GEORGE HERBERT HOOVER BUSH

Vote!

— For a change!
The Great Government Give-Away of Longshore Jobs

As we go to press, the ILWU and its east coast counterpart, the ILUA, are preparing to send the following information to their respective longshore memberships and to members of Congress. Interna-
tional Transport Federation President Fred Artan has asked us to reproduce this information for the benefit of our readers.

In a time of rising unemployment, regulations issued by the State Department are deeply undermining laws designed to pro-
tect the jobs of American waterfront workers.

These regulations create opportunities for new members abroad foreign - commercial vessels to perform longshore work in American waters. They run counter to the intent of Congress, and to the basic purpose of US immigration laws—to secure US jobs for US workers.

The job losses caused so far by this misapplication of the law are significant. But they only hint at losses to come, unless Con-
gress passes the law back on track.

The Legal Background

American longshoremen have always loaded and unloaded cargo in American ports. But during the 1980s, Canadian shipowners oper-
ating in American waters began with increasing frequency to use their own members to tie up their ships and to load and unload the cargo. Vessels flying European flags followed suit, often within view of the very longshoremen who had always done this work.

The owners of these vessels got away with this practice by tak-
ing advantage of distorted interpretations by the INS of provisions in the Immigration and Naturalization Act which did not specif-
ically bar foreign crew, like other foreign workers, from work-
ning in the US without special permission. This placed US dock workers at a decided disadvantage.

In 1986 the two major US longshore unions—the International Longshoreman's Association (ILA) and the International Long-
shoreman's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)—filed a complaint directly to the Commissioner of Immigration to make application of the law consistent for all American workers. They were repeatedly turned down.

The ILWU then took a case involving a Canadian logging ship to court seeking to reverse a ruling by an INS District Director. In 1989, the US Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit upheld the ILWU's position that longshore work in American waters was the exclusive province of American longshoremen and that the work of crewmen is confined to navigating and servicing vessels. But this was only the first step in what the unions believe would be a lengthy judicial process, involving years of uncertainty.

Back to Congress

So far the ILA and the ILWU went to Congress. With overwhelming bipartisan support, they won passage of amendments to the immi-
gration and Naturalization Act which affirmed the rights of Ameri-
can waterfront workers and sustained the principle of preserving American jobs for US workers in all industries.

The 1990 amendments, set forth at 8 U.S.C. 1288, defined long-
shore work to include the loading and unloading of cargo, the op-
eration of cargo-related equipment and the handling of mooring lines on the dock. The clear intent of Congress was to reserve longshore work in American waters for American workers—with only a few narrow exceptions.

One such exception was the "Reciprocity Exception." A foreign vessel is entitled to reciprocity if it is registered in and majority-
owned by nationals of a foreign country that "by law, regulation, or in practice, does not exhibit [longshore] activity" by crew mem-
bers on US vessels in that country's own ports.

In other words, "what we can do there, they can do here."

According to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Sen. Brock Adams (D-Wash.), the reciprocity exception was included "to ensure that alien crewmen do longshore work in the US to the extent that the countries allow US crewmen to do exactly the same work in those countries. Nothing could be clearer as to the thrust of our intent."

The ILWU Division

The ILWU's position has proven futile. Even a direct appeal by the AFL-CIO's Communications Director to the highest level is deter-

We made it clear which countries would be entitled to reciprocity, Congress directed the Secretary of State to create a list identi-
fying those countries where US crew members are not allowed "by law, regulation, or in practice" to do similar particular longshore activities.

It was expected that the list would be a long one. A 1987 world-
wide survey by the International Transport Federation disclosed that as a matter of law or everyday "practices," including labor contracts and local understandings, there are very few countries where seamen aboard visiting vessels are permitted to handle cargo.

In May, 1991, the State Department produced interim regula-
tions which severely distorted the requirements for reciprocity. Without authorization from Congress, by taking language from the floor debate but of context, and by ignoring the purpose of the amendment, the Department ordered that "practice" in a foreign country barring American seamen from en-
gaging in longshore activities could be considered a denial of recip-
ocity only if it were imposed, approved or adopted by the foreign government.

This ignored the effects of other countries' collective bargaining agreements and other practices in other countries which are equivalent of US contracts and practices which Congress recog-
nized would bar foreign crewmen from performing longshore work in American ports.

The State Department then produced an Interim List of only 47 countries, several of which were either virtually land-locked or of minimal maritime significance. Two major maritime countries—

Canada and Japan—were omitted. They were simply ignored in the final list, issued December 27, following protests by the unions and further investigation by the State Department.

What Congress Meant to Do

This distortion of congressional intent was based on the mis-
reading of a discussion by Senators Kennedy and Adams on the Senate floor. In a June, 1992 letter to Secretary of State Baker, the two Senat~ers protested that the administration had interpreted the law as.

"We noted, for example, that collective bargaining agreements and other contracts which grant foreign longshoremen the equivalent of US crewmen in a foreign port should cause a country to appear on the Department's list," they said.

And Rep. Jack Brooks (D-Tex.), a principal sponsor of the amend-
ments, joined three of his colleagues on the Judiciary Com-
mittee in admonishing the State Department:

"As implemented by your regulations," they wrote, "the excep-

tions effectively become the rule. We therefore strongly urge and expect that you will promptly modify the interim final rule in a manner consistent with the letter, spirit, and intent of the new law."

Some 34 members of Congress got to the heart of the problem, protesting that the State Department's "sacrifice of employment opportunities for US labor," statement was "an oral and virtual open season for foreign seamen and their employers on US jobs."

Finally, the State Department's misapplication of the reciprocity clause "may open the door to allowing more foreign crewmen to perform longshore work in the US," a dissenting opinion by Sen. Gorton (D-
Wash). For example, the State Department has found Canada eligi-
ble for reciprocity by ignoring industry practices and collective bargaining agreements which reserve such work exclusively for Canadians. Ironically, Canadian seamen are now tying-up their vessels on the islands Side of the Port of Chicago, despite a con-
trary ruling by the ILWU's agent made before the amendments be-
came effective, that this work could not be done by anyone but American longshoremen.

The ILA has produced reciprocity exceptions for other major trading partners, including both South Korea and Mexico.

Save American Longshore Jobs

The ILA-ILWU Committee to Save American Longshore Jobs was formed to put the law back as intended. By now, 34 ILWU members have lost millions of hours of work to technological change—con-
terization, automation, and computerization. We cannot—

dare not—allow what remains of their work to be taken away by our own government.

We are equally concerned that similarly mis-
directed policies will be used to destroy jobs in other industries in order to carry far abroad.

Strenuous and repeated efforts by the ILA and the ILWU and the to persuade key State Department officials to re-examine their position have proven futile. Even a direct appeal by the AFL-CIO president was rebuffed a top official of the State Department. It has become clear that the administration has no plan or strategy to deal with the job situation.

The ILA-ILWU Committee to Save American Longshore Jobs will work to have Congress direct the Secretary of State to implement the reciprocity clause as intended, so as to require the Department to list every country which bars US workers from performing longshore work in US ports, where private prac-
tices, no less than legislation, deny longshore work to US sea-

men. We urge that Congress pass a bill that government has or has not explicitly approved such practice.

