



VOICE OF THE ILWU

HONOLULU HAWAII
LOCAL 142

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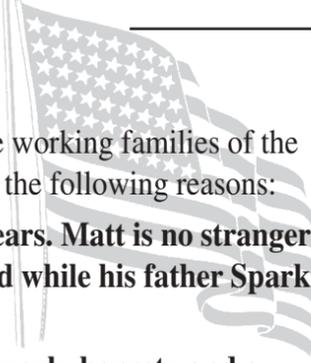
Dear ILWU Members

We support **MATT MATSUNAGA** as the best choice to represent and serve the working families of the neighbor islands and rural Oahu. We believe that he will be a good lawmaker for the following reasons:

- **EXPERIENCE.** Matt has been a lawmaker in the State Senate for ten years. Matt is no stranger to Washington D.C.—he was born in Honolulu, but also lived in Maryland while his father Spark Matsunaga served in the U.S. Congress.
- **GOOD VALUES.** Matt comes from a family whose values include hard work, honesty and a commitment to fairness and justice. Public service and helping Hawaii's people have been part of his upbringing. Matt has real *heart*, and cares about our concerns.
- **SUPPORT FOR WORKING PEOPLE.** Matt supports us on issues like good paying jobs for workers, opportunities for quality education, affordable healthcare for our families, and protecting our rights on the job.

Please join me and other ILWU members in support of **MATT MATSUNAGA** by electing him our District 2 Congressional Representative on **January 4, 2003**.

—In Solidarity, your ILWU 142 Political Action Committee



ADDRESS LABEL

Elect Matt Matsunaga to U.S. Congress on January 4, 2003

Hawaii is a small state. Our four congressional representatives must work as a closely knit team to get things done for Hawaii. Matt Matsunaga best demonstrates the ability and willingness to work as a team player.

Matt proved his ability to work together with others in the State Legislature, and will work well with Neil Abercrombie, Daniel Akaka, and Dan Inouye in Congress.

In a democracy, issues are decided by a majority vote. Once a vote has been taken, it is the responsibility of all—whether part of the majority or minority—to work hard for the good of everyone. Matt has never put his individual agenda first or worked to undermine the majority decision.

Matt Matsunaga will fight to defend working families, the poor, and the disadvantaged. Working families are facing tough times, and we need a team in Congress representing Hawaii who will stand firmly on the side of working people and the less fortunate.

Matt understands the struggle that working families face. Unlike other candidates who are “fiscal conservatives” and only seem focused on the bottom line, Matt is fiscally *responsible*. He knows that balancing budgets must not be done off the backs of the working people, and *our needs* must be weighed against cuts to government and services.

—Editor

Longshore Negotiations Update Tentative Agreement reached on West Coast

The ILWU reached a landmark agreement with the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) on Saturday, November 23, 2002, that will benefit workers, the shipping industry, consumers and our economy. ILWU leaders say the contract is a win-win for West Coast ports, workers and nation's consumers.

The agreement is subject to ratification by the ILWU Longshore Division Caucus and a secret ballot vote of ILWU registered longshore workers and marine clerks conducted by the Union under its established procedures. The Longshore Caucus, a representative assembly of delegates from all locals on the West Coast, is scheduled to meet in San Francisco the week of December 9-13. Membership ratification votes are expected to be completed soon after that meeting.

“This landmark agreement is a victory for longshore workers and their families, and a win-win for business, labor and our national economy,” said James Spinoso, ILWU

International President. “We worked in good faith with PMA and succeeded in bringing new technology to our ports while achieving vital pension and economic security, strong health care benefits and safety protections for our workers and their families. This is a momentous day for our Union.”

Worker Protection

For more than 40 years, the ILWU has worked hand-in-hand with management to bring new technology to our nation's ports. The ILWU looks forward to working with PMA in making West Coast ports even more efficient and profitable through

the new technology enhancements in this contract. And, as part of this agreement, the ILWU has secured critical pension protection for its workers and retirees. The ILWU has historically fought for pension security and this issue was a top priority in these negotiations. The bottom line is that the increased efficiency and cost savings resulting from the technology improvements in this contract now rightfully result in pension protection for ILWU members and their families.

Other key components of the agreement include sound and secure health care benefits for longshore workers and their families, increased wages and important new safety provisions that will help protect workers on the docks. Longshore workers risk their lives daily in the country's second most hazardous profession. Already this year, five workers have died on the job. Going to work shouldn't be a life or death matter and this agreement helps ensure that workers are at reduced risk of injury and deadly harm.

Finally, this new six-year contract brings much needed stability to the shipping industry. U.S. ports and waterways handle more than 2 billion tons of cargo each year. Earlier this week at the National Industrial Transportation League meeting in Anaheim, ILWU emphasized its commitment to achieving common ground with the shipping industry to help strengthen our economy. This

—continued on page 8



ILWU President Jim Spinosa signs the tentative agreement reached with the Pacific Maritime Association as union negotiators look on.

WEST COAST LONGSHORE NEGOTIATIONS

Local 10 rally bridges oceans and generations

By Tom Price
Assistant Editor, The Dispatcher

Labor's response to globalization was on the minds of a couple hundred ILWU members and supporters as they rallied at the longshore Local 10 hall Oct. 10.

They gathered to hear fellow workers from across oceans and generations link the longshore struggle to its history and to its future as part of an international labor movement. Supporters from maritime labor hung out with veterans of the Battle of Seattle, who mingled with veterans of the 1948 longshore strike and the 1980s battles against South African apartheid.

Björn Borg, president of the Swedish dockworkers' union (*Svenska Hamnarbetarförbundet*) and European Zone Coordinator for the International Dockworkers Council, spoke of the growing global unity of transport workers brought on by the PMA lockout. Two of the people arrested that morning for "locking out" the PMA shared the podium (see story, this page). Juliette Beck, from Public Citizen, commended the ILWU for all it has done for social change and justice in the world. Karen Pickett, from the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment, spoke of her morning's

adventures and added, "We have common ground because of the corporate mind set that sees the resources of the natural world as their own personal smorgasbord, and sees labor as their own personal waiters at that smorgasbord," Pickett said. "We say no to that mindset, we say no to corporate exploitation of workers and the corporate exploitation of the environment."

