

Longshore and Warehousemen's Union, International
(1953)

REPORT OF THE OFFICERS

to the

TENTH BIENNIAL CONVENTION

of the

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S & WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION

San Francisco, California, April 6, 1953

PART I

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF ILWU



Preface to Report

The officers have divided their report in two parts. Part I deals with the progress, problems and aims of the union. Part II, which is bound separately, reports in detail on the finances, work of the departments and the Coast Labor Relations Committee.

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TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY

REVIEW:

This convention commemorates two anniversaries: one is the twentieth anniversary of the ILWU; the other the centennial of the first union of longshoremen on the Pacific Coast formed in the year 1853 in the city of San Francisco. In the files of the newspapers at that time, the "Alta California" speaks of:

"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.—May 27, 1851."

The period between 1853 and 1933 marked many ups and downs in the course of organized labor. Repeated attempt to organize and form permanent unions met at best with temporary success and in no case were they able to hold on for any substantial period of time. The disastrous strikes of the 1919-1921 period when seamen were pitted against longshoremen marked the closing of an era and the beginning of an extended period of the open-shop combined with company unionism.

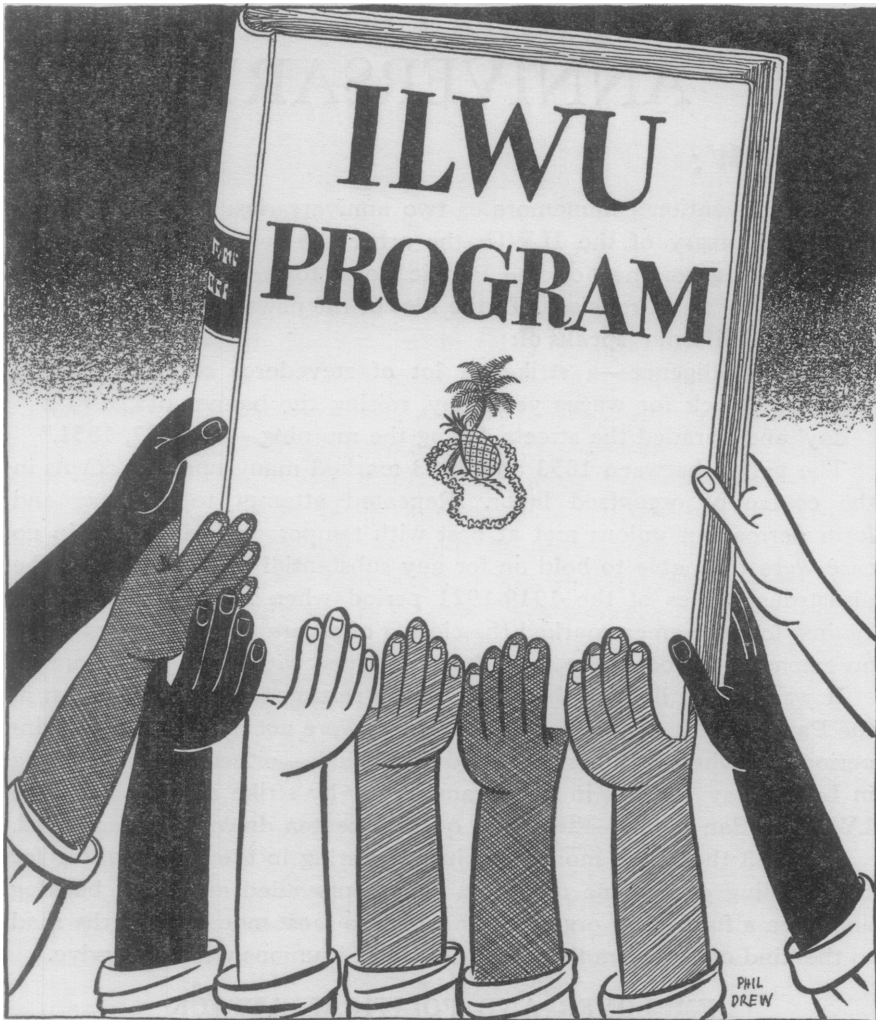
It was not until 1933 that there was a resurgence of organization in the Pacific Coast ports. Not that attempts were not made in the interim period, but wherever the men raised their heads—either by participating in Labor Day parades in San Francisco, or by strike action led by the I.W.W. in San Pedro—they were quickly beaten down and blacklisted.

By 1933 there was more than just a stirring in the ranks calling for the building of genuine unionism. There prevailed as well a backlog and even a folklore of organization which to most men pointed the road to the kind of unionism that had to be built if unions were to survive.

EMPLOYER AND POLITICAL ATTACK

It would have been impossible to rebuild the kind of a union which in years past had had its moments of victory, but had been just as quickly extinguished. History had caught up with the waterfront. The employers were a seasoned, hardbitten and expert lot when it came to keeping the men in line. Contrary to most industries which followed the accepted standards of the "American Plan," the West Coast ship-owners had developed their own device—the company union—called the "Blue Book." Therefore it was not just the employers who had to be tackled, it was the renegades and labor fakers who had to be taken on as well.

A new kind of unionism was born. Around it there grew up the



—From **THE DISPATCH**, April 13, 1951

initial organization of the ILA that later became the organization we are today. A set of principles became the guideposts of this organization, and although these principles may have at one time or another set the course of other unions, the total of these precepts had never before been embodied within one union.

History made the union. The union, in turn, made history.

It is well at this time on our twentieth anniversary to review the fundamental concepts on which this union is built. We can learn from

them and to this day they still furnish the only sound basis for defense of the gains we have won and the guarantees of future advancement.

There are ten cardinal rules around which this union was rebuilt:

PRINCIPLES OF ILWU

(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.

NO DISCRIMINATION TOLERATED

(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.

INTERNAL UNITY NECESSARY

(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.

ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED

(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 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.

RANK & FILE UNIONISM

These, then, are the principles upon which this union was established twenty years ago. The degree to which they have been realized in every situation confronting this union has been the measure of our success. As we have said, most of these principles are not new, but the adoption

of all of them by a single union created a new kind of unionism on the Pacific Coast. Most workers simply called it—rank and file unionism.

Principles by themselves mean as little as do resolutions which are passed and about which nothing further is done.

The new union formed in 1933, which is today the ILWU, had to work out the ways and means to put these principles into effect. The methods were found; and they have since become the hallmark not only of our union but of every other genuine, militantly fighting organization of labor.

This is the manner in which the principles were put into effect:

(1) The union is run by the rank and file.

(2) There is complete and absolute democracy in its affairs. No matter what the weaknesses of the completely democratic process, including unwieldiness and slowness, there is no substitute for the rank and file democratic control of unions.

Only in this way can the members carry through the principle of determining their own destiny.

(3) Discipline in the union springs out of participation, conviction and the right of the membership to decide its own course of action. It does not come from dictation.

THE GUARANTEE OF VICTORY

This is the difference between business unionism, of which we see so much today, and genuine democratic trade-unionism. There is a maximum of autonomy and a minimum of control. While this may result in delays in making decisions or in deciding upon policies, once they have been adopted through conviction and participation, or referendum where necessary, they carry with them the allegiance, the loyalty and the fighting spirit of the membership itself. This is the only guarantee of victory in tough times.

(4) Rank and file unionism includes the membership's participation in organization, negotiations, strike machinery, contract enforcement and in every other aspect of union life.

(5) The contract is worth only as much as it means on the job. The steward system was built. Dock, plant and port grievance machinery were perfected or the union would drift back to the days of the "walking delegate."

(6) The referendum, particularly on the calling and the settlement of strikes, became absolutely mandatory.

(7) Stop-work meetings are of equal importance in implementing the rank and file's government of its own affairs.

(8) Compulsory membership meetings were instituted, based on

the principle that the work of the union was every man's job; and every member should share the responsibility of all decisions.

(9) Restrictions were imposed to insure that there would be no drift back into the old-line unionism of high initiation fees and excessive authority on the part of the officers. The union imposed limitations on initiations, provided for the recall of officers, fixed the salaries of officers by convention and provided for other constitutional guarantees against any possible excesses of authority.

(10) The finances of the locals and the International are the property of the membership. Reports are regularly submitted and the locals maintain Boards of Trustees selected from the ranks.

HIGHLIGHTS OF TWENTY YEARS

All of these principles and the methods which were devised to put them into effect can be found in the record of this union. While it is impossible to give even a brief history of our union in this report, a review of the highlights of our 20-year life demonstrates the foundation upon which this union was built. It supplies the answer, as well, to whether the progress we have made could have been achieved in any other way.

Our union has had a most active organizational life and it would take volumes to describe the many campaigns, contract negotiations, strikes and battles on every front. In their course we have completely transformed the industries in which we have organized. We have also changed the entire direction of organized labor on the Pacific Coast.

In 1933, ILA Pacific Coast District 38 was chartered. This was the first sign of rebirth of unionism on the West Coast waterfronts. The drive to organize was coastwise and industry-wide. The men formed into a single union, not into separate locals, coastwise or offshore as still is the practice on the East Coast. The longshoremen were brought into the union, regardless of race, creed, color or belief. The really important organizers were the men on the job—the Jimmy Higginses. After the local was formed, the members drafted a constitution and adopted rules which provided for full and complete democracy and for rank and file control.

THE 1934 STRIKE

By the time the 1934 strike got under way in May, many of the basic principles of this union were already firmly entrenched. It was a coast-wise strike. For the first time in history there was a joint strike of all the workers in the industry, shoreside as well as seagoing, even though in many cases it meant organizing the seagoing groups and striking them at the same time. There was an immediate call for the solidarity of all labor, particularly of the Teamsters, to support the strike and to

respect the picket lines. Strikers spread the word of their grievances and their demands throughout the cities on the coast and called upon the people of the communities to lend a hand. In contrast with past strikes in the industry, in this strike when the employers undertook to recruit scabs, they found that the groups—such as Negroes and other minorities—from which they had formerly obtained strikebreakers because of the discrimination practiced against them, this time enlisted on the side of the strikers.

THE RANK & FILE COMMANDS

The strike was run through rank and file machinery. The negotiating committee represented all unions and was elected by the membership. Frequent meetings, reports on negotiations and bulletins on the strike were used to build the type of confidence and understanding that would take the men through the rough days. The rank and file solidarity and understanding paid off early in the strike when Joe Ryan's attempt to sign a backdoor agreement was almost unanimously repudiated.

And as the employers moved step by step to mount greater pressure against the strike, and enforced more violence each day, the strikers in turn, imbued with their founding principles, spread an understanding of their issues throughout the ranks of labor and the community at large. When the showdown came with the effort of the shipowners and their political agents to open the port by the use of scabs and the police, the workers in the city responded. When the National Guard was called in to break the strike, the workers of San Francisco answered with the General Strike.

It was the first successful general strike in the history of our country. It broke the reign of terror against the union. The men went back to work organized and the power they had built assured a favorable outcome to the arbitration of the strike issues. Out of the strike came, for the first time in the history of longshore on the West Coast, a coastwise contract, the establishment of a joint hiring hall, the 6-hour day and 30-hour week and union-management grievance machinery.

The period between 1934 and 1936 witnessed a vital extension of the new unionism which had sprung up on the waterfront, and of the type of union organization which had made victory possible in 1934. Respect for the picket line became a by-word of organized labor. Hardly a day passed without longshoremen being called upon to assist seamen and other groups who were organizing to achieve some measure of what the longshoremen had gained.

Organization of warehousemen began in 1934 and it turned out to be a major factor in securing the support of the Teamsters, both in ob-

serving the picket lines on the waterfront and later in supporting the General Strike which spread through uptown areas.

The principle of international solidarity also was more clearly understood, and it became part of the credo of waterfront unionism.

Another innovation was also soon apparent. Here was a new kind of a union which didn't settle for wages alone but concerned itself equally with conditions on the job, security for the men and the dignity of the individual and his right to express himself and act in his own behalf.

MARITIME FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC

By 1936, when the shipowners again sought a test of strength to determine whether the newly-built maritime unions would continue in existence, the Maritime Federation of the Pacific—which at that time was a concrete expression of labor unity forged by this union—was equal to the task.

For the first time in the history of the American waterfront, a major strike took place without a single incident of violence or a single attempt by the employers to use strikebreakers. Out of the 1936 strike the seamen achieved a large measure of the gains which had already been won by the longshoremen in 1934, and unionism on the West Coast became well-entrenched.

It is interesting to note that ten years later, in 1946, ILWU again played the crucial role in the formation of the Committee for Maritime Unity. The CMU conducted what amounted to the closest thing to national maritime negotiations yet seen in this country—negotiations which culminated in the greatest gains for seamen in their entire history, in terms of a shorter work week, wages and other improvements.

It is true that following 1946 Joe Curran took the attitude, as had Lundeberg in 1936, of "Me first—thanks for the ride." As a result the CMU, like the Maritime Federation, was destroyed.

LABOR UNITY PAYS OFF

Many of our union members, because of this history, have become skeptical about labor unity. They have learned that all too frequently individuals have gone along with the unity program until it paid off for them and have then broken ranks at the first opportunity to make a private deal. The fact remains, nevertheless, that the principle of fighting for labor unity in every way, day in and day out, is still sound and still pays off in terms of long-term gains.

We learned a lot about international solidarity and its importance to our union during these struggles. No better example can be found than what happened in 1946 during the course of CMU negotiations. When national negotiations opened in Washington, D. C. on Memorial Day, May 30, 1946, the railroad strike had just been broken. Truman had

ordered the Army to take over and the men were forced back to work on the threat of being drafted into the Army.

Negotiations had no sooner gotten under way against a crowd of arrogant and seemingly adamant employers, when President Truman 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. For a few days it looked like curtains for the maritime workers. We called upon our union friends abroad, and within hours the wires came pouring back pledging support from maritime unions all over the world—pledges came from New Zealand, Australia, France, England, Italy, Poland, the Scandinavian countries, Japan and others. In each case the pledge of support announced that any ships loaded by the Army and manned by the Navy to break the CMU strike would be declared scab ships and tied up at that end of the line.

CMU BREAKS THROUGH

Truman may have had the answer to cracking the back of the railroad strike, but even he couldn't figure out ways and means of getting the Army and Navy to turn around ships in foreign countries.

Armed with this support, the CMU negotiation committee, with Bridges as spokesman, drilled through to successful contracts.

The most recent test of longshore organization came in 1948 when the then dominant group of employers in the Waterfront Employers Association decided that the time had come, with the help of Taft-Hartley, to take on the union and deprive it of its gains. The employers served demands upon the ILWU which ordered the union in effect to give up the hiring hall because it was "illegal." The ILWU, in turn, demanded the continuation of the status quo on the hiring hall plus a series of contract changes: raising wages, reducing hours, revising vacation rules and improving safety conditions.

The deadlocked negotiations produced a 92% majority strike vote of the longshoremen, clerks and walking bosses.

TRUMAN TRIES INJUNCTION

Using Taft-Hartley, President Truman had the courts issue an injunction forbidding the strike for 80 days, and the so-called "cooling off" period was imposed on the longshoremen. As the injunction period drew to an end, the employers made a final offer of a nickel in wages and another nickel in lieu of vacations; they still insisted on making the hiring practices "legal." The union repeated its previous demands plus health insurance, a pension plan and a guarantee of a minimum number of hours of work opportunity.

The NLRB tested its new "last offer" poll on the ILWU just as they had tested the 80-day cooling off period.

The longshore caucus voted to boycott the NLRB poll as a protest against government restrictions on the union's bargaining power. The result of the poll, as certified by the NLRB after three days of voting was remarkable. The results were:

Number of eligible employees	26,965
Total ballots cast	0

The NLRB never again attempted a last-offer vote on any other union. The ILWU put that one to rest.

As soon as the strike broke out on September 2, the employers withdrew all their offers and announced that there was really only one issue in the strike—"communist leadership." But the real employer objective was the union and its solidarity.

THE 'NEW LOOK' ARRIVES

The employers finally dropped the issue of communism and set up a new negotiating committee with a "new look." By November 26 the strike was over. The hiring hall continued as it was, wages were increased 15 cents, union security was reaffirmed and improvements were made in the hours and vacation provisions. It was another smashing victory for the ILWU.

Since that time, the longshore division of the union has gone on to greater gains, particularly in the important social fields of welfare, medical coverage and pensions.

As in the case of longshore, organization of warehouse opened new fields and cut new ground. Initially, warehouse organization began under the stimulus of the reorganization of the waterfronts. Here again, the principles and methods upon which this union was founded stood in good stead.

The warehouse organization exposed one of the real evils of the old-line trade unions with their craft psychology; this was their complete unconcern about the unorganized or the unskilled.

The Teamsters' Union and the warehouse employers had an understanding that one of the conditions for their cooperation would be a Teamster agreement not to attempt to organize or to raise the wages of warehouse workers. In 1933, when the Teamsters demanded 50c a day increase, they were able to get it on the basis that the warehousemen take a 50c a day cut.

ORGANIZATION OF WAREHOUSE

Warehouse organization, while it started at first with the warehouses along the front, moved rapidly uptown. Organization again was stimulated in large part by the rank and file. The union moved toward industry group contracts, and later toward industry-wide bargaining. The move, however, never succeeded to the same degree as in longshore be-

cause of constant harassment by the Teamsters' Union which had entered the field only after the ILWU had done all the initial work.

The 1936 warehouse strike assured the existence of the union. The strike began contemporaneously with the 1936 maritime strike, one giving support to the other. In the case of the warehousemen it was an organizing strike, and it was one of the most unusual strikes in the history of the union; the warehouse union emerged with a membership almost double what it had when the strike began. The spirit of organizing caught on, and the type of unionism available to the warehouse workers through our organization drew members by the hundreds. Out of this strike emerged the hiring hall, seniority rights in place of the continuous turn-over so characteristic of the industry, vacations with pay—for the first time in the industry—a wage increase and grievance machinery.

STRIKE STIMULATES ORGANIZATION

In the course of the 1936 strike, which lasted 67 days and ended approximately a month before that of the maritime strike, the warehousemen did more than just increase their own ranks and win gains for themselves. The break-through in warehouse, wholeheartedly approved by the maritime unions, helped materially in the successful wind-up of the maritime strike. In the meantime, the warehousemen had been giving aid to almost every other union in the Bay Area.

The organizational fever caught on up and down the coast. Even the Teamsters were impelled to move and to bargain in order to organize the warehousemen—not in order to improve the standards of living and the conditions of work, but to try to prevent the warehousemen from joining the ILWU. To this day, in any town where the Teamsters have the bulk of the warehousemen, warehouse wages and working conditions are substantially below those of the ILWU.

Throughout this period ILWU was part of the AFL, participating in labor councils and giving aid and comfort to any group that needed a helping hand. The records show this union to have a higher rate of contributions to other organizations than any other union.

Hundreds of our members pitched in and helped other unions get started. It is because of those drives by the ILWU that today the cities, and even the rural areas of the Pacific Coast, are the most highly-organized sections of America.

As members of the AFL, represented in their councils and in some cases in their executive bodies, we continued the fight for the principles and procedures around which our union had been built—in many cases, to the considerable discomfort of the old-line labor leadership.

AFFILIATION WITH CIO

In 1937, unions of the Maritime Federation, including longshore and warehouse, decided to take a vote on affiliation with CIO. CIO had only recently been formed and in those days appeared to be the organization for the broad-scale acceptance of the trade union principles for which we stood. Although we believed wholeheartedly in the CIO program to organize the unorganized, we didn't leave the AFL until it had become an obstacle to the welfare of our members. For months we fought to stay within the AFL and to have the AFL accept the new members organized by CIO so that a single federation of labor would continue in the United States. It was only after the AFL ordered that our union be dismantled and entire sections handed over to other unions, from Teamsters to Butchers, that the ILWU decided to vote on affiliation with CIO together with other maritime unions. Even after affiliation with CIO had been voted, we remained in the AFL and fought to maintain our unions intact, and to avoid a split in organized labor. We never left the AFL; we were finally heaved out.

An indication of the support which this union had built throughout the ranks of labor was that in Northern California alone William Green and his representatives suspended the charters of five AFL central labor councils because they refused to unseat our union's delegates.

ILWU INSPIRES MASS ORGANIZATION

When we became part of the CIO, the ILWU as it is constituted today inspired the mass organizational drives up and down the West Coast. The International and local unions poured thousands of dollars and unlimited manpower into these drives. As far as our union was concerned, warehouse organization not only expanded on the Coast but into the Gulf, Midwest and East as well. By this time, moreover, the now widely known technique of the Teamsters of rushing in and signing a backdoor agreement as soon as workers indicated any interest in the ILWU was in full swing. Notwithstanding difficulties such as these, we continued to grow and make gains, and to extend the principles of our union.

There were many crucial struggles during this period—the warehouse hot cargo beef, the shipclerks strike, the battle for survival at Crockett—and in each case we fought our way through and emerged stronger than ever.

ILWU DURING WORLD WAR II

The role of the ILWU during the war years was outstanding. All during the conflict—from Pearl Harbor until the final victorious end—all the divisions of the union functioned in high gear and in unity of

purpose. The task of winning the war and of keeping production going was given priority over the union's day to day job of advancing the economic and social welfare of its membership.

The interests and welfare of the union and its members, however, were not neglected, but rather the direct connection between these objectives, and the proper and full participation of the union in the war effort, was clearly established. The ILWU along with all the main sections of labor, strictly adhered to labor's wartime no-strike pledge. Within the framework of the war effort and the government agencies established to help win the war, the union not only preserved its pre-war gains but moved forward organizationally and in other ways.

Among the major pioneering achievements during the war were the two weeks' vacation for longshoremen, on-the-job training programs, the successful organizing drive in Hawaii and the consolidation and integration into the union of Negro and other racial minority groups.

Attempts by certain government agencies to invalidate some of the union's major gains were blocked and defeated.

The union demonstrated that when the country's interest was really in danger, the ILWU officers and membership could be depended upon.

It had been long before the outbreak of World War II that the ILWU first demonstrated the manner in which the union's reliance upon international labor solidarity and the welfare of the working people all over the world helped guide the union into policies which were in the best interest of the nation. The proposal to boycott Nazi goods was supported by the ILWU when Hitler came to power, and while the union was still newly established. Subsequently, the union refused to handle war goods during the undeclared Italian war and inhuman bombing of Ethiopia. Most dramatic was the refusal by the longshoremen to work scrap iron destined for Japan during the invasion and war against China and the preparation for the Pearl Harbor attack against the United States.

The ILWU has never let down its guard.

The most severe test of the ILWU, its structure and its principles, came about in the drive to organize the workers of Hawaii. The territory, isolated from the mainland and still ridden in feudalism, represented a concentration of social, economic and political power as intense as any to be found in America. The workers, scattered through many plantations and islands, were largely cut off from each other and from organized labor on the mainland. Moreover, the hiring policy of the employers aimed at creating and maintaining division of the ranks; the bulk of Hawaiian workers were contract laborers from China, Portugal, Puerto Rico, Japan and the Philippines who had difficulty even communicating with one another. Even the employers' policies on housing,

promotion, and job placements perpetuated the racial and national origin divisions.

THE BIG FIVE

The economic structure of Hawaii is in the hands of a group of holding companies called the Big 5, whose control reaches into every branch of agriculture, industry and commercial life. The legislature over years past has merely mirrored the dominant economic interests of the Big 5.

Since the Big 5 took over the bulk of Hawaii arable land in the early 1800's, there have been numerous attempts by the workers to organize and gain some measure of decency and well-being. Every effort was smashed. No group had succeeded in standing up against the economic might of the Big 5.

Recent mainland organizing was directed to longshoremen and inland boatmen, but failed to really take root. The Inter-Island workers struck in 1938. Their union was broken and some fifty of them were wounded when the police attacked their picket line. As years went by it became clear that an attempt to organize longshore in itself was doomed to failure. Longshoring in the Islands is an industrial department of sugar, pineapple and general commerce. The same economic interests that control those fields also control longshoring.

ROLE OF CASTLE & COOK

For example, the principal stevedoring company in Hawaii is Castle and Cook Terminals. Castle and Cook is agent for Matson. They are also agents for three of the principal sugar plantations. Castle and Cook holds the bulk of stock and guides the destiny of the biggest pineapple company—Hawaiian Pine. It also runs the only fish cannery in Hawaii—Hawaii Tuna Packers—and covers many other fields ranging from insurance to the cultivation of madadamia nuts. If we tried to tackle the organization of longshoremen working for Castle and Cook without tackling the main source of their strength, it would be a hopeless task.

Every one of the principles and the sum total of organizational methods developed by the ILWU were tested in Hawaii. Had we failed in any one of them, the Islands would still be open shop and under feudal control. We found that unless our basic concepts of organization could be driven home we would fail to organize.

1. We had to convince the workers that the union was to be built with complete and absolute racial equality. Either we broke down the racial divisions and conflicts built over the years by the Big 5, or organization could never be successfully started. This was not an easy task. There had been a background of failures which stemmed in the main from racial division.

