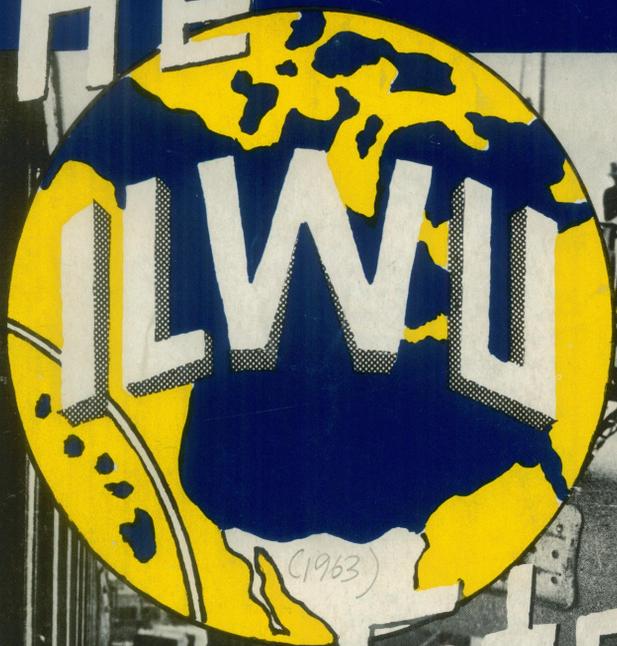


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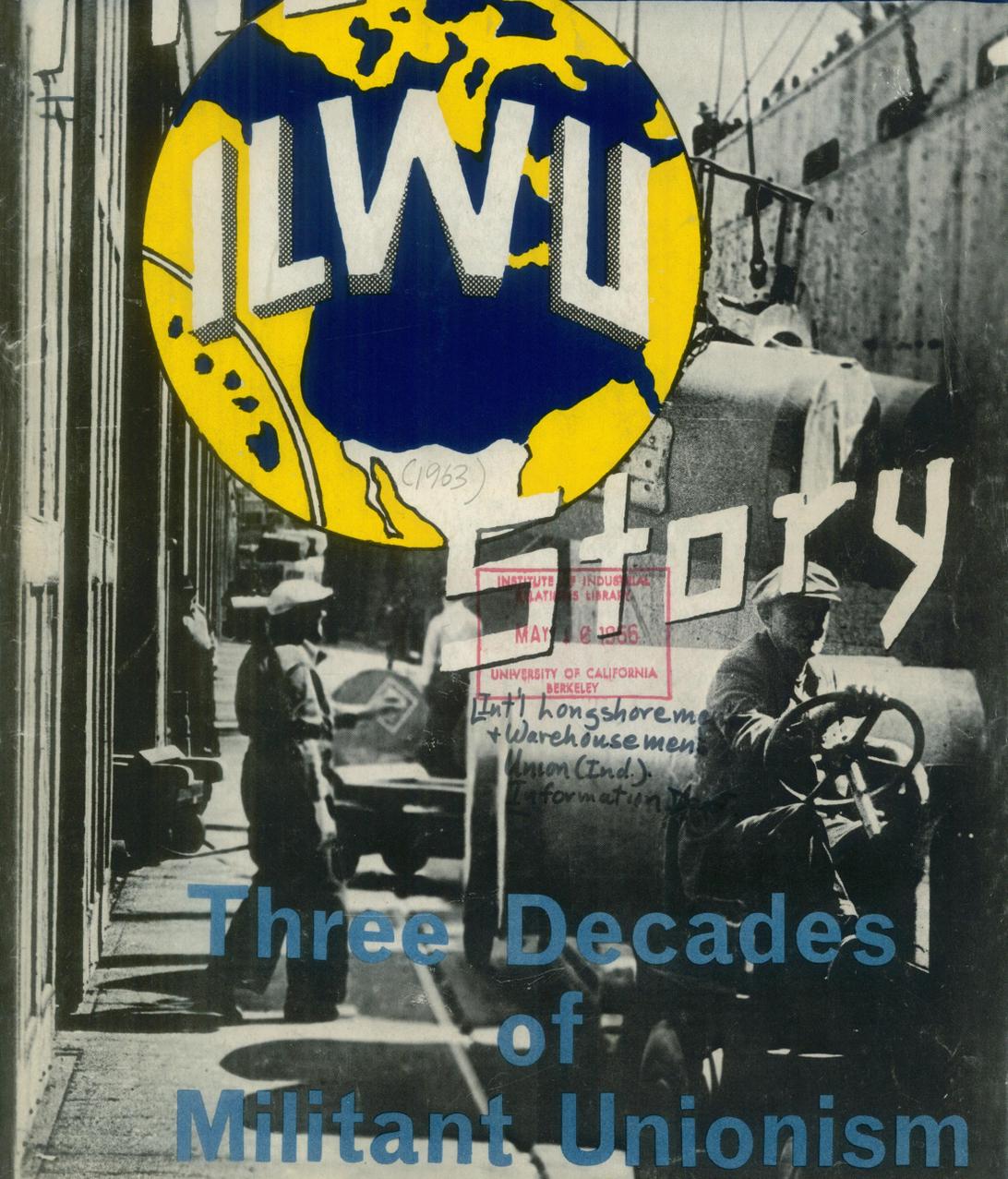
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Information

# Three Decades of Militant Unionism



# HERITAGE

**A**CROSS THE pages of American history there treads the indentured servant and the black slave—*useful muscle, earth-moving power. Nurtured property, watched over, fed, quartered, their health guarded.*

*In generations to follow they were to walk into freedom. Their descendants, and descendants of their masters as well, could in common look back in disbelief.*

*The pages of history turn slowly.*

*From the bonded state and black slavery there emerged a new estate—a body of men to wrestle with the soil, to hew forests, to dig coal and mineral from the bowel of the earth, to melt ore into steel, to push rail across the land, to transport tool and supply across sea, valley and mountain, to build.*

*They were the components of Paul Bunyan.*

*They were free men with new rights—the right to sweat twelve hours a day, the right to pay the company store usurious price, the right to bow, scrape, grovel and divide their compensation with the hiring boss, the right to accept or reject the offered wage, with starvation as the alternative.*

*The right to complain was not invented.*

*Or rather, it was not asserted. But when men became so miserable as to risk its assertion, they did. The penalty was court injunction, death by machine gun, blacklist, mass eviction, frameup, burning out—Haymarket, Ludlow, and countless more on smaller scale. Wealth, by however or whomever created, belonged to the owners, not to the makers of the tools.*

*This is history.*

*This is history that's too little noted in the schools.*

*Not too many may know that spilled blood nourished the dignity of the new estate. Render now unto the masters their due, and to ourselves the same. Eight hours a day, maybe seven, six, or even five, in our lifetime; measures of security that were not even dreams a generation ago; vacations, pensions, holidays, health care; wages set by collective voice; walk like a man past the boss; speak up as equal citizen even to the highest authority of the land.*

*That's Paul Bunyan in giant stature. That's the new estate realizing its collective strength.*

*Such is the heritage.*



"Man with Pick" Bronze by Mahonri Young (1877-?)  
From the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

# The ILWU Story

## Three Decades of Militant Unionism.

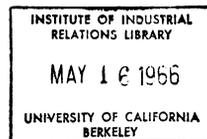
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# Introduction

**T**HE STORY of this labor union is the story of people, people who built it and sustained it. It is a story of their needs, their problems, their aims and aspirations. All men seek a better lot than they have at any given time. To the working man this better lot is a better standard of living for himself and his family, a recognition of his work and the dignity of his place in society. To some, having achieved the standard of living which meets or even goes beyond his critical needs, the better lot may be a meaningless pursuit of trinkets or trivialities. That is not the concern of the *ILWU Story*.

This story concerns people who have to work, who have to work so many hours a day, so many days a week, and so many weeks a year to feed themselves and their families, to clothe and educate their children and meet the inescapable costs of daily living. It is a story of how workers, banded together in a union, have moved towards these ends. It is also something more. It tells of a union conceived in the concept of the broadest type of membership participation and democratic government, one which has always believed in the importance of goals beyond the immediate economic needs of the membership; a union which believes that the broader the scope of its responsibilities and participation in the life of the nation and in the progress of the world the greater will be its success in its basic economic purpose.

To a union so conceived and so dedicated, new ideas come as a challenge not as a hazard. New fields of endeavor offer promise of new gains. The status quo is something to be changed not to be clung to.

Many historians have tried without success to explain the ILWU. Our attempt will also fall far short of being complete. We will tell the story as best we can in brief compass so that the reader may understand why this union has been an innovator in so many areas, why it has been the focal point of many labor struggles, and why it continues to this day as a dynamic, controversial organization of working men and women.

A mere listing of some of the fields into which this union was the first to venture will help show how this union is different:

The creation of the hiring hall for the dispatch and employment of longshoremen in all the Pacific Coast ports. This brought the most complete system for rotation of employment, equal work opportunity, elimination of favoritism, and de-casualization of work ever achieved in an industry which at one time was a classic example of insecurity. The hiring hall is now accepted in other maritime unions as well as for workers in other industries.

The great struggle which led to the victory of the Pacific Coast longshoremen and other maritime workers saw the first successful general strike in the history of America.

The constitution drafted by the same group of workers stands as a model of complete membership participation and control.

The drive launched for the recognition of the elected job steward, his authority on the dock or in the plant and his recognition as a key figure in the administration of contracts marked a fundamental change to membership control of their conditions of work.

The innovation of many new plans in the areas of health and welfare covering the worker and his family, in the field of pensions, and the first union dental plan covering children.

The mechanization agreement protecting the longshoremen of the West Coast and Hawaii against the impact of automation, the first of its kind in the nation.

The driving power released by this new type of union in the famous "march inland" on the Pacific Coast led to the organization of many other workers, including thousands of warehousemen.

The first successful organization of agricultural workers in the U.S.A. by the complete unionization of the sugar and pineapple industries in Hawaii.

The fight against racial discrimination long before this became a national cause.



*Any section of ILWU in economic struggle anywhere finds the whole union rallying to their cause. Here warehousemen collect food for fellow workers in a maritime beef.*

The international solidarity demonstrated in major battles against the forces of reaction by stopping shipments of scrap iron to Japan at the time of the Japanese invasion of China prior to World War II, and similar action when Italy under Mussolini invaded Ethiopia and when the Dutch tried to suppress the movement for independence of the Indonesian people.

The first union to send delegations of rank and file members overseas to visit with workers of other lands, get a better understanding of their struggles and goals, and develop international friendship and solidarity.

Time and again the union has confounded its enemies and amazed the public. It goes marching on in the face of political vendettas, outrageous slanders, laws aimed directly at its destruction and attempts at internal disruption. It has made and continues to make steady gains, raising not only the living standards of its members, but by so doing enriching the many communities in which it lives.

Why has this organization, so often consigned to the ashcan of labor history by its critics and by hostile politicians, grown only stronger through its struggles?

For one thing, the union began with a set of cardinal principles upon which it continues to operate. These were spelled out, or rather recapitulated by the union's Tenth Biennial Convention held in San Francisco in 1953, its twentieth anniversary year.

Not all of the principles are new, but all of them together brought a new kind of unionism, a genuine democratic trade unionism with a maximum of autonomy and a minimum of control—away from the business unionism or piecemealism which infects so much of labor today.

These principles as stated by the tenth convention as the fundamental precepts and guide posts are:

(1) A union is built on its members. The strength, understanding and unity of the membership can determine the union's course and its advancements. The men who work, who make up the union and pay dues can best determine their own destiny. If the

facts are honestly presented to the men in the ranks, they will best judge what should be done and how it should be done. In brief, it is the membership of the union which is the best judge of its own welfare; not the officers, not the employers, not politicians and the fair weather friends of labor.

Above all, this approach is based on the conviction that given the truth and an opportunity to determine their own course of action, the rank and file in 99 cases out of 100 will take the right path in their own interests and in the interests of all the people.

(2) Labor unity is at all times the key for a successful economic advancement—anything that detracts from labor unity hurts all labor. Any group of workers which decides to put itself above other workers through craft unionism or through cozy deals at the expense of others will in the long run gain but little and inevitably will lose both its substance and its friends.

No matter how difficult the going, a union must fight in every possible way to advance the principles of labor unity.

(3) Workers are indivisible. There can be no discrimination because of race, color, creed, national origin, religious or political belief. Any division among the workers can help no one but the employers. Discrimination of worker against worker is suicide. Discrimination is a weapon of the boss. Its entire history is proof that it has served no other purpose than to pit worker against worker to their own destruction.

(4) "To help any worker in distress" must be a daily guide in the life of every trade union and its individual members. Labor solidarity means just that. Unions have to accept the fact that the solidarity of labor stands above all else, including even the so-called sanctity of contract. We cannot adopt for ourselves the policies of union leaders who insist that because they have a contract, their members are compelled to perform work even behind a picket line.

Every picket line must be respected as though it were our own.

(5) Any union, if it is to fulfill its appointed task, must put aside all internal differences and issues to combine for the common cause of advancing the welfare of the membership. No union can successfully fulfill its purpose in life if it allows itself to

be distracted by any issue which causes division in its ranks and undermines the unity which all labor must have in the face of the employer.

(6) The days are long gone when a union can consider dealing with single employers. The powerful financial interests of the country are bound together in every conceivable type of united organization to promote their own welfare and to resist the demands of labor. Labor can no more win with the ancient weapons of taking on a single employer in industry any more than it can hope to win through the worn-out dream of withholding its skill until an employer sues for peace. The employers of this country are part of a well-organized, carefully coordinated, effective fighting machine. They can be met only on equal terms, which requires industry-wide bargaining and the most extensive economic strength of organized labor.

(7) Just as water flows to its lowest level, so do wages if the bulk of the workers are left unorganized. The day of craft unionism—the aristocracy of labor—was over

*Warehouse ladies use a coffee break to peruse their local union bulletin.*



*The steward system is a key to understanding, smooth labor-management relations and trade union education. Here stewards of a large local meet to discuss on-the-job problems, settlement of grievances and other matters important to the welfare of the members.*



when mass production methods were introduced. To organize the unorganized must be a cardinal principle of any union worth its salt; and to accomplish this is not merely in the interest of the unorganized, it is for the benefit of the organized as well.

(8) The basic aspirations and desires of the workers throughout the world are the same. Workers are workers the world over. International solidarity, particularly to maritime workers, is essential to their protection and a guarantee of reserve economic power in times of strife.

(9) A new type of unionism is called for which does not confine its ambitions and demands only to wages. Conditions of work, security of employment and adequate provisions for the workers and their families in times of need are of equal, if not greater importance, than the hourly wage.

(10) Jurisdictional warfare and jurisdictional raiding must be outlawed by labor itself. Nothing can do as much damage to the ranks of labor and to the principle of labor unity and solidarity as jurisdictional

bickering and raiding among unions. Both the public support and strike victories are jeopardized by jurisdictional warfare.

This code for rank and file unionism is implemented by the membership's participation in organization, negotiations, strike machinery, contract enforcement and every other aspect of union life. There is absolute democracy in its affairs. It is run by the rank and file. Thus, its discipline springs out of participation, conviction and the right of the membership to decide its own course of action.

Only the affected membership may authorize the calling of a strike or its settlement and each of these by secret referendum vote. Compulsory attendance at membership meetings and stop work meetings when necessary, plus a steward system and dock, plant, port and field grievance machinery make the union's contracts meaningful on the job.

The above principles and steps to implement them and an informed and alert membership make the union what it is.

# The Organization

THE INTERNATIONAL Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union is an independent, voluntary association of working men and women joined together mutually to aid and protect one another in their economic welfare. In this respect, it has the same aims and purposes as any other organization of working men anywhere. Like other unions, it bargains collectively on behalf of its members with employers or groups of employers who may also be organized in associations; exercising a collective voice in the setting of wages, hours and conditions of employment. The alternative to its existence and operation would be individual understandings between worker and employer with all the advantages accruing to the employer.

The ILWU has 30 years of history behind it.

The ILWU is an industrial organization; that is, it organizes vertically on the theory that all workers in a plant or establishment or industry, regardless of craft or skill, have common interests.

The ILWU has approximately 65,000 members organized in 78 autonomous local unions. It operates chiefly in Alaska, British Columbia (which gives it the international status), Washington, Oregon, California and Hawaii.

The union is chiefly concerned with four major industries of the West Coast and Hawaii, these being shipping, warehousing and distribution, and the growing and processing of sugar and pineapple. As a result of a merger some years ago it has fishermen and cannery workers in Alaska, Washington and Southern California.

The supreme body in policy-making and direction of the international union is the biennial convention held every two years and attended by representatives elected by each local. Locals are permitted to send any number of delegates, but they must divide the votes to which their locals are entitled according to their per capita strength.

In addition to reviewing the record of the union and the stewardship of the offi-

cers for the preceding two years and acting upon policy directives, the convention nominates not more than two candidates for each international office and for each place on the international executive board. Final election is by secret referendum vote of the entire membership. The board members are elected by the regions they represent. The regions and their voting strength on the board are Canada 1, Alaska and the Puget Sound 2, Oregon and the Columbia River 1, Northern California 3, Southern California 2 and Hawaii 3.

The Executive Board is the ruling policy body between conventions to implement convention policies, consider appeals where violation of a local or the international constitution has been alleged, and review the work of the officers. It examines a quarterly financial report made in detail after audit by a firm of certified public accountants, and amends or approves a recommended budget for administration, organization, the union's newspaper, research and education, publicity and other services or operations.

Between meetings of the board the three titled officers of the union make any necessary decisions within the provisions of the constitution. These are a president, vice president and director of organization and a secretary-treasurer. Currently in these respective positions are Harry Bridges, J. R. Robertson and Louis Goldblatt.

The titled officers comprise the organizing committee and are in sole charge of the union's administration and direction of its appointed staff. They supervise publication of *The Dispatcher*, a tabloid newspaper, which is published every two weeks and mailed directly to the homes of the members. They also direct the work of two key departments important to both the day-to-day and long range plans and activities of the union. These are the Information Department, which handles press and public relations, and the Department of Research and Education. The latter department supplies data to the international and to the locals to aid them in negotiations,



arbitrations or other matters that require facts and figures. The department is staffed by trained economists and statisticians and maintains one of the most complete trade union libraries in the country. It exchanges documents and other material with college and technical libraries and is widely used by labor historians and scholars.

Within the union structure there are divisions which meet in caucus from time to time to decide upon contract demands. These are longshore, sugar, pineapple, and Northern California warehousemen in which the employers meet their collective bargaining obligations through their own associations. Thus, one collective bargaining agreement covers all the longshoremen and shipclerks employed in the ports of the Pacific Coast between the Canadian and Mexican borders. Alaska and Hawaii longshoremen still have separate agreements, but since the perspective is for an eventual single agreement, the longshore caucus includes delegates from Alaska and Hawaii. Canadian longshoremen also seek a single contract for all their members in British Columbia ports, and to that end they, too, have recently established a caucus.

The sugar and pineapple caucuses in Hawaii are set up within the framework of Local 142, which is statewide and embraces all ILWU members in the islands. Both the sugar and pineapple growers deal with the union through their respective associations.

Warehousemen also deal with employer associations, though not on statewide or interstate scale. Local 6, the largest ILWU

*The International Executive Board is the Governing body of the union between conventions. It meets every three months regularly and can be called into special session at any time.*

unit on the mainland, covers a wide area in Northern California, has several area subdivisions and possesses a master contract covering most of its jurisdiction. Plants or houses not in the employer association usually sign separate contracts based upon or similar to the master.

Another large warehouse local, Local 26 in Los Angeles, also covers a wide area, and has several industry-wide agreements as well as individual plant contracts.

Other bodies within the union structure are district councils in the Puget Sound, Columbia River, Northern California and Southern California areas, and a Canadian Area delegate body. The delegates elected to the district councils meet regularly to discuss matters of concern to all locals of the ILWU within their region and plan joint action or strategy. The councils also act as clearing houses for political endorsement and legislative lobbying. All of the councils and the Hawaii local maintain full-time lobbyists in the state capitals during legislative sessions.

The union maintains a full time Washington representative in the nation's capital whose job it is to keep the locals posted on legislative developments, to appear at hear-



ings, and to ride herd on bills and administrative actions affecting the members' welfare.

The ILWU Federated Auxiliaries is a related organization to the union. It consists presently of 39 local units whose members are female relatives of union members. Its activities embrace community service as well as special work to aid the union in its various economic and political pursuits.

The ILWU as a whole, its locals, district councils, caucuses and the auxiliary are politically conscious and politically active. The economic welfare of its members depends not alone upon the strength and skill of the union in collective bargaining or its ability to see a tough strike through to victory; it depends also upon social and other vital legislation, state and national, which have to do, not only with the rights of labor, but with the well-being of the society of which the union is a part.

The union has a reputation of being the most outspoken among trade unions on civil rights, civil liberties, general welfare, and international amity, disarmament and peace. The philosophy under which it acts is stated in almost capsule form in the preamble to its international and most of its local constitutions.

*Since the beginning of history, mankind has struggled individually and collectively for political, economic and cultural betterment, and has found the greatest ability to make such advancement through*

*democratic organization to achieve common aims.*

*Therefore, we, who have the common objectives to advance the living standards of ourselves and our fellow workers everywhere in the world, to promote the general welfare of our nation and our communities, to banish racial and religious prejudice and discrimination, to strengthen democracy everywhere and achieve permanent peace in the world, do form ourselves into one, indivisible union and adopt the following constitution to guide our conduct and protect our democracy within the union.*

The constitution which follows, and which is amended from time to time in the light of new experience and practical problems, does indeed guide the conduct of the union while protecting both the individual and collective democratic rights of the membership. One of its provisions calls for the automatic suspension and trial of officers upon presentation of petitions containing the signatures of but 15 percent of the membership. A petition by 15 percent of the membership can also initiate a referendum on any proposition.

Locals have complete autonomy in their affairs save for those matters for which the membership has delegated authority to the international union. Local constitutions and by-laws conform to the democratic pattern of the international constitution and a low



*Los Angeles ILWU warehousemen register in preparation for their annual city-wide convention.*

limit is placed upon initiation fees. In the case of longshore work, permit or extra workers pay only a pro-rata share for the union's part of the cost of maintaining the dispatching hall. Meanwhile, they receive trade union protection.

All locals maintain a stewards system which keeps the union at all times close to the membership and sensitive to membership will. Stewards meet frequently in council and carry to the job information that enables the members to attend membership meetings prepared to speak out on the most pressing issues and problems.

In case of three large locals that are widespread in territory, membership meetings are held on a division basis and principal policies are made by annual conventions. These are Local 6 of the San Fran-

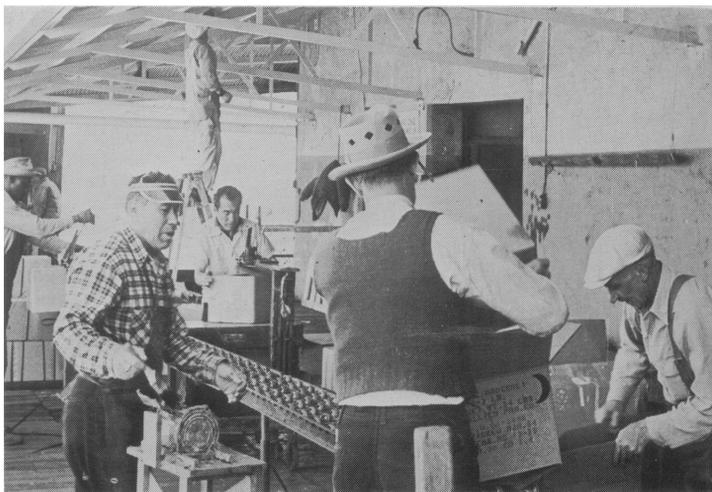
cisco Bay Area, Local 26 of the Los Angeles area and Local 142 of Hawaii.

## The Labor Performed

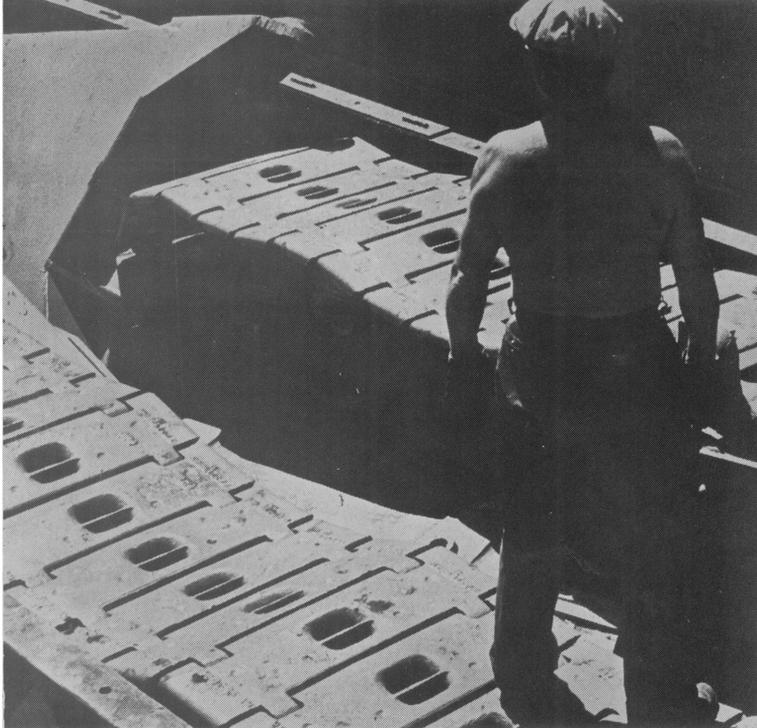
**M**OST OF THE members of ILWU are employed in the closely related industries of warehousing and stevedoring. A large number of them are engaged in sugar planting, harvesting and milling, and in pineapple growing and canning in Hawaii, where the statewide ILWU local has also organized a large number of miscellaneous industries, plants and service establishments. Others work in canneries and on fishing boats on the West and Alaskan coasts.

The longshore department of the union consists of longshore, shipclerks, walking

*Warehousemen weighing and packaging products.*



*Longshoreman engaged in moving heavy machinery from gondola car to ship's hold.*



boss (foremen) and watchmen's locals located along the entire West Coast of the United States and in British Columbia, Alaska and Hawaii. These workers load or unload freight cars at ship piers, transport cargo across the docks or from the tail gates of trucks, hoist it aboard ocean vessels and stow it in the ships' holds, or do the reverse of this in the discharge of cargo. They do all the work on the docks that is to be done, the stowing, the checking, the supervising and the cargo guarding. They rig the ships' gear for loading or discharging cargo and operate the winches, cranes, fork lifts and other machinery used in the work. Cargo varies from match sticks to locomotives and, whatever it is, the longshoremen handle it.