Local 10 Secretary-Treasurer Clarence Thomas reported on his trip to France, where he informed the French workers of the ILWU's struggle.

"The day after I left Paris there were 80,000 French workers in the streets of Paris to protest privatization, and I submit to you we may very well have to do that here," Thomas said. "From coast to coast we have to get the message out, because this is about corporate greed, this is about the elimination of organized labor, this is about the loss of our civil liberties. We have to wake up."

Local 10 President Richard Mead

outlined the meddling role in negotiations played by the U.S. government and major retailers represented by the West Coast Waterfront Coalition. While this has slowed down bargaining, it also points to the much larger issue of class struggle.

"It's bigger than the ILWU and PMA," Mead said. "It's international capital verses international solidarity. That's who the ILWU has behind it, and we're going to prevail."

Asher Harer, Local 34 retiree and veteran of the 1948 strike, also spoke. Younger members gathered around Asher after the event. While frail in body, his spirit is as strong as ever. He recited one of his favorite poems, Shelley's "Rosalind and Helen," published in 1819:

"Fear not the tyrants shall rule for ever,



Photo by Tom Price

Local 34 retiree Asher Harer.

*Or the priests of the bloody faith;
They stand on the brink of that mighty
river,
Whose waves they have tainted with
death;
It is fed from the depths of a thousand
dells,
Around them it foams, and rages, and
swells,
And their swords and their sceptres I
floating see,
Like wrecks in the surge of eternity."*

Activists turn the tables on PMA

By Tom Price
Assistant Editor, The Dispatcher

SAN FRANCISCO—Executives of the Pacific Maritime Assn. got a dose of their own medicine Oct. 10 when they arrived at work and found themselves locked out. A group of social justice activists had arrived early that morning and chained themselves to the front doors of PMA headquarters at 550 California St.

The suits failed to share the demonstrators sense of irony as they leaned out their car windows and gaped like beached fish at the banner hung above the entrance. Some could be heard angrily ordering their drivers to use the garage entrance, which is where demonstrators directed the company's workers.

"Bush makes PMA rich; Workers get the Taft," the 120-square foot banner read.

Meanwhile the protestors literally held fast. Four people locked themselves to the door handles with chains and bicycle locks, while two more sat down in the revolving door. The participants were identified as members of social and environmental justice organizations in leaflets handed to the press.

"PMA locked the union out, now we're locking out the PMA," the

pickets said in a prepared statement. "We stand in solidarity with the ILWU workers and we stand in opposition to PMA's back-door politicking with the Bush administration to strip workers of their collective bargaining rights."

Police officers responding to the scene barely concealed their amusement. They had to call the fire department to get bolt cutters large enough to remove the bike locks. All this took quite a while, long enough in fact for the bosses to see the banner announcing their own personal lockout.

Public Citizen, founded by Ralph Nader, advocates fair trade and has recently launched a major drive against water privatization. Two of its members, Juliette Beck and Mike Dolan, played prominent roles in the 1999 shutdown of the WTO in



Lockout at 550 California Street, PMA headquarters.

Seattle. Police arrested them along with other veterans of the Battle of Seattle Kevin Danaher of Public Citizen, Karen Pickett of the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment, and Randy Hayes of the Rainforest Action Network. They were released quickly after a brief

ride to the station in the paddy wagon.

"It's clear that the PMA is using new technology jobs as an opportunity to hire non-union employees and bust the union," Pickett said. "Low-tech or high-tech, all jobs should be union."

DOCKWORKERS UPDATE

Visitors bring news of other fronts in dockers' worldwide battle

By Marcy Rein, The Dispatcher

With this year's contract fight, ILWU members join the legions of dockworkers around the world who have been fighting privatization and casualization for more than a decade. Shipping and stevedoring companies have led the anti-worker drive, but governments everywhere have backed them up.

The port industry is going through global restructuring. Shipping lines and port service companies, like Maersk-Sealand and Stevedoring Services of America, are consolidating globally. They are coming to dominate ports formerly owned and run as public trusts. Privatization steps up pressure to lower costs—and take savings out of workers' hides. From Britain to Brazil, Australia to Amsterdam, longshore workers have had to step up to defend their wages, working conditions and basic union rights.

The timeline at right sketches the history of this fight. October visits to the ILWU by members of the International Dockworkers Council and representatives from waterfront unions in Australia and New Zealand gave a glimpse of today's battles around the world. *The Dispatcher* first talked with the IDC's General Coordinator Julián García, who is also head of the Spanish dockers' union *Coordinadora*, and IDC's European Coordinator, Björn Borg, president of the Swedish dockworkers' union *Svenska Hamnarbetarförbundet*. Jose Luis Llorca of *Coordinadora* translated for García.

Borg: Today's situation began unrolling in 1989, when the right-wing government of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher abolished the Dock Labour Scheme, Borg noted. "It's a process. They want to de-regulate, cut off our work conditions, cut off our workplaces, cut off the workers from participation in any changes.

"They tried this in France in the '90s but the dockworkers won the fight. In Amsterdam the dockworkers lost a fight in 1997—they came to the IDC meeting in Montreal just after that."

García: "The fight is the same all over the world. The only difference is

the tactics the employers are using." In the United States, the employers are trying to use the contract fight to bust the union. In Europe, they are going after legislation that will do the same thing.

"Italy passed laws that allow ports to work non-union. Portugal and Spain are fighting against them."

Borg: "The European Union's Port Directive is about the different shipping companies being allowed to run their own operations with their own people without hiring unionized dock workers. They could use ships' crews or hire others, which would be devastating for us.

"The ILWU's contract fight is of great concern not only in Sweden but in other European countries. We think a major struggle like this one will affect all of us, since the shipping companies are multinational, like Maersk, which by origin is a Danish company but plays a role here in the U.S. as well. We know what they're aiming at. They want to get rid of the unions in all the docks and ports. It's not about money. It's about who's got the biggest influence in the ports.

García: "The Port Directive and the ILWU fight are 'two sides of the same coin.' We are the last really strong organizations of workers. The employers alone can't take us on. They need the help of the government. This is proof of the relations between the governments and the companies. We say 'the governments are the hands of the companies.'"

