

31.5.65

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S - I RECORDS,

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REPORT DATE 31-9-85

Att.

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Volume No.

s.15(1)(d)ii

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ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

C237
REV. 15-2-63

FILE REFERENCES:

DIVISION

SUB-DIVISION

DETACHMENT

DATE

S.I.B.

Vancouver, B.C.

31 May 1965

COMP FILE REFERENCES:

Code 90

RE: INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION,
Communist Activities Within - British Columbia Generally

SECRET

INFORMATION:

CARDED - 11

20-7-65

1. On April 15, 1965, [redacted] was in attendance for a portion of the Longshoremen's International Convention held April 5-9, 1965 (inclusive) reported as follows.

2. E Craig PRITCHETT [redacted] International representative appeared to be responsible for co-ordinating and organizing the Convention. E Ben SWANKEY [redacted] was apparently present to act as Literature Director, edit the Daily News Bulletins, and summarize speeches. Guest speakers, who addressed the Convention and who were warmly received by the delegates were:

Tommy DOUGLAS
Alvin HAMILTON

Senator Ernest GRUENING
Harold GRIBBONS

National N.D.P. leader
Conservative MP and former
Minister of Agriculture
[redacted] from Alaska
Vice-President, International
Brotherhood of Teamsters.

[redacted] Tommy DOUGLAS and Ernest GRUENING strongly criticized the U.S. policies in Vietnam.

3. During the course of the Convention, Harry BRIDGES [redacted], President of the International Union in San Francisco, aptly maintained control. He seemed responsible for the smooth and efficient manner in which matters were taken care of. There was little evidence of opposition to the policies of the executive and resolutions brought forth.

4. Approximately 350 delegates were in attendance. Of this number, 43 represented the B.C. area; we have a record of the following B.C. delegates:

Local 503, Port Alberni, B.C.
Local 509, Vancouver, B.C.
Local 501, Vancouver, B.C.
Local 508, Chemainus, B.C.
Local 504, Victoria, B.C.
Local 509, Vancouver, B.C.

E Langford MACKAY
E Francis (Frank) KENNEDY
E Arthur BARKER
E William FOULDS
Raymond SEYMOUR
James O'DONNELL

5. According to summarized minutes, the following delegates were nominated for a two year term for the following positions:

President: Harry BRIDGES
Vice-President and Director: J.R. ROBERTSON of Local 30 (N.K.)
Secretary-Treasurer: Louis GOLDBLATT
Executive Board Members - 12 to be elected (1 from Canada)
The following two were nominated:

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CONTINUATION C-237
REV. 15-2-63

RE: [REDACTED]	PAGE 2
INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION, Communist Activities Within - British Columbia 31-5-65 CARDING DATE	

INFORMATION: (Cont'd)

Paragraph 5 (Cont'd)

Bev DUNPHY [REDACTED] and Roy SMITH [REDACTED]
both of Local 501

SOURCE:

6. [REDACTED]

INVESTIGATOR'S COMMENTS:

7. This is the first occasion that the International Union have held their Convention in Canada. One can see that 43 delegates from B.C. make up a small portion of the delegates in attendance. Because of Craig PRITCHETT's position as International Representative, one would expect him to be an active participant at the Convention. The Trade Union Research Bureau, in Vancouver, B.C. were apparently asked by the I.L.W.U. to make the necessary arrangements for the Convention, therefore this gave Ben SWANKEY a legitimate reason for taking part as he is attached to the T.U.R.B. in Vancouver.

8. Fifty-two resolutions were submitted at the Convention. Those which may be of some interest from the standpoint of intelligence are being forwarded together with the Summarized Minutes, Speeches and Daily News Bulletins. In addition the roster of delegates is being attached.

9. The three top level executive positions will no doubt go unchanged as only the one member was nominated; therefore the position is won unanimously and the result of the executive board position will undoubtedly appear in the official organ of the I.L. & W.U. "The Despatcher" following the referendum vote.

The Commissioner, RCMP

H.E.Reed, Cst. # 18204

FORWARDED for your information together with the
attachments. → placed in wallet following file [REDACTED]

Vancouver
7-6-65

[Signature]
(M.W. Jones) Supt.
Officer i/c "E" Division S.I.B.

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NEWS

The International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union consists of dock and terminal, and fish and allied workers of the Pacific Coast, Alaska and Hawaii, and warehouse and distribution workers and other related groups of the United States, territories, and Canada.

MORRIS WATSON, Director of Information
150 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 2, Calif.

PROSPECT 5-0533
PROSPECT 5-2220

CARDING DATE 3/5-65
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

VANCOUVER, British Columbia - April 5---Meeting for the first time outside of the United States, the Sixteenth Biennial Convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union today heard Mr. T. C. (Tommy) Douglas, Member of the House of Commons, Canadian Parliament, call for working people to "make automation a blessing instead of a tragedy by properly directing it to give us a standard of living that no one ever dreamed of, to rid the world of poverty, ignorance, disease and scarcity, and to give men an abundant life."

The fiery member of parliament from British Columbia, a leader of the New Democratic Party and member of the International Typographical Union, brought greetings to the convention which is scheduled to run until Friday, April 9.

Douglas was introduced by Arthur "Bud" Barker, president of the Canadian Area ILWU, who welcomed more than 350 delegates, fraternal delegates, pensioners, auxiliary representatives and visitors from California, Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, Alaska and Hawaii. Several longshore union men were also present from Mexico.

After singing the Canadian and the United States National Anthems, and an invocation by Rev. Philip A. Hewett of the Unitarian Church of Vancouver, and greetings by Vancouver Alderman Aeneas Bell-Irving, the convention heard greetings by Mr. E. P. O'Neal, secretary of the British Columbia Federation of Labour, who said that today's labor problems are just as pressing as those faced by Samuel Gompers, Eugene V. Debs and

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Joe Hill.

"Our purpose remains the same - to secure just rewards as to the worker for his labour," he said, "but it does not follow that our problems remain the same or that our methods should remain the same or that the solutions remain the same."

O'Neal said labour should seek a closer and more unified approach to the extent of encouraging mergers of unions wherever possible, "no matter how reluctant some people may be to explore this possibility."

T.C. (Tommy) Douglas, Member of the Canadian Parliament and leader of the New Democratic Party, drew several strong rounds of applause when he called for a medical program that will take care of all the people, not just the aged and the indigents.

"We have come to the place in our society where health care ought to be available to any person in the country, and borne by society as a whole...The trade union movement ought to be in the forefront of this battle. The money that is ordinarily used to pay doctor bills should be used for buying consumer goods," he said.

"Low wages will not buy consumer goods. We are told we can't afford it, but we are spending billions on defense...but they say we can't talk about the welfare of human beings. I say we can't afford not to do it."

Purchasing power can be put into the hands of the bottom 40 percent of the people, Douglas said, by "putting the unemployed to work, building low cost housing, clearing slums, providing decent education, libraries, driving, recreation, reforestation, water conservation and much more. There is no excuse for one idle-bodied person with all the things we need." He noted that we spend more money on cars than on the

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roads they run on, more money on advertising soap and deodorants than on education. He called on labor in both countries to vote for representatives who will truly represent the working people and not "the fat cats" who work in the interest of business and against labor.

ILWU President Harry Bridges in his keynote remarks on the state of the union predicted that President Johnson would be "cheered throughout the length and breadth of the land" if he ordered withdrawal from Vietnam, even if he said: "A plague on both your houses."

"President Johnson does not know of the tremendous amount of understanding he has among the American people," he said.

"Although this is a good opportunity to be critical of some of the policies of our government, we commend some of its good actions. It was inspiring and encouraging to hear President Johnson's declaration and his determination to wage unrelenting war on poverty.

"The President will get all possible assistance from us in his attack on prejudice, and all of its various vicious aspects, such as beatings of people who march, demonstrate and seek the right to vote."

Bridges commended Canada for being "crazy enough" to recognize that China exists and to conduct trade with her.

The morning session ended with a reading and summarization of the Report of the Officers, which details the record of the union for the past two years, and the economic situation in the United States as it concerns the ILWU and the trade union movement in general, as well as US foreign policy, the American political scene, civil rights and liberties and perspectives for the union during the next two years.

The officers of the ILWU emphasized the honor bestowed on the union by the invitation to Canada, which has a "tradition of militant labor action second to none."

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The work of the union in the past two years, the officers reported, continues to make gains in established areas of collective bargaining, settlement of grievances, administration of various benefit plans, and organization. In addition, the officers placed special emphasis on the union's expanded legislative and political activities, including growing participation in community activities, and cooperation with other unions.

President Johnson's "Great Society," the officers said in their report on the economic situation points to a period of unprecedented well-being, and the same glowing summary can be made for Canada as well. The short-run view shows no signs of imminent depression or economic collapse. The tools for staving off serious effects, even in a predicted slowing down of the economy, are available.

But there is a long run view that must be stated now, for, the officers note, the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer, with "the distribution of wealth and income becoming more unequal so that there is no prospect that poverty will be eliminated."

Other disturbing signs include continued and probably growing unemployment and "the warping of our economy by continued heavy military expenditures on the one hand, and by the continued starving of other public spending on the other."

Minority groups and young people are the major victims of unemployment, and say the officers, "The community cannot afford to have maybe a fifth to a quarter of a whole new generation feel that they have no real role to play; it is being poisoned at the source."

Needed are 20 million new jobs in the next ten years. There is no substitute for new jobs, and retraining, or new training of skills, while highly trained workers are being tossed out of jobs by

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mechanization is no answer.

The public sector is being starved, and the officers called for expansion in education, greater federal expenditures for health and welfare, housing development, medical care and in general a cutting back of military expenditure and stepped up spending for vast unmet social needs.

The ILWU's program must aim for a national commitment to secure full employment, education subsidies, improvements in the labor market, expansion of trade, stopping large-scale layoffs when plants close or contracts terminate, reduced worktime.

A key point in the economic program: "A federal program to assure everyone a job or a minimum income without a job."

United States foreign policy, the officers stated, "is a mess... costing the people more and more with each passing month...extracting a terrible economic and moral toll. Yet its results add little if anything to the nation's or the world's well being and security."

While we support stooge governments we place in power in South Vietnam, they wrote, we must emphasize that what is happening there is truly a civil war, and we should pull out. We are the victims of "managed news" that distorts our understanding of vital events, and obscures the fact that China is the real issue. We are doing nothing to live peacefully with China, or even to co-exist with her, even while she has become a great world power.

Twenty years after the founding of the United Nations, the report states, our stake in the UN is greater than ever. The UN remains our best hope. War must not be the major prop to our economy. "Speaking as a union," they wrote, "we insist there is a better way to spend our money, our energy and lives than in trying to prevent or to slow down

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revolutionary or evolutionary changes in the world's political or social structure."

"We cannot remake the world, cannot be the world's cop."

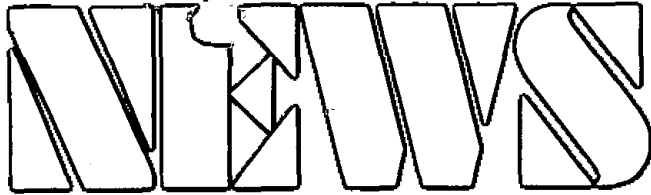
Reaffirmed was the position that a plebescite in Vietnam for self-determination under UN auspices could reduce world tension and more truly represent the people. Nuclear test bans must be continued, worldwide disarmament achieved, and all foreign troops withdrawn everywhere. The war on poverty at home is the first essential, and this will be enhanced by stepping up world trade with no political strings attached.

This foreign policy program, the officers stated, "is a trade union program in the best interest of our members and will bring the maximum benefits to all nations."

Commenting on civil rights the union stated its complete support to the growing movement for equality, including implementing wherever possible the resolution to "refuse to handle any goods or merchandise from Alabama coming across docks and warehouses until the rights of all people in Alabama are recognized and fully protected. In the fight for civil liberties, the union warned against a resurgent and growing ultra right-wing, whose aims include oppressive anti-labor laws and so-called "right-to-work" legislation.

The principal speaker at the convention tomorrow morning (Tuesday) will be United States Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska. He is expected to speak on the Vietnam situation.

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The International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union is independent and consists of workers employed in the industries of stevedoring, warehousing, processing, sugar and pineapple growing, milling, fishing, canning, and allied trades in the United States and Canada.

MORRIS WATSON, Director of Information
150 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 2, Calif.

PROSPECT 5-0533
PROSPECT 5-2220
MARKET 1-8197

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

VANCOUVER, British Columbia - April 6 -- United States Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska brought nearly 400 delegates and visitors to the 16th Biennial Convention of the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union to their feet in sustained ovation today as he denounced US actions in South Vietnam.

In effect the 78-year-old lawmaker made two speeches. He returned to the rostrum as an afterthought to read to the convention an advertisement in the New York Times signed by 2,500 ministers, priests and rabbis which was titled "In the name of God, stop it".

The Senator told the convention that the American people were in total disagreement with United States policy in Vietnam.

"The official version", he said, "is that we are in Vietnam to repel aggression. The facts are very different."

"Over a century ago", he continued, "Southeast Asia fell victim to colonialism. They fought the Chinese. They fought the French and the Japanese. France lost a hundred and seventy-five thousand men and vast expenditures of money.

"There was a Geneva convention in 1954, which created three new nations and a divided North and South Vietnam. In 1956 there was to be an election, but the United States moved in and advised against an election. We violated the spirit and the letter of the Geneva agreement. Then we had a civil war going.

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"We were likewise in violation of Article 33 of the United Nations charter, which requires that the parties to any international dispute exhaust every avenue of inquiry, negotiation or other peaceful means before resort to arms. We have never sought any of these means -- neither first nor last.

"If we had waged peace with the same vigor as we have waged war we wouldn't be in such a mess. We asked ourselves to come into Vietnam. To say that aggression has come from North Vietnam is to overlook the fact that we are the aggressors. And where are our allies?

"You cannot lick an ideology by military means. This is a civil war and we have taken the wrong side of it. This is a war we can't win. We can kill a lot of people. In the end, the matter will be settled by Asians. At best, it can end as Korea did -- in a stalemate. We can lay waste the land, but it will be settled on the ground.

"President Johnson is steadily escalating the war, though he says he seeks no widening of the war."

The Senator called the domino theory of the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles utter nonsense. This was the theory espoused by Dulles that one national allowed to go communist would result in all nations going communist.

"If the people of any one country want socialism", he said, "that is their business".

He quoted a one-time speaker of the House of Representatives named Reed, who said: "The best government is one established by the people for themselves."

Gruening said his mail is running 100 to 1 in favor of the position he has taken on the Vietnam conflict, "even including retired generals."

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"I think public opinion has got to express itself and continue to express itself until we take this to the conference table and stop the killing, which we should have done in the very beginning. "

Senator Gruening's second appearance before the convention brought the remark from ILWU President Harry Bridges: "The clergymen and the college kids are ahead of us. Where in the hell is labor?"

The convention acted on seven resolutions and adjourned after the morning session to permit committees to work.

The resolutions called for a study of increased per capita dues for organizing purposes, for renewed vigor in the union's fight against the bracero program, for vote redistribution on the basis of one man, one vote in state, provincial and federal elections, for new international water pollution laws between Canada and the United States, for U.S. and Canadian moves to control the deceptive food packaging racket, for a drive to block compulsory arbitration, and for international trade union solidarity.

The last resolution of the day brought several delegates to the microphone to emphasize its importance.

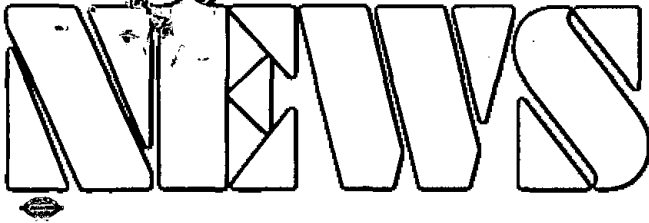
"We believe" said the resolution, "the ILWU is among the very few American union organizations that has won a solid foundation for friendship, mutual help and solidarity. While some of the ILWU programs have had shortcomings and weaknesses, this will not alter the fundamental purposes of this Convention to keep building on the foundation of international solidarity."

EDITORS PLEASE NOTE: Copies of resolutions enclosed.

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FROM THE INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S & WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION



The International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union consists of dock and terminal, and fish and allied workers of the Pacific Coast, Alaska and Hawaii, and warehouse and distribution workers and other related groups of the United States, territories, and Canada.

MORRIS WATSON, Director of Information
150 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 2, Calif.

PROSPECT 5-0533

PROSPECT 5-2220

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CARDING DATE 31-5-65FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

VANCOUVER, British Columbia, April 7 -- Alvin Hamilton, Member of Parliament from Saskatchewan, and one-time Minister of Agriculture in the cabinet of former Prime Minister Diefenbaker, won a round of applause from more than 350 delegates and visitors to the 16th Biennial Convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union when he said, "Our countries should trade with all other countries regardless of race, religion or politics."

Mr. Hamilton, a Progressive-Conservative in Canadian politics, was introduced to the convention by ILWU President Harry Bridges, as the man generally credited with starting the major Canadian wheat sales to Communist China. Hamilton has visited China several times, the most recent visit in March 1964.

Calling world trade not only a sound principle of economics, but "a force for peace," he noted that only a very few nations -- including the United States -- "still rely on the persuasion of trade embargoes on non-strategic goods."

In welcoming the ILWU's convention to Canada, the first time the union has ever held a convention outside the United States, Hamilton noted that his father was a locomotive engineer and all his folks have been union members.

"What union would have a better reason to understand the importance of world trade than the longshoremen?" he asked. The farmers of Canada

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understand it. We want allies in the labor movement who understand it."

Mr. Hamilton credited Canadian ILWU locals with helping him when he was trying to move wheat to China. "Your cooperation with management was unstinting," he added. "I think I have made a few friends in your union. I think we want the same things for our country."

"First we want peace to live and work. We want to raise the living standards of people all over the world. Not only is such a policy conducive to peace, but it takes some of the load off our conscience. One of the ways to do it is by trade. Most people are independent. They prefer earning their keep, rather than charity.

"Your union can help spread the message. I ask you now to consider joining the biggest battle yet, to help the newly-developing nations."

"Mr. Hamilton said the vast worldwide demand for consumer goods and higher living standards means that, "A new force for peace is loose on the world...regardless of whether a government is communist or free enterprise they must listen to the consumer. Political dogmas, imperialism, nationalism, all take second place to the consumer. I think we should take advantage of this new force for peace."

After his formal speech, Mr. Hamilton answered questions from the floor concerning his last trip to China, when he travelled some 5000 miles. He was greatly impressed by the huge program to build new dock and warehouse and rail facilities in the ports. The equipment is very modern. And, he noted, the longshoremen there make the highest wages.

The standard of living in China today, he said, is about equivalent to what he had when he was a farm worker in the Canadian prairies in the

He was enormously impressed, he reported, with the number of children going to school in China, and the fact that everyone in China must learn another language. English is usually chosen as a

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second language. Despite the high degree of indoctrination and rigid controls he found that the people are supporting their government because, "The first thing they have in mind is that -- thank God there is peace and law and order. The second fact is that they are now eating."

The afternoon session of the convention heard an address by Al Skinner, International President of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, which has locals in both the USA and Canada, including several in British Columbia. Skinner was introduced by ILWU Vice President J. R. Robertson.

Skinner took the opportunity to thank the ILWU for the many occasions when support was given in many large strikes, and when Mine-Mill was under the gun, attacked by government agencies and by more than 150 raids by the United Steelworkers Union.

Skinner reminded delegates that both organizations, ILWU and Mine-Mill, have constitutions that always guaranteed full equality, regardless of race, creed, origin or political beliefs, and from the outset encouraged the widest participation and control by the rank and file.

"Our two unions have always supported and defended the right of Canadians to develop their own resources against those who seek to make Canada a colony of American big business," he said.

"Despite corruption in some labor circles, I know 99 percent of workers in Canada and the USA want an effective, dynamic, unified labor movement...I think there are decent winds blowing among the

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American people and in the world."

Two visitors from Mexican unions brought greetings and presented a gift to the ILWU --- "a symbol of friendship between our trade union movements." They were Armando Huerta Capula of the Coalition of Maritime and Longshore Workers of the Republic of Mexico, and Juan Cayetano Melche, representing the Longshoremen's Union of the Port of Veracruz, Mexico.

End

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NEWS

The International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union consists of dock and terminal, and fish and allied workers of the Pacific Coast, Alaska and Hawaii, and warehouse and distribution workers and other related groups of the United States, territories, and Canada.

MORRIS WATSON, Director of Information
150 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 2, Calif.

PROSPECT 5-0533

PROSPECT 5-22208

CARDING DATE 3/3-65
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

VANCOUVER, British Columbia, April 8 -- In a unanimous standing vote, the 16th Biennial Convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, meeting here April 5-9, resolved to: "refuse to handle any goods or merchandise from Alabama coming across the docks or through warehouses until the rights of all the people in Alabama are recognized and fully protected."

In what was one of the most widely supported resolutions to be considered by the convention, ILWU President, Harry Bridges said that to the best of his knowledge no Alabama cargo was moving out of West Coast ports. Such cargo is often transhipped through these ports.

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"We think this boycott has had a tremendous impact all over the country," Bridges said.

The resolution says in part: "The State of Alabama has pursued a course of violent and brutal action against peaceably assembled citizens seeking realization of their right to vote."

In a major address, Harold Gibbons, vice president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, warned that the "labor movement in America is in great danger. There isn't an employer in the United

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States today who wouldn't like to see the labor movement abolished."

Gibbons told the more than 350 delegates and visitors from Alaska, the Pacific Coast, Hawaii and British Columbia that he was here representing Teamster President James Hoffa.

"He would rather have been here himself but we have a situation here where we can see an entire government mobilized to put one individual in jail."

In his greetings to the ILWU, Mr. Gibbons referred to the union as "one of the brightest stars on the labor scene today. You have written some of the brightest pages in the history of the American labor movement."

He also referred to the close association of the two unions, especially in the San Francisco area, where warehousemen in both organizations negotiate contracts jointly.

Gibbons central theme was the failure of the American labor movement today to live up to its responsibilities and potentialities.

"A casual look shows a pretty powerful movement; it is large in numbers; its finances aren't bad; it even has influence. But a closer look shows it isn't what it seems to be. It is shrinking instead of expanding. It is on the defensive. When it is under attack it runs for shelter.

"Today's labor movement", he added, "has in my opinion grown far too respectable for its purpose and function. It is amazing, as we know the history of the labor movement, to sit in the U.S. today

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and find a two-bit politician screaming for additional labor legislation to bind the labor movement and put it into further shackles."