If that does not succeed, we will ask Congress to delete the recipro-

ity clause entirely, as totally irreconcilable with the purposes of the law.

Published by the International Longshoreman's and Warehousemen's Union

1188 Franklin Street, San Francisco, California 94109
Second class postage paid at San Francisco. Subscription: $1.50 per year.

KATHLEEN WILKES Communications Director
Why we got them budget blues

Starving domestic programs while stuffing the deficit

A new report commissioned by the public sector union AFSCME shows that, during the twelve years of Reagan/Bush, domestic programs were gutted by hundreds of billions of dollars.

The report, entitled "The Republic Record," examines how cuts to some 200 programs created crises in cities and states throughout the nation and contributed to the worst economic record of any administration.

According to AFSCME president Gerald W. McEntee, the biggest cuts were made: programs for children and families, $150 billion; job training and labor programs, $96 billion; programs for the elderly, $63 billion; infrastructure (roads, bridges, airports), $33 billion.

The sad statistical reductions in domestic programs, the federal deficit grew to an unprecedented level, "because, except for defense spending, the savings-and-loan bailout, tax cuts for the wealthy, and now a weakened economy," the report stated.

"In fact, during the "conservative" Reagan/Bush reign, the deficit soared from $74 billion to $269 billion, with the banks growing fat on the interest--$184 billion in 1990 alone.

The record proves, the study says, that "the deficit can no longer be blamed on the attack on domestic programs." The report proves, the study says, that "the deficit can no longer be blamed on the attack on domestic programs.

Slip, sliding away

Americans are falling off the wage ladder from higher and higher rungs.

"With the conclusion of the Economic Policy Institute (EPI) in its recent study, "The State of Working America."

Even before "the Bush recession," the study concludes, the "economic trend was decidedly downward for almost everyone who works for pay, including more than half of all workers with college degrees.

"We cannot expect a recovery to resolve the scraping of wages and high-wage jobs because the erosion that is spreading up the income ladder is not attributable to the recession alone," says Dr. Lawrence Mishel, one of the report's authors.

"The US is in the midst of a long-term decline of incomes that will not be reversed without major policy changes.

Although educated workers in higher-paying jobs are feeling the squeeze, a college degree still makes a difference, say the authors. Young high school grads entering the work force for the first time faced worse than anyone, the study shows, with wages nearly 27 percent less today than in 1979.

Twice were decidedly tougher for working women, who, the study said, had to work one and three months more in 1989 than in 1979—the equivalent of seven full work hours.

War on poverty lost, wealthy declared the winner

More than a quarter century after President Lyndon Johnson declared his "war on poverty" more Americans than ever have fallen below the ranks of low-income wages, the economic tragedy of twelve years of Re- against the Bush/Carter.

According to the US Census Bureau, a record 38 million Americans are scrambling to survive below the "poverty line." Worse, the majority of them are the most vulnerable in our society: 40 percent of the poor are children, 11 percent are senior citizens.

Where did the money go? Up, up and away. A study of incomes, in constant dollars, between 1977 and 1992 bears witness: The bottom-earning 20 percent of American families, averaging just $8,130 a year, suffered the greatest decrease, a precipitous 13 percent.

• The third 20 percent, averaging $30,090, saw a ten percent decrease.

• The third 20 percent, averaging $31,970, earned about 8 percent more.

• And while fully 60 percent of the savings went to the very top 20 percent, the remaining 40 percent got increases—the higher up the scale, the bigger the boost. For example, the second-highest group, averaging $132,900, enjoyed a 22 percent increase. The top two percent, averaging $676,000, got a whopping 136 percent.
By Brian McWilliams
International Vice President

As announced last month, the ILWU International Executive Board has unanimously endorsed Governor Bill Clinton and Senator Al Gore for the office of President and Vice President of the United States. It was a difficult decision confronted with the probability of four more years of George Herbert Walker Bush and J. Danforth Quayle, there was simply "no contest."

For twelve grueling years, two successive Republican administrations have visited immeasurable harm on our nation. Their anti-worker, corporate-dictated, elitist policies have cost millions of workers their jobs, brought our country to the brink of catastrophe, and pushed millions of families over the edge.

As if that weren't enough, they've gutted essential programs for the poor, for children and the elderly—a "quick fix" for a failing economy—while advancing welfare for the wealthy through tax breaks, deregulation, subsidies, bailouts, privatization and pork barrel projects.


There's more, so much more. I don't think there's a lot all out here—not for one of the most active, informed and aware union membership ships in this country. You know what's happened to you, what's happened to us all. And because you do, you've probably wondered if Clinton and Al Gore can really make a difference. Yes. They can. They will.

We're not talking magic bullets. We're not going to wake up on inauguration day to find, after all these years, that "kinder, gentler nation" George Bush so cynically promised and so deliberately failed to deliver. And we're certainly not going to see horde s of politicians suddenly burst into "Solidarity Forever" on the steps of the Capitol, either.

Council delegates had a busy agenda, including endorsing candidates in the Golden State and considering a number of ballot measures.

**Bill Clinton everything we want? No, of course not. Can we do better? Not in 1992—and that's a fact.**

—Brian McWilliams

Faced with four more years of Bush—NO CONTEST!

Clinton, Gore, Boxer and Feinstein get nod from joint Cal. Councils

SAN PEDRO, Ca. — ILWU District Councils for Southern and Northern California have endorsed Bill Clinton for the office of President of the United States. The announcement was made here September 12 by SCDC president Luisa Gratz and NCDC President LeRoy King during the councils' joint meeting.

The councils also backed Democrats Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein in their respective races for the two US Senate seats up for election in November. Boxer is in a hot contest against Republican Janice Hahn, who is running on the issue of immigration.

**Turnbacks to measures on the state ballot, the councils strongly opposed Proposition 165 which, masked as "welfare reform," would grant the government the right to strike, for the right to own property, for the right to strike, for civil rights, and for programs that bring jobs with decent wages and working conditions home to America.

We'll have a chance to repair the damage done by a rush of ultra-conser-

Pensioners go to bat for ILWU, Clinton

By JESSE STRANAHAN

REDING, Ca. — The 110 delegates to the 25th anniversary of the Pacific Coast Pensioners Association (PCPA) Convention, meeting here September 21-22, pledged “full support to the Longshore Division’s fight to preserve its work jurisdiction and its efforts to re-negotiate the coastwise ILWU-PMA Agreement” next year.

To implement the PCPA pledge, convention delegates voted to donate $2,000 donation to the ILWU’s jurisdiction defense program. An additional $4,000 was set aside, between now and the signing of a new contract, to be contributed “whenever the union asks for any part or all of it.”

CLINTON ENDORSED

In their resolution on Political Action, PCPA delegates called for the election of Bill Clinton for President and pro-labor, pro-senior candidates for Congress and state legislatures.

ILWU retirees and their clubs were urged to work with the locals and district councils to help raise funds; register voters and get them to the polls; “give-backs,” including benefits paid and of pro-labor, pro-senior candidates

21-22, pledged “full support to the re-negotiate the coastwise ILWU-PMA Agreement” next year.

