Bargaining won’t be easy in ’84

Unions renegotiating contracts in 1984 will face employers intent on pressing for more of the wage freezes, give-backs and other concessions, which characterized last year’s bargaining.

About 3 million workers in the US Postal Service, and auto, construction, oil and coal mining industries, among others, face contract renegotiations this year.

Articles in the business press, which provide a glimpse of management positions at the bargaining tables, argue that unions must temper their demands to cash in on the increased profits of companies in key industries.

The unions, according to Business Week and US News & World Report, must allow for the increased domestic and foreign competition, and bear in mind that average hourly compensation "rose only 5% for the four quarters ended in September" 1983, reported Business Week, "the smallest gain in a decade."

Nonetheless, unions, pointing to their willingness to accept wage freezes and other concessions to save jobs and firms, will seek wage increases, improved profit-sharing plans (such as those UAW earned with GM and Ford), and continued company financing of health benefits.

**KEY CONTRACTS**

Contracts covering the 565,000 employees of the US Postal Service expire July 20, and Postmaster General William F. Bolger was quoted as predicting a "reasonable increase in basic wages" and a continuation of current cost of living increases.

The American Postal Workers Union wants the cost of living formula to result in increases equaling 100% of the inflation rate.

The 462,000 workers at GM and Ford, whose contract expires September 15, may decide that improved profit-sharing plans with the recovering companies are more important than immediate wage increases.

UAW negotiated the profit-sharing plans in 1982 in "exchange for wage freezes and other concessions," US News reported.

The union wants to improve the payment formula which this year pays workers from $400 to $600 at GM.

In construction, a forecast of increased building has unions representing 1 million workers seeking to eliminate the wage freezes agreed to in 70% of the 2,300 contracts signed in '83, most for one year.

In the petroleum industry, the 50,000 Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers seek to improve their 1983 average wage of $13.61 per hour, increased job security, and "uniform industry-wide provisions governing severance pay and notification of layoffs and plant shutdowns," US News stated.

The United Mine Workers bituminous coal contract, covering about 160,000 miners, expires in September, and UMW president Richard Trumka eyes negotiations with the slogan: "No backward steps, no take-away contracts."

**NLRB on carpet**

The four members of the NLRB would rather sit on cases than decide them, and must explain why to a House of Representatives government operations panel. The 1,339 cases pending NLRB review (up from 788 in '82 and 432 in '79) "frustrates the intent" of US labor laws requiring fair employment practices, subcommittee chairman Barney Frank (D Mass.) said on the day before hearings.
If you cannot refrain from leaving half of your paycheck in the bar, asks a recent issue of the Local 13 Bulletin, why start a savings account in your own home? If you are the only customer you will have. Give your wife $55 to buy a case of whiskey. There are roughly 240 snorts in a case at $50 a snort and in twelve years $27,085.47. Give your wife, who has $80 to put in the bank and you will have $55 left to start up business.

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firms to break into the labor market.

The 70-page report states that about 11 million workers, or about 10% of the American workforce, experienced market distress in 1979 before the recessions of the early eighties took hold. Of that number, some 4 million were only occasionally employed and 7 million were employed at low wages, Saks said.

Civil rights, agriculture and academia.

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"What we need," said Pandora, - are policies to preserve and pass on the heri-

tages adults can be helped with well-de-
targeted programs to help them without inhibiting

cities in distress should increase in the 1980s.

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Local 37 reports

BLOOD, SWEAT & GRIEVANCES—A SEASON IN THE CANNERIES

SEATTLE—In a score of isolated salmon canneries and freezers scattered through the areas of British Columbia, coastal British Columbia, and southeastern Alaska, active members of ILWU canner workers Local 37 are tightening up enforcement of their contracts.

Workshops on health and safety and grievance handling, attended by both the canner workers and their supervisors, were held in the Freezer of the summer season. Entitled "Blood, Sweat and Grievances: Strategies of a season," the workshop provides an outsider’s glimpse of life in the canneries, the problems faced by the union, and its efforts to straighten things out.

