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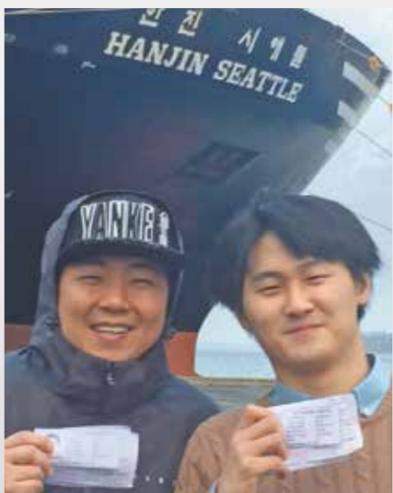
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ILWU solidarity helps Hanjin seafarers defend their right to shore leave [page 6](#)



Getting out the vote in Missouri: Local 5 member Ron Solomon talks with a Missouri voter about the issues facing working class Americans. The ILWU sent teams to support pro-union candidates in six states.

Trump stuns the establishment; union members face challenges

Donald Trump stunned the political establishment on November 8 with a knockout blow to conventional wisdom and corporate liberalism, delivered by angry working-class voters.

“America’s working class has been frozen out or falling behind for three decades while the upper crust has been partying with Washington insiders and Wall Streeters from both parties,” said ILWU International President Bob McEllrath. “Trump tapped into that anger while his opponent stood for the establishment.”

Would Bernie have done better?

The ILWU backed Bernie Sanders during the primaries because he spoke honestly about working class anger, the loss of good jobs and corruption of the political process. And unlike Trump, Sanders also offered specific proposals to make things better, including Medicare for All, free tuition at public colleges, and ending the corrupt campaign finance system. He made his appeals without

the scapegoating, racism and threats of violence that Trump used to manipulate media coverage and tap into dangerous hate politics. Nobody can say for sure whether Sanders would have prevailed over Trump if he were running instead of Clinton, but he did prove it was possible to win big support from working class and independent voters in Michigan and Wisconsin who embraced Sanders over Clinton in both primary elections.

The only vote that counts

The final results show that Clinton won the overall “popular” vote, but she failed to win according to America’s peculiar Electoral College system that gave Donald Trump the White House after winning the decisive “rust-belt battleground” states where working class voters, including current and former union members, chose Trump as their change agent in Wisconsin, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

Voters were hurting

“I kept meeting people at their homes around Cleveland who told me about the good jobs they used

to have that were gone now because of NAFTA,” said Local 6 member Victor Pamiroyan who travelled to Ohio with Erik Ferrel of the IBU and Local 5’s Mark Sailor and Ron Solomon. The quartet hoped to win support for pro-union Senate candidate Ted Strickland, but quickly came to realize how hard their task was to reach voters who had been hammered by decades of job losses. “Seeing all those empty factories as I drove into town from the airport was really shocking,” said Pamiroyan.

ILWU helps in six states

The ILWU sent small teams of union members to six key states during the final two weeks of the election: Florida, Nevada, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Missouri. After arriving, each team connected with other union members who were part of a coordinated campaign effort to contact union households and encourage them to vote for pro-union candidates. Each of the six states had a competitive U.S. Senate race where union-friendly candidates

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Trump stuns the establishment; union members face challenges

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were hoping to defeat anti-union incumbents or challengers.

Hoping to tip the balance

The hope was that winning U.S. Senate races in four or five states could change the balance of power in the Senate, to prevent Congress from passing more anti-union legislation. That effort to elect four new pro-union senators failed, giving Trump a better chance to pass anti-union laws that will hurt working families and union members.

Anti-union history

Trump managed to win most of the working class votes – estimated to be 40% of the total – despite his clear record of anti-union behavior.

“Trump’s view about unions is pretty clear,” said President McEllrath. “There were picket lines in front of Trump’s hotel in Las Vegas because workers inside couldn’t get him to negotiate and the National Labor Relations Board just filed charges ordering him to recognize and negotiate a contract. He also exploited immigrant workers on his construction jobs, sent jobs overseas for his clothing line, and told workers here in the U.S. to cut pay and benefits if they want jobs – while promising bigger tax breaks for corporations and the super-rich.”

Turning workers against each other

Trump wasn’t the first anti-union candidate to win working class votes in Wisconsin, Michigan and Ohio. All three states were once full of union members, and politicians were dependably pro-union until factories started closing and moving overseas in the 1970’s. The families who remained after losing their jobs and benefits became fertile ground for anti-union politicians who constantly blamed unions for “driving away jobs” while promising to put more money in people’s pockets by cutting taxes, and talking tough on crime with racial undertones. After years of this scapegoating, it became easier to attack public unions for being “greedy” when they sought pay raises and pensions.

Fertile ground for Trump

By the time Trump arrived in Wisconsin, Michigan and Ohio, each state had been pounded for decades by runaway shops and anti-union politicians, including Governor Scott Walker in Wisconsin, Governor John Kasich in Ohio and Governor Rick Snyder of Michigan. Walker and Snyder both advocated “right-to-work” legislation, and Walker was able to strip public employees of most union rights – and won public support from many current and former union members for those policies. The final ingre-

redient that secured anti-union political support from working class voters in the Rust Belt were “wedge issues” including abortion, gay rights, gun control and school prayer. Trump arrived in the Rust Belt prepared with talking points that fit neatly into a narrative provided by anti-union politicians who are skilled at winning working class votes. Polling by the AFL-CIO found over 40% of union members in these states were willing to vote for anti-union candidates, and claim that number fell to 30 percent after education and outreach work. Bernie Sanders proved that he could win back most of those voters with a positive, pro-union message, but the AFL-CIO and most large unions refused to support him. Hillary Clinton struggled to win working class voters and was easily dismissed as dishonest, entitled and more in touch with Wall Street than Main Street. The Clinton’s history of supporting free trade agreements like NAFTA and hob-knobbing with elites made her damaged goods on November 8.

Fighting the good fight

Despite these challenges, ILWU members went into battle against anti-union politicians and came away with their heads held high.