While Borg and García were visiting the San Francisco Bay Area, a 17-member delegation of officers and rank-and-filers from the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA), the Confederation of Mining and Energy Unions (CFMEU) in Australia, the New Zealand Seafarers' Union and the New Zealand Waterfront Workers Union (NZWWU) came to Southern California. *The Dispatcher* spoke with Barry Robson, assistant secretary of MUA's Sydney branch; Gary Keane, assistant secretary of its timber branch; Peter Murray, vice president of CFMEU's United Mine Workers Division and Trevor Hanson, General Secretary of the NZWWU.

Robson: "This delegation was put together to support the ILWU in its hour of need to repay the great debt we owe the ILWU for their support of us in our lockout in the Patrick's '98 dispute."

Same fight, different year:
Defending dockers' rights around the world

1989—Great Britain: Parliament votes to abolish the Dock Labour Scheme.

When it was adopted in 1946, the Dock Labor Scheme ended casual labor for British longshore workers. It guaranteed union rights, work opportunities, minimum hours, sick pay, holidays and pensions.

The employers' campaign to abolish the Scheme set out the blueprint followed in Australia and the U.S. They lobbied, deployed friendly legislators adept at parliamentary maneuvering, used other public bodies like industry associations and think tanks, commissioned economic studies and manipulated a media smear campaign against union workers.

Just before the Scheme went down, 9,221 dockers had steady work. Less than 4,000 were working a year and a half later.

New Zealand: National legislation abolished the Waterfront Industry Commission. Jointly governed by union and employer, the Commission ran a hiring hall at each port. When it was abolished, union members had to choose an employer or elect redundancy. Many never got the employer of their choice. Others were refused redundancy because they were too skilled.

1991—Mexico: Government busts longshore union at the port of Veracruz. Army troops occupy the port and sack all the union workers.

1993—Mexico: Port of Veracruz privatized.

Brazil: Port privatization begins.

1995—Great Britain: 500 Liverpool dockers get locked out after they refuse to cross a picket line.

Within two months, the Liverpool dockers began taking their struggle global via the LabourNet web site and visits to other unions.

Mexico: Privatization hits the rest of the country's ports. Servicios Portuarios, the government agency that negotiated with all the longshore unions, went out of business. Negotiations were to take place port by port or company by company. Productivity dove, accidents soared.

1996—Australia: John Howard gets elected Prime Minister on a platform that explicitly includes busting the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA). For the next two years, he herds anti-union legislation through Parliament, paving the way for the move against MUA.

1997—Brazil: Port of Santos dockworkers occupy two ships in April. COSIPA, a newly privatized steel company, wanted to work the ships with non-union labor. The Brazilian government sent troops to end the occupation. Dockers won a partial victory there, but lost 2,000 jobs to casualization at another terminal later in the year.

Amsterdam: the Harbor Labor Pool, a government-run hiring hall, is declared bankrupt. Workers stage several one-day strikes in September and October opposing casualization/privatization.

Japan: Longshore workers stage one-day strike in November to protest an agreement between the U.S. and Japanese governments that overruled their contract,

as well as government-promoted plans to deregulate the ports.

Australia: 70 men, 29 of them active soldiers in the Australian Defense Force, are sent to Dubai in the United Arab Emirates to be trained as scab dockers. When the scheme was discovered, the International Transport Workers Federation protested. UAE revoked the Australians' visas.

First draft of the European Union's Port Directive.

1998—New Zealand: SSA shuts down operations, declares bankruptcy and throws hundreds of people out of work. Days later, the operations start up again, running non-union under a new name—with the old management.

Australia: Patrick Stevedore brings in armed goons to run off all 1,400 of its employees, then fires them. Dockers go back to work under court order a month later. In the interim, hundreds of union and community supporters bolstered the picket lines. Even police couldn't get through. The little cargo moved out by scabs got stuck in various unionized foreign ports.

The MUA recovered jobs for some 800 of its members and secured redundancy payments and job opportunities for the rest. The union sued Patrick and the government for unlawful conspiracy in firing the workers. (It dropped the suit in the final settlement of the dispute, though Patrick paid \$5 million in damages as well as MUA's legal costs of \$1.8 million.)

2000—Charleston, South Carolina: Police provoke a riot as International Longshoremen's Association members picket the first shipping line to try to work non-union in the port of Charleston. South Carolina's right-wing Attorney General slapped felony riot and conspiracy charges on four members of ILA longshore Local 1422 and one member of clerks and checkers Local 1771—the "Charleston Five." Winyah Stevedoring, Inc. files civil suit for damages against the union and 25 individual members and officers.

U.S.: Supreme Court rules George Bush won the presidential election, despite compelling evidence of voting fraud.

2001—Europe: European Parliament approves a revised version of Port Directive which includes several anti-union provisions. Unions in more than 100 European ports hold one-day strikes in protest.

Charleston: National and international support for the Charleston Five forces South Carolina to back off. The dockers plead to minor misdemeanors and the case is closed. Civil suit dropped.

2002—U.S. West Coast: ILWU Longshore Division contract expires. Prior to expiration, employers and their front group, the West Coast Waterfront Coalition, are already lobbying the Bush administration. Their goal: break down the ILWU. Bush administration officials threatened ILWU leadership with a Taft-Hartley injunction, legislation to restrict or abolish the union's right to collective bargaining and to strike and/or a military takeover of the ports. They make good on the Taft-Hartley threat after the employers charge the union with slowing down work and then locked out the ILWU.

—Marcy Rein



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Editor: Mel Chang

DAY 2: Building Member Power

All five workshops on the second day tackled the age-old problem of how to get more members involved in their union. Members ARE the union, but too often the only people involved and doing the work are the same small group of unit leaders. These workshops provided answers and taught participants how to use tools like mapping, surveys, and one-on-one contacts to build member involvement and union power.

Building an Internal Leadership Core

The ILWU hired Gordon Lafer and Rachel Kirtner for 18 months to run a demonstration Hotel Mobilizing Project which came to involve almost 2000 members at the Hyatt Maui, the Grand Wailea Resort, and the Royal Lahaina Hotel. The campaigns were successful in gaining a good contract at the Hyatt Maui, maintaining union recognition at the Grand Wailea, and rebuilding a strong unit at the Royal Lahaina Hotel. Gordon is with the Labor Education and Research Center of the University of Oregon. In this workshop, Gordon taught how a strong, internal leadership group was essential to the success of each of these campaigns.