“Let’s put everybody to work so they can support their families,” Arian concluded, “that’s what we can talk about family values.”

HURRICANE INKI

In focusing on the immediate problems facing the Longshore Division, the convention did not ignore the concerns of other sections of the ILWU and the labor movement.

Taking note of the severe hardship caused by Hurricane Inki in Hawaii, the convention approved a $1,000 donation from the PCPA general fund to the Kauai Relief Fund, sweetened by a “tapurin mus- ter” which netted an additional $711.

Convention delegates also reaffirmed their support for the 30-month-old Greyhound strike and the boycott of California table grapes and Chateau Ste. Michelle wines. And they urged pension club help farm worker unionization efforts in the states of Oregon and Washington.

Beginning with their first meeting in 1968, PCPA delegates have consistently spoken out against war and for world peace. This year’s convention was no exception.

Recalling President Bush’s statement last winter that he would “do whatever it takes to win a second term,” a unanimously-passed resolution stated, “We continue to be alarmed over a possibility of military intervention in Yugoslavia and Iraq.”

In keeping with past pensioner efforts to keep alive the name and work of Harry Bridges, convention delegates voted to mount a coastwise voluntary fund raiser to purchase a table model bust of the founding ILWU President for the University of Washington, “so that students and instructors recognize who was honored by the Harry Bridges Labor Studies Chair.”

SCABS, TRADE AND MORE

In other actions, PCPA delegates:

• Called for renewed efforts to enact legislation banning employers from hiring so-called “permanent replacement” workers.

• Supported a “fair trade” law, and runaway corporations.

• Renewed support for Universal Health Care Bill, based on a single-payer system.

• Reaffirmed support to make the Social Security Administration (SSA) a three-member independent agency, for legislation that would take SSA expenses off budget; and for action to correct the “notch” in Social Security (1917-1926) error by the federal government.

• Advised the next Longshore Caucus that the PCPA negotiating priority is for improvement in widows’ pensions.

• Supported a May, 1992 Longshore Caucus resolution calling for more involvement of the Welfare Directors at the national level and in the pre-negotiating process.

• Urged Congress to override the se-
9 Reasons to Vote for Clinton...

1. The Economy

The average weekly paycheck brought 7.2 percent less in July of 1992 than it did 12 years ago when the Reagan-Bush era began. But pay for top executives has tripled. The rest of the economic record is just as bad:

- Bush's economic record is the worst since World War II. The Gross National Product rose 0.8 percent in his term, less than at any time since 1940.
- Unemployment grew every year Bush was in office. And the percentage of high-wage jobs dropped from 45 percent to 36 percent. The president who promised 30 million new jobs has yet to create the first million.
- One out of seven Americans is living in poverty and the number of Americans who work full time for poverty wages increased dramatically—from 6.6 million to 14 million. Still, President Bush insists on more of the same, such as cutting the capital gains tax for the wealthy.

Bill Clinton says he has a plan that will put people first and invest in America—for instance, $20 billion a year to rebuild America's infrastructure, paid for by reductions in military spending and taxes on high-income persons. Clinton would also require that any US-Mexico trade agreement—including George Bush's version—include protections for workers and the environment. He would remove the tax incentives for shutting down US plants and moving them overseas.

Clinton wants to close tax loopholes for the rich, curb tax breaks for excessive executive pay, expand earned income tax credits and cut middle-class tax rates.

Governor Clinton's plan is "not for the government to take over the health care plan, but for the government to organize it."

He advocates a system that guarantees access for all citizens through a combination of private insurers and a government-backed plan with strict cost-containment measures. Clinton has pledged to introduce legislation in his first year in office to provide affordable, quality health care for all Americans—and at the same price currently being paid. He says that the most expensive alternative is to do nothing, which is what President Bush continues to do.

Governor Clinton says the nation has been divided for too long between "them" and "us." He has pledged to strongly enforce the Civil Rights Act of 1991, the American Disabilities Act, and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination in the work place.

And instead of attacking single working mothers, a Clinton administration will work for the Equal Rights Amendment and the Equal Remedies Bill, which lifts caps in work place discrimination cases for women, people with disabilities and religious minorities.

Governor Clinton is a national leader in education, and that leadership contributed to his selection as the best US governor by his fellow governors. And now he ranks third nationally in the share of its state budget devoted to education. Clinton believes everyone is entitled to a college education and has proposed a national Service Trust Fund for college loans. He would also require all employers to spend at least 1.5 percent of payroll on continuing education and training of all workers.

Governor Clinton proposes to restore the partnership between the federal government and cities and states. Clinton would make investments in economic growth of $50 billion each year for infrastructure, education and job training. Funding would be derived from defense cuts and higher taxes on those who gained from the unfair tax policies of the 1980s. A major focus will be on job training and education. Clinton would target funding for community development to rebuild roads and bridges, create a network of community development banks, and fund Head Start and other programs that invest in people.

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6. Trade

The trade policies of the Bush and Reagan administrations have plunged the United States into a massive trade deficit. The flood of imports wiped out millions of good-paying US manufacturing jobs and abruptly transformed the United States from the world's largest creditor nation in 1980 into the world's largest debtor nation today. Economists generally agree that for each $1 billion in the trade deficit, 25,000 jobs are lost. With imports far exceeding exports in every year since 1982, millions of US jobs have gone forever—200,000 in the past 12 months and 2.5 million overall in the 1980s.

Now President Bush proposes to initiate his version of trade with Mexico under his “fast track” North American Free Trade Agreement. Since the mid-1960s, some 500,000 factory jobs already have been shipped to maquiladora plants in Mexico. Economists estimate that between 1993 and 1995, business spending in Mexico will grow almost three times faster than business spending in the US.

Governor Clinton promises to stem the drain of US jobs by providing tax incentives for US manufacturers to stay in this country and by ending incentives for plants to go overseas. Clinton wants to increase trade with Mexico, but insists, “We must sign a pro-growth, pro-jobs treaty with Mexico that does not sell out our workers or our environment.”

Unlike President Bush, Clinton opposes “most-favored-nation” trade privileges for China. Clinton also wants to pry open foreign markets and “stand up for American workers by standing up to countries that don’t play by the rules of free and fair trade. Given a chance, American farmers, workers and businesses can out-compete anyone.

Governor Clinton supports the Workplace Fairness Bill. “Workers should have the right to join a union, the right to bargain collectively and, if they see fit, to strike,” he said. “It’s not right to hire permanent replacement workers.”

Clinton also says he will sign repeal of Section 14(b) of the current labor law, which lets states enact so-called “right-to-work” laws that impede workers’ ability to organize. Additionally, Clinton promises to “even the scales in the way the National Labor Relations Board decides cases, to restore the balance between labor and management.”

A member of AFSCME, Governor Clinton extended bargaining rights to Arkansas state employees and recognizes that 4 million employees of state and local governments are still denied the right to organize and bargain.