The warehouse locals are located in Alaska, Canada, Washington, Oregon and California with heaviest concentration in Northern California. A warehouse is a distribution center where a distributor or wholesaler receives large shipments of commodities and stores them for reshipment in order of retailers or sub-wholesalers.

There are grocery houses, drug houses, hardware houses and houses for every classification of commodities, including fabrics, novelties and what have you. Also organized in this department of the union are the workers of food and coffee processing plants, steel fabricating plants, can factories, scrap metal yards, cereal plants, etc.

Warehousing, processing and distributing involves so many different types of labor that it would be hopeless to try to list or describe all of them. A warehouseman may push a handtruck, drive a forklift, operate a stamping machine, work on a belt line, glue hair in a wig factory, paste labels on coffee cans, check inventory, operate a machine that crushes old automobiles into baled scrap, or pack wine bottles into cases.

In all of these fields ILWU has brought about revolutionary change, bringing workers out of feudalism into modern times in Hawaii, transforming dock work from casual insecurity to a set of guarantees equalled nowhere else in the world, making warehouse and distribution work a dignified calling, and setting an all-time top standard in wages and benefits for agricultural workers.

# Early Waterfront Struggles

**I**N THE OLD days of clipper ships, longshoring was a skilled art insofar as it involved the work of riggers and stevedores. Sailings were unscheduled and unskilled labor was recruited from the beach by criers calling: "Men along shore!" Thus the origin of the abbreviation "longshoremen." The term "stevedore" presently is seldom used in western ports excepting as applying to the employing contractors.

San Francisco was the first union organized seaport in the world. It was organized without the assistance of East Coast unions and the longshoremen and seamen helped to make it the first closed shop town in the United States. The waterfront unions faced the first group of employers to be set up in America for the exclusive purpose of dealing with labor. Longshoremen gave up lives in three major San Francisco strikes before their union was smashed in 1919.

The first reference to any sort of economic action occurs more than one hundred years ago in the newspaper, *Alta California*, which had this brief item in its issue of May 27, 1851:

"City Intelligence—a strike—a lot of stevedores and longshore sailors struck for wages yesterday, raising the banner of '\$6.00 a day' and paraded the streets during the morning."

It was two years later, in 1853, that longshoremen of the Pacific Coast actually formed a trade union. And between then and 1921, a period of 67 years, a whole series of maritime union movements rose and fell. Against the united violence of the employers, some of these movements were either defeated and wrecked in strikes or they lost their militancy and wasted away through compromises for mere formal survival.

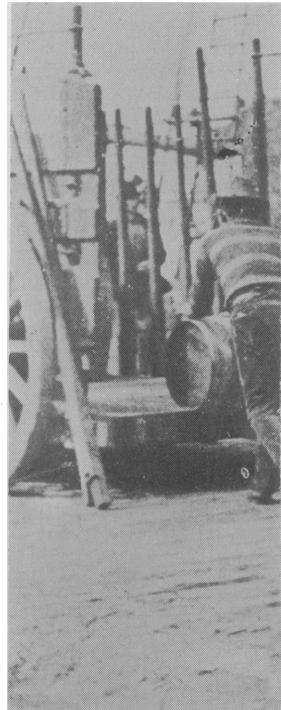
On the morning of July 25, 1853, 400 longshoremen met on the waterfront and raised demands for wage increases from \$5 to \$6 a day and reduction of hours from 11 to 9. They marched from dock to dock pulling fellow longshoremen off the job and by afternoon had a full strike in progress. The employers capitulated and granted the

demands. Inspired by this victory, a wave of other strikes followed in the city, and most of them were successful.

The longshoremen failed to follow their success with organization of a trade union, though they had sufficient solidarity to stage dock by dock walkoffs. This was not enough, however, to prevent imposition of wage cuts and chiseling on hours by the shipowners anew. Protesters were obligingly arrested by the city marshal as "rioters."

The skilled dockers, on the other hand, set up their own organization, the Riggers and Stevedores' Union Association on July 5, 1853. It reached a membership of 350 by 1854 and was to become the oldest union on the waterfront. But it had the weakness of being an exclusive body. It failed or refused to organize the unskilled longshoremen.

Other shoreside maritime unions of great



*Longshore work in the days of the sailing ships—the men were recruited from the beaches with cries for "Men along shore!"*

militancy sprang up at about the same time. These included the crafts working upon the wooden ships of the day, such as shipcaulkers, sailmakers, shipwrights and ship and steamboat joiners. For a time these unions surpassed the skilled longshoremen in organization. The Riggers and Stevedores were effective in supporting them in the struggle during the 60's for the 8-hour day.

The Riggers were among the 2,000 laborers who marched in an 8-hour day parade in 1867. The *Morning Call* reported Market Street crowded "until that capacious avenue was so completely gorged that a passage along the sidewalks became a matter of almost impossibility."

However, the struggle for the 8-hour day was to be a long one. The waterfront unions, which won it in the 1860's, held it briefly and lost it.

It was not until the 1880's that a beginning toward real waterfront unity was achieved. In this the International Workingmen's Association, prominent in the San Francisco labor movement, played a leading role.

By this time all longshoremen had begun organizing. By-passing the Riggers and

Stevedores, which had few members because of its prohibitive \$100 initiation fee, the Longshore Lumberman's Protective Association was formed in 1880 and the Steamship Stevedores' Protective Union in 1886. Thus there were three longshore unions. In 1885, 2,000 seamen organized the Coast Seamen's Union to win freedom from crimping, shanghaiing and the slave-type conditions to which they were forced to submit. Seamen up and down the coast struck that year against wage cuts. The three San Francisco longshore unions passed resolutions endorsing the strike. The strike, at times violent, was won—with the wage cuts nullified.

In 1886 the marine firemen walked off the ships because of engine room temperatures of 165. A general strike was sought, but only the Coast Seamen's Union voted for it. There was still no real unity among the crafts.

But the desire for unity and its fruits stayed alive. The Council of Wharf and Wave Unions was formed in 1888. It quickly folded as did the City Front Labor Council which followed. The affiliated unions, meanwhile lost members and influence.



At the same time, concerned with the growth of labor solidarity and strength, the Shipowners' Protective Association was organized in 1886, the first organized group of employers in America to deal specifically with labor. It achieved a high degree of organization and began a campaign of wage cutting in the 90's.

San Francisco maritime workers began reorganizing at the turn of the century. The longshore unions affiliated with the AFL International Longshoremen's Association. The ILA group then helped form the powerful City Front Federation in 1901. This organization represented between 13,000 and 16,000 longshoremen, seamen and teamsters and it built a treasury—large for the time—of \$250,000.

In the same year, San Francisco employers set up a mysterious Employers' Association with secret officers and membership. They also raised \$250,000 and worked to keep open shop conditions in conjunction with a nationwide campaign initiated by the National Association of Manufacturers.

The big 1901 strike began when 6,500 teamsters, who refused to drive scab-handled baggage and were locked out by the Draymen's Association, called on the waterfront for help. The City Front Federation tied up San Francisco, Oakland,

Redwood City and Benicia. Warehousemen also quit in Crockett and Port Costa.

Farmhands and University of California students were recruited as strikebreakers and brought to the docks in tugs. The resultant clashes caused five deaths and 250 injuries requiring surgical attention.

Police, acting under instructions of anti-labor Mayor Phelan, were rough and made so many arrests the courts couldn't handle them. The strike was lost after two months. Strikebreaking was successful and the City Front's funds ran out. Although the City Front lost the strike the Employers' Association was unsuccessful in making San Francisco into an open shop town.

Out of the struggle, a Union Labor Party was formed. It elected the first labor mayor, Eugene F. Schmitz, a union musician. The unity developed in the strike helped the unions to consolidate. Following it the Riggers and Stevedores' Union began to grow and kept San Francisco waterfront wages at the highest level in the United States, being 30 to 40 percent higher than wages of New York longshoremen. It consolidated organization industrially for the Pacific District of the ILA over the entire Bay Area and won closed shop conditions and a reputation as a strong union.

Employers, seeing the unions becoming entrenched, began agitation for the open shop in 1914. In a move to separate longshoremen and seamen, the shipowners set up the Waterfront Employers Association to deal with longshoremen only.

Following a convention in Seattle, the Pacific Coast District of the ILA in June, 1916, called a coastwide strike of longshoremen to enforce demands for a coastwide closed shop and higher wages. The strike produced pitched battles and deaths in Seattle and Tacoma.

San Francisco businessmen began an active campaign. On July 10 they gathered to the number of 2000 on the floor of the Chamber of Commerce to hear Frederick J. Koster, chamber president, declare: "Merchants are subjected to the shameful, tyrannous, and uninterrupted rule of the waterfront by officers of the longshore union."

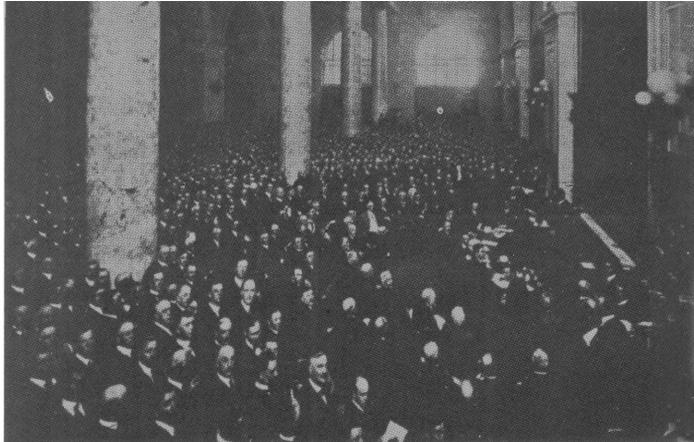
And he concluded: "I want to stir the red blood in your veins and take this matter in hand as it should be done!"

A 5-man "law and order" committee—



*In a brochure with this picture the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce boasted of putting over an anti-picketing ordinance in 1916 by using a corps of 400 girls who telephoned every voter in the city on election eve.*

The same brochure showed the meeting in which the "Law and Order Committee" was formed in 1910.



later expanded—was set up on the spot and within a week a million-dollar fighting fund was raised. "Open shop" was the rallying cry. To the great advantage of the "law and order" committee, the newspapers fanned anti-labor hysteria. An anti-picketing ordinance was passed. Tom Mooney, leader of the streetcar strike of that year, was framed and sentenced to death on the charge that he bombed a Preparedness Day Parade. The longshoremen fought back against odds. John Kean, first vice-president of the ILA, in a press-recorded speech attacked the police for "protecting armed strikebreakers, preventing peaceful picketing and brutally attacking the men on strike." He went on to say, "Two innocent longshoremen have been shot down in cold blood by armed strikebreakers within the past two weeks and no attempt has been made to apprehend the murderers."

Captain Robert Dollar, head of the wealthy Dollar Lines and a leader of the law and order committee, told a San Francisco paper that in previous experiences of his *"quietness had been secured in a few days when union men went to the hospital in ambulances."*

The seafaring crafts failed to support the coast longshore strike. On July 17 the Riggers and Stevedores went back to work at pre-strike conditions. Also forced back to work were the longshore lumbermen. Three years later in 1919, following World War I, the longshoremen and employers battled again. The name of the law and order committee was changed to the Industrial Association but the determination to establish the open shop on the waterfront

and in the city remained. Longshore demands for safety measures, increased gang sizes and sling load limits were rejected and the longshoremen struck.

The seafaring crafts again failed to support the longshoremen. Teamsters voted to drive cargo to the docks but not enter them.

On September 26, the San Francisco Labor Council, at first lukewarm about the strike, voted to endorse it. The longshore strike was only one of many occurring in the city that year and importation of strikebreakers became a major industry in itself. The strikebreakers were paid \$10 a day. Their recruiters received \$20 a day plus \$15 per "man." The employers announced they had 1300 strikebreakers.

The Mexican Consulate cooperated with the longshore union in explaining the strike conditions to Mexican workers who had been enticed to work under false pretenses. Negro clergymen and lawyers also worked to prevent strikebreaking. The union, however, admitted no Negroes to its ranks and as a result many Negroes were among the strikebreakers, but were by no means in the majority. The press reported a union vote to admit Negroes in the early part of October, but there is no evidence that such action was ever carried out.

Among the lessons the longshoremen learned in the 1919 strike, to be recalled when they rebuilt their own union again in 1934, was that discrimination on any grounds weakens a union organization. The ILWU, born twenty-five years later, did not repeat these errors of the old Riggers.

The year 1919 brought postwar red scares and banner newspaper headlines at-

tacking bolsheviks, anarchists and the Industrial Workers of the World, an organization then of considerable influence in the Northwest. The San Francisco employers seized upon this to attack the leadership of the longshore strike. San Francisco police gave notice that every IWW member must leave the city at once.

Although the negotiating committee had been elected by the rank and file, the Waterfront Employers Union refused to deal with it, attacking what it called the "radical group" in the Riggers and Stevedores' Union.

Thinking that "respectability" would soften the employers, the union members voted to put its negotiations into the hands of its executive officers headed by President James Roche. They were soon to learn that the employers could invent gimmicks as fast as needed. This time a framed murder charge against a union business agent who was on the new committee was used as an excuse to refuse to bargain, even though the union drastically reduced its demands.

The situation changed from strike to lockout and on October 28 the Chamber of Commerce announced: "*The time has now come when the Chamber of Commerce must take definite action in order that the commerce of the port may continue to be moved . . . the Chamber feels that aggressive action must be taken to meet the situation.*"

Two days later George Briese, a 40-year-old longshoreman, was killed by a strike-breaker on Main Street.

The employers were active in securing the arrest and prosecution of strikers. Captain Dollar organized a "vigilance" committee which would invade trials of strikers en masse to force convictions. Dollar told a meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers in 1923 in New York of the difficulty he had with one judge who refused to go along. "*We told him that because of his reluctance to prosecute we had found it necessary to form a vigilance committee and if the serious conditions along the waterfront did not stop at once, our first official act would be to take him and string him up to a telephone pole . . .*"

"*I can see that official yet. He could not believe we really meant it, so he said to me, 'Mr. Dollar, do you mean that?' I answered, 'I was never more earnest in my life.' My*

*reply brought him to time and he at once promised to cooperate with us and he did . . .*"

The strike continued until December of 1919 when a group of gang bosses with prodding from the employers formed the "Harmony Club," quickly changing its name to the Longshoremen's Association of San Francisco, which later came to be known as the Blue Book Union. A day later the employers signed a five-year contract with the new union under open shop conditions. The Riggers and Stevedores' Union, known as the red book union, for all practical purposes, was smashed.

Captain Dollar summed it up before the NAM four years later when he said, "*Up to the time of the strike San Francisco had been known as the tightest 'closed shop' city in the world. But when the last rumble of the dock strike had died away, the labor aspects in San Francisco had undergone a complete change. It became known as the most wide 'open shop' community in America. How shipping men brought about this change has lots of thrills.*"

What happened in San Francisco was pretty much repeated, with local variations, in other ports up and down the coast. Some local unions survived after the Riggers and Stevedores went down in 1919. But everywhere the employers' pattern was the same, and everywhere they put it across in the post-World War I years.

In 1921 the seamen faltered through a disastrous strike which wrecked their organization; and the longshoremen, still recalling how the seamen had walked through their picket lines in 1919, reciprocated in kind.

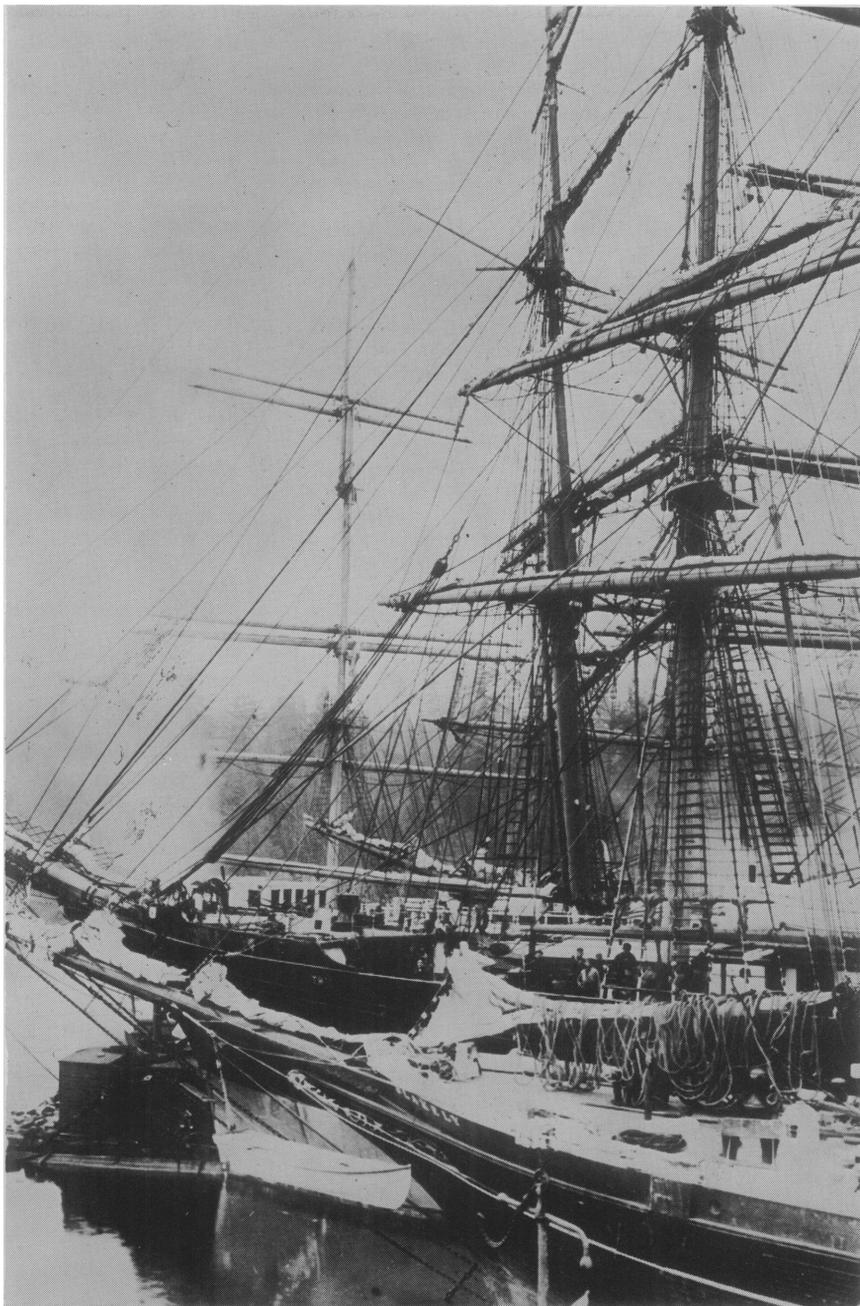
In 1922 the longshoremen of Portland were forced into an unsuccessful strike. And the next year the men in San Pedro went through the same experience, with police and vigilante violence smashing the picket lines.

Genuine unionism was smashed for more than a decade and replaced by the fink hall (the name the men gave to the employer-controlled hiring office), the company union, the open shop and the "American Plan." These were the days of the shape-up, kick-back, blacklisting, goon squads, wage cuts, speed-up and a staggering accident rate.

The shipowners of the day improved upon the "American Plan." Membership in

the company union was made compulsory and the only function of the union and its officials was to maintain a spy system and a coastwide blacklist of union militants.

To this day old-time longshoremen who managed to work without paying dues to the "Blue Book" make proud boast of the fact.



*Early sailing vessels docked at Seattle, circa 1870.*

# The New Union

**I**N THE year 1933, the depression that began in 1929 hit the nation with full impact. West Coast longshoremen, who had long suffered their own special kind of depression, had only deeper woe. Genuine union organization became a matter of living or dying, and they had only misery to lose.

There was more than a mere stirring among them. There came an upsurge of union spirit, pre-dating and undoubtedly greatly contributing to the later national upsurge of industrial union organization which inspired the Congress of Industrial Organizations under the leadership of John L. Lewis. The longshoremen applied for and obtained a charter from the International Longshoremen's Association, then in the American Federation of Labor, and they established their organization as a single unit on a coastwide and industry-wide basis, thus avoiding the mistakes of the past when isolated locals acting alone had been so easily crushed.

The men gathered, built a huge bonfire and burned their blue books—symbol of the fourteen years of company unionism.

Now operating as District 38 of the ILA—forerunner of the present Longshore Division of the ILWU—the longshoremen on May 9, 1934, struck the entire coast. Later the seagoing groups organized and struck with them. It was the first coastwide, industrywide strike in history. It was unionism built by the members and a strike run by the members.

Joe Ryan, then President of the ILA, flew to the West Coast and, with the support of the teamsters' Dave Beck, made a back-door agreement with the employers. It was overwhelmingly repudiated by the longshoremen.

Arrayed against the strike were the ship-owners, the Associated Farmers of California, the Employers Industrial Associations up and down the Coast, the American Legion and several vigilante organizations which mushroomed overnight, which in connivance with the police, broke into houses,

smashed meeting halls and assaulted active unionists in a reign of terror.

The employers decided to open the ports.

The result was tear gas, guns and bloodshed. Two strikers were shot down fatally by police in San Francisco, two in San Pedro and two in Seattle. California's reactionary Governor Merriam called out the National Guard.

In Portland a group of strikers stalked into the Council Chamber of the City Hall and there, before a hushed and uneasy City Council denounced the terrorism on the waterfront, flinging the bloodied shirt of a wounded longshoreman down before Mayor Joseph K. Carson, Jr. To this day he is known as "Bloody Shirt" Carson.

It was in Portland as well, at about this time, that the car of Senator Robert F. Wagner, while touring the strike-bound waterfront, was fired upon by the police, the bullets narrowly missing the Senator.

The violence increased up and down the coast.

San Francisco labor replied with a general strike—the first successful general strike in American history. General Johnson, chief of the National Recovery Administration, flew to San Francisco and pronounced: "This is revolution!" Newspaper screamers shouted, "Moscow-directed!"

The general strike lasted three days and brought appointment by the President of the United States of an arbitration board headed by the late Archbishop Hanna of the archdiocese of San Francisco. The longshoremen went back to work.

The board handed down a decision which met the unions chief demands. It brought the first coastwide contract in history, with a hiring hall which provided for rotary dispatching and no discrimination, a 6-hour day, a 30-hour week and union-management grievance machinery. It was an important beginning which has brought about complete decasualization of the industry, and the gains enumerated in the previous pages.

And the longshoremen were not the only

beneficiaries. The communities of the West Coast have found these men transformed from drifters into solid citizens, the majority of them owning their own homes and taking their place in the community as respected citizens, while the employers have gained a stable labor relationship unmatched elsewhere in the country. Even those employers who once fought so hard to crush the longshoremen's aspirations for a decent life have benefited from the new kind of unionism these longshoremen have built.

The electrifying success of the 81-day strike of 1934 resulted primarily from the rank and file strength and solidarity of the men themselves. The almost daily meetings, the enlarged rank and file committees and the wide contacts with other unions brought about a confidence and understanding which kept the men united and determined in the face of every act of confusion and violence or attempts to bring about internal disruption.

The carefully coordinated coastwide strike machinery and action prevented the kind of divisive employer tactics which had wiped out the longshore locals—one by one—between 1919 and 1923.

The labor solidarity behind the long-

shoremen, from all crafts and all unions, was not only in response to the battle on the waterfront but reflected the conviction of other workers that the victory of the longshoremen would mark the turning point for all labor on the West Coast. It did.

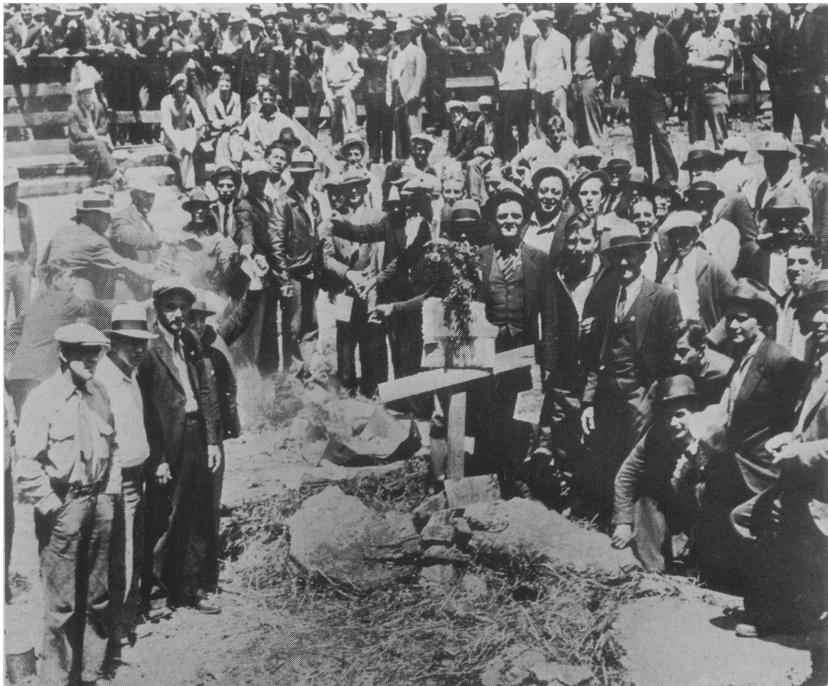
The support which the strikers received from overseas helped impress the employers with the impossibility of beating the strike with scab longshoremen and scab crews.