Participants learned how to analyze the makeup of their membership and why it is important to recruit leaders who represent important groups within the membership. They learned how to build an internal communications network that could reach every member within 24 hours. They learned how to increase involvement by asking members to take small, comfortable steps and moving them to take bigger steps in support of the union.

"This was a great class. Gordon was very clear on instructions and discussions."—Lani Moala.

"For me being new all these classes are very informative and helpful."—Tom Brown.

Mobilizing Around Grievances

Rachel Kirtner worked with Gordon Lafer on the ILWU Hotel Mobilizing Project on Maui. She is now a business agent with the Service Employees International Union in Oregon. In this workshop, Rachel taught how they used grievances as a powerful organizing and educational tool in the struggle at the Royal Lahaina Hotel. Participants learned how to choose the right grievance issues that affected large groups of people and built unity. Participants learned how to involve members in the grievance process and how to handle grievance meetings with management.

"Rachel was a great instructor, fun & everybody had a great time."—Mike Bunyard.

"She gave me real vision of how to feel and demonstrate power in a grievance. She's awesome."—Linda Quiqley.

"Learning what kind of information to ask for—how to handle yourself."—Janelle Kaneoka.

Reaching the Membership

PJ Dowsing Buie is the Southern Regional Education Director with the Service Employees International Union. PJ has a tremendous wealth of knowledge and experience in the union movement, which she shared in her workshops. Among other topics, PJ covered the importance of one-on-one communications and gaining the support of every newly hired worker.

"Everybody put in their input—great class participation. She is very good, very articulate."—Ven Garduque.

Mobilizing and Organizing Skills

Grainger Ledbetter is with the Labor Education Program at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. Grainger's workshop stressed how ILWU units need to have an action plan and consciously organize themselves to continually recruit and maintain the support of members. Grainger covered how to use many of the internal organizing tools such as

mapping the workplace, profiling the membership, running a new hire's orientation programs, and making one-on-one contacts.

"Doing a member profile as a way to reach the members was an excellent idea brought up in class. It was exactly what I needed to know about helping my members and officer to get started."—Anna Ater.

Fighting an Anti-union Employer

Diane Thomas-Holladay's workshop covered how to mobilize members and fight back in the special situations when the employer wants to break the union. This is happening more often to ILWU members as companies change management due to corporate buyouts and mergers. Participants learned about their rights under the National Labor Relations Act and how the law prohibits certain unfair labor practices by management. Participants learned how to respond to the typical tactics used by employers in an anti-union campaign.

"Mobilizing the membership, one on one, instructor fluent and very well coordinated."—Milton Ohira.

"Most useful was going over rights covered by NLRA."—Lance Kamada.

"She was fearless in exposing the lies that businesses engage in."—Greg Gauthier.

DAY 3 & 4: Pressuring Employers

The ten workshops offered on Wednesday and Thursday centered on what unionism is all about—protecting and improving the wages, benefits and conditions of union members. Most of the workshops covered how to use the media, the legal system, government regulations, and corporate campaigns to put pressure on management and protect workers. Other workshops focused on how to do a better job of

ILWU Labor In Building me

HONOLULU—This is Part 1 of a 2-weeklong institute building member power from all Divisions for intensive strategic planning, mobilizing corporate campaign strategies building to increase orga

dealing with management in contract negotiations and grievance handling. Two workshops focused on leadership and communications skills.

Corporate Campaign Strategies

Tracy Chang taught two workshops on running corporate campaigns. In these workshops, participants worked in small groups to identify the important economic, political, and structural connections between their employer and other groups such as major customers, other employers, suppliers and vendors, shareholders, banks, government agencies, the public, its workers and the union, middle management, politicians, and the media. They learned how to



How do you get your message across? Write and sing a song. This group composed a song, sung to the tune of "Wild Thing" by the Troggs, about the struggle to protect medical benefits at their hotel. Songs can be an effective way to get your message to members and the public. A second group wrote their song to the beat of stomp, stomp, clap (we will, we will, rock you).



How do you get your message across, (part 2)? Hold a press conference. This group produced a press release and made a statement to the media about their struggle for a fair contract with a leading Honolulu newspaper. An effective media statement constantly repeats the main issue to make sure the message is aired. Union spokesperson Lance Kamada (left) makes a statement as Mike Bunyard plays the role of a television reporter.



How do you get your message across, (part 3)? Valera, Mac Wright, and other stockholders of a hotel. Specific audience, have a short explanation. Audience should be comfortable about the problem.

Institute, Part 2 Member power

Part 2 of a report on the 6th Institute which was held from August 13-15 at the University of Hawaii in Honolulu. The Institute brought together ILWU divisions and industrial divisions and industrial training sessions on organizing their membership, strategies, and coalition organizational strength.

identify which of these were potential targets and which were allies who might support the union.

Tracy then had each group work on one of five actions which they had to present at the end of the class. The five tactics were: write a leaflet; make a fact sheet; hold a press conference; stage a media event; or compose and sing a song about their struggle.

The results were amazing as each group produced some creative and brilliant campaign actions and showed what ordinary workers were capable of doing. See the story in pictures below.

Using Political, Legal, and Government Pressure

Bill Puette, the director of the Center for Labor Education and



message across (part 3)? Write a leaflet. John and Allen Kaina work on a leaflet directed at the... They learned that effective leaflets target a... a short headline and picture that grabs attention, ...tion of the problem, explains why the target ...ncerned, and explains what you want them to do

Research at the University of Hawaii West Oahu, covered how to use the law and government regulations to protect workers rights. The laws covered in this workshop included wage and hour, prevailing wage, civil rights and anti-discrimination, health and safety, national labor relations act, dislocated workers act, and family leave.

Staying out of Trouble with the Law

Diane Thomas-Holladay's workshop focused on the rights of workers under the National Labor Relations Act. Subjects covered included the rights of union stewards, leafleting and talking union on the job, picketing, and the differences between economic and unfair labor practice strikes, and the employer's duty to bargain and provide information.

