presence. The Maritime Union of Australia (MUA), the ILWU and now the Antwerp Dockers (Belgische Transport Bond – BTB) have all developed strong local young workers committees. In the coming months will help dockers from Spain, Colombia, Nicaragua, Turkey, Sri Lanka, Senegal and other countries develop their own committees. If we can build local capacity for action and participation in our affiliated unions, it helps build the capacity of the ITF to carry out global campaigns.

## The ITF targets major port terminal operators with global campaigns

We learned about the United Nations "Global Compact" – a list of 10 principles that have been voluntarily adopted by 10,000 corporations around the world. The principles include the abolition of child labor, slavery, discrimination in the workplace and the right to free association and collective bargaining for workers. We noted that only one global terminal operator has signed: APMT. I was moved by the words of ITF Dockers Assistant Secretary Nigel Venes, who said, "Employers have two faces and behave one way in the developed world and another in the developing world. We have to move through our industry and change these bandit employers."

## Strong women's agenda

The ITF Women's Conference took place in Marrakesh, Morocco, a week before our Dockers Section meeting. The Dockers Section approved a request to formalize a Women's Working Group. This group will monitor women's membership in the ITF, build networks to exchange experiences and best practices, and continue supporting ITF campaigns – including global initiatives to end workplace violence. Other issues of concern on the ITF Women's agenda include recruitment, safety, political action, equal pay, training, promotion and equal facilities.



The Antwerp Dockers' BTB Youth Movement with ILWU International Vice President Ray Familathe & ILWU Young Workers from the United States and Canada.

November 19th was "World Toilet Day." The ITF took the opportunity to launch a campaign, demanding separate and secure women's facilities at port terminals around the world. I had to admit that this was a problem I had never considered and understood until now. Ports remain male-dominated workplaces. Part of normalizing women in our workplace is fighting for equal treatment and equal conditions.

## Key issues remain

Health and safety, automation and respect for collective bargaining rights remain the most pressing issues across our industry. Too many terminal operators gallivant across North America, Western Europe and Australia, masquerading as safety conscious, ethical employers, when the reality is far different. Consider the example of DP World's terminal in Constanta, Romania, which has not reported a single injury in three years. We know that injuries and near-misses are not always properly handled and recorded in our own workplaces, and the situation is much worse outside of the developed world – and made worse everywhere due to poor terminal management. In locations where "de-regulation" or non-enforcement are the norm, employers have no reason to comply with any rules.

In places like Africa, India and the Arab World, workplace monitoring is a preposterous farce. Lashing remains the most dangerous job, often performed by temporary workers who face death and serious injuries – along with constant threats to keep quiet.

In Latin America, trade unionists are regularly assassinated, "disappeared." They and their families live under constant threats of violence and terrorism. Many of us know the story of Guatemalan trade union leader Pedro Zamora, who was gunned down in 2007 in front of his two children for resisting the privatization of a port in the Central American country. He was a leader of the Sindicato de Trabajadores Empresa Portuaria Quetzal (STEPQ), the Guatemalan dockers

union. Three months ago, the current president of STEPQ received a message that if the union didn't back off, they would mail him the ear of his 13-year-old daughter.

Where conditions are the worst, it is not just the lack of strong trade unions, but specifically what those unions represent, workers having a voice in their workplace. Having a voice on the job about safety and health is paramount to raising standards. To do that, workers must have laws that are enforced guaranteeing the right to form unions and to associate freely without threats and violence. Every gain that has been made in this arena has been won through workers struggle.

## Conclusions

The ITF is changing by involving more women and young workers into the organization. The organization recognizes that young people have the least security, lowest wages and greatest vulnerability to layoffs and automation. It recognizes that women are the most vulnerable to workplace violence, discrimination and inequality. And they understand that women and young people will bring vital new energy, new solutions, vision and creativity to our movement.

Paddy Crumlin told the youth delegates that we have a responsibility to get involved with the ITF, just as the organization has a responsibility to include us.

If we can involve more young people and instill them with a sense of purpose, and possibility, then we will ensure that future generations will be in a better position to hold employers accountable and support struggles to raise standards for workers across our industry and around the world.