Tracing the history of the labor movement, Gibbons pointed to the gains won at the cost of human lives, and noted that it was "a movement that brought to our side all men of goodwill.

"We were a movement serving our membership's needs. That isn't necessarily so today. It isn't enough to concern ourselves only with negotiations for the next contract."

Gibbons listed some of the main problems facing labor and the nation:

There are 20 million jobs in America with wages under \$60 per week: Millions upon millions of unorganized workers, for whom very little concern is expressed by most labor leaders. Millions upon millions are unemployed. The true percentage is closer to ten percent, he said, with minority groups. Negroes and Mexican-Americans, suffering almost 20 percent joblessness.

"And back of each of these statistics are millions of personal tragedies," he added.

He said automation is destroying 3 to 4 million jobs a year. He pointed to the cities with miles of slum areas, "and yet labor doesn't seem to worry about that for some reason."

He noted that "American labor has the greatest stake of all in the struggle of Negroes for equality, yet labor is conspicuous by its absence."

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"In the richest country in the world where we can mobilize billions of dollars for war we ought to be able to mobilize the same economic resources so that men have an opportunity for schools and decent food, clothing and housing.

Gibbons ended with a plea that the labor movement renounce its cynicism, and remember the original idealism that built labor.

"We have to go back to the kind of humanism that gave us birth."

The delegates rose to give Mr. Gibbons a standing ovation.

In major resolutions, the convention recognized that automation has great potential for the good of all, but expressed doubt that the "free enterprise system can be relied upon to the same extent as formerly to supply people with jobs and income." The convention endorsed a three-point program: shorter work week, no loss of income for those displaced by automation, and free, higher education. Continued support to the UN was pledged, with opposition to "all attempts to divide and weaken the UN or pull out of the UN."

In other resolutions the convention: Urged free trade with all nations; supported the University of California students in their fight for free speech; opposed the House un-American Activities Committee as anti-labor and anti-American and commended congressmen who voted against it; asked for extension of the nuclear test ban to underground testing, and advocated nuclear world disarmament; favored joint organizing efforts by the ILWU and the Teamsters' Union.

(Note to editors: Resolutions and Policy Statements enclosed.)

oteu29

End

**FROM THE INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S
& WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION**

The International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union is independent and consists of workers employed in the industries of stevedoring, warehousing, processing, sugar and pineapple growing, milling, fishing, canning, and allied trades in the United States and Canada.

MORRIS WATSON, Director of Information
150 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 2, Calif.

PROSPECT 5-0533

PROSPECT 5-2220

MARKET 1-8197

NEWS

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CARDING DATE 31-5-65FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

VANCOUVER, British Columbia, April 9 -- The Sixteenth Biennial Convention of the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union adjourned today after unanimously nominating without opposition the three principal officers, President Harry Bridges, Vice President J. R. Robertson and Secretary-Treasurer Louis Goldblatt.

The nominations will be placed on a referendum ballot for election by the rank and file along with the names of men nominated for the ILWU International Executive Board. These are:

Northern California - three to be elected: Charles Duarte, Local 6, San Francisco Bay Area; Frank Jaworski, Local 54, Stockton; Michael Johnson, Local 34, San Francisco Bay Area; and Carl Smith, Local 10, San Francisco Bay Area.

Southern California - two to be elected; L. L. "Chick" Loveridge, Eddie Mondor, both of Local 13, Wilmington; and Louis Sherman, Local 26, Los Angeles.

Columbia River - Oregon Area - one to be elected: Eugene Bailey, Local 12, North Bend; Charles Ross, Local 8, Portland.

Puget Sound and Alaska - two to be elected: William Forrester, Local 51, Port Gamble; George Ginnis, Local 23, Tacoma; George "Jack" Price, Local 19, Seattle.

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Hawaii - three to be elected - all Local 142: Wayne Higa, Joe Luna Lunasco, Haruo "Dyna" Nakamoto, Frank Mendoza.

Canada - one to be elected: Bev Dunphy and Roy Smith, both of Local 501, Vancouver.

The next convention city chosen is San Francisco.

Among actions taken by the convention in its closing period that evoked the greatest interest was a statement of policy on Vietnam that called on President Johnson and U. S. Congressmen "to stop the killing in Vietnam."

Noting that UN Secretary-General U Thant has called on the United States to "withdraw gracefully from Vietnam," the convention statement added, "We say let the Vietnamese people decide. They have suffered war and foreign intervention too long...Let them have the supervised free elections which they were promised by the Geneva Agreement of 1954 ...There would be no war today if the agreement had been lived up to. Our country violated it for years, calling our troops 'advisors!'"

We cannot follow the path of "negotiation through escalation" which is "but one step from escalation to a world holocaust."

The convention proposed a four-point program as the "alternative to mutual destruction." These are: "cease fire, withdraw all foreign troops, negotiate, settlement with peace."

A Resolution on the "Great Society" the union convention supported steps called for by President Johnson to build this society, including the war on poverty, improvements in social security, unemployment aid, and welfare, stepped up civil rights, medical care, education and other such programs.

The session called for repeal of Section 14 (b) of Taft-Hartley, which permits states to legislate their own so-called "right-to-work"

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laws.

"none of the 'Great Society' proposals go far enough," the convention said, "but for the most part they are in the right direction...and will not be adopted without a serious struggle with reactionary forces." The union noted the last ditch fight against even inadequate legislation by the American Medical Association.

"Workers are deeply worried by the evidence that the rich are getting richer, the poor poorer, and the economy will sooner or later run into serious economic difficulties. We see no indication that the architects of the Great Society are giving any thought to this danger," the statement noted.

In a statement of policy on James R. Hoffa, the convention called the unending Government vendetta against the president of the Teamsters Union as in reality an attack on a powerful union "which has offended the powers that be by taking an independent economic and political position. The attack is thus a threat to other unions, including the ILWU."

In other resolutions and statements the ILWU denounced the quota system in the Walter-McCarran immigration act as "repugnant to our American ideals;" called on the government to stop all federal funds destined for Alabama until the Negro people win complete free and equal rights to vote; condemned use of gas warfare in Vietnam; asked for amnesty be granted for all civil rights supporters who have been arrested in protest demonstrations; called for a system of taxation based on the ability to pay; supported a don't-buy campaign against non-union made Boss Gloves.

In a policy statement on civil rights, the convention called for equality on the job and in housing, in trade unions and in schools.

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"This is a practical problem as well as a moral obligation - and it does no good for anyone to cheer the inspired forward movement in the deep south while ignoring the festering inequality in our own backyard.

"We are in favor of full and complete equality without any ifs, ands or buts."

(Note to editors: Resolutions enclosed.)

oteu29

International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union
Sixteenth Biennial Convention
Vancouver, B.C.
April 5 - 9, 1965

ROSTER OF DELEGATES

- | | | | |
|-----|--|----|--|
| 1 | Raymond, Washington
Norman A. Mattson | 10 | San Francisco, California
Leon Barlow
Harry Bridges
Archie Brown
Odell Franklin
William Chester
Peter Dorskoff
Reino J. Erkkila
James S. Kearney
Charles W. Mayfield
Joe Mosley
Walter Nelson
Robert Rohatch
Henry Schmidt
Carl J. Smith
Julius Stern |
| 3 | Seattle, Washington
Joseph F. Jurich
John F. Tadich | 11 | San Jose, California
George Lucero |
| 4 | Vancouver, Washington
Leslie E. Rapp | 12 | North Bend, Oregon
Eugene R. Bailey
Donald W. Brown
Joseph J. Jakovac
Harold J. Laharty |
| 6 | San Francisco, California
Charles Duarte
Bruno Duca
Louis Goldblatt
Paul Heide
Evelyn Johnson
LeRoy King
Richard Lynden
Joseph Lynch
Claude MacDonald
Curtis McClain
Charles Murray
Jim Nelson
Felix Rivera
J. R. Robertson
Albert Simmons
George Valter | 13 | Wilmington, California
Harold Billiarde
Henry Flores
Curt Johnston
L. L. Loveridge
Louie Loveridge
Eddie Mondor
Sam Puccio
Jimmie Valbuena
William Ward
Pete Velasquez
Ben McDonald
William Lawrence
Tom Willacy |
| 7 | Bellingham, Washington
Guy F. Williams | 14 | Eureka, California
Dennis Hooper |
| 8 | Portland, Oregon
Robert T. Baker
Thomas B. Daugherty
Fred Huntsinger
Wesley T. Johnson
Ray J. Keenan
Francis J. Murnane
Glen J. Parks
Bob C. Rogers
Charles M. Ross
Fred A. Winter
Richard C. Wise | 16 | Juneau, Alaska
Joe Guy
(also representing)
84 Sitka
87 Wrangell |
| 8-A | Portland, Oregon
August Stoneburg | | |
| 9 | Seattle, Washington
Glen C. Bierhaus
Frank H. Crosby | | |

Roster of Delegates

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- | | | | |
|----|--|----|---|
| 17 | Broderick, California
Ben Davis
Richard Folk
Jean La Bonte
Frank Thompson | 31 | Bandon, Oregon
Clarence Simonson |
| 18 | Sacramento, California
Duane Peterson | 32 | Everett, Washington
Donald A. Gilchrest |
| 19 | Seattle, Washington
Frank Jenkins
Martin Jugum
George Oldham
Oliver S. Olson
George (Jack) Price
Einar Waalen | 34 | San Francisco, California
James R. Herman
Michael Johnson
Floyd Pillsbury
Gerard J. Preston |
| 21 | Longview, Washington
Calin Miller
Dwain H. Olsen
Francis St. Onge
Donald Van Brunt | 37 | Seattle, Washington
Sammy Cabansag
Ewell Johnson
Rudy Rodriguez |
| 23 | Tacoma, Washington
George Ginnis
Rudy Harden
Marshall Iseberg
Ernest Shipman | 40 | Portland, Oregon
Larry M. Clark
H. W. Hanks
Max E. Houser
Jesse Stranahan |
| 24 | Aberdeen, Washington
Warren O'Conner | 41 | Juneau, Alaska
T. R. Lewis
(also representing)
61 Ketchikan
83 Pelican
85 Petersburg |
| 25 | Anacortes, Washington
James Haddon
Willis Kaupp (Alt.) | 43 | Longview, Washington
Roscoe Davis |
| 26 | Los Angeles, California
Kenneth Gatewood
Joe Ibarra
George Lee
Sid London
Chet Meske
Paul Perlin
Louis Sherman
Henry Tyson | 46 | Port Hueneme, California
M. Tony Garcia |
| 27 | Port Angeles, Washington
Robert G. Caso | 47 | Olympia, Washington
Carl Baier |
| 29 | San Diego, California
Brian French | 49 | Crescent City, California
William Ohlheiser |
| 30 | Boron, California
Ralph M. Abel
Boyce Couch | 50 | Astoria, Oregon
James Riggs |
| | | 51 | Port Gamble, Washington
William Forrester |
| | | 52 | Seattle, Washington
Edward Covert
Edward Palmer |
| | | 53 | Newport, Oregon
Paul F. Keady |

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Roster of Delegates

- 54 Stockton, California
Philip Badalamenti
Tony Cecchetti
Frank Jaworski, Sr.
Richard Rendell
- 57 Fresno, California
Ernest Clark
- 60 Seward, Alaska
Bernard Hulm
(also representing)
66 Cordova
Ralph Rider, Jr.
- 62 Ketchikan, Alaska
Geo. Anderson
Eddie Beasley
- 63 Wilmington, California
Jim Bowen
Albert Perisho
- 75 San Francisco, California
Denver Davis
- 91 San Francisco, California
Dominic Testa
- 92 Portland, Oregon
Virgil Baker
- 94 Wilmington, California
Ernie Bowen
- 98 Seattle, Washington
Harold Bjornson
- 209 Cleveland, Ohio
Alex Sipes
- 501 Vancouver, B.C.
Harry Austin
Arthur Barker
Jim Boles
Les Copan
John Cordocedo
Bev Dunphy
Russel Fleming
Vernon Goodfellow
William Kemp
Donald Lanoville
Jack Marsh
Roy Smith
- 502 New Westminster, B.C.
Robert Crane
Frederik Gibson
Andrew Kotowich
Charles Lynch
- 503 Port Alberni, B.C.
Langford Mackiev
Melvin Trelvik
- 504 Victoria, B.C.
J. McKay
J. Morgan
Raymond Seymour
- 505 Prince Rupert, B.C.
Ralph Olson
- 506 Vancouver, B.C.
Jeff Pearson
- 507 Vancouver, B.C.
Nathan Summerfield
John Urquhart
- 508 Chemainus, B.C.
William Foulds
David Mason
- 509 Vancouver, B.C.
Earnest Gibson
John Johnstone
Francis Kennedy
James O'Donnell
- 510 Vancouver, B.C.
Don Dufault
Vince Shannon
- 511 New Westminster, B.C.
Stanley Swenson
- 512 Vancouver, B.C.
Richard Hardy
Louis Kaufman
S. Michael Martin
George Porteous
- 514 Vancouver, B.C.
Moris Heureux
- 515 Port Simpson, B.C.
Donald A. Sankey

Roster of Delegates

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516 North Burnaby, B.C.
Ray W. Oates

517 Vancouver, B.C.
Robert Goldie
Gordon Hafft

142 Honolulu, Hawaii
Yukio Abe
Willie Abear
Bernie Acadimia
Theodore Agduyeng
Richard Aguinaldo
Takumi Akama
Lloyd Akiona
Domingo Alboro
Bartolome Alcaraz
Albert Alina
Herman Amaral
George Ana
Benny Apostadiro
Kuniyoshi Arakaki
John Arisumi
Joe Asuncion
William Atiz
Alec Botelho
Harry Boteilho
Ronald Caravalho
Alfredo Castillo
Jose Corpuz
Mariano Crisostomo
Carl Damaso
Margaret Damaso
Joe Deatras
Pedro Dela Cruz
Sylvester Domingo
Lorenzo Fabo
Joseph Franco
Shigeru Fujimoto
Asaichi Fujioka
Jose Gonzales
Peter Gushi
Dan Haleamau
Jack W. Hall
Wayne Higa
William Hilo
Masahide Hokama
Richard Horie
Goro Hokama
Shiro Hokama
Harold Ichimura
Nicolas Ignacio
Masao Inoshita

142 Honolulu, Hawaii (contd.)

Isamu Isobe
Samson Iwatani
Masashi Kageyama
Lawrence Kapuniai
Harold Kawakami
Joe Kawamura
Stanley Keau
Lawrence Kelly, Jr.
Robert Kunimura
Alfred Lacro
Joe Lau
Juanito Lavarias
Joseph Lunasco
Yoshitaka Maeda
George Martin
Megumi Matsui
Frank Mendoza, Jr.
Atanacio Migia
Newton Miyagi
Einobu Miyashiro
Dan Mori
K. Morimoto
Earl Munetake
Larry Murakami
Masami Murakami
Richard Nagamine
Haruo Nakamoto
Shigeyuki Nakatani
Julian Napuunoa
Miyuki Narimatsu
Lelan Nishek
Raymond Octavio
Marcel Ohta
Tadao Okada
Akira Okayama
Tadayuki Okino
Abraham Palacay
William Pang
Leandro Paranada
Fred Paulino
Frank Perreira
Stanley Perry
Ignacio Quirit
Bernabe Quitevis
Alejandro Rabago
Saturnino Racelo
Prudencio Renti Cruz
Robert Riola
Constantine Samson
John Sanchez
Manuel Sanchez
Mateo Sebala

Roster of Delegates

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142 Honolulu, Hawaii

James Shigemasa
Kumeo Shimomura
Raymond Suganuma
Lawrence Tachikawa
Shigeto Taguchi
Elizabeth Takao
Misao Tamura
Takayuki Tanaka
Fred Taniguchi
Frank Tejada
John Teves
Saba Torres
Kazuto Toyama
Nagayuki Tsuzuki
John Uyetake
Leon Valdez
Johnny Villanueva
Wallace Wakaki
Eddie Wong
Tadashi Yamashita
Matsuo Yanaga
Tadayoshi Yasutake

San Francisco Bay Area
Pensioners Club
Frank Hendricks

Canadian Pensioners Club
Jock Patterson
Tommy Hope

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

Columbia River Pensioners
Memorial Association
Mike Sickinger
Charles Cuculich

Local 23, Tacoma Pensioners Club
Ray Feley
James Claxton

Federated Auxiliaries
Idalynd Rutter
Nadyne Quartero
Valerie Taylor
Norma Wyatt
Gertrude Eichhorsh
Katherine Pilfold
Ruth Sanregret
Peggy Hooper

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Intl National Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union
Sixteenth Biennial Convention
Vancouver, B. C.
April 5 - 9, 1965

SUMMARIZED MINUTES

The Sixteenth Biennial Convention was called to order by Arthur (Bud) Barker, President of the Canadian Area, ILWU, at 10:10 a.m.

Mr. Roth Laidley sang the Canadian National Anthem and then the United States National Anthem.

Reverend Philip A. Hewett of the Unitarian Church of Vancouver delivered the invocation.

Temporary Chairman Barker welcomed the delegates to British Columbia. We in Canada hope to learn a lot at this convention and we hope you from the states can learn from us here. We are proud of our country and we are bursting with pride that you are here with us. This is the first International convention held outside the continental United States. He introduced Alderman Aeneas Bell-Irving who represented the Mayor of Vancouver.

Alderman Bell-Irving welcomed the delegates on behalf of the mayor, to the finest city in the world. It is a tremendous thing that your convention should, for the first time, come to Canada and to the outstanding Port of Canada. The words from our National Anthem, "We stand on guard" is also the basis of your union and all the other unions that make up the complex of labor today. It is your duty to stand on guard and we are glad you are here in Vancouver to discuss all the matters before you.

Temporary Chairman Barker then introduced the Honorable T. C. (Tommy) Douglas, Member of the House of Commons, Canadian Parliament.

Mr. Douglas greeted the delegates. It is an honor for me, on behalf of the New Democratic Party of Canada to welcome the delegates to this Convention. There is 4,000 miles of unguarded border between the U.S. and Canada - we know the U.S. would never invade Canada once they looked at our roads, and Canada would never think of invading the U.S. once they saw the U.S. national debt. All my life I have been closely associated with organized labor. At the age of 14 I served my apprenticeship as a printer and was then and still am a member of the International Typographical Union. I want to talk to you about what I think, next to the problem of nuclear war, is the greatest issue facing those of us living in the Western World. We have now entered the great era that history will know as the scientific revolution. It is merely an extension of the industrial revolution which started 150 years ago with a young boy's question about steam in a tea kettle.

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We launched the industrial revolution which has brought man further along in a century and a half than he had come in thousands of years. But, it also brought with it, dislocation, unemployment and misery. Now we have started the scientific revolution. The electronic computer has given us automation and cybernation. The industrial revolution replaced man's muscle with a machine. The electronic revolution replaces man with a machine. It is possible, and it is being done, to build factories that can be completely controlled and operated by electronic computers. Automation, however, is not a tragedy, it can be a blessing. The scientific revolution could, if properly directed, do three things for us: give us a standard of living that no one ever dreamed of, rid the world once and for all of poverty, ignorance, disease, scarcity and give man the abundant life. It could improve the quality of life which is just as important as the standard of living. Man must live for his mind and spirit too. And thirdly, it will enable us to play our part in raising the standard of living in the under-developed areas of the world. We will never have peace in the world as long as three-fifths of the world goes to bed hungry every night. We more fortunate must be prepared to dedicate part of our great production to fight a war against poverty hunger and disease. The scientific revolution will make it increasingly possible to produce goods and services without people.

If we are able to produce goods and services with less and less people, how do people get the money to buy those goods and services. The day will come when we will have to give to every citizen a guaranteed minimum income so they can buy the products. However, we are not at that point yet, there is still a tremendous amount of work to be done. The 8 economists who authored the Triple Revolution submitted to President Johnson, pointed out that unless we grapple with this problem we are going to have increasing poverty and unemployment. Automation is wiping out two-million jobs per year at the present rate and with the greater influx of young people into the labor market, plus the people displaced by electronic equipment, we are inevitably destined to greater unemployment. And as there are an increasing number of people who are unable to buy the products of industry, goods will pile up, surpluses will accumulate and our economy will face tremendous dislocations. These men who authored the brochure called the Triple Revolution said there is only one answer - wage war on poverty and have full employment and economic growth. And President Johnson in his address to Congress reiterated this. A nation that cannot care for the many who are poor will soon not be able to care for the few that are rich. Why? About 20% of our people in the two countries live in a state of poverty - on less than \$2000 a year per family. Another 20% live in a state of deprivation with income of less than \$3000 a year per family. That is 40% of the population. These are people who are unable to buy. On this continent the top 10% get 27 times as much income as the bottom 10%. We have produced a lot of affluence, but it has not been distributed equitably.

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If we are going to have economic growth, then the bottom 40% of the population of the countries we represent must get purchasing power in order to buy. If they can't buy, our economy can't grow and if it doesn't grow, there will not be jobs. How do you put purchasing power into the hands of the bottom 40%? Well, most of you know the ways, put the unemployed to work building low cost housing, clearing slums, providing decent facilities for education, library, driving, recreation, reforestation, water conservation projects, etc. There is no excuse for one idle able bodied person with all the things we need. Right now we spend more money on cars than we do on the roads they run on. We spend more money on soap and deodorants than we do on education. We have better facilities to look after our cars than we do for our sick. What we have to do now is start to give. We have to start to divert part of the national income to provide social capital - to produce all the things the people need. And by doing so, we put unemployed people to work and at decent wages. That will give them purchasing power and give our whole economy a shot in the arm. We need to raise minimum wages and income. As productivity increases, wages must increase, so that the people who produce the goods have the money to buy. You are not going to get prosperity out of low wages - it simply means that people can't buy. Another way to put money into the bottom 40% is to raise social security benefits for the old age pensioners, the widows, the orphans. We are told they can't afford it - well we are spending 15,500 million dollars a year on defense. Since the end of the war - we have spent 22½ billions on defense but when everyone talk about the welfare of human beings, they say we can't afford it. I say we can't afford not to do it.

One of the ways we can bolster the economy is a medical program. We need this in Canada and you need it in the U.S. Not medical care for the indigent or the few. I protest against a system that divides and says that you have to prove you are indigent before you can get health care that you are entitled to by being a citizen of a free country. We have come to the place in our society where health care ought to be available to any person in the country, and borne by society as a whole and based on the ability to pay. The trade union movement ought to be in the forefront of this battle. We have to fight for the day when every citizen will be entitled to whatever health services they need. The money that ordinarily is used to pay doctor bills would be used for buying consumer goods.