Collective Bargaining and Grievance Handling

Gordon Lafer, Rachel Kirtner, PJ Dowsing-Buie, and Grainger Ledbetter taught workshops that went more into depth on preparing for contract negotiations with management. Their workshops covered setting up the negotiating committee, mobilizing and organizing members through a communications network and solidarity actions, and the do's and don'ts in negotiations. PJ also taught a one-day workshop on strategic grievance handling based on membership involvement and solidarity.

Effective Communications and Leadership

Dawn Addy offered a workshop on how to more effectively tell labor's story to the public and union members. Besides learning how to write press releases and produce a better

news bulletin, participants learned how to use chants and songs to get the union message to members. Adrienne Valdez taught a workshop geared to new leaders on practical steps to improve their skills as leaders.

DAY 5: Gaining Community and Public Support

The public can be an important ally and supporter of a union's struggle for justice, or the public can be used by management and turned against the union. The workshops on the last day of the institute taught how to build public support by forming coalitions with community organizations and making better use of the news media to get the union's message to the public.

Building Community Support

Dawn Addy's workshop was all about identifying community groups and organizations who could support our struggle as workers. Participants learned how best to approach these groups to gain their support and how to use tools such as petitions and resolutions.

"Viewing the video about BASF and the lockout. We are proud to be in the ILWU. I know we will stand together even if this should happen to us!!! Build power which this week has shown me. We have the tools!"—Abeleen Lau.

"Getting to know the importance of creating coalitions in labor and community to reach agreement on how to get a fair settlement in contract disputes."—Nick Lopez.

Developing a Media Strategy

Grainger Ledbetter taught how to more effectively use the mass media to get labor's message out to the

community—know your audience, match the media to the audience, and translate your issues to make it more understandable to the audience. The workshop also covered how unions need to monitor the press, cultivate relations with reporters, and



Teamwork works. Reynold Ayau (r) from Pepsi Cola with Leonard Nakoa Jr. (l) explains how there is a union activist in each department of his unit. Some are leaders because they are respected by their co-workers; some know and can get the word out to everyone in their department; others speak the language of a particular ethnic group. Each member of this leadership team brings different strengths and abilities to the group.



What makes a good leader? Leadership is a skill that can be learned and developed. Ven Garduque, Paul Santos, Linda Quigley, and Tom Brown make a list of the qualities of a strong leader.

write more Letters to the Editor.

"How to think about your audience and tailoring your message to each part of the audience."—Tanya Fujitani.

Untrue Lies About Hawaii

For the past 10 years, *Forbes Magazine* has slammed Hawaii as a terrible and even hostile place to do business. Some of the reasons cited by the magazine are because of strong unions and tough laws such as workers compensation and pre-paid health which were supported by unions. Bill Boyd's workshop revealed the half truths and distortions used by *Forbes* and business groups to promote their agenda and spread anti-union ideas through the media.

Lessons from the 1949 Dock Strike

Theresa Bill, with the Center for Labor Education and Research at the University of Hawaii West Oahu, used a television show about the 1949 ILWU Dock Strike to teach important lessons about the need for community support. The employers attacked the union on many fronts in an effort to break the strike—a hostile press, government intervention, legal injunctions, and public pressure. The workers countered and won the strike by having their own radio show, producing a constant flow of leaflets and newspapers ads, and reaching out to gain community support.

"Film was emotional at times and makes me proud to be ILWU. Yeah ILWU!"—Clem Sweeney.

ILWU Education Program

If you are interested in becoming a steward or unit officer and want to participate in ILWU training, talk with your Business Agent or call the ILWU Division Office nearest you:

Hilo: (808) 935-3727

Waimea: (808) 885-6136

Kona: (808) 329-2070

Wailuku: (808) 244-9191

Lihue: (808) 245-3374

Honolulu: (808) 949-4161

Edited by Harvey Schwartz, Curator, ILWU Oral History Collection

This article features the recollections of Louis Goldblatt, who was the union's International secretary-treasurer for 34 years and an ILWU leader who made significant contributions to labor history. Goldblatt's testimony focuses on the ILWU's early days in the Islands, his own leadership role and his relationship with long-time Hawaii Regional Director Jack Hall.

Early in his long career, Goldblatt became known as a brilliant strategist, negotiator and orator. From 1934-36, during the intense warehouse organizing push of the "March Inland," he was a San Francisco warehouse worker and union activist. He served as vice-president of ILWU Warehouse Local 6 in 1937. That year Harry Bridges, recognizing his unique talent, appointed him to head northern California's new CIO structure.

In 1938 Goldblatt was elected secretary-treasurer at the California CIO Industrial Union Council's first convention. He held this post for four years before returning to the ILWU. Toward the end of his CIO stint, in February 1942, shortly after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, Goldblatt took a courageous and then unpopular stand when he told a congressional committee that the government internment of Japanese Americans amounted to "hysteria and mob chant."

The next year Goldblatt became ILWU International secretary-treasurer. He developed an immediate interest in organizing Hawaii and played a central role in the union's 1943-1945 success in unionizing the Islands. Goldblatt was a key ILWU negotiator during important Hawaiian sugar, pineapple, and longshore strikes of the latter 1940s. Another major accomplishment came in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when Goldblatt helped initiate the Northern California Warehouse Council, which turned years of tension between the ILWU and the Teamsters into a bargaining alliance. Goldblatt retired in 1977 and died six years later.

In the passages below, Goldblatt describes the decision to organize the Islands and explores the strategy that brought unionization to thousands of diverse Hawaiian workers. The ILWU's early strategy called for integrated leadership and industry-wide bargaining in sugar and pineapple. The idea was to prevent fragmented single-nationality, plantation-by-plantation, or island-by-island strikes. Goldblatt argues that this approach helped the union win the great 1946 sugar strike.

Goldblatt also discusses how the ILWU's workplace organizing fed its political organizing and how that in turn strengthened the union. Along the way he shows how the ILWU brought a sociological transformation to the Islands that dramatically improved workers' lives.

The interview excerpted here was conducted in 1979 by Edward D. Beechert, a leading authority on the history of labor in Hawaii and the author of "Working in Hawaii: A Labor History." We are greatly indebted to Beechert, today professor emeritus from the University of Hawaii, for releasing the transcript of his discussions with Goldblatt for use as the basis of this article.