At Columbia Ward’s Fisheries Red Salmon plant in Naknek, for example, 60 members filed a petition with the company asking for a new cook. The petition charged the current cook with "gross incompetence, below par ethnic culinary standards, and a limited menu knowledge, leading to inexcusable waste of food." The petitioners also charged that food was served negligently or with malice, resulting in excruciating stomach aches, skin irritation and high blood pressure" for many workers. The cook was also charged with favoritism, "serving better food to some workers," and finally, with abusive behavior toward his subordinates.

INTIMIDATION

One Red Salmon crew member claimed that "people who signed the petition were scared of reprisals," a fear no doubt instilled by the fact that the foreman told at least ten of them that the superintendent would "fire the whole crew before he'd fire the cook." The cook himself is also facing problems with overtime. Workers processing salmon aboard the Northern Shell, a processing barge pulled alongside the plant, were denied overtime for work performed during meal hours. The egg house crew lost a quarter of an hour of overtime every day.

There were also job classification problems—boutchers did not receive their butcher wages on "down days." Favoritism and nepotism was practiced throughout the plant. Many long-time workers were particularly frustrated and angry "because they were paying the higher paying, cold and wet jobs in the fish house while the high-paying beach gang position was filled by the superintendent's father."

Bayani Mendosa, steward at the Port Mol- ler Peter Pan plant in Cold Bay, said he was able to quickly force the company to avoid an extremely serious health hazard caused by an ammonia leak.

Mendosa first noticed the leak while walking through the factory and immediately told all the workers to evacuate the area. "The real show begins when the season starts early in the summer," says Sea Alaska when the season starts early in the summer. "The cook was also charged with abusive behavior toward his subordinates."

SAN FRANCISCO—Several years back Hills Brothers Coffee Co., a San Francisco landmark, was faced with an old-time Local 6 problem, according to Al Lannon, their president. "The manhour rate, $5.50 per hour, just didn't keep up with the tremendous increases in hourly costs associated with declining manhours attributable to mechanization and automation," he said.

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The petition of grievances, "a season in the canneries" is presented in a new book, Blood, Sweat and Grievance—A season in the canneries. The book, written by the ILWU, covers the history of the union's efforts to improve working conditions and wages for canner workers.

SAN FRANCISCO—Plans by a government subcontractor to destroy the benefits and conditions won by workers at a military jet-fuel tank farm here—and thereby weaken standards in the whole harbor area—have been upset by ILWU warehouse Local 26.

Charges filed by Local 26 LA Luisa Gratz against Petroleum Operations Service and Supply, Inc. (POSSE) were sustained on December 9 by NLIB Region 31. The Labor Board found that the company had failed to bargain in good faith with Local 26, and had failed to implement medical benefits negotiated under the predecessor agreement as required by the US Service Contract Act. POSSE is now directed to resume bargaining, and to reimburse its 26 members at the tank farm for any medical or insurance costs for which they were liable during the eight months they worked with an out contract.

DUMP THE UNION

The tank farm was first organized by the ILWU in 1972 when Mercury Refining, holding the government contract at the facility, was charged with "dumping" hazardous substances into the harbor area. The ILWU, acting on behalf of the Coast Committee, in a December 2 letter to all US longshore districts, "clearly understood that this new system of enforcement of their contract.

In its decision, the board declared that "the union, cut benefits and wages, and thereby come in with much lower labor costs. They figured that they would only lose money during the first year," said LA Luisa Gratz, "until they could dump the union." POSSE is a Louisiana-based company with a strong anti labor record—it’s rumored that they’ve broken several unions across the country by using similar tactics, according to Gratz. And they let the word out in the Harbor that as soon as they finished Local 26 at the South San Francisco, they’d move their show over to Gatun, a government subcontractor also under contract to Local 26 doing similar work, and do the same thing over there.