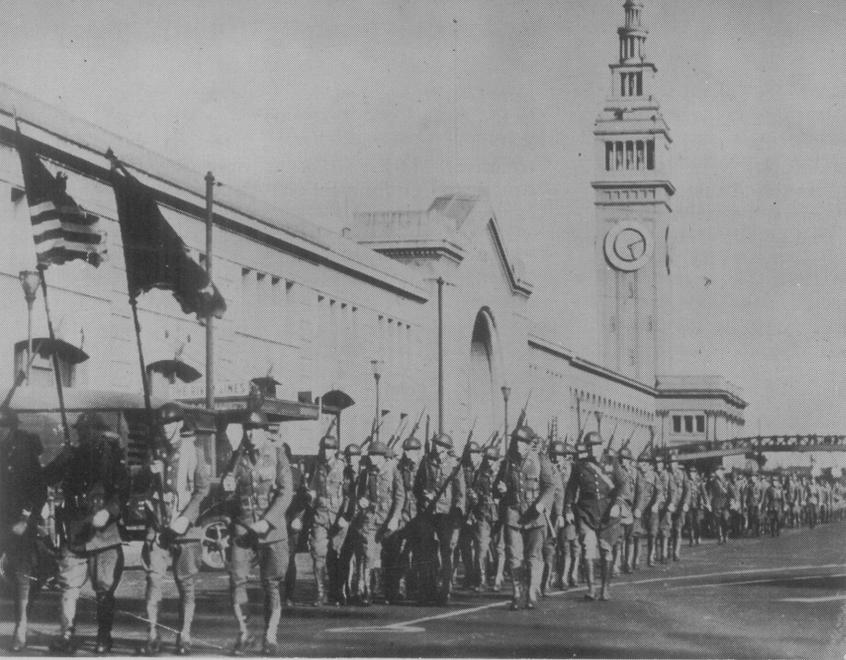
And finally the longshoremen's developing policy against racial discrimination for the first time helped line up most of the minority group workers on the side of the strikers; they refused to scab.

Out of the strike there came into being the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, composed of a majority of the waterfront and seagoing unions. Alarmed by the growing solidarity, the shipowners sought a test of strength in 1936. A strike ensued and lasted into 1937. For the first time in the history of any American waterfront the struggle was carried out without a single incident of violence or attempt by the employers to use strikebreakers.

The result was a large measure of gains for the seamen, gains which the longshoremen had already won in 1934. Coast union-

*May, 1934 — Burning of the fink books in San Francisco. Goodbye to 14 years of company unionism.*





*Governor Merriam's army of occupation on the Embarcadero, 1934.*

ism, always before so perilously existing, became entrenched and ready to expand.

The Maritime Federation of the Pacific, however, was soon to fall apart as a result of the disruptive tactics of Harry Lundeberg, leader of the Sailors Union of the Pacific. But the MFP lasted long enough to demonstrate the tremendous advantage to be gained by unified consultation and action.

Aware of the background of internecine craft-union warfare that had weakened earlier attempts to organize maritime workers, the ILA-AFL led the campaign for industrial unionism, and inevitably this conflicted with vested interests and the narrow approach of the AFL leaders. As a result the AFL, which had been an aid to union growth, became an obstacle by continuing to oppose industrial unionism.

Only after fighting, unsuccessfully, within the AFL to change its policy did the longshoremen turn to the CIO.

In 1937 the longshoremen and warehousemen who had joined with them in 1934, both in District 38 of the ILA, formed the ILWU and affiliated with the newly born Congress of Industrial Organizations.

In those days the CIO offered precisely

the kind of program to which the ILWU was—and still is—dedicated. This was a program of industrial unionism, of genuine non-partisan political action and the beginning of a real fight against racial, religious and political discrimination.

Harry Bridges became Pacific Coast Director of the CIO and many members of the ILWU put zeal and muscle into West Coast organizing drives which brought thousands of workers into CIO and AFL unions as well.

It was inevitable that the kind of rank and file unionism for which the ILWU stood would spread under the CIO. And it did, paying off in more gains and greater security for the members of the ILWU and for all American workers.

When the CIO later drifted away from its founding principles and stagnated into an organization relying on political deals instead of rank and file fight, the ILWU affiliation with this body came to an end. For continued affiliation with CIO had a new price—the sacrifice of autonomy and of rank and file determination of policies; the rank and file members of the ILWU decided that they weren't prepared to pay this price for whatever few benefits remained in being in the CIO. Consequently,

the membership as a whole exhibited no alarm at the union's expulsion on the pretext of CIO that it was guilty of parallelism with "communist philosophy."

The ILWU members found that the important thing in advancing the unity of the working people, and thereby increasing their fighting strength, is not primarily affiliation or non-affiliation. It is not the labels which do the job for the working people, but rather the more basic union principles and union purposes. The 1946 achievements of the Committee for Maritime Unity bore this out.

The maritime employers emerged from the war with swollen treasuries and a united determination to come to a reckoning with organized labor. In anticipation of the anti-labor drive, the ILWU played a leading role in the formation of the Committee for Maritime Unity, extending from coast to coast. The CMU was established in 1946, and in the same year it conducted the nearest thing to national maritime negotiations ever seen in this country—negotiations which culminated in the greatest gains for seamen in their entire history. The fact that some leaders of the seagoing unions were later able to break the unity of CMU, just as Lundeberg disrupted the Maritime Federation a decade earlier, in no way diminished the historic benefits which derived from its temporary unification of the Mari-

time Unions in a common effort. Embraced in the organization beside ILWU were the National Maritime Union, the National Union of Marine Cooks & Stewards, the American Communications Association, the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, and the Marine Firemen's Union. The West Coast deck sailors stayed out.

When the CMU opened national negotiations in Washington, D.C., on May 30, 1946, the railroad strike had just been broken. President Truman had ordered the Army to take the railroads over and the workers were forced to abandon their strike under threat of being drafted into the Army. This new tactic of strikebreaking worked so perfectly that Truman decided to use it against the maritime workers. He announced that in the event the CMU struck on June 15, as scheduled, the Navy would man the ships and the Army would load them.

CMU immediately called upon its friends abroad to support the American workers in what promised to be a struggle between labor and the armed might of the government. Within hours the wires pledging support began to stream in from maritime unions all over the world—New Zealand, Australia, Hawaii, France, England, Poland, the Scandinavian countries, Japan and others. In each instance the workers abroad warned that any ships loaded by the



*Delegates cheered and demonstrated at the convention of the Committee for Maritime Unity after voting for unified maritime strike.*

Army and manned by the Navy to break the CMU strike would be declared scab ships and tied up the instant they entered foreign ports.

President Truman and his advisors had the answer to smashing the railroad strike, but even they couldn't devise any method to get the U.S. Army and Navy to handle ships in foreign ports. The admirals and the generals and the President beat a hasty retreat; and the CMU negotiations committee, with ILWU President Harry Bridges and NMU President Joseph Curran as spokesmen, drove through to a great victory for all the maritime crafts.

A most significant test of longshore strength came in 1948 when the then-dominant group of employers in the Waterfront Employers Association decided that the time had come to use the Taft-Hartley law to deprive ILWU of all its gains. They accordingly served demands upon the ILWU which in effect ordered the union to give up the dispatching hall on the grounds that it was "illegal." The ILWU countered with a demand for continuation of the hiring hall, plus a series of contract changes; higher wages, shorter hours, revised vacation rules and improved safety conditions.

The White House rushed to the aid of the employers by calling on the courts to issue a Taft-Hartley injunction forbidding the strike for an 80-day so-called "cooling off" period. As the injunction period drew to an end the employers made a final offer of five cents an hour on wages and another five cents in lieu of vacations. They renewed their insistence on making the dispatching hall practices "legal"—which was to say, emasculating them by returning them to unilateral employer control. The union, sticking to all previous demands, now added to them a call for health insurance, a pension plan and a guaranteed minimum number of hours of work opportunity.

The NLRB decided to try out, for the first time, its new employers' "last offer"\* poll, just as President Truman had first tested the 80-day cooling off period on the ILWU. The Coast longshore caucus recommended to the rank and file that they boycott the NLRB poll as a protest against government restrictions on the union's bargaining power. The result of the poll, as

\*This was a new labor regulation, part of the Taft-Hartley Law, requiring a ballot on the employer's "last offer" before the end of the injunctive cooling-off period.

certified by the NLRB after three days of attempting polling in every port of the coast was, from the government's point of view, worrisome. The voting report read:

Number of eligible employees .....	26,965
Ballots marked "Yes" .....	0
Ballots marked "No" .....	0
Challenged ballots .....	0
Total ballots cast .....	0

The strike started on September 2. The employers withdrew all their previous offers and announced there was really but one issue in the strike: "communist leadership." The union refused to be divided by this phony and time-worn issue. The strike wasn't over until November 26.

Before the strike ended the shipowners took large advertisements in the newspapers, and finally pulled a gigantic hoax on the public. They found a picture of Harry Bridges hoisting a toast with Russia's foreign minister Molotov, and they published it in an advertisement with the mere caption: "H. Bridges, M. Molotov."

The clear inference to be drawn was that Bridges had visited Moscow and received instructions to pull the longshoremen out on strike.

The hoax boomeranged.

The union replied with an advertisement of its own, titled: "Who Is Misleading the Public?" It republished the Bridges-Molotov picture along with others taken on the same occasion, particularly a picture of a leading shipowner shaking hands with Molotov. The occasion was a cocktail party given for Molotov when the United Nations was formed in San Francisco. The guest list was also published. It was a roster of San Francisco socialites, civic leaders and industrialists. Bridges was among the labor leaders who were also there.

The men hung tough, their powerful solidarity and understanding finally carrying the day. Then the break came. Leadership was changed, but not as demanded by the shipowners. The longshoremen stood by their leaders to a man. The shipowners changed theirs. They reorganized, called the union back to the bargaining table and announced: "Gentlemen, there is a new look!"

And there was a "New Look." Gone were the rabid bitter-enders on the employer side of the table, and after 95 days on the bricks one of the finest trade union agreements

ever made was negotiated in the new atmosphere.

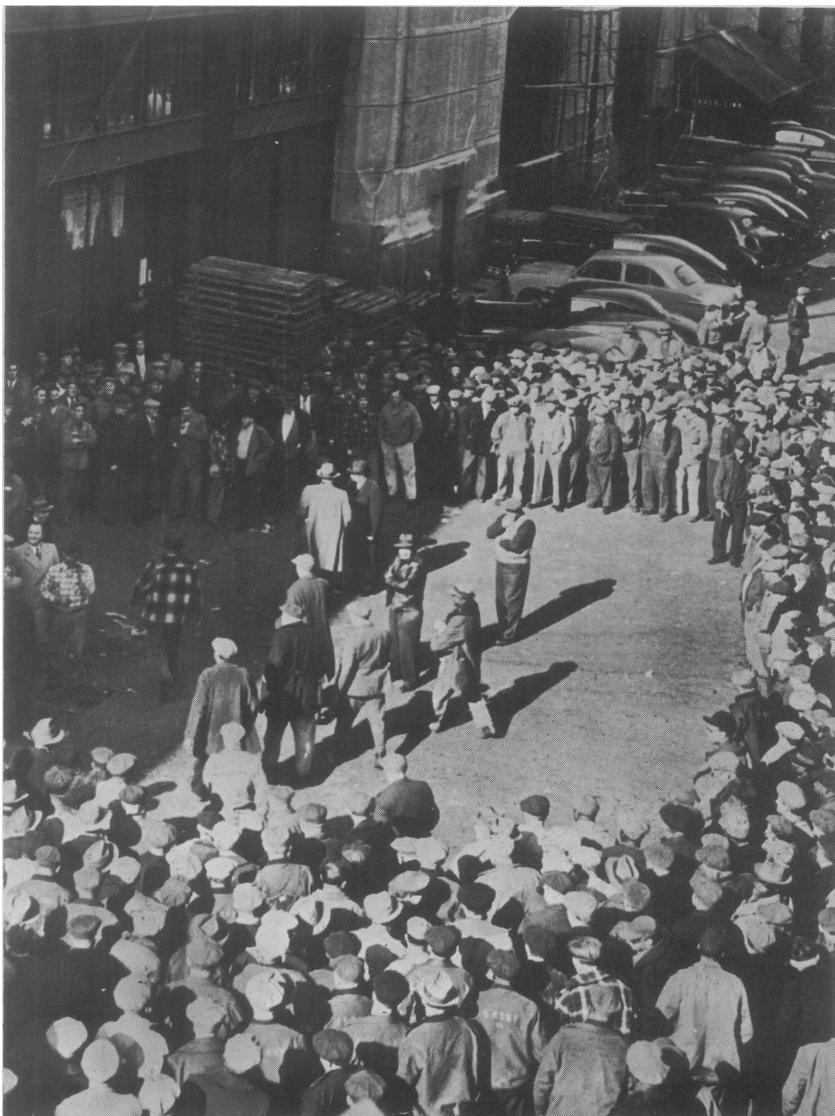
The hiring hall continued as it was; wages were increased 15 cents an hour, union security was reaffirmed and improvements were made in the hours and vacation provisions. Neither the court injunction nor the NLRB had been any more successful than the Army and Navy in breaking the union.

Up to the present writing there has not

been another West Coast longshore strike. The contract has been renewed amicably at every expiration date with steady improvement each time, and the stability of labor relations on the West Coast waterfront is today unmatched elsewhere in the nation.

And there is pride. The employers have expressed pride, as well as the union, in the pioneering advancements and in the unprecedented stability achieved in relations between them.

*The jointly controlled hiring halls in the Pacific ports were the chief issue in the 1948 strike. The longshoremen were determined not to give them up. Here is shown a typical "shape up" a few years back in the Port of New York. Men shaped up at the piers and hoped to be selected by the hiring boss, moved on to another pier if they were not. New York still has the shapeup, but it has been moved indoors under the Port of New York Waterfront Commission. In ILWU ports men are dispatched to jobs in rotation according to hours worked, and favoritism is outlawed by the Coast Agreement.*



# The Warehouse Industry

**T**HE NEW KIND of unionism which was born with the 1934 maritime strike was not confined to the docks. The warehouse workers, with their close ties to the waterfront, also helped build the ILWU and they too shared in the benefits of its achievements.

Warehousing is primarily a storage, processing and distributing industry; it also includes some manufacturing. Historically it has been an industry with low wages, speed-up and job insecurity. Hourly rates were as low as 30 cents an hour in 1934; a take-home pay of \$40 a month was not unusual. The men and women who eked out a precarious living in the distribution centers up and down the West Coast had never been considered as potential union members by the old AFL craft organizations. In fact, in the San Francisco Bay Area their interests were bartered away for the benefit of a small organized group.

Early in 1934 officials of the Teamsters' union in San Francisco, then under leadership whose outlook was limited by narrow craft philosophy, struck a bargain with the warehouse employers. In return for a 50-cent daily increase for themselves they agreed to a 50-cent wage-cut for the unorganized warehousemen; and they further bound themselves not to unionize the warehousemen who were already beginning to take matters into their own hands.

As a result of this deal the warehousemen employed along the waterfront—primarily on the Oakland side of San Francisco Bay—turned to the longshoremen's union, and they found both a welcome and a concrete practical union program there.

The pre-'34 warehousemen's union had been disbanded in 1920. But under the impetus of the successful 1934 maritime strike the warehousemen reorganized. In August, 1934, Weighers Warehousemen's and Cereal Workers Union Local 38-44 received its charter from the ILA. It immediately proceeded with a vigorous organizing campaign which was wholeheartedly supported by the longshoremen.

The leaders of the newly reorganized

longshoremen's union realized that unless the warehousemen, too, enjoyed union conditions and worked under a union contract they would threaten longshore standards and be a source of low-paid labor. The vigor of the warehousemen and the active support of the longshoremen firmly established the new union on the waterfront by the spring of 1935. It began moving uptown—or "marching inland" as it came to be called.

But this organizing effort was brutally opposed by the warehouse employers and by certain AFL Teamster officials who insisted that the uptown warehouses—and the waterfront ones as well—were their exclusive jurisdiction. The year 1935 in the San Francisco area was marked by bitter battles in which the employers, the police and thugs were lined up against the organizing and bargaining efforts of Local 38-44. In Crockett around the California and Hawaii sugar refinery, in Stockton where strike leader Ray Morency was killed and in the savage violence during a Santa Cruz lockout, the warehousemen were called upon to defend their organization and their affiliation with the longshoremen. They remained unintimidated, stuck fiercely to their program and came through these trying early months with flying colors.

Meanwhile the organizing efforts were going on with equal success elsewhere at the same time.

In Seattle, for example, Local 9 cut its teeth on a strike against the Fisher Mills on October 2, 1935. It became a symbolic fight throughout the Northwest as the Chamber of Commerce brought financial support and strikebreakers to open the mill; the newly formed union, on the other hand, was backed by the entire infant labor movement of the area. After four months of hardship and suffering the warehousemen's strike and boycott produced an outstanding victory. The boycott of Fisher Mills products was one of the most effective in labor history; bakeries were struck as far away as Richmond, Virginia, and in the Gulf cities, logging camps were shut down and the longshore gangs and ships'

*After winning the first industry-wide contract in the history of warehousing, these workers shed mock tears over the "hot boxcar" which cost the employers a whopping freight bill.*

crews all over the world walked off ships rather than handle Fisher flour.

Similar organizing proceeded in Portland, Los Angeles and other port cities. In June 1936 the warehousemen held their first coastwide conference to develop a program for a coastwide membership drive.

The warehousemen in San Francisco struck with the maritime crafts in October, 1936. To the warehousemen the strike victory was both an organizing success as well as a collective bargaining one. At the end of 67 days the warehousemen emerged with one of the most unusual victories in American labor history. They had almost doubled their membership in the course of the strike! Moreover, through the strike action they won the union hiring hall, preferential hiring, a substantial wage increase, seniority rights in place of the continuous turnover which had always characterized the industry, and paid vacations.

The warehousemen returned to work on January 5, 1937. The maritime crafts were still out. And in demonstration of great labor solidarity, the warehousemen contributed \$1000 each week to the strike fund until the maritime strike ended successfully on February 4.

This magnificent victory in the San Francisco Bay Area had its effect on warehousemen up and down the coast. New ILWU Warehouse organizations spread widely through every port city and later to many key communities in the interior of the United States and on the East Coast as well.

When the national AFL, in 1937, under the prompting of Teamster chief Dave Beck and East Coast Longshore leader Joe Ryan, tried to strip the West Coast longshore union of its warehouse affiliates, both the warehousemen and the longshoremen fought back. The longshoremen recognized that the loss of the warehousemen would not only have ended effective union organization in that industry but it would have



weakened the waterfront unions as well.

The decisions by the Pacific Coast district of the ILA to join the CIO—carried out in mid-'37—was thus in some part determined by the recognition of the entire union that the longshoremen and the warehousemen had to remain in a single organization for their mutual advantages and benefit. Consequently, the successor organization became in name what it had long been in fact, a union of longshoremen and warehousemen—the ILWU, affiliated to the CIO.

But the struggle of the warehousemen was not over. In the months that followed CIO affiliation, the warehousemen were called upon time and time again to fight to preserve their union against raiders and to maintain their close relationship with the longshoremen.

In the fall of 1937 Beck pulled a blockade and boycott of the port of San Francisco—and threatened to close down the whole coast—to force the longshoremen to give up their warehouse membership. The boycott fizzled out in the face of the united strength of the entire ILWU.

The following spring, at the very time when the ILWU was to hold its first convention, striking warehousemen in Crockett, California, were assaulted by goons with rubber hoses, aimed at breaking the strike and driving the warehousemen from the ILWU. But the pickets retreated into the union hall where they remained under siege until the next day when union members arrived from San Francisco to rout the thugs.

In 1938, the San Francisco warehouse employers made their major effort to return to open shop conditions by deliberately



*ILWU warehousemen take their strike duties seriously with full determination to win.*

locking out the Bay Area warehousemen who remained steadfast in their union principles and refused to work on a boxcar loaded by strikebreakers.

This "hot box car" was deliberately moved from warehouse to warehouse and the workers in turn were ordered off the job when they refused to unload it. Despite the fact that the car had been loaded with school supplies it was shuttled to liquor warehouses, to drug warehouses and to many others that by no stretch of the imagination would ever handle school supplies. At the same time over one hundred warehouses laid off their workers as part of the lock-out scheme, without being visited by the car. Meanwhile the employers flooded the city with statements about "strikes," union conspiracies and red plots. But the ILWU warehousemen hung tough and refused to be intimidated by the hysteria that was whipped up around the "hot box car."

Their solidarity finally paid off and they returned to work with substantial gains plus a master contract covering more than 200 houses in San Francisco and Oakland. This was the first industry-wide agreement ever signed in the warehouse industry. In

signing it the employers thus recognized the warehouse union—ILWU Local 6—as the sole bargaining representative for their employees. At the same time the new agreement established improved seniority rights, uniform wage rates and hours of work and improved working conditions and vacation provisions. The warehouse industry had entered the threshold of stable, constructive labor-management relations.

Meanwhile the "march inland" of the warehousemen had been proceeding. The movement from the docks into the uptown warehouses had spread to distribution centers distant from the port cities of the West Coast and almost simultaneously the ILWU started organizing warehouses in the major distribution centers of the mid-West and South.

Most of these initial organizing efforts away from the West Coast are history, washed up by the jurisdictional raiding of other unions and the inability of the ILWU to bring its waterfront strength to bear on these situations. Nevertheless, today organized and functioning warehouse unions are at work in these cities; and these unions exist primarily because of the ILWU effort of more than two decades ago.



*(Above) Typical warehouse picket line in San Francisco. The employer, the public and would-be strike-breakers know it's there and that it's going to stay until something gives on their demands.*

*(Below) Warehouse men and women at a Los Angeles bag plant held tough on strike for more than a month against sweat shop conditions. They returned to work with a union shop and increased pay.*





Organizing of the then vast reservoir of unorganized warehouse and distribution workers of the Eastern and midcountry industrial centers was a goal set by the 1941 convention of ILWU. Organizers chosen from among active rank and file leaders went to work with zeal and determination and found the workers in receptive mood. They also found opposition reminiscent of the early struggles to organize the waterfront. They experienced arrests and police beatings in New Orleans. ILWU organizers were crippled and maimed. The women among them were even jailed on trumped up charges of soliciting for prostitution.

Nevertheless and notwithstanding, sixteen going locals of warehouse and distribution workers were established and were part of ILWU long enough to exercise effective and constructive voice in its affairs. Long enough also to find what it means—in the way of dignity and self respect—to

*The first joint rally of ILWU and Teamster warehouse stewards in San Francisco May 20, 1960. They agreed unanimously and enthusiastically to fight jointly for a substantial wage increase. They got it and did even better the following year.*

be able to exercise a voice in the setting of wages, hours and working conditions.\*

Over the years the warehouse division of the ILWU has grown and matured. Until a few years ago, when a change of leadership came about in the Teamster's Union, attacks and raids continued to be frequent. However, after each victorious battle against the raids the warehousemen's own

\*Among the cities in which warehouse and distribution workers tasted the fruits of trade union organization for the first time as result of the ILWU effort were Chicago and Freeport, Illinois; St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota; Denver, Colorado; Salt Lake City, Utah; New Orleans and Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Dallas and Fort Worth, Texas; Baltimore, Maryland; Cleveland, Ohio, and Washington, District of Columbia.



organization has come forth strengthened and its collective bargaining achievements have become more outstanding.

This proved true in 1949 around the dispute with Sears, Roebuck Company in San Francisco; a dispute which Dave Beck and Harry Lundberg of the Sailors Union seized upon in the hope of disrupting the ILWU.

With the displacement of Dave Beck and the coming to leadership of James R. Hoffa in the Teamsters Union, an entirely new climate developed in the warehouse industry, and in relations generally between ILWU and the Teamsters. The senseless feud was ended. A joint committee was set up to iron out any frictions that might threaten in jurisdiction, organization or operation. Other important areas of cooperation were also found.

First fruit of the new atmosphere came in a bumper crop for the members of both

unions in their warehouse divisions in terms of wages, hours, working conditions and union security. In 1960, the ILWU and the Teamsters, representing between them around 25,000 warehouse members in Northern California, for the first time faced the employing associations with joint demands. Before the end of negotiations, early in the month of June, the unity and solidarity grew to the point of a joint negotiating committee.

The result was a wage increase of 21 cents across the board plus significant fringe gains, which neither union by itself could have approached. This was to be followed a year later, in 1961, by jointly negotiated three-year warehouse agreements for the two unions bringing wage and fringe benefits amounting to from 38 to 40 cents an hour.

In 1960 not a man hour was lost in strike, and in 1961 it took only 3 days of strike to convince the employing associations that the ILWU-Teamster unity was genuine.

The disparity between warehouse workers and longshoremen was thus narrowed, and the future gave promise of winning greater gains.

The warehousemen have achieved paid vacations, paid holidays, health and welfare, sick leave, paid-up insurance and pensions for their oldtimers. Mechanization in the industry still remains a problem at this writing. There is every reason to expect that significant gains in this field are assured by the new unity. Its workability has been grandly demonstrated.

The warehouse division of the union has established an enviable record in fighting racial discrimination on the job and in helping to bring younger workers from various minority groups—Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Filipinos, Orientals and women of all races—forward into positions of leadership.

There are none in the ranks of ILWU today to harbor doubts about the usefulness of the warehouse men and women, not alone to ILWU, but to the cause of trade union organization. The rapport they have reached with their comparable workers in the Teamster Union has resulted in establishment of the Pacific Coast Warehouse Council, a joint body of the two unions, which gives promise that there will be continuing fruits from the tree of unity on a coastwide basis.

# Organization In Hawaii

**N**OWHERE in the history of the ILWU has there been a more severe testing of the union's principles in action, and a more magnificent proof of the success which rank and file unionism can bring about, than in Hawaii.

The ILWU's major organizing efforts in the Islands were completed between late 1944 and the spring of 1945. NLRB election victories took place in the midst of an illegal military occupation of the Islands and in the face of the most powerful opposition from one of the strongest, best integrated groups of employers in America. These election victories and the subsequent strikes and collective bargaining achievements were no accidents, nor did they result from happen-chance or mere good fortune. Each gain was fought for and won

by the sacrifice and the unity of the rank and file members of the union.

The basic economic control of the Territory of Hawaii was completely in the hands of five big holding companies, whose interlocking directorates and close cooperation assured them the ability to act as one great combine. The dictates of this combine reached into every corner of Island Life, not only financially and industrially but politically and culturally as well; it exerted its will upon the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the Territorial government.

Taking over the bulk of the arable land of the islands in the early 1800's, the Big 5 followed policies designed to keep labor powerless—economically and politically—as the serfs on medieval feudal baronies.