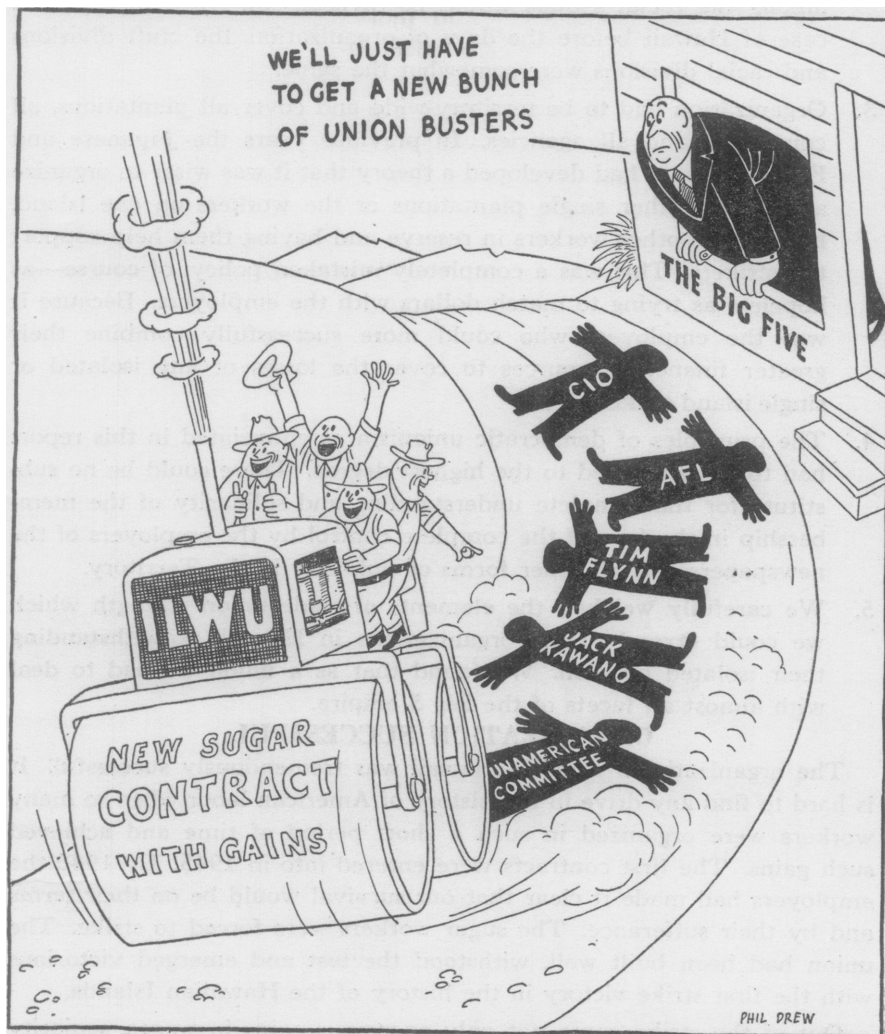
In 1919-20 the Japanese plantation workers struck the Island of

Oahu. They were driven from their homes and forced to camp in parks in Honolulu. Some 1,200 men, women and children died of the flu. Their places on the plantations were taken by Filipinos and other national groups.

In 1924 and 1935 attempts were made by Filipinos to organize and to strike. This, too, was broken; and the workers and their families were ejected from their homes and left to shift for themselves on the beach at Wailokou. Many of the strikers were arrested and jailed.

When the Filipinos struck, the Japanese continued to work.

So, one rift in the racial unity of the ILWU in its organizational drive



—From **THE DISPATCH**, September 14, 1951

in Hawaii, and the movement would have died aborning. Many new organizational forms had to be developed in order to obtain the representation of all racial groups in the units and locals of the ILWU.

ORGANIZATION OF SUGAR

2. Organization had to be directed first to the sugar industry, which was the cornerstone of Hawaii and the principal source of wealth. Unless we were successful in that field we could not expect to crack longshore, or anything else. Organization had to be on an industrial basis, from top to bottom, because as dangerous as splits among the racial groups would be divisions on craft lines; in the case of Hawaii before the days of organization, the craft divisions and racial divisions were somewhat the same.
3. Organization had to be territory-wide and cover all plantations, all companies and all agencies. In previous years the Japanese and Filipino unions had developed a theory that it was wiser to organize and strike either single plantations or the workers on one island, holding the other workers in reserve and having them help support the strikers. This was a completely mistaken policy, of course—as hopeless as trying to match dollars with the employers. Because it was the employers who could more successfully combine their greater financial resources to cover the losses of any isolated or single island strike.
4. The principles of democratic unionism as enunciated in this report had to be developed to the highest degree. There could be no substitute for the complete understanding and solidarity of the membership in the face of the complete control by the employers of the newspapers and all other forms of publicity in the Territory.
5. We carefully weighed the elements of trade union strength which we could extend to the organizations in Hawaii, notwithstanding their isolated position. We found that as a union we had to deal with almost all facets of the Big 5 empire.

ORGANIZATION SUCCESSFUL

The organizational drive in Hawaii was tremendously successful. It is hard to find any drive in the history of American labor when so many workers were organized in such a short period of time and achieved such gains. The first contracts were entered into in 1945. By 1946 the employers had made it clear that our survival would be on their terms and by their sufferance. The sugar workers were forced to strike. The union had been built well, withstood the test and emerged victorious with the first strike victory in the history of the Hawaiian Islands.

Out of the strike came not only enormous gains in wages, seniority rights, job conditions, contractual coverage of medical care and housing,

and many other provisions, but the paternalistic perquisite system was abolished and the feudal grip of the employers on the life of the workers was broken.

Organization in Hawaii took a set-back in 1947 when the employers forced a strike in pineapple; after a few days the workers had to return to work at company terms. Imbued with this success and the backwash of an unbelievable campaign of red-baiting and an attempt on the part of some renegades to split the union, the Big 5 decided to force a key showdown in the life of the union in 1949.

1949 LONGSHORE STRIKE

There was one principal issue in the 1949 longshore negotiations—to narrow the gap between longshore wages in Hawaii and wages paid for the same work on the same cargoes and the same ships and by the same companies, on the mainland. The spread in hourly pay alone, laying aside other contract benefits, was 42c an hour. It was around this issue the lines were drawn and the union entered into one of the most bitter battles of its entire history. The 1951 convention report contains the full story of the obstacles and the attacks which the union had to overcome to fight through to victory.

Several things, however, emerged in a clear light. First, the union had built well and had within its ranks the reserves of understanding and loyalty to see it through the dangerous days. Secondly, West Coast longshore support became crucial at that stage where the employers and the government of Hawaii went into the business of scab-herding. The West Coast longshoremen, true to the principles around which they had built their union and made their progress, dropped the anchor and held the Hawaii strike steady. Out of this battle came a contract provision in the Pacific Coast Longshore Agreement which states that longshoremen in West Coast ports will not be required to handle cargo going to any other port where members of ILWU are on strike and where strikebreakers are being used in their place.

The gains made following the 1949 longshore strike are known to everyone. The differential in wages of 42c an hour has been narrowed to 16c. We believe that the time is not far off when the differential will be eliminated entirely.

The union has proved that through the proper application of its principles and methods of work we can come to grips with the toughest type of enemy and nevertheless establish decent, progressive, militant American unionism.

In this section of the report we don't want to underestimate the attacks and the difficulties which still confront us, nor some of the set-backs we have taken along the road. Yet when added together, we see

in this convention the results of 20 years of progress in the finest traditions of American labor.

The delegates in attendance and the membership at home can well be proud of what we have achieved through our combined strength and under our founding principles. The tremendous advances, not just in material things such as wages and conditions of work but in the social fields of shorter hours, more leisure time, weekends with families and friends, security on the job, the provision against discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin, seniority protection against lay-offs, equal opportunity for promotion, and above all the right to speak up without fear of reprimand or discharge—this, we submit, is real Americanism. This has been achieved by the ILWU.

1951-1953:

The outstanding aspect of the work of the union between conventions has been our venture into such new fields of sociological progress as welfare, medical coverage and pensions. Wage gains, of course, have not been ignored and other contract provisions have had their full share of attention. In addition we have had to continue our struggle against raids by the Teamsters and others. Still in all the outstanding feature of these two years has been the movement of the international union into these new fields.

The same principles that have governed us for the past twenty years, and around which this union has been built, have also determined the type of programs we have developed for welfare and pensions. This has meant a pioneering approach which has resulted in achievements far in advance of most other unions.

Before moving into the whole field of pensions the union made careful studies of the outstanding pension plans and the philosophy underlying the pension agreements of unions such as steel and auto. Nowhere did we find any clear or satisfactory guide.

The coal miners' plan most closely approximated what we felt would meet the needs of the members of this union. Yet, even here, there were several weaknesses, including the reduction of pensions under certain circumstances and the failure to combine an adequate pension with early retirement.

HALLMARKS OF A PENSION PROGRAM

The International finally established the following benchmarks with which to measure the adequacy of any pension program:

1. Whatever pension is negotiated must stand on its own feet and the benefits must be in addition to social security payments. Otherwise any increase in social security payments would only benefit the

- employers. Some corporations following the recent increase in federal payments, now carry a pension cost of less than 1c per man hour.
2. Pensions must be adequate enough to retire on. We are opposed to a pension plan under which workers are forced to retire on a pittance so that instead of enjoying their declining years they are worse off than before retirement. Particularly in industries such as sugar, individuals have been forced out of their jobs and into so-called retirement which was nothing but a one-way ticket to the poorhouse.
 3. Administration should be of the trustee type under which the bargaining parties retain control over the pension payments, administration, eligibility and handling of funds. This can be done even if the plan is insured.
 4. The plan should be non-contributory. In other words, we consider pension payments to be a cost of operation of the industry.
 5. We follow the principle of having *no paid trustees*. This in itself was a drastic departure from almost all trustee plans.
 6. We devoted considerable time and attention to the efficient administration of pension funds so as to secure the lowest possible cost of administration.
 7. The union maintains a continuing responsibility to the pensioner even after retirement. This takes many forms ranging from medical care and life insurance to recreational activity.
 8. The International union preserved their membership in the union for the pensioners and permitted them to continue union activity if they so desired.

NEEDS OF A WELFARE PROGRAM

Similarly, in developing welfare coverage we established certain guideposts:

1. International union believes in preventive medicine rather than in catastrophic medical insurance.

The fundamental weakness of many outstanding medical plans which we studied was that they did not meet the principles of genuinely preventive medicine. Various forms of medical insurance, such as Blue Cross, California Physicians Service, etc., are little more than catastrophe insurance. They do not cover the first visits at home or office and they do not cover all medical costs. In many ways the Blue Cross and similar plans most benefit the doctor when the individual is sick. More illness and operations, more revenue to the doctor. If the doctor keeps you well, he has no income from these plans.

The alternative is a system of pre-payment under which a hospital or a group of doctors is paid so much per person regardless of the number of visits, operations and so forth. Under such a program the doc-

tors and the hospital receive a given amount each month to cover the medical care of the entire group. The more they succeed in keeping people well, the greater their profit. This is truly the Chinese type of medical care; pay the doctor to prevent you from becoming ill.

2. As in the case of pensions, we aimed at trustee type plans.

3. Low administration costs.

4. We were determined, wherever possible, to have our welfare and medical plans cover the entire family group as well as the individual worker. It was the opinion of this union that proper family coverage automatically meant a basic improvement in the standard of living of the membership.

5. As in the case of pensions we sought non-contributory types of plans wherever possible. However, in order to get family coverage it is sometimes necessary to have the worker contribute.

Our gains in the fields of welfare and pensions have not been the same throughout the various divisions of the International. Some of the groups have moved forward rapidly, others almost not at all. One of the principal tasks confronting this convention will be to take a clear measure of our gains and to organize a program of action and support so that those groups which are lagging behind can catch up.

LONGSHORE TAKES THE LEAD

As in many other fields where this union has opened new territory and found new methods for bringing benefits to the membership, the longshore division has taken the lead.

The principal progress in the field of pensions has been in longshore on the mainland and in Hawaii. However, Local 6 has recently taken a first step toward pension coverage for warehousemen with the completion of a pension agreement for terminal workers in Oakland and Richmond. In all these areas progress has been made towards meeting the standards set up by the International for a satisfactory pension plan. All these pension plans are, in basic respects, unique. There are no others like them anywhere in the country.

The Pacific Coast longshore plan which covers longshoremen, ship-clerks and walking bosses, provides for \$100.00 per month to men at age 65 after 25 years service. This is on top of social security payments. It is a trustee plan and non-contributory. There are no paid trustees. Administration costs are as low, or lower than in any other plan in the country. Responsibility for the pensioner does not end when he retires, and longshore and shipclerks caucuses have adopted a policy of granting them life membership.

The pension is one of the most outstanding advances ever made by

this union and ranks with the hiring hall, 6-hour day, load limits and welfare.

FEATURES OF THE PENSION PLAN

Among the distinctive features of the Pacific Coast longshore plan is that it is a 10-year plan. It buys pension only for the men who were 55 years of age or older as of June 1, 1951. Payments into the fund are for this group and this group alone.

Pension payments cannot fall below \$100, but they can go up at the discretion of the trustees. If as a result of a drastic decline in shipping, there are insufficient funds to continue payments of \$100.00 per month,



—From THE DISPATCHER, July 4, 1952

retirements are first stopped and then payments continue until the fund is broke. It is our conviction that there is no purpose in having a pension that is not a pension. If the fund begins to drop to a point where the \$100.00 payments are jeopardized, it is then up to the industry and the union to find the money to maintain the full payments.

Responsibility can't be ducked by cutting the pension payments.

The plan provides for the highest number of retirements of any plan in the country. A total of some 3,760 men are eligible under this plan out of a total work force of approximately 15,000, or 25 per cent. Retirements which began on July 1, 1952 now number 1,411 or nearly 10 per cent of the work force.

The plan was launched by a series of banquets at which the old-timers received a brochure on the plan, special old-timers' ILWU buttons, gold life-membership cards in the union and their first checks.

COMPARISON WITH OTHER PLANS

The only pension plan which has retired anything like a similarly high proportion of the membership is that of the United Mine Workers. In 1949 at the end of about 3 years of operation, 28,134 bituminous miners had been retired, nearly 7 per cent of the membership. Remember, of course, that under the miners' plan at that time men could retire at age 62.

Measure these figures for our union and the UMW against the Auto Workers-GM plan, where the total number of retirements was 3,047 out of 278,000 (just over one per cent); Chrysler, where 695 retired out of 94,000 (less than one per cent); Ford, where 4,430 retired out of 125,000 (between 3 and 4 per cent). Better yet, measure our plan against the ILA East Coast plan which provides \$50 a month at age 65. In that case a total of 480 men retired out of a work force of 36,000, only a little more than one per cent.

What explains this startling difference? Simply the trade union principles around which this union was founded and which have governed its existence for the past twenty years! The kind of unionism that protects a man on the job regardless of age, color or belief. No greater tribute can be paid to the organization of the waterfront up and down the West Coast than that the old-timers were able to stay in the industry, because of their union and because of their hiring-hall, long enough to secure a pension.

We have only mentioned the highlights of longshore pensions in this section of the report. The Coast Committee has gone into the matter in greater details and wishes to call the attention of all delegates to its report which is found in Part Two of the Officers' Report. It is well worth reading and studying.

HAWAII LONGSHORE PENSION

In the case of Hawaii longshore pensions we were faced by a different set of problems from those that prevailed on the Coast. For one thing the work force is considerably younger and the number of men currently eligible to retire is very small. Then, too, we were not able to buck successfully the employers' opposition to a fully trusteed plan. The employers were adamant in their insistence on some form of insured plan. In designing this plan we also had to deal with the fact that a large section of the membership consists of Filipino workers, some of whom are planning to return to the Philippines sometime in the future.

After protracted negotiations over a two-year span, an agreement was finally reached in October-November 1952 on an insured pension plan which differs from any other in the country.

The plan is non-contributory. The employer pays 14c per straight-time hour and 21c per overtime hour, or somewhat more than on the West Coast. The minimum pension payment is \$75.00 on top of social security, payable at age 65 after 25 years' service. Pension payments, however, can go considerably in excess of the \$75 a month in cases of longer service or earnings higher than the average. The monthly pension equals 1% of a man's annual earnings for each year of service. For example, a worker whose earnings are \$4,000.00 a year and who has been in the industry for 30 years gets a pension at age 65 of \$120.00 per month.

One unusual feature of the pension agreement is that if the payments by the employers are not sufficient to meet the minimum requirements for pensions, namely, a \$75.00 minimum pension or 1% of annual earnings, the employers must make up the difference. On the other hand, if the payments are more than is required to meet the minimum pensions, the employers do not get the surplus. It remains in the fund and the union and the employers bargain as to how it shall be spent for additional pensions.

This is in sharp contrast to the usual type of insured plan where the employers secure credits against their premium payments because of favorable mortality, high turnover, etc. These credits may be so great that in the case of contributory plans where there are supposed to be equal contributions by employers and employees, actual employer contributions gradually become substantially less than those of the workers. In the Hawaii insured plan we avoided all these insurance and employer gimmicks.

There are several other unusual features of the Hawaii pension plan. In the event a longshoreman decides to return to the Philippines, or to any other country, he can pick up in cash all monies credited to his account. There is also a disability provision which provides that if any

man is declared disabled (disability being defined "not able to continue as a longshoreman"—not necessarily unable to do other work) he has the option of leaving his money in the fund and picking up his pension at age 65, or picking up his money in cash immediately.

The plan is open for negotiations again at the end of 5 years. If the employers refuse to continue the plan, the employees are entitled to their pension credits—depending on what has been paid in—or the funds may be paid back to the individuals or used for other pension purposes.

WAREHOUSE SIGNS FIRST PLAN

Following the lead of the Pacific Coast longshoremen, Local 6 negotiated its first pension plan, covering some 200 terminal warehousemen in the East Bay. Final agreements were signed on December 31, 1952 and retirements will begin as soon as Internal Revenue approval is forthcoming.

The terminal workers' pension plan embodies the broad general principles adopted by the International to govern our pension negotiations, although in certain features it differs from both the West Coast and Hawaii longshore pension plans.

Pension benefits to the terminal workers will be comparable to those of the West Coast longshoremen. The plan is designed to provide a basic benefit of \$100 a month at 65 after 25 years of service, exclusive of social security. Men who reach retirement age with at least 10 years of service may retire on a reduced pension, with the scale ranging from \$40 a month for 10 years up to \$100 a month for 25 years. No worker can be required to retire before he is eligible for at least the minimum pension benefit.

FINANCED BY THE EMPLOYERS

Like the two longshore plans, the terminal plan is financed entirely by employer contributions—in this case 12c for every hour worked under the collective bargaining agreement. Unlike the West Coast longshore plan, the terminal plan is continuous: that is, all registered terminal workers who remain in the industry until retirement age will receive pension benefits under this plan. It was possible to devise this type of plan for the terminal workers and at the same time provide benefits comparable to those of the longshoremen on a smaller employer contribution because of the relatively younger ages of the terminal men.

Several other features of the terminal plan are noteworthy. There is a provision for early retirement—any time after age 60—on a reduced pension. Also, a man who leaves the industry because of disability will be entitled to his earned pension on reaching retirement age. Here, as in the Hawaii plan, disability does not necessarily mean permanent and total disability: it includes any disablement which prevents a man from

continuing his work in any of the warehouse classifications in the terminals.

Like the West Coast longshore plan, the terminal plan operates under a joint trusteeship. In this case, however, certain routine administrative functions and the investment of the pension funds are handled by a bank under general policies and instructions from the joint trustees.

The descriptions we have given here of pensions plans negotiated by the ILWU illustrate that the guiding principles adopted by the International have brought about the inauguration of pension plans which are basically sound and afford an almost unprecedented level of benefits and protection to our members. At the same time, these principles have proved flexible enough to be adapted to the requirements of each industry and the exigencies of each collective bargaining situation. By setting our standards high and relying, as always, on the strength of our membership, we can continue to make gains in the pension field far in excess of those won by unions which follow a more orthodox pattern.

GAINS IN WELFARE

While welfare coverage already existed in many sections of this union before the last convention, there have been some excellent gains in existing plans. The longshore welfare plan has extended its coverage and, at least as far as the men and their families in the main ports are concerned, it comes close to meeting the standards set up by the International. In the small ports where insurance plans have to be used, the coverage is not nearly as adequate.

Sugar workers, since the 1946 strike, have had a fixed schedule of medical costs in their contract. The coverage is the most extensive of all plans although the quality of medical care varies from plantation to plantation. Workers in the sugar industry have long wanted a form of medical plan which would more clearly define their coverage and also bring added benefits in the way of specialists' care. They have finally secured agreement from the employers to negotiate a formal plan and initial proposals have been exchanged.

In the case of Hawaii longshoremen and pineapple workers, they have moved into the field of insured medical coverage but again governed by the standards laid down in this report.

One of the difficulties confronting the union in Hawaii has been the fact that there are no large-scale medical groups which can offer comprehensive prepaid medical care—such as Permanente on the mainland. Consequently, the union has had to negotiate some type of insured medical plan. Once again, however, we have managed to break new ground in order to provide the best possible service to the members.

HAWAII LONGSHORE MEDICAL PLAN

The Hawaii longshore medical plan is the first one in the Islands that includes coverage of the first visit to the doctor in both illness and accident. The schedule of hospital and surgical benefits is high and considerably in excess of what has prevailed in the past. Pineapple is following suit and negotiations for medical coverage for the regular workers which parallels longshore, and at least basic coverage for intermittent workers as well, are now in progress.

One area in which a great deal needs still to be done in the Islands, however, is that of the administration of the medical plans. The union is confronted here with the same paternalistic, company-by-company attitude which it has had to struggle against since its formation. Although employers are forced to concede that centralized administration and careful policing bring added protection and benefits to the workers and their families, they still resist the type of administrative structure which exists in the mainland.

Many of our warehouse groups have made at least some progress towards welfare benefits: Local 26 (Los Angeles) has negotiated medical coverage in a number of its contracts. The same is true to an even greater extent in Local 9 (Seattle) and to some extent in Local 17 (Sacramento). There has been a breakthrough in a few companies by Local 6 and in the mid-West. Unfortunately, progress in warehouse has been spotty and the big job still remains ahead. One of the main goals of this convention is to set in motion the kind of support that will be required for a major achievement in the welfare field in warehouse.

DRIVES IN SUGAR & PINEAPPLE

Another index of genuine advance toward social gains has been the drive in sugar and pineapple for a shorter work week. Sugar is outstanding. As of the time of our last convention, sugar workers in Hawaii were still working a 48-hour week with the exception of the span of the non-grinding season which lasted anywhere from three weeks to two months. The 1951 sugar negotiations witnessed a major drive towards a Monday to Friday, 40-hour week. By the time those sessions were over, agreement had been reached on a 40-hour week, six months out of the year. There were a number of weaknesses in this provision, however, which were not remedied until the 1952 negotiations. Outstanding in the 1952 contract gains in sugar was agreement for a 40-hour week, Monday to Friday, for almost all workers for 38 weeks in the year.

In pineapple the work week has also been changed to 40 hours for 38 weeks since the last convention.

The achievement of the 40-hour week, Monday to Friday, and its extension almost all year-'round in sugar and pineapple, stands on a par

with such gains as pensions and hiring hall in longshore. It is an achievement of which this union can be proud. Nowhere in the entire country is there a single group of agricultural workers who enjoy even an approximation to a Monday to Friday, 40-hour week.

In Hawaii, by dint of organization, understanding and genuine unity in the ranks, the workers have made the great step forward that makes the difference between working to live and living to work.

SOCIOLOGICAL GAINS IN HAWAII

The men of Haymarket, the veterans of the Knights of Labor and all those who raised their banner with the slogan of "8 hours' work, 8 hours' leisure and 8 hours' rest" would be proud indeed of these men of Hawaii who have not only brought this about but who are now moving towards having week-ends of leisure with their families and friends.

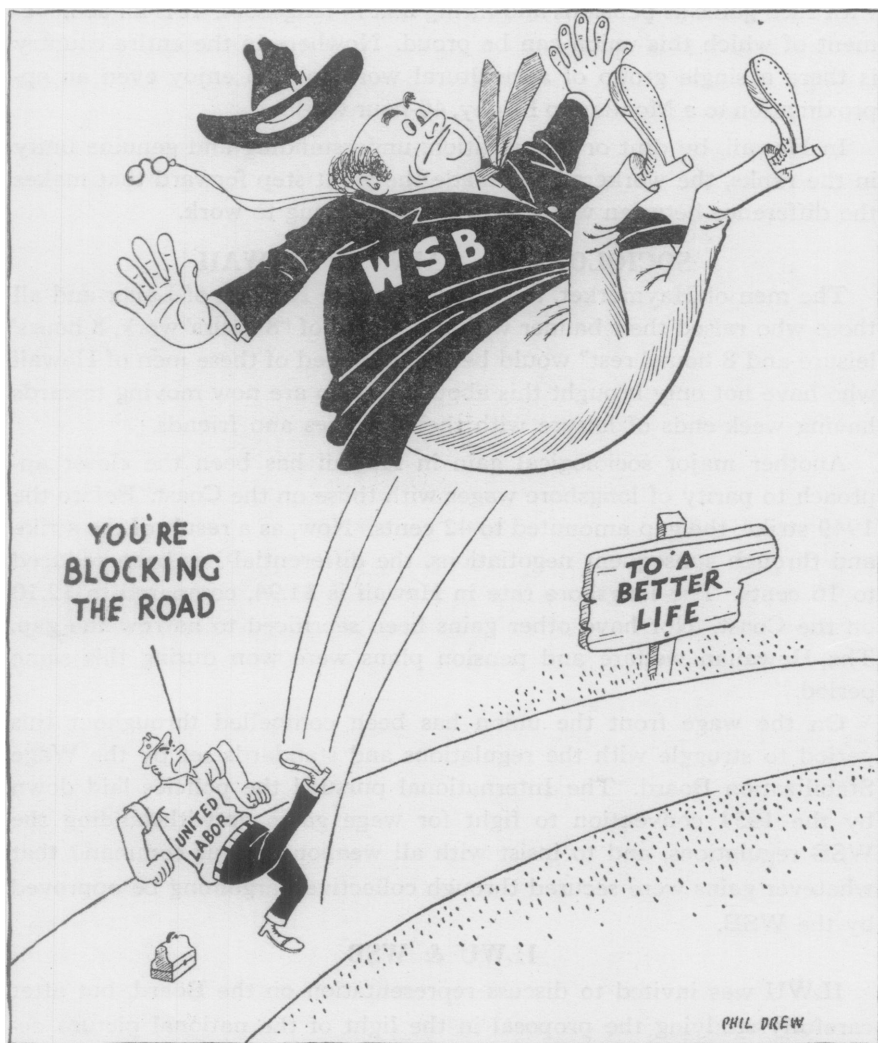
Another major sociological gain in Hawaii has been the closer approach to parity of longshore wages with those on the Coast. Before the 1949 strike, the gap amounted to 42 cents. Now, as a result of the strike and through subsequent negotiations, the differential has been reduced to 16 cents. The longshore rate in Hawaii is \$1.94, compared to \$2.10 on the Coast. Nor have other gains been sacrificed to narrow the gap. The Hawaiian welfare and pension plans were won during this same period.