During the spring and summer of 1983, POSSE stalled, delayed and stalled some more. They agreed to hold only one bargaining session. One member got a few signatures on a decent petition under the false pretense that getting rid of the union would speed bargaining.

RESUME BARGAINING

In its decision, the board declared that POSSE has a duty under federal law to recognize the union members filed a petition with the company asking for a new cook. The petition charged the current cook with "gross incompetence, below par ethnic culinary standards, and a limited menu knowledge, leading to inexcusable waste of food." The petitioners also charged that food was served negligently or with malice, resulting in excruciating stomach aches, skin irritation and high blood pressure" for many workers. The cook was also charged with favoritism, "serving better food to some workers," and finally, with abusive behavior toward his subordinates.

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Greyhound strikers: ‘they played harder ball than us’

Striking Greyhound Lines’ workers on December 20 approved a settlement of their 7-week-old strike against the nation’s largest intercity bus company.

Harry Rosenblum, president of the Amalgamated Transit Union’s Greyhound bargaining committee, said that 74% of the union’s 12,700 striking members casting ballots had ratified a tentative agreement that union bargainers had negotiated with 3, after considerable prodding by federal mediators.

Rosenblum said that 7,404 union members had voted yes and 2,586 voted no on the contract, which calls for Greyhound employees to take a 7.5% pay cut for the next three years and a total cut of about 14% in wages and benefits totaling 17%, according to the company, and 25%, according to the union.

Greyhound did not run any buses during the first two weeks of the strike, on which, by the end of December, the company’s revenue had suffered a loss of about $10 million. By the time the strike was settled, the company had lost about $4 million in wages and benefits totaling about $200,000 were saved.

Even after the tentative settlement was announced, there was activity on the picketing lines, when the Greyhound bus that was on a training trip in Zanesville, Ohio, No charges were filed in that incident.

The Greyhound system is the first-time in the Trans Union’s four decades of representing Greyhound drivers and station personnel, the union granted major concessions in this contract.

The new contract will save Greyhound about $165 million in labor costs over the next three years, according to union officials, and will cut union members about $4,500 each in lost wages and benefits. With Greyhound’s future uncertain, Greyhound asked for concessions amounting to about $320 million.

‘GAME OF HARBALL’

“I’m just glad it’s over. I am not happy with anything else. It was a game of hardball and they played harder ball than we did,” Teets and other company officials stressed during the strike that Greyhound needed heavy wage and benefit concessions from its employees because they are considerably better paid than workers at the nation’s other interstate bus companies.

Rosenblum said: “We just couldn’t do any thing else. It was a game of hardball and they played harder ball than we did. Teets and other company officials represented the striking union, which had been steadfastly maintained that Greyhound could afford to pay its employees more because it was far and away the largest company in the field with 62% of the intercity market. Nonetheless, they agreed to the stiff give-backs, fearing that if the strike went on their members would lose their jobs as had striking copper miners in the North.”

The union had to come back or ultimately lose its classification,” she said.

Some union leaders, including Jim Hodge, a vice president and local and a member of the union’s bargaining committee, said that they believed Greyhound Corp. would have sold the bus line or franchised its operations.

In addition to the 14% wage cut, the Greyhound workers agreed to:

• A company demand for a freeze on cost-of-living increases for a year.

• Employee-paid contribution of 4% of annual gross wages into their pension plan, previously paid entirely by Greyhound.

• Larger employer contributions to health plans.

• A loss of two paid holidays per year, on which the union demanded a guaranteed wage structure that would eventually lower the company’s labor costs by 15%.

For example, newly hired Greyhound drivers before the strike started at about $32,000 full pay and received a 9.5% pay increase over the next two years. In the future, however, they will take three years to reach the top rate, and that rate will be 15% lower than the one in effect when the strike began.