–Brian Skiffington



ILWU Local 502 Casual, Ashley Bordignon, gives a presentation to the ITF Young Dockers meeting in London. In September she was elected by her peers to ILWU Canada's Young Workers Committee.



# Exhibit honors longshore photographer Frank Silva

Frank Silva wasn't surprised that he eventually ended up working on the waterfront after a series of disappointing jobs failed to hold his interest. His father and uncle were both longtime Bay Area dockworkers who sometimes took him and his brother to the "front" when they were both young boys, allowing them to discover a world that Frank described as, "so far away, so mysterious, so big, so dangerous." Silva eventually started working on the waterfront where he discovered how much he loved the job and treasured the people he worked with for the next forty years.

"I loved the waterfront and I loved the union. I started working there in my early 20's and I'm still friends with the guys I worked with back then," Silva told a group of fifty guests at the February 1st opening of an exhibit of his waterfront photographs sponsored

by San Francisco State University's Labor Archives and Research Center. The exhibit runs through July 6 in the Special Collections Gallery on the 4th floor of the J. Paul Leonard Library.

### Arriving at a critical time

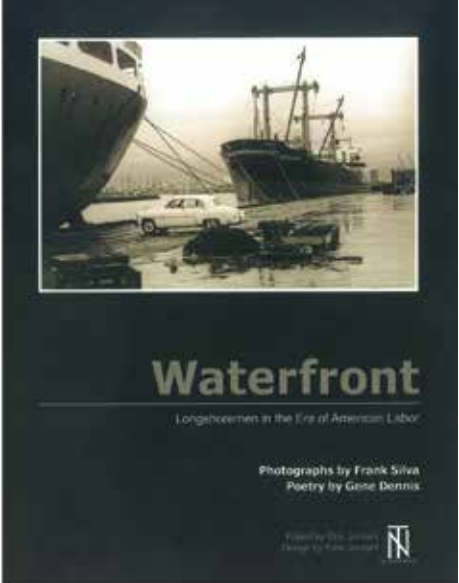
After finishing a stint in the Navy, Silva began work on the docks in 1965, eventually becoming a member of Clerks Local 34. Silva arrived as new technology (shipping containers) was transforming the nature of longshore work. His father's generation had worked together in teams known as "gangs" for years and sometimes decades, but only a handful were needed as container ships replaced "break-bulk" cargo carriers. Items that used to be loaded and unloaded by longshoremen doing hard, physical labor were now being loaded into containers by workers overseas or somewhere far from the docks, only to arrive in the Bay Area and be transported quickly to factories or distribution centers where the loading was usually done by non-union, low-wage laborers. The new technology also reduced the size of the waterfront workforce and eroded the closeness and comradery that came from group work in the gangs. Economic and political changes in the 1960's and 70's also brought dramatic shifts as globalization took root, sending investment and jobs abroad as de-industrialization became the norm at home. The U.S. shifted from a net exporter to importer of almost everything except agricultural commodities, scrap metal and recycled paper.

### Documenting what he saw

Silva started taking pictures in high school, where a photography class hooked him for life. He continued using a camera but waited 13 years before taking photographs on the waterfront, using a big Nikon F2 that he carried under his coat. For the next



**Capturing the moment:** Frank Silva was on hand for the opening of an exhibit displaying his photos at San Francisco State University now through July 6. Silva is shown beside a photo he says, "was taken at Sealand in the late 1970's when Brian McWilliams and I were partners on the dock. McWilliams also attended the exhibit opening. He went on to serve two terms as ILWU International President (1994-2000). Both men were Local 34 members; they are now pensioners living in the Bay Area."



**Sold out:** Silva's book of photos with poetry by Gene Dennis was published in 2016 but has already sold out.

ten years, Silva documented his fellow workers and the waterfront terrain he saw around him. He soon joined a group of longshoremen and clerks who called themselves Waterfront Writers and Artists, inspired by ILWU members Robert Carson and George Benet. They wrote essays and poetry, took photographs, held readings and created a slide show from photographs combined with 40 hours of sound recordings, all assembled over a seven-year period into a kind of movie produced by Silva and co-workers Brian Nelson and Mike Vawter.