On the wage front the union has been compelled throughout this period to struggle with the regulations and standards set by the Wage Stabilization Board. The International pursued the policies laid down by the 1951 convention to fight for wage gains notwithstanding the WSB regulations, and to insist with all weapons at our command that whatever gains were secured through collective bargaining be approved by the WSB.

ILWU & WSB

ILWU was invited to discuss representation on the Board, but after carefully studying the proposal in the light of the national picture decided that to do so would be contrary to the best interests of our members. We felt that to join in the work of the Board would result, in effect, in helping to put the union in the WSB straight-jacket. It was considered far wiser to keep our hands free to fight for gains across the bargaining table, and by economic action if we were forced to do so, and at the same time to be prepared to battle the WSB for the results of our economic victories.

It is the judgment of the officers that this policy has paid dividends. There was hardly a single contract negotiated by the ILWU during the past two years which did not in one way or another exceed what WSB



—From **THE DISPATCH**, December 5, 1952

ordinarily allowed. Nevertheless, we managed to get our contracts approved. Only in a few cases, and these involved comparatively minor contracts, did WSB manage to trim the gains picked up in negotiations. When they did so, it was because the local union due to weakness or lack of understanding had hesitated to carry out the International program of mobilizing the membership to fight the WSB. Our experience is in striking contrast to that of most unions where contract after con-

tract was cut into by the WSB, often with the union's own representatives sitting on Regional Boards and helping in the operation.

A few examples will suffice to show how we dealt with WSB. Several major contracts were initially rejected by WSB, or held up pending the usual trimming and cutting job for which the Board became famous. Among these, to name a few, were the West Coast longshore pension agreement, the latest Local 6 wage increase, the fringe benefits secured in sugar, Hawaii longshore wages and pension and the Crockett vacation gains. Each of these was finally driven through the Board and approved as negotiated.

In the case of the longshore pension agreement for the Pacific Coast, a longshore caucus approved a program of notifying the Board that the pension part of the agreement would either be approved as negotiated, or the union would take such economic action as it deemed necessary to secure approval. A delegation comprised of old timers, accompanied by Bridges and Thomas of the Coast Committee, went to Washington. They met with members of the WSB, political figures and particularly, Charles E. Wilson (General Electric's), who at the time occupied the role of assistant president of the USA. The delegation and the unity below paid off. The pension plan was approved.

HOW ILWU DEALT WITH PROBLEM

Another typical example of how the WSB was dealt with was in the Crockett case where a three weeks' vacation was negotiated for that unit of Local 6. The Regional Board in San Francisco indicated that they had disallowed this provision because it didn't conform with what they called "area practice." Local 6 advised the Board that they should prepare to go to Crockett and explain their decision to the men, because the men wouldn't be working—they'd be waiting outside the plant to hear the Board's explanation. The Board changed its mind and decided that a three weeks' vacation was approvable.

In the case of Hawaii, the Board held up approval of the fringe gains in the sugar contract negotiated in 1952 and attempted to cut into the wage increases secured in longshore. The union refused to take "no" for an answer, kept pounding away at the Board and at all times refused to modify or compromise its position. As a result, all of these negotiated provisions are now in effect.

At the 1951 convention in Hawaii we went on record to notify the WSB that any attempt to trim longshore gains would be met by the full resources of the International. This wasn't just a matter of wages; the more fundamental principle was the aspirations of the Hawaii workers

to bring their wages and conditions, and contract levels, up to the mainland standards. If the WSB applied their regulations to Hawaii in the same fashion as they did to other parts of the country, it would result in permanently freezing the sub-standard wages and conditions of the Island membership. The WSB apparently realized that the union meant business. The increases were approved.

PROGRESS ON OTHER LEVELS

All through the union there has been steady progress on wage levels . . . not as much as we would like to see, but almost uniformly in excess of WSB regulations and in excess of what other unions have been able to pick up by going along with the Board.

This has been true throughout the International in warehouse, sugar and pineapple as well as longshore. In warehouse, Locals 26 and 9 have made signal progress. Local 17 has followed a policy of close cooperation with Local 6 and has picked up its share of the gains.

One of the outstanding developments since the last convention has been the regrouping and increased strength developed by Local 6. Because of the treachery of some of the officials of Local 6 during the 1949 strike, which was followed by their attempt to raid Local 6 as agents of the Teamsters, the local was compelled to bargain from a weakened position. In 1950 they signed a contract which provided for a voluntary opening on wages in 1951, and another opening, permitting strike or lockout on wages only in 1952.

There were many doubts in the ranks as to whether we would be able to make any wage gains under these circumstances. It was the belief of the International union that the 1950 contract was warranted in view of the raid which Local 6 was suffering at the time and if the union would fight its way through the raids and reunite its ranks it would be in a sound position to bargain. This proved true, and as a consequence Local 6 was able to pick up 10 cents an hour wage increase in January 1952 and another 6 cents somewhat in excess of WSB regulations, as a result of the June 1952 negotiations.

GAINS MADE IN CANADA

Other sections of the union have made steady progress, thanks to the steady militancy and growing maturity of the rank and file. Our Canadian longshore membership has moved ahead rapidly. In 1951 they won a 27c an hour increase across the board, bringing the basic straight time rate to \$2 per hour. In 1952 negotiations they picked up additional 5 cents and made the first break-through in pensions and welfare. The Alaska longshoremen have been able to follow the wage increase and

welfare pattern of the Pacific Coast agreement, together with maintaining the cost of living differential of the Territory.

In these past two years the union has developed some new approaches to longer term contracts and contract openings. In the case of sugar, the agreement negotiated in 1951 provided for a 3-year contract with an opening in 1952 on wages, hours, overtime and job opportunity sections of the agreement. The 1953 opening covers the items of wages, hours, overtime and any other three sections.

A somewhat similar opening was provided for in pineapple. The Pacific Coast longshore and shipclerks division followed through on the same bargaining pattern in 1952 and agreed to a one-year extension of the agreement so as to have it expire in 1954, with the negotiations in 1953 open on wages and welfare contribution. Penalty cargo rates, skill differentials and vacations are open for negotiations but not arbitration.

While this union has generally followed a policy of short-term contracts, it is the belief of the International officers that under certain circumstances long-term contracts are warranted provided they give adequate security to the union and permit sufficient flexibility in the contract openings so as to cover basic items in addition to wages. The International officers are not proposing that this policy be applied automatically in each and every case. Its applicability must be weighed in the light of the particular circumstances of each case, and of the national labor scene.

During the past two years many locals have embarked on or have completed building programs. Especially to be noted is the magnificent trade union, social, and recreational center recently completed in Honolulu. This building, with the murals by Pablo O'Higgins depicting the struggles and the unity which built the ILWU in the Islands, is a concrete representation of the permanence and stability of the union. Similarly a new headquarters has been established in Hilo and plans are progressing in Kauai and Maui. On the mainland, the longshore locals in Los Angeles and Portland are also moving toward their own new buildings.

THE FIGHT AGAINST RAIDERS

Gains in the past two years in the social fields of pensions, welfare and shorter hours, and in the paychecks of the membership, were not achieved without difficulties. Raids by the scavengers in the labor movement still plagued us from time to time. The Teamsters poured out thousands of dollars in raids against Locals 6 and 26. The CIO continued its undermining efforts wherever it could, particularly in the Cleveland and New Orleans areas. Lundeberg and Ryan renewed their

efforts to move in on the West Coast longshore agreements.

During this period Lundeborg conducted a 62-day strike with the main objective of picking up work at the expense of the longshoreman. The strike failed in its purpose because of the united opposition of the West Coast locals. Isthmian Steamship Company made a backdoor deal with Ryan, and tried to move in with Ryan's goons and scabs to work Isthmian ships on the West Coast. This, too, failed. But this problem is still around and may well emerge as one of the major tasks confronting the longshore division this coming summer.

The two-year period was also marked by a toughening employer attitude. Not only was the WSB a handy weapon for the employers, and one designed to make strong unions weak and weak unions weaker, but it became apparent that a new national employer get-tough policy was in the making. In some cases employers deliberately forced strikes to break down the strength of the union. An example of this was Colgate-Palmolive-Peet, which boldly moved to deprive Local 6 members of gains picked up over many years. This led to an eight month battle from which the workers returned united, but with many of their major goals unachieved. The attitude of Colgate-Palmolive-Peet, in our opinion, is symptomatic of the new national employer get-tough policy.

The Wage Stabilization Board has been abolished, as part of a political move to get rid of price controls—but even more so because employers nationally have decided they don't have to make deals to keep any of the unions in line, and they are now equipped economically and politically to take these unions on. This does not mean that new gains cannot be made, but it will require even greater unity and fighting strength than in the past.

In addition to the raids and the toughening employer attitude are the continued legal attacks, such as the BRS case, the Hall indictment, Taft-Hartley suits, and screening as well as the more frequent use of injunctions and damage suits. These are covered in more detail elsewhere in this report. An important development in collective bargaining has been the effort by some employers to destroy industry-wide bargaining. When the International last met in convention, there was then in progress a strike at Lanai. The strike was brought about by a concerted drive by the pineapple employers to break up industry-wide bargaining by picking out the weakest spot and jamming through their contract offer. The employers were meeting with some success until they ran up against the strong front at Lanai. The Lanai workers, notwithstanding the fact that other groups had already accepted the employers' wage

proposition—and despite the enormous risks and possible destruction in going it alone—decided to fight.

THE LANAI STRIKE

This led to one of the longest and most bitter strikes in the history of the International. The men were out seven months. It was a battle of attrition, with the employers confident that if they sat tight the union would crack. The workers of Hawaii rallied to the support of the Lanai strikers with generous contributions of money and food. As the strike dragged along, other sections of the union, particularly sugar, became increasingly aware of the pitfalls of company-by-company bargaining and entered negotiations which were resolved successfully, in spite of the attempt to wreck negotiations by the arrest of Jack Hall on the eve of the deadline. An agreement in pineapple was reached.

The superb unity of the Lanai workers had won. It was an interesting type of agreement. The membership of Lanai were on strike for 12c against 8c offered by the employers—an 8c already accepted in the other section of the industry and for that matter, in the other units of Hawaii pine as well. As a result of the agreement to end the Lanai strike the other companies voluntarily opened their agreements five months before expiration, and had granted an additional 7c increase. So, when Lanai went back to work they got a 15c increase, instead of the 12c for which they were striking. The companies went back into industry-wide bargaining and a number of other contract provisions were improved.

A fundamental lesson to be learned from the Lanai strike is that the only guarantee of industry-wide bargaining is the full economic strength of the union in all its sections. At any time the employers believe they can wreck industry-wide bargaining, and pick off the pieces one by one, they will do so. But when they know that an attempt to break industry-wide bargaining will simply mean that the employer and not the union loses bargaining strength, then industry-wide bargaining will continue.

In all, we meet in this convention with the best contracts in our history. However, we are confronted with the major problem of considerable discrepancies as between the divisions in gains, particularly in the social field. The convention must address itself to the important task of bringing its united strength to bear in support of those sections of the union which have to catch up.

We believe this can be done, notwithstanding the many difficulties which face this union as well as the American people. The degree to which it will be accomplished will depend upon our adherence to the fundamental principles which built this union and made its gains possible.

"NOTHING TO FEAR BUT FEAR ITSELF"

What is happening to our country and to our people?

Fear runs rampant in America today.

Probably not since the early days of the depression have the American working people and their sons and daughters found the outlook to be so bleak and so barren of hope and promise.

Nineteen fifty-three might be called "the time of the four fears."

There is the fear of a new world war, more devastating and more destructive than anything which has ever happened in the history of mankind.

There is the fear of being unable to make ends meet. The fantastically inflated prices, the astronomical tax burden, the rents which keep growing—these bear down more heavily each month.

There is the fear of being jobless. The apprehension about a crash and a depression which will make millions unemployed has never been so intense as it is today. Workers are equally concerned about losing their jobs because of the growing blacklists in industry, and the investigations which have resulted in increased firings on the grounds of "non-conformity."

There is the fear of communism; the dread that certain ideas and certain people within our own country threaten to destroy America.

These are the principal problems which worry the American people and which plague the members of this union.

The fear of war, the fear of want, the fear of unemployment—these are real; they can be measured, they can be tackled because they have been experienced by the American people.

THE FOG OF CONFUSION

The fear of communism is surrounded by a fog of confusion in which all of America has lost the course.

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas wrote recently that:

"The Communist threat inside the country has been magnified and exalted far beyond its realities. Irresponsible talk by irresponsible people has fanned the flames of fear. . . . Fear has mounted—fear of losing one's job, fear of being investigated, fear of being pilloried. This fear has stereotyped our thinking, narrowed the range of free public discussion, and driven many thoughtful people to despair."

It is this development which the officers feel is so critical to the welfare of the union.

To understand the national scene in which this Union lives it is necessary to study these fears one by one: the fears of war, inflation, unemployment and Communism.

The effect of the war that is here and the war that seems to loom ahead is most savagely written in the hopelessness and the insecurity of the young people of America.

THE FEAR OF WAR

Boys of eighteen and a half and nineteen years of age are being drafted; young people in their twenties are waiting to be called up. Permanent jobs or jobs with any future are not for these young men. So they drift from one temporary and unattractive job to another until they end up in the service. All except the sons of the wealthy. Newly appointed Assistant Secretary of Defense John A. Hannah himself recently confirmed this when he told a Congressional Committee that:

"There is too much validity in the statement that is often made that the son of the well-to-do family goes to college and the sons of some of the rest go to Korea. There is enough validity in it so that it bothers me a good deal."

It bothers the working class fathers and mothers and sons even more.

Although the spending continues to grow and the national income has reached a record new high, the ordinary American, despite all of the purchasing power he's supposed to have, is buying goods with price tags which eat up the entire pay envelope—and more. Working people are spending more than they earn and making up the difference by purchases on credit.

Income is high, but the prices are higher and the taxes to pay for the military spending which makes the high income are higher still. It's a rat race. And the working man, on the outside and running last, knows that there's no finish line in sight.

INFLATION HURTS WORKERS

The inflation of prices and the general economic pinch which exists side by side with the war prosperity hurts. And the people haven't kept quiet about speaking out and saying exactly how badly it has hurt. The housewife who has to stretch the week's pay is bitter—and she has made no bones about it. The people who rioted to buy cheap, frozen New Zealand beef were indicating just how rough it has become.

Oddly enough, with a few notable exceptions, the complaints end right there. Not many Americans are going on to complain about what is making prices high, and to protest about the purpose of the high taxes and to spell out the connection of all this to the war program as was done, for example, in the 1951 officers' report of the ILWU. And how many are trying to do anything to change the situation?

The American people are becoming afraid to speak out. They're afraid to speak out because it might mean that they will lose their jobs; and be blacklisted from other jobs as well.

There's not a single member in the ILWU who isn't feeling the impact of the war and the war program. Many have sons and relatives in the Army. All have been hit by the high prices and the high taxes and they are jittery about their jobs.

FEAR OF BLACKLISTING

When Justice Douglas wrote about the fear that is rampant in our country, he wasn't speaking about all Americans except the members of ILWU. The fear of the frame-up and the investigating committee and the witch hunt is a fear which haunts the ranks of our union, just as it haunts the ranks of all honest and decent people in America.

Our immediate concern here is our union. And the result of the situation we have described has been that the unity and the fighting strength of the union have been weakened.

On the job, especially on the Army and Navy work, working longshoremens are getting to be afraid to enforce the contract. The load limits are being exceeded and the speed-up is increasing. The men are afraid that if they speak up they'll lose their Army, Navy and Coast Guard passes. Many are keeping quiet and taking it.

All over America many working men and women are deciding that it's wiser to go along and keep their mouths shut than to speak up and probably find themselves without any job at all.

Not just longshoremens or seamen, but factory workers, government workers, movie and radio and television employees, writers and teachers, and most recently, clergymen.

FEAR OF INSECURITY

Exactly as young people have discovered that job insecurity is their lot because of the war and the draft, so workers of all ages and of all occupations are being impressed by how insecure their own jobs are.

Such are the fears and the resultant insecurities that have come upon the American people as a result of the war economy.

What has happened under the impact of this war economy to bring on such fear and insecurity even though this country is not at war? Why this contrast in the lives of the American people, so unlike the period of World War II when our country was in dire peril and under military attack.

In those days there was none of the fear, intimidation, hysteria and confusion that now smothers the land. Unions grew, they weren't under daily unrelenting attack. There were strong rent and price control measures. Negro and other minority groups found a little more equi-

table place for themselves in America. There was a unity and understanding that made men brothers—in the darkest days of World War II there were never the fears and suspicions and the haunted looks on the face of America.

THE FEAR OF COMMUNISM

The fourth fear, the fear of Communism, is responsible for the major problems with which we are faced today.

The accusations of Communist, spy, traitor or Red are not new. Not a member of this union, or of any other union which has fought the boss, has not had these labels plastered on him and his organization. Arbitration in Hawaii, the hiring hall, the sling load limit and rank and file negotiating committees, our strikes, and our union, to name but a few examples, have all been called red.

This time the attempt to divide and to confuse our ranks by dragging the red issue into our union has had an effect beyond anything we have ever experienced before.

To the members of ILWU the waterfront screening program has been the first blow that ever shook the job security the rank and file won through the hiring hall. The Coast Guard in 1953 has succeeded in accomplishing what no employer or government agency has been so far able to do—to weaken the longshore hiring hall.

Our members are not being asked to prove their loyalty to the American people but to the Coast Guard, all forms of investigating committees and the union-busters behind them. To them it is not enough to say you're not what you're not; you must prove that you're an anti-red. And even that's getting to be not enough; you must prove now that the reds are anti-you.

COAST GUARD IS OUR JUDGE

It is the same Coast Guard that now stands in judgment over our membership which has had no hesitancy in handing out passes to every thug, ex-con and racketeer who operates in the East Coast ILA.

On the East Coast the ILA, under Joseph P. Ryan, has made the full trip along the path which the ILWU left in 1933.

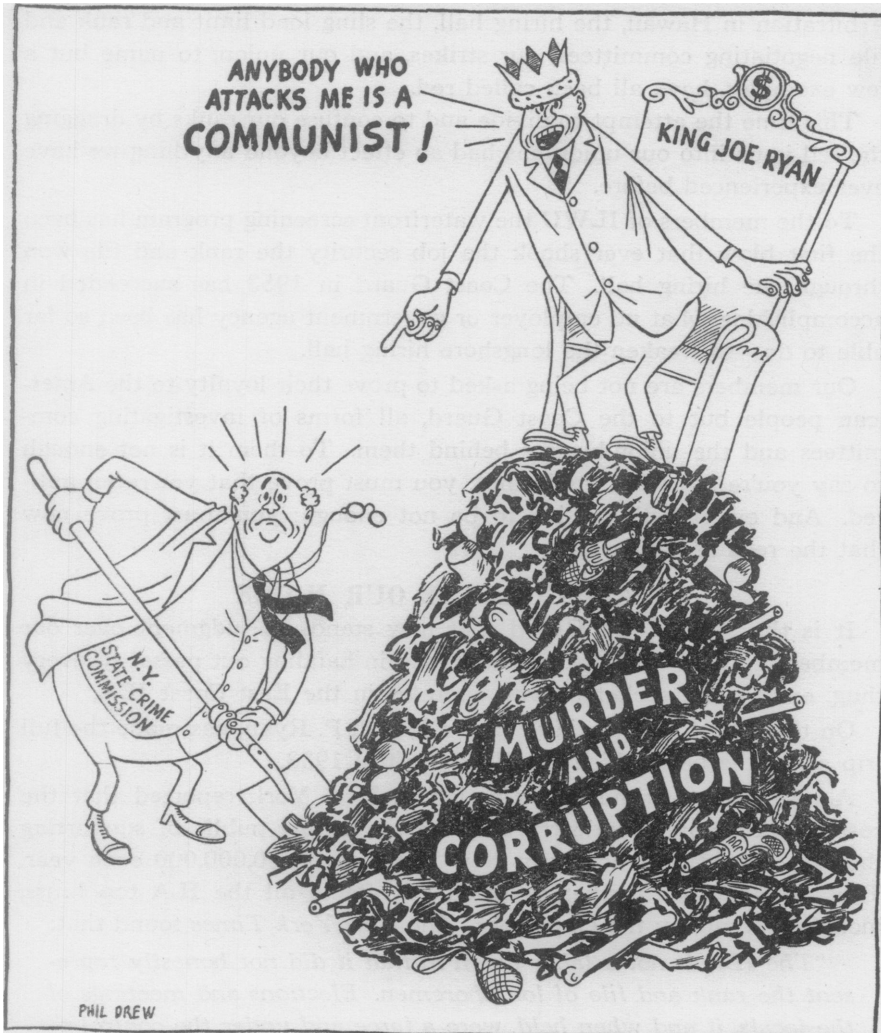
A recent Anti-Crime Investigation in New York reported that the cost to the shipping industry and the consuming public of supporting the ILA waterfront rackets in New York was \$350,000,000 each year. The investigations further revealed payoffs to all the ILA top brass, including Ryan, by the employers. The *New York Times* found that:

"The ILA is not a labor union in that it did not honestly represent the rank and file of longshoremen. Elections and meetings of the locals, if and when held, were a farce and under the control of racketeers and ex-convicts."

A collection of hoodlums and racketeers, calling themselves a union, are squeezing the honest working longshoreman at one end and getting payoffs from the shipowners at the other. Payoffs, incidentally, which are a cheap price for the kind of labor conditions they have: the shape-up, no sling load limits, no grievance machinery and a limitless speedup, no adequate welfare and pensions.

ALL TO FIGHT 'COMMUNISM'

To explain the payoffs, the ILA leaders came forth with this explanation: everything was done in order to fight Communism. The annual



—From **THE DISPATCH**, January 16, 1953

payoffs were simply employer contributions to Ryan's secret "Anti-Communism" fund; that part of these funds went for Cadillacs for Ryan and his wife, for a cruise to Guatemala and for premiums on Ryan's life insurance was not denied.

The ILA complained that they were under fire because they had made enemies in high places in their fight against Communism—a fight, they pointed out, which was more important and more vital to the nation than the fight against "conventional crime." The implication was clear that those who were against Ryan were friends of Communism. The clincher was their plea that getting pieced-off wasn't something of which they alone were guilty. The reports from Washington of income tax fixes, political deals and lush gifts made Ryan look like a piker.

By "fighting communism" Ryan has so far been able to stay in power and continue his fat take. As the *New York Times* pointed out:

"Sporadic rebellion by hard-pressed pier workers, of whom two out of three make less than \$50 a week because the shape-up makes part-time workers of men, have been beaten down by Ryan hoodlums and the cry that anyone who opposed Ryan was a Communist."

Ryan even produced a recent letter from New York's Governor Thomas E. Dewey, the kingmaker who master-minded the Eisenhower nomination.

"On behalf of the entire State, I congratulate you and thank you for what you have done to keep the Communists from getting control of the New York waterfront. Be assured that the entire machinery of the government of New York State is behind you and your organization in this determination."

Ryan's kind of unionism is Republican leader Dewey's kind of unionism. Some gang-buster.

RANK & FILE SOLD OUT

There is no denial that the rank and file are robbed and sold-out; no denial that everything from murder to narcotic peddling to wholesale robbery flourishes on the New York waterfront; no denial that every ex-con and thug who is part of the ILA machine carries Army, Navy and Coast Guard passes. This is "conventional crime," and it is explained away by the over-riding consideration that Ryan has kept the ILWU and the ILWU program off the waterfront of New York.

Is it a surprise to learn, therefore, that the latest waterfront investigation, under Republican Senator Tobey, shut up shop in New York after sounding off about digging up the "real facts," and instead announced that investigators were being sent to the West Coast where a

"more fruitful field" could be found? Tobey will "discover" some "more communism" in unions.

Senator Joseph McCarthy has become a major political figure in the United States because of his leadership of the pack which is "saving" America. Today he is powerful enough to challenge President Eisenhower, to suggest that Secretary of State Dulles is a liar, to proclaim that his patriotism is above that of any other American's.

McCarthy was found, after a seventeen-month investigation by the Senate Rules Committee, to have taken a \$10,000 fee from a housing corporation for a pamphlet which was ghost-written in his name by a writer on the government's payroll. Like Ryan, McCarthy has a secret fund to "fight Communism," and like Ryan, McCarthy used part of it for his personal expenses and part to speculate in stocks and commodities.

SENATOR MCCARTHY'S RECORD

In its careful way, the Senate Rules Committee asked whether in view of his record "McCarthy's activities on behalf of certain special interest groups, such as housing, sugar, and China were motivated by self-interest."

McCarthy's reply was to denounce the report as an insidious attempt to prevent him from exposing communism. Just like Ryan.