Newly hired drivers also will have a considerably lower pension plan. Pension benefits for employees hired before October 31 were based on the pay for their final year of work. They will be reduced now to normal their highest earnings rate. But the new hires will have to wait about 50 years before they can receive benefits based on the average of their career earnings.

BC labor continues backing for ‘Operation Solidarity’

VANCOUVER, BC—At the annual BC Federation of Labor convention, which included fraternal delegates from unaffiliated unions for the first time, the operation Solidarity movement and unemployment were two major items on the agenda: the Solidarity movement and unemployment.

Labour Solidarity, which unites almost all of the unions in the province, and Solidarity—Culinary, which unites dining workers with community groups, emerged during the past five months to lead mass demonstrations against the July 7 budget, and represents the labor movement, introduced a resolution by the Social Credit provincial government, headlined by Premier Bennett.

RUMBLE

From November 17, the province’s major government employees were on strike until Premier Bennett met with the Operation Solidarity leader. They established a consultation process between government, employees, labor and other groups to avoid future conflict, and Bennett agreed to apply money saved in the strike to next year’s budget pay teachers.

But Bennett is demanding the money be used to extend this year’s school-year—400 teachers will be laid off as a result. The delegates decided to take “whatever action necessary to force the provincial government to honor our union commitment,” said Mike Kramer, secretary-treasurer of the Federation.

12 POINT PROGRAM

The convention delegates voted to “de-view any employers who fail to meet the government and corporate attempts to work and fight for a living wage and a real program to fight for a living wage.”

The convention delegates also agreed to “offer whatever support action necessary to prevent reprisals against individuals and organizations for their participation in the November, or any other, political protest.”

LABOR UNITY

Expressing its desire for unity of all labor, the delegates declined the Federation’s call not to view “whatever action necessary to protect workers’ rights from repressive legislation,” and to “assist all organizations in obtaining exemptions from the odious dis-

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The employers were in full control and they were always speeding you up. They said, "Instead of putting on eighteen, put on twenty-two," or they would give you an order to put on forty-four. And they would have a gang boss in every gang, and the gang boss might come down the ladder and say, "Look fellows, I just found out that the big fellow up number two hatch is taking in four more loads per hour than we are. You want to hang onto our job here, we gotta step it on, fellows." And stuff like that.

You could protest, but to what good— we were completely unorganized. Everybody who knew me back then would tell you that I had a revolt on my hands.

So, you build a runway that goes downhill. You see what I mean? If you leave it alone, you’re pushing uphill. Well, it takes time to build a thing like that.

Big Load Thompson shouted over the coming one day, and he said we ought to speed it up a little bit, and "shove those loaders and get that thing up there." Well, we just couldn’t make it.

Gang boss Sam Hendrickson went up the ladder and talked to him very quietly and he said, "We have to build a runway there because they haven’t got the strength to push that two thousand pounds uphill." The guy apparently took a look at it, and he realized that that was an uphill thing which couldn’t happen in number two or number three hatches. So, he made his point.

Well, something happened one day that—well, they can blame me for it, if they want to. We were working in the afterhatch. That is the hatch in which is the rear of the ship.

In the rear of the ship there’s a great big propeller, which turns around in the water by reason of the fact that it’s attached to the engine which is in the middle of the ship.

All right, that shaft alley—when you’re an oiler down below in the ship and you have to go down into the shaft alley, you walk like into a tunnel. Then you go along with an oil can and do whatever you need to do. But from a longshoreman’s point of view, when he enters the afterhatch of the cargo vessel and goes down below, he runs into this shaft alley and to him it looks this way—it’s right in the middle, almost in the middle.

Well, we were loading some kind of material in small sacks, very heavy; I forget what it was. Big Load Thompson must have told something to Sam Hendrickson demanding that we do a better job. Well, you have to take into consideration that the shaft alley is round on top.