Not only must we reorganize our whole economic system, but the trade union movement has to reorganize itself. If trade unions are going to survive in this electronic era they are going to have to bring their methods up to date. We must broaden our whole concept of organizing. The old time craft unions are doomed, in my opinion. We have to start reaching out for the white collar workers as well as the blue collar workers. They've done it in Sweden - 96% of all workers are organized

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Summarized Minutes - 4/5/65 a.m.

there. The trade union movement must realize that collective bargaining agreements by themselves will not solve the problems of the scientific revolution. You can fight at the bargaining table or on the picket line and get 5% increase in wages and the increased cost of living takes it all away 6 months later. The trade union movement must broaden its horizons and move into the forefront of the battle for social justice and be concerned about every conceivable aspect of the battle for a fair deal. In other words, I am saying that the trade union movement has to become militant in the field of social and economic reforms. It isn't good enough to win the battles on the picket lines and then scab at the ballot box on election day. I am saying that you and I will only have justified our existence in the trade union movement when we go out and make common cause with our brothers in the labor movement throughout the world.

Clear the way then,

Clear the way.

Blind creeds and kings have had their day.

Move the dead branches from out the path.

Our hope is in the aftermath,

Our hope is in heroic men,

Star led to build the world again.

To this event all ages ran

Make way for brotherhood,

Make way for man.

(quoted from Edwin Markham)

Temporary Chairman Barker then introduced Mr. E. P. O'Neal, Secretary of the British Columbia Federation of Labour.

Mr. O'Neal welcomed the delegates to British Columbia. Labor faces tremendous challenges today. The accelerating pace of automation, mechanization and technological change raises questions that have very disturbing implications for trade unions. Our prime consideration must be meeting this challenge and coming to terms that will provide some degree of security and dignity for our members.

Unions are not structured to meet the current needs and conditions presented by the challenges.

Perhaps we've existed on the glory brought to the labor movement by the struggles of our pioneers. Today our problems are more demanding of an imaginative solution. Our purpose remains the same - to secure just rewards for the worker for his labor. But the problems are different. We must recognize the necessity to re-examine the methods traditionally used to achieve our goals or unions will become fraternal organizations with little influence or power. Yet the challenge of our society demands that we achieve greater power than we possess today. The stakes of the game are the same as they always

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were but the joker is wild. In examining the structure of trade unions, keep in mind that whatever power trade unions can develop as a result of mergers, must be used to promote the economic and social welfare of our members and the community as a whole.

Our influence must be used politically to secure to socially desirable legislation. Right to work laws and provisions of Taft Hartley have their counter-part here in Canada. And for this reason I believe we should seek closer and more unified approach in encouraging mergers of unions.

Unions also must also concern themselves with human rights and the struggle for civil rights for all. Our concern for democracy in Asia is inconsistent with our tolerance of mobocracy in Alabama. Trade unions must strive to build a society where decency and human dignity replace poverty and hate - a society where peace can live with justice and man with his fellow man.

Barker: On behalf of the ILWU, I would like the guest speakers to feel that they are fraternal members of the ILWU and I would like to present this badge to Brother O'Neal. At this time I would like to turn the chair over to International President Harry Bridges. (Standing ovation.)

President Bridges: Brother Barker, the Honorable Aeneas Bell-Irving, the Secretary of the British Columbia Federation of Labour, Delegates, and guests: We appreciate being in your country and more especially in the Province of British Columbia. We hope that our meeting in the Dominion of Canada will lead to other unions, whose main base is in the United States, meeting in Canada. To my knowledge, our union is the only one for years past to hold a union convention in Canada. Listening to the remarks of Mr. T. C. Douglas, alone, is worth the price of admission. We are not accustomed to hearing our politicians speak along this line. It has been the position of our union that we must go beyond the day to day issues and deal with the social phases of our society. Mr. Douglas we agree with your remarks regarding the need for a comprehensive medical plan, and every delegate is better informed now on this question. They will go back and speak and fight for a comprehensive medical program, which is the right of our citizens. It is wholesome to be here where something like medical care is already a matter of practice, such as in Saskatchewan and British Columbia. A sales tax for medical care is a practical thing; and I am speaking of medical care for everyone, not just for those who are 65 and over.

We get bogged down in the year to year and day to day work negotiating new agreements and sometimes tend to forget the importance of a trade union concerning itself with the broadest aspects of life and some of the ills of our society. It is constructive for us to come to a neighboring country and get this point of view. Not too many years

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ago we dared not have a convention here...I might not have been able to return to the USA (laughter).

Our union here is affiliated with the AFL-CIO and is treated like any other affiliate of that organization. The AFL-CIO here is concerned with some matters that the AFL-CIO leadership in the USA continues to ignore. But we are happy to report that in the past few weeks the AFL-CIO in our country paid some attention to the tragic events in the South.

Although this is a good opportunity to be critical of some policies of our government, we commend some of its good actions. It was inspiring and encouraging to hear President Johnson's declaration and his determination to wage unrelenting war on poverty. The President will get all possible assistance from us in his attack on prejudice, and all its various vicious aspects such as the beatings of people who march, demonstrate, and seek to get the right to vote. We know that although the Republican Party was defeated in the last election, the Goldwaters and others are still around and we intend to deal with them rather than retreat. The same degree of prejudice does not exist here in Canada, although there are some minorities that get pushed around a bit. When it gets down to brass tacks it is a question of dividing workers on the basis of color so that all workers can be exploited.

In the realm of world affairs and what is happening in Southeast Asia, Canada's position differs from ours and that is all to the good. While commending our President for the good things that he does, we reserve the right to be critical of the bad.

More and more people want to know why we are in Vietnam. President Johnson does not know of the tremendous amount of understanding he has among the American people. If tomorrow he announced that we were getting out of Vietnam, he would be cheered throughout the country. Even, if like Franklin Roosevelt, he said, "A plague on both your houses," he would be hailed as a hero. Canada's action might help President Johnson make up his mind and perhaps this convention will do likewise.

We are a strong, fighting outfit, but we have been lying on our oars the last few years -- things have been coming easy. The officers do not feel that we are out of the woods; we have plenty of work ahead of us. One of the main reasons we are here is to change the situation where the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

Our people up here do not believe in working Sundays and in the last couple of years it has been my job to try to persuade the longshore part of the union up here to work Sundays. It's a changing world, but they won't work Sundays. We have been able to change things so that now they work nights. We are the only union which was able to get the

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same wages for workers in Canada as their brothers receive in the USA. Workers all over the world must get together and fight for common interests. It is our policy to send overseas delegations for people-to-people contact. At the conclusion of this convention we will send a delegation to Egypt.

Canada is "crazy" enough to recognize that China exists and has diplomatic contact with her and conducts trade. Unlike the USA, people from Canada can visit China and the country is not coming apart at the seams because of this. Talk to the farmers up here and find out what they think about sending surplus grain to China. Why can't a couple of American workers visit China without going to jail when they return?

We will all benefit by having our convention held in Canada. We are a forthright, hardhitting organization, but we have been disturbed in the last few months because the old drive is not there. We don't get good attendance at meetings or the old interest in union affairs. Living in the past is useless, but we hope to point up some goals. We have not found a nice way to ask for a wage increase. We want to get back in fighting trim and fighting shape. We have to decide on policy for the next couple of years.

I certainly join with the Canadian delegates and local speakers in welcoming all our delegates to Canada. While you are having a good time, remember we are here to work for the people in our ranks. I declare the convention in order and ask the secretary-treasurer to read the Convention Call.

Secretary-Treasurer Goldblatt stated that the call had been mailed to all locals and moved that it be approved and entered into the official record. Seconded and so ordered.

President Bridges: The Pre-Convention Committee started its meetings Friday morning and I shall now call upon the temporary chairmen of convention committees for a report.

Pre-Convention Credentials Committee Report by Chairman Sherman: 16 Canadian locals, 43 delegates; 10 Alaska locals, 6 delegates; 11 Northern California locals, 49 delegates; 7 Southern California locals, 28 delegates; 12 Oregon-Columbia River locals, 31 delegates; 15 Washington-Puget Sound locals, 29 delegates; 1 mid-West local, 1 delegate; all divisions Hawaii, 121 delegates. A total of 73 locals with 308 delegates. There are 7 fraternal delegates as of this moment. Motion to seat delegates, seconded, and so ordered.

Pre-Convention Rules Committee Report by Chairman Ross: Rules read and motion to adopt seconded and carried unanimously.

Summarized Minutes -- 4/5/65 a.m.

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Appointment of Convention Sergeants-at-Arms: Charles Murray (6), M. Tony Garcia (46), Ernest Clark (57), Ralph Olson (505), John Urquhart (507), Vince Shannon (510), Lawrence Kelly and Benny Apostadiro (142). All accepted and so ordered.

Appointment of Convention Committees: Rules, Credentials, Publicity and Education; Officers' Report, Constitution, Resolutions. (Attached, as revised to show transfers.)

Secretary-Treasurer Goldblatt submitted the Officers' Report, pointing out that it was contained in one volume, rather than two as was formerly done. He read the Introduction and Perspectives.

Committee chairmen announced location of meeting rooms. All committees scheduled to meet at 2:30 p.m.

President Bridges announced that Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska and A. Skinner of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers were scheduled to speak at forthcoming sessions.

Recessed at 1:10 p.m. to reconvene Tuesday, April 6 at 9:30 a.m.

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CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

6 San Francisco, California
Jim Nelson

8 Portland, Oregon
Glen J. Parks

10 San Francisco, California
Charles W. Mayfield

19 Seattle, Washington
Oliver S. Olson

26 Los Angeles, California
Louis Sherman

75 San Francisco, California
Denver Davis

501 Vancouver, B.C.
Arthur Barker
Jim Boles

504 Victoria, B.C.
J. McKay

142 Honolulu, Hawaii
Newton Miyagi

RULES COMMITTEE

6 San Francisco, California
LeRoy King

8 Portland, Oregon
Charles M. Ross

10 San Francisco, California
Walter Nelson

13 Wilmington, California
Jimmie Valbuena

19 Seattle, Washington
Einar Waalen

26 Los Angeles, California
Kenneth Gatewood

37 Seattle, Washington
Sammy Cabansag

54 Stockton, California
Tony Cecchetti

Rules Committee, contd.

98 Seattle, Washington
Harold Bjornson

501 Vancouver, B.C.
Bev Dunphy

502 New Westminster, B.C.
Andrew Kotowich

504 Victoria, B.C.
J. Morgan

509 Vancouver, B.C.
John Johnstone

142 Honolulu, Hawaii
Joe Lunasco

CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE

3 Seattle, Washington
John F. Tadich

6 San Francisco, California
Evelyn Johnson
LeRoy King
Claude MacDonald
Albert Simmons
George Valter

8 Portland, Oregon
Robert T. Baker
Ray J. Keenan

10 San Francisco, California
William Chester
Peter Dorskoff
Reino Erkkila
James Kearney
Robert Rohatch
Carl Smith

12 North Bend, Oregon
Joseph J. Jakovac

13 Wilmington, California
Louie Loveridge
William Lawrence

17 Broderick, California
Frank Thompson

-10-

Constitution Committee, contd.

- 21 Longview, Washington
Calvin Miller
Donald Van Brunt
- 23 Tacoma, Washington
Marshall Iseberg
- 26 Los Angeles, California
George Lee
- 32 Everett, Washington
Donald A. Gilchrest
- 34 San Francisco, California
Gerard J. Preston
- 37 Seattle, Washington
Rudy Rodriguez
- 40 Portland, Oregon
Max E. Houser
- 41 Juneau, Alaska
T. R. Lewis
- 49 Crescent City, California
William Ohlheiser
- 51 Port Gamble, Washington
William Forrester
- 52 Seattle, Washington
Edward Palmer
- 54 Stockton, California
Frank Jaworski, Sr.
- 60 Seward, Alaska
Bernard Hulm
- 62 Ketchikan, Alaska
George Anderson
- 94 Wilmington, California
Ernie Bowen
- 501 Vancouver, B.C.
Russel Fleming
William Kemp
Donald Lanoville
Jack Marsh
- 502 New Westminster, B.C.
Charles Lynch

Constitution Committee, contd.

- 509 Vancouver, B.C.
Earnest Gibson
& Frank Kennedy ✓
- 515 Port Simpson, B.C.
D. Sankey
- 517 Vancouver, B.C.
Gordon Hafft
- 142 Honolulu, Hawaii
Herman Amaral
Lloyd Akiona
Yukio Abe
Willie Abear
Takumi Akama
John Arisumi
Kuniyoshi Arakaki
Eartolcme Alcaraz
Alec Botelho
Jose Corpuz
Joe Deatras
Margaret Damaso
Sylvester Domingo
Asaichi Fujioka
Lorenzo Fabo
Peter Gushi
Goro Hokama
Samson Iwatani
Joe Kawamura
Juanito Lavarias
Joe Lau
Einobu Miyashiro
Newton Miyagi
Frank Mendoza, Jr.
Atanacio Migia
Shigeyuki Nakatani
Miyuki Narimatsu
Richard Nagamine
Julian Napuunoa
Akira Okayama
Raymond Octavio
William Pang
Fred Paulino
Robert Riola
Kumeo Shimomura
James Shigemasa
Shigeto Taguchi
Nagayuki Tsuzuki
Misao Tamura
Lawrence Tachikawa
Fred Taniguchi
Eddie Wong
Tadashi Yamashita

PUBLICITY AND EDUCATION COMMITTEE

6 San Francisco, California
Evelyn Johnson

8 Portland, Oregon
Ray Keenan
Francis J. Murnane
Richard C. Wise
Fred A. Winter

10 San Francisco, California
Archie Brown
Julius Stern

12 North Bend, Oregon
Eugene R. Bailey

13 Wilmington, California
L. L. Loveridge

17 Broderick, California
Jean LaBonte

19 Seattle, Washington
George Oldham

21 Longview, Washington
Francis St. Onge

23 Tacoma, Washington
Ernest Shipman

26 Los Angeles, California
Sid London
Chet Meske

30 Boron, California
Boyce Couch

31 Bandon, Oregon
Clarence Simonson

34 San Francisco, California
Floyd Pillsbury

40 Portland, Oregon
Jesse Stranahan

63 Wilmington, California
Albert Perisho

Publicity and Education, cont .

501 Vancouver, B.C.
Vernon Goodfellow

507 Vancouver, B.C.
Nathan Summerfield

510 Vancouver, B.C.
Don Dufault

512 Vancouver, B.C.
Louis Kaufman

516 North Burnaby, B.C.
Ray W. Oates

142 Honolulu, Hawaii
William Atiz
Bernie Acadimia
Albert Alina
Ronald Carvalho
Shigeru Fujimoto
William Hilo
Nicolas Ignacio
Harold Kawakami
Alfred Lacro
Masami Murakami
Earl Munetake
Haruo Nakamoto
Tadayuki Okino
Stanley Perry
Bernabe Quitevis
Saturnino Racelo
Mateo Sebala
Kazuto Toyama
Nobu Tamura
John Uyetake

OFFICERS' REPORT COMMITTEE

3 Seattle, Washington
Joseph F. Jurich

6 San Francisco, California
Paul Heide
Curtis McClain
Felix Rivera

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Officers' Report Committee, contd.

8	Portland, Oregon	37	Seattle, Washington
	Fred Huntsinger		Ewell Johnson
	Bob C. Rogers		
		40	Portland, Oregon
8-A	Portland, Oregon		H. W. Hanks
	August Stoneburg		
		43	Longview, Washington
10	San Francisco, California		Roscoe Davis
	Leon Barlow		
	Odell Franklin	47	Olympia, Washington
	Joe Mosley		Carl Baier
12	North Bend, Oregon	52	Seattle, Washington
	Donald W. Brown		Edward Covert
13	Wilmington, California	54	Stockton, California
	Eddie Mondor		Philip Badalamenti
	Sam Puccio		
	Tom Willacy	62	Ketchikan, Alaska
			Eddie Beasley
16	Juneau, Alaska		
	Joe Guy	91	San Francisco, California
			Dominic Testa
17	Broderick, California	—	
	Richard Folk	501	Vancouver, B.C.
			Les Copan
19	Seattle, Washington		John Cordocedo
	George (Jack) Price		Roy Smith
21	Longview, Washington	502	New Westminster, B.C.
	Donald Van Brunt		Frederik Gibson
23	Tacoma, Washington	503	Port Alberni, B.C.
	Rudy Harden		Melvin Trelvik
25	Anacortes, Washington	506	Vancouver, B.C.
	James Haddon		Jeff Pearson
26	Los Angeles, California	508	Chemainus, B.C.
	Joe Ibarra		David Masont
	Henry Tyson		
		511	New Westminster, B.C.
29	San Diego, California		Stanley Swenson
	Brian French		
		512	Vancouver, B.C.
34	San Francisco, California		S. Michael Martin
	James R. Herman		

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Officers' Report Committee, contd.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

514 Vancouver, B.C.
Moris Heureux

517 Vancouver, B.C.
Robert Goldie

142 Honolulu, Hawaii
Domingo Alboro
Benny Apostadiro
Theodore Agduyeng
Harry Boteilho
Alfredo Castillo
Carl Damaso
Pedro dela Cruz
Joseph Franco
Shiro Hokama
Richard Horie
Jack W. Hall
Wayne Higa
Don Haleamau
Masao Inoshita
Harold Ichimura
Robert Kunimura
Masashi Kageyama
Lawrence Kapuniai
George Martin
Megumi Matsui
Yoshitaka Maeda
Larry Murakami
Lelan Nishek
Tadao Okada
Leandro Paranada
Frank Perreira
Ignacio Quirit
Prudencio Renti Cruz
Constantine Samson
Manuel Sanchez
Takayuki Tanaka
Frank Tejada
Elizabeth Takao
Saba Torres
Johnny Villanueva
Wallace Wakaki
Matsuo Yanaga
Tadayoshi Yasutake

1 Raymond, Washington
Norman A. Mattson

4 Vancouver, Washington
Leslie E. Rapp

6 San Francisco, California
Charles Duarte
Bruno Duca
Richard Lynden
Joseph Lynch

7 Bellingham, Washington
Guy F. Williams

8 Portland, Oregon
Thomas B. Daugherty
Wesley T. Johnson

9 Seattle, Washington
Glen C. Bierhaus
Frank Crosby

10 San Francisco, California
Archie Brown
Henry Schmidt

11 San Jose, California
George Lucero

12 North Bend, Oregon
Harold J. Laharty

13 Wilmington, California
Harold Billiarde
Henry Flores
Curt Johnston
L. L. Loveridge
Louie Loveridge
Ben McDonald
Jimmie Valbuena
Pete Velasquez

14 Eureka, California
Dennis Hooper

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Resolutions Committee, contd.

- | | | | |
|----|--|-----|---|
| 16 | Juneau, Alaska
Joe Guy | 60 | Seward, Alaska
Ralph Rider, Jr. |
| 17 | Broderick, California
Ben Davis | 62 | Seward, Alaska
Geo. Anderson |
| 18 | Sacramento, California
Duane Peterson | 63 | Wilmington, California
Jim Bowen |
| 19 | Seattle, Washington
Frank Jenkins
Martin Jugum | 92 | Portland, Oregon
Virgil Baker |
| 21 | Longview, Washington
Dwain H. Olsen
Francis St. Onge | 209 | Cleveland, Ohio
Alex Sipes |
| 23 | Tacoma, Washington
George Ginnis | 501 | Vancouver, B.C.
Harry Austin |
| 24 | Aberdeen, Washington
Warren O'Connor | 502 | New Westminster, B.C.
Robert Crane |
| 26 | Los Angeles, California
Paul Perlin | 503 | Port Alberni, B.C.
E Langford Mackie ✓ |
| 27 | Port Angeles, Washington
Robert G. Caso | 504 | Victoria, B.C.
Raymond Seymour |
| 30 | Boron, California
Ralph M. Abel | 508 | Chemainus, B.C.
E William Foulds ✓ |
| 34 | San Francisco, California
Michael Johnson | 509 | Vancouver, B.C.
James O'Donnell |
| 40 | Portland, Oregon
Larry M. Clark | 512 | Vancouver, B.C.
Richard Hardy
George Porteous |
| 50 | Astoria, Oregon
James Riggs | 142 | Honolulu, Hawaii
Richard Aguinaldo
Joe Asuncion
George Ana
M. Crisostomo
Jose Gonzales
Masahide Hokama
Isamu Isobe
Lawrence Kelley, Jr.
Stanley Keau
Kazuo Morimoto
Dan Mori |
| 52 | Seattle, Washington
Edward Covert | | |
| 53 | Newport, Oregon
Paul F. Keady | | |
| 54 | Stockton, California
Richard Rendell | | |

Resolutions Committee, contd.

Marcel Ohta
Abraham Palacay
Alejandro Rabago
Raymond Suganuma
John Sanchez
Henry Torres
Leon Valdez

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International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union
Sixteenth Biennial Convention
Vancouver, B.C.
April 6 - Morning Session

SUMMARIZED MINUTES

The convention was called to order at 9:35 a.m. by President Bridges. Chairman Francis Murnane of the Publicity and Education Committee introduced a recommendation from the Committee to make available to the delegates and ILWU membership the convention address by the Hon. T.C. Douglas of British Columbia. President Bridges said it was being transcribed at the present time.

Suspending the regular order of business, President Bridges introduced the distinguished United States Senator from Alaska, Ernest Gruening. He was governor of the Territory of Alaska before it became a state and has a long, outstanding career as a public servant dating back to the New Deal with FDR. He is one of the few voices in the Senate to speak out strongly and openly on our situation in South Vietnam.

The delegates from Alaska escorted Senator Gruening to the platform where he was given a standing ovation by the delegates and visitors.

Senator Gruening expressed his pride over the growth and development of ILWU over the years in serving its own interests and those of the community as well.

He stated he was making a minority report from the U.S. Senate as he is in total disagreement with U.S. policies in southeast Asia and believes the great majority of the people in this country are also in disagreement. The official position of the administration states that we went into Vietnam in response to a request by a friendly government to help them repel aggression. The facts as I see them are very different. For many centuries these countries in southeast Asia struggled to establish their independence; they fought the Chinese and others; fell victim to expanding colonialism and were conquered by the French. In the 1940's they rebelled against the French, and in settlement of that dispute the Geneva Agreement divided the country into 3 parts: Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. Instead of the agreed upon free election in Vietnam, the U.S. supported a puppet government, in violation of the spirit and letter of the Geneva Agreement, and since then there has been a civil war in Vietnam.