7. Worker Rights

First came “consultants” to teach management how to avoid US labor law. Then, twelve years ago, advocates of the “union-free environment,” gained control of the federal machinery via Ronald Reagan and George Bush. Abuse of worker rights has grown steadily: in the first year under Reagan, federal labor board decisions found 40 employers 72 percent of the time versus 35 percent under Gerald Ford. A backlog of 800 cases grew to 1,700.

By 1992, a Louisiana employer bragged to the Wall Street Journal that workers who want a union can be worn down by stalling. “I think seven years is the record,” he said. And employers fire one of every 20 workers who speaks out in favor of a union.

Throughout the last twelve years, workers were told they could not be fired for striking, but they could be “permanently replaced.” They lost their livelihoods as Bush and a Republican filibuster stopped enactment of the Workplace Fairness Bill which would have prohibited employers from replacing strikers with permanent “scabs.”

Governor Clinton insists that the United States can have safe, productive, competitive work sites with strong safety and health measures to protect the workers. “I’ll enforce strong job safety protections and make sure Americans don’t have to risk their lives to earn their liveliheds,” he says.

Governor Bill Clinton, who grew up in a home with a single working parent, says he understands the cruelty of forcing parents to choose between the child they love and the job they need.

As president, he would sign the Family and Medical Leave Act to create a minimum standard of family and medical leave for all workers, which is co-sponsored by his running mate, Senator Albert Gore, and expand access to child care by creating a national child care network tailored to the needs of working families.

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8. Job Safety

Each year, more than 10,000 workers are killed on the job and another 50,000 to 100,000 die from occupational disease. More than six million workers are injured each year and 60,000 are permanently disabled.

That means that every day, 30 people go off to work and die before their children are born. That record is compelling evidence that the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 is seriously out of date and has been poorly enforced during the 12 years of Reagan and Bush.

Rather than correcting the carnage in the workplace, Bush has worked to scuttle reform of workplace safety and health rules. A recent study shows that a visit from an OSHA inspector is a once-in-a-lifetime occurrence for workers, coming an average of every 80 years.

The years of negligence can be seen in the September 1991 deaths of 25 people at a chicken processing plant at Hamlet, NC, which had never been visited by safety inspectors in its eleven-year history.

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9. Family Values

While touting “family values,” the Bush administration has placed no value on the family—working against the most basic family needs of jobs, income and decent working conditions.

In most American families today, both parents work. More than half the mothers with infant children work outside the home; 66 percent of mothers with school-age children are in the paid labor force; one in every four families is headed by a single parent; and many workers are finding that they must care for their parents as well as for their children.

Yet Bush has vetoed family and medical leave, termed an increase in the unemployment benefits “garbage,” and pursued a low-wage strategy at every turn— including shipping jobs to China and Mexico. And he lectures hard-working single parents on “family values.”

US employers, who support Bush’s low-wage policy, also have protested unpaid family and medical leave. Keeping the United States alone among industrialized nations in not having a national leave policy. Faithful to his strongest supporters, Bush in 1990 vetoed the Family and Medical Leave Act and has continuously worked to undermine the child care provisions passed by Congress in 1990.

The lack of a national parental leave policy means $600 million a year in lost income for families and $100 million in expenditures for increased government assistance.

...and Dump Bush!
Voting Records of the 102nd Congress

During the 102nd Congress, sixteen members of the House of Representatives and four Senators earned the title of "Honorary Longshoremens" by voting 100 percent of the time with the positions of the ILWU. Our congratulations—and support—go out to:


HAWAII: Senators Daniel Akaka and Daniel Inouye, and Representatives Neil Abercrombie and Patsy Mink.

OREGON: Representative Les AuCoin.

WASHINGTON: Senator Brock Adams and Representative Jolene Unsoeld.

On the other hand, President Bush and the Republican Administration earned the title of "Dishonorable Scabs" for their dismal record over the last two years. Fast track negotiating authority for the North American Free Trade Agreement, opposition to the ban on permanent replacement of strikers, the contemptible policy of allowing foreign crewmen to displace longshoremen, and the veto of virtually every piece of progressive legislation, highlighted George Bush's final years as President.

To help you rate your elected officials, ILWU Washington Representative Lindsay McLaughlin has prepared an analysis, at right, of voting records and measures. \(*\) means a "right" vote. \(W\) means a "wrong" vote. \(A\) means "absent." And \(S\) signifies the "Speaker of the House," who traditionally does not cast votes.

When consulting the chart—and especially when going to the polls—remember who your friends are.

In the Senate

1. Fast Track Trade Pact: Resolution S 78 was offered to disapprove "fast track" authority on both the North American Free Trade Agreement and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. (For the resolution = Right)

2. Unemployment Insurance: S 1722 would have granted up to 20 additional weeks of benefits to workers who had exhausted their unemployment compensation. A version of S 1722 failed on October 16, 1991 by two votes to override a Presidential veto. (For the bill = Right)

3. Clarence Thomas: The ILWU opposed the Thomas nomination, but he was approved by a 52-48 vote on October 15, 1991. (Against the nomination = Right)


5. Striker Replacement: On June 11, 1992, the Senate was unable to get the three-fifths majority needed to halt a Republican filibuster against S 55, the Workplace Fairness Bill, which would ban employers from permanently replacing strikers. (For S 55 = Right)

6. Voter Registration: The Senate failed May 12, 1991 to end a Republican filibuster against S 250, which would have made it easier for working people to register to vote. (For S 250 = Right)

7. Surface Transport: A bill to pass a $150 billion highway that would create as many as two million jobs was defeated, 57-42, because of the Senate's refusal to invoke cloture to proceed without firm assurance of funding. (For the bill = Right)

8. Gulf War: One of the few memorable votes of the Congress was, in essence, a referendum on the ILWU opposition to the current situation in the Middle East. (For the resolution = Right)

9. Budget/Firewalls: The Senate failed to pass an amendment that would have provided $30 billion over five years to pay for military programs. (For the amendment = Right)

10. Balanced Budget: The Senate Republicans failed to override a Budget Amendment which would have required balanced-budget programs. (For the amendment = Right)

11. Family/Medical Leave: The Senate overrode the President's veto to grant employers the right to pay employees to grant absences for family/medical reasons. The override, with a 57-40 vote, carried 68-31. (For the override = Right)

12. El Salvador Militia: A bill to end aid to El Salvador was defeated, 57-42. (For the override = Right)

In the House

1. Fast Track Trade Pact: On May 23, 1991, by a vote of 192-231, the House rejected HR 101, a resolution which would have denied the President Fast Track authority for a North American Free Trade Agreement. (For HR 101 = Right)

2. Unemployment: HR 2950 included much needed reforms in the Unemployment Insurance Program, including extended emergency benefits. The House passed the bill 265-150 on June 9, 1992. (For HR 6280 = Right)

3. Extended Unemployment: HR 5260 included much needed reforms in the Unemployment Insurance Program, including extended emergency benefits. The House passed the bill 265-150 on June 9, 1992. (For HR 6280 = Right)

4. Family & Medical: HR 2667 would have granted unpaid leave time to employers to grant unpaid leave time to employers to grant temporary workers a voice in how these funds are spent. (For HR 2667 = Right)