THAT’S ENOUGH

Well, you certainly can’t land the shaft alley there because if the next two men don’t hang on it, it’ll spill all over the place, because the top of the shaft alley is round. I’ll roll one way or the other. Well, that happened, and I saw it coming. I knew that it would happen; I don’t know if it was my fault or not.

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Well, something happened one day that—well, they can blame me for it, if they want to. We were working in the afterhatch. That is the hatch in which is the rear of the ship.

In the rear of the ship there’s a great big propeller, which turns around in the water by reason of the fact that it’s attached to the engine which is in the middle of the ship.

All right, that shaft alley—when you’re an oiler down below in the ship and you have to go down into the shaft alley, you walk like into a tunnel. Then you go along with an oil can and do whatever you need to do. But from a longshoreman’s point of view, when he enters the afterhatch of the cargo vessel and goes down below, he runs into this shaft alley and to him it looks this way—it’s right in the middle, almost in the middle.

Well, we were loading some kind of material in small sacks, very heavy; I forget what it was. Big Load Thompson must have told something to Sam Hendrickson demanding that we do a better job. Well, you have to take into consideration that the shaft alley is round on top.

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PEOPLE

‘Jumbo’ Royal was 1934 strike veteran, charter member of ILWU

SAN PEDRO—Archie ‘Jumbo’ Royal, a veteran of the 1934 ILWU strike, is a charter member of longshore Local 13, died December 19. He would have been 88 years old January 1, 1984. Jumbo came to America in 1913, and traveled by train to join his brother in Pueblo, Colorado, where he worked in the marble quarries of Colorado, to the San Pedro waterfront. ‘Jumbo Royal and men like him were the foundation on which this union was entirely built.’

In Ludlow, Jumbo joined the thousands of eastern and southern European and Mexican immigrants who lived under appalling conditions, under the total control of the company. Their wages were barely sufficient to keep them from starving in the wreckage they were living in. How they lived, what they ate, what they did in their spare time, was the concern of the employer. Working conditions were brutal.

MINE STRIKE

On September 22, 1914, miners struck. Jumbo went to the strike committee. He understood the attempts by the union to improve the conditions of the men who performed the perilous, grueling work, and how the union was crushed by the Italian army.

Over 2,000 miners lost their jobs in 1913, and traveled by train to join his brother in Pueblo, Colorado, where he worked in the marble quarries of Colorado, to the San Pedro waterfront. ‘Jumbo Royal and men like him were the foundation on which this union was entirely built.’

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Jumbo Royal retired in 1961. He is survived by his wife of nearly 64 years, Al-\newife; his wife Lavinia; Frank Reiche, Secretary of ILWU Local 6 East Bay; and his wife, all of Astoria; and Frank Ro-\newich and Local 6 President emeritus Al Lannon and Local 6 President Jerome Bill Burke; and Robert Barr, Secretary; James A. Rainey, Secretary of the Local 50 pensioners; Norm Mattson, PCPA executive board member and his wife, Ocean Park, Bob Coffey; the witty enigmatic fellow who owns the Portland waterfront, Coffee’s enigmatic speech would have to wait until he had in-\newehis wonder in the Local 10 pensioners at the Apostleship of the Sea December 11. ‘Everyone enjoyed themselves, the dinner was great, and we had some good old-time music provided by the Al Robert-\newong interview.”

At age 19 Jumbo Royal was already a seasoned veteran of the labor wars.

leader of this group during the 1934 strike and on the night of May 14, 1914 participated in the attack on the bull pen where the scabs were kept. Two strikers—Parker and John Knudson—died that night. Many more were injured. But we burned the camp down and cleared out the scabs pretty good.” Jumbo remembered in a recent interview.

‘GENTPAO’ ARREST

They came and arrested me at five in the morning. Pulled me out of my bed and drove me to the jail. I remember all the kids crying. It was about 2 a.m. I remember all the kids crying. It was like the gestapo. They held me in jail without charges for 72 hours. No one knew where I was. In jail, they turned on the air conditioners at night and the heat during the day. When I went before the judge, he said, ‘Now Royal, you’re a family man, you shouldn’t be fighting.’ I said, ‘Hell, I’m fighting for my family.”