Florida is a long way from Alaska

“I’m an Alaska native from the Tlingit nation, so travelling to Florida was a long way from home and it was so much hotter there,” said James “Andy” Jackson. “We knocked on doors and talked with people about voting. I didn’t realize we’d be doing that when I signed up, but it was fun and worthwhile.” Pensioner W.C. “Pee Wee” Smith was also from Ketchikan, Alaska, and had a twisted ankle, so he navigated and drove Local 19 team leader Todd Weeks and Andy Jackson to each house on their route. They



Fighting for workers in Florida: Voters in the Sunshine State went for anti-union Senator Marco Rubio despite a spirited effort by ILWU team members James “Andy” Jackson (L) from Ketchikan, Alaska, and team leader Todd Weeks from Local 19 (2nd from right). Between them are Richard and Sergio, leaders of the South Florida AFL-CIO. Not in the photo is team member W.C. “PeeWee” Smith, retired longshoreman and President of the All Alaska Pensioners Group.



Our team in Ohio: (L-R) Team Leader Erik Ferrel from IBU’s Puget Sound Region, Local 6 member Victor Pamiroyan, Political Director Dan O’Malley of the North Shore Central Labor Council, ILWU Local 5 member Mark Sailor, Cleveland Canvassing Director Zachary Ogle and Get-Out The Vote Director Jessica Weinstein from Zone 2 in Ohio.

were warmly welcomed by most residents in the predominantly immigrant neighborhoods of Kendall near Miami. “Many didn’t speak much English, but their faces really lit up when they saw who we were supporting,” said Jackson. On a quick road trip they took further south of Miami, they noticed a lot more Trump signs. Senate challenger Patrick Murphy was soundly defeated by anti-union incumbent Marco Rubio, who won by almost 8% and 700,000 votes. “It was amazing to meet all the immigrants from so many different countries, and most of them were supportive,” said Todd Weeks. “It was a good experience and I would definitely do it again.”

Getting out the vote in Ohio

Ohio team leader Erik Ferrel’s group included Mark Sailor from Local 5 and Victor Pamiroyan from Local 6. He said their group was warmly greeted by other union members when they arrived at the North Shore AFL-CIO office in Cleveland. “They were excited to see us and said they had missed our help during the past few years,” he said. “We spent our days knocking on doors and getting commitments to vote early.” Despite the hard work

by ILWU members and other union volunteers, pro-union Senate candidate and former Ohio Governor Ted Strickland was crushed by anti-union incumbent Rob Portman, who won by 21 percent and over a million votes.

Wondering about Wisconsin

ILWU Legislative Assistant Bianca Bloomquist and Local 13’s Christine Aguirre both went to Wisconsin feeling hopeful because polls showed pro-union candidate Russ Feingold was expected to win his race against anti-union incumbent Senator Ron Johnson. When it was over, Johnson, who defeated Feingold six years earlier, was able to keep his seat, winning by 3 percent and almost 100,000 votes. “After our visit, we could see there was lots of work ahead if we want to win back working class voters in Wisconsin, and now after the election results are in, it’s even more true,” said Bloomquist.

Pushing hard in Pennsylvania

“After we were welcomed into the union campaign headquarters in Philadelphia by a big group of our union brothers and sisters, we got right into the door-to-door fight in the neighborhoods,” said team leader Dane Fredericks of Local 5. The PA team included IBU member Gary Bucknum and Local 19 member Alexandra Vekich. The Senate race pitted anti-union incumbent Senator Pat Toomey against union supporter Katie McGinty, who was up in the polls at one point, but lost on election day by 2 percent and 100,000 votes. “We spent our days talking to union members, their families and neighbors. The reception was mixed, as we expected, but it was heartening to be out there trying to make a difference in this important election,” said Fredericks.

Moving votes in Missouri

Missouri team leader Brent Bissett of Local 8 went to the “Show Me” state with Local 5 member Ron Solomon, and Local 10’s Melvin Mackay. Bissett said he was excited to see a new city and immediately went to see the giant

DISPATCHER

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Other election news

Unlike the rest of the country, elections in California, Oregon, Washington and Hawaii yielded few changes on November 8.

In **California**, Senator Boxer's seat was filled by Kamala Harris who easily defeated Loretta Sanchez, despite backing from ILWU Local 13 and District Councils. The Northern California District Council (NCDC) made a dual endorsement that included Harris. Both candidates were pro-union.

Corporate-friendly "moderate" Ro Khanna defeated pro-union House member Mike Honda in Silicon Valley's 17th Congressional District. Efforts to unseat four anti-union House members fell short when Darrell Issa, Jeff Denham, David Valadao and Steve Knight were all re-elected.

Janice Hahn's former House seat was won by Nanette Diaz Barragán over Isadore Hall III who was endorsed by Local 13 and the SCDC. Barragán was endorsed by Senator Bernie Sanders. Janice Hahn won a seat on the LA County Board of Supervisors. State Assembly and Senate races yielded few major changes.

Among the 17 ballot propositions, voters extended an income tax boost for the richest residents, legalized marijuana, made it easier to get parole, continued the death penalty and speeded up the appeal process, required background checks for ammunition purchases and prohibited high-capacity magazines, modified bi-lingual education, expressed opposition to the Citizens United case allowing unlimited political spending by corporations, and rejected a plan to lower prescription drug prices that big pharma spent an estimated \$100 million to defeat.

In **Washington State**, Seattle voters elected strongly pro-union advocate Pramila Jayapal to fill the Congressional seat held for 26 years by longtime union advocate Jim McDermott who is retiring. She easily defeated her corporate-friendly challenger. Other House seats remained relatively unchanged, as did the state house and senate.

Voters approved several ballot initiatives, including ones to raise the minimum wage, express opposition to Citizens United, build 62 miles of light-rail, oppose a state carbon tax and temporarily limit guns for those who pose an immediate danger to themselves or others.