### Publishing a book

Silva retired 15 years ago, but joined with fellow pensioner Gene Dennis to produce a book published in 2016 that featured his black-and-white photographs along with Dennis' poetry, called *Waterfront: Longshoremen in the Era of American*

*Labor*. He personally signed each one of the 100 limited-edition copies that quickly sold-out. Now he's thinking of printing a new edition as he continues to take photographs.

At the exhibit opening on February 1, Silva participated in a panel discussion with former ILWU International President Brian McWilliams, who worked closely with Silva when both were members of Local 34. Also participating on the panel was Alexis Madrigal who recently produced a podcast called "Containers."

"My time working on the 'front' was special, said Silva, summing up his four decades as an ILWU member.

"I had brothers who cared about me and we cared about each other. The job allowed people to feel like we were worthwhile. It was the best thing that ever happened to me, besides meeting my wife."

# LABOR SUMMER INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

June 18-August 10, 2018  
APPLICATIONS DUE: Monday, February 26, 11:59 PM PST

## JUSTICE!

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS:  
**GET PAID**  
TO LEARN HOW TO ORGANIZE AND DO RESEARCH TO SUPPORT SOCIAL & ECONOMIC JUSTICE FOR WORKERS IN CALIFORNIA

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FIND OUT MORE:  
laborcenter.berkeley.edu  
ucblaborsummer@gmail.com

UC BERKELEY LABOR CENTER

## Summer Institute on Union Women 2018

### July 10-14, 2018 | Sonoma State University

Investing in the next generation of women labor leaders is an investment in a resilient, thriving, powerful labor movement for all workers. The UC Berkeley Labor Center will host the 37th annual Western Regional Summer Institute on Union Women (SIUW) from July 10-14, 2018, at Sonoma State University.

SIUW, founded by the United Association of Labor Educators, brings together over 200 dynamic activists from more than 50 unions, worker centers, and community organizations in the western region of the US and Canada for five days and four nights. Participants develop and deepen organizing skills, train for becoming leaders in their unions, and grapple with big picture issues that the labor movement is facing. This is a rare opportunity for rank and file members, elected leaders, and staff to explore issues that affect women in the workplace and in their communities. SIUW creates lasting bonds; experienced leaders serve as mentors and role models, and younger leaders provide fresh perspectives and inspiration.

We are asking you to:

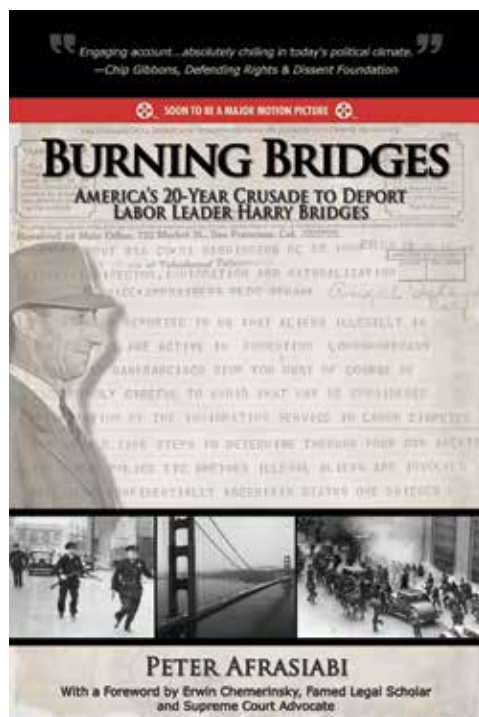
- **Save the Date:** SIUW 2018 July 10-14 in Sonoma
- **Help get the word out:**
  - distribute and post our Summer Institute flyer
  - forward this email to staff and members
  - post information on your website
  - send an announcement through your newsletter
  - broadcast through social media using the hashtag #SIUW2018
- **Participate in the planning, outreach and teaching**

Support women's leadership development. Please save the date and look out for more information coming soon. For questions, please contact Kineshia Cadogan at 510-642-1027 or [siuw2018@gmail.com](mailto:siuw2018@gmail.com).