Jumbo Royal retired in 1961. He is survived by his wife of nearly 64 years, Al-. His wife, all of Astoria; and Frank Ro-

Local 10 pensioners

More than 360 people attended the annual bash thrown by the Local 10 pensioners at the Apostleship of the Sea December 11. ‘Everyone enjoyed themselves, the dinner was great, and we had some good old-time music provided by the Al Robert-\newong interview.”

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Local 6, Crockett

Christmas in Crockett is an annual party paid for by Local 6 members at CLF Noble. Coordinated by Louis Bortolussi, located over $1,000 was raised which provided a down shower and gifts for members children. Rich Aita played Santa, and BA Gerald He-

Local 6 East Bay

OAKLAND—About 150 members, spouses and friends of the Local 6 East Bay pensioners’ fund attended the annual Christmas dinner at east bay headquarters on Tuesday afternoon, December 20.

The dinner was funded by a raffle drawing. Some 50 members also won door prizes. Speakers included International Secretary-Treasurer Curt McClain, Local 6 President Al Lannon and Local 6 President emeritus Keith Eickman. Club President Bill Burke was MC, while vice-president Eugene Las-

Longview pensioners

LONGVIEW—Seventy-two people—including Belle Blair, who recounted some of the events of that struggle.

Also seated at the head table were Don Nys, head of the Longview pensioners; BoB Fortier, Secretary; Al Mays, Treasurer; and the group’s vice-president Roy Modrow, who emceed the affair, and his wife, Dolly.

Out-of-town guests included Jim Foster, PCPA secretary and his wife Virginia; Bob Coffey, president of the CRPA, and his wife; Bud and Emma Hyder, both of Portland; Dave Kin-

Columbia River pensioners

CROCKETT—Speeches were in order at the Columbia River pensioners’ Christmas dinner, held in the Eagles Hall December 14.

Bob Coffey, the witty enigmatic fellow who owns the Portland waterfront, Coffey’s enigmatic speech would have to wait until he had in-

Local 6 pensioners

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Taco peninsula

Frank F. Reichl, Secretary of ILWU Local 6 Pension Club, send “thanks to the enigmatic file” who gave a Christmas party for the pensioners on December 6. Tree trunks were prepared and served the food.

Guests from out of town included: PCPA executive board members Rosco Craycraft, Seattle; James A. Rainey, Astoria; Norm Mattson, Northport outports; CRPA General President Local 23 pensioners; and his wife; Lloyd Kennedy, incoming president of the Local 24 pensioners; Norm Mattson, PCPA executive board member and his wife, Ocean Park, Bob Coffey; the witty enigmatic fellow who owns the Portland waterfront, Coffee’s enigmatic speech would have to wait until he had in-

Auxiliary potluck

Auxiliary 17, East Bay, held a Christmas potluck dinner on December 19 at Elita Creekwoodman’s house, and elected new officers, reported on this year’s activities, and presented the “Wows” books and small gifts to fund 1984’s budget.

Ten dollars was given to the Delta Minis-

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Alcohol Problems?

If you are a longshoreman, boss or with an alcohol problem, or know one, contact the ILWU-PMA Alcoholism Recovery Program representative in your area. They are trained to offer personal and family counseling, referral and other services—all on a confidential basis.