It is my belief that we are also in violation of the UN Charter, Article 33, which calls for solution by peaceful means of such disputes. We have never sought any of the peaceful solutions outlined in Article 33: conciliation, arbitration, negotiation, etc. If we had waged peace as forcefully as we have waged war, we would not be in this situation. To point out the aggression from the north is communist is to overlook the fact that we have been just as guilty of aggression from the south.

Immediately after the Geneva Agreement, we signed a treaty with several countries, pledging to come to the aid of countries suffering under aggression. However, those countries - Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, etc. - are not represented in the Vietnam war, or if so, by token troops only. It is we who are carrying on the war alone.

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I maintain we cannot win this war because you cannot lick an ideology by military means! It is a civil war by people who do not want intervention from the outside. They do not want the Chinese in there either, and the North Vietnamese have not asked them to intervene as yet, although they may if we continue to escalate the war. It is a civil war, and I believe we have taken the wrong side of it.

Senator Gruening read a humorous column by Art Buchwald which pointed out the instability of the South Vietnam government, and the frequent changes of leadership which had made the task of Mr. Cabot Lodge most difficult in explaining the U.S. position to various government heads in Europe.

Sooner or later, he continued, the matter will be settled as it should have been - by Asians - despite our strong air and ground forces. The Vietnamese have to settle it for themselves - and will - just as the Korean War was eventually settled. There are three basic differences from the Korean War: (1) There was definite invasion of North Koreans in South Korea; (2) we were there under the mandate of the United Nations, fighting alongside troops from 15 other countries; and (3) the South Koreans wanted to, and did, fight. None of these conditions apply to the Vietnamese war.

President Johnson inherited this mess from the Eisenhower administration originally. The Kennedy administration accelerated the action; and President Johnson, I believe, should have taken the problem to the United Nations, and the other nations who signed the Geneva Agreement. He has said "We seek no wider war", but the U.S. participation becomes greater every day, and we have now taken over the whole economy for the war.

I feel our security is in no wise imperilled or jeopardized, and further that all Vietnam is not worth the life of a single American boy! The administration's arguments are that all southeast Asia will go communist if we don't stop them now. This is not my opinion. I believe if any people choose communism as a way of life, that is their own business. To quote Thomas Bracken Reed, Speaker of the House of Representatives in McKinley's administration, "The best government of which any people is capable is a government which they establish for themselves. With all its faults, with all its imperfections, it is still better than the best government devised for them, even by wiser men."

I don't think we can impose our ideas on people who have an entirely different heritage, history and way of life.

We are losing the image of the U.S. that we have tried to project. Our present policy in Vietnam is a complete negation of the American ideal. My mail at the Senate tells me overwhelmingly this is true. I have received letters from people in all walks of life - 100 to 1 in favor of the position I have taken - and more on this issue than on all other issues put together in the last 6 years since I have been a senator.

President Johnson would have great support if he took the issue to the UN. Only disaster lies ahead if we continue. We will incur the ill

will and distrust of our traditional allies and the whole world. The sacrifice of any lives to me seems totally unnecessary - indeed, a crime! Atrocities will be committed by both sides, but the war itself is the greatest atrocity.

Public opinion must continue to express itself until we stop this killing, and take the issue to the conference table where it should have been in the very beginning! (Standing ovation and great applause.)

President Bridges thanked the Senator for his remarks, and observed that they would be useful when the convention deliberates on the several resolutions which have been offered on this subject.

Secretary Goldblatt read greetings to the Convention from U.S. Senators Wayne Morse, Oregon; E.L. Bartlett, Alaska; Maurine B. Neuberger, Oregon; Daniel K. Inouye, Hawaii; U.S. Congressmen Wm. S. Mailliard, California; Julia Butler Hansen, Washington; Patsy T. Mink, Hawaii; Spark M. Matsunaga, Hawaii; and General President James R. Hoffa, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

President Bridges introduced IBT International Representative, from Seattle, who commented that it was a lot more fun working together than against one another; and Ed Lawson, IBT Joint Council #36, in Vancouver, who offered all the resources of the IBT in making the convention a success except handing over the IBT jurisdiction.

Chairman Lou Sherman, Credentials Committee, offered the final and official report to the Convention. M/S/C to excuse John Tadich, Loc. 3; Ralph Rider, Jr., Loc. 60; and Bernie Acadimia, Loc. 142, who are unable to attend for personal reasons. Delegate Nobu Tamura's name, Loc. 142, was inadvertently omitted from the official roster and should be added. There are 307 accredited delegates in attendance; 7 delegates from 4 pension clubs, and 8 auxiliary delegates. The Credentials Committee recommended seating all delegates. M/S/C to concur.

Resolutions Committee Chairman Duarte and Secretary Loveridge reported on the following resolutions, and recommended adoption:

Res. #1, Increased Per Capita for Organizing Purposes. Delegate Keenan, Local 8, spoke for the resolution. M/S/C to concur.

Res. #2, Bracero Program. M/S/C to adopt.

Res. #3, Vote Distribution; amended. M/S/C to adopt as amended, after Delegate Perlin, Local 26 and Delegate Lawrence, Local 13, spoke in favor of the resolution.

Res. #4, Water and Air Pollution. M/S/C to adopt.

Res. #5, Food Packaging. M/S/C to adopt.

Res. #6, Compulsory Arbitration. Chairman Herman, Officers' Report Committee, read from page 82, Officers' Report. M/S/C to adopt the resolution and that section of the Report.

Statement of Policy, International Trade Union Solidarity. Page 82 of the Officers' Report read by the Secretary of the Committee, McLain. Delegate Brown, Local 12, spoke in favor of the resolution, emphasizing that the main need of the trade union movement in this country is covered by this resolution. We have to depend on the support of every group of working people.

President Bridges that this works both ways. Reminded the delegates of the longshore support of the Japanese longshoremen which cost the longshoremen quite a bit of money. Some of the officers were faced with the possibility of going to jail, charged with violation of the law and the longshore agreement. It was quite disconcerting then when some people who had to knock off a couple of hours belly-ached about not getting paid. We are part of the labor movement, and this resolution is part of the working class movement. We got this union in the first place by workers in other countries risking their lives and liberties to help us, and I don't think we should forget this. International solidarity is the only way in my experience to convince the employers we mean business. Things are smooth now, but the big beefs are still around, and we still have to fight. We have sent delegates to foreign countries and have a few at this convention from Mexico. Our union stands by other unions - we can be depended upon - never mind the question of affiliation.

Delegate Lawrence, Local 13, recalled that he and Brother Goldblatt had gone to Mexico in past years to develop support for a coming strike, and we were welcomed there, as the reputation of this union had preceded us. We supported the Philippine Seamen's Union in San Pedro when they tied up a ship, and they in turn have notified us of their support. Local 13 also has some Mexican longshoremen working in our port. This is putting solidarity into practice.

Delegate Napuunooa, Local 142, remarked he had been impressed as an overseas delegate to Europe when the unions there were aware of ILWU and its efforts to help the working people, adding that the Hawaiians were fortunate the ILWU came to Hawaii as it had brought tremendous economic gains to the working people of Hawaii.

Delegate Mondor, Local 13, noted that the Mexican longshoremen who come up to Wilmington to work for 45 days study working conditions, safety measures, etc., and keep a daily log for future reference in their home ports. An international organization such as ours, with contacts in every part of the world, must support other workers.

Delegate Haleamau, Local 142, observed that the Hilo longshoremen were organized in 1935 and chartered in 1937. Before the other ports in Hawaii were organized it was rough, but tremendous economic gains have been made since then.

Delegate Boles, Local 501, reported on the action taken by the Canadian locals on International Solidarity Day in support of the Japanese seamen and the difficulties that were finally surmounted. The membership was 100% behind the demonstration.

Delegate Bailey, Local 12, pointed out the serious problems in the U.S. and Canada in regard to automation and run-away industries. Either we help the people in the south and in foreign countries to improve their

Convention Minutes - 4/6 - Morning Session

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way of life or they will drag us down. M/S/C/U to adopt.

President Bridges presented Senator Gruening who wished to add a post-script to the remarks he had made earlier on the situation in southeast Asia. Senator Gruening read an ad sponsored by 2500 ministers, priests and rabbis which had appeared in the New York Times. President Bridges assured the Senator that ILWU has taken official action not only on his position but on the ad as well, noting that we have ministers and students fighting the battles we should be in. They seem to be working, and we seem to be tagging along. We are not afraid to speak out, and if the officers have anything to do with this, we will not leave the fighting to ministers and students. (Standing ovation for Senator Gruening as he was presented with a guest badge.)

Reporting for the Resolutions Committee, Chairman Duarte said the committee recommended the matter of a jurisdictional dispute in the Port of Longview, covered by two resolutions, be referred to a special committee set up in convention by the chairman of the convention as an Appeals Committee to hear this case. M/S to concur. President Bridges stated the special committee would be set up this afternoon. Carried.

M/S/C to suspend the convention rules, and work in committees this afternoon.

The convention was recessed at 12 noon, to reconvene at 9:30 a.m.

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International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union
Sixteenth Biennial Convention,
Vancouver, B.C.
April 8 - Morning Session

SUMMARIZED MINUTES

President Bridges called the convention to order at 9:35 a.m.

Secretary Goldblatt read communications from Chairman Saenko, ~~President~~ Central Committee of the Sea and River Workers of the USSR and President Joseph J. Diviny, Teamster Joint Council No. 7.

Secretary of Resolutions Committee Loveridge read Resolution No. 14, on the Great Society and moved its adoption on behalf of the committee. Secretary of the Officers' Report Committee McClain read from that section of the Officers' Report dealing with the Great Society and moved its adoption on behalf of the committee.

Delegate London, Local 26, said the resolution states that none of the proposals go nearly far enough. I think we can agree with that statement. Proposals for full employment and a national 35-hour week have been omitted. A "Crystal Ball Conference" held on March 12 at UCLA which included 200 labor and management leaders didn't discuss the how's, where's, and why's; they just made some predictions. Congress will not repeal Section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Law this session was one prediction. The AFL-CIO and Johnson are on record for the repeal of 14 (b) - yet these guys are right. If the ranks of labor do not get off their duffs and start agitating for this repeal, it won't even get done at the next session. Nothing will repeal this section unless we move our congressmen. Johnson reported to the nation that discrimination is costing the nation 23 billion dollars in unspent income. This is alarming. Our job is to get this program back to the locals - back to the ranks if we expect any action on this program.

Motions to approve Resolution #14 on The Great Society and that section of the Officers' Report were carried unanimously.

President Bridges introduced International Brotherhood of Teamsters Vice President Harold Gibbons to the convention. Brother Gibbons is also a local officer in the St. Louis area. One of his great accomplishments was development of a comprehensive group health plan which is one of the best in the country; one we've studied and tried developing for ourselves. Brother Gibbons is here representing Jimmy Hoffa who is tied up with his attorneys in the East.

Brother Gibbons: I am happy to be here and bring to you the official greetings of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters on the occasion of your convention. I am extremely happy to be here for a number of reasons - one is that I have known some of your officers for quite a

Summarized Minutes - 4/8 Morning Session

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few years and followed the work of your International union. It is one of the brighter stars on the labor scene today. You have written some of the brightest pages in the American labor movement's history. Some of the great strikes you have conducted are worthy of the highest praise. I am happy to be here because of our close association, especially in the San Francisco area, where we jointly negotiate our contracts. We have stopped the rivalry which only benefited the employer.

I am here representing President Hoffa, who would much rather be here himself. We have a situation here where we can see an entire government mobilized to put one individual in jail. I wanted to substitute for him because I want to talk a little bit to the delegates about some of the problems that face us in the labor movement.

A casual look at the labor movement shows a pretty powerful movement; it is large in numbers; its finances aren't bad and it even has influence. But, a closer look shows it isn't what it seems to be. It is a labor movement which is shrinking instead of expanding in membership. It is basically on the defensive. It is a labor movement which in the face of attack by its enemies, runs for storm shelters. It has grown far too respectable for its purpose and function. It is amazing as we know the history of the labor movement to sit in the U.S. today and find a two-bit politician screaming for additional labor legislation to bind the labor movement and put it further into shackles.

It is made possible because some of us have forgotten our history, our background and forgotten our responsibilities. I say that in the light of this, the labor movement in the United States is in great danger. Wherever I have an opportunity to raise my voice in this situation, I propose to do so. We didn't become a labor movement because somebody loved us. There isn't an employer in the states today who wouldn't like to have the entire labor movement abolished and they are working 24 hours a day to come up with a scheme which will accomplish this.

We grew great because we fought the fight. Throughout our history we have been fighting for decent wages, reduced hours of work. We've led the fight for free public education systems, fought against the exploitation of children and fought to get rid of laws which put men in jail for debts. We fought to establish our right to organize. Tremendous struggles took place: the Haymarket riots in which many died in the fight for the 8-hour day; the great steel strikes to establish the right of collective bargaining; the stockyard strikes and battles on the waterfront in San Francisco. This is our history and this is how we built the labor movement. We were outcasts in many respects and there weren't too many invitations to the White House in those days, but we were a movement which was on the march and fighting the good fight. We were a movement which brought to our side all men of goodwill in our nation and commanded the respect of the liberals, of

Summarized Minutes - 4/8 Morning Session

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the churches and a movement which was achieving things.

This is not necessarily the case today. Today we are at one of our lower stages of public prestige. No time in our history has it been easier to pass legislation such as the Landrum-Griffin Act. It is difficult to find today liberals who will rally to the defense of the labor movement. Yes, we have made a lot of progress, but our work is not finished. It is not enough for us to concern ourselves only with negotiations of the next contract. If this is as far as our sights extend, we are going to wind up just another institution of modern society. We may be fat and wealthy in that process, but we will have defaulted on our most serious responsibility not only to ourselves, but to millions of workers who have yet to know the meaning of the labor movement.

We have today a system of pensions which takes a man who has labored all his life and gives him an inadequate pension. And when they try to introduce medical care it is fought tooth and nail. We have minimum wages but for millions of people in the service industries there is no minimum wage. This is difficult to visualize in 1965. Certainly as long as this exists, the labor movement has tasks which are still unfinished.

I am talking about a mobilization of the labor movement on behalf of the unmet needs of our people. There are still millions and millions of unorganized workers. No labor movement worthy of the name can sit still without launching bigger and bigger organizing drives. As you look at the American labor movement today there is very little concern expressed on behalf of the unorganized

As you look at the American scene, there are millions and millions of unemployed workers. The government tells us there is $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 percent of the working force unemployed. If the truth were known, the percentage of unemployed is closer to 10 percent. Back of each of those statistics are millions of personal tragedies - men who have lost their dignity taking relief checks instead of paychecks. In the richest country in the world where we can mobilize billions of dollars for war we ought to be in a position to mobilize the same economic resources so that men have an opportunity to work and children have an opportunity for schools and decent food, clothing and housing. There are no angry voices in the American labor movement protesting this condition. It is a sad fact that the government is more concerned about this condition than the high echelons of the labor movement. Respectability is so important that we no longer can hit the streets or demonstrate our dissatisfaction with the things as they are. We must not rock the boat. This is not the way the labor movement was built.

While the unemployed fill the streets, there is a phenomenon on the American scene known as automation. According to the best informed

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guesses, we are destroying jobs at the rate of 3 to 4 million a year. These are not workers laid off - to return later - these are jobs destroyed to which no worker will ever return again.

Fortunately today we are in a period of ever-rising production. So, as the jobs are being destroyed on the industrial scene, the service industries and government and some private industry are hiring sufficient numbers to absorb the workers. One of these days, if the system we live under operates as it always has, the economy is going to slow up and stagger, then we will see a scene in the U.S. which will make 1932 look pale; yet there is no hue and cry on the part of the labor movement. Progress can result in a much better life for all of us, but we are entitled to protect the person who works when his job is destroyed. There is no cry to have the profits made off this machine shared with the worker whose living is destroyed.

In our cities you see blocks and blocks of slums. The American labor movement doesn't seem to worry about that. We pass resolutions and say we favor low-cost housing. That is not enough. Every rank and file member should have concern. Every International union should be scheming ways to eradicate slums throughout the nation.

We are witnessing today probably the most important event of history in the last 100 years in the efforts of the Negro to come to full citizenship. Men are prepared to lay down their lives under the bitterest kind of opposition. Yet, American labor is conspicuous by its absence from this revolution. When the Negroes mobilized in the March on Washington, in which more than a quarter-million of them took part, the AFL-CIO and George Meany refused to endorse that march. This is the history of American labor today. We have an opportunity to bring into the labor movement millions of people and we stupidly sit aside and let them go it alone.

As we meet here today, in the richest country in the world, tonight there will be from 15 to 20 million families who will go to bed under the line of poverty. And the labor movement sits waiting for a politician to coin a phrase - "War on Poverty". These things happening in our nation are our direct responsibility as trade unionists and if we lose that concept of responsibility, then your union is down the drain and so is our labor movement. We have to return to the basics of our labor movement. This business of being cynical and lacking the idealism which characterized our movement, is detrimental to our welfare. We have got to go back to the kind of humanism which gave us birth. If we can do that, we can sustain and fulfill our promise and obligation to meet the challenges of the future. (Applause.)

President Bridges thanked Brother Gibbons and said that after hearing him he could understand why the union is in trouble with the Establishment. The Teamsters are under fire - they are doing a job! They are

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going way beyond their own union. They are organizing, doing the day to day work of a union, negotiating contracts, and still find time to throw the support of their union behind other struggles. This is an organization that is moving and we are lucky to be moving with them.

Chairman of the Publicity and Education Committee Francis Murnane moved on behalf of the committee to enroll Brother Harold Gibbons as an honorary member of the committee. He also suggested that the speech be made available to the membership.

President Bridges said the facilities are not available for a transcript, but that Brother Gibbons certainly can become an honorary member of the committee.

Chairman of Resolutions Committee Duarte read Resolution #21 on Organizing Longshore Work in the Deepsea Ports in British Columbia, and moved its adoption on behalf of the committee.

Delegate Keenan, Local 8, asked what unions now represent these workers. Is this a move by the men who are in these unions to affiliate with the ILWU or is this a raid? Vice President Robertson replied that to his knowledge these are considered new operations.

Delegate Foulds, Local 508, stated many other unions are loading ships in the deepsea ports besides the ILWU. They work the same ships for the same employers at lower wages and longer hours. Two new operations are now in the planning stage. They will not be handed to us however and we must be ready to move and get them. Robertson added that this resolution deals with those operations which we refer to as industrial operations where a plant is located dockside and the longshore work is done by the employees within the plant.

Delegate Johnson, Local 34, spoke in favor of the resolution and said he had amended it to include clerks. There are many unorganized clerks in this area who belong in our union.

Motion to adopt was carried unanimously.

Policy Statement #40, Use of Gas Warfare, read. Delegate Brown, Local 12, spoke in favor of the policy statement and read into the record the greater portion of a speech made by Senator Wayne Morse in Portland, Oregon, on March 24. M/S/C to adopt policy statement.

Policy Statement #4, The Walter-McCarran Act, and Officers' Report section, page 76, read. M/S/C to adopt.

Res. #45, Support for Boss Glove Company Strikers, read. M/S/C to adopt.

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Policy Statement #39, HUAC, and Officers' Report section starting at page 76, read. M/S/C to concur after Delegate Johnson, Local 34, reported on a bill introduced in the California Legislature which would prevent any person from lobbying for an organization which has been declared "communist dominated or influenced".

Res. #53, Supporting Students, read. M/S/C to adopt, after Delegate Perlin, Local 26, spoke in favor of the resolution.

Policy Statement #12, Shorter Work Week, and Officers' Report starting at page 48, read. M/S/C to adopt as corrected.

Res. #44, Commemorating the 30th Anniversary of the Hilo Longshoremen, read. Delegate Haleamau, Local 142: In those days the wages were 40¢ an hour, with a half-hour for meal time. The employers said they would pay 50¢ more a day if the jobs were finished as quickly as possible; but when we tried to collect, they said it was not written into the agreement. We got the group out and had a big strike in Hilo. When they threw tear gas at us, we threw it back. The wives of the longshoremen were right there on the picket line and a couple of them were shot. We did not stop, but continued our program. We also did our part in World War II and served our country well. When we came back from the war, the union was quite weak; but we had our Harry Kamoku, who was the Harry Bridges of the Islands. In 1949 we had a big longshore strike in Hawaii. We sent a delegate to Local 10 and asked for support. The sugar ships were tied up in all the outports. Then Henry Schmidt came to the Islands to help us and when he left Hawaii, we gave him the name of "Hanalei" - which means Henry in Hawaiian. I would like to invite our International Officers to attend the 30th anniversary celebration. We will provide the food and entertainment, but you take care of your own expenses. (Laughter.)

At Vice President Robertson's suggestion, the resolution was adopted by a standing, cheering vote. Referred to forthcoming caucus as well.

Policy Statement #17, Nuclear Test Ban and Disarmament, and Officers' Report, page 61 third paragraph, read. M/S/C to adopt.

Res. #27, ILWU-Teamster Cooperation in the Warehouse Industry, and Officers' Report, page 15, read.

Secretary Goldblatt: I rise to add a few words. Not to supplement in more detail, but to point out that just because we happen to run into jurisdictional problems, we should not get into a position of not seeing the forest for the trees. Now we don't find ourselves in a situation where one organization is negotiating while the other is resting on its oars or undercutting our improvements. There are problems in Canada and California as to division of work and we intend to iron them out. We are primarily an industrial union, and while some issues

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have not been ironed out with the Teamsters, the fundamental concept of the alliance is sound. Notwithstanding some of the individual issues, the main objective of the International should be to maintain the alliance, work hard at it, and keep seeking new goals and horizons, and spread this to the balance of the labor movement as well.

Delegate Sherman, Local 26: 1964 was a Warehouse Year for the ILWU. We seek goals beyond increases and improvements. The foundation has been laid for joint bargaining. In our strikes of 1940, 1948 and 1957, the teamsters crossed our picket lines in many instances, but times have changed and despite existing problems we developed an alliance where we can deal with them. As a result of this alliance, our locals can truly report progress. M/S/C to adopt Resolution #27.

Res. #19, Advanced Pensionable Service, read. M/S/C to adopt.

Res. #28, Free Trade, and Officers' Report, page 61, read. M/S/C to adopt.

Policy Statement #33, Medicare, and Officers' Report, page 36, read.

Announcements: At 5:30 p.m. in the Prospect Room, four overseas delegates will show their slides. Subcommittee of Resolutions Committee will meet in Prospect Room immediately following the recess.

The convention was recessed at 12:35 p.m., to reconvene at 2 p.m.