# Burning Bridges: America's 20-Year Crusade to Deport Labor Leader Harry Bridges.

Peter Afrasiabi. Brooklyn, NY: Thirlmere Books, 2016. 293 pages. \$21.95 paperback.



In his new book, *Burning Bridges*, attorney Peter Afrasiabi introduces us to the relentless, decades-long crusade to discredit and deport ILWU leader Harry Bridges. The book transports readers back to the tumultuous height of the red scare during the 1940's and 50's and provides a sense of how doggedly the government and employers tried to rid the country of a man because of his labor activism and political ideas. It also gives the reader a sense of how immigration law has been historically used to attack workers' rights and their ability to organize.

Afrasiabi opens the book with details about Bridges' early life and the events of the 1934 coastwise waterfront strike. But it's not until he delves into the deportation attempts against Bridges and the legal drama that unfolded in court that Afrasiabi's writing truly shines.

Afrasiabi quickly examines how the case against Bridges formed. Early in his role as the leader of the newly-organized longshoremen, Bridges came under the watchful eye of a loose-knit



**The defendants:** (L to R): Harry Bridges, Henry Schmidt, and JR Robertson confer during their perjury trial.

group of anti-union players—employers, American Legionnaires, and police officials. Bridges collaborated with a diverse array of people supporting longshore workers' efforts to improve their conditions, including some Communist Party members. He himself believed passionately in fighting racial discrimination and granting rank-and-file workers a say in how they were treated on the job—ideas that were considered radical at the time. These beliefs, associations, and Bridges' overall effectiveness as a leader put him in the crosshairs of anti-unionists who were collecting information on him by 1935, with a goal of removing him from the waterfront. They even discussed assassination. As a safer alternative, deportation offered a promising opportunity dispose of Bridges.

Bridges proved vulnerable to this strategy. Australian by birth, he had never gotten naturalized after relocating to the U.S. as a young man in 1922. Employers seized upon a 1918 law that allowed for the deportation of non-citizens who belonged to subversive organizations advocating overthrow of the government. If they could link Bridges to the Communist Party, they could have him legally deported. They demanded action from Congress and the Department of Labor, which then oversaw immigration matters.

Initial government investigations failed to link Bridges to the Communist Party, but private interests conducted their own independent but biased investigations, including the American Legion's Subversive Activities Commission in San Francisco. Its Chair, Harper Knowles, conspired with John Keegan, Chief of Detectives in the Portland Police Department, and Stanley Doyle, an undercover prosecutor in Oregon. Afrasiabi calls the three the "Knowles-Keegan-Doyle Axis." This "Axis" coordinated an interstate effort to collect evidence and witnesses against Bridges. It met secretly with several of his associates and used bribes and blackmail to extract testimony. Some of the money and resources for this nefarious endeavor came from the State of Oregon and the City of Portland, even though the investigation was outside of Oregon's jurisdiction.

Knowles and the American Legion had friends in Congress who pressured Francis Perkins, President Franklin Roosevelt's Labor Secretary, to push for Bridges' deportation. Several of these Congressmen were members of the Dies Committee, an anti-Communist body that was a precursor to the House Un-American Activities Committee. Because Secretary Perkins did not direct the Department of Labor to take swift action to have Bridges tried and deported, some Congressmen called for her impeachment. This was rejected, but its threat irreparably damaged Perkins' credibility in immigration matters.

Perkins and the Department of Labor eventually capitulated and

agreed to hear the case against Bridges. Public hearings began on Angel Island, the San Francisco headquarters of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), in July 1939. The government chose the remote island to avoid publicity and protests. John Landis, the highly respected Dean of Harvard Law School, conducted the hearings.

Afrasiabi describes the hearing room scene like a movie screenplay for a tragic-comedy. Government witnesses contradicted themselves. The prosecution's key evidence, Bridges' supposed Communist Party membership card, was a forgery. A star witness had been indicted for racketeering in another case. Keegan and Doyle used bribery and threats to extract testimony. Bridges, on the other hand, freely acknowledged that he knew and worked with people who were Communists, but convincingly denied membership in the Party. He pointed out that the Party's political theories were of little practical use to him because "there is no one, when it comes to the best policy of the longshoremen on the waterfront, that knows more about what is best for us than we ourselves."