*Section of mural by Pablo O'Higgins in foyer of ILWU building in Honolulu.*

*Pre-I L W U  
sugar planta-  
tion shanty. It  
housed four to  
ten persons, be-  
longed to the  
company and  
was a perquisite  
in lieu of wage.*



They dealt severely with protesters and smashed every attempt of the workers to organize or to act in concert to improve their lot. Their maxim was "divide and rule." They imported labor from many different lands. Believing that the workers' "opportunities for combination and their inclination for same" would be reduced "by employing as many nationalities as possible on each plantation," they made of Hawaii the world's greatest melting pot of races. By unequal treatment, discriminatory pay scales, separate housing areas, and subtle propaganda they stimulated racial suspicion with the result that when the workers were finally forced by their misery to organize into unions, they made the tragic mistake of following racial lines.

Thus, when Japanese plantation workers struck on the island of Oahu in 1919 and 1920, they were driven from their company-owned homes and forced to camp in Honolulu parks where within two weeks some 1,200 were ill of epidemic influenza. It is not known how many died but a single

camp near Waialua counted 43 deaths within ten days. That year 1,088 persons (in all walks of life) died of influenza and another 416 of pneumonia.

Their places on the plantations were taken by workers of other national groups at \$3 a day (until the strike was broken).

In 1920, 1924, and again in 1937 the Filipinos organized and struck similarly along racial lines, and with similar results. They and their families were evicted from their homes and left to shift for themselves on Maui beaches. In 1924 on Kauai police shot 16 strikers to death; 60 leaders received four year prison terms.

These failures showed clearly that without racial unity there could be no trade union advancement on the islands where the population is made up of Japanese, Filipinos, Haole (Caucasian), Chinese, Portuguese, Spanish, Puerto Ricans and many other smaller national groups. It is probably the greatest mixture of races and nationalities to be found in any area of similar size.

As early as 1935 the Hilo longshoremen,

chartered by the old Pacific Coast District of the ILA (but never received because of Joseph P. Ryan's opposition) and inspired by the achievements of the mainland longshoremens in the 1934 strike, carried out a valiant strike to force the reinstatement of a group of discharged men. They won the battle and survived as a union group.

In 1938, CIO inter-island boatmen struck, with support from longshoremens in Kauai, Oahu, and Hawaii. Hilo longshoremens and wives who picketed a ship manned by strikebreakers from Honolulu were attacked by police with tear gas, rifles and bayonets. Fifty were injured, some crippled by bullets or bayonet wounds in the back.

Kauai longshoremens struck for 10 months in 1940 for a guarantee of \$15 a week. They did not win; but not a striker deserted the picket line. These workers had organized themselves in 1937, received help from West Coast sailor Jack Hall, and a charter from ILWU. They had found the way to a successful American trade union movement, uniting workers of all races; they sent organizers into the Kauai sugar and pineapple plantations to organize, and launched a program of independent political action for workers.

Suddenly came war, martial law. Island military governors, at the behest of management advisors, practically outlawed trade union organizing as they outlawed nearly all other civil rights. Seething resentment among plantation workers who were frozen to ill-paid jobs brought them surging en masse to unionism when, three years later, ILWU organizers challenged the abuse of martial law. Meanwhile Federal Judge Delbert E. Metzger was courageously asserting the right of habeas corpus and the supremacy of civilian courts. The Supreme Court finally vindicated him by holding martial law completely unconstitutional.

Out of early efforts to organize was learned the need to be tied in closely with the West Coast waterfront on the one end, and to be integrated into the whole economy of Hawaii. In an economy dominated by the Big 5, no union could hope to survive on a single dock or plantation, or even in a single industry, while thousands of workers in other Big 5 controlled operations remained unorganized. Right from the beginning, when the Japanese union struck

Oahu plantations in 1909, the employers on all islands had pooled their resources to smash the union at its source; a fund of \$2 million was raised by non-struck employers on outer islands to defray strike losses to Oahu plantations.\*

Any successful union would have to be Territory-wide covering all plantations, all mills, and all ports from which the Big 5 drew revenues.

The structure of the ILWU and its reliance upon rank and file machinery facilitated an organizing drive along these lines in 1944 and 1945. The ILWU policy of no racial or other discrimination, the vigor and enthusiasm of the campaign and the solidarity of the mainland ILWU members sparked off one of the most successful union organizing drives in American labor history.

Even before the war with Japan was over—in the summer of 1945—the ILWU had negotiated a new longshore agreement and the first contract covering the sugar industry in the Hawaiian Islands.\*\*

The first test of what the ILWU had built came about in the fall of 1946 after the sugar employers, during negotiations which ended on August 31, made clear that they had no intention of meeting the demands of the workers. The great sugar strike began on September 1. This most critical strike in the history of the ILWU on the islands from its outset was fought by the employers as an all-out effort to smash the union and to impress upon the sugar workers that the ILWU kind of unionism was not for the likes of them.

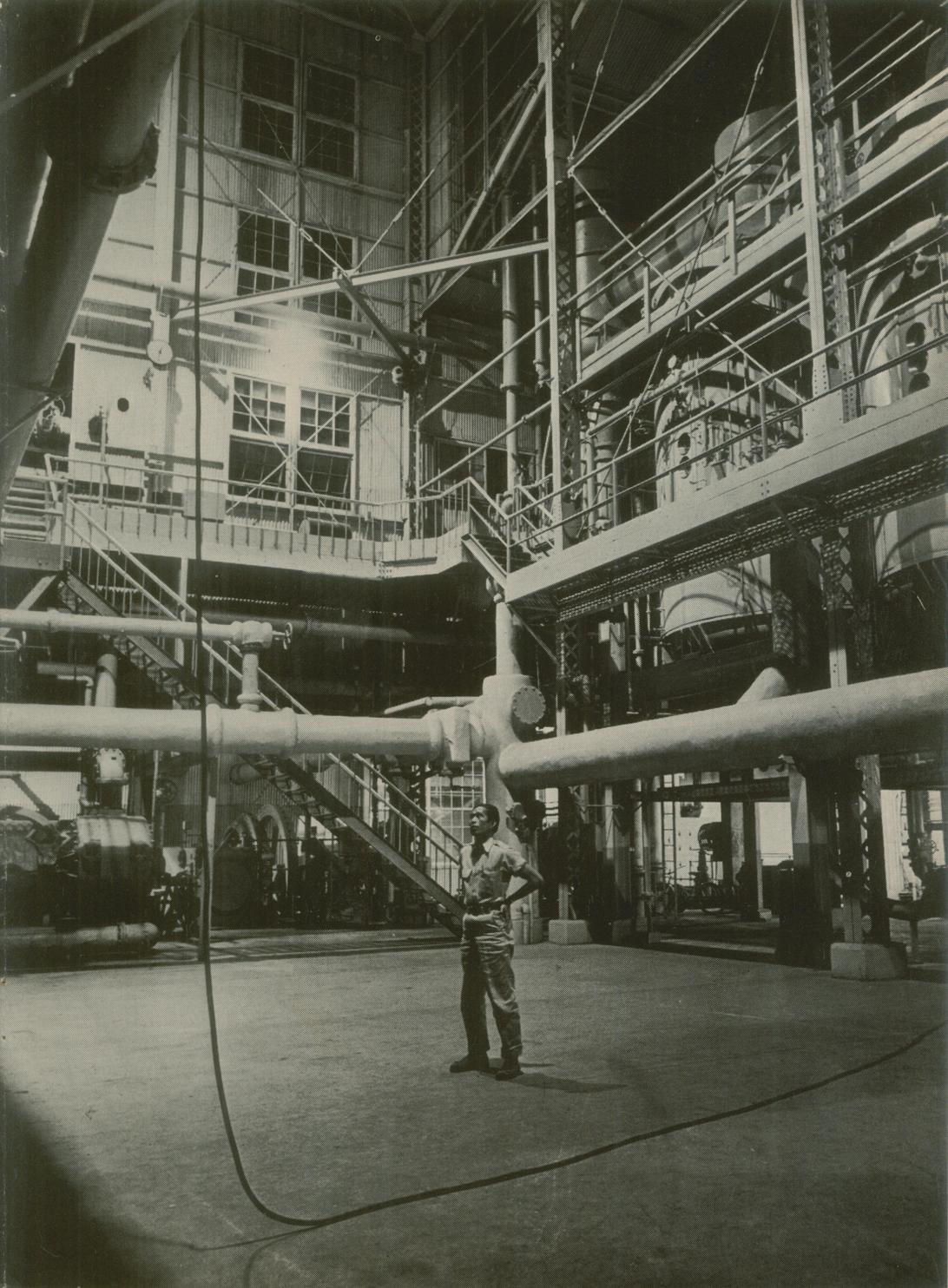
From the union's point of view the only chance for victory in this strike which had been forced upon them lay in the fighting power of the membership, its willingness to take on a protracted strike and its ability to hold the ranks firm in spite of the employers' overwhelming power—never heretofore successfully challenged.

An heroic part was played by 6,000 new Filipinos who arrived penniless in Hawaii

#### *Sugar mill at Waialua, Hawaii.*

\*This was repeated in 1919 when the employers spent \$15 million. Even in the 1958 strike the sugar industry set up a fund to equalize losses among plantations.

\*\*Before World War II, the union had gained a first contract for sugar mill workers at McBryde plantation on Kauai but this was wiped out by the military when the war began.





*Planting sugar cane.*

on the eve of the strike. The Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association imported them fresh from the hardships of the Japanese occupation of the Philippines in the apparent belief that they would not join an interracial union. The planters underestimated the intelligence of workers, foreign and domestic. ILWU organizers, shipping as stewards on the immigrant ship *S.S. Mau-nawili*, had them all signed up on union cards before they reached Hawaii. ILWU units in Hawaii welcomed the newcomers to the plantations with music, leis, and luaus; in the strike which came a few weeks later new Filipinos stood steadfast with the rest despite their lack of personal resources.

The structure of the ILWU assured the embattled sugar workers during the strike that scab produced sugar would never be moved from the plantations through the mills, or over ILWU docks in the Islands or on the West Coast, or through ILWU organized refineries on the mainland. This ended the employers' formerly successful di-

vision of the workers along lines of race, color or skill.

Twenty-eight thousand workers on 33 plantations struck as one man on the four major islands of Hawaii. After seventy-nine days of bitter fight, in which many strikers and members of their families were arrested for "unlawful assembly" and violating anti-picketing injunctions, the sugar workers had one of the biggest victories in ILWU history up to that time.

Nevertheless the employers tried to drive a wedge between the workers and the union. They tried to starve out the Islands and to set the entire community against the ILWU and the sugar strikers. They tried to start back-to-work programs. They used court injunctions. They had many strikers and union leaders arrested. The press red-baited, Jew-baited and union-baited. Every one of these measures failed.

The workers faced more than a hundred criminal indictments in the County of Maui alone, 79 for unlawful assembly and riot which carried a 20-year sentence. Every one of these time-tested measures failed.

The strike was won with substantial gains and the indictments either washed out or settled for suspended sentences and minor fines. With the victory came the end of the vicious perquisite system under which the sugar workers had been cheated for years by receiving part of their earnings in bad housing, lights, and fuel, medical care and so on. Embarrassed by union demands for an accounting of housing funds, the employers insisted on converting perquisites to cash as part of the settlement.

But over and beyond these economic gains this first major victory began the political and social liberation of the Island workers; it was the first substantial blow to Hawaiian feudalism and paternalism.

In the closing days of the sugar strike the CIO-PAC elected 37 labor-endorsed candidates, in the Territorial and County elections.

A few weeks later the employers conceded a 30-cent wage increase to the longshoremen who were geared to strike.

Meanwhile, the employers prepared for a counter attack. They had found weakness in the newly organized pineapple canneries. By trickery they set up a pineapple lockout and in five days dealt the union damaging defeat, although it managed to get all work-

ers back on the job without reprisals. The union survived only through the loyalty and faith of the membership and the power of the union in other Big 5 operations. Still—there was not enough widespread understanding of the need for solidarity between all Big 5 employees, regardless of industry, to enable the longshore and sugar workers to come to the rescue in time to turn defeat into victory.

This lesson, and the threat of the new Taft-Hartley law spurred the union to build a strong steward system and to consolidate union structure to bring workers in separate companies, areas, and industries closer together—in preparation for struggles ahead. Four longshore locals consolidated into Territory-wide Local 136 in September; the six sugar locals united in Local 142 in October.

Meanwhile, the Islands were swamped with hysterical red-baiting and union-baiting propaganda against the ILWU. Internal revolts were stimulated within the union. The employers tried every possible device to split and weaken the union. They failed.

In January, 1948, an Island-wide convention debated and aired the issues. In a subsequent referendum the membership voted over 98 percent to stick with the ILWU.

Through 1948 and early 1949, the employers pushed a program of wage cutting, claiming that the alternative was liquidation of the less profitable plantations. They forced a 68-day lockout on the workers at the Olaa plantation. This struggle developed wider understanding of the need for solidarity, as 'bumming teams' of Olaa strikers went to ILWU members' doorsteps and shop gates, explaining that Olaa was a testing point for an overall employer policy; the response was generous.

Thwarted at Olaa, the employers kept up a relentless search for weak points in the union structure.

By 1949 the Big 5 felt ready for a show-down. They started by holding firm against the demands of the longshoremen. The strike of the Hawaii longshoremen which began on May 1, 1949, was fought to preserve the unionism which the 1946 sugar strike had established in the Islands. It was a long and bitter struggle. The eventual victory marked the achievement of the same kind of recognition and status that was won by the mainland longshoremen in 1934.

This was a major victory over the colonial wage theory of the Big 5. It was the major test to determine whether workers

*Pineapple slips planted by hand, the only field operation that has not been mechanized in Hawaii.*





*In attempt to break the strike of Hawaiian longshoremen in 1949 an organization called "We, the Women" formed a broom brigade and picketed the union's headquarters and membership meetings. The union won.*

in Hawaii were entitled to mainland standards.

The strike lasted 157 days. The ILWU membership fought against enormous odds. These included all the power and wealth of the Big 5, a community structure dominated and controlled by employer interests, unprecedented newspaper and publicity attacks, a hostile governor and his hand-picked "Fact Finding Board," refusal of the employers to arbitrate the strike issue, of-

ficial government scab-herding and strike-breaking, innumerable arrests and court actions, scabbing by both AFL and CIO maritime unions, and refusal of assistance and outright sabotage by CIO.

The strike had been in progress two months when Governor Stainback's so-called Fact Finding Board handed down its recommendation that the longshoremen return to work with a 14-cent-an-hour increase. This amount would actually have

widened the gap between Hawaii and West Coast wages. A barrage of pressure from all sides hit the longshoremen calling upon them to accept. Telegrams from President Truman, Secretary of Interior Krug, Governor Stainback and Delegate Farrington. Newspaper and radio exhortations, and even large-scale turnouts of the organization called "We The Women" picketing the membership meetings to which the recommendation was submitted. The Fact Finding Board itself refused to appear at the meeting and face the membership. Two representatives of the Territorial Department of Labor were persuaded to appear and their services were called upon to count the secret ballot vote on the Fact Finding Board's recommendation. The proposal was rejected by almost 95 percent.

These difficulties were not insuperable to the union. It had solidarity. It had the perseverance of its members, and they had the faith and strength of their wives and families. The entire union in Hawaii and on the mainland rallied to their cause. A particularly solid bastion in their protection was the active assistance they received from the West Coast longshoremen.

The wage demand of the Hawaii longshoremen was for a step in the direction of equal pay for equal work. Longshoremen in Hawaii do the same work on the same cargoes on the same ships, for the same companies, and are members of the same union as the longshoremen in the West Coast ports. Yet in 1949 they were paid wages that were 42c an hour below West Coast rates and worked under far inferior conditions.

The 21 cents-per-hour wage increase won by the strike was considered a tremendous victory, but the goal of parity with West Coast longshoremen still remained. Within five years, in 1954 negotiations, they won the principle of parity along with a unique pension plan which fitted their needs. The employers agreed to raise the Hawaii longshore wage to \$2.16 an hour in three stages—that being the rate then prevailing on the West Coast. Meanwhile, West Coast wages advanced. Finally, in 1956 negotiations, the big leap was made. Parity advanced from abstract principle to fact.

This advance, along with a medical and health program was a direct fruit of the long strike struggle.

It was in the course of this strike—one in which, to quote Senator Wayne Morse, the Hawaii employers practiced "jungle law"—that the then Attorney General Tom Clark made an infamous remark that the criminal indictment of ILWU President Bridges (see later chapter, "The Everlasting Bridges Case") would "clear up the situation in Hawaii." But instead of softening the union's ranks, this attempt to behead the union in the midst of a critical strike only hardened the members' determination to strike back until victory was won.

An incidental achievement in the union's mobilization to win the strike was the amendment to the West Coast longshore agreement providing that West Coast longshoremen would not have to work cargo to or from an "American port where there was a bona fide strike."

This solidarity of the entire ILWU was illustrated by an incident in The Dalles, Oregon. The Big 5 in their frantic effort to break the dock strike in the Island found a nonunion crew willing to operate a scab barge and sneaked a cargo of pineapple, destined for a cannery in California, across the Pacific. It was towed up the Columbia River into the foothills of the Cascade mountains to the remote grain port of The Dalles, after longshoremen in the major West Coast ports had refused to touch the strikebreaking tug as it was moved from place to place.

The Hawaii longshoremen stretched their picket line all the way from Honolulu to Wasco County, Oregon, and the longshoremen in Portland gave it "a large Aloha." Scabs recruited from farms tried unsuccessfully, to smash the picket line. The strike-

*Modern ILWU Memorial  
Association Building in  
Honolulu.*



breaking didn't work, but out of the effort there developed a Taft-Hartley suit against the Portland longshoremen which cost the union heavily. The charge was that the men conspired to prevent the unloading of scab pineapple.

In sugar and pineapple the union moved steadily for a shorter work week and other contract improvements. Increasingly, the efforts of the union were aimed at sociological gains built upon the solid foundation of a going union organization. The union program was initially met by an employer attempt to break down industry-wide bargaining, starting first with pineapple because it appeared to be the weakest section of the ILWU. Employer insistence upon company-by-company bargaining backfired.

The employers felt the whole economic strength of the union, and it had the effect of forcing them into stabilized, industry-wide collective bargaining. This in turn caused the union in Hawaii to increase its fighting strength by consolidating its own organization. In September, 1951, several locals, representing workers of longshore, sugar, pineapple and miscellaneous industries and services coalesced into one big local of ILWU. It is today the largest local of the International union—Local 142. It is more than 23,000 strong, and still organizing new groups of workers each year.

The General Trades division of the local includes workers in many types of firms ranging from bakeries and manufacturing plants to newspapers and automotive dealers who joined ILWU as unionism swept the islands. More recently workers in supermarkets, hotels, and construction trades have joined its ranks.

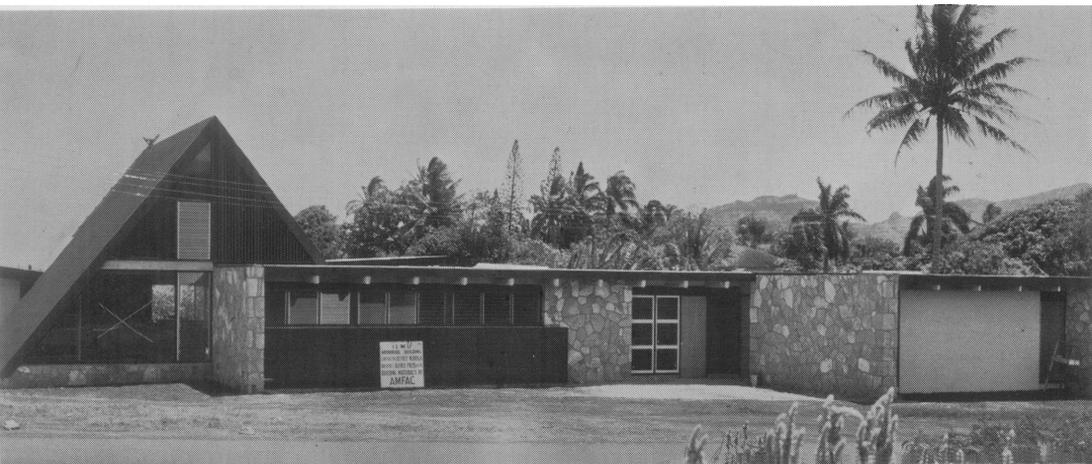
By 1954 the ILWU had established in sugar an industry-wide medical program, sick leave and vacations and holidays with pay. In 1954 intensive mobilization and a strike vote brought a pension plan and established a 40-hour week (with seasonal exceptions on some plantations), with week-ends off. All of these were then and still remain (as of 1962) unique in American agriculture; nor have such things heretofore been heard of in agriculture anywhere in the world.

If the employers thought that these gains, which they had been forced by union organization to concede, would be the end of the road they were wrong. It was possibly such wishful thinking that led them in 1956 to embark upon a program of Boulwareism\* again calculated to destroy the union.

Prior to the opening of contract negotiations that year, they determined upon a fixed position and then launched a propaganda and intimidation campaign to blitz the union into accepting it. Such was far from the present-day concept of collective bargaining and it was destined to backfire. Their campaign reached fantastic proportions. It included newspaper publicity and advertising, as many as 45 radio broadcasts in a single day, and home calls by plantation managers upon individual union members.

\*Boulware was the General Electric executive who devised an employer approach of "take-it-or-leave-it" in collective bargaining—"Talk, talk, talk, but yield nothing."

*The ILWU Memorial Association Building at Lihue on the island of Kauai, Hawaii.*



When the 1956 agreement expired on February 1 they suspended the union's dues checkoff. Enemies of the union, reasoning from the false assumption that the plantation workers were unwilling captives of the union, expected this action to be a mortal blow. Plantation units of the local immediately set up machinery to collect dues on the job. The union failed to fall apart.

The employers made a final "take-it-or-strike" offer and accompanied it with an intensive propaganda campaign including leaflets distributed at the plantations. What they had to offer—a 3-year agreement with an insulting wage increase, their own version of a fair severance pay arrangement and continuation of a wage-price raw sugar escalator—wouldn't sell. The union members voted it down 12,166 to 879.

When all the employers' efforts to sell their propositions by fanfare, hysteria and intimidation had failed they finally settled down to negotiations in April, 1956, three and one-half months after the agreement had expired. As a result, a new contract was reached which registered substantial gains for the membership.

A novel provision of the new contract was the establishment of a \$750,000 voluntary repatriation fund. This money was to be used in those cases where layoffs were impending and where individual workers—many of whom had for years been working toward the day when they could go home to the old country—were prepared to take lump sum severance pay and transportation back to the country of their origin, principally the Philippine Islands. The benefits under this agreement depend on years of service and go up to a maximum of \$2,500 after 25 years' service, plus free transportation.

This repatriation provision did not include those workers who were 55 years of age or over and were entitled to substantially larger amounts as a result of lump sum pension benefits. The combination of voluntary repatriation funds and lump sum pension payments under the previous agreement has met an important sociological need of the Islands, where automation and mechanization have drastically curtailed work opportunity and employment.

The contract further provided for the elimination of the so-called Hilo Coast escalator clause under which four plantations



*Sugar cane irrigation.*

were on a wage line below the industry rate; three weeks vacation with pay; and an automatic wage increase which went into effect March 1 of 1957.

The sugar contract expired in February of 1958. It became evident early in negotiations for its renewal that a major test of union determination against employer intransigence was in the making. An offer of the employers of 4 cents increase in the basic wage and graduated increases in the upper grades was considered an insult in view of their own admission that the companies were financially healthier than they had been in years.

The resulting strike lasted 126 days—more than four months—during which the sugar workers demonstrated tenacity, loyalty and ingenious resourcefulness rarely encountered in the annals of American labor struggles. The organization of their strike machinery—based on experience in 1946 and subsequent struggles—stands as a classic in discipline and cooperation.

Soup kitchens, established for every plantation, served over 2 million meals a month at an average cost of 10 cents a meal. Strikers were divided in groups, each with their assigned tasks which ranged from growing their own vegetables, hunting and fishing parties, and cooperating with small farmers in exchange for a share of the produce, to community service groups which did everything from fixing up school playgrounds to putting old graveyards in shape. A fully planned social life was maintained for the strikers and their families. This alleviated the boredom and drudgery

Allen's  
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU  
Established 1888  
SAN FRANCISCO  
Los Angeles  
Portland - Seattle  
Honolulu, T. H.  
Star Bulletin  
(Cir. 77,696)

(Cir. 77,696)  
300 (An Editorial)  
A sugar strike on the Big Island means disaster. There is almost no one on the island who will not be affected, directly or indirectly, and for this reason a strike will make in the

Un easiness About a Sugar Strike  
In the letter column advising  
The I.L.W.U. Would Lose  
Island, Kauai are in deadlock. The risk a strike in which it can only lose whichever the strike goes.  
ence, our prediction that there will be no change, because the I.L.W.U. has every chance of winning.  
means continuance of  
"locals" the various workers are backing do it automatically. must stick together.

How the newspapers joined in the campaign to discourage the 1958 sugar strike.

MAR 7 1956

21-1 Margin  
Sugar Workers Continue Vote To Reject Industry's Offer  
... already has a pension plan

of protracted battle. The women of the plantations, as soon as they were given an opportunity to do so, took on their share of the work, and more.

Individual problems of the family were considered—deferring of payments on cars and appliances, arrangements on school travel, school lunches—all were taken in stride. In some cases schools refused to allow the strikers to bring hot lunches for the children of the striking families, but the youngsters, in turn, demonstrated the same type of discipline as their parents, marching off the school yard at the same time and having their lunches on the side of the road before returning to class.

All this was done quietly and with little fanfare. Local merchants in the main extended credit, and in many cases made strike donations. Not a single striker suffered repossession of any of his property. As several of the dealers expressed it, "What was the use of repossessing cars of strikers. Who else would buy them?" In this alone—the attitude of small business people was quite a clear demonstration that they did not expect the union to be uprooted and destroyed.

All other sections of the ILWU pitched in to help the sugar strikers. The longshore members on the mainland, even before the strike began, voted to assess themselves 50 cents a week for a period of 20 weeks, if the sugar workers were forced to strike. Warehouse locals on the mainland also came through with substantial assistance. All other sections of Local 142 gave generously in money, food and personal assistance—proof again that when the chips are down there is a substantial treasury in the pockets of the membership available to fellow workers in distress.