It's no secret that decent Senators who were revolted by McCarthy hesitated to take him on because of one fear—that they'd be branded as friendly to communism for having attacked McCarthy.

It's that simple.

We have recognized, in the past couple of years, how this gimmick of communism which has been exploited by the interests of power and privilege in our country has frightened even some of our own members from speaking out.

At union meetings, where in the past everyone felt fully free to use the democratic structure to have his say and—if nothing more—at least to blow off some steam, there has been a change. Conventions and caucuses too have shown that some members, in addition to their reluctance to protest on the job have carried this fear into the top policy-forming bodies of the ILWU. And it's understandable; a single speech might cost a man his Coast Guard pass, result in his denaturalization and deportation from the United States or outright frameup and jailing.

MEMBERS MUST SPEAK UP

The union cannot survive under such a blight. The members must speak up. They must fight back through the Union and they must fight back on the job. In the ILWU every member has the right to speak up and to support or attack any policy or any official he wishes;

and, in these days this right is a responsibility, and it must be exercised.

"Don't stick your neck out" might seem to be a safe line; but the job security and every single gain that this union ever won came about because the members of this union were ready to stick their necks out and to fight. And they had to fight and lick the very interests of power and privilege who alone profit from the red scare.

UNION DEMOCRACY IS THE ANSWER

The energies of the ILWU and whatever strength the union can muster must be directed today to protect the rights of the rank and file to speak up, to protect the job security of the members regardless of race, color, creed or belief, and to rid the members of the inhibiting fear which has eaten into our ranks as a result of the war, the inflation and the witch hunts.

Not all unions set themselves such a course. The CIO's Auto Workers led by Walter Reuther have only recently utilized this fear in the ranks to chop away at the rank and file control over their own policies. At their recent convention there were signs of a real rebellion in the demand for some improvement in the Reuther-negotiated long-term escalator agreements. To counter these demands a constitutional amendment was proposed, giving to the International officers the power to hold trials of rank and file members charged with being "fascists, communists, or anti-union." The autonomy of the local rank and file in matters of trials and expulsions, heretofore absolute, was lost. The amendment was rammed through on the grounds it would "facilitate the fight against the communists!"

Is there any difference between this and the ILA? A member of the Auto Workers must satisfy Reuther that he is not a troublemaker—which means that he won't stand up and talk out and fight back—or he'll be out of the union and out of a job in the industry.

The NMU, SIU, SUP and others, actually use the Coast Guard screening program to get rid of and blacklist any members who threaten the continued tenure in office of the officials.

Our own members are of course familiar with the charges by Dave Beck and Harry Lundeberg that the shipowners who deal with the ILWU should be investigated for possible subversive activities. In this manner they hope to capitalize on the red scare. Lundeberg has even called upon the Coast Guard to keep ILWU and MC&S officials off the waterfront when they go to settle the grievances of the members on the job.

The significance of what is happening to the unions today is that until recently they had remained as one of the few forums in which

Americans could speak out in their own interest. But the assault has been intense—investigations, grand juries, Smith Act trials, the NLRB, Taft-Hartley, the frameups and screening—all have been used at different times against different unions, and with telling effect.

The rank and file of the ILWU must face up to the facts.

We must recognize that honest and decent Americans, loyal and patriotic Americans, are living under the threat of a national blacklist. The resultant fear and insecurity is sapping our fighting ability while economic handcuffs are being snapped on our wrists.

OBJECTIVE: SMASH ILWU!

The objective is to use the gimmick of ridding America of subversives, to drive out of American life the democratic, fighting organizations like this union. Can anyone expect the ILWU members in Hawaii to believe that the Smith Act trial there is aimed to rid the Islands of the 35 Communists which J. Edgar Hoover reported totaled the entire Communist Party membership? It is obvious that the trial aims at breaking the economic and political strength of the ILWU, which is the first organization ever to have challenged successfully the exploitation and the exorbitant profits of the Big Five.

This device must be recognized for what it is. And we will find, as we have in the past, that behind the red drive are those who will profit from the results. They're not the working people.

Any forums for expression and for speaking up are getting the same treatment. Teachers are fearful of discussing controversial subjects, even such subjects as the United Nations, lest they be pilloried and fired from their jobs.

Some churches and some ministers have continued to speak out against the effect of the witch hunting. And the ministers who dared speak up received the same treatment that a longshoreman with a Coast Guard pass would get if he dared to speak out—the hounds were let loose.

Reverend Francis B. Sayre, Jr., Dean of the Washington Cathedral, said in a recent sermon that:

"Velde and McCarthy are demonstrating that they believe that God and the nation are best served by the frightened and credulous collaborators of a servile brand of nationalism."

He described the witch hunters as "operating on the assumption that they are divinely constituted guardians of other men's consciences, other men's patriotism and thoughts."

Because each new voice that speaks out lends courage to all Americans, the wild men strike back. Un-American Activities Committee Chairman Velde announced that it was "entirely possible" his commit-

tee would start an immediate probe of the churches "including individual members of the cloth." Velde is the same congressman who publicly opposed library extension services because he said such education "breeds Communist and Socialist influences."

When Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam criticized the probes and helped set up a Committee on the Maintenance of American Freedom, he said that the Velde Committee:

" . . . follows a practice that is incredible. . . . Our freedom and our faith are in jeopardy. . . . Men who say that in every little red school house there is a little red teacher lie. . . ."

A Committee member replied that "there are Communists in the Church" and that "Bishop Oxnam serves God on Sunday and the Communist front the rest of the week."

The institutions such as schools, unions, and churches are being frightened into silence is bad enough; but that this is being done to us as in our own best interest is even worse.

And this is being done by a gang of politicians, employers and trade union leaders who have a perfect record of never once having said or done a damn thing in our interest.

GM IN THE SADDLE

The new Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson, as soon as he was sworn into the Eisenhower cabinet—after some confusion as to whether or not he'd continue to retain his \$2,700,000 worth of General Motors stock—automatically became an expert on what's best for America and best for the American people.

The Charles E. Wilson who knows what's best for us as Americans is the same Charles E. Wilson who was described in a report of the United States Senate in these words:

"Wilson's department (of General Motors) was highly versed in employment of labor spies, in planting its own gas and other munitions with city police forces and in thoroughly destroying corporation records when the Committee subpoenaed them for investigation."

The Secretary of Defense is also the man who once summed up his program of what's best for trade unions by announcing his opposition to "industry-wide bargaining, closed or union shops, jurisdictional strikes, sympathy strikes, and boycotts"; he favors a return to the 48-hour week.

The members of ILWU would never think for a moment of accepting Mr. Wilson's word as to what was best for them as union members. Yet some of them and millions of American like them accept Mr. Wilson's word on what's best for them so far as the problems of communism or war or high taxes are concerned.

DULLES, REACTIONARY LEADER

John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, is another key man in the Eisenhower cabinet who is supposed to know what is best for the American people. Dulles has been described in this way:

"From the partnership in Sullivan and Cromwell he amassed a fortune. The firm counted among its clients the governments of big business interests of Poland, France, Holland, Belgium, Germany, China, Japan, Denmark, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Colombia. Dulles was attorney for the International Nickel cartel. In Germany, Gerhardt Westrick, later a stalwart Nazi, was associated with his firm, and Dulles represented a New York bank that was financial agent for the Nazi government (the Schroder Bank). He also acted for Franco's Bank of Spain. . . . His long experience in defending international cartels as well as domestic utilities and other huge business enterprises, has naturally influenced his whole political philosophy." (Nation, October 11, 1952).

During the short time he was a United States Senator, the present State Department head was just another die-hard reactionary, anti-labor old man who voted against any improvements in the Taft-Hartley Act and any increase in the minimum wage from 75c to \$1 an hour.

Can a Mr. Dulles who thinks that to pay a worker more than 75 cents an hour is bad, nevertheless know what is good for our nation?

When Mr. Wilson in his first days in Washington with President Eisenhower announced that he believed that "what's" good for General Motors is good for America he was explicitly stating for the first time the slogan that the new administration brought into office.

Some members who have recognized what is going on have tried to simplify it by laying the blame at the door of the Republican party. The fact is that the Officers' Report of 1951 pointed out that even then the witch hunt was being used by Truman and his cronies to their advantage; now Eisenhower and the Republicans have taken it over for their political advantage.

BOTH PARTIES USE FEAR

The technique of spreading fear and confusion is not the exclusive property of either major political party.

In war and in peace these self-appointed saviors have never been right. We'd be fools to go along with them now, we who take second place to no group in America in our loyalty to our country and in our performance in the best interest of the people.

The members of this union have learned the hard way that they and only they can decide what's best for them and best for ILWU. But the people of America are being told that what's best for business is best

for them. And the whole thing is being slipped in behind the wedge that was opened up with the anti-red crusade. The union which refuses to accept the dictum "You don't know what's good for you. You have to be told," invites Congressional investigations, grand juries, Smith Act prosecutions and BRS and Hall frameups. The purpose of these crack-downs is to force conformity upon the union and its leaders. This union has a history of great achievements for the members, of great material gains and of even greater accomplishments in security and social benefits. Now we're being told by some political hack or Washington expert that none of this was in our best interest—that he knows what's best for us.

This is summed up by one careful student of American labor as the shift in government labor policy from "determining what union *is* the choice of the workers to what union *ought to be* their choice." And someone other than the rank and file will decide for them what union is best for them.

Looking back at the battles which built this union and won the gains about which we are proud, we find that not one of these people who would speak for us today was fighting on our side yesterday.

IDENTIFYING THE ENEMY

Remember the record. The people who fought FDR tooth and nail, who tried to kill the child labor law, who hated the Wagner Act, who thought unemployment insurance was "communistic," who have never accepted the minimum wage law and who still haven't accepted trade unions and who want a return to the open shop—these are the people who today would tell us what is in our best union and national interest.

The members of this union must ask themselves how they can permit the future of their country to be decided by men to whom they'd never trust the future of the union. Can individuals who never supported a strike in their lives (except possibly a gangster tie-up like Joe Ryan's of Russian furs to pick-up a \$70,000 payoff) know what is best for our country and our union?

These are the men who have planted the fear of the red menace and are reaping the harvest in profits, power and privilege.

Maybe we won't prevail if we insist on keeping our union as it has been—speaking up and fighting back. But it is the only hope we have as a union, to keep what we have won. Otherwise our union will be lost and our standards will disappear.

We can face the future with confidence, nevertheless. We have a source of strength which is beyond the ken of the witch hunters; it is the working people of America.

We have had unity in victory. We need unity now.

DEFENDING THE UNION

THE FIGHT FOR VINDICATION OF BRIDGES, ROBERTSON AND SCHMIDT

Since our last convention the fight for vindication of Bridges, Robertson and Schmidt has taken the form of a series of appeals through the courts, and broad-scale mobilization of the ILWU as well as other sections of the labor movement and public at large, in opposition to this fourth frameup.

As the case developed and arguments pro and con were made in petitions filed before the courts, there emerged ever more clearly the basic truth upon which the defense is predicated—namely, that this case is a union frameup, part of the over-all union-busting plans of our enemies.

The most recent revelations on the nature of the case come not from the defense but from the very words used by the attorneys of the Department of Justice in their effort to have the Supreme Court of the United States deny review of the conviction.

COASTWISE CONFERENCE HELD

Approximately a month ago an emergency coastwise conference on the case was held at International headquarters. Representatives of various locals in attendance at the conference had an opportunity to examine the status of the case, and they adopted a statement which we quote:

“The fight for the complete vindication of Bridges, Robertson and Schmidt is not over.

“True, the announcement that the Supreme Court would hear the case was a victory. But the union cannot afford to drop its guard. Here is the way the case now shapes up.

“The attorneys for the Government* made important admissions in their memorandum. In every other case similiar to B-R-S—and the Government lawyers themselves conceded this in their brief to the Supreme Court—the courts have decided differently from the way they ruled in this case. In fact the Government’s lawyers were unable to point to any other similar case in which other defendants received the same treatment that B-R-S got.

“The law of the land was most recently laid down in the Obermeier and Marzani cases in which the charges were similar to those in B-R-S. In those cases the Court ruled that inasmuch as the charges were brought more than three years after the alleged offense was committed, the case was washed out by the statute of limitations.

"What's important about this admission in the Government brief is that the Government itself had appealed to have the Supreme Court review and strike down the Obermeier and Marzani decisions and the Court refused to do so.

"Therefore, the decisions in these and other cases are the law of the land. And, it follows, that the B-R-S case should never have been brought into court. Because, when the Government pressed the B-R-S case, they were doing so with the knowledge that they were in direct conflict with the law as already laid down.

"Here are the exact words in the Department of Justice brief to the Supreme Court, 'it (the B-R-S decision) is in conflict with the decision of the Second Circuit in U. S. vs. Obermeier.' . . . 'it also conflicts in principle with the holding in Marzani vs. U. S.'

"Despite this admission, the Government's attorneys proceeded to introduce their latest gimmick—to explain away the different treatment given B-R-S by minimizing its importance.

"Here's how they put it: 'The conflict relates to a matter of diminishing importance.' They invite the Supreme Court to let the conviction of B-R-S go by and they won't bother the court again with such an obvious violation of justice. They put it very neatly: 'While we have no exact figures on the breakdown, we know of no other cases arising under the Nationality Act which would be affected by the conflict with the Obermeier decision.'

"In plain English they say—Slide this one through and we won't try it again.

"According to the Department of Justice, no one will be disturbed if the Court lets this one go by. They claim that all that's involved are three men. But the Department of Justice is wrong—the final disposition of this case concerns the welfare of a union and its members.

"It is for this reason that the union must intensify its actions to expose this latest gimmick exactly as the frameups of the past were successfully exposed.

"What's important about these admissions which have been made by the Government's attorneys is that they show that *the whole case never should have been brought in the first place—and that it should be dropped right now.*

"And it can be dropped. A simple directive from Attorney General Brownell or from President Eisenhower can settle the case by dismissing it. And the grounds for such an action exist in the statements to the Supreme Court made by the lawyers of the Department of Justice.

"President Eisenhower and his new administration have an opportunity and a responsibility, in view of the pledges they gave to the American people, to look into this case.

"Our union has to make it clear that we don't consider the destiny of Bridges, Robertson and Schmidt and the welfare of our union and its membership a 'matter of diminishing importance'; any more than we've forgotten the founding principle of AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL.

"(Signed)

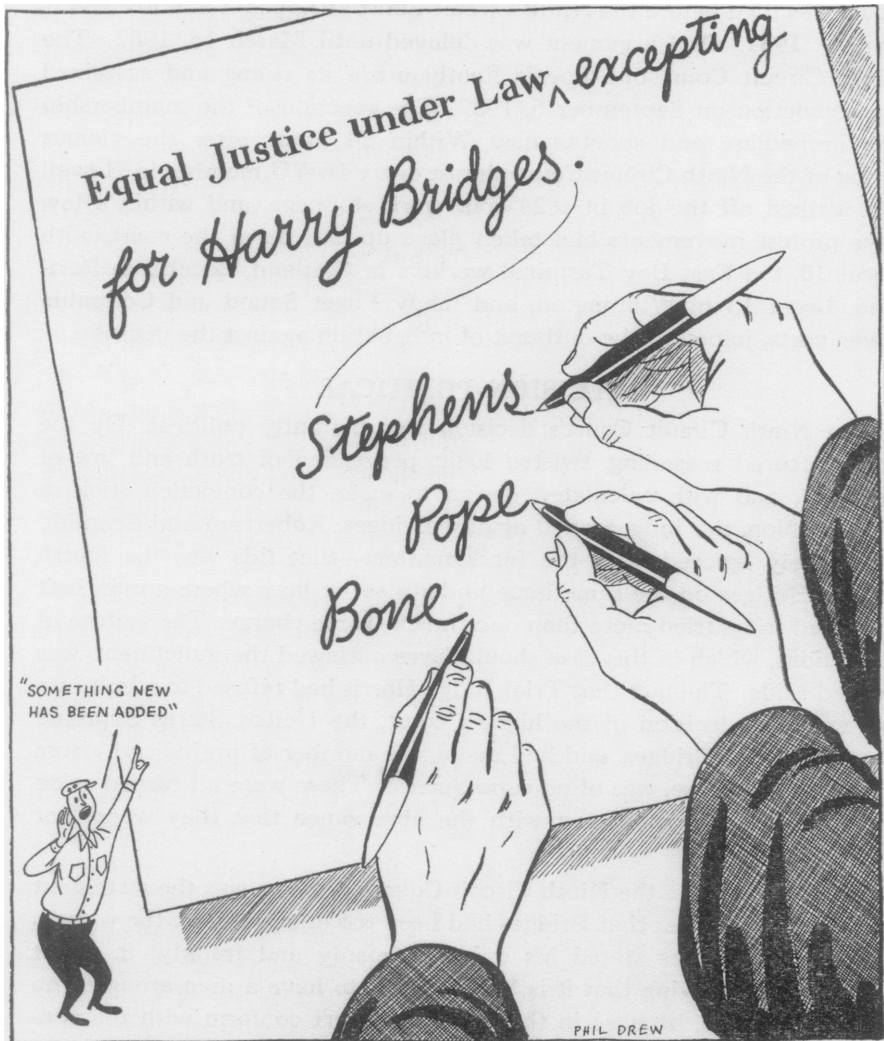
T. W. Simpson, Local 2	Tex Briggs, Local 12
Joe Lynch, Local 6	Gordon Giblin, Local 13
Richard Lynden, Local 6	Frank Thompson, Local 17
Francis Murnane, Local 8	Charles Appel, Local 19
Julius Stern, Local 10	John Rendell, Local 54
William Chester, Local 10	James B. Stone, Local 54
George Walsh, Local 10	Louis Goldblatt, Secretary-Treasurer, Bridges - Robertson - Schmidt Defense Committee."

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT ADMISSIONS

After almost 20 years of repeated attempts to jail or deport Harry Bridges, and in the most recent indictment to jail two other leaders of the union, J. R. Robertson and Henry Schmidt, the Department of Justice has finally moved to admit that this case is the only one of its kind—that the conviction is contrary to all law as it presently stands. Twenty years and four trials later the truth emerges from the Department of Justice itself!

It is only because of the national climate, described earlier in this report, an atmosphere of intimidation and hysteria—and almost national hypnotism through the use of the red scare—that the Department of Justice believes it can so arrogantly suggest to the Supreme Court that they slide this case through, notwithstanding its full horror in terms of limitless persecution of an individual who has fought for his people. They cynically suggest that if the Supreme Court will go along with this scheme to wreck a union they won't disturb the peace of mind of the court again by urging upon them any similar cases.

We believe we are a realistic people. We think that our estimate of the national picture and the devices being used to intimidate and silence the people is an accurate one. Hence, it is quite obvious that had matters been allowed to run their course without the light of publicity and public attention, the jailing and deportation resulting from the Bridges, Robertson and Schmidt conviction would have quietly gone through in one way or another. Only because the union has rallied in defense of its leadership and expressed in strong terms its feelings on this frameup,



—From **THE DISPATCH**, September 12, 1952

has there been a bright spotlight thrown upon the case so as to prevent this type of treatment.

WIDE MEMBERSHIP RESPONSE

The response of the membership in the fight against the frameup during the past two years has been genuinely heart-warming, and in the best traditions of our union and the founders of organized labor.

While our last convention was in session the appeal from the District

Court was filed before the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, San Francisco, April 9, 1951. Oral argument was delayed until March 15, 1952. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals finally made its ruling and sustained the conviction on September 6, 1952. The reaction of the membership was immediate and spontaneous. Within 24 hours after the vicious ruling of the Ninth Circuit Court almost every ILWU member in Hawaii had walked off the job in a 24-hour work stoppage, and within a few days protest movements had taken place up and down the coast, with Local 10, the East Bay Terminal workers in Oakland, Local 8 in Portland, Local 13 in Wilmington, and many Puget Sound and Columbia River ports, joined in the outburst of indignation against the decision.

DECISION POLITICAL

The Ninth Circuit Court's decision was blatantly political. By the most tortured reasoning, twisted logic, perversion of truth and law of the land, and with calculated design to make the conviction stick in some fashion, the judges ruled against Bridges, Robertson and Schmidt. Completely ignored were the fundamentals—that this was the fourth trial of Bridges on the same issue under a set of laws where a man isn't supposed to be tried more than once on the same charge. The statute of limitations, which in this case should have outlawed the indictment, was pushed aside. The fact that Trial Judge Harris had refused to admit into evidence the decision of the highest court, the United States Supreme Court, clearing Bridges, and had made any number of prejudicial errors against the defense, was of no consequence. These were all turned aside by the Ninth Circuit Court with the observance that they were "not important."

More amazing in the Ninth Circuit Court's decision was the statement by one of the judges that Bridges had been too outspoken on the witness stand, that Bridges stated his opinions openly and frankly; in effect the judge was saying that it is bad business to have a man around who speaks his mind, because in the event it doesn't conform with the general pattern of political thinking the least he ought to do is keep quiet or hedge the issues. So, this open advocacy of the rights of people at home and abroad, this determined faith in the institutions of democracy, of rank and file control and militant unionism, and the unbending determination to speak up on these issues—all these were in effect used by one of the judges as grounds sufficient unto themselves to warrant conviction, notwithstanding the law of the land.

Following the decision of the Ninth Circuit Court, a petition was filed by the defense for a rehearing before that same court in October. This was refused and in January of this year an appeal asking for a review was made to the United States Supreme Court. The Supreme Court

granted the review on March 9 and the following day set April 27, 1953 for argument before the Court.

TELFORD TAYLOR ASSOCIATED

Following the adverse decision by the Ninth Circuit Court, the Defense Committee decided to obtain additional legal counsel. They secured the services of Mr. Telford Taylor. His addition to the case as our chief attorney on the appeal is a distinct help. The brief filed in behalf of Bridges, Robertson and Schmidt by Telford Taylor and Norman Leonard is outstanding. Mr. Taylor has a long and distinguished public and legal record. He was Chief Prosecutor for the United States Government in the Nuremberg trials. He held the post of Director of the Smaller War Plants Administration in Washington. He was a leading figure in Stevenson's presidential campaign in New York, and has just written a powerful book entitled "SWORD AND SWASTIKA" covering his experience in the Nuremberg trials. Telford Taylor and Norman Leonard are in charge of preparing the brief to the Supreme Court and will argue the case on April 27.

This union has always seen the frameup of Bridges and the indictment of Bridges, Robertson and Schmidt as an attack against the union. We have continued the battle for the vindication as a union and through trade union methods without relying on legal procedures alone. We are firmly convinced that had the issue been let run its so-called course the case against these officials would have been buried long ago, as are so many in these days of hysteria.

MATERIAL WIDELY DISTRIBUTED

In this two-year period hundreds of thousands of copies of various forms of material on the case have been distributed nationally to individuals and organizations. We have asked the B-R-S Defense Committee to prepare for each delegate a folder containing copies of the literature issued on the case. 400,000 copies of the leaflet "CONSPIRACY" were circulated; 150,000 copies of "THE BIG LABOR FRAMEUP"; 50,000 of one entitled "AMERICAN MINORITIES AND THE CASE OF HARRY BRIDGES"; 30,000 copies of "THE LAW AND HARRY BRIDGES"; and we arranged with the editor of *March of Labor* for a special supplement entitled "THE STORY OF THE 18 YEAR PLOT TO FRAME HARRY BRIDGES"—20,000 of which were sent to local unions throughout the United States. An additional 22,000 were distributed nationally. We mailed 6,000 copies of "THE BIG LABOR FRAMEUP" to local unions; 25,000 copies of the TV leaflet carried as a supplement in *The Dispatcher*, and the same number of the Federated ILWU Auxiliaries' leaflet "EAST IS EAST AND WEST IS WEST, ALL RIGHT" were also distributed.

Many public relations affairs were arranged and uniformly well-attended during this two-year period. Two dinners in honor of the defendants, and for publicizing the background of the case, were held in San Francisco. These were followed by a series in Los Angeles, Oakland, Seattle, Coos Bay, Portland, Stockton, Redwood City and San Jose. Banquets and public meetings were conducted in Chicago and New York. Tours were launched by the Defense Committee, covering not only the West Coast but the Midwest, including Chicago, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Detroit and Cleveland, as well as the eastern cities of New York, Philadelphia and Boston.

UNION SOLIDARITY NOTED

With the co-operation of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, meetings were arranged in Coeur d'Alene and Wallace, Idaho, and in Butte and Everett. Everywhere the defendants went there was a ready response to the defense and support from people in all walks of life. Without question, the fight for vindication of Bridges, Robertson and Schmidt has had the most broad scale support of any battle of its type as it relates to American labor.

The response to the case was not confined to this country. Telegrams of support as well as copies of protests against the frameup addressed to American consuls in foreign countries, and to the President and Attorney General of the United States, have come from the labor movement in such far-flung areas as Australia, New Zealand, England, France and Italy, from Mexico and Latin America, from China, Indonesia, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Bulgaria, Roumania, Poland and the Soviet Union. The facts of the frameup have been published in labor papers and journals throughout the world, reaching workers in almost every language.

IMPORTANT FIGURES PROTEST

The powerful weekly journal, *The Nation*, ran a strong editorial against the Appellate Court decision. Joining in this expression of protest were such outstanding national figures as Dr. Fowler Harper, Professor of Law at Yale University Law School, Dr. Ephraim Cross, of New York University, Bishop Edward Parsons of San Francisco, Waldo Frank, internationally-known author, Dr. Linus Pauling, an outstanding scientist, and many others.