Note: Attached to these minutes are the statements of policy and resolutions which were adopted by the Convention but were not attached to the news releases.

oteu29

International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union
Sixteenth Biennial Convention
Vancouver, B. C.
April 8, 1965

SUMMARIZED MINUTES

The convention was called to order at 2:25 p.m. by Chairman Bridges, who announced that Res. #33 on Medicare having been read at the end of the morning session was up for discussion, and that due to the push for time it was possible a night session would be necessary. Many of the Hawaiian delegates are leaving tomorrow on the 4 o'clock flight, necessitated by a PanAm strike, and it is only fair to them to try to get as much done of the convention business as possible before they are forced to leave. In answer to several questions about meetings which had already been scheduled for this evening, Chairman Bridges answered that those questions would have to be answered later when we find out how quickly we are moving today.

Delegate Lawrence, Local 13, M/S that the rules be suspended and that we have a night session tonight. Delegate Herman, Local 34, amended/S that the night session convene at 7:30 p.m. and adjourn at 10:30 p.m.
MOTION CARRIED - Amendment withdrawn, to be taken up later.

Res. #33, MEDICARE. Delegate Mondor, Local 13, noted that the right-wingers of Southern California who are frightened of world socialism, enjoy the benefits of many socialized services already - the postal system, the school system, TB check-ups, etc. The prospect of obtaining adequate care for all those who require it is worth every effort we can make. The policy statement is good, but should be stronger. If we achieve even a moderate program we can always work to better the plan on the next try.

Secretary Goldblatt reported the thinking of the officers on this statement, and their ideas as to how it can be done. ILWU officers recently attended a trade union conference in L. A. called for one purpose - to discuss the skyrocketing costs of medical care, and the complete lack of control over this situation. The conference included teamsters, carpenters, the S. F. Labor Council, machinists, steel workers, auto workers, who attempted to discover some alternatives to give our memberships adequate medical care without the union movement becoming a large-scale WPA for the doctors, insurance companies and hospitals.

The union movement is a victim of its own success in a way. The Murray-Wagner-Dingell bill was attacked as a form of socialized medicine. While this issue was being debated and held up in congress other countries in Europe moved ahead with national health services. Even after the conservatives had taken over from the labor government in Great Britain they did not dare attempt to overturn the national health service, because it was so eagerly received by the people.

Our union negotiated a set of benefits, and we try to improve on those benefits at every opportunity. This benefit is so important to our

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members that I believe if the choice had to be made between taking less in wages or a cut in hospital and medical benefits they would choose the wage cut.

But we lost our bargaining power after this was negotiated. The union conference in L. A. estimated that a total of no less than \$10,000,000 a year is paid in premiums to insurance companies or the various group plans for medical and hospital coverage by union groups alone, with absolutely no bargaining power on the part of the unions to do anything about the costs of that medical care. These costs have risen at a higher rate than the cost of living! Insurance companies are happy to go along with the increases - they get theirs off the top - and they want the volume.

We had hoped to establish some kind of healthy competition by using Kaiser, which gives the best service available for the money. However our rates continue to rise, other medical costs continue to spiral, and we have no bargaining power with Kaiser - like the missionaries who came to do good, and did well.

We do have alternatives in pensions, for instance. The very fact that some pension plans in this country are set up on a self-insured basis, as the ILWU-PMA plan is self-administered, over which we do have control of the funds and the administration expenses. That forced all the major insurance companies to make fundamental changes in their pension plans. Where we have had some bargaining power and influence over the powerful insurance companies we have no such influence in the medical care field. One day we must effectively embark upon a program to fight these prohibitive costs - open hospitals of our own, with our own doctors. A step in the right direction. But nothing will substitute for a national health service, a logical course for the union to take. We believe doctors should be well paid, but doctors are the highest paid profession in the country, making well over \$50,000 a year. If they don't make this, they feel they are living in abject poverty. This attitude has to be changed. A national health service would be a good beginning.

MOTION CARRIED.

Res. #9 - Agreements Covering Watchmen. M/S to adopt.

Del. Keenan, Loc. 8, spoke in favor of the resolution, urging that a coastwise agreement be the goal with the assistance of the International officers, as legitimate trade union men should be doing these jobs. MOTION CARRIED.

Res. #10, - Boycott All Alabama Products. M/S. to adopt.
Officers' Report, page 70, last paragraph; M/S to adopt.

Del. Herman, Local 34, declared if there is any member of this union who was not sickened at the spectacle in Selma, Alabama, they are not deserving of membership in this union nor entitled to a seat in this convention. The convention provides the opportunity for those who truly believe in the rights of all people to enjoy constitutional guarantees to do something more than just talk about

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it. The struggle for human dignity is moving like groundfire, and will cut down all opposition. The guilt of Selma must be shared by all of us. The ILWU record in the area of civil rights is good, although I know that discrimination and bigotry exist in our own union. It is easy to be tolerant on the union floor.

I was disturbed at the lack of union participation in the line of March from Selma to Montgomery. Are we doing enough? We should stand shoulder to shoulder, ready and willing to act in whatever capacity - morally, politically or with our money, but let us get into the fight with clean hands. Let us dedicate ourselves to ridding our organization first and the community from every remnant of discrimination, bigotry, racism and hate. The Negro people by their actions have cut away all the middle ground. The young people, the students and religious leaders have put this trade union movement to shame. Let us now right that record, and make it straight by our total participation. Which side are we on?

Del. Jugum, Local 19, remarked that ILWU itself was a "minority group" within the trade union movement.

Del. Keenan, Local 8, speaking in favor of the resolution, asked how we were to implement this - who will announce to the employers that we are following this course of action?

Del. Jakovak, Local 12, described the manner in which his local had contributed to the cause of the Negroes in the south - by donations and contributions from the local and from individuals, as Coos Bay does not handle enough Alabama cargo to make anything else worthwhile. Thought the resolution was not strong enough because it would not make enough of a dent in the economy of Alabama. Urged for a more positive program - a program of "putting your money where your mouth is."

Del. Heide, Local 6, spoke whole-heartedly for the resolution, and related that his local had already successfully initiated the policy of refusing to handle Alabama merchandise. That is putting the resolution into action. Putting our money where our mouths are is implementing the resolution. The boycott is a demonstration of our sentiments in this struggle for the freedom of all people. When the Negroes win that struggle, and the right to vote, we will have better representation in Congress from the southern states, and will have a chance to wipe out the Taft-Hartley Laws, the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin laws, and other oppressive anti-labor laws that are on the books as a result of right wing legislation.

Del. Barlow, Local 10, related to the convention delegates the events leading up to the mass meeting in San Francisco to protest the Selma brutalities. The ILWU, through its leadership, has not dragged its feet on the question of discrimination and bigotry. Negroes and other minority group members can run for any office we want to - few other unions can make this boast. Brother Bridges announced at that mass meeting that the time had come for action, and declared that Alabama cargo would not move in and out of the Port of San Francisco.

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Del. Lawrence, Loc. 13, speaking in favor of the resolution but adding that he would have gone farther. Congratulated the Bay Area ILWU locals for the success of the mass meeting which had wide T.V. coverage and great impact, but thought it should have included a plea for boycott of all Alabama goods all over the U.S., as King did. Further, appropriations from the U.S. government should be stopped to the State of Alabama until that state lives up to the constitution of the United States.

(Applause.)

Del. Smith, Local 10, observed that what was good for one person was good for another, and Negroes have not had that privilege, particularly in the south. The proposed boycott is a method by which we can get the people of the south to take note - as it hits them in the pocketbook. I feel the boycott should extend to other states than Alabama.

Del. Damaso, Loc. 142, spoke in favor; declared as a naturalized citizen he appreciates the privileges this brings, and the rights that are inherent in being a citizen. It is true the ILWU is a "minority" in the trade union movement - but from my observation as an overseas delegate, we are a well-known minority, all over the world. It is known that we are not afraid to speak up or criticize even the President of the United States if we feel he is wrong. That is our right. Alabama cargo is not being touched in our port. I think it is time we fold up if we refuse to help out however we can.

Del. Laharty, Loc. 12, spoke for the resolution although as Brother Jakovac had said, we handle no cargoes from Alabama in our port. Believe it should incorporate a boycott of all merchandise from Alabama also. The action taken in San Francisco helped the whole nation to see the true picture in Alabama, and gave leadership to other people in other parts of the country to follow suit, including Rev. King. Our local has given full support to every effort we have made - there is no difference of opinion on the need for support of all minority groups in this country.

Del. Ibarra, Local 26, commented that this resolution would unite action between all the locals, a step in the right direction. We should not only endorse this but do everything else we can to aid the civil rights drive.

Del. Rohatch, Loc. 10, declared that the mass meeting at the Federal Building in San Francisco was one of the most successful demonstrations ever held, and expressed pride that it was ILWU which initiated the drive for the boycott. Believed the House Un-American Activities Committee should investigate the men who ride around in sheets at night. As long as those conditions exist in the south, it will affect the welfare of the entire country. The Constitution guarantees everyone the same rights, but there are some people who would deny others those rights. If we allow them to do this we are as guilty as they are.

President Bridges reported that as of the last couple of days there is no Alabama cargo moving across the docks on the entire Pacific

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Coast! If anything is being moved it is being done accidentally. We have no report on B.C. The same goes for the warehouses in California - no movement. We have told the employers that this is the way it's going to be - we're serious. I've heard no one speak against the resolution - they ask if its effective and if it goes far enough. That's all. Not a lot of cargo is coming in from Alabama, but what is, is not moving. We have received telegrams and calls and letters from all over the country in regard to our boycott demonstration.

Del. Jakovak, Loc. 12, assured the delegates that he was behind the resolution even though he had not considered that a boycott would be effective, but if it is working, and if it gives somebody heart, he was all for it and his local was in favor of it. He personally would rather put a little money on the line.

President Bridges said he would tell the convention exactly what was on the line. During the mass meeting when the resolution was read, it was read as a recommendation to the coast. The next night it was presented to the Local 10 Executive Board where I was asked what it meant. I told them it meant the contract, M&M, the pension fund - the works! The vote was unanimous in support of the resolution, and letters immediately were written to the other locals. We notified PMA, and I told them that if we were wrong, the delegates to the convention would certainly tell us. Let's don't kid ourselves today - everything is in the hopper... Another thing - if the going gets rough and we find we can't handle it we can go to the rank and file and ask if we should back up. That is the job we have as leaders of this union. But when you pass this resolution it means you have everything on the line and everything in the hopper - and that amounts to one helluva lot!

Del. Jakovak, Loc. 12 answered that he was for putting everything on the line - including money. We don't want to fool around. We must make every effort to preserve human rights.

Del. Cordocedo, Loc. 501, spoke in favor of the resolution in its entirety. If anything comes up in our country pertaining to this we will take care of it and support the resolution wholeheartedly.

Del. Bailey, Loc. 12, called for a request to Hoffa to make it a joint boycott that would really sew things up.

Del. VanBrunt, Loc. 21, asked if some research could be done to make available information to all locals on what kind and types of cargo to look for which might not be labelled "from Alabama".

Question was called for - standing vote was requested -

MOTION CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY.

(1st half of p.m. session)

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Res. #30, CRUCIAL NEGOTIATIONS in 1966.. Corrected as follows: Add to the end of 3rd paragraph, "All contracts and fund contributions will terminate." Chairman Herman, Officers' Report Committee, read from page 8.

Del. L. Loveridge, Loc. 13, questioned the necessity of reading from the Officers' Report. President Bridges replied certain paragraphs are being read to stress important points. He then emphasized we need a good negotiating team to get good contracts and hoped he would be with it in longshore and other contracts in 1966. But whether we like it or not we will have to start depending on the younger people for leadership. M/S/C to adopt the resolution and section of the Officers' Report as corrected.

Res. #31, JAMES R. HOFFA. Secretary McClain, Officers' Report Committee referred delegates to page 78 of the Officers' Report. M/S/C/U to adopt the resolution and section of the Officers Report. There were no objections to sending appropriate wire of acclaim to Brother Hoffa.

Res. #32, THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL. Chairman Herman referred delegates to page 82, point #7 of the Officers' Report. M/S/C/U to adopt the resolution and section of the Officers' Report.

Res. #35, WAR ON POVERTY. Secretary McClain referred delegates to page 61 of the Officers' Report. Secretary Loveridge of the Resolutions Committee added there is poverty in these United States but we should be grateful we are members of the ILWU because the ILWU affords us good jobs with lotsof benefit and a good income. M/S/C/U to adopt the resolution and section of the Officers' Report.

Res. #42, MECHANIZATION AND MODERNIZATION AGREEMENTS. The second sentence in the last paragraph was corrected: "next July" to read "July 1966". Chairman Herman of the Officers' Report Committee referred delegates to page 12 of the Officers' Report. M/S/C/U to adopt the resolution as corrected and section of the Officers' Report.

Res. #26, BOUNDARIES OF JURISDICTION. M/S/C/U to adopt.

Res. #43, TRADE UNION WORKING ALLIANCES. M/S/C to adopt.

Res. #49, CIVIL RIGHTS. Chairman Herman of the Officers' Report Committee referred delegates to pages 70 - 73 of the Officers' Report. M/S/C to adopt the resolution and the section of the Officers' Report.

Chairman Duarte of the Resolutions Committee announced the following actions taken by the Res. Committee: Res. #11, UNITY WITHIN THE ILWU -- referred to the Caucus; #18, ECONOMIC COUNCIL -- filed; #20, EDUCATION -- filed; #22, WELFARE COVERAGE FOR OTHER THAN MEDICAL CARE -- referred to caucus; #37, TRADE WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES -- filed.

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Del. L. Loveridge, Loc. 13, inquired about draft resolution #33. Chairman Durate replied that resolution was incorporated with the resolution on medicare.

Res. #36, THE RIGHT TO VOTE. Secretary McClain of the Officers' Report referred delegates to page 71 of the Officers' Report. M/S/C to adopt the resolution and the section of the Officers' Report.

Res. #24, ALASKA RESIDENT INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIVE. M/S/C to refer this to the national officers.

Res. #23, ALL ALASKA COUNCIL BUDGET. Chairman Duarte of the Resolutions Committee stated the committee recommends referring this to the national organizing committee. (Copies of the resolution were not ready for distribution to the delegates.) Vice-President Robertson reported he met with the Alaska delegation, Regional Director Gettings and International Representative Fantz and there was unanimous agreement on program and this resolution will settle desires of Alaska delegation. M/S/C to adopt with the understanding that delegates will be given a copy of the resolution as soon as they are printed.

President Bridges announced there were two more resolutions to come before the convention -- one is on Vietnam which has to be discussed further by the Resolutions Committee and the other has not been mimeographed. This will complete the work of the two committees.

Secretary-Treasurer Goldblatt moved that we recess now and reconvene at 7:30. This will give the committees a chance to finish up its work, the special committee to meet on grievances and tonight's session be executive session on finance followed by the report of the Constitution Committee.

Del. Murnane, Local 8, noted under this motion the matter of the overseas delegates will have to be postponed. Leonard J. McGuire from the Raymond local is here on his own to report to the convention and it is regrettable that he won't be able to make his report. President Bridges suggested the overseas matter be re-scheduled for tomorrow night.

Res. #48, LEGISLATIVE BILL TO PROVIDE PREFERENCE OF EMPLOYMENT FOR RESIDENTS OF THE STATE OF ALASKA. (Copies of the resolution were not ready for distribution to the delegates.)

Chairman Duarte of the Resolutions Committee stated the committee recommends non-concurrence. Delegate Guy, Local 60 said he did not attend the meeting which adopted this and didn't know anything about it. Delegate Van Brunt, Local 21 explained this resolution was not written with any intention of building a fence around Alaska. The purpose is to overcome a major problem existing in Alaska for many years of sailors working on Alaska steamship company vessels in small ports in Alaska and thereby denying such jobs to residents of Alaska.

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Delegate Lawrence, Local 13 noted the resolution did not reflect the situation brought out by Delegate Van Brunt. We have a similar situation in California and other states too. It was finally agreed that voting on the resolution will be postponed until the delegates are given a copy of the resolution.

Chairman Duarte of the Resolutions Committee announced the committee will meet upon adjournment of the convention and discuss the Vietnam resolution.

Delegate Brown, Local 10, Is there any rule that says there is a certain time limit that we have to get out of here. Why are we jamming things up so much. President Bridges replied the rules of the convention are subject to the will of the whole body. Delegate Velasquez, Local 13 said he was in favor of a night session; we spent a lot of money and we came here to work. Delegate Lawrence, Local 13 amended the motion to reconvene at 7:30 to 8 p.m. Delegage Murnane, Local 8, said it was regrettable that some delegates have to leave and some committees have to meet. I am on the Publicity and Education Committee that have been given the brush-off in every convention. Delegate Damaso, President of Local 142 announced since the sentiments here seem to be that we are rushing things, Local 142 will hold a caucus tomorrow at 8 a.m. and consider staying an extra day instead of leaving tomorrow afternoon as previously announced.

Amendment to motion to recess till 8 p.m. lost by show of hands.
Motion to recess till 7:30 p.m. carried by show of hands. President Bridges announced in view of the night session the meeting of the committee on appeals is cancelled. Local 142 President Damaso announced a caucus of all Hawaiian delegates at 8 a.m. tomorrow. Chairman Duarte of the Resolutions Committee announced the committee as soon as the convention recesses.

The convention was recessed at 5:30 p.m. to reconvene at 7:30 p.m.

oeiu #15

International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union
Sixteenth Biennial Convention
Vancouver, B. C.
April 8, - Night Session

SUMMARIZED MINUTES

President Bridges called the convention to order at 7:50 p.m.

Executive Session on Finances

Secretary-Treasurer Goldblatt read from the Financial Section of the Officers Report starting on page 95. He reviewed each one of the schedules of the auditor's report and submitted a statement of expenses compared with the budget for the years 1963 and 1964, and a proposed budget for 1966.

Delegate Smith, Local 10, asked if ILWU had a tip that the S.F. National Bank was going to fold and pulled out \$1,000,000 before it did? Goldblatt explained IWLW-PMA Funds had \$1,000,000 on deposit there and decided to withdraw most all of it because it was too much in one bank.

Delegate Brown, Local 10, asked whether this increased budget for Publicity and Education would cover the enlarged program proposed by that committee here. Goldblatt replied it would or it would come out of the non-budgeted expenses or the budget could be changed.

Delegate Keenan, Local 8, asked where the insurance costs were. Goldblatt replied as an administrative expense.

Delegate Cordocedo, Local 501, requested an explanation of how Canadian Funds were handled. Goldblatt explained that all Canadian Funds are banked in Canada in a Canadian account. The funds are the property of the International. It is the policy of the union, however, that the funds are never transferred down to the states. All of them are used in Canada.

Delegate Riggs, Local 50, asked why the differences in expenditures for the years '63 and '64 on the items of Asian Dockworkers Conference and the Agricultural Workers. Goldblatt replied that the Conference took place in 1963 in Japan and only the Continuing Committee functioned in '64. In the case of the Agricultural Workers, it was a single shot exploratory deal to find out what were the potentials of that group in California.

It was M/S/C unanimously to concur in the Financial Report up to that point.

Secretary Goldblatt continued with the report (p.99) covering the items of a Separate Audit for Canada, The Pacific Coast Warehouse Council, Officers and Staff Pension, and the Executive Board recommendations on that question. He explained this is a report on finances to date and the Executive Board recommendations. Adoption merely concurs in the report so far, from then on the Convention is on its own. In reply to a question on the added 50¢ per year for the Dispatcher, he explained we send the Dispatcher to every name sent in by the local. If a local has

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more names than people they pay per capita on, they are billed for an overage. This must be done because of post office regulations on the second class mailing permit. We cannot give the paper away.

The question was called for and the Motion to Concur was Carried.

Constitutional Amendment to Increase Per Capita, read by Secretary Hokama and on behalf of the committee moved its adoption.

Delegate Anderson, Local 62: I don't see how you can act on the 25¢ increase when you don't know all the costs you will have, and I recommend voting against this amendment. Delegate Smith, Local 10: Since serving as an officer, I have learned about finances and I don't see how the International can make it on a 25¢ increase, but we should vote for it and hope they can get by. Delegate Dunphy, Local 501: The 25¢ increase was discussed thoroughly at the last meeting of the Executive Board. A few years ago the Canadian Locals voted down the overseas assessment, because we did not have the facilities to explain it thoroughly. After the Canadian membership learned the value of an overseas fund, they voted for it. We need to add people to the International staff who are informed and you can't do this on promises. I strongly urge that the constitutional amendment be adopted.

President Bridges: Just to clarify things: George Anderson recommended voting against this proposed constitutional amendment, so per capita could be increased by a greater amount.

Delegate Keady, Local 52: We read the minutes of the last International Board meeting, and I come here instructed to try to give the International the amount of money they need. The taxes we pay to county, state and federal government do not give us anywhere near the service we get from the International. I recommend you vote down this amendment and vote for a 50¢ increase in per capita.

Delegate Lawrence, Local 13: Every aspect of this was discussed at the last Board meeting. When you talk about a \$1.50 per capita tax, that makes the per capita tax for the average local amount to \$3.75 because we have to pay a pro rata cost of the Coast Pro Rata Committee. It is unrealistic to go to the membership and ask for a 50¢ increase. I am in favor of the 25¢ increase.

Delegate Napuunoa, Local 142: An International officer advised me that a 25¢ increase was sufficient for the time being. An increase of 50¢ will be a hardship on the men in the ranks. If our International needs more than 25¢, they would have put a larger amount in the constitutional amendment. Delegate Murnane, Local 8: I am in favor of the recommendation because tomorrow the Publicity and Education Committee will have its report to the convention that will entail expenditure of additional money for an educational program, so that every division of the union will have the facts to combat the employers. I urge the unanimous approval of this recommendation. Take it back to the membership and they will understand that the programs we adopted at the caucus and convention require money to carry them out.

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Delegate Wong, Local 142: In the Constitutional Committee we were told that the increase was for organizing. Local 142 has money allocated to organize the unorganized. If you don't have money in your local for that purpose, I am sorry for you - I pity you. I can understand a 25¢ increase, but I cannot understand a 50¢ increase.