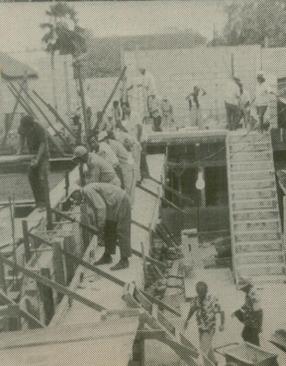
The union performed a maneuver which required and demonstrated extraordinary understanding and discipline by the membership. Cane, badly damaged by lack of irrigation, threatened to become a total loss—which would not only have been a community disaster, but would have ended all pressure on the employers to end the strike so that the cane could be harvested. The union decided to send some men back to work to irrigate and save the cane—while the rest remained on strike—but not to allow the employers to grind the cane and take a profit out. When this work was performed as part of picket duty, with no loss of strike discipline, the employers finally realized there was no hope of a split in the ranks.

Finally, negotiations were resumed directly with the employers and a satisfactory agreement reached.

Of particular importance in the settlement was the elimination of all "exempt work weeks"—weeks in which overtime is paid after 48 hours instead of 40—which prevailed on some of the plantations. Now without exception the plantations are on the 40-hour week the year around. This is a major achievement, and unique in American agriculture.

The February, 1961, contract expiration found the sugar employers again in no

*The sugar strikers, womenfolk and children maintained their own soup kitchens, raised their own vegetables and won solid community support as they weeded neglected cemeteries, cleaned up church yards, built new community centers and gave free band concerts.*





mood for realistic bargaining on renewal terms. Fruitless negotiations went on through February, March and April. The sugar workers took a solid strike vote and walked out at midnight of May 2. They returned to work at noon of the very next day with their demands satisfactorily met. The employers remembered 1958.

A two-year contract, to run to February 1, 1963, was signed. It granted the workers a 15-cent hourly increase in the basic wage over the two year period. Among other substantial gains there was included agreement on a dental care plan to go into effect on January 31, 1963, the day before scheduled expiration of the 2-year pact.

Though smaller in number than the sugar division, the pineapple workers have kept pace and achieved some "firsts" of their own for agricultural workers. Early in 1959 there was signed the first "dues shop" agreement of the industry. This was followed in August, 1960, by the biggest wage gains ever negotiated in pineapple—10 to 15 cents an hour. At the same time the pineapple workers won improved medical care, doubled separation allowance and the first union shop ever agreed to by a major Hawaiian industry. Any workers objecting to paying dues for the cost of representation,

*Honolulu ILWU seminar in publicity—part of the Local's broad and continuing educational program.*

must nevertheless pay. Such money, however, would go to charity.

In 1962 complete mobilization for strike action paid off with wage gains of 14 cents to 28 cents an hour, a children's dental plan, and improvements in medical, severance, and pension benefits.

ILWU economic gains have had far-reaching social effects—enabling workers to send children to high school and college—speeding the assimilation of immigrant groups as they approached an American standard of living, and providing new jobs in retail and service industries to offset those eliminated by mechanization of the plantation.

More important are the gains in human dignity on the job, in public life and the courts, improved race relations, the development of new rank and file community leadership where before all leadership had been supplied by a thin uppercrust of Caucasians, with little honest human communication.

Union contract protection against dis-

crimination for reasons of race, creed, color or politics, brought political freedom. Before that politicians not favored by the management could not hold rallies in plantation camps, and workers were afraid to attend the rallies held on public roads. In many places workers felt they were not even secure inside the voting booth. The new freedom for union men made it possible for opposition parties to grow, for opposition opinion to be heard, and opened up real freedom of political choice to voters outside the union. Fifty years of unbroken one-party control of the legislature ended in 1946.

Independent political action by ILWU has rewritten Hawaii's labor laws—beginning with passage of the "little Wagner Act" (Hawaii Employment Relations Act) by the 1945 legislature, which extended NLRA protections to agricultural workers, and made it possible to win recognition in sugar and pineapple fields peaceably, without a strike.

Only in Hawaii, where they are unionized, are agricultural workers eligible for unemployment compensation benefits (up to \$55 per week for 26 weeks), and covered by a state wage and hour law which matches the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act rates. Workmen's Compensation for industrial injuries is higher than in most other states.

The gains in Hawaii did not come easily. Not only did the workers there have to break through the servile traditions of plantation feudalism, they had, as well, to fight mainland politicians who combined junketeering with crusades for the status quo. These included hearings in April, 1950, by the Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives and in November, 1956, by the Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security headed by a Mississippi plantation owner. His objective was to prove Hawaii unfit for statehood.

These junketeers said they were searching for communists and it was convenient for them to equate trade unionism with communism—particularly inasmuch as it provided opportunity to spend many sunny hours at taxpayer expense under the coconut palms on Waikiki Beach. They provided a political atmosphere of hysteria and suspicion that enabled the minions of the

Department of Justice to engage in uninhibited union-busting activity.

At one time, by count based upon reports from union members, as many as 35 special agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation were engaged in calling upon and intimidating Hawaii ILWU members in precisely the style and manner of the old—now outlawed—labor spy agencies. Great courage and honor was shown by hundreds of union stewards and officers who, although vulnerable because of alien or naturalized-American citizenship, stood firm by the union in the face of all threats by agents of the FBI or Department of Immigration.

When intimidation failed, outright frameup followed. Thus it was that agents of the FBI seized Jack W. Hall at his home at 6 a.m., August 28, 1951. Hall, regional director of ILWU in Hawaii and an effective organizer and leader, was indicted along with six other persons, who were named as Communists, though not connected with ILWU, and charged with conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

The Smith Act had to do with the advocacy of overthrow of government by force and violence—something far afield from trade union aims. Yet Hall was charged with conspiring to violate the act; and both the phinness of the charge and the reason for its fabrication was to become clear to the ILWU membership long before Hall was brought to trial. Ironically, it was two special agents of the FBI who were to tell them about it.

The agents, Richard Burris and James Condon, called at the home of one of Hall's fellow union staff members to sound him out about a possible approach to Hall on a proposition they had to suggest.

The staff man, David Thompson, educational director for Local 142, was not at home when the agents first called. By the time they returned he had arranged for Robert McElrath, another staffer, to install a microphone and a tape recorder in his home.

In this and subsequent visits the agents called at Thompson's home and revealed their proposition. It was, in short, that if Hall would lead a revolt to take the Hawaii membership out of the international union (and, of course, thereby split and weaken



*The old method —*

the union), they would arrange with the “Mr. Big who controls these things” to have the indictment against Hall suppressed. “We could make it six (defendants) instead of seven,” they told Thompson.

Hall was informed of the proposition, and so later was the membership of the union—over a 7-station, island-wide radio network on which the tapes of the FBI interviews were played.

Hall went to trial. The court ruled testimony relative to the FBI agents and their proposal immaterial and irrelevant. For nine months Hall sat in court and heard the government prosecute the writings of Karl Marx, Friederich Engels and Nicolai Lenin—none of which had much if anything to do with his own activities. The very nature of the prosecution and the attitude of rulings of the judge assured a built-in conviction. And conviction it was. Some of the jurors had government jobs and some had relatives who had government jobs. Only

those who lived through the McCarthy period of hysteria could understand such a verdict.

Sugar, pine, longshore, and general trades workers went all out for a defense campaign designed to expose the real truth to the community. Mainland trade unionists marvelled at the scope and spirit of the effort. It was an inspiration to others at a time when it was beginning to appear that no one could stand up against politicians who used the terror of the witchhunt as a weapon to eliminate all opposition.

The rank and file sent delegates to observe the trial for themselves. They saw the frame-up for what it was. They refused to be swayed by the dire warnings of the sugar-coated press and other upper-class and “respectable” elements of the community. They greeted the “guilty” verdict in June 1953, with an all-islands walkout. This was not the first time. They had walked out previously in protest against the persecution of Harry Bridges.

The United States Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the verdict in 1958. Jack Hall didn’t need the “Mr. Big who controls these things!”

The Hawaii members of ILWU remained with the international union more united than ever—enough so to make all the gains enumerated above and remain in position to continue to further advances in their standards of living; enough also to play a major political role along with the mainland membership in the fight for Hawaii’s statehood status, a fight that resulted in victory in 1959. The victory in the main was over race-baiting Southern politicians.

*— and the new in sugar cane harvest.*



*Pineapple cannery workers operating Ginaca machines which each remove shell and core and cut off ends of 105 pineapples per minute.*



# Organization in Canada

**T**HE CANADIAN Area ILWU — with twelve locals or divisions, comprising longshoremen, checkers, warehousemen, grainliners, first aid attendants and miscellaneous dock workers—is an autonomous body, carrying on its works and programs within the ILWU family, and in the great militant tradition of the Canadian west. Its economic gains, which include pioneering in many fields, are reinforced by an independent political attitude which makes the ILWU in British Columbia a leading force in the fight for social gains and for the well-being of the community.

Working men in British Columbia are no strangers to militant labor struggle. The tough Canadians who built thriving ports along their rugged coast and hammered a civilization out of a wilderness brought a spirit of unionism with their earliest immigration. As far back as 1888, when Vancouver had a population of no more than 8000 people, the first longshoremen's union was organized as a local of the Knights of Labor. In 1896, the Vancouver stevedore's local, by then an independent, fought and won its first strike in a dispute over hiring and company interference with its walking delegate. The union thrived for seven years, until a walk-out in sympathy with Canadian Pacific Railway freight office employees led to the smashing of the waterfront local.

*In 1962 Canadian longshoremen in the ports of British Columbia were busy loading grain for the People's Republic of China and other commodities for revolutionary Cuba. As of March of 1963 the United States has refused to allow trade with China or Cuba and is boycotting countries trading with the latter. Here was the Port of Vancouver during the month of February, 1962, with ships anchored as far as the eye could see waiting for their turn at a dock.*

It was during this period, on the night of April 13, 1903, that Frank Rogers, a leader of longshore and fishermen's unions, was shot down by gunmen while he and two strikers were walking along the CPR tracks. Roger died two days later and the whole trade union movement turned out for the funeral, which was held in a pouring rain. In front of the hearse marched longshoremen, behind it came fishermen, carpenters and building tradesmen, machinists, mill workers, teamsters, blacksmiths, printers, musicians, civic employees, barbers, cigar makers, tailors and many others. A Vancouver paper called it "the biggest affair of the kind ever seen here."

For three years after the 1903 strike no union organization existed on the Vancouver waterfront, but poor working conditions, a ten-hour day and low wage rates compelled longshoremen to move again. In 1906 a new union was formed, affiliated to the IWW Lumber Handlers Union. Interestingly, a majority of this IWW local were native Indians from North Vancouver reserves.

In 1912 the International Longshoremen's Association began organizing in Canada and the Lumber Handlers' Union became part of the ILA in Vancouver. The ILA had already been established in Prince Rupert since 1910, and apparently a Victoria local was also chartered during that



period. Wage struggles marked the early years of ILA locals in Canada, and the union was able to win some fair rates of pay.

The feeling toward unionism and politics was strong. Prince Rupert longshoremen in 1913 voted "that every member wear his button on the dock." The same local between 1911-15 permitted the IWW and the Socialist Party in Canada to use the union hall without charge for meetings. Also noted in early minutes were reports of protest meetings to support striking Vancouver Island coal miners, and funds were collected to help other locals in their organizing drives. A later item endorsed the proposal of the ILA 11th Convention, held in Seattle, that there be a strike to compel the release of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, San Francisco labor leaders jailed in the infamous Preparedness Day bombing frameup.

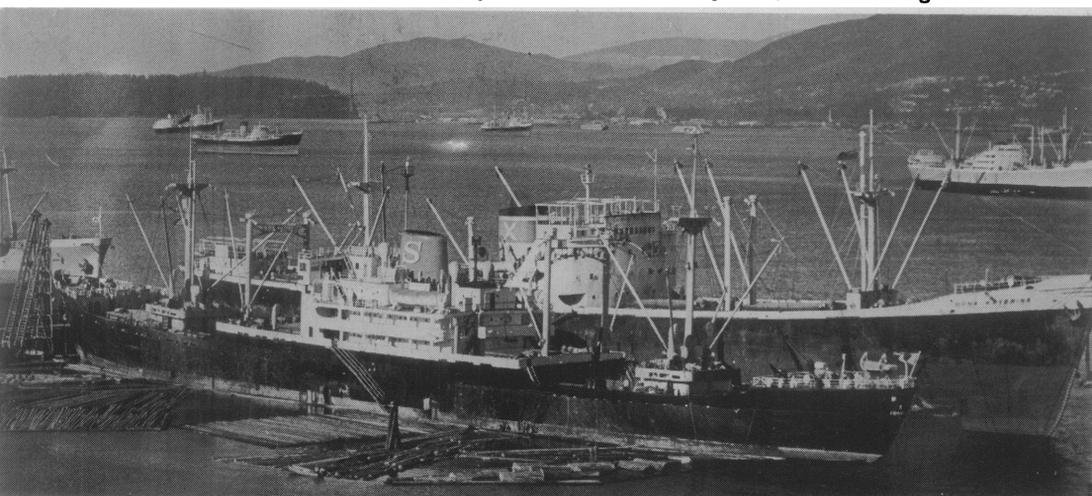
Still recalled by old-timers is the Vancouver 24-hour general protest strike, August 2, 1918. What happened was that a young union organizer, Ginger Goodwin, was shot by a military constable. Word spread rapidly that Goodwin had been shot in the back with a soft-nosed bullet. There was wild indignation in labor ranks in the belief that he had been deliberately murdered on sight because of his union activities. Miners decided not to work on the day of the funeral, and the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council followed suit by endorsing the 24-hour general strike call. Despite screaming headlines encouraging mob violence by war veterans against the unionists, and public meetings denouncing labor's strike, all of Vancouver labor took a holiday,

and the city was brought virtually to a standstill.

In 1919 both Vancouver and Prince Rupert longshoremen joined strikes in sympathy with the Winnipeg general strike, and in 1920, Prince Rupert longshoremen, demanding a wage raise and an eight-hour day, struck for more than a month, with Vancouver and Victoria lending support by refusing to handle cargoes from Prince Rupert. In 1923, a major Vancouver longshore strike was deliberately provoked by the Shipping Federation with the hope of smashing the ILA. Imported strike breakers loaded ships, with the help of office workers; employers imported hundreds of men armed with shotguns. Strike breakers were housed in Canadian Pacific ships and were reported to be "living royally." The strike was finally lost after a little less than two months.

For twelve years, after the defeat of the 1923 strike, very little union organization existed in British Columbia ports. With the onset of the depression, conditions became worse and by 1934 an organization uniting longshoremen, seamen and other maritime workers had been established—the Longshoremen and Water Transport Workers of Canada. By the spring of 1935, longshoremen in virtually all ports were organized and another major strike began.

It started when 50 longshoremen at Powell River were locked out when they demanded wage increases and better working conditions. In Victoria, longshoremen refused to unload the ship whose paper cargo had been loaded at Powell River by mill hands. On June 4, some 900 longshore-





men were locked out by the Shipping Federation after gangs refused to load paper from Powell River aboard another ship, and office workers at Canadian Pacific were ordered to work cargoes. Seattle longshoremen also refused to unload cargo from Vancouver. On June 18, Vancouver longshoremen marched to a pier to protest, and were met by massed police who fired tear gas, and by mounted police who rode their horses through their ranks, and swung their clubs indiscriminately in what a Vancouver paper described as "the bloodiest hours in waterfront history." Police smashed the windows of the longshoremen's hall and hurled tear gas bombs inside where women's auxiliary members had established a first aid post. Vancouver's mayor charged that "communist agitators" incited the riot, and insisted the port must remain open.

By the beginning of July, Pacific Coast ILA locals voted to declare British Columbia cargoes unfair, refusing to act as strike-breakers by touching the "hot cargo." A significant supporting role came from the United Church of Canada which affirmed the right of workers to bargain collectively and demanded immediate steps toward conciliation.

A government-sponsored inquiry into the strike ruled that it was not in the interests of sound labor organization, because it was merely a "sympathy strike." The courts, meanwhile, were handing out harsh sentences to strikers and sympathizers—including imprisonment and lashing. Important leaders were arrested and imprisoned and by December the strike was terminated—in effect lost.

The ILWU came to Canada when the independent Vancouver Waterfront Workers Association voted unanimously on March 1, 1944 to join—the first affiliation with an international union in 23 years.

Within the space of a year, two more longshore locals had been chartered and by the end of 1945 a council of British Columbia ILWU locals was formed with proposals to embark upon economic, educational and political action programs, and to deal with such pressing needs as a potential master contract, unemployment insurance compensation, penalty rates, maximum working time, and other issues of immediate interest to longshoremen.

For the next few years the union kept organizing and expanding, and growing as a political action force. Early in 1948,



*ILWU's first convention, Aberdeen, Wash., April, 1938.*

pressure by organized labor forced the Canadian government to withdraw its own little Taft-Hartley Bill, as well as other threatened anti-labor measures. In 1949, Canadian ILWU locals resisted political pressures by the CIO "trying to tell the British Columbia Federation who to support in elections."

Canadian longshoremen had won some conditions considered even better than on the Pacific Coast. They never worked after midnight or on Sundays and a high-level safety program kept the accident rate down to a minimum.

By September, 1950, British Columbia ILWU longshoremen showed their strength by negotiating the biggest gain of any union in Canada—an 18 cents per hour raise across the board. And for the first time in history, ILA-AFL negotiators sat in with the ILWU, and their members in two ports also gained significant benefits. A pension plan was won shortly thereafter.

In the first quarter of 1954, it was noted that ILWU longshoremen in British Columbia had few unemployment problems, primarily because the Canadian government

was trading with China and other countries in Asia, and this trade was reflected in dockers' paychecks.

By 1956, it could be reported in *The Dispatcher* that finally all west coast Canadian longshoremen were members of ILWU, and the union was playing an increasingly important role, as the entire Canadian labor movement began to assert its independence from domination by the merged AFL-CIO in the states.

In 1958, the first serious strike since 1935 closed all but one port in British Columbia, when nearly 2000 ILWU dockworkers walked out, following the employers' insistence on compulsory arbitration. Only the port of Prince Rupert was not involved in the dispute. The strike was 100 percent solid, with united labor backing and wide community support. The Teamsters Union distributed 30,000 leaflets in support of the strike, headlined: "We do not cross picket lines." The main demands of ILWU were for an adequate jointly-controlled pension plan, a straight eight hour shift, a four hour minimum call-in. In exactly one month, a smashing victory was won, with virtually all strike demands met by the BC Shipping Federation.

The "Founding Convention" of all ILWU locals in Canada was held at the end of January 1959 with the primary purpose of (1) consolidating ILWU organization in Canada; (2) mapping plans for extending organization; (3) working toward a master contract covering all ILWU ports. The convening of an all-Canadian ILWU convention was welcomed as an important step toward strengthening the autonomy of the entire Canadian labor movement.

By the end of 1960 the Canadian ILWU longshore locals had signed a new agreement with the Shipping Federation marking the first major breakthrough on the key issue of mechanization. The agreement set up a joint six-man mechanization committee, instructed to work for a mutually satisfactory agreement on mechanization or the use of new methods.

Subsequent conventions reflect the broad-gauged political and social, as well as economic aims of ILWU in Canada. They have called for an end to arms spending and replacement of war preparation by vast new building and public works programs for the welfare of the people, and encouraged the Canadian government's stand in promoting trade with Cuba and keeping British Columbia ports busy with grain shipments to mainland China. A Canadian unionist said: "This is the sort of thing our union has been advocating and working for right along. Trade and peace go hand in hand. Let us exchange food, not blows."

Reflecting the workers' deep feeling for higher education they have established university scholarships for the sons and daughters of ILWU members, based on an assessment of \$1 per year per member. Prizes are won in competitive examinations, with the University of British Columbia establishing seven annual scholarships—the largest trade union scholarship fund in the province!

In recognition of the new-found strength of the Canadian locals the ILWU Interna-

tional Board held its first meeting across the border in Canada, immediately following the Fourth ILWU Canadian Area Convention in February, 1962. The ILWU in Canada was making its program felt. It had significant cooperative understandings with the rest of the labor movement and it was a member of the British Columbia Federation of Labor. The slogan that hung across the front of the convention hall read: "One Contract, One Industry"—symbolic of the prime union objective, to unite the industry under one contract; and to guard against layoffs and loss of work opportunities caused by increased mechanization and modernization.

ILWU President Bridges, in his keynote speech said: "The workers of Canada have the right to have a labor movement of their own. I have always been for a Canadian labor movement, run by Canadians and for Canadians, without any interference from labor leaders in the US."

A dramatic front-page picture in *The Dispatcher* pointed up the new position of Canadian labor on the West Coast, and the need for stressing independence for the nation as well as the labor movement. During the last week in February, 1962, ships were stacked up in the port of Vancouver almost as far as the eye could see. Unhampered by the China lobby or political pressures from Washington to stop trade, there were 41 ships in port, most of them awaiting their turn to be berthed and loaded. Each ship meant an average of \$10,000 to the citizens of Vancouver in the form of food, fuel and supply purchases, berthing fees and long-shore wages.

The west coast of Canada was booming. Trade was expanding, industry building, population growing. The ILWU had set its sails for greater unification, for single contracts under a master agreement, for a just share in mechanization, for political action—for a proud and dignified autonomy as part of the ILWU family.

# The Auxiliary

**D**OCKWORKERS' wives began to organize the first auxiliaries during the height of the big strike of 1934, while their men were walking the picket lines of major West Coast ports and fighting to stay alive against police attacks, adverse publicity, and the spectre of starvation. They joined hands to support the strike, to help bring relief to those in need, to make the story known to their neighbors and their communities.

From that time to the present 39 auxiliaries have been chartered, with the majority still active in California, Oregon, Washington, British Columbia and Alaska, and out into the Pacific to Hawaii. While their initial inspiration was to rally wives, daugh-

ters, mothers and sisters of ILWU members behind the union and its struggles and program, the philosophy of the auxiliary has moved it out into the broader community where it concerns itself with the welfare of the citizenry at large, and out into the world where its primary concern has been the securing of lasting peace.

Organizationally, an auxiliary local can become chartered as soon as a minimum of ten women apply. Locals are affiliated with

*Important all-day meetings or local conventions usually find members of the ILWU Federated Auxiliaries on hand to serve lunch.*





***The Federated Auxiliaries of ILWU in national convention. Seated center are President Valerie Taylor and Secretary-Treasurer Norma Wyatt.***

ILWU district councils in British Columbia, Puget Sound, the Columbia River, Northern and Southern California. All are attached to the ILWU Federated Auxiliaries, which has four titled officers, a director of organization and program, and a vice president representing each of the district councils.

One of the finest hours for the women in the ILWU auxiliaries materialized during the tough, ten month, eleven day strike of Local 6 Colgate-Palmolive workers in Berkeley in 1961-62. It was then that women of the ILWU took under their direction the feeding of men on the picket line, and the arduous leg work so necessary for the winning of a strike—talking up of the reasons for the strike with their neighbors, supporting and spreading news of the “don’t-buy-Colgate” boycott, visiting local business men to ask that struck products not be sold, distributing petitions calling for a decent and proper solution to the conflict, passing out leaflets at super-markets up and down the coast telling the strike story.

Women of the Federated Auxiliaries were on the Colgate picket line in spirit as locals from Alaska through California made regular financial contributions in order to take their turn symbolically “serving on the picket line.” Each week the labels on the sandwich and dessert packages served to pickets contained the name of a different auxiliary. Each auxiliary sent contributions to Oakland Auxiliary 17 where food was prepared to nourish men and women on the bricks and to act as an important morale booster.

This Colgate strike experience was characteristic of the activities of auxiliary women in direct support of their union brothers and sisters. From the very inception of the ILWU, and even earlier during the union’s formative years, women played a role in direct support of strikes, in telling the story of the union to their neighbors, in community service, in education, in being champions of the cause of those who work for a living.

***Statewide California conference of ILWU Auxiliaries. This 2-day meeting in 1962 considered stepped-up activity in the fight for disarmament and peace.***



**Auxiliary member reporting to executive board on a trip to Europe.**



**Many units show Saturday movies to the kids.**



**Getting ready for a bazaar in Seattle.**



# Health Welfare

**A**LL ILWU members and their families where industry-wide bargaining prevails are covered by complete health service or health insurance. Other members for whom bargaining is upon a plant by plant basis are covered under various plans specially negotiated.

The union moved into the field of welfare and health in 1950 and pioneered in the types of plans negotiated. It was the first in the country to develop a policy of aiming for the prevention of illness rather than seeking mere catastrophic insurance. It was also the first to establish prepaid dental care to furnish dependent children through age 14 with dental service at no cost to the members.

Under the then existing plans such as Blue Cross, California Physicians Service and other commercial plans, doctors benefited when the patient became ill. For preventing illness through regular checkups and examinations, the physician received nothing. In its service plans, ILWU reversed this and provided prepayment of so much per person to a hospital or group of physicians with the payment remaining the same regardless of the number of visits, operations or other services. Physicians were encouraged under these plans to detect and arrest diseases and disorders before they became critical or expensive. The less illness, the more the gain for the physician with less time and effort to expend. The union members and their families benefit by staying well.

To further this program, the union promoted and cooperated in several multiphasic examinations, where whole groups covered were given a series of diagnostic tests to detect incipient disorder or disease. The results of these multiphasic examinations are confidential and revealed only to the individual, who, if a disorder is found, is referred for further examination or proper treatment.

The first of these tests on a large scale was conducted in 1951 for the members of the San Francisco waterfront locals of ILWU, including longshoremen, shipsclerks,

gatemens and watchmen, and walking bosses.

In the Stockton area the San Joaquin Foundation for Medical Care was set up in 1955 by the County Medical Society with strong support of both the longshore and warehouse ILWU health plans. This assured comprehensive physicians' services and enabled ILWU to drop an insured plan for which members previously had to pay. This is believed the first time that a county medical society in the United States ever helped to provide the economic advantages of a closed panel with open-panel choice of physicians. Similar foundation plans have been established elsewhere since.

The ILWU Dental Program was inaugurated on a pilot basis in 1954 with service or insured plans being established in the four largest ports—Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and the Los Angeles-Long Beach Harbor. It was extended later the same year with 10,000 longshoremen's children enrolled. As of the end of the longshore contract year, June 30, 1962, approximately 14,500 children were enrolled. Some of these had never before been in a dentist's chair, and many only when they had suffered toothache. The program was extended to cover Alaska ports in 1961.