Oregon voters saw few changes in their election, with one exception: an open seat for Secretary of State was won by conservative Dennis Richardson who defeated pro-labor candidate Brad Avakian. Despite the loss, Avakian will continue serving in another post as State Labor Commissioner. Progressive Portland City Council candidate Chloe Eudaly won a seat on the City Council. Local 8 Secretary-Treasurer Shanti Lewallen ran for U.S. Senate as a member of the Working Families Party and won 59,000 votes (3 percent) – but he also secured future ballot status rights for the pro-labor WFP. Statewide ballot measures included more funding for affordable housing and defeat of a corporate tax increase.



Seeking pro-union votes in Pennsylvania: The ILWU's team in PA worked hard but despite their best efforts, pro-union candidate Katie McGinty was unable to prevail in her bid for the U.S. Senate. While voters in Philadelphia County backed pro-union candidates by more than 80%, support was lacking statewide, especially in smaller towns and more rural areas. (L-R) Team leader Dane Fredericks from Local 5, Ali Vekich from Local 19, Philly AFL-CIO staffer Thelma Clements and IBU member Gary Bucknum.

arch that spans the mighty Mississippi River. Initial impressions suggested that things might be slightly unorganized and the mood a bit ho-hum, but everything improved as the team got to work and started visiting union households in the surrounding suburbs. "I'm happy we were able to work with the public, talk about labor issues and promote good people for office," said Bissett. At one point as he was walking in a neighborhood, Melvyn Mackay encountered a home displaying a prominent Confederate Flag and some anti-union lawn signs. "I avoided that one," said Mackay. Pro-union candidate Eric Kandor was unable to unseat anti-union incumbent Senator Roy Blunt who won by 3 percent and less than 100,000 votes.

Door-knocking in Nevada

Team leader Regina Shore from Local 19 was joined in the Silver State by co-workers Steve Labbe and Kevin Baldado plus Keith Madding from IBU San Francisco. The Las Vegas operation was large, with many union volunteers coming daily from Southern

California to assist the effort. "We saw 40 to 100 electricians from the IBEW arriving each day to help from California," said Shore. When the team visited voters at their homes, it appeared other volunteers had already been there. "It was almost overkill," said Shore who added that 20-25% the voters she met had already cast early ballots, and others were being visited by the campaign every day. "We did find one neighborhood full of Trump signs, and an angry supporter followed us around for three hours, tearing up the literature we were leaving at the doors, but we just ignored him." Nevada was the only U.S. Senate victory among the six states visited by ILWU teams across the country: pro-union candidate Catherine Cortez Masto won over anti-union challenger Joe Heck by less than 3 percent and 3500 votes.

"We walked our butts off, are in better shape now, and we'd do it again in a heartbeat," said Shore. "It was a great experience, and especially nice to see that our efforts paid off with a Senate victory."



Seeking votes in the Silver State: The ILWU's Nevada team visited voters surrounding Las Vegas in Clark County, where most of the state's voters live. The ILWU quartet included Keith Madding of the IBU San Francisco Region, Team Leader Regina Shore of Local 19, along with Local 19 members Steve Labbe and Kevin Baldado (not in photo).



Local 6 members walked for Oakland City Council member Noel Gallo.

Hawaii is one of the most pro-worker states in the nation, and that remained unchanged after the 2016 general election. U.S. Senator Brian Schatz, Congresswoman Tulsi Gabbard, and Congresswoman-elect Colleen Hanabusa all won their races with larger than two-to-one margins over anti-union opposition. Hanabusa also won the special election to fill the remaining portion of the late Congressman Mark Takai's term. Including Senator Mazie Hirono, Hawaii has an entirely labor-friendly congressional delegation. The Hawaii State Senate became the only all-Democrat legislative body in the nation when Honolulu City Councilman Stanley Chang defeated twenty-year incumbent Sam Slom. Honolulu Mayor Kirk Caldwell kept his seat, prevailing over conservative Republican former Congressman Charles Djou in the non-partisan race. Hawaii voters also approved a Constitutional Amendment that gives the state legislature the option to, under certain conditions, appropriate excess general fund revenues for pre-payment of general obligation bond debt service or pension/post-employment benefit liabilities for public workers.

HOLIDAY BOOKS

New books reveal important truths and lessons about Cesar Chavez and the United Farmworkers Union

For more than 50 years, Cesar Chavez and the United Farmworkers Union have been rightly regarded as giants of the great Civil Rights and social justice movements of the 1960's and '70's.

Because of the ILWU's progressive political tradition, many union leaders and members were closely connected to Chavez, and provided important support to the Farmworkers Union – along with thousands of other activists and institutions who contributed time and energy to what was called “the cause” or “la causa.”

Several authors – all deeply sympathetic to the cause – have recently taken a closer look at Chavez and the UFW, in an effort to give a fuller and more honest picture of the man.

Veteran ILWU members who supported the UFW are likely to find answers in these books to questions they encountered but could not answer then:

Why did the consumer grape and lettuce boycotts come to dominate the organization – at the expense of union's membership that faded away in the fields? Why were so many dedicated rank-and-file leaders and staff volunteers banished from the union? Why were so many bad decisions made at the top without more questions or challenges from the membership?

Younger ILWU members today may find wisdom in these pages that will help them take greater responsibility in their local union.

Nobody who was alive then will forget the vicious attacks against the UFW that came from growers, their political allies and collaborators – sadly including leaders of the Teamsters Union. That opposition explains some – but not all – of the challenges that UFW members faced every day. These books add other important details that have been missing until now.

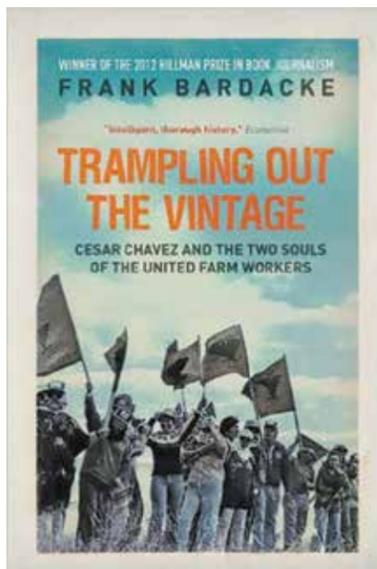


Soldiers of farmworker solidarity: Cesar Chavez and the United Farmworkers Union won important support from ILWU leaders, progressive politicians and religious leaders in the Bay Area and across the country. Shown here in 1972 during a San Francisco march are (L-R) Father Eugene Boyle, Cesar Chavez, State Senator George Moscone and Local 34 President Jimmy Herman.