Landis ruled in Bridges favor, saying "that Bridges' aims are energetically radical may be admitted, but the proof fails to establish that the methods he seeks to employ to realize them are other than those that the framework of democratic and constitutional government permits." Bridges filed an application for naturalization. Meanwhile, the anti-Bridges forces prepared for another attack. The Bridges case was only beginning. The new onslaught featured rewriting immigration laws, reducing the influence of the Department of Labor over immigration matters, and expanding government surveillance against alleged subversives.

Within months of Landis' decision, Congress passed a resolution directly targeting Bridges. H.R. 9766 authorized the U.S. Attorney General to deport the ILWU leader, "whose presence in this country the Congress deems hurtful." The bill was illegal because the U.S. Constitution prohibits bills of attainder—laws that target a specific person or group. Knowing that the popular bill would pass in the Senate, Roosevelt feared vetoing it. Not wanting to seem "soft on Communism," he directed Attorney General Robert Jackson to work with Congress to find a political compromise.

The compromise came in the form of another bill, the Smith Act, which Roosevelt signed into law on June 28, 1940. It didn't mention Bridges directly, but opened the door to another deportation attempt by expanding anti-sedition language and allowing the government to deport any noncitizen who "at the time of entering the United States... or any time thereafter" was a member of or affiliated with the Communist Party. Legislators hoped this language would make Bridges a vulnerable target.



**Attorneys:** Carol King, Richard Gladstein, and Aubrey Grossman, strategize with Harry Bridges during the hearings on Angel Island.

More than legislation was needed to activate Bridges' deportation. But when criticism intensified against Perkins and the Department of Labor for their handling of immigration cases, Roosevelt caved to the pressure and transferred INS oversight from the Department of Labor to the Department of Justice. This removed Secretary Perkins' influence over immigration matters and placed the INS under the control of the U.S. Attorney General—and the investigative arm of the FBI. Attorney General Jackson quickly ordered FBI head J. Edgar Hoover to investigate Bridges. Hoover requested and received extended wiretapping powers over "aliens" and "subversives," and put Bridges' under constant surveillance. Hoover was a fanatical anti-Communist who declared the press that "beyond a doubt, Bridges is a Red."

Based on the new law and FBI investigation, the Bridges case went to trial again in 1941. Bridges lost this second trial, but appealed the decision to the Board of Immigration Appeals, which overturned the verdict. U.S. Attorney General Francis Biddle subsequently overturned the appeal. A lengthy appeals process eventually reached the U.S. Supreme Court in 1945. Justice Frank Murphy wrote the high court's majority decision, which favored Bridges, saying that "seldom if ever in the history of this nation has there been such a concentrated and relentless crusade to deport an individual because he dared exercise that freedom which belongs to him as a human being and is guaranteed him by the Constitution.... Freedom of speech and of press is accorded aliens residing in this country. So far as this record shows, the literature published by Harry Bridges, the utterances made by him were entitled to that protection. They revealed a militant advocacy of the cause of trade unionism. But they did not teach or advocate or advise the subversive conduct condemned by the statute."

With that victory, Bridges then filed for citizenship. As part of the naturalization process, two of Bridges' close colleagues, ILWU International Vice President J. R. Robertson and Henry Schmidt, a 1934 strike veteran from Local 10, signed an affidavit stating that Bridges was not a Communist Party member. Bridges testified to the same. The Judge granted Bridges' citi-

*continued on page 8*



# Norm Parks: Lifetime of leadership & service to the ILWU

Norman “Norm” S. Parks was born on March 7, 1943, into a strong union family with a long legacy in longshoring. His father, Ezra, was a skilled grain “boardman” at Local 8 in Portland who knew how to load grain that arrived onto ships from shoreside elevators that sent torrents rushing down long tubes that roared at the open end below where men used heavy wooden boards to deflect the cargo into nooks and crannies of the ship compartments, so vessels could be “filled to the gills” and properly balanced.