5. Gag Rule: The FY 1993 Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Appropriations Bill, which would ban federal funding for abortion-excepting money saved in direct abortion services, failed to pass, 276-156. (For the override = Right)

6. Surface Transport: a jobs program to repair the highway that passed October 23, 1991 (For HR 2950 = Right)

7. Balanced Budget

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"Labor should reward its friends and punish its enemies." — Samuel Gompers, Founder. American Federation of Labor
Transportation: The Senate overwhelmingly passed the $50 billion highway and mass transit bill that will save $2 million jobs in six years and give in how the transportation funds are spent. (Passed - Right)

Firewalls: The Senate failed on March 26, 1992, to override a presidential veto by 50 billion highway and mass transit bill that will save $2 million jobs in six years and give in how the transportation funds are spent. (Against the declaration - Right)

Budget Amendment: On June 30, 1992, Republicans failed to pass the Balanced Budget Amendment: On June 30, 1992, the House of Representatives failed to override the President's veto by 50 billion highway and mass transit bill that will save $2 million jobs in six years and give in how the transportation funds are spent. (For the bill = Right)

Medical Leave: On September 24, 1992, the House failed to override the President's veto of a bill requiring certain grant workers to pay for family or medical leave to workers, (For the override = Right)

Labor, Health and Human Services: The FY 1992 Labor, Health and Human Services Appropriations bill, included HR 2707—language allowing receipt of abortion counseling at federally funded hospitals to override the President's veto by 50 billion highway and mass transit bill that will save $2 million jobs in six years and give in how the transportation funds are spent. (For the override = Right)

Transportation: The Senate overwhelmingly passed the transportation bill, which would have devastated domestic social and job programs. (For the override = Right)

Voter Registration: The House voted 268-153 for the Motor Voter bill which would have made it easier for voters to register. Bush vetoed it. (For the bill = Right)

Civil Rights Act of 1991: HR 3748, "The Justice for Ward Cove Workers Act," to restore rights to the 2,000 former Local 37 members at Ward Cove Packing Company who were arbitrarily dismissed from the Civil Rights Act of 1991. (Co-sponsored HR 3748 - Right)

Rail Lockout: On June 25, 1991, the Senate voted 248-140 to end management's lockout of rail unions nationwide. (Against the declaration - Right)

Rail Reciprocity Exception: The ILWU requested permission for seamen to longshore work in the US. (Signed the letter - Right)

Wards Cove: The ILWU lobbied for co-sponsors of HR 3748, "The Justice for Ward Cove Workers Act," to restore rights to the 2,000 former Local 37 members at Ward Cove Packing Company who were arbitrarily dismissed from the Civil Rights Act of 1991. (Co-sponsored HR 3748 - Right)

11. Wards Cove: The ILWU lobbied for co-sponsors of HR 3748, "The Justice for Ward Cove Workers Act," to restore rights to the 2,000 former Local 37 members at Ward Cove Packing Company who were arbitrarily dismissed from the Civil Rights Act of 1991. (Co-sponsored HR 3748 - Right)

12. Budget/Firewalls: On March 31, 1992, the House defeated a bill waiving the 1990 budget agreement in order to allow money saved in defense costs to be used for important social and job programs. (For the bill - Right)

13. Rail Lockout: On June 25, 1991, the House voted 248-140 to end management's lockout of rail unions nationwide by requiring binding arbitration if an agreement wasn't reached during a 30-day cooling off period. (Against the measure - Right)

14. Quayle Council: In a July 1 vote, the House defended Vice President Quayle's Council on Competitiveness. (Against the Council - Right)
Washington voters have an exciting choice on November 3: Democratic US Senate nominee Patty Murray. With a strong record of commitment to labor in Washington State, Murray got a 100 percent rating from the Washington State Labor Council and captured the endorsement of the ILWU as well as the majority of Washington State labor organizations. Murray began her political career in 1980, when she led concerned citizens in a fight to keep the state legislature from cutting funding for a parent education program. After winning that battle, she worked as an advocate for education reform, earning awards from the Shoreline PTA Council, Citizens' Education Center Northwest, and Washington Women United.

LEGISLATOR OF THE YEAR

A longtime member of the American Federation of Teachers, Murray was appointed to the Shoreline School Board, and was twice re-elected. She served as president and legislative representative until 1988, when she won a tough state Senate race against a Republican incumbent. In 1989, the Washington State Labor Council named Murray "Legislator of the Year." In 1990, she was voted Senate Democratic Whip.

Patty Murray is running for the US Senate because she believes that America can work again for all citizens. The issues that drive Murray's campaign are the economy and jobs, education, work place policies and health care reform.

STOP THE HATE MONGERS

Vote "NO" on Measure 9

Oregon is in the midst of an all-out battle for the heart and soul of the state. On November 3, Oregonians will vote on a ballot measure so extreme that, if passed, Oregon will be the only state in US history to amend its constitution to take rights away from a group of people: lesbians and gay men.

If Oregon's Measure 9 passes, school teachers, pediatrics, coaches, librarians, counselors, juvenile court judges, ministers and physical therapists must be investigated and replaced if they are believed to be homosexual or have any contact with children in their jobs. Further, church congregations supporting lesbian and gay people would not be allowed to use public meeting spaces for their services, because they "promote" homosexuality. Programs funded by church-based organizations, such as Ecumenical Ministries HIV Day Center, would lose state and county funding because they "facilitate" homosexuality by serving a gay clientele without condemnation or judgment.

Perhaps most chilling of all the aspects of Measure 9 is the impact it would have on education. Requiring Oregon's schools, from kindergarten through university level, to set a "standard for Oregon youth that recognizes homosexuality, pedophilia, sadism and masochism as normal, wrong, unnatural and perverse and that these behaviors are to be discouraged and avoided," is one of the Measure's prime directives.

Critical thinking. Academic freedom. Analysis and debate. Access to unencyclopeded information. Under Measure 9, these tenets of education would be crushed. In exchange, Oregon's educational agenda would be dictated by a small group of far right zealots and their propaganda tracts.

Teachers would be forced by law to teach things that would not be taught elsewhere in this country. And Oregon's schools, even their local schools, would likely have accreditation problems for mandating curriculum condemned by professional organizations.

"Since filing of the OCA's initiatives in May of 1991, incidence of hate crimes directed toward lesbian and gay citizens have increased dramatically," said a spokesperson for the No on 9 Campaign. "Oregon's Homophobic Violence hotline reports an increase of 40 percent in calls.

And our offices were broken into, equipment stolen, communications cut off. Homophobia in Oregon has taken its gloves off. There is an attitude of intolerance and granting permission for violence, brought about by Measure 9.

The ILWU Columbia River District Council strongly opposes Measure 9. "It's at complete odds with the ILWU's longstanding commitment to equality," said CRDC member and ILWU retiree Jesse Strohman. "We urge all ILWU active and retired members and their families to vote no on Measure 9."
Feinstein: Longtime ILWU friend targets the economy

A longtime friend of the ILWU, Di-anne Feinstein is the union's enthusiastic support in her bid for the US Senate.

Feinstein gained wide recognition as the high-profile—and highly effective—two-term Mayor of San Francisco. In that capacity, she established a solid record of leadership by tackling tough issues head on.