Trampling Out the Vintage: Cesar Chavez and the Two Souls of the United Farm Workers

by Frank Bardacke

Bardacke was a Berkeley college student who left his classes in the 1960's to join farmworkers in the Salinas and Pajaro Valleys of California where much of the nation's fresh vegetables are still grown with migrant labor. He worked in those fields, learned to speak Spanish and came to discover the long legacy of farmworker struggles that existed before, during and after the UFW's peak. Bardacke explains how workers sometimes used solidarity and cunning to win raises, improve conditions and exercise a degree of control over their work – without a union. His focus on the workers perspective is central to Bardacke's “bottom-up” view of the UFW history, and it contrasts with many other accounts that emphasize the role of Chavez as great leader – often at the expense of other workers and leaders.



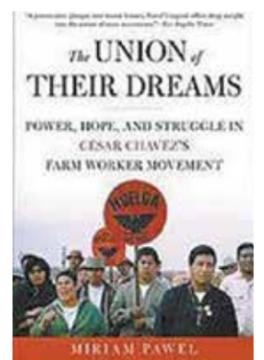
Bardacke's book is beautifully written, beginning with his first chapter that describes the Salinas Valley landscape with eloquence comparable to John Steinbeck's work 80 years earlier. He covers Chavez and the UFW in great detail, but begins with background about the workers, their industry and many struggles that came before the UFW was formed – including contributions by ILWU Cannery Workers Union Local 37 organizer Larry Itliong, Philip Vera Cruz and other Filipino radicals who organized farm workers and led historic grape strikes in Coachella and Delano during the summer of 1965, which Chavez reluctantly agreed to support. Itliong and Chavez soon joined forces to form the UFW.

At over 800 pages, this book covers the rise and fall of the UFW using many internal documents and extensive interviews with key players – especially farm workers – who had the most to win and faced the greatest risks. He also includes material from ILWU members and attorneys. But for all his focus on internal union conflicts, Bardacke never fails to pay heed to the immense power wielded against the union by growers, their politicians and willing partners in law enforcement and the Teamsters. After finishing his book, Bardacke met with former UFW activists at the ILWU headquarters in San Francisco, where he shared his thoughts and invited others to do the same. The 20 years devoted by Bardacke to write this book have yielded a rich and important history about the UFW's historic struggle that sparked a broader movement for immigrant rights in America.

The Union of Their Dreams: Power, Hope, and Struggle in Cesar Chavez's Farm Worker Movement

By Miriam Pawel

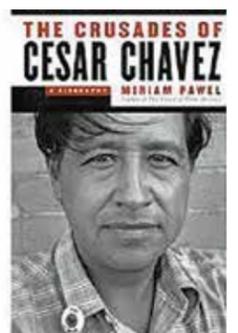
Miriam Pawel spent over 20 years as an award-winning newspaper reporter and editor at *Newsday* in New York and the *Los Angeles Times* before writing her ground-breaking series of articles that became the basis for her book, *The Union of Their Dreams*. Her reporting was based on exhaustive interviews and research – and profiles of eight people who agreed to share their stories about the rise and fall of the UFW. The book generated controversy when it was first published in late 2009 because it broke a veil of silence that lasted decades. While the stories told by former UFW members and staff all pay tremendous respect to Cesar Chavez, they also revealed – many for the first time in public – that the union had been controlled by charismatic but increasingly paranoid autocrat who ultimately helped destroy the union that he and others built. The wisdom and experience of the testimonies from these eight leaders shows how powerful and dynamic organizations can be vulnerable from leaders who are reluctant to trust democratic membership decisions because they fear losing control of organizations that they help build.



The Crusades of Cesar Chavez: A Biography

By Miriam Pawel

Pawel's second book, published in 2014, is sympathetic and respectful of Chavez' remarkable skills and accomplishments, while being honest about the leader's tragic flaws that contributed to the union's downfall. Careful research into his early years allows readers to understand how Chavez' intelligence and charismatic gifts were eventually transformed into a dangerous cult of personality that isolated the union and led to the destruction of rivals, critics and devoted loyalists. In the end, the union's leadership was reduced to a handful of family members and followers. Another problem documented by both Pawel and Bardacke was Chavez' growing reluctance to help workers organize in the fields. This is partly explained by the successful consumer boycott strategy that the ILWU and other unions supported. But in the end, Chavez opposed most efforts to organize and took steps to undermine many campaigns. Another revelation is that Chavez took steps to prevent the UFW from being structured or operated as a democratic organization run by rank-and-file workers. Instead, he and his hand-picked staff exercised tremendous control over most affairs, a process that frustrated and alienated workers from the union. ILWU Local 34 leader Don Watson was one of many activists who devoted a decade of

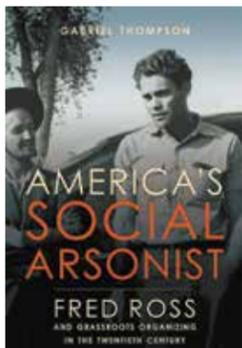


tireless work to the UFW, and grew increasingly concerned about Chavez and the union's leadership. Before he died in 2015, Watson told *The Dispatcher* of his deep disappointment at the UFW's anti-democratic practices and efforts to quash the historic strike by lettuce workers in Salinas that scored some victories despite opposition from Chavez. He was also concerned about the UFW's lack of democracy and was troubled by signs that Chavez seemed drawn to personal martyrdom. Fortunately, Pawel and Bardacke provide valuable background to help explain the origins of these traits, including the influence of conservative Catholic traditions, fear of left-wing organizers, and a desire to maintain total control over the smallest details. The result is a more accurate and honest account of a famous labor leader who was more flawed and human than the mythic figure in previous accounts.