After high school, Parks served in the military where he learned how to load vessels, experience that came in handy after he was discharged in 1962 and began working jobs on the Portland docks with his father and other Local 8 members. At that time, roughly 1 in 3 jobs on the Portland docks involved handling grain. Like his father, Parks worked a wide variety of jobs, but chose to spend much of his time on grain vessels where he worked as a deck man, spout trimmer, winch driver, boss boardman and safety spotter. Work-

ing shoreside, he spent time working in and around the elevators, gaining experience and knowledge that would help him in future years when he served on union negotiating committees.

In 1966, Parks married his high school sweetheart Diana, who became his wife, life partner and a Local 8 member for over 40 years. Parks encouraged them to set their wedding date on July 5, so they could always have plenty of company by celebrating their anniversary on Bloody Thursday – the ILWU longshore holiday that honors 7 martyrs who were killed in 1934 when the union was established.

Norm and Diana’s love for each other and for their union formed a strong bond that endured for the next 51 years. They had two children, Sheri and Michael, and eventually grandchildren David, Larry and Preston.

Despite their growing family, Parks became increasingly involved in union leadership posts and was elected by his co-workers to serve as Business Agent and Dispatcher, Trustee, Labor Relations Committee member, plus three terms as Local 8’s Secretary-Treasurer. He was chosen to serve outside of Port-

land, including frequent service as a delegate to the Longshore Caucus and International Union Conventions. Parks also became a regular face on the International Union Executive Board, where he served for a remarkable 28 years and travelled to meetings every three months.

“He was on the IEB for over half the time we were married,” said Diana Parks, who travelled frequently with Norm to meetings. Parks was deeply involved with grain contract negotiations and had a consistent presence on Longshore Negotiating Committees, participating in eight different contracts. During the negotiations, Diana pitched-in to help find housing for Committee members and remained in San Francisco for the duration of the contract talks. In addition to his role in longshore negotiations, Parks participated in a host of union committees that included Grain, Barge, Logs, Technology and Education.

Parks travelled far and wide, including a union delegation that met with Mexican port workers in 1993 to discuss the ILWU’s opposition to NAFTA. Two years later, he travelled with his father, Ezra, to Liverpool, Eng-



land, where the sacked dockers repaid the gesture of solidarity by honoring the visit with a brass plaque at their union headquarters.

Norman Parks passed on January 8, 2017, while living in Goodyear, Arizona.

“Norm had the wisdom over the last decade to step back from front line leadership and let us young upstarts find our way,” said Local 8’s Stephen Hanson, who is now a pensioner himself. “He let us make the mistakes that were necessary for us to become capable leaders. Norm’s philosophy of work, be it the double-back or question of steadies, is marked on our local.”

## LETTERS TO THE DISPATCHER

Dear Editor,

I was dismayed at the news in last month’s Dispatcher about the upcoming “right-to-work” case that will soon be heard by the US Supreme Court. It is scary to think that one court case might set unions back for decades, but it certainly could if nothing is done. What is just as scary for us is that there is nothing to stop the same thing from happening up here.

I’m glad to see that the ILWU is starting an education program to help members understand the ramifications of this case.

How can any organization operate without some sort of membership fee? Ask the Chamber of Commerce or the Board of Trade for a free membership and you would be laughed out of the room. Corporate greed knows no bounds. This is corporate America’s way to weaken unions and decrease worker strength through collective action. First they’re going after public sector unions; soon it will be private sector unions.

If any union can survive this attack, it is a rank and file union such as the ILWU. An education program that reaches everyone in our union, including new members and casuals, is the only way to survive what’s coming. And hopefully, these education and communication efforts will make our union even stronger. Sometimes it takes an external threat to bring people together. Let’s make the most of this opportunity. Good luck to all our U.S. brothers and sisters. In solidarity,

**Bob Dhaliwal, Secretary-Treasurer**  
ILWU Canada

Dear Editor,

I wanted to share my experiences as a member of the ILWU Puerto Rico relief delegation and update readers on some of the work that was reported on in the December 2017 issue of the *Dispatcher*.