Sugar workers in Hawaii have, since the 1946 strike, had a fixed schedule of medical costs in their contract, ranging from \$1.65 for a single man to \$6.00 maximum for a family of six or more. The sugar medical agreement provides the most extensive coverage of all plans; it is a service-type, closed panel plan providing all medical, surgical, hospital, x-ray and laboratory services, common drugs and injections, including necessary specialist care. The emphasis is on preventive care. Since 1954, disagreements on the need for specialist care can be referred to a medical arbitrator. On each plantation joint union-management-doctor committees meet regularly to discuss services and ways to improve community health. Since 1958, the plan has paid for emergency care away from members home islands on an indemnity basis.



***ILWU waterfront workers  
queue up for multiphasic  
health tests.***

In the case of Hawaii longshoremen, pineapple workers, and those in general trades, they too have moved into the field of insured or health foundation medical coverage. The union pressure for comprehensive medical care at reasonable rates has forced competing insurance companies and medical service groups to make big improvements in health plans. The advent of the Kaiser Medical Foundation on the Hawaiian scene increased the union's leverage. At present, agreements in Hawaiian industries other than sugar provide for medical care, either under commercial insurance plans, or a non-profit physician-sponsored association plan (both supplemented with catastrophic illness provisions), or by membership in the Kaiser Health Foundation. Several agreements give the worker an option as to plans.

A dental plan similar to the West Coast plan, covering 2,242 children of longshoremen in Hawaii, took effect July 1, 1962. Another 10,000 children of sugar and pineapple workers were due for coverage early in 1963.

ILWU warehousemen in Northern California won industry-wide employer prepaid

medical care plans in 1953 after the international convention of that year raised the slogan: "Make 1953 Warehouse Year." Bay Area members of Local 6, which covers a large part of Northern California, have individual choice between the Kaiser plan or an insured plan with the right to change from one to the other each year at option. The benefits continue for the life of the contract with the employers absorbing any increase in cost.

An unusual feature of these health plans is the provision for coverage of members casually employed in the industry based upon hours worked per month.

Warehousemen in the Los Angeles area, Local 26, inaugurated their Health and Welfare Plan in 1951 and have since been able to cover virtually all members by union negotiated employer-paid plans. In the wholesale drug industry and several individual companies the employers administer insured plans. The basic plan provides for coverage through the Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, or an alternate choice offered through an insurance company.

The Southern California warehousemen have also moved toward dental coverage. A contract signed in 1961 with the Thrifty Drug Company calls for employer contribution of 5 cents an hour beginning on August 1, 1963, to a newly established

fund to provide benefits to be negotiated by the parties.

In British Columbia, where ILWU has both longshore and warehouse locals, the health and welfare programs vary as between locals but good progress has been made toward standardization on the basis of the Deepsea Plan which covers a majority of the Canadian members.

No hospitalization needs to be provided in the plans since all residents of British Columbia are entitled to hospital care through the provincial government's Hospital Insurance Service. No premiums or contributions are required other than a "co-insurance" charge of \$1 per day in hospital.

A joint board with equal representation from ILWU and the Shipping Federation administers the Deepsea Plan, which is financed by contribution of 6 cents per man-hour by the employer and similar contribution by the employee.

Medical and surgical benefits are underwritten by the Medical Services Association and generally include all costs not covered by government programs. These include visits and treatment at home, at the doctor's office or in hospital. Also included are specialist services, x-rays, etc. Pensioners are covered without contribution from themselves.

In every division of the union there is fulltime personnel experienced in obtaining

benefits and services for workers under union pension and welfare plans, under labor and social security laws, and from the many government and community agencies set up to assist with off-the-job problems too big for individual solution.

In Hawaii Local 142 has a Membership Service Department with a professional staff and a fulltime union official on each island. At each plantation, dock and plant a unique system of voluntary rank and file committees has been established for channelling this union power and help to members at their place of work. Members of these committees are trained in their responsibilities by classes and literature prepared by the Local's Education Department. These job-site unit Membership Service Committees have four main subcommittees: one for sports activities tied into island and statewide ILWU leagues and tournaments; another for publicity and education which issues a monthly unit bulletin; a medical committee to police health plans and workmen's compensation cases, to provide community health, and to refer members to specialized health agencies; a pension and welfare subcommittee counsels and assists members on pension and termination settlements. Retiring members who are preparing to return to the homeland are aided with legal and tax problems, social security and travel arrangements.



*A baby is delivered under health plan in Hawaii.*

# ILWU Pension Plans

**V**IRTUALLY ALL members of the ILWU now come under pension plans or will come under such a plan as they reach certain age.

The first plan for longshoremen on the West Coast was negotiated and inaugurated in 1951 and first pension payments under it were made on July 1, 1952 to 1,150 retirees.

In moving into this field, the union developed its own philosophy and program to meet the needs of its members. The principal standards determined upon were that pension benefits must be in addition to social security benefits; they must be adequate for full retirement; administration should be of a trustee type with the bargaining parties retaining joint control over payments, eligibility, and handling of funds; the plan must be non-contributory as a cost of industry operation; efficient administration of it must be assured; the union must maintain continuing responsibility for the pensioner including medical care, life insurance and recreational opportunity, and, finally the union must preserve the pensioners' membership in the union with the right to continue union activity.

These standards were not met by any existing pension plans which the union studied. There were therefore no existing guides, and the union had to rely upon its own good sense and judgment and upon the strength of the ranks to achieve a pension agreement that would provide the greatest possible protection in the retiring years of the members.

The first agreement, covering West Coast longshoremen, shipclerks and walking bosses, was for ten years and provided pensions of \$100 a month, plus social security payments, plus life insurance and plus health care for life for the pensioners and their dependents. The agreement was renewed in 1960 for another ten years with an increase in the pension benefit to \$115 a month.

Longshore pensions on the West Coast start at the age 65 after 25 years of service. At age 68 after 25 years of service

retirement is mandatory. The plan is jointly trustee'd by the union and the employers. Its administration cost is about one percent of the money received in contributions, which is the lowest or near lowest in the country. The trustees serve without compensation. Disability and pro-rata pensions are provided.

All pensioned longshoremen, clerks and walking bosses receive full health coverage for themselves and their dependents and premium paid life insurance of \$1000. Their pensions continue for one year after their death and are payable to their widows, who also continue for that period to receive full health coverage.

In addition to the basic ILWU-PMA Pension Plan, there have been added benefits under the Mechanization & Modernization Agreement. (See p. 62.) This agreement provides for voluntary early retirement of men 62 years old or older but under 65 who have at least 25 years in the industry. Such men receive \$220 a month for three years or until their full vested interest in the fund, \$7,920 has been paid. This protects them until their 65th birthday when they are entitled to receive Social Security in addition to their regular pension of \$115. These payments are increased by \$100 a month in cases of mandatory early retirement under the M & M Agreement.

The Mechanization and Modernization Agreement also provides a disability benefit for men under the age of 65 with at least 15 qualifying years. There is also a Mechanization and Modernization Fund death benefit payable for men who had a minimum of five qualifying years but who were not otherwise qualified for retirement benefits who died after July 1, 1961.

Members of Locals 6 and 17 in the San Francisco Bay Area, Stockton and Sacramento negotiated a pension plan in 1956 with the first eligible members retiring in June 1957. The plan provides for the accumulation of up to 25 years' accredited service in the industry with compulsory retirement at age 65 with 25 years' service,

68 with 15 or more years' service and at age 70 regardless of the length of service.

There is a provision for early retirement based on 15 years' accredited service commencing at age 55 with an actuarially reduced monthly pension. The amount of the monthly pension is based upon credits of \$3 per year of accredited past service (time worked prior to June 1, 1956) and \$3.50 per year of accredited future service (time worked subsequent to June 1, 1956). The maximum monthly pension payable under the existing plan is \$87.50.

The plan is non-contributory. Employers contribute \$17.30 per month for each regularly employed member and 10 cents per hour for each casually employed member. The plan provides for mobility within the industry in that members are entitled to credit for time worked for any employer making contributions to the pension fund. This is not an insured plan; it is administered through a trustee fund.

Warehousemen in the Southern California area, members of Local 26, inaugurated their pension program on April 1, 1959, with the inclusion of a pension plan and trust agreement and a commencement of employer contributions on that date.

Vested rights are provided for employees at age 65 or over with five years of service who are entitled to a cash benefit if they leave the industry. Provisions are also made for early retirement of workers at age 55 or over with five years credited service who may draw actuarially reduced pensions. Normal retirement is at age 65 for employees with 25 years service. They receive \$75 per month based upon a credit of \$3.00 per month for each year of service. The plan is non-contributory and requires employer contribution of \$17.30 per month for regular employees and 10 cents per hour for all other employees.

The problem of longshore pensions in Hawaii was complicated by special conditions existing in the Islands. The work force was considerably younger and hence the number of men currently eligible was small. A large section of the membership consisted of Filipino workers, some of whom wanted to return to the Philippines at a future date and therefore, required a different pension settlement.

After protracted negotiations over a two-year span, an agreement was reached in the autumn of 1952 for a pension plan which differs from any other in the country.

The plan is non-contributory. The employer pays 14 cents per straight time hour and 21 cents per overtime hour. The minimum pension payment was \$75 when first negotiated, raised in 1962 to \$90 per month, payable at age 65 after 25 years service. This is in addition to social security. Pension payments, however, can go considerably in excess of the \$90 minimum in cases of longer service or higher than average earnings up to almost \$200 per month. The monthly pension equals 1 percent of a man's annual earnings for each year of current and future service. As a counter weight to low pre-union earnings  $\frac{1}{2}$  percent of 1950 earnings is credited for each year of past service.

In the usual type of insured plan employers secure credits against their premium payments because of favorable mortality, high turnover and other factors. These credits may be so large in the case of contributory plans, where the workers and employers in theory contribute equally, that the actual employer contributions gradually become substantially less than those of the workers. In the Hawaii plan none of these credits are available to the longshore employers. ILWU avoided all such insurance and employer gimmicks.





*Pensioned sugar plantation workers in Hawaii enjoy a box lunch at an old-timers' get-together.*

The plan embodies a disability provision which permits any man declared to be disabled (disability being defined as "not able to continue as a longshoreman," even though he is able to do other work) has the option of leaving his money in the fund and receiving it back in the form of a pension at age 65, or of picking up his entire pension reserve immediately in cash. In the event a longshoreman decides to return to the Philippines or to any other country of his choice, he can take with him in cash all monies credited to his account.

The plan has always provided for early retirement on an actuarially reduced pension at or after age 55. Since 1961 a worker may draw out his entire pension equity in a cash lump sum in the event he is laid off or volunteers to stand as substitute for another who is slated for lay-off. An added

inducement for older workers voluntarily to leave the work force is a cash bonus of \$6,000 to those who elect to leave at age 60 (this amount is reduced by \$100 for each month of age in excess of 60 years). Thus, a worker, age 60, can quit and be paid a \$6,000 bonus. In addition, he can either take a \$57 per month lifetime pension at age 60, or wait until age 65 and take \$90 (with social security this totals \$213, or more, per month). As a pensioner, he and his wife will be covered by the Medical Plan as long as he lives.

If this man wants to repatriate to the Philippine Islands, he can take his \$6,000, plus a \$10,471 lump sum cash settlement of his pension rights—a total of \$16,471, plus a free boat ride to his homeland.

Laid-off workers who obtain employment in another port or on the mainland will be paid \$850 for moving expenses if married, \$325 if single. Laid-off workers under 55 years of age can either draw out their full pension equity as a severance payment, or leave it in the fund for a retirement annuity at pension age.

These severance settlements were negotiated in 1961 as a way of coping with the rapid reduction in the work force due to mechanization and modernization along with other other benefits provided for by



*Pensioned dock workers. Strong faces, strong men.*

## the Mechanization and Modernization Fund.

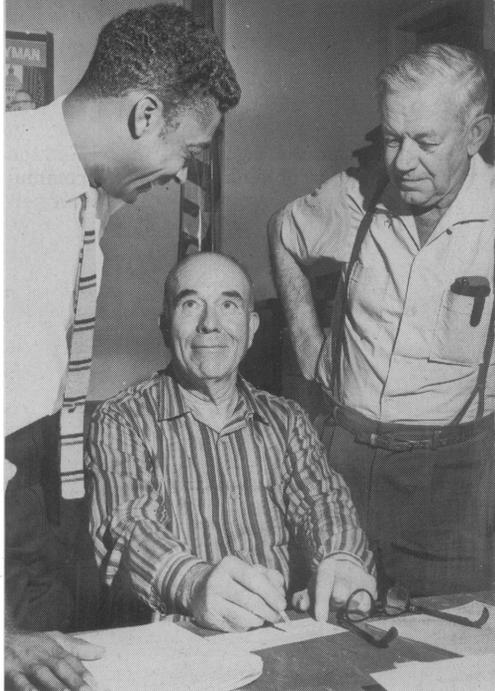
Although the longshore severance arrangements are the most generous in Hawaii, the basic approach was first developed in the sugar industry, where post-war mechanization of cultivation and harvesting drastically cut the work and eliminated much of the unskilled labor. The bulk of the unskilled workers were of Filipino ancestry, quite advanced in age, without families in Hawaii. Most had always intended to return to the Philippines when they earned enough, but never made it.

In negotiations from 1952 through 1957 the union concentrated on gains designed to reward old-timers for their part in building the industry and the union, and to make it attractive to them to leave the industry voluntarily. This also benefited younger men with families and low seniority who would otherwise have been laid off.

The sugar pension formula provides for a minimum pension at age 65 of \$2 per month for each year of service, not to exceed \$75, or 1 percent of earnings, whichever is higher. This is in addition to complete free medical care for the pensioner and his spouse, and to social security retirement benefits. Early retirement is possible at any age after 55. Lump sum cash-out of pension equities is available to those who wish to repatriate to their homelands at age 65 or to workers who are laid off or who voluntarily substitute for lay-off at any age above 55. It is the only place in the United States or most of the world where agricultural workers have pensions.

In addition, a Voluntary Repatriation Fund of \$750,000 was established to provide funds for (1) lump sum cash advances on pension equities for workers over 55 years of age and (2) severance amounts ranging up to \$2,500 for workers 40-45 years of age who had not acquired pension equities. These two special funds expired in 1958, but the basic severance arrangements remain.

The sugar severance formula was improved upon by the pineapple workers in 1960 when Hawaiian Canneries Co. announced plans to liquidate. With over \$2 million worth of fruit remaining to be harvested in the fields, the union demanded that the company set aside funds to pay for all pension equities and to pay severance



*A retired warehouseman signs up for doctor fee and hospitalization benefits provided under the pension agreement negotiated for the San Francisco Bay and Sacramento areas. Union officials look on.*

payments which set the general pattern for the 1962 agreements with the rest of the pineapple industry: eight days pay per year of service (or 11 days per year for workers who repatriate; 12 days per year for those laid off for physical or mental incompetence).

In 1962 pineapple workers also improved the pension plan they first won in 1956. Basically like the sugar plan, the pine plan provides for minimum retirement credits based on \$2.50 per year of service, with no limit on the number of years credited. The pine pensioner and spouse continue to be members of the medical plan.

To administer the medical, pension and repatriation programs, Local 142 established a Membership Service Department in 1954. A fulltime official on each island specializes in welfare work and a professional social worker in Honolulu guides the

program. Rank and file Membership Service Committees established in over 100 units of the Local were given special training in administering medical and separation plans and in obtaining specialized community welfare services for members with personal problems. These committees have been of outstanding service to elderly Filipinos repatriating to their homelands especially from outer islands. The retired worker is met at Honolulu Airport, lodged at the ILWU Memorial Association Building, where all travel and passport arrangements are completed for him, and he is given reliable assistance in arranging his personal affairs, including choice of the best separation option, tax clearance, disposition of insurance policies, application for social security benefits, and currency exchange.

Pensions in Alaska are similar to the basic plan for West Coast longshoremen. Since January, 1962, the benefits in Alaska have been \$145 per month plus federal old age benefits.

Pension plans in Canada vary with the locals. The majority of members of ILWU however are covered by the Deepsea Plan and progress has been made toward standardizing the plans for the remainder.

The Deepsea Plan is a trustee plan with equal representation from the union and the Shipping Federation and is financed by contributions of 16 cents per man hour

from the employers. The plan was started in 1959 with an initial pension of \$3.00 per month per year of service. Retirement is at age 65 with a minimum requirement of 15 years of service. As of January, 1962, retirement at 65 was made compulsory.

A year of service is any year in which a member has worked 800 hours or more, and credit is given for all proven past service, the record so far being 55 years. There is also provision for disability requirements at earlier ages, provided the member has at least 20 years of service. Each retiring longshoreman is given the option of taking a straight life annuity, a reduced joint survivorship annuity, or a pension integrated with the government old age pension. After the first two years of experience with the Deepsea Plan, the benefits were increased by 10 percent when it was found that the plan was operating at a substantial surplus. The increase was retroactive and covered those already retired. Actuarial studies indicated the plan was still producing a surplus in 1962.

There is in addition in Canada a voluntary, supplementary plan under which members are permitted, but not required, to contribute four percent of their earnings for the purpose of buying an additional insured annuity. About one quarter of the members had subscribed to this plan as of 1962 and the number was steadily growing.

*Entrance to Longshore Memorial Auditorium and Dispatching Hall in San Francisco.*



# Into The Mechanized Future

ON OCTOBER 18, 1960, officials of the ILWU and Pacific Maritime Association affixed their initials to an agreement which both agreed was "epochal."

In the agreement for the first time in the history of industrial relations in the United States a group of employers recognized that working men were entitled to a share of the benefits obtained through the use of labor saving machinery, going far beyond the normal wages, welfare, pensions and other fringe benefits.

Job reduction on the waterfront by machine displacement had not, at the time of negotiations, even begun to reach its potential. It had come far enough along, however, to convince the union that long range plans would have to be made. The same problem that faces every union in the country, was making itself felt on a piecemeal basis. The union foresaw its inevitable acceleration—particularly in the containerization program initiated by the Matson lines for mainland-Hawaii trade.

The agreement, known as the Mechanization and Modernization Agreement was ratified in January, 1961, by a vote of the waterfront membership of the union. It runs until July 1, 1966. Under its terms the employers are required to contribute to the fund at the rate of \$5 million per year. The amount in the 5½ years of the agreement, added to a pilot fund which was established in 1959, comes to a total of \$29 million available for benefits to the men.

Under the terms of the agreement:

*—There can be no layoffs due to mechanization among the regular work force.*

*—A minimum 35-hour weekly pay is guaranteed whenever work opportunity declines by reason of displacement by machines or new work methods.*

*—Voluntary retirement at \$220 per month as early as age 62 after 25 years of service is provided. Such early retirement may be made mandatory with 25 years of service if work opportunity declines.*

*—In the event of such mandatory early retirement men will receive \$320 per month until they reach age 65. At this age both voluntary and mandatory early retirees begin to draw their regular pensions of \$115 per month, under a separate pension agreement, plus their Federal Social Security. Adjustment is made where reduced social security is taken at 62. There are also special death and disability benefits for men with less than 25 years service.*

*—Men retiring at age 65 are entitled, in addition to their regular pension of \$115 monthly, to a sum of \$7,920. Upon application and within the discretion of the fund's trustees they may receive this in a lump sum or in either 36 or 72 monthly payments. In most cases the latter is advisable due to the fact that the government has presently ruled the money to be taxable income.*

All pensioners, under the regular pension and welfare agreements, receive lifetime medical and hospital care for themselves and their dependents and paid up life insurance of \$1,000—all at no cost to themselves. Their widows continue to receive the pension and welfare for one year. In return for these guarantees and benefits, backed by the \$29 million fund, the employers benefit, from changes in working rules dealing with sling loads, first place of rest, multiple handling, gang sizes and manning scales "so as to permit them to operate efficiently, change methods of work, utilize work saving devices and direct work through representatives while explicitly observing the provisions and conditions of the agreements." In the agreement is a firm provision against individual speedup or onerous labor.

It was and is recognized that the agreement is not a solution to the general unemployment problems. Such is not within the power of one union or one industry to solve. The union could only protect its own members from being thrown into a hopeless



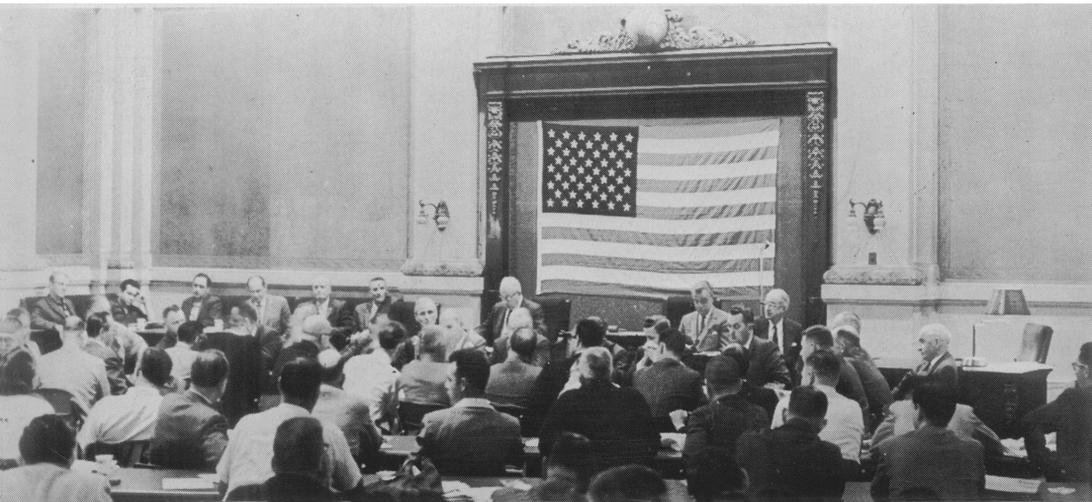
*It was at this Longshore, Ships-clerks and Walking Boss Caucus in Portland October 15 through 17, 1957, that the momentous decision was made to explore the possibility of full use of labor-saving machinery with maximum protection for the work force. Informal discussions with the employers followed.*

labor market with no income and little chance to compete. This it has done, and in so doing, has made some room—through early retirements—for younger men. Meanwhile, it has also protected the regular force, through the no-layoffs principle, from being added to the unemployed rolls.

The union could have embarked on a program of “no machines” or a program of letting machines come while it used its strength to keep “witnesses” on the job. Neither in the judgment of the union would work for a lengthy period of time, and could be disastrous to the union as well.

The alternatives were debated at a Coast Caucus of Longshore, Shipclerks and Walking Boss locals at Portland, Oregon, in 1957. It was unanimously decided there

*And it was at these “fishbowl” negotiations during another caucus at San Francisco in 1960 that the “epochal” Mechanization and Modernization Agreement was reached.*





*Three gantry cranes aboard the SS Bessegen can work at the same time. Totally automated hydraulic hatch covers open the ship for work in the matter of moments and each crane can load or discharge 200 to 250 rolls of newsprint per hour as against 60 to 70 rolls by the conventional method.*

that the time had come to use the union's strength in order to get a share of benefit from the new methods and not resist their introduction and operation. It was at this caucus that the officers were authorized to begin exploratory, informal talks with the employers. These talks went on for two years and finally in 1959 a pilot program was decided upon with the employers putting up a fund of \$1.5 million.

Experience with and the statistics of machine displacement of labor were lacking. In anticipation of the solution which would one day be reached, the union prepared by permitting the registered work force to shrink through normal attrition by deaths and retirements. During the 1959 negotiations current work rules and working conditions were frozen. This guaranteed that when the time for a change came around there would be something to bargain over.

In negotiations with the employers in 1958 and 1959 the work shift was reduced from nine hours to eight, and an eight hour guarantee was established for every regular member of the work force turned on to the job. (This did not change the basic six-hour day and payment of overtime after six

hours and for all work at night, weekends or holidays.) These gains were part of the overall union approach to mechanization and reduced work opportunities.

The agreement is in no sense a profit sharing plan. The employers are obligated to pay the \$29 million into the fund regardless of the amount of profit they may or may not make. It is substantially different from the supplemental unemployment benefit plans which preceded it in other industries in that under the ILWU-PMA Mechanization and Modernization program no layoffs are permitted. The fund will supplement earnings on the job if this supplementation becomes necessary. No need for such supplementation appears likely during the first few years of the plan.

The age old fear of the workers for the the machine has been well founded. But what the worker really fears is the way the machine is used, the manner in which his skills or his job security is wiped away. He does not fear the machine as a producer of more goods, as a means of living a long and happier life, or as a means for safe, cleaner and easier work. Workers who smashed machines in the past were not trying to "hold

up progress," they were hitting back at the system which denied them any benefits from the new machines and from progress.

The Mechanization and Modernization Agreement is a great achievement by the union—perhaps one of the greatest steps forward since the establishment of the dispatching hall, decasualization and union security after the 1934 strike. Just as these things opened up a new way of life for the men on the waterfront, the present agreement may prove an equally significant turning point in the life of the union and membership. It promises to provide opportunity for younger men to come into the industry without working hardship upon those in it or leaving it.

The impact of the pioneering agreement may well go far beyond the West Coast stevedoring industry and it has already been duplicated in Alaska. Modified forms of it has been reached by longshoremen in Hawaii and in Canada ILWU longshoremen were driving toward similar agreement as this book went to press.

The mutual objectives of the plan, which were outlined by the union long before the

compact was concluded, are applicable to any industry. These were:

1. To extend and broaden the scope of cargo traffic moving through West Coast ports and to revitalize the lagging volume of existing types of cargo by: (a) encouraging employers to develop new methods of operation; (b) accelerating existing processes of cargo handling; and (c) reducing cargo handling costs in water transportation, including faster ship turn-around.

2. To preserve the presently registered force of longshoremen as a basic force of the industry and to share with that force a portion of the net labor cost saving to be effected by the introduction of mechanical innovations, removal of contractual restrictions, or any other means.

Max Kossoris, director of the Western Regional office of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, who, on leave of absence from that position, developed the man-hour measurement system to meet the requirements of the agreement, commented that these aims "were not to be accomplished by individual speedup, breaching legitimate safety rules and codes, or indiscriminate layoffs."

*The hatches are all squares, no wings, no decks. All rolls are stacked on end from main deck to lower hold. The rolls are lifted eight at a time. Five lift jitneys are needed to service each hatch. Inflated air bags prevent shifting of cargo at sea. The photos on this and the preceding page are by Otto Hagel.*





*Mechanized dock at Longview, Washington. The office and warehouse in the center have been removed to permit the 65 and 70-ton whirley cranes to serve three ships' berths.*

"The significance of the West Coast longshore development," Kossoris wrote in the *Monthly Labor Review* of January 1961, "lies in the fact that it demonstrates that management can resolve this difficulty (of work rule problems) by giving labor a share in the gains brought about by rapid technological change, while at the same time safeguarding worker security. This generally untried approach to meet the effects of increased mechanization and automation deserves close attention."