Following the adverse decision of the Appellate Court our main attention was directed toward securing Supreme Court review, thereby frustrating the plans of the Department of Justice to slide the conviction through. We called upon our locals to join in a telegram campaign to new-elected President Eisenhower and Attorney General Herbert Brownell, urging that the Department of Justice withdraw its opposition to a

review by the Supreme Court. The response of the locals, individual gangs, warehouse, sugar, pineapple, was excellent. Review was won and the Government attorneys made their most damaging admissions as to the nature of the case.

N. Y. DOCK SCANDAL DISCLOSED

While this campaign was underway, the disclosures of conditions on the East Coast waterfronts were brought to light in the hearings of the New York State Crime Commission. The contrast between the East and West coasts was so shocking and scandalous that no honest person could help but question just what was going on in this country when the man who headed a union which has successfully cleaned out the gangsterism, vice, cut-backs, rackets and other evils on the waterfront was under threat of jail and deportation, while the mobsters in control of the East Coast waterfronts are leading cushy lives free from harassment, with complete run of the docks—Coast Guard passes and all.

Then another question arose: Was there any doubt but that Joe Ryan and his mob, together with their political connections in high places, would move heaven and earth to extend their rackets to the West Coast? Would they have any difficulty making arrangements with their cohorts both in Democratic and Republican parties to launch the repeated frameup on Bridges and other officers when their other plans to take over the union had failed? Even a cursory knowledge of what is going on on the East Coast waterfronts, and of Ryan's connections with the Democratic political machines, compels anyone to answer these questions in the affirmative.

SUPREME COURT REVIEW SCHEDULED

Climaxing the drive to secure review by the Supreme Court, and to have the Department of Justice withdraw opposition to review, was the trip of a delegation of longshoremen, comprised of Francis J. Murnane of Local 8, George Walsh of Local 10, Gordon Giblin of Local 13 and William Gettings, Northwest Regional Director. These men went East to attend the New York Crime Commission hearings and then proceeded to Washington, D. C. where they spoke with a representative of the Attorney General's office, urging that the B-R-S case be dismissed and that at the very least the Attorney General support our petition before the Supreme Court for a review. They also had an interview with Vice-President Richard Nixon, who promised he would discuss the union's point of view with the Attorney General.

The case is now close to a climax. It is the responsibility of this convention to decide what further action this union can take to defeat this frameup. Beyond this, it is the task of the convention to take such necessary action as will assure that, notwithstanding the nature of the final

decision by the Supreme Court, the fundamental purpose of the frameup—disruption and destruction of this union—will not prevail. In its fundamental objective of driving a wedge in the union, splitting its ranks, weakening its bargaining powers and making its members easy prey for company unionism, the frameup has already been defeated. The degree to which this union understands the case, continues in effect to fight against the frameup and prepares for action in defense of its interest—notwithstanding the nature of the decision—will be the degree to which this union will successfully survive as the kind of fighting organization which has made outstanding progress over the past 20 years.

SMITH ACT INDICTMENT OF JACK HALL

Towards the last days of August 1951, negotiations for a new contract covering some 20,000 sugar workers in Hawaii had reached a crucial stage. The old contract was due to expire. Fundamentally, it was the same agreement, with minor modifications, which had been negotiated at the conclusion of the 1946 sugar strike. In the intervening years there had taken place a rapid growth of unionism on the plantations, development of local leadership and a genuine maturity in terms of contract enforcement and understanding of the nature of trade unionism. The workers were determined to secure a completely new agreement. They had outgrown the old contract, and as a result, came in with a set of demands which in effect provided for rewriting of the contract from beginning to end. These were crucial negotiations in the life of the union.

Negotiations had been difficult and tense. Bargaining under the best of circumstances in Hawaii is not easy, and on this occasion, in view of the fundamental demand for a completely revamped agreement, it was especially difficult. By August 27 negotiations had reached the breaking point. They were at the stage familiar to many of our delegates, where they would move either towards a fundamental settlement of issues or head towards a showdown. Late in the day officials received a call from an employer spokesman suggesting that an informal conference might be in order to determine whether an area of negotiations could be found and whether a settlement might be in sight. It has always been the policy in this union to search for every avenue of settlement before recommending strike action. The temper of the membership made it clear that they did not intend to go beyond the expiration date of August 30 and work without a contract.

ARREST CAREFULLY TIMED

The union decided to hold such an informal meeting with the key

employer spokesman, and it began late in the evening of August 28th. The meeting continued on until 2 in the morning, by which time one of the major hurdles, viz., wages and classifications, was clearly in the area of settlement and indications pointed toward fair possibilities of driving through for a complete agreement. Hall got home about 3:30 in the morning. At 5:00 a.m. FBI agents were rapping at the door demanding entrance; Hall was arrested and hustled off to jail.

The timing of his arrest was no coincidence. The newspapers had been filled with dour accounts of "no progress" in negotiations. Many signs did point to a strike. There was no question but that the FBI and its agents figured that this would be the strategic moment to pick up Hall, torpedo negotiations and force the union to settle for any terms offered by the employers.

The response of the sugar workers to Hall's arrest must have come as quite a surprise to both the employers and the FBI. By 8:00 a.m. the full sugar negotiating committee was in session. Hall was before the Federal Commissioner, where a discussion was in progress on the fixing of bail. The sugar committee, rather than being stampeded or frightened by the arrest of Hall, voted unanimously to suspend all negotiations until Jack Hall was available to meet with them and continue as their spokesman. For a while it looked as though negotiations were completely off, and the sugar negotiating committee announced that unless they could meet with Hall, they were prepared to disband, return to their respective islands and prepare for termination of the contract.

MEMBERSHIP RESPONSE IMMEDIATE

The Federal Commissioner was told of the action of the sugar negotiating committee. He was obviously taken aback and quickly expressed concern lest the committee might disband with consequences that would follow. He readily agreed that there would be no objection to Hall meeting with the committee.

While Jack Hall was in custody of the U.S. Marshal and awaiting a hearing before Judge Metzger on reduction of bail (which had been fixed at \$75,000 by the U.S. Commissioner) an unusual scene occurred. The entire sugar negotiating committee, some 50 of them, piled into the office and waiting room of the U.S. Marshal to meet with Hall and get a full report on the discussions of the previous evening.

At the bail hearing Judge Metzger finally decided to substantially reduce the bail of all the other defendants. They were released the same day. Negotiations were resumed, moved on to Hilo and were finally concluded after the clock had been stopped for a period of 24 hours to permit resolving the tail end issues. The sugar workers

emerged with new and enormous gains with all contract sections improved—wages, security, seniority, promotional schedule, hours of work and many other fundamentals of advanced working and living standards.

WORKERS HAD LEARNED IN 1948

The workers of Hawaii had learned their lesson at the time of the so-called Ignacio revolt in 1948 when some sections of the union were almost stampeded by combined efforts of the red-baiting press and some renegades in the ranks. They had taken a serious setback in contract negotiations. They were determined not to let it happen again. This time the arrest of Hall boomeranged on the enemies of the union, and rather than yield or run, the membership stood more united than ever and forced through basic contract improvements.

Technically, Jack Hall was arrested and charged with violation of the Smith Act. Most people in the country still do not know what the Smith Act is. It was passed in 1940—13 years ago, and the official title is the Alien Registration Act of 1940. Almost all of its provisions are concerned with aliens. As a matter of fact the Smith Act was passed for the immediate purpose of deporting Harry Bridges; it went through soon after Dean Landis upheld Bridges in the deportation proceedings. An attempt had been made to pass a bill to deport Bridges by name. This was obviously unconstitutional and its author, Hobbs, poll tax congressman from Alabama, in reporting the Smith bill, began by saying, "It is my joy to announce that this bill will do, in a perfectly legal and constitutional manner, what the bill specifically aimed at the deportation of Harry Bridges seeks to accomplish." However, hidden in the anti-alien provisions of the Smith Act were several sections which provide that "it shall be unlawful for any person to knowingly or wilfully advocate, abet, advise or teach the duty, necessity, desirability or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force and violence."

BACKGROUND OF SMITH ACT

The bill generally was considered unconstitutional and remained in the statute books gathering dust. With the developing hysteria after World War II, these vague provisions of the Smith Act were taken off the shelf and used to initiate the series of Smith Act trials around the country. It was a surprise to everyone that any attempt was even made to enforce this insane piece of legislation. Smith himself was held in contempt by leaders of the country. Roosevelt referred to him as "the greatest obstructionist in Congress." Mary Norton, Chairman of the House Labor Committee, said of him: "I have taken the trouble to investigate his labor record and I have yet to find a single labor bill for the benefit of the workers of the country that he has ever voted for."



—From **THE DISPATCH**, August 15, 1952

Smith was the author of the famous “Ripper Bill” of 1940, designed to emasculate the Wagner Act.

The vague provisions of the Smith Act, combined with use of the conspiracy gimmick has become an almost perfect device to jail anyone who is charged. The history of the Smith Act has been that indictment is equivalent to guilt.

The charge against Jack Hall is “conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence.” It should be clear this not a charge of *doing* anything to overthrow the government.

This is not a charge of *planning* to do something to overthrow the government. This is a charge instead that individuals "conspired" to teach the desirability of overthrowing the government. Consequently, under this conspiracy device, there is no need on the part of the FBI and government attorneys to prove an overt act, to prove belief in committing an overt act, or to prove any plan to commit an overt act.

THESE ARE TRIALS OF BOOKS

The Smith Act trials are built around books. The formula is standard. The prosecution reads from books. The reading goes on for weeks and months. They pick out the purple passages in books about the Russian revolution, economics, Karl Marx, Lenin or any other authors they can find. The prosecution then proceeds to try to prove that individuals had knowledge of these books. Finally, they call for conviction on the ground that knowledge of these books is equivalent to teaching the overthrow of the government by force or violence. This may sound weird, but it is exactly what happens in Smith Act cases.

In the trial of Jack Hall, the prosecution read from books for months on end. Witnesses such as Crouch and Lautner, who are professional government witnesses in all these trials, testified at great length about what the Communist Party is supposed to stand for and what the books are supposed to mean. Time and again the defense kept raising the question, "What does this have to do with Jack Hall?" Each time the prosecution would announce they would "tie it all in later." Each time, over defense objections, the witnesses were allowed to proceed with their gory tales of blood and revolution.

In all cases these were witnesses who had never seen Jack Hall, knew nothing about him and wouldn't recognize him if they met him on the street. Still, all their testimony was admitted as "expert" testimony on what the books are supposed to mean. Local witnesses were called to testify that they had seen Jack Hall at meetings, yet when the prosecution's case was completed, not a single book had been "tied in"—as the prosecution so deftly put it during their presentation—to Jack Hall; not a single witness had testified that Jack Hall had ever read any of the books; not a single witness said that Jack Hall had ever quoted from any of these books, or for that matter, even possessed any of these books. Not a single witness testified that at any time had Jack Hall ever, in any form, advocated or taught overthrow of the government by force and violence. Yet the judge, who throughout the case had ruled consistently with the prosecution, refused to strike all these books as they applied to Hall and refused to issue a directed verdict of acquittal.

The judge presiding in the case is Judge Jon Wiig. He took the place

of Judge Metzger, one of the most outstanding and courageous jurists in the country.

JUDGE METZGER PUNISHED

Judge Metzger was made a political victim by the administration because of his action in lowering bail to a reasonable figure from a punitive one. It should be borne in mind that federal judges in the Territory of Hawaii are appointed for 6-year terms rather than for life, as on the mainland. Nothing more need be said as to whether they are subject to political pressure.

The question might well be asked, "Why did the prosecution go ahead with the trial of Jack Hall and the other defendants if they had no case?" In this particular instance we have the answer on the record. Following the indictment of Jack Hall, the FBI agents went about the job of rounding up witnesses who would testify against Hall. It is apparent, both in their efforts before the trial and from witnesses who have appeared, that they simply couldn't make out a case against Hall, or the other defendants for that matter.

One of the individuals approached as a potential witness was Dave Thompson, educational director of the ILWU in Hawaii. Thompson did not like the idea of speaking to FBI agents without a witness present, yet he was aware of their policy of refusing to interview anyone in the presence of others. Thompson knew of other cases where the FBI had interviewed people and then distorted and twisted what they had to say and used the information in various underhanded ways. Consequently, to protect himself, he made arrangements to place a microphone in his living room and to have his conversation with the agents recorded. The ILWU has the full record of this conversation.

FBI IS EXPOSED

In the course of Thompson's conversation with FBI Agents Burrus and Condon, it became more and more apparent that they had no case against Hall and that they had had no luck digging up or fabricating a case against him. But what emerged in addition, and what was most important, was the reason for the indictment of Jack Hall. The FBI agents laid it on the line. They were interested in "conditioning" individuals within the union, such as Thompson and others, who would join in a scheme to take over the union in Hawaii, break its ties with the mainland and convert it into a company union. When it came to the question of Jack Hall, they told Thompson point-blank that if Hall would cooperate in this over-all scheme, they would take steps to see to it that his indictment was dropped. As they put it, if Hall would cooperate with their plans, they would help make it "6 instead of 7" defendants.

We have the record and transcript of these conversations available for the delegates to this convention. You can hear from their own mouths the FBI offers to have Jack Hall join in the plan to split the union, and their offer to drop the charge against him if he agreed to cooperate.

A DEAL IS OFFERED

The conclusion to be drawn is obvious. At the time they brought the indictment against Hall they figured that the indictment in itself would split and disorganize the union in Hawaii and make it a sitting duck. When that didn't work, they offered Hall a deal to accomplish the same ends. In exchange for his cooperation they would drop the case. When Hall refused to betray the workers of Hawaii to whom he has dedicated practically all his adult years, the FBI and Department of Justice decided to bull their way through and try to make the indictment stick through their standard operating procedure for Smith Act trials.

What we are witnessing in Hawaii is truly trial by witchcraft. It is all done under the auspices and dignity of a federal court. The props would give the appearance of a regular trial, proceeding in ordinary fashion, yet fundamentally what is going on is a trial of books and the legal lynching of individuals through hysteria.

It is truly fantastic that the trial continues. Everyone in Hawaii knows that if the FBI had a case against Hall they would have prosecuted him under the provisions of Taft-Hartley. He signed a Taft-Hartley affidavit several years ago. If they could prove that he swore falsely, the penalty is as drastic as 10 years in jail. But in that case they wouldn't have the props they need for Smith Act trials—the books, the readings, the hysteria.

FAIR TRIAL IMPOSSIBLE

Such a thing as a fair trial under the Smith Act is impossible. It can't be done. It is not a trial of acts, it is not even a trial of saying something or doing something or saying something should be done. It is the vague conspiracy indictment predicated on books and readings which don't even have to be tied up to the person accused.

The membership in Hawaii has not been fooled by the indictment or the trial. They have made it clear in protest demonstrations, meetings, resolutions and every other form of action that they recognize the trial for what it is—union busting, administration style. It is part of the technique of pushing people in line and of controlling unions. If anyone dares speak up and insist that the rank and file and only the rank and file has the right to determine their own destiny, he is put on a wheel.

Another aspect of the trial in Hawaii which cannot be overlooked is the enormous expense entailed in the conduct of such a trial. The gov-

ernment prosecutors are at liberty to draw without limit on the Treasury of the United States. The readings go on interminably. Their paid agents and professional witnesses are hauled in from all corners of the country. Stool pigeons are given lush pay and expense accounts and a pleasant stay at one of the beach hotels. The cost of the record alone would be out of the reach of any individual. Beyond question one of the objectives in the Smith Act trials is to make it so expensive that the rank and file will finally throw in the towel and say that even though they are rotten frameups and union busting, they just can't carry the load.

What a travesty on America and all things fine in this country that a man such as Jack Hall, who has given the best years of his life for the oppressed working people of Hawaii, who has done more than any single individual to bring the basic standards of American decency to workers who lived under feudalism within the borders of this country, is the victim of this rotten government persecution.

THE PLAGUE IS SPREADING

Hall is not alone as a victim of this attack. The plague is spreading as the International officers warned in previous conventions. The Smith Act trials started with Communists. Now, it is some Communists and a unionist. Next it will be all unionists or anyone else who fails to bend the knee.

In the Northwest, Karley Larsen, an old, seasoned, true fighter in the ranks of the Woodworkers has been indicted under the Smith Act. In the Middle West, Bill Sentner, a pioneer in the building of the Electrical Workers Union is also under indictment.

Naturally our union is doing all it can to fight the frameup of Jack Hall. It must be realized, however, that this country will continue on sad and evil days until such time as the American people call a halt to this 20th century witchcraft.

THE McCARRAN-WALTER ACT

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, more familiarly known as the McCarran-Walter Act, became effective on December 24, 1952 as a sort of Christmas present from Senator McCarran. The manner of its advent upon the scene was both spectacular and ironic. This was the day when the French liner *La Liberté*, on its arrival in New York harbor, became a floating detention center for 270 members of its crew who either failed to meet the stringent new screening requirements of the Act, or refused to submit to inquisition by Immigration officers. It was tragically symbolic that a vessel with the proud name of "Liberty" should fall the first victim of the new immigration law.

The McCarran-Walter Act has been represented by its proponents as merely a codification and modernization of previously existing immigration and alien statutes. Actually, it is much more than that. It contains many new features which give legal sanction for the steadily mounting drive to force aliens and citizens alike into a political straitjacket. In this sense it is as "modern" as McCarran and McCarthy.

McCARRAN IS THE JUDGE

It would be impossible to catalogue in this report all the evils of the McCarran-Walter Act. Its trademark alone should be sufficient indication of its basic purpose—to make the United States "secure" for those who think and act like Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada and Representative Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania. Sagebrush Caesar needs little introduction. Congressman Walter will be remembered as chairman of the sub-committee of the House Un-American Committee which held hearings in the Islands three years ago—hearings which resulted in contempt citations against members of ILWU in Hawaii and helped to set the stage for the indictment and trial of Jack Hall. More recently Congressman Walter attained even wider public prominence with an angry outburst on the floor of the House attacking the "professional Jews" who dared to criticize certain anti-Semitic features of the law which bears his name. The French seamen who stood their ground against the Immigration Service he characterized as "a crew of throat-slitters." This is the kind of political and racial hatred which has come to legal life in the provisions of the new immigration act, and which determines its essential character.

There has been some confusion on this matter. The Japanese-American Citizens League, for example, testified in favor of the law before President Truman's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization. They felt that despite its objectionable features, it should be supported because it permitted some immigration from Japan as well as the naturalization of certain persons of Japanese ancestry heretofore not eligible for naturalization.

LAW DENOUNCED BY ALL

The JACL however, was one of the few organizations representing a minority group that supported the law. Practically all of them condemned it as essentially racist in character. They pointed out that it perpetuated the quota system which has long been recognized as discriminatory against all but the Western European countries. They noted that the quotas for those parts of the world inhabited by non-whites were infinitesimal quotas. The Japanese quota, itself, is only 185 per year. A representative of the Chinese-American Citizens Alliance pointed out that though the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed, the Immigration

and Naturalization Service, because of its racist bias, was continuing to discriminate in its administrative procedures against the Chinese.

Actual authors of the bill and its enforcement regulations were officials of the Immigration and Naturalization Service itself, an administrative agency whose practices are well-known to the ILWU. It has been actively responsible for almost two decades of persecution of Harry Bridges. It has figured prominently in attacks on Ernest Mangaoang, Chris Mensalves and other brothers in Local 37 who face deportation. There is also the case of Simeon Bagasol, a member of Local 137 in Hawaii; and of Ernie Fox of Warehouse Local 6, who has been doubly victimized by Smith Act prosecution and the threat of deportation.

IMMIGRATION SERVICE INSPIRED IT

Certain habitual procedures and policies of the Immigration Service which have been almost universally condemned in responsible quarters are now given broad and sweeping sanction, dangerous not only to the rights of aliens but to all American citizens. More and more, aliens who have committed no crime and who are charged with no crime will be subject to imprisonment without bail. More and more, arrests can be made without warrant, to be followed by detention for indeterminate periods. Aliens will be held incommunicado and subjected to examination without counsel and without knowledge of their legal rights or status. Agents of the Service will continue to act as accuser, prosecutor, judge, and jury in proceedings against the foreign-born. There will be more and more professional informers—recruited under pressure in many cases, among the victims of the law—who travel around giving paid testimony against aliens who face deportation and citizens who have run afoul of the law.

Of particular and immediate concern to members of ILWU is the fact that under the McCarran-Walter Act an alien who seeks entry into the continental United States from Alaska, Hawaii or any other outlying possession of the United States can be detained by the Immigration Service and deported—not just to Alaska or Hawaii but back to the country of his origin.

ILWU MEMBERS AS TARGETS

We anticipate that the full impact of this provision of the law will be felt by the 2,000 Filipino-American members of Local 37 who leave Seattle for Alaska each summer to work in the salmon canneries and return to work in the winter and spring in the agricultural areas of the West Coast. These workers have been consistently harassed for the last five years by John P. Boyd of the Seattle Immigration Service, who has repeatedly attempted to interfere in union affairs in the interests of the employers. Seven members of the negotiating committee of Local 37

were arrested and imprisoned during the course of negotiations with the Alaska salmon industry. At least a hundred members of the union have been questioned by the service on ILWU policies and program, in an obvious attempt to recruit informers against leaders of the union. Only recently Chris Mensalves was jailed for six days because he refused to sign a paper stipulating certain unsavory conditions under which he could remain free.

With such a background, we can expect anything from Mr. Boyd, who has publicly announced that immigration officers will meet every ship coming to Seattle from Alaska, and that anyone on board who can't prove he is an American citizen—and a desirable one at that—will be refused permission to walk ashore. Boyd's program, if allowed to operate unhindered, would effectively deprive our members of jobs which some of them have pursued for 25 years.

LOCAL 37 STRIKES BACK

Local 37 has sued in the Federal District Court for injunction against such action and against the operation of other provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act which the union considers unconstitutional.

There are likewise thousands of Filipino-Americans—members of the ILWU—in the Hawaiian Islands, who were brought there to work on the sugar and pineapple plantations. It well may be that before this report reaches the hands of the delegates to this convention some of these brothers, elected by their locals to represent them here, may be screened by the Immigration Service.

Our Filipino brothers suffer further from the fact that the McCarran-Walter Act limits immigration from the Philippines to 100 per year. Men who came to Hawaii without their families to perform a vital job in American industry will have to wait for years before their wives and children can come in under the quota.

In contrast to these conditions, it is worthy of note that the Philippine government, under agreement with the United States, allows American citizens to go to the Philippines in unlimited numbers, with no restriction on their activities or occupations. This sort of reciprocity is typical of the international arrogance and the false premise of racial and national superiority which underlie the whole substance of the McCarran-Walter Act.

WORLD-WIDE INDIGNATION AROUSED

There is ample evidence that the immigration policy of the United States, as embodied in the Act and enforced by the Immigration Service, has aroused indignation and alarm throughout the world, even in countries considered our staunchest allies.

European shipping circles have objected loudly against the screening and exclusion of seamen, prompted by fear of financial loss due to delays in sailing and the possibility that their crews might take action in solidarity with fellow workers who do not pass American screening tests. The State Department has received protests from the governments of Britain, France, Norway, the Netherlands and other major maritime nations.

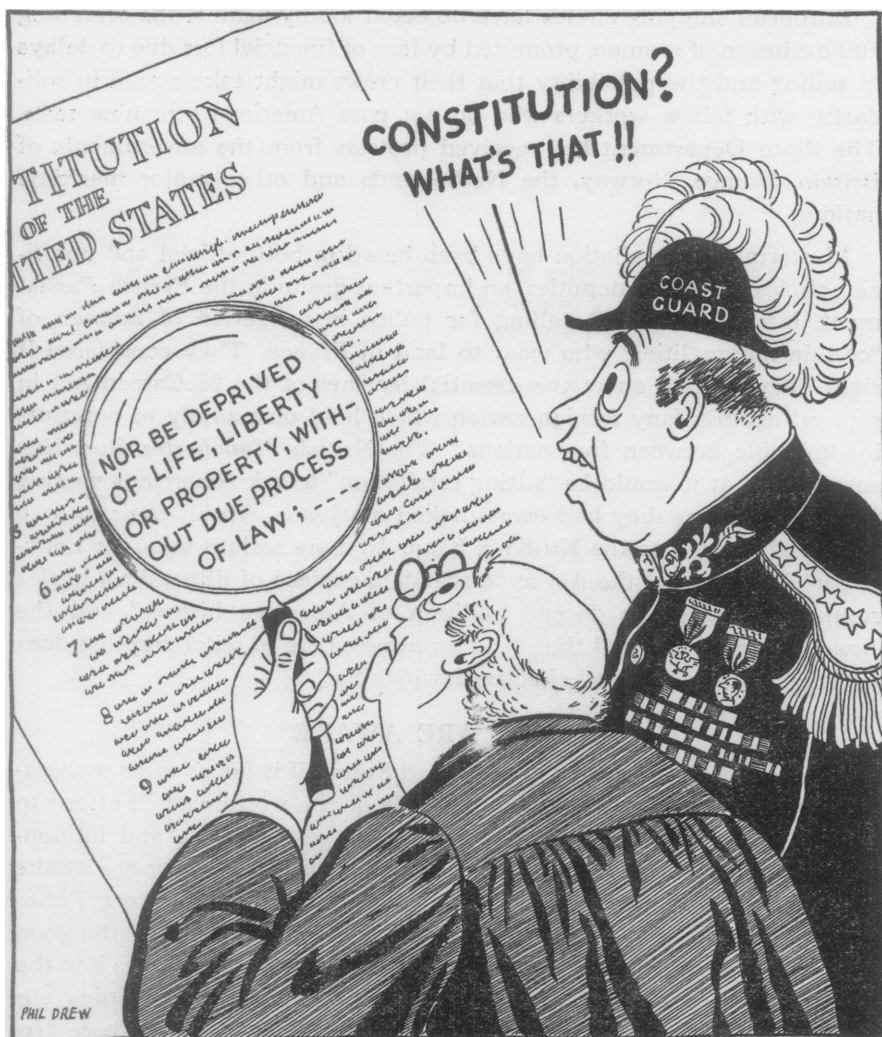
Mutterings of retaliation have been heard in both official and unofficial circles. Socialist deputies, an important group in the French Parliament, introduced a bill calling for police investigation of seamen of "certain nationalities" who want to land in France. They considered it right, they said, to enact the essential features of the McCarran Act in reprisal against "any foreign nation which hold obstinately to practices inadmissible between free nations." The British *Manchester Guardian* suggested that it would be "fitting retaliation" to ask Americans visiting England whether they had ever smoked marijuana, "fixed" their income taxes or belonged to the Ku Klux Klan. In more serious vein, the newspaper characterized the Act as "a scandalous piece of illiberalism in flat repudiation of every decent tradition of American history" and the *London Times* declared that "... an atmosphere of witch-hunting does not make for prudent and effective lawmaking."