Delegate Jaworski, Local 54: I am in favor of the 25¢ increase, but the International Board should tell us in all honesty exactly how much money we actually need. Secretary Goldblatt: All the elements of our finances were discussed in the International Board. We have never tried to accumulate a large treasury. You adopted a resolution here that in the event we find some organizing possibilities are available to us and we need some money, we will go to the locals and ask for more money. Other than that, we intend to operate the International on a tight budget. Delegate Jaworski: Are you telling me that we don't need more money for our organizing activities? We don't believe we should rely on going from resolution to resolution as the need for money arises. I am startled by Brother Goldblatt's answer. The officials should tell us exactly what we need. I am not against the 25¢ increase and I am not against a larger one. Delegate Smith, Local 501, When the time comes to make a decision, every Canadian delegate will stand in favor of the amendment. As you know, not one nickel of per capita in Canada goes across the border. Even our 5¢ overseas assessment is for Canadian overseas delegates. I am in favor of the 25¢ increase and I think it will be approved by the Canadian locals. Delegate Samson, Local 142: On behalf of the entire Hawaiian delegation, I move the previous question. Motion to close debate carried.

Constitutional Amendment - Increase Per Capita voted on and carried unanimously.

Constitutional Amendment to Article VI, Section 10, regarding vacancies, read by Secretary Hokama and on behalf of the Committee moved its adoption.

Delegate Smith, Local 10: I served on the Constitution Committee and it was definitely understood that in the case of a vacancy on the International Board, the Board would abide by the recommendation of the locals, or the area executive board, or district council in which the vacancy occurred. Delegate Wong, Local 142: I have the same understanding regarding this constitutional amendment. I am concerned because in Hawaii we have four divisions: Longshore, Pineapple, Sugar and General. We have three delegates serving on the International Board and one of them is from the Pineapple division. If he goes off the Board, who is going to tell the International Executive Board to consider the name of a pineapple worker? I don't want anyone representing the pineapple workers, but a pineapple delegate. The language should be changed so that a division has the right to recommend a replacement. I would like to have this amendment sent back to the constitution committee to have the language changed. Delegate Damaso, Local 142: I want to clarify the thinking of the Hawaiian delegates. We feel that in the event of a vacancy in that respective groupings in Hawaii, the only people who can elect someone to that vacancy are those in that particular division; or they suggest, subject to the

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approval of the local executive board, and the board can recommend to the International Executive Board who shall fill the vacancy.

President Bridges: What is being said here applies when a vacancy occurs because a Board member retires or changes his residence. We have strict rules for electing Board members. It takes time to fill a vacancy by an election of the membership, and this could mean trouble. Presently, the Constitution provides that a board member is elected by secret ballot. Filling a vacancy is done by appointment for a limited period of time. The present Constitution gives the International Board the power to fill the vacancy pending a vote in that particular area and by the regular election. What is being proposed is that the Board will fill the vacancy according to the recommendation of the area. It is not the Board's concern how that recommendation comes in.

Delegate Jaworski, Local 54: As a member of the Constitution Committee, I would like to speak in favor of the Constitutional Amendment. Question called for. Motion to adopt carried.

Constitutional Amendment to Article XVII, Section 4 (regarding transfers) read by Secretary Hokama and on behalf of the committee moved its adoption.

Delegate Duarte, Local 6: I rise to thank the brothers who introduced the resolution. Does this mean warehousemen may transfer to the longshore locals? The constitution does not make it clear. President Bridges: The committee informs me that it is a mandatory transfer and applies within a division, and not from division to division.

Delegate Jenkins, Local 19: The result will be a foot race from the small ports to the big ports and our local does not want to be a training camp for the smaller locals. Isn't this in conflict with Supplement #1 of the coast contract? President Bridges: If you remove the word "mutual", it is a mandatory transfer. There is liable to be a rush from the small ports to the big ports. There are people in the big ports who are not members but are waiting to become so.

Delegate Schmidt, Local 10: The word "mutual" was inserted some time ago and was used to establish a man-for-man transfer system but that was not its intent. The International Constitution can be changed by convention action only, but some locals have seen fit to amend it. In February, 1955, Local 10, adopted this motion: "Regularly moved and seconded that all transfers referred to in Section 4, Article XVII, pertaining to mutual transfers up to 2 percent, shall be done on a man-for-man basis (with no exceptions)." Due to attrition, there is no danger of the three locals down there being flooded. The word "mutual" has robbed longshoremen of the right to travel.

Delegate Smith, Local 10: If this amendment is passed here tonight, will the members have a chance to vote on it? President Bridges: The convention can amend the constitution. Delegate Olcham: I am opposed to the constitutional amendment. For a number of years after World War II, we added two men per quarter and that worked until the freeze by the Coast Committee.

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Delegate L.L. Loveridge, Local 13: was sorry his name was on this amendment and wanted it withdrawn. There is no provision here for the membership to vote on these transfers, nor any way for the locals to screen the incoming men. Delegate Van Brunt, Local 21: read from Section 17 of the Constitution. Local 21 has lived up to the transfer rule. We are trying to clarify whether we need a mandatory man for man trade or whether we trade based on the merits of the man trying to transfer.

Delegate Jaworski, Local 54: asked if transfer means between the divisions of the International. Bridges replied no. It would mean within each division. After further discussion of whether this was a Longshore caucus issue, the Chair ruled it was properly before the Convention.

Delegate Keenan, Local 8: said the amendment could lead to the flooding of the larger locals with men transferring from one local to another. Mutual means an exchange and should stay that way. Delegate Velasquez, Local 13: spoke against the amendment. If we are to remain democratic and retain our local autonomy we must retain the mutual concept.

Delegate Huntsinger, Local 8: moved the question be tabled. Seconded. There was a five-minute recess for caucuses.

In response to a point of information from Delegate Ward, Local 13, President Bridges replied that a local might have to screen 5% before it decided upon its 2%.

The motion to table lost.

Delegate Jakovac, Local 12, spoke in favor of the amendment. The question was called for with a roll call vote being taken. Delegate Stern, Local 10, asked to be recorded voting no.

The Constitution Committee read the proposed Amendment to Increase Salaries of Titled Officers and moved its adoption, Seconded.

Delegate Huntsinger, Local 8, asked if the 25¢ increase in per capita would cover the increase. President Bridges replied it would, but if the increase were merely for salary increases, he would vote it down.

Motion carried.

The Constitution Committee read the recommendation on Pensions for Officers and moved its adoption. Seconded.

It was M/S/C to postpone discussion until 9:30 a.m. 4/9/65.

The meeting was recessed at 11:45 p.m.

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International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union
Sixteenth Biennial Convention
Vancouver, B.C.
April 9 - Morning Session

SUMMARIZED MINUTES

The convention was called to order by Chairman Bridges at 9:55 a.m., who reminded the delegates the convention was still in Executive Session.

Secretary Goldblatt reported the results of the roll call vote on the subject of transfers, Article XVII, Sec. 4: Motion Carried 349 to 116. M/S/C to suspend the rules to entertain a Motion (Goldblatt)/S to reconsider the action of the convention on the issue of transfers.

Secretary Goldblatt explained the purpose of his motion, which is proposed after the soul-searching of the delegates on the convention floor and discussions following the end of last night's session. The introducers of the resolution had made it quite plain what they had in mind: they felt that the constitutional provision as it stands had merely become language used as a front to avoid any genuine meeting of the minds on this issue. It was pointed out that the language had become meaningless - the locals observing it when they wished to, and ignoring it when they felt like it. I believe it is a mistake to have in the Constitution a section which is not meaningful and enforceable.

The discussion was most disturbing when delegate after delegate said it would only make it more difficult for locals not to observe the Constitution. As I see it, that is not the purpose of the International Constitution. We would be far better off to remove that language entirely from the constitution. This section and language would only be meaningful if it were to be applied on an industrial basis. The language was appropriate in the days when the longshore division was about the only division in the union. If it is to be meaningful now the rules must be applied on a division basis.

I am in favor of deleting it because I also think a great deal of harm and no good can come out of last night's action. I believe there have been locals which have deliberately used the language on transfers to avoid transfers. But instead of the issues coming up to the front where they belong, I fear that last night's action only serves to give a number of people the opportunity to go back to their locals and proclaim that their autonomous rights to transfer were strangled at the convention. I would be much happier to see that monkey on the backs of those people, where it belongs - shove it right back into an industrial division where there is an issue.

I would then propose if reconsideration is voted up, that the entire section of the constitution be deleted, and in its place language which states that after one year an individual has the right to apply for transfer; and if he is accepted, he not be required to pay a second initiation fee or building assessment; and that it provide that the

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matter of transfer between locals be left up to the decision of the separate industrial divisions of this International.

Delegate Damaso, Local 142, spoke in favor of the motion to reconsider, and said he was also speaking for Local 6. There seems to be some resentment toward this section of the constitution. For the sake of unity we urge that the delegates adopt this motion, as we are confident the interests of the Hawaiian members wishing to transfer will be protected. There have been some misunderstandings in the past, but we feel secure in leaving the issue of transfers to the best discretion of the longshore coast locals, with no discrimination as to race, creed or color.

Delegate Van Brunt, Local 21, spoke in favor of the motion and felt that the issue had been properly brought into sharp focus and that the longshore caucus would find a satisfactory way to handle the transfers. Delegate Laharty, Local 12, spoke in favor of the motion, saying the caucus had discussed this problem for years, but had run into a stone wall at every occasion. This action will help resolve the problem so that harmony can be restored without hard feelings. Delegate Smith, Local 10, M/S to close debate. Carried unanimously. M/S/C/U to reconsider the action taken by the convention on transfers.

Secretary Goldblatt proposed striking Section 4 of Article XVII and add as follows: "Any member accepted for transfer shall not be required to pay an initiation fee." Add a new Section 5: "The rights, rules, and procedure of transfer shall be determined by the respective divisions of the union."

President Bridges advised there must be unanimous action before the motion can be accepted. Motion carried unanimously. (Applause.) Proposal ordered mimeographed.

President Bridges announced there was a Minority Report to be filed by Delegate Van Brunt, Local 21, to the Recommendation for Pensions for International Officers read in the previous session.

Delegate Van Brunt read his Minority Report, which called for more liberal provisions on qualifying years, inclusion of the widows for pension and welfare coverage and life insurance increases. President Bridges ordered the report mimeographed for convention consideration.

Delegate Smith, Local 10, also submitted a Minority Report designed to liberalize and lower the age qualifications, increase pension amount, medical coverage for widows. The Report was ordered mimeographed for consideration.

Delegate Duarte, Local 6, spoke in favor of the original recommendation from the committee. Delegate Lawrence, Local 13, spoke against both

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Minority Reports and for the original recommendation. He reviewed the background leading up to this recommendation through action of the Board and believed the monetary consideration should be higher, as there are many men in this union and in this conference room who make more than our International President. Delegate Perlin, Local 26, spoke in favor of Delegate Smith's Minority Report.. Delegate Lynden, Local 6, spoke in favor of the majority report. President Bridges stated, in answer to the remarks of several delegates, that the officers were quite satisfied with the terms of the majority recommendation, and although he appreciated the thought behind the two minority reports, the majority recommendation was considered very generous by the officers.

M/S/C to suspend the rules and hear from the Honorable R. R. Loffmark, member of the Provincial Government, British Columbia, Minister of Industrial Development, Trade and Commerce.

President Bridges introduced Mr. Loffmark, who spoke on the economy of the province of British Columbia, the broadening of trade among the nations on the Pacific rim, and the effort that should be made to reduce the discriminatory high freight rates. He stated he had read with interest the reports in the newspapers of the deliberations of this convention, and, having heard of Harry Bridges all his life, had never dreamed he would have the honor of sharing a platform with him.' (Applause.)

Minority Report - Resolution on Pensions for International Officers. Delegate Kemp, Local 501, asked the officers if the original draft was adequate. President Bridges replied yes. Minority report lost. Majority report was carried.

Proposed Amendment to Article XVII of the International Constitution was read and it was moved to adopt. In answer to questions from Delegate Louie Loveridge, Local 13, President Bridges replied that no member accepted for transfer shall be required to pay an initiation fee. There is nothing here about assessments or bonds. A local will have the right to screen a man. It is up to the locals - within the rules adopted - they have the right to accept or reject a transfer. M/S/C to accept the proposed amendment to the Constitution.

Secretary Hokama of the Constitution Committee concluded the work of the committee by reporting the Clarification of the Vacancy on the International Executive Board recommendation, submitted by Local 142, was filed in favor of the one adopted.

The recommendation, as submitted by Local 21, Setting Aside 50¢ for Organizing, was filed.

The Resolutions Committee read Resolution #25 on Vietnam and moved its adoption. Delegate Perlin, Local 26, spoke in favor of adoption. He

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said it deals with the basic problem of whether the human family will survive together or die together. We should think about what we can do to change the climate to one of peace. M/S/C to adopt.

Resolution #23 on Alaska Council Budget - M/S/C to refer to the officers.

Resolution #24 on Alaska Resident International Representative - M/S/C to refer to the officers.

Resolution #50 on Boycotting of Indonesian Vessels - M/S/C to file.
The resolution was read with Local 13 recorded as voting against the motion to file. Delegate Lawrence explained the delegation was instructed to vote for the resolution.

Resolutions Committee Chairman Duarte reported the work of that committee was now complete.

Officers' Report Committee Chairman Herman reported the work of that committee was complete and moved the adoption of the Officers' Report.
Seconded and carried.

President Bridges introduced the President of the Federated Auxiliaries of the ILWU, Valerie Taylor.

Sister Taylor extended the greetings and best wishes for a successful convention to the delegates from the Auxiliaries. The Auxiliary will hold its 12th Biennial Convention in San Francisco in June. The 20th Anniversary of the UN will be its theme. We are here because we believe the ILWU's point of view must be supported and the greatly needed social changes must be brought about. We have found that women join the auxiliary because they want to do something about the social problems we are facing in the world today. As relatives of the members of ILWU we are aware of the security the ILWU has brought to our families. She briefly outlined the activities of the Auxiliaries. She thanked the delegates and especially the Canadians for their generosity and hospitality.

There was a unanimous vote of thanks and appreciation to the Auxiliary.

The convention recessed at 12:15 p.m. to reconvene at 2:00 p.m.

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International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union
Sixteenth Biennial Convention
Vancouver, B.C.
April 9 - Afternoon Session

SUMMARIZED MINUTES

The convention was called to order at 2:35 p.m. by President Bridges.

Report of Publicity and Education Committee presented by Chairman Murnane (attached), preceded by the following remarks: As I did at the last convention, I express regret that this report has to be considered at such a late point in the convention. We should get adequate time to present our material, but when I realize that Vice President Robertson has not as yet presented a report on organization, I know that we cannot be prima donnas. I think the agenda of future conventions should provide for a report by the vice president on organization. (Applause.)

President Bridges: No one has to tell me who wrote this eloquent report. Whatever differences I may have had with Brother Murnane, I have never been misled as to his deep dedication to the union.

Delegate Kaufman, Local 501: As a member of the committee, I would like to speak about Point 12 regarding accusations made against our union. I am from Canada and this is my first ILWU convention. I have learned a great deal and can appreciate the situation the labor movement has in the US. There is definitely a need for a labor government in the US and I don't necessarily mean a red government. The majority of the labor movement is quite happy with the principles of our democratic society. You can't get all your conditions across the bargaining table, so we must participate in politics. I would like to see The Dispatcher clearly define our demands and wishes. If we have nothing to hide, nothing can smear us.

Delegate Herman, Local 34: I rise to compliment this committee for the magnificent report they produced and particularly the chairman, Francis Murnane. It takes 10 minutes to read the report, but a great deal of time, effort and imagination to produce it. We cannot under any circumstances underestimate the importance of education.

Delegate Loveridge, Local 13: I think the work and effort put into the report is tremendous. I would suggest at this time that if ever there is the need for an additional man, take a second look at this man (Delegate Murnane) International-wise. The locals have been lax in sending material to The Dispatcher. I wish to commend Vice President Robertson for the columns he has written during the past six months. There has been some bad publicity about The Dispatcher in the locals and some members have asked me to delete their names from the mailing list. I would suggest that the International officers print material

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in The Dispatcher, dealing with the opposite point of view once in awhile as is done by the local commercial press.

Delegate Evelyn Johnson, Local 6: Brother Murnane did an excellent job. I have been waiting for a good educational program. A day before a union election my employer came over to me and said that in going into the ILWU I was going into a "red" union. I told him that if wanting good conditions, security, etc., meant that I was a red, then that's what I was because I wanted the best. It's like having the blood of Jesus; if you have a drop, you have it all.

Delegate Keenan, Local 8: It was a privilege to serve on the Publicity and Education Committee. We have arrived at some very constructive suggestions under the aegis of that unofficial mayor of Portland, Francis Murnane. I wonder why The Dispatcher did not cover the Florida railroad strike and the strike of the East Coast and Gulf longshoremens, two stories which were headlined in the newspapers. We would like to see mastheads, such as "B.C. News", "Columbia River News", etc., If this means enlarging The Dispatcher, we should investigate it; and if the cost is prohibitive perhaps these features can be carried only every other month. I think Bill Lawrence should write a column on automation. Although retired, he is serving on the Automation Commission in California. We should have our own library of documentaries and utilize motion pictures to educate our people. Overseas delegates should be supplied with cameras and their films receive broad showing. I move the adoption of the report.

Delegate Meske, Local 26: I served on this committee. I would like to say that my job is mostly organizing and we like to win when we tackle a place, but we know why when we lose; we don't have the answers to combat the employer's program. We need factual printed information. We hope the ILWU research office will begin to issue something of two or three pages that can be used for organizing purposes that will answer specifically the red smear that is being tossed at us every day. I suggest that T.C. Douglas' remarks be reproduced and I would like 2,000 copies for organizational purposes. I would like to see the resolution on HUAC edited and 2,000 copies made available to me for organizing purposes in southern California. When new members are initiated, it would be of great value - while they take the oath - if they could hear a tape of the voices of President Bridges, Vice President Robertson, and Secretary-Treasurer Goldblatt, explaining where the union stands.

Delegate Billiarde, Local 13: I commend the committee for doing an excellent job. Every local should have a live and moving force in the publicity committee. Delegate Badalamenti, Local 54: I also commend the committee for a job well done. Delegate Oldham, Local 19: It was a distinct pleasure to have served on the committee and to have worked

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with Chairman Murnane. Delegate Rohatch, Local 10: I call for the previous question. M/S/C/U to adopt the Report of the Publicity and Education Committee.

Chairman Murnane thanked all members of the committee and noted a correction to the minutes of April 6 which should have stated that if it was possible the remarks of Mr. Douglas would be distributed to the membership but not to convention delegates.

A Majority and Minority Report on the Appeals Committee Report to the 1965 Convention re the Resolutions from Locals 40 and 92 which were referred to the above committee were distributed. Delegate Lucero, Local 11, chairman of the appeals committee, read both reports and stated the committee received information from respective people and locals involved and was of the opinion that the people concerned can work with the recommendations of the Majority Report.

Delegate Pillsbury, Local 34, maker of the Minority Report felt there there was not enough time for the committee to look over all the documents handed them and hand down a clear decision. This is a longshore problem and I recommend it be referred to the caucus. Delegate Smith, Local 501, a member of the appeals committee and a party to the majority report urged the report be voted up. Although the committee was pressed for time after the morning session with the locals and people concerned, we understood the problems and felt obligated to come to a decision and bring a report to this convention. In reply to Delegate Perlin, Local 26, Chairman Lucero replied it could relate to the warehouse. Delegate Herman, Local 34, said proper clarification should be given that the issue involves three locals of the longshore division and is not an issue with the warehouse division.

President Bridges said this comes up as a matter of jurisdiction between the locals and is the property of the whole International union. Jurisdiction is not something that belongs to a local union. Behind each local union must stand the International union and jurisdiction is subject to change. Another matter is autonomy. Autonomy must take into consideration all members of all locals and the International union.

Delegate Perisho, Local 63, speaking against the Majority Report, declared local autonomy as we know it does not give the right for a local to negotiate job rights away from other locals. Delegate Herman, Local 34, rose in support of the Minority Report. In the interest of allowing all points of view to be developed, this convention should support the Minority Report and refer this to the longshore caucus. Delegate Brown, Local 12, asked if the Minority Report is voted up would that rule out any points incorporated in the Majority Report for the caucus.

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President Bridges reported the Minority Report is a motion to refer and does not settle anything. The International Executive Board took the position to maintain a status quo and notified Local 21 to hold everything up because of the convention, but this was subsequent to the agreement being signed.

Delegate Smith, Local 501, stated the three delegates sponsoring the Majority Report felt there were mistakes made by all parties concerned but feel people concerned operated as they saw was best for their membership and the union. We recognize the checkers in this area were there; they were there prior to the signing of the addendum to the green book; Local 92's bosses were there and Local 21 was also there.

Delegate Stranahan, Local 40, speaking in favor of the Minority Report felt time did not allow a good discussion on these issues and we should have time to arrive at a good decision in the caucus. Delegate Riggs, Local 50, noted the only people involved are clerks, longshoremen and the walking bosses. Delegate Ross, Local 8, suggested the chairman call on all members of the appeals committee to give a report.

Delegate Hooper, Local 14, a member of the appeals committee hoped the convention would handle this as what was liable to happen was that this convention refers this to the caucus and caucus refers to the Coast Committee, and then to the Executive Board, and two years from now it will be back here again. Delegate Rendell, Local 54, was in favor of the Minority Report. Delegate Houser, Local 40, moved for the adoption of the Minority Report.

Delegate Duca, Local 6, moved to close debate. The motion to close debate was carried by a show of hands. Delegate Van Brunt noted three members from Local 40 were given an opportunity to speak, while Local 21 did not have a speaker. Delegate Ross felt Local 21 should be entitled to be heard. President Bridges replied he had no objections to the suggestion, but noted there were discussions both for and against both reports.

By a show of hands, the Minority Report to refer this matter to the longshore caucus carried.

President Bridges thanked the committee for its fine work. Delegate Huntsinger, Local 8, also commended the appeals committee.

M/S/C to discharge all committees with a vote of thanks and appreciation for a job well done.

President Bridges called on Delegate Lawrence, Local 13, a local officer, International Executive Board member, now retired, to serve as convention chairman during the process of nomination and primary election of Officers and Executive Board members.

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Chairman Lawrence read Article VI, Section 3, Election of Officers, of the International Constitution.

Nominations for President

Delegate Barker, Local 501, representing all the Canadian locals, nominated Harry Bridges and credited him with the growth and development of the Canadian Area. The Canadian ILWU stands as a link between Alaska and the stateside locals, united with Hawaii into a great union, and we intend to stay united. The Canadian delegation unanimously endorses Harry Bridges for President of the ILWU. (Standing ovation.)

Delegate Rohatch, Local 10, on behalf of all Northern California locals, seconded the nomination. Harry Bridges has welded the ILWU into a union second to none - the most militant and the most aggressive in the world.