Southern California
Ed Torres, Local 13
3134 North Avalon
Wilmington, CA
Phone: (213) 549-0066

Northern California
George Cobb, Local 10
800 North Point St.
San Francisco, CA 94133
Phone: (415) 778-2633

Puget Sound/Washington Area
Frank Dwyer, Local 19
Dry Dock
Ferndale, WA
Phone: (360) 753-9879

British Columbia/Canadian Area
Hugh MacLean
2757 East Hastings St., Office 201
Vancouver, BC
Canada
Phone: (604) 554-5552
E-mail: 604-554-5552

Emergency: 604-554-5552

January 6, 1984

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THE DISPATCHER
an urgent appeal to active and retired members of the ILWU

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S & WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION
1168 FRANKLIN STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94109 • 775-0577
CURTIS MCCLAIN
Secretary-Treasurer
JAMES R. HERMAN
President
RUDY RUBIO
Vice President
January 6, 1984

Dear Sisters and Brothers:

We will soon have an opportunity to go to the polls and express our opinions on those we have elected to national office. At stake are the Presidency, every seat in the House of Representatives, and one-third of the seats in the Senate.

Each of us has an immediate interest in supporting candidates committed to peace, economic equality, and social justice. We need to demonstrate our ability to defend people now in office who consistently support the interests of working people, and help unseat those who are opposed. While we cannot hope to match the immense war chests of corporate political action committees, we can, by pooling our resources, have a considerable impact on those elections where we have an important stake.

Federal election laws prohibit using union dues for contributions in federal elections. It is necessary, therefore, for us to go directly to the membership for funds earmarked for that purpose.

I urge each of you to contribute to the Political Action Fund of the ILWU. Donations of as little as $1 per active worker and retiree would provide a fund which to support candidates who reflect and are responsive to ILWU programs and policies. While I ask each person to give what he or she can, donations of any amount from a large percentage of our membership will add to the power and prestige of our Union in dealing with the political issues of the time.

Please send your donations to the ILWU Political Action Fund, 1168 Franklin Street, San Francisco, California 94109.

With best wishes for the new year to you and yours, I remain,

Fraternally,

James R. Herman
President

The Political Action Fund of the ILWU is administered by the Titled Officers. Reports on the status of the Fund and the uses to which contributions are put are made to the International Executive Board and are available to all members.

Flood of corporate cash nearly washed away 1982 election results

WASHINGTON, DC—Corporate, trade association and right-wing political action committees outspent labor PACs by about 4:1 in the 1982 congressional elections, the Federal Elections Commission reported. PACs raised $199.5 million and spent $190.2 million during the 1981-82 election cycle, up by 45% from the 1980 elections, the FEC said. Its report covered 3,722 PACs.

Contributions by PACs to Senate and House candidates skyrocketed over the past three elections from $34.1 million in 1977-78, to $55.2 million in 1979-80 and $83.6 million in 1981-82.

Watergate reforms brought public financing of presidential elections. Organized labor has long supported public financing of congressional elections, but that reform has made little headway on Capitol Hill. A bill limiting contributions in House races passed the House in 1981 but was held hostage in the Senate and died.

In terms of spending in the 1981-82 cycle, the FEC's study showed corporate PACs disbursing $43.3 million; trade association PACs, $41.9 million, and non-stock corporations, $2.1 million. Independent PACs, most right-wing or conservative in philosophy, spent $64.3 million.

By contrast, labor PACs spent a total of $34.8 million. The PACs of cooperatives, which tend to be bipartisan in their political interests, spent $3.6 million.

The top 10 corporate PAC contributors were Tenneco, Warn-Dixie Stores, Harris Corp., American Family Corp., Litton Industries, United Technologies, Standard Oil of Indiana, Grumman, and Philip Morris.

The top 10 among trade association contributors were Realtors PAC, American Medical Association PAC, National Association of Home Builders, American Bankers Association, Automobile and Truck Dealers, National Rifle Association, Associated General Contractors, American Dental PAC, National Association of Retired Federal Employees and National Association of Life Underwriters.

The top ten labor PAC contributors were the Auto Workers, Machinists, AFL-CIO CIO COPE, Seafarers, Food & Commercial Workers, Steelworkers, Operating Engineers, Marine Engineers, Communications Workers and the unaffiliated National Education Association.

Leading the top 10 independent PACs was the National Congressional Club run by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC), with $10.4 million in spending.