Louis Goldblatt and the Early Days

LOUIS GOLDBLATT

In 1943 I began to consider organizing in Hawaii beyond the waterfront jurisdiction we had in Hilo and Honolulu. I took office then as International secretary-treasurer and started going through material on the background of various locals. I made it my business to cover as much ground as I could.

We had gotten started in Hawaii in the organization of longshoremen, first in Hilo around 1935 and then in Honolulu. In 1938 they took a bad setback in Hilo in the Inlandboatmen's Union (IBU) Inter-Island Steamship strike, with a number of people shot up and hurt. I read about the ILWU's long waterfront strike at Port Allen in 1940 that lasted damn near ten months. It got to the point where all the workers were living under a huge tent. The union salvaged recognition and little else. The thing that struck me was that in no case had we really made it over the hump.

In the case of Honolulu they signed some sort of a makeshift agreement which never became truly effective because in 1941 World War II came along and that brought military rule to Hawaii. As far as the military was concerned, unions might be around, but you don't pay any attention to them. There had been some initial organization of plantations, mostly under Jack Hall's leadership. Still and all, we had never been able to get an effective base.

I recall doing a lot of reading on Hawaii and its closed structure. Not just longshoring, but everything from land, to banking, to insurance, to factories, to supplies, to shipping was dominated by the Big Five corporations. One of the conclusions I reached was that longshoring played a different role in Hawaii than it did on the mainland. Instead of being a general industry of longshoring, in Hawaii longshoring was just a branch of the Big Five.

Jack Hall and I later had lengthy discussions. We had both reached the same conclusion, namely, that by tackling longshore first in an effort to strengthen and widen organization in Hawaii we would not succeed, even though longshore had the very direct appeal of being tied in with the same industry on the West Coast and had been organized and gotten ILWU charters in the 1930s.

Anyway, I was thoroughly convinced



(L-r) Jack Hall, Harry Bridges and Lou around the Ninth Biennial Convention, Honolulu, 1951.



Voting on pineapple agreement, 1947.

that Hawaii ought to be given a whirl. Initially we sent down Bill Craft, a longshoreman from Seattle, who reported that the workers wanted a union, and not just for the waterfront alone. We sent another old-timer, Matt Meehan, who had a distinguished record in Portland. He came back with a more detailed report and a positive recommendation that the individual who knew the greatest amount about the economy of Hawaii and about trade unionism and had already done a great deal of work was Jack Hall.

We hired Jack as regional director in 1944 and that's when organization really began. For a while we were sending all of our supplies by ships through seamen we knew. We didn't trust the mail. We opened a small storefront down off the waterfront in Honolulu. I think it was the street just before Maunakea, where the flower vendors are. That was the headquarters until we got going.

My first trip to Hawaii was in 1944. I remember going down there in the *Maunakai*, a big tub that carried 14,000 tons of cargo. It was awfully slow; when it did ten knots that was good. It broke down during the trip, so an extra day was lost. They had put doghouses, sort of, on the afterdeck and carried a few passengers. Getting plane transportation was out of the question at the time with the war still on.

That's when I first met Jack. We hit it off well. There had been a lot of

correspondence before then, back and forth, stressing the importance of trying to tackle the Big Five at their roots—that would be the land, agriculture. We agreed that the basic source of their power was sugar and pineapple. It was towards the tail end of the war and the atmosphere of military rule by then was not that tight. So we began not only the rebuilding of the longshore union but mainly going after the plantations.

Resentment had piled up around the plantations and all

through the society on the manner in which manpower had been handled during the war. A number of people wanted to get out of the jobs they were doing, like laundry jobs, and go to work in Pearl Harbor where better jobs were opening up. The military had frozen people on these laundry jobs so the colonel could have his shirt washed.

That was the situation when we got going on the organizational push. We began putting some money in. We decided we needed a guy in the field like Frank Thompson, who was as good an organizer as this country has ever seen. He was quite a character, an old-time Wobbly (member of the militant Industrial Workers of the World, or IWW), a hardy, efficient guy with an endless amount of energy.

Frank worked well with Jack, although they didn't see too much of each other because Frank spent so much time in the field. As soon as the initial breakthroughs began and the word went out that the union was signing up people, everybody got into the act. There was a real wave of organization.

The waterfront fell into place very quickly. There wasn't too much of a problem there. At that point we had to do some heavy duty thinking. Do you sign up everybody? What is the purpose if you can't follow through? The signing up itself is a very preliminary step toward genuine organization.

The big decision we had to make was how wide could we scatter our forces? We only had so much money and manpower. Ultimately, the conclusion we had reached did not change—namely, we wanted to make the break primarily in sugar and secondly in pineapple.

We decided that we could not repeat the mistakes made in the past. Jack and I knew a great deal about the whole background of lost racial strikes, if you want to call them that. So under no circumstances would we have a racial strike, no matter what the rate of speed in organizing one group as against another. The Japanese were an active group and organized very quickly. The Filipinos were not too far behind. They would move with a lot of strength once they felt they were getting a straight and honest shake and that the union was going to do exactly what it promised, or try to.

We were spending a fair amount of

of the ILWU in Hawaii, 1943-1946

money organizing, but it wasn't a lot, even for the time. I think we paid Frank \$75 a week. I don't know that Jack got much more. The whole thing was a very low paid operation. With a few organizers, supplies we sent from the mainland, plus the volunteers who pitched in, I'd say that if you had to compare it to any organizing push in the history of the country, the cost of organizing one worker must have been one of the lowest ever.

I remember that in 1944 Frank did something very novel. Before National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) elections for union certification took place, he would go to these plantations one by one and conduct a rehearsal election. He would put out a sample ballot, call a meeting, and say, "We are going to vote. Everyone gets a secret ballot." If the vote came out, say, 695 to 4, he'd say, "Okay, there are four people we've got to find. They somehow got screwed up." Well, the NLRB election results speak for themselves. We had entire plantations that voted unanimously.

In the fall of 1944 they had elections for the Territorial Legislature—Hawaii didn't become a state until 1959. Jack had always been interested in the political offshoots of the whole eco-

breakthrough of some of our workers going into Waikiki just to have a drink. In those days that was a rare thing. Waikiki was the tourist section. That was for *haoles* (whites). Our guys felt they belonged down in the Kalihi district, River Street, a different section of town. I had to persuade guys to join me for dinner at the Tropics, which was then across from the Royal Hawaiian. So this was also the beginning of the sociological breakthroughs.