PEOPLE ARE AWAKE

These are reactions which the United States, if it hopes to be a champion and protagonist of freedom throughout the world, can ill afford to ignore. It is heartening to note that certain conservative and influential spokesmen for the press and government in this country are awake to some of the dangers inherent in the Act. Thus, the *New York Times* states, "The question that the new regulations raise is whether the good they might do in making more difficult the entry of undesirables into the United States is not outweighed by the harm they do in straining our relations with friendly foreign governments and people. . . . There are, of course, many other more important parts of the law which also need revision; and we trust that the new Administration will lose no time in undertaking this work."

President Eisenhower promised to see that the Act is amended. We should bring every possible pressure to bear to see to it that he follows through on this commitment.

At the same time, your officers believe that the only ultimate program consonant with the democratic traditions of this country and the principles of the ILWU is repeal of the statute and a thorough overhaul of the Service entrusted with its enforcement.



—From **THE DISPATCH**, June 20, 1952

SCREENING

There is now clear understanding throughout our union that the so-called waterfront security program is a union-busting device. This has become abundantly clear in the past two years of experience with the Coast Guard's operations.

The screening resolution adopted at our last convention described the screening program in the following terms:

"The present screening program . . . is not a genuine security program.

On the contrary, it introduces the greatest element of insecurity on the job that longshoremen, seamen and other affected workers have had to face since the days of the open shop, the 'American' plan and 'yellow dog contracts.

"Both in purpose and in practice, screening is a program to break down conditions and, if possible, to destroy effective militant unionism such as has always characterized the ILWU.

"The screening program must of necessity aim to intimidate men on the job, and drive from the industry and blacklist all those who demand the enforcement of union agreements and who openly and effectively oppose breaking down of union wages and conditions by the military."

ILWU POSITION FIRM

Since the last convention our position on screening has become firmer as our understanding of its significance has deepened. We have seen men screened who, by common consent of the membership, cannot by any stretch of the imagination be considered "subversive." In this category are some of our regional officials, men who are respected up and down the coast, in their communities as well as in the union. We know they are screened because they are leaders of the union.

We have continued to hear details of the so-called "hearings" at which men are asked about their fathers' views or their children's, or are considered dangerous to waterfront security because they were active in I.P.P. or hold insurance with the I.W.O., or once belonged to the I.W.W.

We now know that men are denied clearance on "information" supplied by divorced wives, ex-girl friends with a beef, personal enemies in and out of the union, malicious stories from neighbors and other phoney reports prepared by various government agencies.

There is plenty of evidence to show that men with long service to the union are being denied work because of their activities on the floor of their locals, the speeches they made there and the way they voted on clear-cut union issues and programs.

THE QUESTIONS THEY ASK

This is shown by revealing questions such as:

"How did you vote on that issue in your union meeting?"

"Have you ever tried to get the membership of your post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars to go on record in support of Harry Bridges?"

And along with questions like these, there have been propositions in effect offering men clearance in return for information on what went on at union meetings, or information about their union brothers, or in return for a promise not to fight for the position they have been taking.

In view of the known anti-labor bias of the Coast Guard, its activi-

ties in connection with the screening program are easy to understand. The Coast Guard furnished sea-going scabs in 1934. The role of the Coast Guard as a strike-breaking agency was again shown very clearly during the MEBA beef with Isthmian. Captain Yost, an Isthmian official, testified before Arbitrator Sam Kagel during the MEBA strike that it was Isthmian policy to have the Coast Guard lift the licenses of marine engineers who obeyed their union's orders to walk off the ships.

The most conclusive tip-off on the Coast Guard's "security" program is the fact that, to the best of our knowledge, all the New York mobsters, gangsters and racketeers have been cleared by the Coast Guard. In view of the well-known and much-advertised criminal records of scores of these men and in view of such catastrophes as the burning of the Normandie during World War II, it is remarkable, to say the least, that the Coast Guard apparently considers that these men constitute no security risk.

EAST COAST GOONS CLEARED

We quote below an item from the recently issued Presentment of the Hudson County (New Jersey) Grand Jury (1950 Term, 3rd Session) in the matter of the "Investigation of the murder of one Nunzio Aluotto and of criminal conditions existing on the waterfront throughout the County of Hudson" (page 13):

"In one instance we found that a ship jumper was a convicted saboteur, having served time in a Federal penitentiary during the second World War, thereafter was confined in a Detention Camp, and then deported to his native country in Europe; yet he returned to this country as a ship jumper and, after one day, he too had a place where to live, had a Union button of the International Longshoremen's Association, and was working on the piers."

What sort of security program is it when characters like this are not screened but when active union ILWU members are stopped from doing work they have done for years?

Besides hitting the militant men who speak up at union meetings or who have risen to position of leadership in the union, the screening program has been directed especially at Negroes. This, too, is a union-busting device because the strength of our union is built, to an important degree, upon unity among all the racial and nationality groups which make it up. Any move that is aimed at any single group which for one reason or another may be thought vulnerable, is a move against the union.

CAUCUS TAKES STRONG STAND

It was the growing realization of these facts that led the caucus of longshoremen, shipsclerks and walking bosses, meeting in San Francisco

in November 1951, to adopt a strong resolution on the screening program. After reciting the facts and after reiterating our insistence that every screened man be assured the safeguards of due process, the resolution took an important step beyond our previous position:

"That we give full support to any member of the ILWU who, having been denied Army-Navy work, is prevented from a full share of commercial work. We will refuse to work any commercial job where any such attempt is made."

This resolution was put to a referendum vote of the Division and was adopted by a coastwise vote of 6171 to 2960. The position was also endorsed by a majority of the locals up and down the coast. It was reiterated by the July 1952 Caucus.

The only occasion on which this policy has had to be invoked was in Portland last May, when the Coast Guard told the men reporting to a grain job that they needed passes. The men refused to work and the local refused replacements. The Coast Guard backed down.

In June 1952 our fight against the screening program received support from a decision by Federal Judge John C. Bowen in Seattle. In a test case involving seamen, Judge Bowen held that the Magnuson Act violates the 5th Amendment to the Constitution by depriving a man of his job without due process of law.

COAST GUARD ADMISSIONS

In another court case, however, the judge has been sitting on the matter since July 23, 1952. On behalf of the several members of MCS, an injunction was sought to restrain the Coast Guard from carrying on the screening program. The case was submitted to Judge Edward P. Murphy of the Superior Court in San Francisco, after a three-day trial which drew important admissions from Coast Guard brass, to wit:

- that men are screened off their jobs before a hearing is given them on the charges against them;*
- that screened men and/or their attorneys may not examine the charges filed against the seamen;*
- that no witnesses against the accused seamen can be produced or cross-examined;*
- that it may take anywhere from one month to one year for the entire process to be completed, whereby the screened man is restored to his job or barred from it, apparently for life.*

Two fish locals have taken action in support of the ILWU position. During 1952 both Local 3 in Seattle and Local 33 in San Pedro rejected the voluntary screening program proposed by the Coast Guard. A reso-

lution adopted unanimously at the Local 3 membership meeting on April 9 said:

"Local 3 members recognize the Coast Guard screening program as now practiced for what it is: a blacklist in the interest of the employer."

The position against screening was reaffirmed by the International Executive Board at its meeting in Honolulu last November:

"The waterfront screening program of the Coast Guard as it is carried out under the Executive Order based upon the Magnuson Act has not been applied for the security of ports as intended by Congress when it adopted the Magnuson Act.

"It has instead been applied and used as a union-busting, black-listing instrument. Men have been screened from ships and waterfront jobs and denied their right to make a livelihood for themselves and their families for the most trivial reasons, and for reasons far removed from security.

"We reaffirm our previous position with respect to the Coast Guard Screening program: we hold it to be unfair, un-American, and a cruelty to the families of its victims."

TAFT-HARTLEY

Taft-Hartley has been around now for almost six years. Though we have learned something about how to live with it, we picked up a few scars in the process. We have learned that, insofar as possible, the best way to deal with Taft-Hartley is to stay away from it as much as possible. It's like that old hamburger machine: once you get fed into the hopper you never look the same again.

Unfortunately the choice isn't always ours. We would like to stay clear of it but the employers or some raiding outfit use it against us. In the case of ILWU, Taft-Hartley has opened the lid of a whole Pandora's box of damage suits and suits for back pay. As near as we can figure, the damage suits alone add up to \$7,723,000.

THE JUNEAU SPRUCE CASE

The biggest one that has gone through all stages of court action is the Juneau Spruce suit which now amounts, because of accumulated interest, to almost a million dollars. This suit is against the International and the Juneau local. No money has yet been collected. In the case of the suits arising out of the Dalles fracas, those involving some of the individual members of Local 8 were settled after an adverse judgment.

Here is a tabulation of all damage suits brought against ILWU. All but three of these are still pending and these are relatively small ones. The total of pending suits is approximately 7½-million dollars.

DAMAGE SUITS BROUGHT AGAINST ILWU

Matson against ILWU, MCS & Marine Firemen ..	\$3,540,000
West Coast Terminals	1,500,000
(Judgment won, including interest)	1,000,000
The Dalles Case: (judgment won)	
Hawaiian Pine	278,000
Hawaiian Pine—additional suit	376,000
Juneau Spruce Company	
Colgate-Palmolive-Peet	584,000
Gladding, McBean Co. (dropped)	250,000
Waialua Agricultural Company	100,000
Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company	95,000
Larsen Ladder (dropped)	25,000
L. A. Drug Companies (dropped).....	20,500
	<hr/>
	\$7,768,500

Note that all these suits arose out of strikes. In the Taft-Hartley era, when things get tough for an employer, he can run to the courts with a big suit.

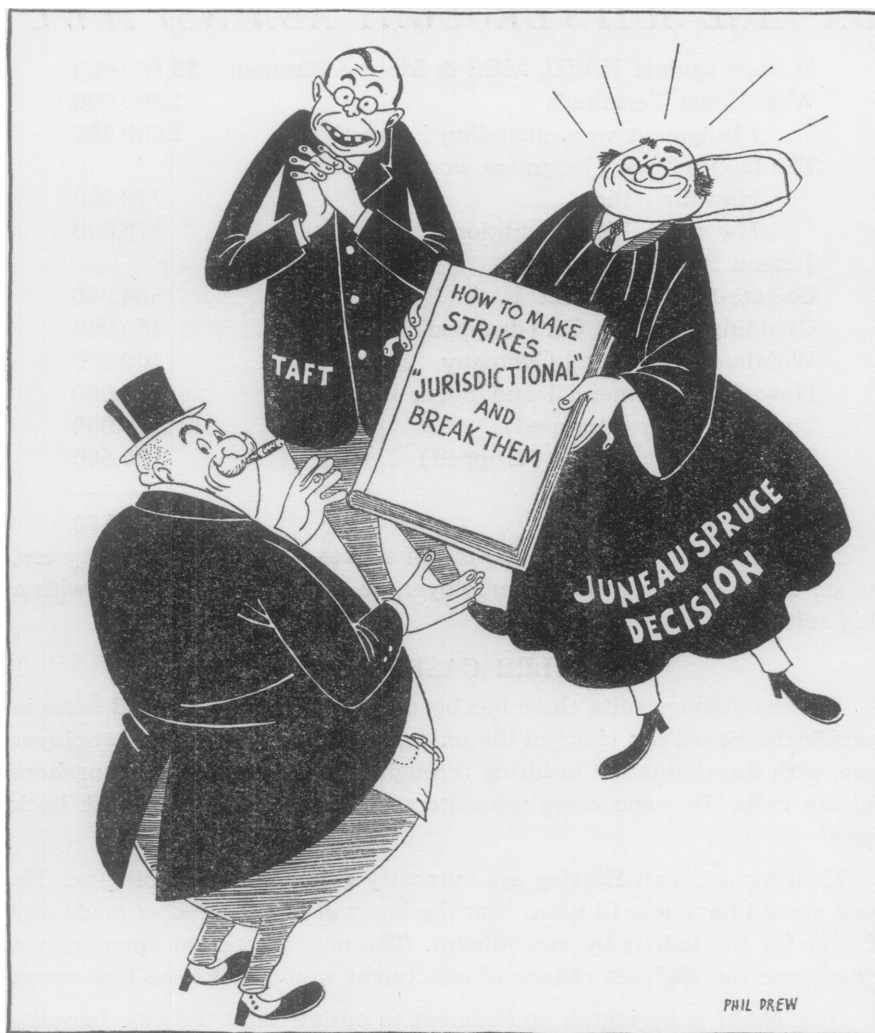
NLRB CASES, TOO

Besides damage suits, there has been a whole series of NLRB cases in which the Board has charged the union, and in some cases the employer too, with discrimination in hiring through the operation of the longshore hiring halls. In some cases reinstatement has been ordered with back pay.

Hearings on Taft-Hartley are currently going on in Washington. No one should have any illusions that the law will be repealed or made any better for the unions by amendment. The only important amendments that have the slightest chance of enactment would make the law worse.

The NAM is urging an amendment to outlaw industry-wide bargaining and there is much support for the proposal among employers and their stooges in Congress. When Taft-Hartley was passed in 1947, a ban on industry-wide bargaining was adopted by the House and was only defeated in the Senate by a single vote. However, many employers' associations are not in favor of the amendment. These are the associations which deal with strong unions.

Actually, of course, employers try to break down industry-wide bargaining whenever they think they are strong enough. This is what the Hawaii pineapple employers tried to do in 1951. The success of the Lanai strike, which we discuss elsewhere in this report, thwarted their attempts in this direction. The Distributors Association is playing the



—From **THE DISPATCH**, January 18, 1952

same game against Local 6 by its announced willingness to go along with the Teamsters' demand for house by house bargaining elections.

The other amendment to Taft-Hartley that stands some chance of enactment is one sponsored by that great "liberal" Democrat, Senator Humphrey. This would substitute for the non-communist affidavits a provision that a government agency (presumably the Subversive Activities Control Board, set up under the McCarran Act) would hold hearings in order to ascertain whether or not a union is "communist dominated." If found to be so dominated, the union would be denied all rights

under the law—such as the use of the NLRB, the right to appear on a collective bargaining election ballot, the right to certification as the bargaining agency.

We doubt if anyone in ILWU will misunderstand the phrase “communist dominated.” To the employers and to their Congressional representatives, any strong union is subject to the charge that it is “communist dominated” if they think they can get away with it. Hearings before a government board would be precisely like the so-called appeals hearings under the screening program.

Here again a strong union could manage to survive under an attack like that. If it is tough enough, it can secure and maintain recognition without any help from the NLRB. But don’t think it would be easy. The jackals of the labor movement, the Becks and the Ryans, would be howling around waiting to snatch any section of the union that they could lay hands on. And there would be many employers who would welcome them.

REPEAL—WITH A DIFFERENCE

In the present situation the officers feel that simply to urge repeal of the law, as we have at times in the past, is futile. We were much more on the beam at the Hawaii convention when we adopted a proposal for a nation-wide 72-hour protest stoppage by all of labor. Demonstrative action on a big scale would have done what no amount of hearings can ever do.

Nevertheless, if we testify at the present hearings in Washington, we propose to demand repeal—but with a difference. “Repeal Taft-Hartley” has always meant “return to the Wagner Act.” What we have in mind is what John L. Lewis has already advocated, repeal of Taft-Hartley but without reenactment of the Wagner Act.

We think that in the present political climate unions would be better off without any legislation. Even if the Wagner Act were restored, we are convinced that the Board would use all its powers against militant unions. Actually this was our experience in many instances before Taft-Hartley. You will recall that Arnold Wills, an official of the Regional Board in Hawaii, was one of the authors of the *Izuka* pamphlet which sought to undermine ILWU in the Islands. Also, in the South in particular, there were many cases in which the Board connived with right wing unions at our expense.

This position is in line with our stand on wage and price controls. We have advocated abolition of price controls as well as of wage controls. Perhaps now that the Republicans have decided to go along with us on controls, they might agree with us on scrapping all existing labor (or anti-labor) legislation. We doubt it, but we think it’s worth a whirl.

ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

"Nineteen twenty-nine was the last year in which we enjoyed prosperity in a time of peace. From then until 1939, when World War II began, our economy showed no growth whatever in real output per person.

"The New Deal never actually solved the unemployment problem. In 1939, after seven years of New Deal doctoring, 9.5 million Americans were still out of work. . . .

"Then came World War II. Under its stimulus, America's production soared and unemployment disappeared.

"World War II did what the New Deal was unable to do. . . .

"Nearly one-third of the high level production of the first five years after the war was due to making up the shortages created during the war—in automobiles, refrigerators, houses. Those things were largely paid for out of the \$140,000,000,000 savings which Americans had accumulated by the end of the war.

"Just as these war-bred shortages began to disappear, and the economy was beginning to weaken, along came Korea. Defense production again propped up the economy."

If you recall our review of the economic situation in 1951 in the Officers' Report to the 9th Biennial Convention, you may think this is a quote from that Report. It is not. It is from a campaign speech by Dwight D. Eisenhower in Peoria, Illinois, on October 2, 1952.

We agree with the essentials of these propositions stated by Eisenhower: We have not enjoyed prosperity in a time of peace since 1929; defense production "propped up the economy" in 1950 and corrected a growing weakness; and, by implication, we are still in a war economy.

WAR PRODUCTION THE PROP

Since 1950, war production has continued to prop up the economy and on the whole successfully. Industrial production, which naturally dropped off at the end of World War II, has again reached the wartime peak. According to the latest figures, agricultural production is higher than ever before. And large output is reflected in jobs. Employment exceeds 61 million, nearly 7 million above 1943, the year of highest wartime employment. Unemployment, which averaged more than 3 million in 1949 and 1950, was only about half this amount in 1952.

Despite these facts, there is widespread apprehension about the economic future. The business press is full of it. For example, *Business Week* (2/14), a magazine written for businessmen, asks "What have investors suddenly sensed that is so frightening?" This was when the

stock market slumped after Eisenhower's election. Their answer was that a "reappraisal of 1953 business prospects" may be under way, because "business activity probably is approaching that long-predicted plateau."

The AFL, too, has just issued a warning to its members that, with war expenditures due to stop rising later this year, there is grave danger of an economic slump unless workers' purchasing power is increased through wage gains.

What are these fears based on? Right at our own front door there is evidence that despite the general high level of employment, there are depressed industries. The west coast shipping industry is one which has slipped badly in the past couple of years. Unemployment among seamen is greater than at any time since the thirties; more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the members of the seagoing unions are on the beach. Longshoremen have so far not been seriously affected because a large part of the decline in U.S. shipping has been caused by growing competition from foreign shipping, including revived Japanese shipping, and by the growth of government competition in the form of M.S.T.S. The other basic cause of the shipping slump is, of course, our unwillingness to trade with China and other areas because we don't like their politics. Shipping will probably get worse before it gets better.

BASES FOR FEAR

But there are more general bases for apprehension about the economic future. Among these are:

1. The expectation that military expenditures will slack off in the second half of the year. Everyone recognizes that military spending is the principal "prop" to the economy—to use Eisenhower's phrase.
2. The knowledge that when military expenditures decline, there will be a related decline in the present high level of expenditures for plant and equipment.
3. The fact that wholesale prices have been sagging off steadily throughout 1951 and 1952. They jumped up right after Korea, but the stimulus didn't last long. Even retail prices showed considerable weakness until price control was removed.
4. The growing plight of the farmers, who have been the chief sufferers from declining prices. Net real purchasing power of farmers has dropped some thirty per cent since 1947. This is already reflected in declining sales of agricultural equipment.
5. The widespread recognition both by businessmen and workers that the economy is essentially unstable, that we've already had a long period of "prosperity" and that it can't last forever.

6. The conviction that because of the great rise in the cost of living, people cannot buy enough consumers goods to fill up the gap which would be caused if military spending were to taper off.

In short, despite the high level at which the country's industries are operating, there is a widespread feeling that we are on the verge of another situation like that which prevailed before the Korean war started when, according to Eisenhower, "the economy was beginning to weaken."

GOVERNMENT WAR SPENDING POSTPONES DEPRESSION

We agree. The inherent tendency toward a slump after a period of prosperity has again reared its ugly head. The questions we face are: Will there be a depression? If not a depression, then what *can* we expect? What are the prospects for wage increases? What's going to happen to the cost of living?

While we are not prepared to make any bets, our prediction for the next couple of years is that we are not in for a real "depression" or a severe economic collapse. By this, we mean that we do not expect mass unemployment, widespread bankruptcies, bank failures, etc.

In saying this, we emphatically do not mean either that everything is going to be hunkydory, especially for workers. We think things are going to get tougher, that employers are going to be increasingly resistant to wage increases, that living costs will rise and that there will be a rise in unemployment.

THINGS WILL BE TOUGHER

The classic form of depression which we experienced in the thirties was marked by mass unemployment and falling money wages. These were devices by which business pushed onto the workers the heaviest burdens of depression. In so doing, of course, business helped to cut its own throat because purchasing power was further reduced and, consequently, profits were affected. There were mass failures, especially of small businesses, and even the profits of the big concerns were cut down.

This is the normal method by which free private enterprise reacts to the basic cause of economic instability which is that the people do not receive in wages sufficient purchasing power to buy back the products of industry. But it is obviously an inefficient method, even from their own standpoint, because it reduces profits.

Heavy government spending for war purposes is a much more efficient method of dealing with inherent economic instability. The govern-

ment offers a guaranteed market for industry's products and, as a result, profits (at least for *big* business) not only are kept up but they grow. For a time at least it doesn't matter that people's purchasing power isn't great enough to clear the market.

The critical problem is a political one—how to persuade people that they should be taxed heavily and suffer reduced income in order to subsidize profits. During World War II, this was easy. The danger of defeat was obvious. Now it's more difficult. Though, for the most part, the American people appear to have been convinced that "communism" offers a real threat to their way of life, they are not happy over what the war economy is doing to them.

How long can this nostrum of war expenditures prove effective? Is it really as painless as it seems? It's the kind of nostrum which requires larger and larger doses to be effective, and the larger the dose gets the more it hurts and the more people it hurts.

MILITARY SPENDING LIKELY TO CONTINUE RISING

The fear of a serious economic decline is based principally upon the fact that the government talks about military spending reaching a plateau by mid-1953. Besides, the new Administration has promised to cut down government spending. It is nevertheless our present feeling that when the Administration, which of course is simply the political arm of big business, comes face to face with the choice between mass unemployment and declining profits on the one hand and the acceleration of military spending, it will decide on more spending.

Military spending can readily be stepped up; it doesn't have to slow down. An analysis by U.S. News and World Report (3/20/53) shows that in the 33 months since the Korean war started, Congress has appropriated 181 billion dollars to cover all the expenses of running the armed forces—pay and travel, food, clothing, ships, planes, ammunition, military bases, etc., etc. However, to date only \$87 billions has actually been spent. A larger amount, \$94 billions, remains to be spent. Thus without any additional appropriations, the Department of Defense could increase the rate of expenditures.

How can the money be spent, particularly if the Korean war continues to be a stalemate, and if we continue to demand larger and larger military spending by our allies? Three answers to this question may suffice to suggest that the problem is not insurmountable. In the first place, the men in the Pentagon are always itching to scrap existing equipment and to replace it with the latest models. From their point of view about everything is obsolete by the time it gets into production.

Secondly, the surface has hardly been scratched on civil defense. Just the other day it was proposed that we spend \$20 billions to build a complete radar net. Then there are bomb shelters, super highways and camps to be used by evacuees. Thirdly, the money could be used to support a larger Army. This has the added advantage that if unemployment shows signs of becoming serious, the draft can be stepped up, thus sucking more able-bodied men out of the labor market. The possibilities are almost boundless and the vista of growing expenditures most reassuring—from the standpoint of propping up an economy which has a propensity to sag.

The so-called “prosperity” which the war economy brings us is, however, by no means equitably distributed and its cost in terms of taxation is already very heavy.

The average worker already spends one-third of every day earning the money which he needs in order to pay taxes—not only the federal withholding tax but sales taxes, the hidden excise taxes and the taxes paid by his employer. And the great bulk paid in taxes is spent by the government for things which the worker cannot eat, wear, live in or otherwise enjoy.

However, if we're right that military expenditures are going to go up, not down, it follows that there won't be any tax reductions, except possibly that the excess profits tax—a phoney, anyhow—may be allowed to die in June. On the contrary, as military expenditures rise, the government will have to increase taxes or, if this isn't politically feasible, it will have to resort to deficit financing. In either case the workers will suffer.