America's Social Arsonist: Fred Ross and Grassroots Organizing in the Twentieth Century

By Gabriel Thompson

Teachers and mentors are important for everyone, including Cesar Chavez, who met Fred Ross on a summer evening in 1952 in San Jose, an experience that Chavez later said, "changed my life." This encounter began a remarkable journey for both men; providing Chavez with a teacher and tools to help him organize the UFW, while Ross was able to apply and refine his philosophy and craft of organizing. Together, they built organizations that changed history and inspired social movements.



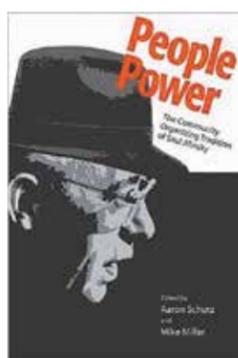
Ross, who died in 1992, spent time growing up on San Pedro's Beacon Street where his grandparents ran a hotel during the 1920's. A poor student who managed to attend college, Ross had trouble finding work during the Great Depression until landing a job with Franklin Roosevelt's Farm Security Administration that provided relief programs for farm workers. He ran a government farm labor camp in the Central Valley that inspired John Steinbeck's novel, "The Grapes of Wrath." At the camp he met workers and hungry families – along with radical labor organizers and Communists who taught him essential organizing skills: how to learn by listening, how to identify leaders and how to bolster worker confidence with small steps that eventually moved people to action. After WWII, Ross helped build California's Civil Rights movement led by Mexican-Americans who fought to end school segregation, improve services and register voters. He met influential radicals and activists, including ILWU Local 26 President Bert Corona, and the outspoken "troublemaker" Saul Alinsky, who supported efforts to build the "Community Service Organization" that Ross organized to help Mexican-American families organize to defend their rights, register to vote and improve living conditions. Ross met, recruited and trained Cesar Chavez to become a CSO leader – although Chavez was already a respected young neighborhood and church leader in 1952. Ross continued building the CSO in the 1950's, when he found and trained other talented leaders including Dolores Huerta and Gilbert Padilla who played key roles in the new farmworker union that Chavez started organizing in 1958. Ross used hundreds of "house meetings" as the foundation to build the CSO, an approach then used and refined by the Farmworkers Union to recruit thousands of workers and community volunteers.

Ross remained close to Chavez and the UFW during the next 30 years, playing an important role in organizing the powerful consumer boycotts that pressured growers to negotiate union contracts. Ross was insistent about following systems and keeping records; some of his techniques are still considered the 'gold standard' for successful organizing today. Devoting so much time to "la causa" took a toll on his family, and Ross was also unwilling to challenge internal abuse by Chavez that damaged the UFW. In the end, he was unable to break the powerful bonds of loyalty and friendship that were formed under fire when both men were young and idealistic.

People Power: The Community Organizing Tradition of Saul Alinsky

by Aaron Schutz and Mike Miller

Saul Alinsky (1909-1972) was America's best known community organizer who proposed a path for the powerless to gain power through democratic organizations and militant tactics that embraced conflict. His ideas about strategy have influenced many important organizers in the 20th Century including Fred Ross, Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta and Gil Padilla of the United Farmworkers Union – plus thousands of lesser-known leaders who have built organizations using Alinsky's ideas.



"People Power" is a comprehensive collection of short articles, analysis and excerpts that explain Alinsky's ideas, how he got them and why those ideas continue to interest activists and organizers today.

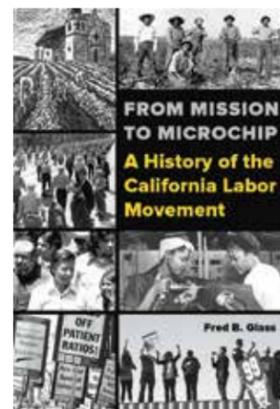
Alinsky came of age during the Great Depression and was inspired by labor activists and radicals who led massive union organizing campaigns during the 1930's that helped steelworkers, autoworkers, West Coast dockworkers and other industries under the banner of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Alinsky saw how those efforts transformed power relations in America between the rich and poor – then used some of those same ideas along with his own to build "people's" organizations in working-class neighborhoods. Alinsky started in Chicago's "Back of the Yards" neighborhood that was surrounded by stockyards and slaughterhouses. He was strongly influenced by the labor organizer Herb March of the United Packinghouse Workers of America who was a public member of the Communist Party, which was then gaining popularity among workers. Alinsky managed to build a surprising coalition of neighborhood residents, labor radicals, Catholic Church leaders and small business owners in "Back of the Yards" that he used as a model in other efforts. The result of that organizing in the decades that followed have yielded some impressive victories along with stunning failures and disappointments, but Alinsky and his ideas remain important for anyone interested in the promise and pitfalls of organizing for power, and this book is an excellent source.

OTHER BOOKS OF INTEREST

From Mission to Microchip: A History of the California Labor Movement

By Fred B. Glass

"All history is labor history," Fred Glass asserts in his new book, *From Mission to Microchip: A history of the California Labor Movement*. This engaging and very readable survey of the state's labor history follows in the footsteps of historians such as Howard Zinn, E.P. Thompson and W.E.B. DuBois and tells history from the bottom up. Instead of focusing on the "Great Men" of history, the collective actions of the working men and women who built the state, labored in its mines, factories and farms takes center stage.



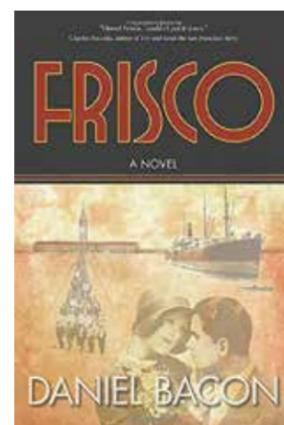
The ILWU is an important part of California's labor history. Maritime workers and dockworkers are mentioned throughout the book—from the Bloody Thursday and the West Coast dockers strike to the Mechanization and Modernization Agreement, to the ILWU's support for the United Farmworkers and persecution of Harry Bridges for his alleged ties to the Communist Party. The book uses several photos courtesy of the ILWU Library and Archives collection.