A lot of the plantations toppled into place, but the one outfit that did present a bit of a problem was Waiialua Sugar Company on Oahu. Waiialua had always been a very prosperous plantation with a good piece of land and plenty of water. It paid more than the other plantations. I recall getting a telephone call from the manager, John Midkiff, asking whether I would be interested in coming out for dinner. I said sure.

I think Jack Kawano of the Honolulu longshore local was with me that night. Midkiff was very pleasant. When we got through dinner, he got down to business. He said, "Look, I know what you fellows are after, you want the dues. I'll make arrangements where I'll send you the dues each

and I'd say within a week or ten days we had Waiialua organized. That was the only place I can recall running into real difficulty.

The workers lived in company camps on isolated plantations. These camps were divided in most cases by racial groups. That is the way the people themselves would talk about it: "Oh, that's the Filipino Camp, that's the Portuguese Camp, that's the China Camp," and so forth. As I said, though, we had made the decision that certain past mistakes would not be repeated. One would be no racial strikes. That meant there had to be a new interpretation of unit leadership, because if you are not going to have a racial union or racial strikes, you had to, if necessary, force integration of the leadership from the beginning.

Now I know better than to figure that issuing a union ruling on integration brings about integration. It's a much more deep-going thing. But you have to start someplace, and that's where we started. The instruction given to Frank when he set up the units was to get as many groups as possible represented.

A Japanese was almost always elected chairman, partly because the Japanese had a better command of English and partly because they had been extremely active in organizing. Frank would have the election for chair, and a Japanese would be elected. Right, nominations are open for vice-chair. Somebody would nominate another Japanese. Jack would say, "Nope, you've got a Japanese already, now you've got to get somebody else. Nominate a Filipino, a Portuguese, a Chinese, or anyone from the other groups on the plantation." Not all of these situations were completely happy, let me put it that way.

But whatever doubts or reservations any groups might have had about the program of integration disappeared entirely with the 1946 sugar strike. The '46 strike brought all the groups together as a fighting force, where they won a major struggle for their life—we'd either get over the hump or that was it. During the strike, when it came to discipline, doing picket duty, eating in the general soup kitchen, and the families all mixing, a great change took place. I'm not saying racial division disappeared entirely from the social scene in Hawaii, but I am saying that whatever there remained in the way of racial feelings in the union really went out the window with the '46 strike.

Another major problem, but more of a tactical one, was that we were determined that we would not have plantation-by-plantation strikes or island-by-island strikes. If we had to fight, it would be all the plantations down at one time. The theory had developed during the earlier Japanese and Filipino attempts to organize that the workers on one plantation would strike and all the others would pitch in and help them. That's like trying to match dollars with the employers. There is a certain point at which you are going to go broke—you don't have the reserves. So we decided that that was a fundamental mistake that had been made. The key to the thing would be industry-wide bargaining.

Our first sugar contract in 1945 was just a sort of holding action, a recogni-



tion thing with maintenance of membership. It was just to get a contract under our belt. This had nothing to do with the major decision we had made that if it ever came to a beef, we would take it on as an industry. That decision finally was implemented when we deadlocked with the employers in 1946.

By that time we figured we had to put on a major push for enormous change and get rid of the prerequisite system, where the workers got poor company housing and rudimentary supplies and medical services instead of cash. We wanted to move toward a genuine kind of unionism where we'd build up the grievance machinery and get contract provisions such as no discrimination because of race, creed, or color. In other words, we had decided we wanted the framework of a genuine labor agreement. And in '46, of course, the policy was when we struck, we shut it all down.

You could do something when you had the whole industry down that you couldn't do before when there had been piecemeal strikes. We knew how in the past the employers had evicted people from the company camps. When the '46 strike took place, we notified the employers that if they evicted one family, everyone was going to empty out and go to the county, city hall or state building and camp out and tell them, "Okay, you feed us." I think the vision of the 24,000-25,000 workers we had pulling that off at one time must have given those employers the horrors. We could have done it, too. We had the discipline and the steam. There were no evictions.

In the '46 strike guys set themselves up fishing, hunting and growing small gardens. The employers got over this business of ever evicting anybody and the men all knew that if you couldn't pay the rent you didn't pay the rent and you simply owed it, that's all. One thing winning the 79-day '46 strike taught the sugar workers was that they could be damn self-sufficient and they could take a long beef if they had to. They could survive.



omic situation in Hawaii, and particularly the domination of the legislature by the big employers. The legislative representatives were practically just stooges of the Big Five. Legislative sessions sounded more like a Gilbert and Sullivan show than a genuine legislature.

Well, in the '44 elections, under Jack's lead, we endorsed a great many candidates, and the results were highly favorable. One of the commitments we had where we made endorsements was that we would get a Little Wagner Act for Hawaii. We did get a Little Wagner Act in 1945 out of that legislature. It provided for collective bargaining elections for all agricultural workers. This included a lot of people not covered under the Wagner Act that Congress had passed ten years earlier to set up the NLRB.

Voting for candidates recommended by the union in '44 was a direct offshoot of the whole organizing campaign. It was also one of the beginnings of the sociological breakthroughs in Hawaii. It took a while before you even had the sociological

month." I said, "We are not interested in the dues." He said, "Of course you are, that is what unions are all about."

I said, "No, we are interested in getting everybody organized. An organization means something else than collecting dues." He said, "Well, I don't think my people really want to belong." I said, "We know the general atmosphere around here and that you pay a bit more and a lot of people feel pretty loyal on that score, but we're still convinced they want the union and given a proper chance they'll join." He wasn't convinced. Plus he had this thing in his head we couldn't budge—the union wanted the dues and if the union got the dues, what do we want to kick about?