Economist author William Glazier, in a scholarly article on the agreement in the *Atlantic Monthly* of December 1960, comes to what he says appears to be an abundantly clear conclusion that "the labor movement has the initial responsibility to originate the kind of creative thinking called for by the technological revolution."

Charles C. Killingsworth, Professor of

Labor and Industrial Relations at Michigan State University, commented in the *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* of April 1962:

"In view of the current interest in, and the experimentation with, the use of neutrals in 'difficult' bargaining situations—in steel, in railroads, in meat packing—it is noteworthy that this unusual agreement was reached without any participation of any kind by third parties. The agreement itself does make provision for the use of a third party, the permanent arbitrator, but only in the conventional role of interpreting and applying the basic principles which parties themselves have already laid down."

The agreement was hailed by the *San Francisco Chronicle* as "A new era on the waterfront."

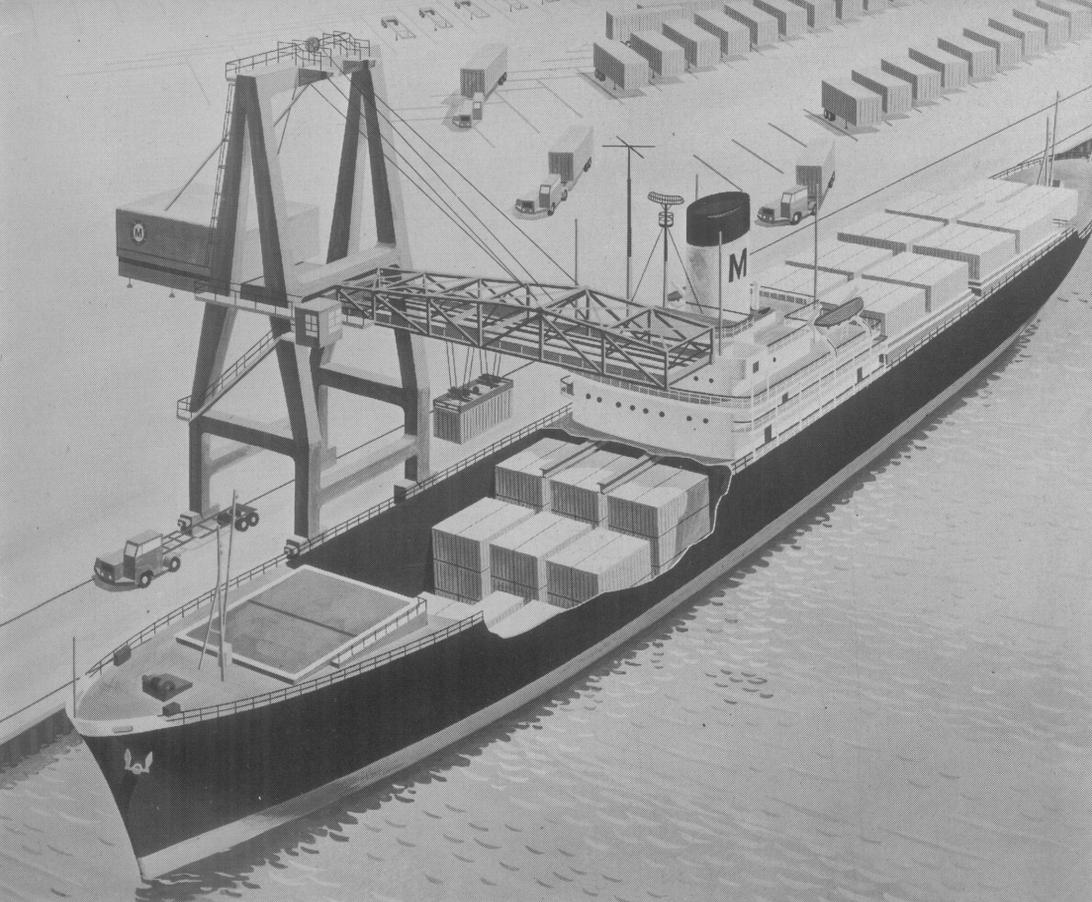
"In this contract," said the *Chronicle*, "the Pacific Coast shipping industry, which has been one of the nation's most backward technologically, approaches the problem of mechanization in a highly intelligent way and yields benefits to everybody. Of few labor contracts can so much be said . . . Unions which follow the longshoremen's example by stepping forward into the century of automation instead of running away from it will be the first to profit from the new possibilities."

Dr. Irving Bernstein, of the Industrial Relations Department of the University of California at Los Angeles, called the agreement "an imaginative scheme," that other industries—particularly steel—ought to explore.

Said the *New York Times*: "The agreement . . . carries the joint attack on the employment problems of automation into new ground—a pioneering operation that will be closely watched by labor and management in every industry . . ."

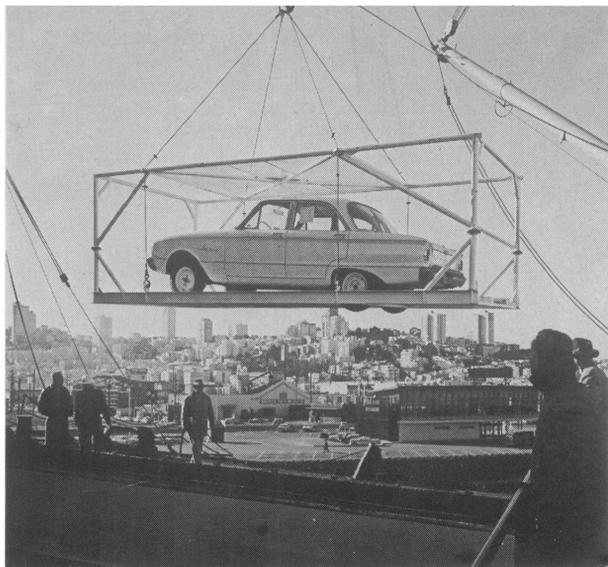
"On the face of it this looks like quid pro quo both humane and profitable to both sides."

Even though the Mechanization and Modernization Agreement has been hailed as and is in fact a revolutionary advance, the union still has as its goal a shorter work day and a shorter work week, as the most immediately meaningful attack upon the chronic problem of unemployment in American industry.



**Artist's cutaway drawing shows how containership is stowed.**

**The SS Hawaiian Fisherman is a floating garage. The autos are driven onto a cradle, hoisted and lowered, and driven to parking spaces between decks for shipment to Hawaii.**



# The Everlasting Bridges Case

WHEN THE late Judge Louis E. Goodman handed down his historic and—for the Government—devastating opinion on July 29, 1955, upholding ILWU President Harry Bridges and throwing out the charges of the US Department of Justice, he marked what should be the end—once and for all—of twenty-one years of the most shameful and unprecedented persecution in the history of the United States.

For twelve of twenty-one years Harry Bridges was actively involved in one trial or another, aimed at removing him from the leadership of the ILWU and from the United States.

Judge Goodman, after listening to fifteen days of testimony, remarked with discernment that,

*"Only a weak yielding to extra-judicial clamor would excuse acceptance of the testimony in this case as proof of the allegations of the complaint."*

Bridges said simply: "This is a victory for the union and for all the people who stood with us so solidly for so long."

The words of the Eleventh Biennial Convention of the ILWU held in April, 1955, just prior to the last trial, were an accurate reflection of the union members' appraisal of the Bridges case:

*"Bridges holds his office because he carries out the program of the rank and file and because under his leadership the members of this union have all advanced forward to a better life for themselves and their families."*

*"The defense of Bridges is a defense of the ILWU. It is a defense of the right of union men and women to run their own lives and their own organizations, elect whom they choose and act as they think is in their own best interests."*

*"And we have no doubt that more and more Americans from all walks of life who have never heard of Bridges or the ILWU will soon be fighting along with us for these same things."*

An investigation in 1934 and 1935 of Bridges by the District Director of Immigra-

tion and Naturalization in San Francisco concluded with a report which said, in part:

*"The investigation of the alien referred to above has failed to show that he is in any manner connected with the Communist Party, or with any radical organization."*

And the investigation further reported that,

*"... whenever any legal ground for the deportation of Bridges has been brought to the attention of the Department of Labor, it has been investigated, but invariably it has been found that he was in the clear, and that his status as an immigrant was entirely regular."*

In February of 1936 the first investigation of Harry Bridges was held in Congressional Committee, during which the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization testified that, although his men had followed Bridges "unremittingly for years," there was "no shred of evidence . . . to indicate that he is in any way subject to provisions of the immigration law."

A little more than a year later, in 1937,

*Courtroom scene at opening of the fourth trial of Bridges with co-defendants J. R. Robertson and Henry Schmidt. Seated around the defense table at left are Attorney Vincent Hallinan, Bridges, Attorney James Martin MacInnis, Schmidt and Robertson. At near corner of prosecution table is Special Prosecutor F. Joseph (Jiggs) Donohue.*



Bridges was the subject of still another investigation which inquired into possible grounds for his deportation. This was conducted by George D. Reilly, then Solicitor of the Department of Labor who, after an exhaustive proceeding, dropped the matter on the grounds that there was no basis for any action.

Despite this, and after Congressional threats of impeachment against Secretary of Labor Perkins for inactivity in regard to Bridges, a deportation warrant was issued against him in March of 1938. The warrant was amended in order to make it stronger; and in July of the same year eleven weeks of hearings were held during which 7,742 pages of testimony were taken. In December of 1939, Dean James M. Landis, before whom the hearings had been held, handed down his verdict: "*The evidence therefore establishes neither that Harry Bridges is a member of nor affiliated with the Communist Party of America.*"

The Landis findings were accepted by the Department of Labor, the deportation warrant was cancelled and the proceedings were dismissed. In June of 1940, the House of Representatives passed the Allen Bill (HR-9766) which specifically commanded the deportation of Harry Bridges. The Bill ordered the Attorney General "... *notwith-*

*standing any other provision of the law*" to take into custody and deport Harry Bridges, "*whose presence in this country the Congress deems hurtful.*"

After strong objections by the then Attorney General Jackson that the bill represented the first time in American history that "*an Act of Congress has singled out a single named individual for deportation,*" the bill died in the Senate. Congress replied, however, with the Hobbs Bill which, as its author declared, "*changes the law so that the Department of Justice should now have little trouble in deporting Harry Bridges and all others of similar ilk.*" The bill was clearly ex post facto and, as such, forbidden by the Constitution.

In February of 1941, basing itself on the Hobbs Bill, the government issued a new warrant of deportation. In March of the same year new hearings were held before Presiding Inspector Charles B. Sears, lasting over ten weeks and producing 7,546 additional pages of testimony. In September of 1941 Judge Sears held Bridges deportable on the basis of the testimony of only two witnesses. A four-man Board of Immigration Appeals reviewed the Sears decision, and in January of 1942 unanimously overruled it with the verdict: "*We find that the evidence in this record does*



*not establish that Harry Renton Bridges was at any time a member of or affiliated with any organization proscribed by the statute."*

In May 1942, Attorney General Francis Biddle, in an unprecedented action, overruled his own Board and, without prior notification, ordered Bridges deported. Bridges filed for a hearing before Biddle, which the Attorney General promptly denied. In June 1942, Bridges appealed to Judge Martin Welsh of the District Court. In February 1943, Judge Welsh upheld the Biddle order. In March of the same year, Bridges appealed to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. In June of 1944, the Circuit Court upheld the Biddle order by a vote of three to two. The court said it was bound by law to so hold, if only some evidence was produced to support the charge.

Judge Healy observed, in the course of rendering a classic dissent in the case:

*"It is notable that the alien, in one fashion or another has been under almost continuous investigation for a period of more than five years. Prior to and during the course of the second trial the Service has enlisted the powerful cooperation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The country has been scoured for witnesses, every circumstance of Bridges' active life had been subjected to scrutiny, and presumably no stone left unturned which might conceal evidence of the truth of the charges which the alien so flatly denied. The most significant feature of the inquiry, as it seems to me, is the paucity of the evidentiary product as contrasted with the magnitude of the effort expended in producing it."*

A petition for rehearing was filed by Bridges, and denied in September. In December of the same year, Bridges appealed to the Supreme Court.

In June of 1945 the Supreme Court overruled the District Court, the Circuit Court and the Attorney General, holding the warrant of deportation to be unlawful. Wrote Justice Frank Murphy: *"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 to exercise that freedom which belongs to him as a human being and is guaranteed him by the Constitution."*

On June 23, 1945, Harry Bridges filed

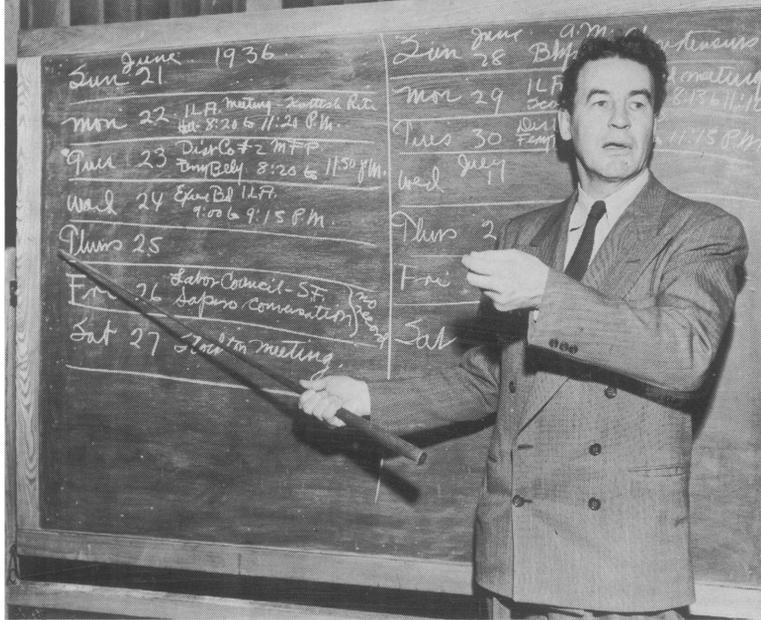
for citizenship—something which more than a decade of federal charges had hitherto prevented him from doing. On September 17, 1945, he appeared before a naturalization court with his witnesses, J. R. Robertson and Henry Schmidt, both of them officials of the ILWU and was admitted to citizenship. In May of 1949 Bridges, Robertson and Schmidt were indicted on three counts of criminal fraud and conspiracy based on the fact that Bridges, in answer to the usual query as to whether he was or had ever been a member of the Communist Party, replied, "I have not, I do not."

To the contention of the defendants that the matter had already been adjudicated by the highest court, that the indictment clearly placed Bridges within the Constitutional prohibition of double jeopardy, and that the three year statute of limitations rendered a criminal indictment void (three years and eight months having passed since commission of the alleged "fraud") the Government insisted that the case go to trial and the Court agreed. There was an ILWU longshore strike in Hawaii, and U.S. Attorney General Tom Clark clearly stated the purpose of his charges against Bridges: *"If we are successful in our present prosecution of Bridges, it may be that we can break the Hawaiian situation without any other intervention."*

On November 14, 1949, Bridges, Robertson and Schmidt went to trial before Federal Judge George B. Harris in San Francisco. There ensued a parade of paid government witnesses, ex-convicts and confessed perjurers—the terms are used literally and were established in the trial record out of the mouths of the witnesses themselves—at the conclusion of which the three defendants were found guilty on April 4, 1950. Bridges' citizenship was revoked and he was sentenced to five years in prison. Robertson and Schmidt were sentenced to two years each. Their attorneys were also sentenced to prison on "contempt" charges for their vigorous presentation of the defense case.

Bridges was released on \$25,000 bail pending appeal. On July 31, 1950, the Government demanded that the bail be revoked on the grounds that the Korean crisis had rendered him a menace to public security.

**Attorney Vincent Hallinan illustrates on the blackboard the proven movements of Bridges placing him across the continent from the place where two perjurious witnesses said they saw him. The jury was persuaded by the prosecution to disbelieve both records and more than a dozen witnesses who backed up Bridges on his whereabouts.**



Bridges' proposal, made at a union meeting, that his own local union of San Francisco go on record for an immediate cease-fire in Korea and the settlement of all outstanding issues through U.N. negotiations was the basis for the government's demand that he be jailed forthwith.

In the course of the bail revocation proceeding, U.S. Prosecutor Donahue, in insisting that Bridges be jailed, emphatically pointed out that,

*“ . . . this is the hour at which all men must declare themselves as for us or against us. In this common cause, for which not only Americans are united but in which we are united with our fellow nations in the family of nations, there can be no minority opinion, for we are not fighting for mere security; we are fighting for survival.”*

Judge Harris obediently complied and Bridges went to jail. The revocation of bail was appealed to the Ninth Circuit Court. On August 25, 1950, the Circuit Court ruled against the government and Bridges was released after twenty-one days of imprisonment. Wrote Judge Healy in the majority opinion: *“But it is one thing to refrain from interference (where public safety is involved) and quite another for the courts to become themselves the tools of the military; and we say now . . . it is the duty of*

*the courts to set their faces like flint against this erosive subversion of the judicial process.”*

The conviction of Bridges, Robertson and Schmidt was appealed to the Circuit Court and the Court sustained Judge Harris. Turning to the Supreme Court, an appeal was argued on May 4, 1953, in Washington, and on June 15, 1953, the Supreme Court announced its verdict: *The verdicts of the District Court and the Circuit Court were overthrown. The sentence was set aside and Bridges' citizenship was restored.* The contention of Bridges' attorneys that the government had no right in law even to institute the proceedings was sustained although by this time his attorneys had already served their prison terms for having dared to make the contention.

The 1949 trial before Judge Harris in San Francisco actually constituted two actions: (1) a criminal charge of fraud and (2) a civil action to revoke citizenship based upon the alleged fraud charged in the criminal action. The government chose to set aside the civil charge and to go to trial on the criminal one. Upon conviction, Judge Harris revoked Bridges' citizenship, thus accomplishing the government's purpose in instigating the civil action. When the Supreme Court reversed the criminal conviction, citizenship was automatically



*Bridges and the record which had to be printed for the appeal.*

restored, although the civil action was still technically pending.

In December 1953, the government announced that it intended to push the civil action, and asked that the case be put on the calendar for the fall of 1954. Despite the contention of Bridges' lawyers that this civil action to denaturalize—and then deport—the ILWU leader was illegal, the government's moves were sustained by the court.

On June 20, 1955, Bridges appeared before Judge Goodman for his *fifth* proceeding on the same charge.

The fifth trial was built not only on the standard parade of paid professional witnesses but more especially on a handful of disgruntled ex-union officials. Bitter and vengeful, these men were still trying to settle a score with the rank and file union members who had found them inadequate and voted them out of their salaried jobs.

They appeared before Judge Goodman and recited a tale of outside control and direction of the ILWU which had union members up and down the West Coast clamoring for a chance to come into court to tell the truth about the rank and file control of the union and the great achievements won by the organized strength of the members. The truth is the story which is found in these pages.

It was the *Pacific Shipper*, house organ of the West Coast import and export industry, which demanded of the Department of Justice—prior to the last trial—that this time it produce “fresh evidence” and some respectable undercover agents who weren't ex-Communists and ex-union leaders.

After the Bridges victory the disappointed magazine had to announce that:

*“In advance of the trial we called upon the government to introduce some undercover witnesses; it did not do so, because, as we suspect, it did not have them.”*

It concluded by calling upon the government to give up and to let Bridges function “as a labor leader for better or worse.”

At the conclusion of the Supreme Court's second favorable decision on the Bridges case in 1953, reasonable men might have assumed the case to be closed. In view of Judge Goodman's sweeping decision for Bridges in 1955, there can be no basis for ever opening this case again.

For twenty-one years Bridges had been a defendant before the courts. For twenty-one years he had been under the constant surveillance of police, the FBI, and a swarm of private operatives. For twenty-one years he lived with the knowledge that every telephone call he made was illegally tapped; that the very rooms in which he lived and worked—even hotel rooms when he traveled—were unlawfully wired; that his personal correspondence did not carry the immunity accorded either by law or decency. If the life of any living American is an open book it is the life of Harry Bridges.

He has, additionally, been made the subject of a Congressional investigation and of two pieces of Federal legislation, one of which was enacted into law. He has undergone two deportation hearings and a denaturalization proceeding and twice has been vindicated in other actions before the Supreme Court—all four actions having been based upon the same false charge, i.e., his alleged Communist affiliation. He has been wrongfully convicted, illegally imprisoned, fraudulently stripped of citizenship, and his attorneys have been sent to jail for defending him. No other person in the history of the United States has been so wantonly hounded for so long a time by a government with so little respect for its own laws. Not without reason did Supreme Court Justice Murphy declare at the time of Bridges' first vindication before the highest court that, *“The record in this case will stand forever as a monument to man's intolerance of man.”*

These everlasting proceedings have long since lost whatever legality they might have had—as for morality, this they never had.

This lack of morality in government was to be vindictively demonstrated twice. Firstly by placement of the Bridges, Robertson, Schmidt Defense Committee on the Attorney General's "subversive organization" list and again six years after the last trial, when the Federal Bureau of Internal Revenue arbitrarily ruled that all the money raised for the defense of Bridges, Robertson and Schmidt constituted taxable personal income. Each was presented with a back-tax bill for more than \$82,000, a sum no one of them could begin to pay.\* The union finally negotiated a settlement for \$11,000 to cover the total for all three and wrote it off as payment of "blackmail." The 1961 convention of the union reluctantly approved the settlement rather than engage in more costly litigation, for which money would again have to be raised—and possibly again assessed as personal income.

The principle clearly posed by the tax bureau is that government may wrongfully accuse and, by its power to tax, close off any effective defense of the accused.

The question of why the government chose to degrade itself before the whole world in order to destroy Harry Bridges can be answered only by considering the man in relation to the union with which his life's work has been identified.

Was it because the union brought about rotary dispatching and hiring hall for the longshoremen to replace the waterfront jungle with its shape-up, kickback, favoritism and discrimination? Was it because the union has established pension programs for its members and medical coverage for them and their families? Was it because accidents and speed-up had been sharply reduced from the jobs by an efficient shop-steward system for the enforcement of union agreements? Was it because the union's organization in Hawaii has brought about increased economic security, political liberty and a measure of human dignity to the workers there?

Was it because the union bases itself on democratic principles which the Federal Government fears to have extended to other unions, or even to its own citizens? Was it because the ILWU banned racial discrimination and segregation twenty years before the United States Supreme Court found the

*The late Judge Louis E. Goodman — "Only a weak yielding to extra-judicial clamor would excuse acceptance of the witnesses in this case as proof of the allegations of the complaint."*



courage to do so? Or was it because the ILWU has the audacity to criticize and to challenge various policies of the State Department with which the AFL and CIO have dutifully gone along?

All the legal technicalities and double-talk can't obscure the facts.

Millions of working people in the United States and in every other country of the world know of the ILWU and respect it for its ideas and its deeds. They know the kind of democratic rank and file unionism for which Bridges stands and which brought about the achievements of this union.

These trials have been more than legal onslaughts against the ILWU as a union. They have aimed to stifle the independent voice of the union and to shackle the rank and file nature of its operation.

To silence, restrict and confine this union because of what it is and what it stands for, and to change it into a compliant and conforming body—this has always been the purpose of every Bridges trial.

It is a tribute to the members of the ILWU that they have seen this to be so and have preserved their union by defeating the Bridges frameups.

\*Salary of President Bridges at time of this suit was \$11,960 per year. Robertson received \$11,440 and Schmidt received \$9,360 per year.

# The ILWU and Civil Rights

THE MEN WHO founded the American government held it to be the function of that government to guarantee life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. They held, also, in their Declaration of Independence from the British crown, that all men are created equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights. It was principally for this that the blood of the War of the Revolution was spilled.

Despite the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution and the lip service paid to them, history has demonstrated that being endowed with rights and getting them are two different things. Even the very Congress that brought forth the Declaration and the Constitution had to be pressured by the people into drafting ten amendments to the latter to spell out the Bill of Rights.

And despite the Bill of Rights being fundamental law of the land, realization of civil rights, civil liberties and labor's rights continue to this day to require constant and often bitter struggle. Whole sections of our population are denied the right of franchise. Minority groups suffer economic, political and social discrimination. Many political subdivisions of the country deny workers the right to organize or make effective organization impossible through onerous state or local laws.

The national government is no exception in the attacks on labor's right. Since 1945 every session of the Congress has added insult to injury and injury to insult in new laws aimed at rendering labor organization meaningless.

The action of Judge George B. Harris in jailing Bridges in 1950 (related in the previous chapter) shows how quick even some courts are to lend themselves to the trampling of rights in the name of military expedience and official governmental doctrine. Bridges was summarily punished for something he did that the Congress can't even enact a law against—refusal to bend the knee and conform to official opinion, which ironically was later brought into line with Bridges' views.

In the struggle to maintain and protect its own rights, ILWU has necessarily and understandingly fought for the rights of all and built an impressive record in doing it. The response of the locals and the membership to causes involving the violation of both individual and collective rights anywhere indicates alert awareness of the grave injury that is done to all by the denial of rights to any individual or group; and of the even graver injury to society as a whole that comes with voluntary foregoing of the assertion and exercise of rights as result of intimidation—whether such intimidation be by gun or rope or the innuendo and suspicion flamed by a legislative investigative body. Such destroys democracy and denies the people the full benefits of democracy.

Shortly after the attack upon Pearl Harbor which plunged the United States into World War II, a race-hating commanding Army general on the Pacific Coast ordered the wholesale roundup and evacuation away from the coast of all persons of Japanese ancestry. Citizens and aliens alike were rooted from their homes and packed off to camps. Little or no protection for property left behind was provided. Without investigation, without hearing, without any process of law whatsoever American citizens were by this act made suspect and branded as potential spies and saboteurs by the mere color of skin.

Yet, such was the hysteria of the times that people sat supinely silent and watched the Bill of Rights torn to shreds. There was one outstanding exception. That was the California Industrial Union Council which sent Louis Goldblatt, presently the secretary-treasurer of ILWU, to lodge a protest before the House Committee on Interstate Migration held in San Francisco.