Glass chronicles the various political strategies, tactics, organizing campaigns and industrial actions over California's history as workers adapted to the ever changing legal and economic landscape. He weaves in first person accounts so readers get a personal perspective on historic strikes, industrial actions and organizing drives. The stories presented bring California's rich labor history to life and provide important lessons for today's union activists. Even those who are well-read in labor history will learn something new from this book.

Frisco

By Daniel Bacon

San Francisco writer and historian Daniel Bacon brings Depression-era San Francisco to life in his well-researched novel, *Frisco*. The story is framed by the city's waterfront labor fight in the 1930's, and brings together historical figures such as Harry Bridges with fictional characters including the novel's main characters, Nick and Clarisa—two lovers whose relationship is torn apart by the country's economic crisis. Nick, an aspiring journalist is forced to find work as a sailor and Clarisa finds herself working as an assistant to an executive at a stevedoring company. The story culminates in the dramatic events of Bloody Thursday and the 1934 General Strike.



Bacon, who founded San Francisco's official historical walking trail and has published a comprehensive guide book of the city's historical landmarks, skillfully uses his extensive knowledge of San Francisco to vividly describe working class life in an uncertain time. The book was built on a tremendous amount of research into the period and the history of the West Coast longshoremen done at the ILWU library. This book is a great read if you want to enjoy a compelling story and learn some history at the same time.

ILWU solidarity helps Hanjin seafarers defend their right to shore leave

Crewmembers on foreign-flagged vessels arriving at West Coast ports have frequently sought help from ILWU members and International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF) inspectors.

"Sometimes we discover that crewmembers haven't been paid correctly, or other times they report abusive working conditions, but sometimes it comes down to respecting their right to shore leave after working weeks or months at sea," said ITF Coordinator Jeff Engels in Seattle.

This history of helping seafarers explains how a brief, spontaneous solidarity action by ILWU members at the Port of Seattle on the evening of September 26, helped crewmembers aboard the Hanjin vessel Marine who were denied shore leave by officials at U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP).

Spontaneous solidarity

"The solidarity action on September 26 was a spontaneous response by ILWU members who saw the frustration of those crew members who were locked aboard their ship for several weeks," said Local 19 President Rich Austin, Jr.

ILWU members responded quickly to the sight of crewmembers aboard the Marine who dangled a homemade banner emblazoned with the words, "We deserve shore leave" and "Thank you ILWU." Dozens of ILWU members who were working on the Seattle dock briefly cheered for the crew and blew horns on vehicles that were operating alongside the container vessel around 6pm.

Support from ITF officials

The solidarity action won praise from leaders of the International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF), who said the refusal to grant shore leave to seafarers on Hanjin ships calling at U.S. ports amounted to a denial of human rights.

ITF First Vice Chair and ILWU Vice President (Mainland) Ray Familathe said, "Preventing these seafarers from going ashore denies them a basic right, especially after they've been on a ship for weeks or months." Familathe said the ILWU urged the U.S. Customs and Border Protection to review decisions made by some regional officials who enacted the lockdown against seafarers. Familathe, who previously served as an Inspector/Coordinator for the ITF, added, "members of Congress asked CBP for an explanation and change of policy,"

Customs officials said the shore leave was denied because of fears that Hanjin's recent bankruptcy might encourage some seafarers to jump ship. Those fears haven't been realized and the ILWU solidarity action and follow-up work appears to have encouraged CBP officials to reconsider their blanket prohibition against shore leave – confirmed when crewmembers on the next Hanjin vessel that docked in Seattle on October 14 were allowed shore leave.

Monitoring conditions

ITF West Coast Coordinator Jeff Engels and ITF Inspector Stefan Mueller closely monitored working conditions aboard Hanjin vessels after the company declared bankruptcy on August 31. ITF officials also worked closely with the Federation of Korean Seafarers' Unions and Korean Shipowners' Association, who formed a joint taskforce to ensure that food, water and other provisions were put aboard, along with special insurance coverage to see that wages and pension benefits would be guaranteed for seafarers.

Weeks without shore leave

"We want to ensure that crewmembers are being paid fairly and served good food, which has been the case on every Hanjin vessel we've inspected so far," Engels said. He was, however, concerned about conditions aboard the Hanjin Marine in September, because that vessel had been waiting offshore for several weeks before it docked in



Chinese crew members from the Hanjin Seattle celebrate their shore leave. Customs officials changed their policy after solidarity efforts from the ILWU and support from lawmakers in Washington.

Seattle. To make matters worse, crewmembers aboard the Marine and other Hanjin vessels had been previously stranded offshore in Southern California and denied shore leave there.

Change for the better

"When Customs officials changed course by allowing crewmembers aboard the Hanjin Vessel Seattle to go ashore on October 14, it signaled that the agency was open to a more flexible and compassionate approach," said Engels, who believes that ILWU solidarity and support from lawmakers in Washington played an important role in encouraging the change in shore leave. But he wanted to make sure that Hanjin crewmembers would get shore leave at other ports, so after the vessel Seattle departed the Puget Sound and travelled south to the Port of Long Beach in late October, Inspector Stefan Mueller was ready and waiting to help.

"When I came up the gangway to do my inspection, five crewmembers were already heading down with their shore leave," he said. Mueller completed a thorough inspection and interviewed the Captain and crew, which

allowed him to verify that all hands were paid up and fresh provisions had recently been put aboard.

Both Engels and Mueller agree that it's too early to know if the CBP policy on shore leave for Hanjin crewmembers will continue, so both plan to monitor the issue.

Tradition of solidarity

The ILWU was founded on a tradition of solidarity for all workers, especially those in the maritime industry. Sailors had already organized unions aboard vessels long before dockworkers succeeded in doing so. In 1934, longshore workers were day-laborers without rights and subject to terrible abuse. The West Coast Waterfront Strike in the summer of 1934 sought to improve conditions for all maritime workers, including seafarers as well and longshore workers.