When we got back, we sat around and talked about the conversation. We decided the only thing to do was bell the cat. The following Sunday we sent a group of organizers out there with cards. We said, "Start going house to house. If company cops or anybody else tries to stop you, call at once and we will have the lawyers run out there." There was no interference of any kind

From the
ILWU Oral History Project
Volume V, Part 2

Louis Goldblatt and
the Early Days of
the ILWU in Hawaii
1943-1946

NEGOTIATIONS UPDATE

Maui's Kapalua Bay Hotel reaches settlement

Kapalua Bay Hotel members will get a huge paycheck just in time for the holiday season. Most full-time employees will get back pay of an additional \$200 to over \$800 (before taxes and deductions), depending on their job classification. The extra money is the result of a new union contract which includes three wage increases that go back as far as July 2001.

The union negotiated a total of 10 wage increases, which will boost wages for union members by 22.5 percent over the five-year life of the contract. The increases take effect every six months in January and July and apply to both tipping and non-tipping workers. Three of these wage increases have already passed (July 2001, January 2002, and July 2002), and the hotel will pay the money owed in a lump-sum, which accounts for the bigger paycheck.

The new contract also puts

more money into a number of other items. Porterage for the bell department increases immediately to \$2.75. In July 2003, the porterage fee will increase to \$3.00 and in July 2005, the porterage fee will increase to \$3.25. Housekeepers will get \$1.50 for each roll-away bed, sofa bed, or crib made up in guest rooms. This is an increase from \$1.00 under the old contract. The maintenance premium for painting or changing light bulbs, or stringing wires above 12 feet handling jumps to an extra \$1.00,

up from \$.25. Group life benefits will increase to \$10,000, up from \$7,500.

The union also took care of retirement benefits by requiring the hotel to put more money into the pension fund. The hotel will now pay \$.15 per hour into the Hotel Industry-ILWU Pension Fund. This increases to twenty cents in July 2004 and then to thirty cents in July 2006. The pension fund pays benefits to current retirees and puts money aside to pay for future retirees, and putting more money into the fund helps to secure your retirement benefits.

Health plan changes

Beginning January 2, 2003, the company will provide medical benefits based on Health Plan Hawaii Plus. Single employees who enroll in this plan will pay \$5.00 a month for their share of the plan's cost. Employees with family or multiple coverage will pay \$30.00 a month as their share of the plan's cost. This will increase in January 2004 by \$5.00 and another \$5.00 to \$40.00

in July 2006.

Employees also have the choice of continuing their coverage in HMSA's Preferred Provider Plan or Kaiser's Plan A. However, they must pay the difference in the cost of their plan and the cost of the Health Plan Hawaii Plus and the \$5.00 or \$30.00 a month co-share mentioned in the paragraph above.

Dental benefits were also improved. The maximum annual payments from the plan will increase from \$1,000 to \$1,200. The hotel will pay the full cost of the monthly premium for the HMSA Dental Plan 127. Employees can choose to enroll in the HMSA Dental Network but must pay the additional monthly premium cost.

Other improvements

The union will also have the opportunity to meet with new employees and inform them of their rights and benefits as union members. The hotel will provide up to 30 minutes of paid time for new employees for this purpose.



West coast tentative agreement—continued from page 1

contract achieves that goal.

"This agreement is living proof that the collective bargaining process works. Although our negotiations often faced considerable challenges, the bargaining procedures used in the West Coast longshore industry for more than 60 years continue to produce labor-management peace, prosperity and progress," ILWU President Spinoso said. "I want to especially thank AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Rich Trumka, who was an important partner to the ILWU throughout this process, and deserves extraordinary praise for his leadership at the negotiating table. I also want to thank all of our members who have worked diligently at the docks during these difficult

times. We go to the docks with the goal of putting in a hard day's work and getting goods to consumers. And that's what we did and will continue to do each and every day."

"By meeting the needs of dock workers for health care, job security, economic security, safety and good pensions while also addressing important technology issues, the ILWU has negotiated a truly historic contract for its members," said AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Rich Trumka, who praised ILWU President Spinoso and the ILWU Coast Committee for their leadership and skill throughout the long and difficult contract negotiations. "This is a tremendous victory for the ILWU and the entire labor movement."

ILWU Local 142— Important notice on Political Action Fund

Articles XXXIII of the Constitution and Bylaws of ILWU Local 142 as amended to October 1, 1991 reads:

"**Section 1.** The Local Political Action Fund shall consist of voluntary contributions. The Union will not favor or disadvantage any member because of the amount of their contribution or the decision not to contribute. In no case will a member be required to pay more than their pro rata share of the Union's collective bargaining expenses.

"**Section 2.** The Local Convention shall determine the suggested amount of contribution to the Local Political Action Fund by each member. Individual members are free to contribute more or less than the guidelines suggest. Monies paid into the Fund will be contributed only on behalf of those members who voluntarily permit that portion of their unit dues to be used for that purpose.

"**Section 3.** Those members who do not wish to have any portion of their unit dues diverted to the Local Political Action Fund, but who wish to make a political action contribution directly to the Fund, may do so in any amount and whenever they wish.

"**Section 4.** Voluntary contributions to the Local Political Action Fund will be made during the month of December. Each September, October and November, each dues paying member of the Local shall be advised of their right to withhold the suggested contribution or any portion thereof otherwise made in December. Those members expressing such a desire on a form provided by the Local shall be sent a check in the amount of the suggested contribution or less if they so desire, in advance of monies being collected for the Fund."

Members of the ILWU who wish to contribute more than \$4.00 per regular member may do so by sending a check in the desired amount, made out to the ILWU Political Action Fund, directly to the Local office.

More than \$4.00

I wish to contribute more than the minimum voluntary contribution of \$4.00 to the ILWU Political Action Fund. Enclosed please find my check for \$_____.

Less than \$4.00

I do not wish to contribute the entire \$4.00 to the ILWU Political Action Fund. I will contribute \$_____. I understand that the Local will send me a check for the difference between my contributions and \$4.00 (\$2.00 for intermittents) prior to December 1, 2002.

No Contribution

I do not wish to contribute to the ILWU Political Action Fund. In order to ensure that no portion of my dues payment is allocated to the Fund, and recognizing that I have no obligation whatsoever to make such a contribution, the Local will send me a check in the amount of \$4.00 (or \$2.00 for intermittents) prior to December 1, 2002.

signature _____

name (please print) _____

address _____

unit# _____

social security # _____

return to: ILWU • 451 Atkinson Drive • Honolulu, HI 96814

ILWU Political Action Fund Contributions are not tax deductible.