In her race for the Senate, Feinstein has committed herself to helping the nation's ailing economy and she plans to do that by bringing home crucial dollars now spent to defend Europe and Japan.

INVEST IN AMERICA

"I say that Europe should pay for its own defense and that we should invest that money in our future: public transportation; repair of deteriorating bridges and highways; transitioning the defense industry into peaceful uses, improved technology, environmental cleanup; and adequate schools," Feinstein says.

For the first time ever, a national policy for economic growth, she added, would include "a well-thought-out maritime policy."

For the last three years, Feinstein has paid particular attention to education issues, traveling throughout the state and speaking with students, parents and educators. "I am convinced," she says, "that the Achilles heel of the educational system is our public elementary schools."

She advocates improving early childhood education and fully funding Head Start. As Senator, she would introduce her National Education Achievement Act to set basic standards for grade levels and graduation. She will also create a teacher corps to bring committed young teachers into our most impoverished schools.

The reform-minded Feinstein believes health care must center around three basic principles, "universal access, cost containment, and prevention. A modified benefit package must be made available to everyone, with controls in cost over a substantial period of time." She would also push for a national policy to address the AIDS epidemic and combat unequal medical treatment that women and people of color often receive.

Feinstein is also adamant about ethics reform. "We've grown dangerously complacent about sloppy ethics, lavish perks and a system that's turned our elected representatives into a modern-day aristocracy," she says.

100% PRO-CHOICE

Feinstein describes herself as "100 percent pro-choice." She will pass and fight to preserve a presidential veto of the Freedom of Choice Act to safeguard the fundamental right to choose. She opposed the Supreme Court nomination of Clarence Thomas, unlike incumbent Senator John Seymour who prides himself on his vote to confirm Thomas. Feinstein says she will not vote to put another anti-choice justice on the Supreme Court.

And she will not, she pledges, give way to special interests that want to put oil rigs off the coast of California. As Senator, she will work to protect the coastline, the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, and the nation's wetlands.

Boxer: Always there when it counts

The ILWU's endorsement of Barbara Boxer for the US Senate in California should come as no surprise. As the House Representative from Marin County, Boxer has racked up an impressive pro-labor record.

She was there for us when the House voted to back H.R. 3, the measure to ban employers from "permanently replacing" strikers with scabs. She's been there for us time and time again, where and when it counts.

Boxer believes that it is time to change our country's priorities and take care of our problems at home. She wants to use the $300 million we spend each day defending our allies in Europe and Asia and invest it in programs that California needs.

HEALTH CARE A PRIORITY

Focusing on ways to curb runaway health costs and guarantee affordable health care for all Americans, Boxer supports a national health care policy that would include early prevention to stop disease in its tracks.

Boxer gained prominence nationwide when, in her first Congressional term, she exposed the Pentagon's infamous $7,600 coffee pots and $12,000 refrigerators. She wrote more than a dozen laws that reformed the Pentagon procurement process, including the Spare Parts Procurement Reform Act, which required the Pentagon to bid for spare parts on the open market.

PROTECT COASTAL WATERS

Environmental health and economic prosperity, Boxer says, go hand in hand. She wrote the National Ocean Protection Act, which would protect the Pacific and Atlantic coasts from off-shore oil drilling, and co-sponsored the Community Right-to-Know-More Act, requiring companies to notify communities if dangerous chemicals are produced or dumped in our neighborhoods.

And at a time when privacy is becoming increasingly under attack, Barbara Boxer remains a leading advocate for reproductive freedom. She wrote the first major pro-choice legislation to pass Congress in a decade and co-sponsored the Freedom of Choice Act, which would codify the Supreme Court's historic Roe v. Wade decision.

Vote "NO" on Prop. 165

Proposition 165 on the California ballot will let a handful of government officials "fix" the rules so they can control the State Budget. No control from the taxpayers. And no way to "undo" the rules without a Constitutional Amendment.

Here's how the power grab works:

Taxpayer Deception: Prop. 165 lets the Governor dictate California spending simply by juggling statistics or dragging his feet on the budget. Hidden in the fine print is the power for the Governor to stop our budget process, declare an emergency, and impose his own budget on California. So, please, read the measure and then ask yourself, is this the right thing to do and the right way to do it?

Secrecy: The Governor can hide the budget from public view until March 1—a seven-week delay calculated to raise controversy and slow things down.

Take-over: Why? Because it will be in the Governor's political interest if the budget is late. That way, he can ignore the process and force California to accept his personal spending or taxing priorities.

No Public Control: The Governor can eliminate almost any program and the people of California can't stop him. The legislature can't override the Governor's veto even in the Governor's political interest if the budget is late. That way, he can ignore the process and force California to accept his personal spending or taxing priorities.

Who Gets Hurt: Schools. This year the Governor tried to cut $2.3 billion from schools. No one could stop him from making a similar cut next year. And with Prop. 165, the Governor will be able to manipulate Prop. 98 minimum fund guarantees for schools, as he tried in the past, to cut even greater amounts from education.

Other Vital Services: There will be no protection for special interest groups such as schools and the elderly. The reform-minded Feinstein believes health care must center around three basic principles, "universal access, cost containment, and prevention. A modified benefit package must be made available to everyone, with controls in cost over a substantial period of time." She would also push for a national policy to address the AIDS epidemic and combat unequal medical treatment that women and people of color often receive.

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And she will not, she pledges, give way to special interests that want to put oil rigs off the coast of California. As Senator, she will work to protect the coastline, the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, and the nation's wetlands.
Here are the endorsements of the ILWU Northern and Southern California District Councils and local legislative committees for the Tuesday, November 3, 1992 general election:
ILWU Voting Recommendations for Oregon

Following are the recommendations of the ILWU Columbia River District Council for the Tuesday, November 3, 1992 general election in the State of Oregon:

STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

District 1: Tony FEDERICI (D)
District 2: No Recommendation
District 3: Tom JAST (D)
District 4: Pat QUINN (D)
District 5: Hedy L. RUKE (D)
District 6: NO ENDORSEMENT
District 7: Jean ATKINS (D)
District 8: Mary Alice FORD (D)
District 9: NO ENDORSEMENT
District 10: NO ENDORSEMENT
District 11: Tom MASON (D)
District 12: Gail SHIBLEY (D)
District 13: Karen BROWN (D)
District 14: Beverly STEIN (D)
District 15: Lewis NATO (D)
District 16: Frank SHELIS (D)
District 17: Mike BURTON (D)
District 18: Margaret CARTER (D)
District 19: April GORDY (D)
District 20: Paul THAIKEL (D)
District 21: Lonnie ROBERTS (D)
District 22: Sharon WYLIE (D)
District 23: Bob SHIFRACK (D)

STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

District 15: Anne NYSEID (D)
District 16: Dave MTEAGUE (D)
District 17: Larry SOWA (D)
District 18: Rich HOPHAN (D)
District 19: Ann MAVLAND (D)
District 20: Marilyn DELL (D)
District 21: Jeff GILMOR (D)
District 22: Patricia "Pat" GEST (D)
District 23: Kevin L. MANNIX (D)
District 24: Peter COURTNEY (D)
District 25: John R. SCHODON (D)
District 26: John VAN VUET (D)
District 27: Dennis M. MCFEARY (D)
District 28: Dewayne A. NEWTON (D)
District 29: Jim EMDUNSON (D)
District 30: Carl NOSTICCA (D)
District 31: Cynthia WOOTEN (D)
District 32: Lew BEYER (D)
District 33: Freda M. SMITH (D)
District 34: Sam DORNY (D)
District 35: Daniel C. ROBERTSON (D)
District 36: accomplished (D)
District 37: NO ENDORSEMENT
District 38: NO ENDORSEMENT
District 39: Jim EDMUNSON (D)
District 40: NO ENDORSEMENT
District 41: NO ENDORSEMENT
District 42: NO ENDORSEMENT
District 43: NO ENDORSEMENT
District 44: NO ENDORSEMENT
District 45: NO ENDORSEMENT
District 46: NO ENDORSEMENT
District 47: NO ENDORSEMENT
District 48: NO ENDORSEMENT
District 49: John MCNAMARA (D)

STATE BALLOT MEASURES

No. 1 - Amends Oregon Constitution, would allow state to issue up to $250 million in General Obligation bonds for state parks
No. 2 - Amends Oregon Constitution, would allow legislature to dedicate future motor vehicle fuel taxes for state parks
No. 3 - Amends Oregon Constitution, would limit terms for legislators, Statewide Offices, Congress
No. 4 - Would ban triple truck trailers in Oregon
No. 5 - Would close Trojan Nuclear Power Plant until permanent waste storage site is available and plant meets earthquake standards
No. 7 - Amends Oregon Constitution, would create split roll tax property, raises tax limit on income producing property, keeps owner occupied property tax relief, includes renters
No. 8 - Would prohibit gerrymandering on the Lower Columbia River
No. 9 - Amends Oregon Constitution, would require governments to negatively label and discriminate against individuals considered to be homosexual

ILWU Voting Recommendations for Washington

Following are the recommendations of the ILWU Puget Sound District Council for the Tuesday, November 3, 1992 national election.

STATE SENATE

District 1: Maria CANTWELL (D)
District 2: Al SWIFT (D)
District 3: Norm DICKS (D)
District 4: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 5: Dick SPRINGER (D)
District 6: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 7: Lonnie ROBERTS (D)
District 8: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 9: NO RECOMMENDATION

STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

District 1: NO ACTION
District 2: Linda JOHNSON (D)
District 3: Tom CAMPBELL (D)
District 4: Lita J. BROWN (D)
District 5: George ORR (D)
District 6: NO ACTION
District 7: NO POSITION
District 8: NO POSITION
District 9: NO POSITION
District 10: NO ACTION
District 11: NO ACTION
District 12: NO ACTION
District 13: NO ACTION
District 14: NO ACTION
District 15: NO ACTION
District 16: NO ACTION
District 17: NO ACTION
District 18: NO ACTION
District 19: NO ACTION
District 20: NO ACTION
District 21: NO ACTION
District 22: NO ACTION
District 23: NO ACTION
District 24: NO ACTION
District 25: NO ACTION
District 26: NO ACTION
District 27: NO ACTION
District 28: NO ACTION
District 29: NO ACTION
District 30: NO ACTION
District 31: NO ACTION
District 32: NO ACTION

STATE OFFICES

Secretary of State: Phil KESLING (D)
Attorney General: NO RECOMMENDATION
Insurance Commissioner: Deborah SENN (D)
Superintendent of Public Instruction: Terry BERGESON (NP)

REPRESENTATIVES

District 10: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 11: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 12: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 13: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 14: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 15: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 16: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 17: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 18: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 19: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 20: NO RECOMMENDATION
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District 54: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 55: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 56: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 57: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 58: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 59: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 60: NO RECOMMENDATION

STATE OFFICES

Governor: Gary LOCKE (D)
Lt. Governor: Richard KELLEY (D)
Attorney General: Christian GREGORIE (D)
Commission of Public Lands

REPRESENTATIVES

District 1: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 2: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 3: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 4: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 5: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 6: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 7: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 8: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 9: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 10: NO RECOMMENDATION
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District 24: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 25: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 26: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 27: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 28: NO RECOMMENDATION
District 29: NO RECOMMENDATION

Longtime ILWU legal counsel Vin-
cent Hallinan died October 1, leav-
ing behind a legacy of spirited de-
fense and advocacy of workers' rights and oth-
er great causes of his time.

"Vince Hallinan will be remembered
by many of us in the ILWU as an unre-
 lentingly, uncompromising defender of
worker people," said ILWU Interna-
tional President David Arian. "He was
a brother, a friend and as much a part
of the ILWU success story as any offi-
cer or member. His contribution is
incalculable."

Hallinan's first contact with the ILWU
came during the US govern-
ment's (ultimately futile) twenty-year
effort to deport Australian-born ILWU
founder and president Harry Bridges.
Although the US Supreme Court had
thrown out two previous cases against
Bridges, the government tried again in
1948, this time including "criminal con-
sspiracy" charges against ILWU

Preston Harris, activist for
labor and children

PRESTON HARRIS

WILMINGTON -- The following res-
olution was adopted by longshore Lo-
cal 63 in honor of Local 8 Dispen-
sioner Preston Harris who died July 22:

"Preston Harris, #32507, has been a
member of the International Long-
shoremen!' Warehousemen's Union
since February 7, 1946. On that date
Preston was initiated into the union in
Wilmington, California and has been
active in the Local 13 since that day.

"Preston worked diligently in the
hold of the ship and on the docks, and
became active in union committee
meetings and executive board policies.
He served on various committees over
his tenure as an active man.

"Preston's co-workers and friends
held him in high esteem, for his active
participation in union affairs. Some
years later toward the end of his work-
ing career, he became active with
handicapped children's organizations in
Los Angeles and worked diligently in
collecting monies, on the waterfront,
front, to assist the children in that
school. You could regularly see Preston
at the pay office for years and years,
giving of his time to collect donations,
in an attempt to help these hand-
icap-ped children.

"In September of 1974, Preston re-
turned from the active work force, and
continued with this endeavor to assist
the school in Los Angeles.

"He was also active with the pen-
sioners group of the ILWU for many
years."

Congressman Les AuCoin, who's running
for the US Senate, and ILWU Presi-
dent David Arian talked politics at Local's 50th annual pic-

can Free Trade Agreement and will
attempt to reverse the State Depart-
ment's certification of immigration
laws, which allow foreign seamen
to do longshore work in US waters.

The picnic, held at Cullaby Lake,
featured lots of activities for adults
and kids, including a horseshoe tour-
ament and a haystack coin dive, and
a number of raffles for "valuable prizes.
Good weather, good food and good
company combined to make the
event one of the most memorable yet.

The address provided a perfect
opening for Arian's introduction of
AuCoin, who is running for Oregon's US Senate seat
against incumbent Republican Bob
Packwood. Endorsed by the ILWU, Au-
Coin pledged to continue to support
the concerns of working people.