"The ILWU's history is based on solidarity and when we say an injury to one is an injury to all, we mean it," said ILWU International President Bob McEllrath who added, "all of us have a responsibility to keep that tradition alive."



ITF Inspector Stefan Mueller with the Hanjin Seattle crew in the Port of Long Beach.



ITF Inspector Jeff Engels (right) with the crew of the Hanjin Seattle after they were granted shore leave.

TRANSITIONS

NEW PENSIONERS:

Local 4: Robert G. Denny;
Local 8: Michelle Flint; **Local 10:** Kenneth W. Perry; Solomona S. Malae;
Local 12: Edward L. Phelps; **Local 13:** Carlos A. Tormo; Robert S. Mezin; Rick G. Andersen; John G. Balesteri; Miguel R. Vargas; Zeljko Viduka; Gregorio M. Albanez; Jerry W. Lewis; Eugene Mays Jr.; David T. Wolf; Charles H. Cheatham; **Local 19:** Kevin M. Johnson; **Local 23:** Marshall R. Dawson II; Leroy D. Strub; Richard L. Newman; Donald W. Nelson;
Local 29: Rose M. Denning;
Local 34: Gary R. Seeterlin; Joetta K. Corvallis; **Local 47:** Thomas D. Haag; Timothy Knittle;
Local 63: Jerry B. Andries; Myra Sommers; Helen M. Sloan; Michael S. Caskey; Myles M. Sakamoto;
Local 92: Andre D. Barber;
Local 94: Anthony L. Scirocco;

DECEASED PENSIONERS:

Local 4: Merlin R. Wright; **Local 7:** Edward Abad; **Local 10:** Fredrick Lacy; Jerry T. Hasty (Diane); K C. Mattox (Joyce); **Local 13:** Monroe Ballard; Edward A. Bobic; Jesus T. Martinez; George R. Mattox; Joe Rodriguez; Hamilton Jones Jr; **Local 19:** Paul C. Buxton; **Local 21:** Raymond D. Craft; Timothy A. Norton; **Local 25:** Fred M. Norg (Judith); **Local 52:** Robert J. Mackner; **Local 91:** Carl W. Graef; **Local 92:** Wallace W. Leistiko; **Local 94:** Buddy W. Ball; William Swenson; Peter P. Torres;
Local 98: Nicholas J. Engels;

DECEASED SURVIVORS:

Local 8: Evelyn Veatch; Alice G. Mussman; **Local 10:** Teresa M. Dias; Millicent Malliett; Ernestine Horton; Lucy L. Matsu; Evelyn L. Moore;
Local 12: Vivian Kiander; **Local 13:** Wanda J. Danielovich; Jennie Ortega; Ubol Pena; Mary Major; Bonnie M. Powell; **Local 29:** Bonnie R. Urso;
Local 40: Mary L. Hennessey;
Local 46: Lucy V. Dominguez;
Local 54: Betty J. Potthoff;
Local 63: Carol Miretti;
Local 94: Geraldine Rowell; Vivanne Armenta;



Calling Alaska Pensioners! ILWU pensioners are beginning to get organized in Alaska. It started this past September at the Pacific Coast Pensioners Association Convention where ILWU President Bob McEllrath and Pacific Coast Pensioners President Greg Mitre presented a new charter authorizing formation of the All Alaska Pensioners Group. Coordinating the effort is W.C. "Pee Wee" Smith of Ketchikan, shown in the lower photo, receiving the official charter document. He's counting on help from many pensioners to overcome the large distances and travel expenses involved with organizing a network in Alaska. Important help was recently provided with a donation from active members of the Alaska Longshore Division who donated \$5000 to help jump start the Pensioner's treasury plus a \$5000 annual donation to the group's travel fund. Smith says the contributions are a big help and much appreciated. Appearing in the top photo are (L-R) former Local 200 President John Bush from Juneau, Ardith and husband W.C. "Pee Wee" Smith of Ketchikan who is President of the All Alaska Pensioners Group, Past President of Kodiak Unit John Kennedy who also served as past Secretary-Treasurer of the Alaska Longshore Division, Gene and Maggie Fennimore of Wrangell, Alaska.

ILWU members help public radio survive in Alaska

Radio station KUCB is a relatively small operation compared to her big-city sisters in the Lower 48, but she provides a vital lifeline of news and information for thousands of residents living around the small town of Unalaska and the Port of Dutch Harbor, located in the Aleutian Islands, hundreds miles from Alaska's mainland on the edge of the fish-rich but notoriously deadly Bering Sea.

Falling oil prices have been hard on Alaska's state and local budgets – resulting in 50 percent less state funding for KUCB. "We were really concerned about our budget this year because of the funding cuts, but the

ILWU and other groups really came through for us," said station manager Lauren Adams. The station held a one-day pledge drive on October 14 with a \$20,000 goal – but ended up raising a record-breaking \$30,000.

Over \$3,000 of those dollars came from ILWU members who responded to a challenge from longshore worker Juliet Vries, who volunteers each year during the pledge drive. A total of 25 ILWU members stepped forward to help the cause.

"The ILWU is strongly invested in our community here and they showed that during our pledge drive. We can't thank them enough for contributing when our station needed it most," said Adams who has managed the station for 12 years.