REAL WAGES, ALREADY SLIPPING, WILL FALL FURTHER

Despite the so-called “prosperity” which we are living in, workers are already experiencing a fall in their living standards. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, no friend of the workingman, real wages after taxes in 1952 were slightly *below* real wages during the peak war year of 1944. They dropped steadily from 1944 to a low point in 1947, recovered some from 1948 to 1950, but have fallen again since. These figures reflect price increases and the rise in income taxes. Since real wages are calculated by using the BLS consumer price index which everyone knows inadequately reflects price rises, it is probable that actually the decline in real wages has been greater than the BLS shows.

This conclusion is reinforced by a look at what has been happening to per capita food consumption. It is hard to think of a better indicator

of economic well-being than food consumption. The Department of Agriculture index of civilian food consumption, which measures over-all food consumption, has declined 6 per cent since 1946. During this same period, the per capita consumption of meat, poultry and fish has dropped 5 per cent; the per capita consumption of fluid milk and cream, 7 per cent; and the per capita consumption of fresh vegetables, 7 per cent. These are substantial declines. They are evidence that living standards are falling. This, of course, is one reason why the farmers have begun to feel the economic pinch.

If you are in the least complacent about how workers are faring under a war program, remember that for every longshoreman who earns \$5,000 a year, there are thousands of workers whose incomes are below the level of health and decency. According to the U.S. census, the average annual income for all white families in 1949 was \$3,216. For Negro families, the average was \$1,426. There has been some increase in money income since 1949, but it hasn't been spectacular.

Declining living standards reflect the relatively rapid rise of prices. Will prices continue to go up? We expect that the prices of many of the most important components of the cost of living will rise in the next two years. Rents will continue to rise even if federal rent controls are not allowed to expire on April 30. The wholesale prices of farm products, which dropped 10 per cent during 1952, have started up again. The utilities are raising their rates everywhere. Price increases have recently been announced or definitely predicted in gasoline, cigarettes, beer, coffee, milk and other basic items.

WHAT ABOUT WAGE INCREASES?

With further price rises and with higher taxes, workers' living standards are bound to fall further unless wages are increased sufficiently. What are the prospects? The answer is two-fold: increases will be needed more than ever, but they will be increasingly tough to get. Through real unity, the stronger unions may be able to keep ahead of the game, but the workers as a whole face steadily reduced real income.

This is true despite the fact that wage controls have been lifted. This step was taken because the big business boys, those who run the present Administration (you can't call them a "brain trust" any longer, but maybe a "money trust"), decided they don't need wage controls in order to continue their program of keeping up their profits at everyone else's expense. They figured that labor was not strong enough to do any serious damage to their program and, for political reasons, they had to drop wage controls in order to free themselves from price controls. A strong union, however, like the ILWU, may be able to take advantage of the ending of controls.

There is a further factor: as war production grows it is sooner or later bound to grow at the expense of production for consumer use. This is one reason, together with rising profits, for the decline in living standards that is already taking place. With war production absorbing more and more of the productive machinery, there is less left to produce the things people need to live on.

PROFITS HAVE RISEN FANTASTICALLY

While workers' real wages have started downhill, corporate profits in the post-war years have outstripped profits in any previous period. Big business is no longer satisfied with normal profits; it has to have super profits. How would you like to earn 15 per cent on your investment? This was the average ratio of profits after taxes to stockholders' equity for the years 1947-1950 for all private manufacturing corporations. For "motor vehicles and parts," the ratio was 22 per cent. This is big league stuff.

Corporate profits after taxes, which totaled \$13.9 billions in 1946, rose to a peak of \$21.2 billions in 1950—a jump of one-third. Though they have dropped somewhat since because of increased taxes, profits in 1952 were still 20 per cent higher than in 1946. The present profit level is just about double that of the war years. We know of no group of workers that is twice as well off now as during the war or which is 20 per cent better off now than in 1946.

PROFITS WILL CONTINUE HIGH

With the removal of price controls and with the probability that the government will be stepping up its expenditures, the likelihood is that profits will continue to be high. This will be particularly true of the big corporations. They are the ones which, through monopoly control, can force prices up and they are the ones which get the cream of the war contracts.

Small businesses are losing out to the big ones. Their mortality rate is higher and their profit rates are less.

The "prosperity" that we are enjoying, as a result, is spotty. Some industries are booming while others are having a tough time. Shipping, as already indicated, is a depressed industry right now and others are not doing very well. It is principally the concerns which have defense contracts that are going full blast and are making the big profits.

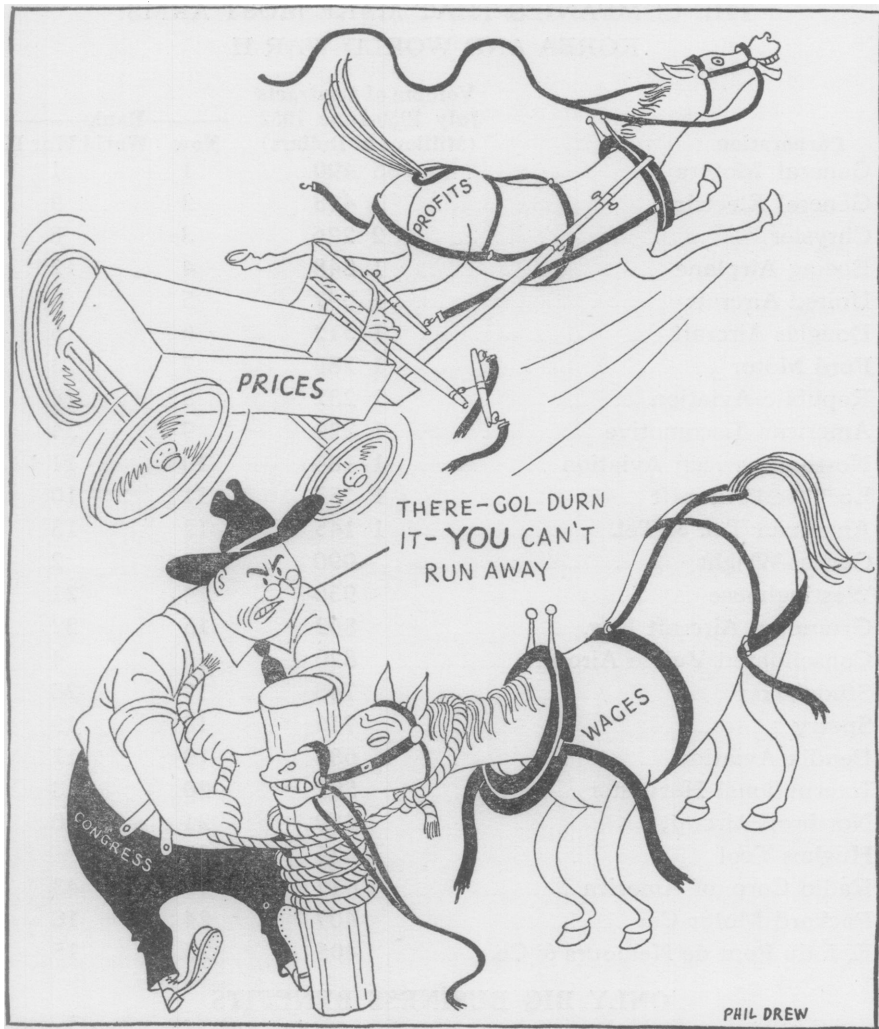
The latest tabulation of defense contracts shows the following 25 companies, arranged in the order of the size of their contracts. It also shows that many of these same companies were among those with a big volume of war contracts in World War II:

THE COMPANIES THAT MAKE MOST ARMS: KOREA AND WORLD WAR II

Corporation	Volume of Contracts July 1950-June 1952 (Millions of Dollars)	Rank	
		Now	World War II
General Motors	\$5 490	1	1
General Electric	2 418	2	9
Chrysler	2 226	3	8
Boeing Airplane	1 848	4	12
United Aircraft	1 697	5	6
Douglas Aircraft	1 512	6	5
Ford Motor	1 289	7	3
Republic Aviation	1 232	8	24
American Locomotive	1 220	9	34
North American Aviation	1 186	10	11
Lockheed Aircraft	1 157	11	10
American Tel. & Tel.	1 145	12	13
Curtiss-Wright	990	13	2
Westinghouse	930	14	21
Grumman Aircraft Eng.	862	15	22
Consolidated Vultee Aircraft	820	16	4
Studebaker	748	17	28
Sperry	712	18	19
Bendix Aviation	683	19	17
International Harvester	597	20	33
Northrop Aircraft	469	21	100
Hughes Tool	426	22
Radio Corp. of America	412	23	43
Packard Motor Car	407	24	18
E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.	405	25	15

ONLY BIG BUSINESS BENEFITS

Such an examination of the facts shows that big business is the only group that stands to benefit from a continuing war program. Small business is getting the squeeze. Workers face steadily declining living standards. And the farmers are already having a tough time because the cost of things they buy has gone up sharply while the cost of things they sell has fallen. They have been getting a smaller and smaller share of the consumer's food dollar because middlemen—the canners, the packers and the big distributors—are able to get a larger share by exerting their monopoly power. During World War II, the farmer was getting 55 cents of every dollar spent for food. By 1952 he was getting only 45 cents. And of course it is the small farmer who suffers most.



—From **THE DISPATCHER**, August 3, 1951

THE PROGRAM HURTS OUR ALLIES, TOO

Domestically, big business as we have seen has found a means through government war expenditures to maintain profits out of other people's pockets. Overseas, our allies are beginning to recognize that the program of American big business is operating at their expense as well. There isn't room here to develop this idea at any length, but a few facts will suggest what we mean.

The U.S. is the principal buyer of the raw materials, such as tin,

rubber and wool, which are the main exports of the British Empire. But partly because of "over production" and partly because the big business buyers in this country have exerted their monopoly buying power, the prices of these commodities have fallen to the point that the whole economic foundation of the British Empire is threatened. This, of course, is not the only source of British economic difficulties, but it is a significant one. The Empire is already in such difficulties that the heads of all the British Commonwealths had to meet recently to see what could be done, and Messrs. Eden and Butler had to journey to Washington for help.

This is one side of the coin: the U.S. is buying raw materials as cheaply as possible in the world market. The other side of the coin is that U.S. industries are muscling into all the principal markets of Britain and the other western powers. For example, we are selling more in British East Africa than the British are. And it is true throughout the world that our exports are displacing British exports. But what makes matters worse for the British is that American industry through its heavy investments in Japan and Germany is building these countries up as rivals of the British.

Another, and basic, factor is that American trade policy, implemented by the Battle Act, forbids our allies to trade with the "iron curtain" countries. This policy further narrows the market for the products of all the western countries and of Japan, too. The policy affects American industry, too, of course, but our economic power is so enormous that our industries can shoulder out the products of our competitor countries.

Ceylon, one of the smaller British possessions, has reacted by making a trade pact with China to swap Ceylonese rubber for Chinese rice. China gives them a better price for rubber than we do and charges them less for rice than they would have to pay elsewhere. The trade pact prevented a 30 per cent cut in the rubber workers' wages and a reduction in the rice ration of $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. per week.

Japanese merchants, shut off by U.S. policy from their traditional markets in China, are trying to survive by trade with southeast Asia. The economic pressure is so great, however, that on June 1, 1952 they signed a private trade deal with China amounting to \$168,000,000. Moreover, the U.S. was recently forced to permit Japan to export items to China which Japan had been forbidden to trade in before. We are finding it difficult and expensive to support a Japanese economy severed from its normal markets.

The falling price of tin, together with rising resentment against the U.S., has led Bolivia to nationalize her tin mines.

These are but isolated examples. But they serve to show that American big business has embarked upon a policy which undercuts the

economies of our allies at the same time that it reduces living standards at home by restricting trade with large parts of the world.

But the foreign program is proving to be self-defeating. More and more, the countries abroad are reacting as Ceylon and Bolivia have done. We anticipate a rapid increase in trade pacts between our allies and the so-called "iron curtain" countries. There already are dozens of such pacts, though they are not publicized in the U.S. press. We anticipate also that more countries will nationalize their basic industries as Bolivia and Iran have done, or will set up a united front government, as Guatemala has done, which will make operations difficult for American companies doing business there.

CAN WE HAVE AN ALTERNATIVE POLICY?

Many people who recognize that the war program threatens their living standards and who are irked by high taxes are nevertheless fearful that removal of the "prop" of war spending would bring an immediate economic collapse which would cost them their jobs. Is there any alternative policy which will assure the continuance of a high level of employment, but which will not have the bad economic effects of a war economy?

It is not possible, of course, to discuss alternatives to war spending until satisfactory progress has been made internationally toward the achievement of peace. However, once the American people are convinced that arms expenditures can safely be reduced, there are alternative economic policies which we as a trade union can fight for. The alternative with regard to trade is the one the ILWU has always advocated, namely, free trade without political strings.

Removal or even the partial relaxation of present trade barriers between East and West would be one very important "prop" to replace "defense production," again to quote Eisenhower's formulation. But it is only one alternative. Could we not spend some of the same dollars that are now going for defense, for things which would raise the living standards of everyone?

One air "wing" or group of the 100 or so which we are building costs \$1½ billions. This amount of money would go a long way toward replacing the 2½ million dwelling units which the 1950 census rated as "dilapidated."

This example is sufficient to show that the money now spent for military purposes could be well spent for things people need at home. Employment would not suffer over-all, though some shifts would be necessary.

Here again is a program we think our union can fight for.

AN AMERICAN POLICY FOR PEACE

The greatest danger facing the people of America today—and all the people of the world as well—is the outbreak of World War III.

The immediate end of the fighting in Korea and all other parts of Asia and the settlement by talk and negotiation of the critical issues which might explode into another world war, is the only path to peace.

All the common people of the world—including our own people—to whom war means death and destruction and untold suffering hope for peace.

Our job as a union must be to help launch and support a concrete program for peace. Only in this way can we guarantee the security and future well being of our country and of ourselves. There can never be security for America unless there is a peaceful world for America.

A fight for peace and security is a positive thing. It inspires and unites people. It leads to victory.

Certain strong winds are now blowing, favoring the achievement of world peace. The determination of the people of the world to oppose war and to prevent its outbreak is growing with immense speed. It is to move with the winds of world peace that we should set our sails and our course.

Only two countries in the world have the power and strength to launch and fight a world war; one is the U.S.A., the other the U.S.S.R. If either attempted it, the world's people would turn against that country and down it to defeat.

THE KEY TO VICTORY

The key to victory is allies before arms, unity before bombs. The struggle for allies—for the support of common people—is the great fact now emerging in the world.

On the other hand, the country that convinces the world that it stands first and foremost for peace and against war will earn the gratitude, loyalty and support of all the world's people, whatever that country's form of government or its political or social philosophy.

The loyalties and interests of the ILWU in foreign policy are first and foremost to our own country, the U.S.A. This has been proved over and over again. Therefore, we say America must lead every day and in every way the fight for peace. It is the duty of the U.S.A. to launch a gigantic and effective peace crusade. It is our patriotic duty as union men and women, as Americans, to help in every way in such a crusade.

As we write this report, the U.S.S.R. continues to be regarded by our

country's chief spokesmen with suspicious reservations because it has suggested certain peaceful steps toward easing world tension. "Another insincere peace offensive" is the diplomatic label pasted on the recent speech of Soviet Russia's Premier Malenkov in which he said that there are no disputes which cannot be decided by peaceful means. When the North Koreans agree to exchange sick and wounded prisoners, our experts begin to wonder if this is not merely a part of the Russians' "peace offensive." We say: "Who cares?" We say: "Let America start and carry out a peace offensive that will outstrip and out-negotiate anything the Soviets or their allies can do or offer. Here is the place to use American 'know how.' Let's get the talks going at the top levels in Europe, the fighting stopped in Asia, and let America—not Russia—lead the way."

It was George Washington, father and founder of the Republic, who was once described as being "first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen." President Eisenhower, the President of the Republic, can only be first in the hearts of his countrymen and the world's people, if he is first in peace.

AMERICA CAN BE FIRST

Can America be first in every way, everywhere in the world, in the fight to gratify the desperate desire of the world's people for peace? Yes, we say, it can—and it must. Because there is no other way to assure the security of our country and ourselves.

Yet what do we find? Our country views with alarm and suspicion. We look around for "peace offensives" and "peace traps." We try to kiss off such proposals as merely cunning Communist devices to "buy time." Before we even accept the North Korean offer to exchange wounded and sick war prisoners—and it was a proposal of Britain's Anthony Eden in the first place—we send military intelligence agents to Korea to discover whether the North Korean offer is part of a "peace offensive." And we at once tie strings to the proposal.

Our union says not only call them, but raise them. Get the top level negotiations going with everyone, everywhere on the issues. Negotiations can always be broken off and (unfortunately) the tragic killing resumed.

We say talk with Malenkov and propose a joint effort for a cease fire everywhere the fighting is going on; end the clashes between our planes and theirs.

A group of Americans has just been permitted to enter and tour the U.S.S.R. Propose that their "iron curtain"—and ours—be lifted in order that hundreds of Americans may visit the Communist countries and their people may visit the United States. What is there to fear? We

won't ask to see their military installations. We can prevent them from seeing ours.

RANK AND FILERS NEEDED

Propose that hundreds of rank and file trade union delegations be exchanged. Let them choose theirs and we can choose ours. We know that rank and file union delegations visiting and talking to the rank and file people and workers of Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Communist China, North Korea, and Britain, France as well, would not be hornswoggled or propagandized. Working people are just about the same the whole world over, despite language, nationality, race or color.

Propose free trade between all countries. Yes, we know the argument about supplying the Communist countries while a war goes on where our men are being killed. So, propose that free trade follow the "cease fire" on all fronts. The jobs and livelihood of many of our members depend on world trade.

Propose that the common soldier and the rank and file worker sit in on negotiations for "cease fire" and peace. They might even show the diplomatic experts and generals a few things.

Propose that the results of negotiations, whatever they might be, between the opposing forces of Malaya, Indo-China, Burma, Central and North Africa, Egypt, Iran and Korea be submitted to a vote of the unhappy peoples of those countries. We can trust that the people will vote for what is best for them—and for us.

Follow through on the proposal made by Mr. Ernest Gross, our representative to the United Nations, for reducing world armaments. We know who makes the fortunes from arms contracts.

RESUME NEGOTIATIONS—NOW!

Resume negotiations with Soviet Russia, Communist China—with all the Communist countries—to outlaw the use of the A-bomb, the H-bomb, germ and chemical warfare. These ghastly weapons have no place in our modern civilization. And propose that the outcome of these negotiations be submitted to a vote of the people of those countries and ours—a vote supervised by the United Nations.

This is how the members of our union assure themselves that the union leaders truly represent and act in their interests in negotiations; the people of the world should have the same assurance about those who negotiate for them.

Rescind our vote in the United Nations against the right of all nations, and especially the colonial nations, to their national autonomy, and to seize, own and control the natural resources of their own countries. Let America take the lead, in pursuance of her proud traditions, and vote for the full free rights of all nations to work out their own destinies in their own way—and to make their own mistakes, too.

Our country was conceived in struggle. It was united later only after a bloody civil war. We have had our successes and our failures in building our nation. Let other countries have theirs. Let them choose to be Capitalist, Communist, Socialist, so long as they choose peace.

And let America propose to the Communist countries, and all countries, a joint program to outlaw throughout the whole world, in all countries, all forms of discrimination, segregation and oppression directed against people because of race, creed, color, national origin, religious or political beliefs. That's just our American Constitution and Bill of Rights—nothing more. We cannot leave it to McCarthy, McCarran, Taft, Dulles or Wilson to interpret these American traditions for us.

BRING OUR ARMIES HOME

And let's bring our armies home—our sons, relatives and friends—back to their families and to jobs created by an unanswerable and world-inspiring crusade for Peace and Good Will to All Men.

Mr. Eisenhower, our President, and Mr. Dulles, our Secretary of State, we urge you go Mr. Malenkov one better; agree to negotiate all world disputes that threaten peace—now—and propose—now—that all fighting everywhere wherever there *is fighting*—Korea, Indo-China, Malaya, Africa—stop—now.

We are deeply disturbed, yes, even frightened by vast and enormous changes of the world toward America, by changes which have occurred in the years since the end of World War II. They are changes fraught with high danger for us.

The most significant and far-reaching change of all is that almost universally the world is growing to dislike, distrust and even hate us. Remember that the late Wendell Willkie, travelling over the world as recently as the months after the victory in World War II, found that:

"... each and every one turns to the United States with a friendliness that is often akin to genuine affection. I came home certain of one clear and significant fact: that there exists in the world today a gigantic reservoir of good will towards us, the American people."

The same world, the same lands, the same common people, the same countries including ours, are here today as they were when Willkie wrote so eloquently. But something has changed. What has happened?

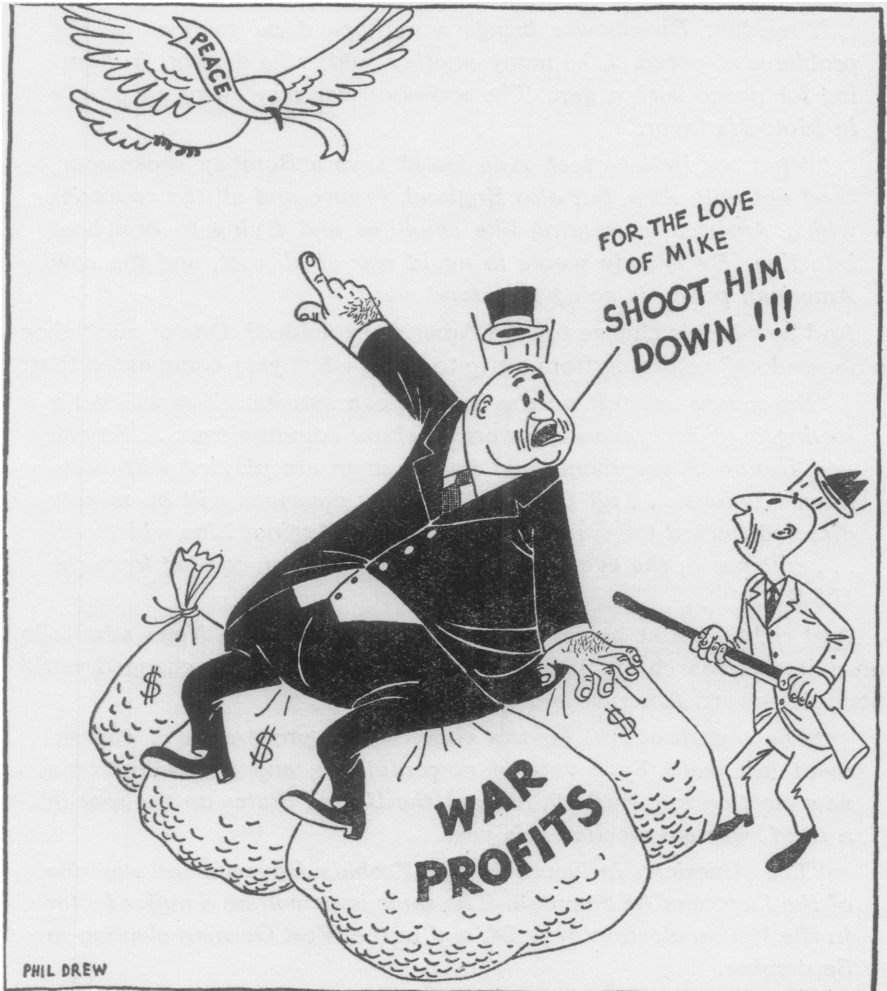
Ralph Bunche, Director of United Nations Trusteeship Division, speaking in Paris last December said he had heard in Europe more criticism of the U.S. and more anxiety about its policies than ever before. He added that this might be a hard lesson for the people at home to learn. He further said:

"The fear I often hear expressed is that once we have achieved

superior military strength we may be inclined to become impatient and impulsive and thereby provoke unnecessarily a Third World War."

WE ARE HATED EVERYWHERE

James Michener, author of "Tales of the South Pacific," toured the Southwest Pacific and Far East recently, revisiting the areas where he had served with the Navy in World War II. Here is how he described the changes he found in the people, from the high regard they had for America during the war to their attitude now:



—From **THE DISPATCH**, May 25, 1951

"Along the entire Eastern seaboard the American is utterly unwelcome. In countries like China, Malaya and Indo-China, he runs the risk of being murdered. In great cities like Singapore, Saigon and Jakarta, the wise American stays indoors at night. Where he is not hunted, the American is reviled. Never in our nation's history have we been so feared and despised. . . . China, Indo-China, Burma and Indonesia today condemn us as reactionaries and imperialists . . . we are now branded as willful aggressors. . . . An American in Asia today had better not go out at night; he is likely to get shot."

And from India, Bombay's largest newspaper, *Times of India* entitles its article "Mid-winter Madness" and comments:

"President Eisenhower brings a military mind to bear on the problems of peace. Like many another soldier he delights in hunting for peace with a gun. The scales of war now swing favorably in Moloch's favor."

"What we Indians feel, Asia feels," says a Bombay spokesman, "and not only Asia, but also England, France and all the countries which America is treating like satellites and trying to browbeat into line. Everybody wants to avoid war at all cost, and the new American policy is going to extend war."

And how is this change toward America explained? One of our "labor ambassadors," returning from a trip to Europe last year commented that:

"Europeans are soft on the issue of communism. You will get a feeling only Americans are worried about communism. . . . French and Italian Governments and businessmen are playing with communist unions . . . all (French) military measures will be merely directed toward the construction of a new Maginot Line which will . . . collapse in the event of any active aggression coming from the U.S.S.R."

And right here at home the die-hard *San Francisco News* admits in an editorial, March 19, 1953, the sorrowful truth of the changed world attitude toward America and Americans:

"The overthrow of Japan's conservative pro-American government last week by a vote of no-confidence, and the calling of a new election for April 19, has put the United States on the spot in a third overseas election this year."