I am sorry I didn’t get this information to the *Dispatcher* sooner but I had I returned to Puerto Rico at the time the article was being written. On my return trip, I was able to follow up on the projects we worked on and one of the first things that I saw was that the building we had cleaned up at the Port of Mayagüez was operational and the team was able to turn it into a place to store water, food and hygiene supplies. I distributed supplies of water, food and hygiene supplies to local communities that still had no power, water or food on a daily basis and did a lot of debris clean up all over the west side of the island.

Throughout my trip, I made several visits to Gloria and her son Emanuel and I brought numerous supplies, a new radio for him and verified that the generator was working for them. Another priority of mine was to make sure the part for the generator at the zoo had arrived and the generator was up and running before I left. I was able to video the startup and running of the generator. We were all so excited to see that hurdle was accomplished.

My trips to Puerto Rico could not and would not have been possible without the support from the Local 19 membership, pensioners, friends and family, and last but not least, the team from Local 23 who took the risk to let me participate in this project. All of you have made a long lasting impression on the people of Puerto Rico as well as myself.

**Jennifer Haynes-Borden**  
Local 19

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



**Feeding teens on New Year’s Eve:** Homeless youth in Seattle’s University District got a break on New Year’s Eve, thanks to Local 19 members, family and friends who prepared a special meal for young people living on the streets – including high school and college students. The meal included a massive taco salad, chili, corn chowder, mac & cheese, chicken wings, corn bread, cupcakes and apple pie – all prepared fresh by volunteers. This is the third event, each of which has been organized by Ali Vekich. Future plans call for quarterly dinners – in addition to ongoing Christmas-time donations from Local 19 that provide tents, sleeping bags, and warm clothes. Volunteers appreciated a chance to serve the community, and the young adults were “incredibly polite, gracious, and grateful,” according to Local 19’s Sarah Esch. Among the volunteers were (L-R): Rachel Burnison, Peggy Strickland, Joe Burnison, Kate Head, Tim Dunn, Sonja Head, Chela Riggs, Teresa Neufang, Ali Vekich, Sarah Esch, Mike Strickland, Max Proctor and Cosette Hill.



**Worker power:** Maritime industry workers made their voices heard at the State Capitol last month during the annual Maritime Lobby Day event in Olympia. Members of the ILWU Longshore and Inlandboatmen’s Union (IBU) met with legislators from a dozen district during the day, then held an evening reception for elected officials and legislative staff. Among those attending were (L-R) Local 52 Vice President Gabriel Prawl, Local 52’s Paul Pemberton, Local 52 President Max Vekich, Local 19’s Teresa Neufang, Local 19 member and Puget Sound District Council (PSDC) President Dan McKisson, plus Local 19 members Sarah Esch, Booker Stevens, Ali Vekich who is also a PSDC delegate and John Persak.



NEW PENSIONERS:

**Local 8:** Mark O. Wright;  
**Local 10:** Pablo O. Alba; Albert Cardoso; Robert J. Martin, Sr.;  
**Local 13:** Richard Olson; Steve German; Floyd E. Elliott; Charles D. Hackett; Robert E. Harrell; Kelly W. King; **Local 19:** Duane C. Rogers; Roger R. Cranford; Jonathan B. Rider;  
**Local 23:** David R. Singleton; Debra J. Roscoe; Robb B. Cole;  
**Local 63:** Jennifer Clark; Mary H. Johnson; Anne C. Alberts;

DECEASED PENSIONERS:

**Local 10:** Willie Freeman Jr.; Addison D. Hoover; Timothy Goddard; James E. Pitcher; Noble L. Harris; Eddie R. Johnson; **Local 12:** Leonard Garrett; Michael J. Karavanich;  
**Local 13:** Thomas Gonzales; Adolfo Bojorquez; Carlos R. Castro; Harry V. Freeman; **Local 18:** Robert L. Mc Guire (Rebecca); **Local 19:** Phillip Ervin (Louise); Richard S. Wright;  
**Local 23:** Lewellyn R. Smith; Carlton N. Williams III; **Local 29:** Robert

Bolata; **Local 32:** Clarence E. Plant;  
**Local 34:** Charles L. Jones; **Local 52:** James Sanders; **Local 63:** Edward R. Luera; Myles M. Sakamoto (Teresa);  
**Local 92:** Herbert Urie; **Local 94:** Hendi A. Ancich Sr. (Sharon);