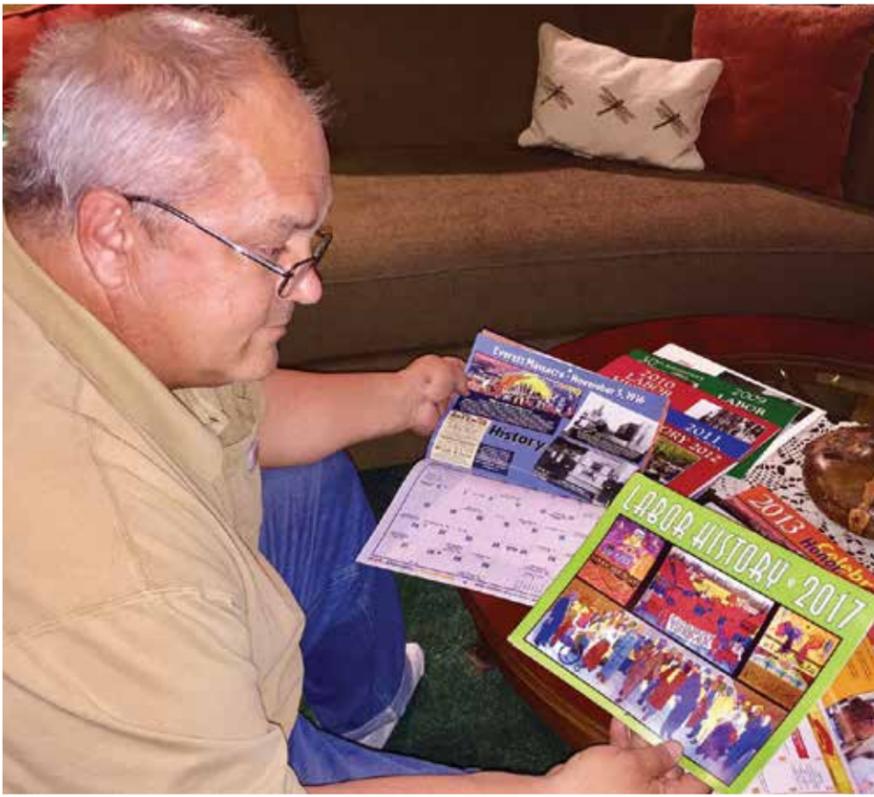


Young voices: Radio station KUCB provides essential news and information for a diverse community in a remote part of Alaska where natives, newcomers and Filipino immigrant families work in the maritime and fishing industry.



ILWU delivers for the community:

Longshore member Juliet Vries (L) encouraged co-workers to support their public radio station in Unalaska/Dutch Harbor which resulted in record-setting contributions.



Keeping labor history alive: Local 23's Vance Lelli reviews his collection of Labor History calendars that the Pacific Northwest Labor History Association (PNHA) has produced since 1978. The PNHA Labor History calendar is the only one of its kind available in the US. It included historical dates plus photos of union events that took place in Washington, Oregon & British Columbia. It's a great holiday gift idea or good way to say "thank you" to friends and relatives. Single calendars are \$15.00 which includes postage; discounts available for larger orders. Order at their website www.pnlha.org or contact Ross Rieder at rossr241@aol.com.

ILWU Canada members march to protect maritime jobs



ILWU and other union members marched through the streets on Vancouver, B.C. on Nov. 3 to protest a new free trade deal.

Hundreds of longshore workers, seafarers and members of other union members joined together to march from Canada Place to the offices of Transport Canada in downtown Vancouver, British Columbia. Marchers gathered to protest the threat to Canadian seafarer jobs due to a newly-signed "free trade" agreement, Comprehensive Economic Trade Agreement (CETA) between Canada and the European Union. Part of the agreement would remove the Cabotage provisions in the Canadian Marine Act that protect Canadian maritime jobs in Canadian waters.

Cabotage regulations require that any transportation of goods or persons inside Canada be done by Canadian companies with Canadian equipment and Canadian workers. These regulations also include tariffs on bringing in foreign built vessels and equipment.

Speakers at the rally included Canada President Rob Ashton, ILWU Local 400 President Terry Engler, Seafarers International Union President Jim Given, and Vancouver District Labour Council President Joey Hartman.

The speakers brought a message of unity and solidarity and a need to fight for regulations that protect workers' rights. They reminded supporters the importance of sticking together and sending a clear message to Transport Canada to stop eroding regulations that protect Canadian jobs and our coastlines.

A Helping Hand...

...when you need it most. That's what we're all about. We are the representatives of the ILWU- sponsored recovery programs. We provide professional and confidential assistance to you and your family for alcoholism, drug abuse and other problems—and we're just a phone call away.

ILWU LONGSHORE DIVISION

ADRP—Southern California
Jackie Cummings
870 West Ninth St. #201
San Pedro, CA 90731
(310) 547-9966

ADRP—Oregon
Brian Harvey
5201 SW Westgate Dr. #207
Portland, OR 97221
(503) 231-4882

ADRP—Northern California
Hunny Powell
HPowell@benefitplans.org
400 North Point
San Francisco, CA 94133
(415) 776-8363

ADRP—Washington
Donnie Schwendeman
3600 Port of Tacoma Rd. #503
Tacoma, WA 98424
(253) 922-8913

ILWU WAREHOUSE DIVISION

DARE—Northern California
Teamsters Assistance Program
300 Pendleton Way
Oakland, CA 94621
(510) 562-3600

ILWU CANADA

EAP—British Columbia
John Felicella
3665 Kingsway, Ste 300
Vancouver, BC V5R 5W9
(604) 254-7911



New Zealand Maritime Union met before big quake: Members of the Maritime Union of New Zealand (MUNZ) held their 5th Conference on November 8-11 at the port town of Wellington, that ended five days before a powerful 7.5 quake killed several, stranded thousands and damaged several ports on the island nation. MUNZ delegates approved their four national officials who ran unopposed in national elections. ILWU International President Bob McEllrath was honored at the podium by MUNZ National President Carl Findlay (L) and on his right by National Secretary Joe Fleetwood, Assistant National Secretary Ray Fife, and National Vice President Selwyn Russell. Other unions attending included the Maritime Union of Australia, International Longshoremen's Association, Samoa FIRST, Britain's Rail Maritime and Transport workers (RMT), AVC Transcom union from Belgium, CFMEU and Electrical Trades from Australia, All Japan Dockworkers' Union, International Transport Workers' Federation and International Dockworkers Council. The conference opened with a speech by Labour Party leader Andrew Little, and ended with Green Party co-leader Metiria Turei. Women and Youth members met one day early, drawing participants from throughout New Zealand. In addition to an address from President McEllrath, ILWU Canada's Steve Nasby and Vice President Ray Familathe also spoke.

— HAPPY NEW YEAR —

2017