"The American influence in the Yoshida Government was one of the factors of its downfall. The same issue will be a major factor in the Italian election May 24, and in the West German election in September."

"In all three countries anti-American feeling is on the upsurge, according to reports."

"A similar situation prevails in France and Britain, where new elections may be held at any time.

"The injunction, 'Americans, go home,' is being chalked up on walls and buildings in almost every country where our influence has made itself felt. Press campaigns are being conducted against the United States in most of the same countries. Public feeling has reached the point where even our friends in foreign governments are reluctant to defend us against unjust attacks.

"These fair-weather friends all seek additional American aid, in the belief that through its benefits they will be able to win re-election. But before we send more good money after bad it appears pertinent to inquire where we are drifting.

"The persistent criticism in the mass circulation European press against Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, supreme allied commander for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, is causing grave concern in Washington. If continued it can make his position untenable....

"Gen. Ridgway is not in fact the issue, but merely a convenient target for attacks which began long before his assignment to Europe. Nor is more than a superficial explanation offered by one of the popular forms this criticism has taken that Americans are 'overpaid, overdressed, oversexed, and over here.'

"The 'over here' is closest to the mark, perhaps, since our presence and advice are resented even where our financial assistance is sought. But our real fault appears to be due to a belief that somehow the United States is blocking a settlement with Russia, and thus can be held responsible for existing world tensions. This idea has been given wide circulation by inference and innuendo....

"Until these questions can be answered with some satisfaction we had better give first priority to our own defense needs and waste less money on elections in areas where the tide is running against us, despite the 35 billion dollars we have spent in the last seven years."

This swelling of anti-American sentiment, ranging from feelings of jealous frustration to outright hatred, must be stopped and reversed lest it reaches such a volume and intensity that a world in despair bands together against us.

THE WORLD WANTS PEACE

The inescapable conclusion to be drawn from the world's anti-Americanism is not that everyone but we is pro-Russian or pro-Communist, but only that the world is wholeheartedly anti-war and pro-peace; and they fear that we are not.

We Americans at home, especially those of us in ILWU, can honestly complain that "We are pro-peace, and so is our country." The world says, "Prove it."

If we properly assess the reports of our travelling fellow Americans, only a few of whom we have quoted here, the sum of their reports is that the people of the world say: "Russians stay home—Americans go home."

We agree with the admonition of the editors of the *San Francisco News* to "give first priority to our own defense needs," but we are certain that this doesn't mean the same thing to us that it does to the *News*. They mean more immensely profitable arms contracts for a handful of the greedy rich, the old enemies of progress and unity. We mean more of life and more of life's good things for the world's common people and ourselves. We mean staunch allies won for our country by friendship and fair dealing, more tolerance and charity, and support for national independence; none of this can be purchased with money bags or achieved by bullying bosses and bayonets.

The friendship and respect of the peoples of the world can't be bought with dollars despite what the people of "power, privilege and profit" who run our country today believe. The allegiance and loyalty of the common people is no more for sale than is our allegiance to our country or our union.

TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION STARTED IT

Our present policy on foreign affairs was launched by the Truman administration. It promised peace instead of war, for our country and all others. But somehow we got a "police action" in Korea. It promised economic aid and prosperity for Europe, but somehow European countries are bankrupt. It promised freedom and national independence for colonial peoples, but somehow colonial peoples are more oppressed than ever. It promised steadily rising living standards, freedom and security here at home, but somehow we have higher prices, more taxes and greater restrictions on labor and the people than during World War II. It promised to all countries, despite differing social systems and forms of government "live and let live"—but somehow this promise turned into a program to exterminate certain countries at any cost. It promised disarmament, but instead we have the greatest armaments program in history, with A-bombs, H-bombs and people in high places eager to drop them.

The policy was described as bi-partisan. It still is, and it still goes on.

We are not experts in foreign policy. But we don't have to be in order to know that something is wrong with our foreign policy and the tragic fact is that the overwhelming majority of the world's people also feel there is something wrong.

It would be an over-simplification to conclude that this anti-American feeling which is now at its height began with the election of a Republican administration; it has been building up for years. It is foolish and unrealistic to ascribe it to Soviet or communist propaganda. The truth is that the people of the world believe our policy is leading inevitably to world war and they want no part of it.

Certainly President Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles could not have been engaged in a bit of ghastly kidding when they promised to liberate the people of the communist countries. It is true that Mr. Dulles later on heldged the program by saying that they did not intend to use military, but "peaceful" means. But what is the reply to this threat? The new Soviet Premier of the USSR, Mr. Malenkov, replies:

"... at the present time there is not one dispute or undecided question that cannot be decided by peaceful means on the basis of mutual understanding of interested countries. This is our attitude toward all countries, among them the United States of America."

Like it or not, this statement rang the peace bell throughout the entire world. In the American vernacular, we are forced to ask, "What's Malenkov got that we ain't got?" He says let's talk—then let's talk! He says all the disputes in the world can be settled by peaceful means, so let's go find out.

SIT DOWN AND NEGOTIATE!

As a union we have never refused to sit down and negotiate in an effort to settle or compromise a dispute. We had to. Our members demanded we do so. And even when such negotiations broke and strikes resulted, we were victorious only when our members knew we had first exhausted every avenue of peaceful settlement.

And the whole world demands now that negotiations get under way on every dispute, without all this talk of "peace traps" and "peace offensives"—these words are the high-flown doubletalk of the big corporations, the Wall Street bankers and speculators, the shareholders of blood money stock who thrive on human misery and whose shares start to flop when peace talks or an actual armistice loom up.

We can fittingly paraphrase Admiral David Farragut who gained renown in the Battle of Mobile Bay when he said, "Damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead." We say, "Damn the stock market, full speed ahead for peace."

OUR COUNTRY AND THE COLONIAL PEOPLE

The drive of the world's oppressed colonial people toward national independence and self-determination is one of the main facts about the

world today. Whether the might and greatness of the United States is thrown onto the scales for or against the struggles of the colonial peoples is crucial to us and crucial to world peace.

American tradition springs from the revolutionary birth of the Republic. The founding fathers of the nation, revolutionaries and subversives of their day, all of whom the rulers of the period would have cheerfully tried and hanged as traitors, minced no words in recording their complaints against the despotic British tyrant George III. The nation's founders set their grievances to paper; they called the world to witness the cause for which they fought and would fight to death. They called upon the world to judge, and having judged, to cast its support to the fledgling Republic:

"When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal, that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and institute new government. . . .

"Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world."

—(Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.)

There are millions of colonial people armed and in bitter revolt. They too, hold that certain truths are self-evident. They seek and are desperately determined to throw off the shackles of their oppressors. They will eventually succeed despite all the support America gives to the discredited and tottering colonial regimes.

COLONIAL PEOPLES WANT INDEPENDENCE

The teeming, hungry millions of oppressed people in Asia, Africa and

the Middle East will gain their national independence and self-determination in their own way and in their own time, with our understanding and help if we so offer, *against* our force and might if our country so decides.

The colonial people, like our nation's forefathers, do not willfully seek revolution and death. They would rather ordain to "let facts be submitted to a candid world," and to "declare the causes" for which they fight, with a "decent respect to the opinions of mankind."

What would Washington, Paine, Hancock and Jefferson say of the "opinions of mankind" toward their beloved Republic today?

Thomas Paine, the revered American revolutionary, spoke of the spirit that drives oppressed nations at times of revolutionary struggle. He wrote the following words on a drumhead by a campfire in a stirring rally-call to General Washington's forces, then in retreat across New Jersey:

"These are times that try men's souls: The summer soldier and sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands by NOW, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman."

Paine spoke to our forces in the revolutionary struggle and to the world . . . "it matters not where you live, or what rank of life you hold, the evil or the blessing will reach you all. . . . 'Tis the business of little minds to shrink; but he whose heart is firm, and whose conscience approves his conduct will pursue his principles unto death."

The Colonial people in our time have their revolutions and their Tom Paines. They will pursue their principles "unto death." It will require a world war, a war of counter-revolution to hold them back. But one contemporary and liberal American goes further. He declares flatly that not even all of the world's might will suffice. Listen to Mr. Justice William O. Douglas:

"There are rumblings in every village from the Mediterranean to the Pacific. A force is gathering for a mighty effort. . . . The spirit which motivates these people is pretty much the same as the one which inspired the French and American Revolutions. . . . Powerful forces are building up from the bottom. People are resolved to escape from the misery, poverty and disease. No number of A-bombs, no amount of fire power, no number of troops can turn the tide of that revolution."

And Mr. Douglas comes close to the truth. We can glimpse the suffering in store for us, America's little people, because the wealthy and powerful want to "turn the tide" in Asia. And these forces—McCarthy, Dulles, Knowland, McCarran, the Hearst Press and NAM—insult our

intelligence by super-patriotic mouthings that it's "all in the best interests of the security of ourselves and our country."

ASIA: THE AREA OF DECISION

The American nation has just emerged from one of its periodic national elections. The defeated candidate of the Democratic Party, Mr. Adlai Stevenson, is now touring the world. He and his Party have made known their determination to elevate him to the presidency in 1956. Mr. Stevenson sums up world affairs after a tour of the battlefronts and discussions with Far East war leaders, when he says: "Asia is the area of decision." What decision, Mr. Stevenson? A decision to throw the might of America to the Asian George the Thirds and to bury the glorious traditions of America in the black pages of future history books? Or do we align ourselves with the colonial peoples who seek to make the moving words inscribed on our own Statue of Liberty—"peoples yearning to be free" words of reality, ringing true and clear through every colonial land in the world?

Mr. Stevenson speaks the truth; Asia is the "area of decision" in the modern world. We agree, and add that the time for the decision is now.

It is in Asia where wars are now going on and have been going on for some years. These wars, although still local ones, have nevertheless brought tremendous loss in human life and terrible destruction. Any or all of these wars could set off a third World War, depending on the course and application of our foreign policy. All of these wars have a frightening similarity: the main forces bearing the brunt of the fighting and supplying the funds and materials to conduct the war, are alien to the countries in which the wars are taking place. In Korea it is the U.S. and other nations of the United Nations; in Indo-China it is the French; in Malaya and Central Africa it is the British. Tomorrow, or in the near future, similar wars might well flare up in Egypt, Iran or French North Africa.

THE BOGEY OF "RED AGGRESSION"

These wars truly threaten world peace. This we sincerely believe, despite the overwhelming volume of evidence that these are wars of colonial people "yearning to be free" of the centuries old oppression by alien and white imperial masters. But we are advised by our statesmen, and by the spokesmen for the crumbling empires of Great Britain, France, Holland, Belgium that the Asian wars derive from "communist aggression."

Again to the record and to on-the-scene observers.

Mr. Wendell Willkie spoke and prophesied in his book *One World* that:

"Especially here in Asia the common people feel that we have asked them to join us for no better reason than that Japanese rule would be even worse than Western imperialism. This is a continent where the record of the Western democracies has been long and mixed, but where people—and remember there are a billion of them—are determined no longer to live under foreign control. Freedom and opportunity are the words which have modern magic for the people of Asia, and we have let the Japanese—the most cruel imperialists the modern world has known—steal these words from us and corrupt them to their own uses.

"Most of the people of Asia have never known democracy. They may or may not want our type of democracy. . . . But they are determined to work out their own destiny under governments selected by themselves."

Justice William O. Douglas said:

"We talk of democracy and justice; and at the same time we support regimes merely because they are anti-communist regimes whose object is to keep democracy and justice out of reach of the peasants for all time, so as to protect their own vested interests. We put billions of dollars behind corrupt and reactionary governments, which exempt the rich from income taxes and fasten the hold of an oligarchy tighter and tighter on the nation. . . .

"The revolutions which are brewing are not, however, Communist in origin, nor will they even end if Soviet Russia is crushed through war."

Life magazine, December 1951, reported that the people of Indo-China are infected with revolt against the French and their weak emperor (Bao Dai, the French puppet "night club" emperor) and "only by the force of arms . . . have the French been able to retain islands of barbed wire in what was once their most valuable property." The "valuable property" is exactly what the French are fighting for. And we mean for! The United States supports the British in Malaya. The cruel actions of the British in Malaya are equaled only by the Nazi storm troopers under Hitler. All the people of a village or community are held and punished to answer for the acts of any member of the community. The official title of this barbarous policy is "collective punishment." Here is a sample report from the *New York Times*, November 1951:

"Army and police forces arrested today the 2,000 inhabitants of the village of Tras, in Pahang state, supply point for the guerilla gang that murdered Sir Henry Gurney, British High Commissioner, on October 6. The village which has been condemned, will be fully evacuated in three days."

Read the slick ad from a leading American magazine:

"The rubber tree means more to more people than any other tree in the world. From it comes the milky juice that provides a key to modern living. It is a vital raw material which the creative skill of the American rubber manufacturer turns into thousands of rubber products from latex foam mattresses to giant truck tires.

"To the millions of people of Southeast Asia the rubber tree is the chief cash crop. Their standard of living depends upon it.

"The tie between Asia and America was never more important to both than today—when Communism threatens the free world. For four years Malayan growers have faced Red bullets and Red propaganda without flinching—while producing more rubber than ever before.

"The rubber trees of Malaya are a fortress of freedom in Asia for all free nations."

—(Natural Rubber Bureau, Washington, D.C., advertisement.)

And now, Edwin A. Lahey, correspondent for the *Chicago Daily News*, long time confidant of the late Philip Murray, writes from Africa:

"But French West Africa, an area half the size of the United States . . . is good enough to serve as a symbol for the great investment American taxpayers have in this continent. . . .

"Before you even leave Washington, you learn not to call these flea-bitten jurisdictions—colonies. This is a distasteful word to Americans. Places like these are called DOTS, meaning dependent overseas territories. . . .

"Imperialism would also be a nasty word to describe our now expanding interest in Africa, but the list of American projects to develop the vast mineral resources of this continent suggests that the 19th century imperialism of England, France, Belgium and Portugal in Africa, is child's play by comparison!"

LET'S JOIN THE HUMAN RACE!

Mr. Stringfellow Barr, a well-known historian and president of the Foundation for World Government, writes in his pamphlet printed two years ago, *Let's Join the Human Race*:

"Our glance at the actual condition of mankind today should convince us that if all the Russians in the world obligingly died this evening, and if all the Communists of whatever race were so kind as to commit suicide tomorrow at noon sharp the world revolution for equality would not stop. We should remember that the 'backward' peoples are not only hungry, sick and desperate. . . . If they find that all the communists have suddenly and unaccountably died they will follow whoever else will promise to do some-

thing about it. The Asians and Africans will go on fighting or planning to throw the white foreigners out. The hungry will go on planning and fighting to eat. These people are in motion. You and I want peace and quiet so we can enjoy our unbelievable standard of living. They have nothing to enjoy so they want change.

"In these circumstances to suppose that these people would settle down if we could just make Russia behave, is to live in an unreal world, not in the world that exists today. To think, therefore, that we can get a stable world by frightening or defeating Russia is absurd."

In the United Nations a few months ago, two South American countries with large raw material resources, submitted a resolution upholding the right of nations to nationalize their industries and raw materials without specific guarantees of compensation to private investing foreign corporations. The vote on the U.N. Resolution was 31 to 1. Our country voted no, and that vote was cast in our name and in the name of all American labor.

When another U.N. resolution upholding "the exercise of the sovereignty of any state over its natural resources" carried 36 yes to 4 no, the U.S. was in the minority with Britain, France and New Zealand. And another, "to uphold the principle of self-determination of all peoples and nations" 34 yes and 13 no—our country again leading the "no" vote.

America against the world—like it or not.

If this holds true for Africa and the rest of Asia what about Korea? Is this simply a clear-cut case of "Communist aggression"?

The question of who started the Korean war has already receded into the dim past. Stories, views, records—they all conflict. And this is not surprising in the year 1953 when supposedly reputable historians are writing books to prove that F.D.R. was responsible for Pearl Harbor. Conflicting viewpoints abound. Let's have done with them.

The Americans are concerned with today and tomorrow—not yesterday. What is the good to argue now that the North Koreans attacked first? Of what great importance is this to American families who have lost their sons in this most hopeless, stalemated of wars? We think none. Again we draw upon our experiences learned in many a hard fought and long drawn out strike battle. There comes a time to settle, and the claims and counter claims as to who started the fight in the first place are set aside for history.

WHO CARES WHO STARTED IT?

How many Americans are still concerned about how the Korean war started? How many more want above all for it to end? We want it to end, too—right now.

Here reproduced are some simple and comparative statistics on the Korean war.

For U.S.	World War I	World War II	Korean War to date
Duration of war.....	1 yr. 7 mo. 5 days	3 yrs. 8 mo. 7 days	2 yrs. 8 mo.
Men mobilized (at peak)	under 4 million	12,300,000	3,600,000
Total casualties.....	364,800	1,096,993	130,093
Bombs dropped	—	604,000 tons*	438,000 tons
Aircraft ammunition fired	—	(rounds*) 253,000,000	(rounds) 221,000,000
Aircraft rockets fired..	—	219,000	563,000
Dollar cost	31 billion	341 billion	20 billion
Veterans (at peak periods)	4,566,000	15,428,000	1,483,000

*Pacific phase of World War II only

As this report is being written, four top government officials of France, led by Premier Rene Mayer and accompanied by a 32-man delegation are in the U.S. to discuss greater American aid to fight the war of counter-revolution in Indo-China. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles has stated that Indo-China is more important to the United States than Korea. A startling and cold-blooded announcement. Must America be careful about ending the war in Korea lest the French empire interest in Indo-China be jeopardized and the lives of the Nazis fighting in the French Foreign Legion be imperiled by the shifting of Chinese Communist forces from Korea?

EVERYTHING IS "RED AGGRESSION"

Not so long ago the French themselves were officially calling the Indo-China war a violent uprising by extreme nationalist elements. In other words, a revolution. It is only in the last two or three years, in order to fit this war into the common policy of terming everything "communist aggression," that it has been so designated. Over three years ago the Catholic Archbishop of Indo-China spoke out against the French Government and refused to join with the French in quenching the revolution.

Let's add the clincher! The revolt of Malayan people against the British is now called "communist aggression," but for years after the fighting started the British Government itself denounced the revolt as Japanese inspired, and led by Japanese "quislings." The same charge was leveled against the leaders of the Indonesian people when they turned

the arms given them to fight the Japanese invaders against their Dutch masters. At that time the U.S. sent arms to the Dutch forces *not* on the basis of fighting "communist aggression" but because, as we stated, the revolution in Indonesia was being conducted by Indonesians who had collaborated with the invading Japanese.

We, as members of the ILWU, should not have to go beyond our own experiences to understand the feelings of oppressed people of Asia, their determination to revolt and fight to the last man, woman and child. All the power of our country, exerted to the utmost, could do nothing more than to slow up and hold back for a relatively short time the march of the Asian people to national independence.

WHO ARE WE KIDDING?

We are not fooling the people of Asia. They see our country shoring up and pouring arms and aid of all kinds into the support of their hated oppressors. They have become completely determined to drive out of their countries forever, at no matter what cost, every last white person.

It would be well for those in charge of our foreign policy to remember the history of some of these colonial revolutions, especially in view of the newly-announced idea of arming Asians to fight Asians.

The Chinese Communists, now firmly established as the government of China, are probably still thanking us for the quantities of arms and equipment turned over to them or captured from the Chinese Nationalists whom we had armed.

And we should not forget that in the early days of World War II in the Pacific, in Indo-China, as in Burma, Malaya and elsewhere, all the native people simultaneously turned their guns both against the Japanese invader and their white British, French and Dutch oppressors.

How can we accept the policy of a Mr. Dulles—a rabid, anti-labor reactionary all his life, against the viewpoints of noted American liberals like Mr. Justice Douglas, Mr. Stringfellow Barr and others?

Clearly, the truth of the matter is that we are called upon to sacrifice and suffer at home in order that more of America's great wealth and might can be poured into a war of counter-revolution against peoples struggling for independence as our country struggled in 1776, and not against "communist aggression."

UNION MUST FIGHT FOR A FOREIGN POLICY OF WORLD PEACE

Everyone says he is for peace. A politician, a national leader, a union, a nation—would immediately reap the furious wrath of the world and of the people, if it openly proclaimed itself as arming and getting ready

to go to war. All *speak* for peace. It is what is *done* that counts in the eyes of the world today.

Mr. Adlai Stevenson, in an exclusive article for *This Week* magazine (March 20, 1953) entitled "What I Learned About America" (during his election campaign), makes reference to what he describes as our "impulse to have a showdown."

The ILWU officers have sought in the pages of this report to illustrate the suicidal dangers of a "showdown" through war. We and the world recoil from such a horror. We favor a "showdown"—a peace showdown. We favor a change in America's foreign policy that will bring us devoted friends and strong, loyal allies. This will make our country strong and impregnable.

There are basic alternatives to the present national policy. The "good neighbor" program of Roosevelt, the "one world" of peace and trade of Willkie, the support of the struggles of colonial peoples "in keeping with America's great traditions" of Justice Douglas.

THE WORLD STILL MOVES

The world is moving, inexorably moving. It is changing. We can no more stop the change than King Canute could stop the waves. A large section of the world has already changed and consolidated itself. Granted without argument that we differ from them in many ways; their approach to government and their system of society differ from ours. We recognized such facts in a resolution adopted at our last biennial convention. We put it this way:

"It's an established fact that a majority of the world's peoples today see things far differently than we do here in the United States. To recognize the fact is not to agree or to conspire with the leaders, or the government, or the people of any other country than our own. What is true, if our judgment and experience regarding world history teaches us anything, is that war will not kill ideas or eliminate the various differences among nations."

Here is one field for a world-shaking "showdown," a "showdown" of ideas, of "ways of life," of "American know-how," of peace negotiations, of advancing living standards, education, extermination of disease and the development of national cultures.

And in Asia, Mr. Stevenson's "area of decision," another field for a "showdown"—with America's greatness on the side of the Asian people, and not put to shoring-up with bayonets and money the tottering puppets of vanishing, imperialistic empires.

And at home, another "showdown" between the common people—who stagger and suffer from the crushing burden of high prices and taxes, skyrocketing rents and flattening pay envelopes, the inquisitorial

witch hunts, screening and loyalty oaths—and those scoundrels who are stealing our country, our institutions, and will not even leave us, if they have their own way, our humble claims to our patriotism and Americanism.

LIVE AND LET LIVE!

Other countries have their ways of life and doing things. We have ours. Let us live and let live; let us fear no nation and no man.

We urge the nation's leaders to launch a crusade for peace throughout the world, without false pride or stint, and we offer these suggestions as American trade unionists. We act in all good faith and sincerity, and to the support of our proposals we solemnly pledge our honor.

We propose:

1. An immediate cease-fire in Korea with negotiations following to resolve the unsettled issue of the exchange of war prisoners.
2. An immediate cease-fire in the wars in Indo-China, Malaya and Africa, with the issues in dispute in those wars to be negotiated. The results of such negotiations, whatever they may be, to be submitted to a plebiscite of those people, conducted by the United Nations.
3. The President of the United States to sit down with the Premier of the USSR and start talks aimed at resolving the differences between these two powerful states.
4. Reduce armaments. We hail and support the recent proposal of the U. S. to the United Nations for a top level conference on world armament reduction.
5. Outlaw, through United Nations action, the use by any nation of the atom bomb, the H-bomb and germ warfare.
6. Reverse the vote cast by the U. S. in the UN Assembly against independence for colonial nations and the right of colonial countries to own and exploit their own natural resources.
7. End the economic blockades and establish free trade throughout the world.
8. Promote a free exchange of information and delegations between all countries of the world.
9. We urge our country to abandon the restrictions and prohibitions against travel and entry into the communist countries, and likewise insist that similar restrictions by all other countries be dropped.
10. Give Labor and the common soldier a seat at the international negotiating table.

UNION PERSPECTIVES

The ILWU must maintain its unity and its fighting strength for the welfare of its members and for the preservation and growth of the union. The principles upon which ILWU was founded, and which brought us more than twenty years of unprecedented gains, provide the only guarantee for our future success.

We must drive ahead further to improve the living standards of our members, especially in the form of social gains and benefits. In this connection, 1953 must be the year of major concentration on gains for the warehousemen in our ranks.

We must work in every way to help our country launch and sustain a tremendous crusade for world peace.

We can expect renewed attacks, frameups and investigations of our union, its officers and its program. We must recognize these attacks for the divisive and confusing witch hunts that they are, and we must nail the enemies of labor and other people who are behind them.

Every resource of the union must be used to expose and defeat the legal attacks against the union which are shaping up as Smith Act indictments, McCarran-Walter Act actions, Juneau Spruce suits and B-R-S and Hall frameups.

We must drive harder than ever to assure that our Negro and other minority group members are fully integrated into ILWU, and that discrimination or segregation in all forms are combated and eliminated.

The internal unity and strength of the union will by itself not spell survival in the tough days ahead; we must identify our aims and our perspectives with those of the rank and file of labor throughout America, and we must build closer working unity with all workers, organized or unorganized as they may be.

The time has come when labor must have a perspective of its own political party. The efforts of some sections of labor to work within the framework of the major political parties, employer controlled and influenced as they are, have been a dismal failure.

Our union and all of the progressive and decent forces of America are in great peril today. The array against us appears to be invincible, but it seems so only because we have been divided and many have been frightened by these evil and selfish men who are greedy to possess more and more of the world's goods for themselves.

The unity of our ranks and of the American working people and their allies is the only answer to the dire problems we face.

Harry Bridges

PRESIDENT

Samuel L. ...

SECRETARY-TREASURER

J. R. Robertson

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Yerman Buhke

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT



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