DECEASED SURVIVORS:

**Local 7:** Hazel L. Muggy;  
**Local 8:** Ruth L. Miller; Peggy Ann Lawrence; **Local 10:** Dorris Lovrin; Bertha Severdia; Edith K. Hill;  
**Local 13:** Maxine C. Makinster; Marie G. Trani-Lee; Jennifer McCoy;  
**Local 23:** Ethel M. Ayers;  
**Local 34:** Esther A. Freeman; Shirley J. Bither; **Local 50:** Myrtle Bird; Helen C. Gaston; **Local 63:** Clarice M. Ross; Erma M. Williams;  
**Local 92:** Birdie M. Rapp;

Burning Bridges

continued from page 6  
zanship petition. Bridges was finally a U.S. Citizen.

But, the attacks against Bridges and the ILWU continued. In 1948, ILWU longshoremen struck for 90 days against an employer attempt to use the newly passed Taft-Hartley Act to red-bait Bridges and other ILWU leadership and to destroy the union’s hiring hall. The strike was won, but the following year Bridges and the two witnesses to his naturalization hearing were indicted on three counts of criminal perjury and conspiracy because both claimed in their testimony that Bridges was not a Communist. At the same time, the Department of Justice filed a civil suit to cancel Bridges’ U.S. citizenship and have him deported to Australia.

The three unionists were tried and found guilty. Robertson and Schmidt were given two year prison terms. Bridges was sentenced to five. Even their lawyers, San Francisco attorneys Vincent Hallinan and James McGinnis, were sentenced to criminal contempt of court and served prison sentences. Bridges got out on bail, which the government revoked, and he served 21 days in jail.

The case went through another appeals process and again landed before the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1953, the high court ruled in Bridges’ favor a second time, setting aside Bridges’, Robertson’s, and Schmidt’s sentences and restoring Bridges’ U.S. Citizenship. The civil suit against Bridges was dropped at the federal court level in 1955. By then Bridges had endured nearly 20 years of trials and appeals.

Afrasiabi summarizes Bridges ordeal as “persecution by prosecution, the heart of the use and abuse of the legal system by those in power against those who challenge the status quo.” Concluding his book with a thoughtful legal analysis of the case, Afrasiabi

examines oversteps by the government’s executive branch and its influence on the lower courts throughout the 20 years Bridges fought for his right to remain in the United States.

Because Afrasiabi focuses primarily on legal arguments and courtroom transcripts, rather than the trial’s broad, lasting, social impact, he leaves out some historical information that should interest ILWU members. For example, the Smith Act, the law passed to invite a second set of trials against Bridges, eventually resulted in indictments of 215 U.S. citizens and non-citizen immigrants before it was rendered unconstitutional by a Supreme Court Decision in 1957. Among those indicted were socialists, Communist Party members, ILWU labor activists in Hawaii, and a founding member of the ACLU. The expansion of the FBI’s surveillance activities continued beyond the Bridges case and later included secret investigations into nonviolent movements, including civil rights and anti-war groups. Finally, the INS transfer from the Department of Labor to the Department of Justice—and more recently, to the Department of Homeland Security—permanently refocused the lens from which the government views immigration matters. Although he lightly touches on some of these topics, examining these points in depth is not the point of Afrasiabi’s book.

Although other historians have written about the case against Harry Bridges, Afrasiabi’s is the first full-length book on the trials. Afrasiabi undertook an extensive study of the Bridges case, including its thousands of pages of transcripts, and wrote an admirable book that is accessible to readers. The result is required reading for anyone with an interest in the ILWU and the life of Harry Bridges.

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**CORRECTION:** A photo appearing on the right side of page 3 in the January issue was mistakenly attributed to Local 23 in Tacoma but actually came from Local 46 in Pt. Hueneme, showing a large collecting of toys donated for their annual holiday drive. Secretary-Treasurer Janet Ritza says, “we were overwhelmed by so many ‘thank-you’ notes we received from recipients,” and extended her own appreciation to everyone in the Local 46 family who gave so generously.

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