Pleading on February 23, 1942, that the property of the evacuated persons be protected, and that they not be mistreated or put to forced labor, Goldblatt told the committee:

"This entire episode of hysteria and mob-chant against the native born Japanese will form a dark page of American history. It

may well appear as one of the great victories won by the axis powers. Surely it is a battle won by those isolationist and America First committee who have labored since the outbreak of hostilities to convert this into a war against the 'yellow menace.' They won this round. All of us who failed to speak in time contributed to this victory of the isolationist fifth column in America."

Near the end of World War II, the ILWU found its own and one of its local's constitutions violated by a sub-unit of the local at Stockton, Calif. The incident involved an American worker of Japanese descent. Learning that the unit had adopted a resolution to strike if the worker was dispatched to any job with them, local and international officers immediately called a meeting of the unit to demand rescinding of the resolution. At the same time the international union inserted a full-page advertisement in *The Stockton Record* appealing to the whole community to "help solve this problem in a spirit of tolerance and understanding."

Said the advertisement: "Some of the members of our union in this city a few days ago unthinkingly announced that they would not work with loyal Americans of Japanese origin. We say unthinkingly, because in doing so they violated the constitution of their local union and the constitution of their international union, and did violence to the spirit of the constitution of their country, the United States of America. We say unthinkingly, because their action put Stockton in a bad light in international news dispatches which went around the world, and our state and our union shared the embarrassment. We say unthinkingly, because they acted against their own interests, as well as against the interests of their nation, their state, their community and their union."

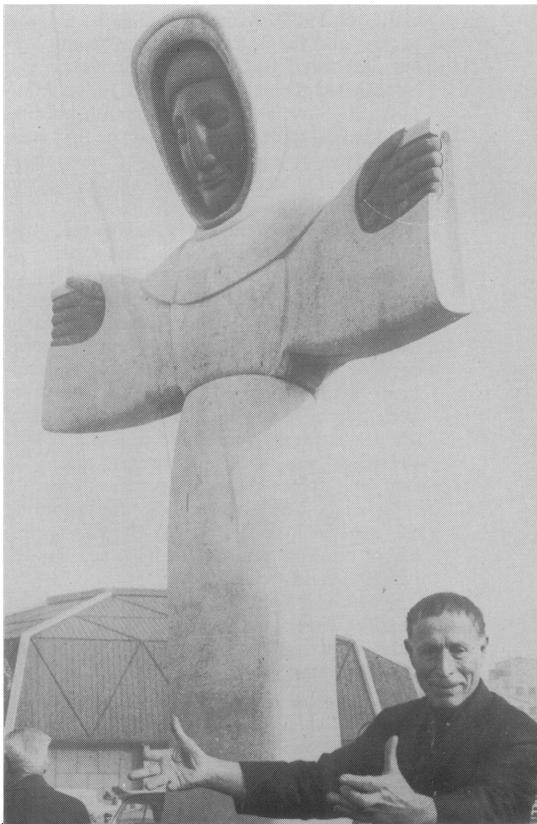
Refusal of the unit to vote for rescinding brought about its suspension and appointment of an administrator. After an educational campaign, all but five of the unit members pledged not to indulge in discrimination because of race or national origin. The five were placed on trial by the local union. Two were expelled and the other three suspended from membership for six months. The convictions were upheld by membership vote of the whole local. The unit came back into good standing and has

been a credit to the union since.

In 1936 and 1937 the ILWU successfully knocked down city anti-picketing ordinances in Oakland and Berkeley, California. A number of arrests of ILWU pickets and students who aided them resulted in jury trials and appeals which ended in such ordinances being held unconstitutional. A similar ordinance in Shasta County, Calif., was held unconstitutional by the US Supreme Court in *Carlson vs. California*.

Another lawmaking case for which ILWU loaned its law firm to a helpless, smashed union, involved lettuce workers in Salinas,

*The famed sculptor, Beniamino Bufano stands before his statue of St. Francis of Assisi—man of peace—to which the San Francisco Bay Area longshoremen gave a permanent home site adjacent to their fine dispatching hall (in background) near San Francisco's Fishermen's Wharf.*





Calif., in 1939. After a strike had been broken and the union wrecked, the employers embarked upon a reign of terror and established a blacklist. Federal Judge Adolphus St. Sure issued an injunction holding blacklisting to be illegal. It was the first such injunction in legal history, and it enabled the lettuce workers subsequently to reform their ranks.

ILWU's longshore division was responsible for formation of the first multi-employer collective bargaining unit covering an entire industry.\* This it forced through a series of National Labor Relations Board hearings, and out of it grew a supreme court decision strengthening the First Amendment with respect to freedom of the press and speech. In the case, *Bridges vs. California*, the supreme court held that the ILWU President was within his rights when he sent and released to the press a telegram criticising a Los Angeles judge for enjoining the multi-employer unit. Neither a contempt citation against Bridges, nor the injunction held up.

The court held that anyone may discuss pending court proceedings so long as there is no clear and present danger to the administration of justice.

\*It was this combining of waterfront employer associations in the various ports into one organization that made possible the union's coastwide agreements.

ILWU successfully challenged an unlawful assembly and riot act under which the Territory of Hawaii indicted and jailed ILWU members on wholesale scale during the 1946 sugar strike and 1947 pineapple strike. Two important rulings were won from a special 3-judge Federal Court in December, 1948. The court found that this unlawful assembly and riot act was even more restrictive than the riot act used by King George I of England, and held it to be unconstitutional. The English act restricted assembly to 12 persons, the Hawaii act to 3. The second ruling declared illegal the method of grand jury selection in Hawaii's Maui County. In both decisions the special court overturned rulings of the Supreme Court of the Territory.

The court noted that the unlawful assembly act was used only to beat down labor, and that the method of selecting the grand jury which had handed down the indictments excluded all Filipinos and that there was a deliberate substantial exclusion of wage earners.

The decisions had much to do with pulling Hawaii out of feudal society into the Twentieth Century. To gain the right to organize, to strike and to picket, the ILWU workers involved had to risk \$1,000 fines and imprisonment up to 20 years. The un-



*ILWU's 7th Biennial Convention,  
San Francisco, April, 1947.*

constitutional law against assembly was originally adopted to discourage protest against the land grabbing by which ownership of virtually all the land in Hawaii wound up in a few hands. The original penalty was 5 years. It was later raised to 20 years in order to break a Filipino strike against a sugar plantation.

Another notable civil rights fight initiated by ILWU and involving other maritime unions was partly internecine and had to do with violation of both civil rights and rights within the unions. This grew out of the CIO purge of unions which refused to accept the political dictates of the CIO leadership.

Concurrent with the hysteria over the Korean war, the CIO leadership sought to wreck or weaken the dissident unions and take over their jurisdictions. To this end they collaborated with the Departments of Labor and Commerce and certain AFL maritime unions to set up a so-called security program on the waterfront which called for Coast Guard screening of all ship and shore workers. It was clearly a scheme to drive militants from the maritime industry. To the conference in Washington which set up the program, which President Truman

signed into an executive order, the old National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards and ILWU were not invited. Three selected locals of ILWU were invited. Also invited were persons who had long been expelled from the NUMCS.

The ILWU had not opposed a genuine security program, but did protest the executive order because it meant the dumping of trade union agreements and the wholesale expulsion from the industry of men guilty of nothing more dangerous than opposition to the top leadership of the unions.

This was precisely what happened. The waterfront department of ILWU in a caucus held in August, 1950, did not refuse to comply with the executive order, but warned that if any members of ILWU were screened from commercial work there would be no work performed. This left the union complying with the executive order only insofar as Army and Navy cargoes were concerned.

Two years later the courts caught up with the unconstitutionality of the screening program and ordered it abolished. But it was not in time to help the hundreds who had already lost their means of livelihood. ILWU came through the program unscathed, but the NUMCS was wrecked and its remaining membership dragged against its will, as expressed overwhelmingly in a labor board

election, into a three-union setup with the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Wipers and the Sailors' Union of the Pacific.

One of the most unfair laws ever written was the Walter-McCarron Immigration Act of 1952. The act made second class citizens out of naturalized foreign born and made them subject to deportation if it was learned they had committed some offense against the law without limit as to how far back it dated. The law was used particularly harshly to harass ILWU members of Philippine origin and to restrict their right to travel. Alejandro Alcantra, a member of ILWU Local 37 whose livelihood required seasonal travel between Alaska and Seattle was arrested and ordered deported even though he was born under the American flag in the Philippines. The union took the case to the US Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit in 1955 and won cancellation of the order. The decision effected thousands of such workers.

In fighting to assert and establish the rights of its members and others in the cases enumerated the union has not only defended its own right to exist and achieve its objectives, but has made a substantial contribution to progress.

The same kind of progress, on larger scale, is being made today by the determined march of the Negro people in the South and elsewhere toward political, economic and social equality.

How the denial of civil rights in the South takes insidious but direct aim everywhere is demonstrated by the situation in the US Congress. Denial of the vote to Negroes by so-called literacy tests, intimidation and other means, and to other depressed poor by means of the poll tax results in a corrupt form of political manipulation which enables reactionary members of Congress to return term after term until they gain a monopoly on seniority. Members of Congress from areas where the whole electorate has access to the ballot box or voting machine have to be responsible to that electorate and are succeeded by others when they cease to be representative in the opinion of the electorate.

Thus, due to curious rules that equate seniority with wisdom, the Southern politicians hold the chairmanships or other key positions on almost all important committees. They are in position to do veto legislation introduced or designed to meet the needs of the people, particularly do they veto it if it means any change in the methods by which they stay in Congress or any change of the status quo in Southern politics, economics, education, racial relations or status of individuals. Many of them are still waving the confederate flag.

In gaining the first class citizenship to which they are entitled the Negro people will enrich and enoble our democracy and help to make it work for peace and progress.



*Every year locals of ILWU and other maritime unions commemorate July 5 as "Bloody Thursday" in memory of the martyrs of the Big Strike of '34. In San Francisco an honor guard stands with floral wreaths at the spot where a longshoreman and a marine cook were mortally wounded by police bullets.*

# ILWU And Overseas Ties

**A**S MUCH as the American commercial press is biased on the side of industry against organized labor, and as much as it garbles, distorts and deliberately misunderstands the aims of labor, it is outdone in this respect by its foreign sources of news.

The boasted far-flung networks of newsgatherers maintained over the world by American press associations, large newspapers or chains of newspapers, so-called news magazines and radio and television organizations are greatly overrated for efficiency. For the most part they do little more than clip, translate and rewrite what they read in the commercial press of the countries they pretend to "cover," or transmit embassy or cabinet press releases. Most of all they seem determined to send what news their papers and the State Department want to hear.

The aims, aspirations, problems, tactics, strategy or struggles of workmen outside the borders of the United States and Canada are either ignored altogether or reported in such fashion as to give the impression that workers of foreign lands are nothing more than ignorant, irresponsible, slightly insane trouble makers seeking only to destroy the economy of their respective countries. There is also the reverse side of the coin, which is even worse; this has been the deplorable support of cold war policies by the leadership of the AFL-CIO, which puts an American union label upon all the international schemes and maneuvers which work against the interests of working men and women everywhere. The ILWU is fortunate to be no part of such anti-working class activities. It deplores the circumstances that divide it from a large section of American labor, but it stands upon the principle that solidarity must be based on the common interest of labor everywhere.

Long ago the union came to the conclusion that if it was to know and understand the labor movement on a world scale it would have to bypass official channels and pay little attention to the controlled means of communication. Neither was to be trusted.

Yet, foreign affairs and events have an impact—sometimes direct and more often indirect—upon the lives and welfare of the union's members. So, too, does goodwill abroad stand to the benefit of the union's members.

In 1948 the ILWU sent four rank and file members to Europe on a fraternal visit. It was the first such delegation sent by the union and the first strictly rank and file overseas delegation on record from any American labor union. The four were selected by the executive board from 80 nominees named by locals. They were representative of the union both as to industry and area. One came from Hawaii, and the other three from the mainland came out of longshore, warehouse and shipclerk locals.

What the delegation looked for is expressed by themselves in the preface to the extensive report they submitted upon their return three months later.

"We had a privilege rarely enjoyed by anyone," they said. "This was the privilege of making friends with workers and other common people of Europe in the surroundings of their everyday lives. We met them on their jobs, in their union halls, on the streets, and in their homes. Because we were just four plain rank and file workers from America with no special axe to grind, we found their doors open wide for us and a warm welcome waiting. The workers of Europe really think a lot of their union brothers in America. Wherever we went, they had heard about the West Coast longshoremen, and nothing was too good for the American 'dockers' as they called us.

"We met with union leaders also, to find out what they were thinking and to get technical details about matters we were especially interested in. We wanted to know, for example, how the trade unions were set up and how they function; what kind of political action they carry on; the facts on wage levels, prices; the laws affecting workers and their unions.

"We also wanted to find out as much as we could about the governments of the countries we visited, and their policies at

home and abroad. Whenever we had a chance to meet a government official who thought it worth his while to give some time to four curious American workers, we took advantage of it. We asked about economic conditions; what they thought of the Marshall Plan and how they felt about the foreign policy of the United States; what they were planning for the future."

In 1959 the union took a step never before contemplated by any American union. The 13th Biennial Convention recommended and the membership voted in secret referendum to assess themselves \$1 per member to send a number of rank and file delegations to visit and talk to trade union members and leaders in other countries.

Trade union delegations abroad are not new, but never, before the ILWU action, had anyone in the union movement thought of sending workers directly from the job, not to disport themselves in plush night clubs or on fashionable beaches, but to work at the task of gathering useful information and reporting it back to the membership. Officers and staff members of the international union were not barred from participating if the union thought it necessary to send some of them with the delegations, but the measure adopted made it clear that in such cases their pay and expenses would not come from the special fund built by the assessment.

*ILWU overseas delegates  
talk to longshoremen in  
Calcutta, India.*



The overseas delegates were nominated by the locals. From the nominees the International Executive Board selected 24 on a basis of regional representation and by July of 1960 eight teams of three rank and file delegates were on their way to Cuba, Venezuela, Mexico, Guinea, Ghana, Liberia, Bulgaria, Egypt, Greece, Israel, Yugoslavia, Hungary, England, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, The Philippines, India, Hong Kong, and Japan.

The delegations submitted careful and comprehensive reports, which the officers of the union in transmitting them to the 1961 convention characterized as "a truly unusual set of documents." The reports were bound in an attractive booklet and widely distributed. They were received with such interest by the convention delegates that they recommended a repeat of the overseas program. The membership again concurred on assessment for it, and new delegations went abroad in 1962.

Again in eight teams of three, they were sent to Argentina, Chile and Mexico; the Philippines and Indonesia; India and Burma; Puerto Rico, Taiti, the Dominican Republic and British Guiana; Columbia, Ecuador and Peru; Brazil and Uruguay; the Malayan Federation, Thailand and South Vietnam, and Australia and New Zealand.

One labor writer for a San Francisco newspaper wrote that the ILWU obtained far more good will for considerably less expenditure of funds than the AFL-CIO with all its expensive and far-flung overseas junkets.

The attitude of the ILWU membership toward overseas exchange has solid roots and practical trade union logic. Insofar as longshoremen are concerned, their strength at the bargaining table for hours, wages and conditions is immeasurably enlarged by assurance that vessels struck at home and loaded by scabs will not be unloaded by their fellow union longshoremen abroad.

West Coast longshoremen closely followed the London dockers' strike of 1889 and were able to identify with them. It was not uncommon in these formative days to receive delegates from New Zealand, Australia and elsewhere at critical stages in bargaining or in strikes. The men responded to calls for help from overseas just as readily as they asked for such help themselves.

In 1919, the Seattle longshoremen, backed up by the Pacific Coast District of the ILA and AFL State Federation of Labor in Washington, refused to handle arms for the Allied Expeditionary Forces fighting in Siberia. Consistent with their trade union policy of the autonomous right of union organizations to run their own affairs, the Seattle longshoremen pointed out that

*"... the settlement of all Russia's affairs, including her form of government, should be left entirely to the Russian people themselves, without interference from any source."*

The relations with overseas unions took strange twists and turns. During the 1919 longshore strike the dockers in New Zealand and Australia declared all ships from San Francisco black. They made clear that if San Francisco became non-union and open shop, the ships would never be worked "down under." So, San Francisco in contrast with other major ports stayed union all through the Twenties. The union, to be sure, was the Blue Book company union, directed and financed by the employers. But a union it was—for the record—and a union port San Francisco remained, to get under the boycott of 1919!

And so again in 1934, when the maritime workers struck, the unions "down under" offered their support and their aid.

In the years preceding the outbreak of World War II the ILWU understood the menace to all people and to their union organizations of the growing fascist movement. And the union acted, to the best of its ability, to bring attention to this menace and, in every way possible, to hinder and obstruct it. In so doing the ILWU was publicly castigated, attacked, ridiculed and slandered.

When Hitler came to power in 1932 locals of the Union, then affiliated to the AFL, were the first to press for resolutions in the AFL labor bodies for a boycott of all German goods. The Union protested the destruction of German trade unions and used its influence to stimulate similar actions by other American labor organizations. San Francisco longshoremen unhesitatingly refused to handle supplies for the German training ship *Karlsruhe* when she docked in that port.



*In the Malayan Federation ILWU delegates find a frank expression of opinion about an employer.*

When Mussolini moved against Ethiopia the Union refused to load supplies destined for the "Italian Red Cross." While some leading civic figures and government officials pressured the union, working longshoremen tied up the Italian ship *Cellini* in San Francisco.

In other ports up and down the Coast longshoremen—and warehousemen, too—joined in the anti-Hitler, anti-Mussolini policies sweeping the ILWU.

Not much later, as the Japanese war machine started gearing itself up, importing scrap iron and war supplies from the United States, the longshoremen did everything possible to prevent these shipments. The entire union and its contracts were voluntarily placed in jeopardy as longshoremen engaged in thirty-five different work stoppages in a vain effort to shut off this flow of material to fascist Japan.

During the Spanish civil war the union took the same resolute stand against Franco that it had already taken against the other fascist leaders.

The ILWU was anti-fascist long before it became fashionable to be so. It remains anti-fascist today, when so much is being done to convert our former fascist enemies into allies.

No matter what its affiliation or non-affiliation with the labor federation in the U.S.—AFL, CIO or Independent—the ILWU has continued to respond to calls for help from workers overseas, and to call upon them when the need arose.

Out of this identity of trade union inter-



全太平洋アジア地域港湾労働者国際会議。東京都市センター。1959.5.11~13.

ests has grown new understanding of workers' problems and workers' aspirations in countries all over the face of the globe.

Thus it was not surprising that when the newly-formed World Federation of Trade Unions met in San Francisco, at the time of the founding session of the United Nations, the ILWU was recognized as the host union for the affair—and deservedly so.

A huge mass rally in the San Francisco Civic Auditorium was organized by ILWU. Speakers included Sir Walter Citrine of the British Trade Union Congress, Vasili Kuznetsov, who later became deputy premier of the USSR, Philip Murray, president of CIO, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, president of CTAL (Latin America union federation), Louis Saillant of France and H. T. Liu of the Chinese Association of Labor. The latter's address included praise of the West Coast longshoremen for their role in resisting the shipping of scrap iron to Japanese militarists before World War II.

In the first major post-war maritime struggle, that of the Committee for Maritime Unity in 1946, these international

*ILWU President Harry Bridges delivered the keynote address at the First All Pacific and Asian Dockworkers Conference in Tokyo, Japan, in May, 1959. The conference has become a continuing body through its Correspondence Committee.*

fraternal bonds paid off well. When President Truman threatened to smash the projected maritime strike with Navy-manned vessels and Army longshoremen, the call for help from the ILWU produced a worldwide wave of union support. Pledges that these scab cargoes and hot ships would rot overseas poured into the CMU. And the great gains of the successful negotiations, without a strike, followed soon after. The support from overseas was the turning point in convincing the employers that they'd lose a strike.

The ILWU sugar workers too have cemented their ties with sugar workers everywhere. And delegates have gone from the

ILWU to the Philippines, to Mexico, to Puerto Rico and Cuba to plan joint action and to pool knowledge and information on how best to advance the interests of sugar workers everywhere. Similarly, sugar union representatives from these areas have journeyed to San Francisco to meet and coordinate activities with the ILWU.

Late in 1947 the ILWU participated in the formation of an International Sugar Workers Committee. Meeting in Havana, Cuba, the Committee elected Louis Goldblatt chairman and adopted a program of action designed to end the exploitation of the workers by the international sugar cartel. Represented, in addition to ILWU, were the Cuban National Federation of Sugar Workers; the Sugar Workers Union of Puerto Rico and the Mexican Sugar Workers Union.

Representing the Cuban Federation was its President, Jesus Menendez, who was elected a vice chairman. A militant and respected leader, he was assassinated by an army captain just two months later.

From San Francisco Goldblatt charged that "the planned murder . . . was the logical outcome of the policies of American sugar companies and their subservient state dements." The Cuban government then building toward a dictatorship which Batista was later to take over did nothing about punishing the assassin.

Hawaiian sugar workers raised a considerable sum to help Menendez' family.

In 1959 an ILWU delegation headed by President Bridges attended the first all Pacific and Asian Dockworkers' Conference in Tokyo, where Bridges delivered the keynote address to delegates representing waterfront unions in Australia, Indonesia, Cambodia, the USSR and Japan. Central and South American waterfront unions expressed interest in the conference but were unable to attend because of the expense involved. A second conference was held in 1961, also in Tokyo, and was again attended by ILWU delegates.

Out of the conference there has come into being a correspondence committee which is keeping Pacific and Asian waterfront unions in touch with one another and informed on conditions of dock work, problems of safety, application of the Code of Practices of the International Labor Organization, limitations and prohibitions against the right to organize and other matters upon which exchange of information is useful to union work and cooperation.

In 1959, when Nikita Khrushchev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, toured the United States at the invitation of President Dwight Eisenhower, he cut short a boat trip on San Francisco Bay in order to make an unscheduled visit to the modern dispatching hall of ILWU

*In 1959 Premier Nikita Khrushchev of the USSR paid a surprise visit to ILWU longshoremen in San Francisco. Russian-speaking Mike Samaduroff explained the dispatching hall to him.*





Local 10. The premier, wearing the traditional white cap of a longshoreman, for which he traded his own Fedora, spoke of peace and friendship. On hand to greet him with brief response talks were President J. Paul St. Sure of the Pacific Maritime Association and President Bridges of ILWU.

Shortly after Mr. Khrushchev's return to Moscow the PMA and the ILWU received a special invitation to visit the USSR from the Ministry of Merchant Marine and the Sea and River Workers Union. The ILWU sent an official delegation of three. As guests of the Sea and River Union, they made a study of trade union structure and activities in several ports, and wound up with an hour-long conference with Mr. Khrushchev in the Kremlin.

The report of the delegates was published in *The Dispatcher* of January 1, 1960, under the title of "Report on 'a Most Informative, Encouraging and Worthwhile Trip.'"

Over the years of the Cold War, the fighting in Korea and tension and hysteria at home, the Berlin crisis, invasion of Cuba and military adventures in Indo-China, the ILWU has hewed—as closely as it could—to policies which would keep the chance to work and fight unimpaired.

Today, when the new thermo-nuclear weapons are capable of destroying people, cities, animals, plants and even poisoning the atmosphere itself for centuries the union is unanimous in concluding that any major war can mark the end of the path for this union and the policies and programs for which it stands.

*Late in 1959 an ILWU delegation invited by the Sea and River Union of the USSR toured Russian ports and ended their stay with an hour-long conference with Mr. Khrushchev. Left to right, Mr. K., ILWU Secretary-Treasurer Louis Goldblatt, Mike Samaduroff and L. B. Thomas, a member of the ILWU Coast Labor Relations Committee.*

Only in a stable, secure, peaceful world can this, or any other union, hope to be able to fight for and win those improvements in the lives of the members to which the union movement is dedicated.

In the 1955 convention of the ILWU the delegates unanimously agreed that:

"Just as the ILWU threw itself into World War II without qualification and without stint until victory had been won, so we must throw our resources into the fight for peace today—for the duration and until peace has been achieved."

Six years and three conventions later the delegates in 1961 reaffirmed that: "War can no longer decide the issues that divide the world. Once we recognize this and tailor an American foreign policy to the reality of the social changes going on, our national life will take on a new vigor and a new purpose to the benefit of ourselves and of all mankind."

# Story Without Ending

**T**HE PURSUIT of happiness is without end. So is the ILWU Story.

So long as he survives man will search for the better life, for pleasanter environment, for greater knowledge of the forces around him, for peace and tranquillity, for security against pestilence, famine, violence and natural disaster.

Forward motion will continue to be his natural drive, and as he drives he will continue to meet and overcome forces of reaction. This is his struggle. Pain, effort and perseverance lifted him out of the ooze and into caves, enabled him to create tools, carried him through barbarism and into and out of feudalism, out of serfdom and out of slavery, and into the class-divided system of capitalism.

Now some men seek better systems, others seek compromises within the systems, and still others would stop the clock of history and turn it backward.

Men grasp the meanings of the forces around them as they struggle to cope with them and learn the need for cooperation. Until then they are either suckers or masters over suckers, and in neither role do they gain dignity or peace of mind. They can only have the conscience of the cannibal or the surcease of the devoured.

There are slogans to justify this relationship of men. There are movements and philosophies and continuing advertising campaigns devoted to it.

The workers who brought about the institution that is ILWU could feel the course of history in the misery they endured, on the docks, in the warehouses, in the sugar

fields, in the canneries, plants and mills. They could feel its course in what they got for reply as they sought in concert to better their condition—blacklists, arrests, beatings, police bullets and political hands turned against them.

We have seen the vision that drove them on against these odds—visions that have been spelled out into reality and recorded on the previous pages. They were told they were revolutionists, and revolutionists they were because they dreamed of “outrageous” improvements—such outrageous improvements as equal opportunity of earnings, fair hiring without kickback, decent wages and shorter hours, vacations, holidays, health and dental care, pensions and job security! And in addition in longshore a never before known recognition by a group of employers that workers were entitled to protection and/or compensation against displacement by mechanical devices or improved work methods—a far cry from the days when workers surreptitiously smashed machines because their only purpose was elimination of the worker’s wage.

ILWU members took the heritage of struggle passed on by the unsung brave and determined men of history, and then themselves created new heritage of struggle; they built new aims and new advances upon their own and the sacrifices made by others before them.

This is not the end. The revolutionary dreams of today will be the realities of tomorrow, to be succeeded by more dreams and more realities.

The motion of ILWU is forward.

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