Delegate Murnane, Local 8, in the name of the Oregon and Columbia River delegation, seconded with pride the nomination of Harry Bridges. We are privileged to have this remarkable man as president, whose likes you will never see again, who has blazed labor trails to be tread by future workers for time to come, who has been the inspiration of this union and who is known far and wide by people in all walks of life, who is recognized and respected throughout the world for his opinions and views. He has breathed life into this union to fire us on, and is an outstanding example of the best qualities of our own union and for his integrity and honesty. Despite many disagreements with Harry, there is a feeling of good will that no differences of opinion can ever wipe out. I am proud again to second the nomination of Harry Bridges, who, in my opinion, along with Bob and Lou and others from the past, is one of the outstanding labor leaders in the whole world.

Delegate Guy, Local 16, on behalf of the entire Alaska delegation, seconded the nomination of Harry Bridges with great pleasure. Although he hasn't been in Alaska since he has been president, perhaps now that he has been given a sweater and cap by the Canadians we will see him.

Delegate Evelyn Johnson, Local 6, seconded the nomination of Harry Bridges for president on behalf of all Northern California locals. As a mother of children, and a Negro woman who has worked for a living, I am concerned as to who is given the leadership of this union. Belonging to Harry Bridges' union means a union with no discrimination; one with a fighting program for wages and conditions, honor and dignity to those who work for a living. Mr. Bridges is a man of heart, who is concerned about the welfare of all people.

Delegate Samson, Local 142, declared that Local 142 stands solidly behind the nomination of Harry Bridges as president of our union.

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Delegate Sickinger, Columbia River Pensioners Memorial Association, seconded the nomination on behalf of that organization. Delegate Billiarde, Local 13, heartily endorsed the nomination in behalf of Local 13 and the entire Southern California delegation. Harry has always been in there when the chips are down.

M/S/C to close nominations. Motion CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY, by standing vote. (Standing ovation.)

NOMINATIONS FOR VICE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION.

Del. Abel, Local 30, on behalf of the youngest local in the International, nominated for Vice President of ILWU, J.R. Robertson, who is responsible for organizing the Boron plant, Local 30 into this genuinely democratic, militant union. (standing ovation.)

Delegate Mosely, Local 10, seconded the nomination, We know from the past record his union principles - what this union stands for and is built around.

Delegate Smith, Local 10, seconded the nomination. Bob has been a tremendous leader of our organization. We read with interest his column in The Dispatcher, and feel that along with the ILWU, Bcb, too has been "On the March".

Delegate Lee, Local 26, seconded the nomination and were proud of the honor, particularly because of Bob's organizing activity in the Los Angeles area which has done so much for our local and for the area. With his prospective and outline, the union will continue to grow.

Delegate Heide, Local 6, on behalf of Local 6 and its membership, seconded the nomination. Bob was instrumental in the very early days of organizing this union, and what has been called the "march inland". He organized integrated unions in the south long before the present freedom fight started down there. He has performed yeoman service in the ILWU which is appreciated by all the members and delegates to this convention.

Delegate Brown, Local 12, on behalf of the Columbia River and Oregon delegation, seconded the nomination of Bob Robertson. Bob's light is sometimes overshadowed by the figure of the president of this union, but the light is there, and Bob is one of the great men in the trade union movement.

Delegate Damaso, Local 142, on behalf of Local 142, seconded the nomination. The history of the ILWU in Hawaii demonstrates that Brother Robertson has been at our side at all times helping to organize and

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strengthen our local and we are continuing to expand with his assistance. His great ability will continue for the benefit of the workers to come.

Delegate Franklin, Local 10, with the greatest honor, seconded the nomination of Vice President Robertson.

Delegate Lucero, Local 11, was pleased to second the nomination. We have known Bob for some time, and worked with him closely. He has always been ready and willing to help us whenever we needed assistance.

M/S/C to close nominations. By standing vote the MOTION CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY. (Standing ovation.)

NOMINATIONS FOR SEC.-TREASURER.

Delegate Duarte, Local 6, stated we have watched this man grow in stature over the years. Just when you think he has reached his potential he continues to grow. He rises to every occasion. On finances, no one surpasses him. In negotiations he is a master. He is an encyclopedia of information. He understands the techniques and jobs of all the divisions in this international. He is a product of this union, moulded and cast in the militancy of this union, and polished with our struggles. From this came the man I nominate, not on behalf of any local, but from the entire ILWU - Louis Goldblatt. (Standing ovation.)

Delegate Sherman, Local 26, seconded the nomination, honored to represent my local and all the delegates from Southern California.

Delegate McClain, Local 6, seconded the nomination with pride and pleasure. His record speaks for itself - "By his deeds ye shall know him." This man comes from the warehouse Local 6. His work and co-operation are respected and needed. His energy is unlimited: He applies himself to longshore, sugar, pineapple, warehouse and all the other divisions' problems and welfare and yet has time to represent the ILWU in community problems such as civil rights, housing, education, with great credit to our union.

Delegate Keenan, Local 8, on behalf of the Oregon and Columbia River delegation, with pride seconded the nomination. He is skillful with finances, and in our area we consider him one of the most able negotiators in the U.S., or anywhere in the world and in whom we have the utmost confidence.

Delegate Hokama, Local 142, on behalf of the largest local in the International seconded the nomination of Brother Goldblatt as Secretary-Treasurer. Our local is composed of longshoremen, clerks, sugar workers, pineapple workers, hotel workers, waitresses, service station

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attendants, white collar workers. We appreciate the team we have in the International and the way they work together.

Delegate Baier, Local 47, seconded the nomination of Secretary Goldblatt. Lou is a man amongst men in our local and in our community. We will never forget the moving eulogy he delivered for one of our honored union Brothers, Frank Andrews. We will never forget him in Olympia.

Delegate Barlow, Local 10, seconded the nomination. Brother Lou is probably one of the most dedicated men we will ever know - dedicated to the welfare of other people.

Delegate Herman, Local 34, on behalf of the Northern California locals and his own local, was deeply honored at the opportunity to second the nomination. He epitomizes to the highest degree the true union man and the true humanitarian. He serves in the interests of this union in every aspect of his life. In every struggle of the people on the march for human dignity you will find him involved, representing the ILWU as no one else can.

L.L. Loveridge, Local 13, for his local, seconded the nomination with profound pleasure. He is fair, sincere, honest, intelligent, helpful and human.

M/S/C to close nominations. By standing vote MOTION CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY.
(Standing ovation.)

NOMINATIONS FOR EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBERS: (Report from Caucuses)

Northern California - 3 to be elected. Del. King, Local 6, nominated: Carl (Smitty) Smith, Local 10; Charles (Chili) Durarte, Local 6; Michael Johnson, Local 34 and Frank Jaworski, Local 54.

Southern California - 2 to be elected. Del. Willacy S. California Pensioners, nominated: L.L. (Chick) Loveridge, Local 13; Eddie Mondor, Local 13; Louis Sherman, Local 26.

Puget Sound - Alaska - 2 to be elected: Del. Palmer, Local 52, nominated: George A. (Jack) Price, Local 19; George McGinnis, Local 23; William (Bill) Forrester, Local 51.

Columbia River-Oregon: 1 to be elected. Del. Huntsinger, Local 8, nominated: Charles Ross, Local 8; Eugene Bailey, Local 12.

Canada: 1 to be elected. Del. Johnstone, Local 509, nominated: Bev Dunphy, Local 501; Roy Smith, Local 501.

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Hawaii: 3 to be elected. Del. Damaso, Local 142, nominated: Frank Mendoza, longshore; Joseph Lunasco, sugar; Haruo Nakamoto, sugar; Wayne Higa, general trades.

Delegate Lawrence, Local 13, congratulated the convention on its deliberations and the resolution of its problems in the right ILWU tradition.

President Bridges delivered a short address of thanks to the delegates for their demonstration of continued faith in him and the other officers. The achievements of this union stem from the strength and unity of the rank and file - not from the officers. We have made gains because the membership was not afraid. The workers are the real power in this world - the working class is the force that gets things done. This is the strength of the officers. We are ably assisted by a great staff - our Regional Directors and International Representatives. Without these people in the field the leaders would be helpless. We must have the understanding of the rank and file plus the program and the unified action. That's what makes this union tick. We appreciate the honor of being renominated. (Applause.)

NOMINATION OF BALLOTING COMMITTEE: Murray, Local 6; Lucero, Local 11; Barlow, Local 10; Pillsbury, Local 34; Badalamenti, Local 54. M/S/C to elect.

SELECTION OF SITE OF NEXT CONVENTION: Los Angeles or San Francisco. By division, San Francisco was selected.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Delegate Lawrence, Local 13, M/S/C/U to instruct the officers to send a telegram to Coast Committeeman H.J. Bodine, wishing him a speedy recovery and expressing our regret at his being unable to attend the convention.

Delegate Dunphy on behalf of all the Canadian locals expressed the honor and pleasure of the Canadian membership in hosting this convention, and thankful for the opportunity of meeting the delegates and becoming better friends.

NEW BUSINESS:

Delegate Van Brunt, Local 21, M/S that the International make every effort to stop the sailors from performing any longshore work in Alaska and British Columbia unless they hire through the union hiring hall of ILWU. President Bridges asked for a clarification, and Van Brunt stated, if they are not working on the ship and not working as sailors there is no reason they can't be given work from our halls. MOTION CARRIED.

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Delegate Keenan, Local 8, M/S/C that the International officers explore the possibility of securing a new International headquarters to adequately contain the expanding library, and facilities of the International.

GOOD AND WELFARE:

Delegate Perlin, Local 26, on behalf of all the delegates to the convention thanked the Canadians for their generous and kind hospitality. We have all found the spirit of friendliness and warmth and affection that we found in Hawaii, and we are deeply grateful for the many considerations.

Announcement: Clerks' Caucus at the end of the convention, at the rostrum.

Delegate Damaso, Local 142, on behalf of his local thanked the Canadians for the gracious hospitality extended to the Hawaiian delegation. Aloha and mahalo. Delegate Wong added his personal thanks and gratitude and for the pineapple unit particularly. Delegate Stranahan, Local 40, on behalf of the Columbia River and Oregon locals and the pensioners thanked the Canadian delegation for their kindnesses.

Delegate Lawrence, Local 13, on behalf of the entire Southern California delegation extended their thanks for the thoughtful courtesies extended to their delegations. President Bridges introduced the widow of one of our friends who is now gone - whose ringing voice we have missed in the convention hall this year - the Bull of the Woods, Frank Andrews.

Mrs. Andrews thanked the convention for their acknowledgement and invitation for her to be present, and especially thanked those who so faithfully wrote to Frank during his last months, and for the assistance and strength they had received during that time from his friends and colleagues.

The showing of the overseas delegation films was scheduled for the Prospect Room - 8 o'clock tonight.

Ed Conklin, the caucus reporter was given a standing vote of thanks.

Representatives of each of the Canadian locals was presented by the Chairman with a parchment scroll of thanks. Delegate Barker was presented with a bronze plaque for the Canadian area and expressed appreciation.

An appropriate letter of thanks will be sent from the International to the staff of the hotel.

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The Hawaiian delegation led by Danny Haleamau sang Aloha to the convention delegates.

President Bridges announced the caucus starts Saturday at 10 a.m.

The convention adjourned after a minute's silence in honor of those of our ranks who died in the past year: Frank Andrews, Local 47, Paul Cosgrove, Local 34, Charles Appel, Local 19, Kastner Ogawa, Local 142, Joe Zuber, Local 6 and many others.

The Convention adjourned at 6:50 p.m., sine die.

NOTE: Attached to these minutes are the statements of policy and resolutions which were adopted by the Convention but were not attached to the news releases.

International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union
Sixteenth Biennial Convention
Vancouver, B.C.
April 5 - 9, 1965

Statement of Policy # 25

Statement of Policy on VIETNAM

This 16th Biennial Convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union calls on President Johnson and our Congressmen to stop the killing in Vietnam.

We support Senator Ernest Gruening's statement in the U.S. Senate: "I do not propose to vote another dollar for South Vietnam. I was against going in; I have been against staying in; I am for getting out immediately."

We agree with UN Secretary U Thant's statement: "I am sure that the great American people, if it knows the true facts, will agree with me that further bloodshed is unnecessary and that political and diplomatic negotiations alone can create conditions that will enable the United States to withdraw gracefully from that part of the world."

We say, let the Vietnamese people decide. They have suffered war and foreign intervention too long already: first from France, now from the U.S. Let them have the supervised free elections which they were promised by the Geneva Agreement of 1954 which ended their war with France. Those elections were prevented by the corrupt Diem regime which we supported.

The Geneva Agreement promised freedom from foreign arms and interference. There would be no war today if the agreement had been lived up to. Our country violated it for years, calling our troops "advisors".

United States' policy now follows the incredible path of "negotiation through escalation." This terrifying concept is but one step removed from escalation to a world holocaust!

For that reason we join with a vast number of notable individuals,

Conv. Res. 25 on Vietnam

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including senators Morse and Gruening, and influential political and religious organizations, in calling for an end to that war by any one of several processes - all with merit - and all having these points in common:

There must be a cease-fire. This is self evident; nothing can even be decided while the fighting rages. Foreign troops must be withdrawn - if not immediately, then by some planned, internationally controlled procedure. The alternative is mutual destruction. The exact formula for negotiations is less important than the agreement to negotiate.

Therefore we propose:

1. Cease fire
2. Withdrawal of all foreign troops
3. Negotiate
4. Settlement and peace

Based on resolutions
SUBMITTED BY:

ILWU Local 6, 10, 12, 142, 501, 503
and CR District Council

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International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union
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Statement of Policy # 29

Statement of Policy on UNITED NATIONS

On this eve of the 20th anniversary of the United Nations, and despite much serious criticism of the functioning of that organization,, we re-affirm our conviction that the U.N. is still the world's best hope for peace.

The U.N. Charter was hailed by the ILWU two decades ago -- when our Union played a role in its formation -- because national autonomy was built into its structure. No matter how it has been mis-used, the Charter still guarantees that member nations have the right to establish political, economic and social systems of their choice, while they still assume the responsibility to work together for mutual benefit. Member nations may also come and go as they please -- as witness Indonesia's pulling out of the U.N. recently. But the needs of humanity demand cooperation of all nations, and it is our hope Indonesia will reconsider, in the larger interest of world peace.

Indeed, if the U.N. is to function effectively, it must include ALL nations, with none excluded because any bloc or coalition of nations disapproves of its political coloration. Certainly the Peoples' Republic of China must be part of the U.N. -- just as it must be inevitably included in any worldwide plans for negotiating today's conflicts and eventual disarmament and peace.

As the U.N. approaches its 20th anniversary it must also be seen as a much richer and more varied representative of the world's people. A majority of its members now include the severely exploited "backward" colonial nations; the U.N. is no longer a preserve of the white powers.

These new nations, many of whom had to win their independence the

UNITED NATIONS

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the hard way, often through bloody struggle, have a deep understanding of the need for peace. They need all their resources and energies to develop their economies, broaden their living standards, education, health, and much more. They are inevitably moving toward a more socially-conscious world, many toward socialism. As such they are already changing the face of the U.N.

The United Nations is not all power and politics. A number of enlightened agencies work without publicity or fanfare on projects essential to the health, education and well-being of the world. This intrinsic part of the U.N. program will be given new impetus when the world finally ceases to waste itself on arms and armies.

The ILWU opposes all attempts to divide and weaken the U.N., or to pull out the United Nations, as the Birchers are daily attempting to do by an unremitting smear campaign. We reserve the right to be critical of the U.N. when we disagree with any of its acts, but we agree with its basic aims and activities ; and we again pledge continued support.

oeiu:15

International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union
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Statement of Policy # 34

Statement of Policy on THE WALTER-McCARRAN ACT

The Walter-McCarran Act, which governs U.S. policy and action with respect to immigration, naturalization and deportation, is a hangover from the worst period of the cold war attacks on traditional American liberties. It was passed in 1952 during the heyday of McCarthyism. It is the embodiment of the political and racial hatred personified in its two authors, the late Senator Pat McCarran and the late Congressman Francis E. Walter.

The ILWU opposed the bill before it became law, and has denounced the law ever since. Its provisions have been used to deport members of our union. The quota system which it sets up for the admission of aliens is repugnant to our American ideals. The Immigration and Naturalization Service, hiding behind its procedures, repeatedly violates constitutional safeguards of political liberty.

The McCarthy era is fortunately behind us. The authors of the law have passed to their reward. The law that bears their name should be repealed and replaced by one more nearly in accord with traditional American principles of liberty and freedom. Specifically, we would replace the quota system with a provision relating the entry of aliens to the manpower needs of the country, and, as an immediate amendment, we reiterate our demand that there be a 5-year statute of limitations on denaturalization and deportation.

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Statement of Policy # 39

Statement of Policy on HUAC

The House Un-American Activities Committee received both a record appropriation and record-breaking opposition when Congress gave it another lease on life, and more Congressmen than ever before voted to put it out of business.

It is noteworthy that the opposition has tripled each time the issue has come up. In 1961, six Congressmen stuck their necks out to say "nay"; in 1963, the six were joined by 14 more, 20 in all; in 1965, 58 stood to be counted against HUAC. We applaud them all.

Encouragement has come from many sources in the anti-HUAC campaign--including hundreds of lawyers, other professionals, civic leaders, teachers and many more in all walks of life. Especially notable has been an increase in labor opposition, as witness the San Francisco Labor Council (AFL-CIO) which charged the committee with "an un-American process of accusation by innuendo without recourse or reply," and called HUAC, "one of the greatest violators of civil liberties...in seeking headlines and denunciation of individuals by accusation without regard to the right of the individuals to face their accusers."

Editorial comment has been short. For example, the Washington Post called HUAC a "star chamber" operation and said that, "the inescapable consequence of the Committee's subpoena--and perhaps its purpose as well--is to put a damper on the right to petition, to

HUAC

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discourage any deviation from strict orthodoxy. That is real un-Americanism."

The New York Times in its January 4, 1965 editorial titled "The Un-Americans" declared:

"The Un-American Committee is un-needed, untrustworthy and basically unconstitutional. The new House could not make a better start than by getting rid of it."

We in the ILWU need no reminders of the times HUAC has attacked this union and other unions. We need not be told how the committee laid the basis for an attempt to split and weaken the ILWU in Hawaii, how it singled out many of the union's International and local officers. Or, the many times it has moved its travelling circus into areas where unions have been engaged in representation elections, or collective bargaining battles, with the intention of smearing and running.

HUAC has tried to weaken and destroy the civil rights movement in the south, with the Committee (run mostly by southerners with seniority won by years of denying Negroes the right to vote) moving into southern communities to smear active civil rights leaders, to leave the innuendo that merely being touched by the Committee implies guilt and disloyalty, to promote the idea within the white community that a civil rights protest is synonymous with subversion. HUAC was recently cited as a source of "facts" to smear many of the leaders in the great civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery.

HUAC

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The right NOT to answer questions about personal beliefs is a constitutional right HUAC ignores as it ignores the protection of due process.

All for what purpose? Certainly not to legislate, which is supposed to be a committee's first purpose. As the American Civil Liberties Union pointed out recently there is a complete "absence of significant legislation introduced by the HUAC."

Its real purpose, to again quote the ACLU, is "Trial by publicity in a circus atmosphere...to sap the strength of the first amendment...to damage the nation's security and morale by becoming an instrument of fear and oppression."

We are not impressed with the recent announcement that the Committee will investigate the Klu Klux Klan. The Department of Justice has complete information on most of the bombings and burnings and knows who perpetrated them; no investigation is needed. With the Committee heavily weighted with southerners and given its general character it is inevitable that the hearings will just be pro forma or will wind up with a whitewash. Then the Committee will return to its regular business of smearing leaders of the civil rights and civil liberties movements.

Hence the continued ILWU's opposition to the House un-American Activities Committee. It has no place in our society. It is anti-labor. It is, indeed, un-American!

We commend the congressmen whose patriotism was demonstrated when

HUAC

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they stood up so courageously in favor of free speech and association by voting against HUAC. We commend their stand, we stand with them and we support them.

Copies of this statement should be sent to each of the Congressmen.

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International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union,
Sixteenth Biennial Convention
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Statement of Policy # 40

Statement of Policy on USE OF GAS WARFARE

We condemn the use of gas warfare in Vietnam.

The 1925 Geneva Convention stated that the use of gas against human beings "has been justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilized world". They meant every kind of gas, not just the type that some of our officers in Vietnam laughingly called "benevolent incapacitators".

Equally cynical is the attempt to sell the mythology that the United States didn't use the gas -- only the South Vietnamese forces -- and therefore it is their responsibility. The fact that it was US-manufactured gas, tossed from US-built helicopters, by men dressed in US-type uniforms, and undoubtedly with the consent of US "advisers" clearly points to the responsible sources.

The USA signed that Geneva Convention, but the Senate never ratified it. In World War I, Canadian forces were among the worst sufferers from the use of gas, as a result of a change in wind. It is a vicious, inhuman weapon that does not choose its victim, and today the American people have become its worst victim -- for we have lost the respect of the world.

We condemn this use of gas today -- while there is still time to change our course in Vietnam -- with the hope that it is not too late.

oeiu #15

International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union,
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Statement of Policy # 7

Statement of Policy on INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION SOLIDARITY

When the chips are down labor must depend on its own muscle -- on its economic and political strength -- and on old-fashioned, tried and tested worker solidarity. From its birth, the ILWU has built bonds of friendship and understanding with the trade union movement around the world. ILWU teams of overseas delegates in the last six years who probed every continent, and found friendship in scores of countries, were told that when our union is under the gun their unions -- even in some of the most impoverished countries -- would lend whatever support they could. And our "overseas ambassadors" assured them that when they needed help they could call on us. This is the substance of solidarity.

Dockworkers at the bargaining table always have an added source of strength by the assurance that a struck ship, if loaded by strike-breakers, may sit till it rots in foreign ports before it will be discharged. The ILWU's cooperation with other waterfront labor organizations, and particularly the All Pacific and Asian Dockworkers Conference, has brought our reserve of friendship and solidarity to a new high. It has helped waterfront workers in Japan to make more effective their demands for better wages and conditions and safety programs, and ultimately to decasualize their industry. We have assured the Mexican longshoremen of our support in their drive for uniform contracts in all the ports of the Republic of Mexico.

In dozens of ports around the globe the ILWU Story has been left in union headquarters, and Men and Machines provide some understanding of what can be done to meet the challenge of mechanization -- which, our delegates report, is already seen as a threat to security

INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION SOLIDARITY

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even in some of the most far-flung areas.

All in all we have harvested rich rewards from our contacts overseas and these worker-to-worker bonds of friendship must be continued, and whenever possible we must seek to exchange delegations and to invite them to visit us.