"American labor is the backbone
of the United States," AuCoin said.
He will work to defeat the North Ameri-
can Free Trade Agreement and will
attempt to reverse the State Depart-
ment's certification of immigration
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New film on Bridges misses the mark

By GENE DENNIS VRANA
ILWU Librarian and Archivist

In recent years, we have reviewed on these pages several books and essays about the union during the era of Harry Bridges' leadership. The story provides good copy for labor historians — and for good reasons. But, until now, there has only been one major work on Harry's life.

This gap was largely due to Harry's refusal to cooperate with those who would single him out for attention, who would drag him into the public spotlight he felt should be reserved for the rank and file, and who (he felt) would distort the union's history — and his place in it — for their own political purposes.

Berry Minott's new film, Harry Bridges: A Man and His Union, is a perfect example of what concerned Harry.

AFFECTIONATE, DISTURBING

With the help of a host of ILWU members, including screenwriter Jim Hamilton, Minott has produced and directed a genuinely affectionate and reverent tribute to Harry that is visually impressive, technically rewarding and deeply disturbing.

Despite magnificent archival film footage of ILWU strikes, press conferences, interviews and congressional testimony, Minott has managed to fashion a superficial account of the ILWU and Harry Bridges and, particularly within the House of Labor — including such pivotal events as the expulsion of the ILWU from the CIO in 1950 for alleged communist domination.

To be fair, there are several areas in which the film does a fine job — especially in pulling together the ILWUs, and Harry's, long history of support for civil rights and civil liberties. And an interview with International Vice President Tommy Trask gives appropriate attention to how the ILWU's foundation of industrial unionism, rank-and-file democracy, and racial and gender equality was total retail killing sugar, pineapple and longshore in Hawaii.

But there are curious and troublesome omissions. The Bridges children, for example, are never mentioned. The film also ignores the post-1960 record of Bridges and the union on matters of world peace, labor rights, and worker solidarity — including direct action such as pressuring companies, such as apartheid in South Africa.

SAME OLD LINE

It appears historical detail is not Minott's primary concern. Instead, she is determined to argue an old line about Bridges — that he betrayed rank-and-file militancy and political radicalism in return for longshore wage guarantees and labor peace.

Minott uses the 1960 Modernization and Mechanization Agreement to mark what she perceives as the turning of the membership tide against Bridges, yet she fails to offer anything but a narrow and self-serving description of the agreement itself.

No one word is said about the major gains in health, welfare and pensions; about the revolutionary concept that a registered longshoreman owned his job for life or would be well compensated if he lost it through mechanization; about the preservation of the worker's right to stop work for reasons of health or safety or grossness.

No one word.

SIN OF OMISION

The sin of ommision also applies to Minott's interviews with active and retired longshoremen. Many of them, all, they're all honorable men with strong opinions; among them are Leo Robinson, Bill Bailey, Sid Roger, Pat Tobin and Chophus Williams. The problem is that, with the exception of Williams (who, unfortunately, was not identified as a former president of Local 10), all the interviews were selected and apparently edited to reinforce Minott's premise, instead of documenting the complexities of the subject.

Where are the old timers who voted for M&M? Where are the members in the Northwest or Southern California who continued to support Harry through the years despite grave ideological differences with him? No matter which side they were on, it's important to understand how and why the movement had lost M&M. And that's the point: Harry did not impose the agreement, it was voted up after months of vigorous coast-wide debate.

In this context, it seems a bit sleazy for Minott to use Sid Roger, former editor of The Dispatcher and Local 34 rewrite, to invoke the name of Secretary Treasurer Louis Goldblatt as having allegedly called Harry a "sell-out" over M&M. Goldblatt, in fact, was an architect of M&M from 1957 to 1960, and subsequently the author of the powerful pictorial essay, Men & Machines, in defense of the union's program.

MISSING LINKS

If Minott's purpose is to evaluate the M&M agreement and the union's collective bargaining strategy since then, she should have compared the ILWU with other unions in the United States, and ILWU wages, hours and working conditions with those of longshoremen around the world. Had this been done, as it was for delegates to the 1990 longshore contract caucus, it would be clear that the ILWU stands at the head of the class.

And if Minott wants to conclude that Bridges ended his career as a cantankerous and paranoid automaton, then someone better explain why the most empowered rank and file in the United States labor movement continually voted to retain him in power. In the ILWU, after all, it is ultimately the membership who make every decision about leadership, policy and contract ratification.

My point here is not to defend M&M, nor to lionize Bridges, but to point out some of the information that was withheld or ignored in the film. Like so many others, Berry Minott, at the expense of historical accuracy, has procured herself with Harry's relationship to the Communist party and his apparent loss of favor among (and disagreement with) some sections of his left-wing constituency in the ILWU.

These are certainly valid themes to explore. But they hardly hold up as the history of the "man and his union."
"Tell them what is happening in Mexico!" A note of desperation in the woman's voice could be detected even in the din of 75,000 demonstrators. They had all come to protest at the Zocolo—the huge plaza in Mexico City which faces the Federal Palace of President Carlos Salinas. With literature and literature about NAFTA, the woman and her companions prevailed on a visiting contingent of ILWU members to "bring back our message to American workers."

"It seemed as if we were their last hope," recalled ILWU Local 13 member Linda Palacios. "I told them that we were just like a grain of sand, but we would take the message back."

Palacios kept her promise, as did the others in her group: Ray Familicide, Catherine Moore, Ray Ortiz, Rita Ruelas, Local 13; Jacqueline Ruelas, Local 46; Marjorie Bellhouse, Robert Orosno, Louis Wright and spouse Maria de Los Angeles, Local 63; Zake Ruelas, Local 94; and Art Lujan a student at Domini-

"Tell them what is happening in Mexico!"

Because the Mexican government chooses not to enforce its own strict environmental regulations. Mexico has become a magnet for profit-hungry corporations, and no wonder. It guarantees rock-bottom wages—part of a deal with banks to pay off their crippling debt (now hovering around $30 billion) for bringing foreign investment and expanding its export market.

WAGES PLUMMET

The PRI government agreed to freeze wages, cut social programs, "privatize" government-run enterprises, cut food subsidies and farm credits, and generally turn the economic base from domestic consumption to exports. Between 1982 and 1988 average salaries slid 29 percent in industrial jobs and 42 percent in other jobs, while per capita social spending decreased 33 percent. "From employment and underemployment jumped from 19 percent to 24 percent of the "economically active population," according to Mexican econ-

Return to slavery

The ultimate casualty of the invasion was the co-

"It was the most exciting event I have ever at-
tended," said Marjorie Bellhouse, who, like other ILWU members who travelled there, stepped up to the microphone. His wariness of the day before gave way to steely -
edged determination as he echoed the demands of the protesters. "What we learned was certainly not the pretty picture our governments and politicians want us to believe," said Art Lujan. "It's clear that what the Mexican worker is going through now is exactly what we're headed under this free trade agreement."

Part Two: Ripe for Revolution

American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). What they found was shocking, disturbing, even frightening.

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The frustration with which she made her request is rooted in what seems like a conspiracy of silence—a silence which has only just been broken since NAFTA loomed large on the American political scene.

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