In contrast to the ILWU's position, some three weeks ago on March 20 The New York Times editorialized about "discord in world labor" saying that George Meany has hinted that the American labor movement may end its affiliation with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The ICFTU was said to be "running downhill to the point of almost total ineffectiveness." The dissatisfaction of the AFL-CIO leadership apparently combines at least two levels (1) There are differences over ideology and the cold war, implying that Meany doesn't think the ICFTU is sufficiently conservative to suit him. (2) The world organization has a "slack record of accomplishment in building independent unions in Africa and other under-developed areas" -- a project for which the AFL-CIO contributed \$2 million in the last four years. In this item we find a more profound truth: When an American union organization sets its sights on shoring-up US foreign policy, opposes full world trade (as the AFL-CIO executive board did recently in its winter meeting in Florida) and tries to stuff its program down the throats of unionists in former colonial and so-called "backward" areas, instead of lending economic support to their wage and contract demands, then failure is assured.

At this point we believe the ILWU is among the very few American union organizations that has won a solid foundation for friendship, mutual help and solidarity. While some of the ILWU programs have had shortcomings and weaknesses, this will not alter the fundamental

INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION SOLIDARITY

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purposes of this Convention to keep building on the foundation of international solidarity.

oeiu:15

International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union
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Resolution # 6

Resolution on COMPULSORY ARBITRATION

WHEREAS: There have been concerted attempts through all levels of government and management in the United States and Canada to bring in legislation for compulsory arbitration; and

WHEREAS: This Union, along with many other unions, has learned through long experience that the only people who can properly and finally settle differences in negotiations are the people directly involved and are completely familiar with the industry;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That this Union is unalterably opposed to any form of compulsory arbitration or third party interference in negotiations; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED: That we strive, through political action and education, to block this form of anti-labour legislation wherever it appears.

SUBMITTED BY:

ILWU Local 501

International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union
Sixteenth Biennial Convention
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Draft
Resolution # _____

Resolution on FREE WORLD TRADE

WHEREAS: Our nation, like all nations, needs world trade in order to
sell our manufactured products, and that we need to buy
certain raw materials as well; and

WHEREAS: Our refusal to trade with certain nations of the world has
had little effect on the economy of those nations, but has
certainly restrained the activities of some of our own
manufacturers; and

WHEREAS: Many of the nations with which we trade take great advantage
of our refusal to trade with certain nations, by buying our
products and selling them to the nations with which we
refuse to trade;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the ILWU Convention go on record
urging the Congress of the United States to liberalize our
foreign trade policies so as to allow free world trade with
all nations.

SUBMITTED BY:

ILWU Local 21

International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union
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Draft
Resolution # _____

Resolution on ABOLISHMENT OF HOUSE UN-AMERICAN
ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

WHEREAS: A California congressman, Don Edwards by name, has introduced the following House Resolution No. 23: This resolution amends the rules of the House of Representatives as follows:

- 1) Abolishes the Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC).
- 2) Clarifies and enlarges the mandate of the Committee on the Judiciary, which presently includes within its jurisdiction "bankruptcy, mutiny, espionage and counterfeiting" by adding the following language: "sabotage, and other overt acts affecting internal security".

NOTE: HUAC's mandate does not provide for legislative investigations in regard to overt acts affecting internal security, such as mutiny, espionage or sabotage.

Throughout its 27 year history, the sole power conferred on HUAC has been to investigate "un-American propaganda activities" and "subversive and un-American propaganda" in the United States - areas prescribed to the Congress by the First Amendment.

- 3) Transfers all property and records of HUAC to the Archives, not to be opened for official or public inspection; and

ABOLISHMENT OF HUAC

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WHEREAS: Other congressmen have introduced similar resolutions;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That our local firmly supports House Resolution #23 because it has been used to blacklist people from their jobs and positions because they had the courage to stand up and refused to be intimidated into becoming stoolpigeons and informers upon their fellow Americans; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That because it, that is, the current House Un-American Committee, now has a five to four majority of Dixiecrats whose position against Negro voter registration is well-known throughout their respective southern states they are supposed to represent;

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED: That we recommend that our Convention go on record that we let our Representatives in Congress know about our action and urge them to take a similar stand for that committee's abolishment.

SUBMITTED BY:

ILWU Local 10

oteu29

International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union
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Draft
Resolution # _____

Resolution on INTERVENTION IN NATIONAL DISPUTES

WHEREAS: Two decades of silent intervention in other nations' internal disputes has created a situation where those nations concerned in such intervention no longer occupy a position of repute, but are indeed termed the aggressors and are rightly or wrongly held in international diplomatic scorn; and

WHEREAS: Force of arms would not necessarily mean the right to arms, nor the justification for such unilateral action,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the ILWU take a stand opposed to such intervention and restore our respective countries, back to the positions of world respect we used to enjoy by simply minding our own cotton picking business.

SUBMITTED BY:

ILWU Local 503

oteu29

International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union
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Draft
Resolution # _____

Resolution on WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS FROM VIETNAM

- WHEREAS: The announced peaceful policy of our government received resounding endorsement in the recent elections; and
- WHEREAS: There is a rapidly growing concern in this country and abroad over the increasing air strikes being carried out by U.S. personnel in the Vietnam area; and
- WHEREAS: Such public figures as Senators Morse, Gruening, Church and McGovern have been urging a negotiated cease-fire in that area; and
- WHEREAS: Leading newspapers, such as the "New York Times", and leading editorial columnists, such as Walter Lippman and Royce Brier, are now speaking out along the same lines; and
- WHEREAS: The Rev. Martin Luther King has spoken against the "timidity of a federal government that is willing to spend millions of dollars a day to defend freedom in Vietnam but cannot protect the rights of its citizens at home"; and
- WHEREAS: The maintenance of U.S. troops overseas creates a serious drain on our gold reserves;
- THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That in line with Senator Gruening's statement, "I do not propose to vote another dollar for South Vietnam. I was against going in; I have been against staying in; I am for getting out immediately"; and in line with Secretary U Thant's statement, as quoted in a N.Y. Times

VIETNAM

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editorial, "I am sure that the great American people, if it knows the true facts, will agree with me that further bloodshed is unnecessary and that political and diplomatic negotiations alone can create conditions that will enable the United States to withdraw gracefully from that part of the world"; we urge an immediate cease-fire in Vietnam, to be followed by the withdrawal of all foreign troops and by a settlement to be reached in the best tradition of collective bargaining by thrashing things out around the negotiating table.

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THE CIVIL WAR IN VIETNAM: BACKGROUND AND PROSPECTS

a statement by

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THE CIVIL WAR IN VIETNAM: BACKGROUND AND PROSPECTS

The United States Is Heavily Involved in South Vietnam

The recent events in the Bay of Tonkin have brought the world once again to the brink of disaster. It was easily predictable that the ever-increasing military intervention of the U.S. in the unhappy Vietnamese civil war would inevitably lead to open conflict between U.S. forces and those of North Vietnam.

Amidst the whirl of charges and countercharges as to which side provoked the crisis, the overriding goal must be immediate negotiations to defuse the explosive situation.

Perhaps never before has the U.S. been in a more untenable political, moral, and military dilemma than the one which now confronts us in the steaming jungles and the rice paddies of South Vietnam.

There -- despite official denials of our combat involvement, despite short-lived bursts of exuberance over minor skirmishes, despite loud assertions that we are supporting responsible government and freedom against communist subversion -- the great and powerful U.S. is rapidly losing respect and influence, men and money, dignity and maneuverability.

Despite American casualties in the hundreds and expenditures in hundreds of millions, the U.S. military and political position in South Vietnam is becoming increasingly desperate, and our frustrated military leaders are calling for "escalation" of the war, which means, essentially, using nuclear weapons and getting on with World War III.

Such hysteria is eloquent confirmation of the Administration's most poorly kept secret: that 16,000 crack U.S. military "advisers" and 250,000 South Vietnam military forces, supported by extensive U.S. arms and chemical warfare techniques, can achieve no more than a stalemate, and possibly not even that, against some 25,000 ragged guerrilla fighters. Obviously, these guerrillas must be receiving tremendous aid and support from South Vietnam's civilian population. Hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of South Vietnamese are not only refusing to support their government, they are actively opposing it. Unfortunately, they are permitted no other channel for registering opposition to their government than that of giving support to the guerrillas. Thus the Vietnam war is essentially a civil war. As Senator Wayne Morse of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee says: "There are no Chinese in South Vietnam. There are no Russian soldiers in South Vietnam. The only foreign soldiers in South Vietnam are U.S. soldiers." (March 25, 1964.)

How Did the U.S. Get into Such a Ludicrous Position?

It was in 1954 that the U.S. interest in South Vietnam, as well as in neighboring Laos and Cambodia, began in earnest. After almost eight years of frustrating hide-and-seek warfare with Vietnamese guerrilla forces, the exhausted French gave up the struggle to retain their colonies in Indochina and joined with eight interested nations to negotiate a cease-fire agreement at Geneva. The temporary partitioning of Vietnam into communist and "democratic" portions, pending nationwide elections, was the most significant provision of the conference agreements.

Fearful of the alleged "vacuum" created by the French defeat and withdrawal, the U.S. government handpicked a leader for the newly independent "democratic" South Vietnam and promptly committed the resources and prestige of the U.S. to building a "free and independent" South Vietnam to serve as a bulwark against the spread of communism and as a model example of what a new society could achieve by aligning itself with the U.S.

Unfortunately, the virtual impossibility of implementing such a program in that locality and at that juncture of history was not realized by our statesmen, due in large measure to our abysmal ignorance of that part of the world (e.g., when the author was preparing for his assignment to Indochina in 1955, it was impossible to find Americans in Washington who had extensive firsthand experience in that area). This unrealistic policy was further hindered by clumsy execution. Our choice of Mr. Diem as the leader for South Vietnam proved to be disastrous as he and his corrupt and dictatorial family quickly came to symbolize precisely the sort of tyranny against which our efforts were meant to be directed.

Widespread disaffection developed which had its origins in a variety of factors. Popular discontent with the cruel and oppressive tactics of the Diem government was reinforced by religious and sectional grievances. The excessive economic dependence of the new government on massive injections of U.S. aid, and the resultant attachment of South Vietnam so completely to the U.S. global political strategy, offended the sensitive nationalism of the Vietnamese people. Diem's negative responses to repeated overtures from the North for establishment of trade and other relations, and his refusal to hold the elections for unification in 1956 as outlined in the cease-fire agreements, further aggravated the dissatisfaction with the government and, by extension, with the U.S., whose hand was widely believed to be directing government policy. Not surprisingly, Communist North Vietnam, once she had succeeded in bringing a measure of order to her own shattered economy, proceeded to add to the agitation and disorder which was engulfing the government of the South.

The Diem government responded to criticism and opposition by adopting a policy of crushing those whose views did not coincide with its own, or labelling them as Communists -- a policy which has been substantially followed by its successors. The rationale, offered by the U.S. State Department for its continuing support of the autocratic and unpopular Diem regime and its successors, was that they, like

ourselves, are intensely dedicated to fighting the Communists - an observation which totally ignores the obvious fact that, if their people reject them, their fierce dedication is of little avail.

The U.S. Buildup Commences

By 1960 sizeable portions of South Vietnam were under the control of anti-government forces. In 1961 the decision was made to introduce a major American military presence into Vietnam. By 1962 there were estimated to be upwards of 16,000 American military forces stationed there, equipped with enormous supplies of U.S. military gadgetry for themselves as well as for the swollen Vietnamese army.

Enthusiastic U.S. support was provided for a variety of inhuman pacification tactics of dubious effectiveness. Entire rural communities were arbitrarily resettled in prison-like camps to prevent their providing succor to the rebellious forces. New chemical-warfare tactics, introduced to defoliate wooded areas, had the side effect of destroying crops, a fact which did not deter us from using them. Brutal tortures and the burning of entire villages were undertaken as a means of extracting information about Viet Cong and other rebels from sympathetic peasants. Practices, whose cruelty revolts civilized men and which must certainly be considered "crimes against humanity" if that term has any meaning whatsoever, became standard procedure.

Not surprisingly, the more destructive and grotesque the combat tactics, the greater became the resentment of the local peasantry which had to bear the wrath of both antagonists (more than 80% of Vietnam's population is rural). The area of the country under rebel control continued to increase, and the number of guerrilla recruits to the rebels' cause grew to the currently estimated 25,000, with sympathizers, perhaps running into the millions, providing food and shelter. Defections from the South Vietnamese army itself have become increasingly a problem, and most of the rebels' weapons are reported to consist of U.S. arms which have been captured by, sold, or given to the rebel forces.

What Is the U.S. Image in Vietnam?

There is, of course, no way to distinguish pro- from anti-government sympathizers amongst the local populace. The tall, fair-skinned Americans are the only obvious intruders, a fact which gives eloquent credibility to the widespread charge that we are the new colonialists.

To the Vietnamese who watch their country being ravaged and their people being mutilated by the air power and mysterious chemical agents which we have supplied, the idea that the U.S. may be using Vietnamese territory to achieve American objectives becomes increasingly convincing. Our protestations that we are fighting for liberty ring hollow when it is only by the force of U.S. support that the unpopular

South Vietnamese governments have been able to achieve and retain power. Our exhortations that communism must be defeated seem irrelevant in an area where other foes are much more tangible. More recently, our talk of introducing nuclear weapons awakens latent memories with racist overtones potentially more explosive than the A-bomb itself. U.N. Secretary General U Thant, himself a Burmese, even felt obliged to warn the U.S. of how such a decision would be viewed by Asians. He said: "Such action is sure to generate widespread resentment and bitter criticism, particularly from quarters which so far have not been very vocal, and have not been very outspoken regarding the situation in Southeast Asia. In 1945, when atomic bombs were dropped over Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan, there was a widespread feeling in many parts of Asia that these deadly atomic bombs were dropped on Japanese cities because the Japanese were non-whites."

The American public has been intentionally victimized throughout this entire adventure. The genuine complexity of the situation has been made particularly unintelligible by distorted reporting and a partial blackout on news from the area, apparently at the instigation of Washington authorities. According to a recent New York Times editorial (July 29, 1964), "the Government's negative -- indeed repressive and distorted -- news policies obscured both the purposes and progress of the war. The public was not only misinformed by Government spokesmen but unpalatable facts were withheld and the truth subverted." The shifting pronouncements and blatant contradictions of Secretary McNamara have exasperated members of the Senate as well as the press and the public. Optimism and gloom have played tag in official Washington views since early 1961. Troop cutbacks have been made, only to be reversed within a few months. McNamara's predictions, reiterated as recently as February 1964, of essentially total U.S. military withdrawal by 1965, have been replaced by an announcement (July 27, 1964) of a 5,000-man increase in our Vietnam military mission and by talk of 20 more years of warfare.

Similar contradictions can be found between the sympathetic support which rebel forces obviously receive from the rural populace throughout South Vietnam and the claim of Premier General Khanh that "the people have called for the war to be carried to the North." Guerrilla insurgents can succeed only when the surrounding population provides them aid and cover, a fact which accounts both for the success of the rebel forces in the South and the failure of attempts to carry out subversion in the North. Speculating on the wisdom of U.S.-sponsored infiltration of the North, the New York Times' military specialist, Hanson Baldwin, said: "The population of North Vietnam is unlikely to be friendly." Actually, the commander of South Vietnam's Air Force announced at a press conference on July 22, 1964, in the presence of top-ranking U.S. officers, that combat teams have been infiltrated inside North Vietnam for at least three years, with no apparent success.

Massive aerial attack on North Vietnam, on the other hand, requires no popular support whatsoever. At the same press conference on July 22nd, Air Commodore Ky announced that thirty pilots had been specially trained to bomb North Vietnam. "We could go this afternoon," he said. "I cannot assure you that all of North Vietnam would be destroyed, but Hanoi would certainly be destroyed."

The extent of the direct involvement of the North in the insurgency activities has in fact been a subject of considerable disagreement among knowledgeable observers. As recently as March 1964, Pulitzer-Prize-winning reporter David Halberstam, of the New York Times, reported: "The war is largely a conflict of Southerners fought on Southern land. No capture of North Vietnamese in the South has come to light...." By mid-1964 charges of actual intervention of North Vietnamese military forces in the Southern struggle were being heard with increasing frequency. Although not yet substantiated, should such reports in fact prove true they would certainly indicate a widening of the framework within which this civil war is being fought. Key U.S. leaders have admitted, however, that aerial bombardment of North Vietnam would, by itself, be unlikely to improve substantially the situation in the South.

There are also significant by-products which deserve serious consideration with respect to bombing North Vietnam. Such an action would further fasten upon the U.S. the image of unprovoked destroyer of Asian peoples and their property. It would accelerate the conversion of Vietnamese Nationalists to pro-Communists, a shift which our obtuse policy has been accomplishing in the South for quite some time. Furthermore, such an attack would push North Vietnam firmly into the arms of China to which she would obviously have to turn for support. Thus we would accomplish for the Chinese the very objective which they have so far not achieved for themselves: the expansion of Chinese power far south into the Indochina peninsula.

Why Do We Remain in South Vietnam?

In their more candid moments our leaders argue that, ugly as the situation may be, U.S. prestige in Asia is at stake in South Vietnam and can be salvaged only by victory. Although it is true that our prestige has suffered seriously, it does not follow that any sort of conventional "victory" is likely or even possible. In such circumstances prudence may dictate that avoidance of further humiliating defeat is the best means of "saving face."

A fundamental consideration is needed of just what "victory" means in the Vietnamese context. The war is not a conventional one of armies and battlefields. Neither is it a simple struggle of international communism vs. capitalism, as some of our demagogic leaders assert. Nor yet is it merely the current installment of the historic struggle between imperial China and her small neighbors. Certainly both the ideological and the imperialistic factors are involved to a degree. Basically, the Vietnamese war is a civil conflict with a strong nationalistic base. There is little for foreigners to "win" in such a conflict, for, short of destroying perhaps a majority of the Vietnamese people, it is unlikely that we will ever succeed in moulding a Vietnam tailored to American desires.

It is pitiful and frightening that our leaders insist upon ignoring these domestic roots of the civil war in South Vietnam. We seem unable to realize that killing Vietnamese people and destroying their homes increases rather than reduces their hostility to

us. Our utter failure to grasp this obvious fact was demonstrated by our former ambassador to Vietnam, Henry Cabot Lodge, when he was asked upon his return to the U.S. how the war would end. "It will end when there aren't any more Viet Cong insurgents," he said. "That doesn't mean that they're all dead. It means they've decided not to be Viet Cong any more. And the reason they decide not to be Viet Cong any more is that it's too dangerous -- they're liable to be killed." (The New York Times, June 28, 1964)

Even were our might to prevail in South Vietnam's civil war, the presence of neighboring China, with over a quarter of the world's people, would make futile the attempt to create a stable and peaceful Southeast Asia. We cannot ignore China's existence and its natural interest in any political settlement in that area. There is, of course, a school of thought which views Vietnam as merely one outpost in a strategic chain of installations which the U.S. is constructing for the purpose of meeting Red China head-on. Vast jet facilities and supporting bases, far surpassing conceivable requirements for actions restricted only to Vietnam, are being prepared there to complement similar installations in Thailand. In this view, Vietnam is only a rehearsal and staging area for the real confrontation which is yet to come. Ignoring the military futility of such crucial installations in a region likely to be so hostile as to render sabotage or capture by enemy forces almost inevitable, one is appalled by the cynicism of this attitude as well as by the horror of its immorality.

The People Cannot Be Fooled Forever

Many people are becoming increasingly restive over the situation. A number of our allies have attempted to disassociate themselves from our actions in South Vietnam. France has openly advocated neutralism for the Indochinese states and has accepted the fact that China must be recognized and dealt with as a power in the area if conditions are ever to be stabilized. Our efforts to convince our other NATO partners to support our Vietnam policy have met with little sympathy. The majority of Asian nations shy away from taking a positive stand on either side of the conflict, many of them maintaining relations with both Vietnams and avoiding public comment about the civil war. However, neighboring Cambodia's Prince Sihanouk, who has had phenomenal success with a neutralist policy, has long predicted a victory for the Vietnamese rebel forces. U Thant has said that "military methods will not bring about peace in South Vietnam," and he suggested that the Geneva agreements might profitably be revived.

Here in our country, protest against the official policy in South Vietnam has been increasing as news reporting from Vietnam has fought itself somewhat free of the strictures imposed by the Department of Defense and as public opinion has begun to react to the frequent contradictions and sharp reversals in the Administration's own accounts of what is taking place.

The ever-increasing magnitude of our expenditures is also a growing cause of concern among both Administration supporters and opponents. Senator Dirksen, in

predicting that the one and one-half million dollars of aid per day to South Vietnam would shortly rise to two million, complained that in South Vietnam itself: "We appear to have made no real progress." Other citizen groups have expressed abhorrence at our country's so completely subsidizing and dominating the economy of another nation, including paying the salaries of its army. This is indeed a type of "invisible" colonialism which, nevertheless, becomes quite visible in Washington's outrage whenever the South Vietnamese government unilaterally decides to embark on a course of action of its own choosing.

In 1963 some 17,000 ministers of all faiths protested to President Kennedy against support of the dictatorial Vietnamese government and the immorality of our chemical-warfare tactics against the Vietnamese people. More recently 5,000 college and university professors have presented a petition to the State Department asking that the Vietnamese war be ended and Vietnam neutralized.

In the U.S. Senate several Senators consistently protest "Secretary McNamara's war," although their statements are generally not reported by the mass media. Curiously, this group includes both Senators from Alaska, one of the states most sensitive to political developments in the Pacific region generally. Alaska's Senator Gruening recently declared: "The time has come to cease the useless and senseless losses of American lives in an area not essential to the security of the U.S. This is a fight which is not our fight, into which we should not have gotten in the first place. The time to get out is now, before the further loss of American lives."

What Happens If We Pull Out?

Certainly for Americans or for any foreigners to plan and impose a peace policy on the Vietnamese people would be as presumptuous, as objectionable, and as foolhardy as has been our practice of imposing a war policy on them. Satisfactory terms upon which a settlement may be reached can be decided only by themselves, for their's is basically a civil war with myriad nuances only dimly comprehended by outsiders. Indications are that the South Vietnamese people are interested primarily in ending the war. It is we who are most concerned about winning it. Unfortunately, the succession of U.S.-backed governments in South Vietnam has ruthlessly repressed open expression of such sentiments, and General Khanh has even staged demonstrations and attacks on the French Embassy to symbolize his people's alleged hostility to a neutralist solution. Buddhist leaders have been condemned for suggesting neutralization and politicians known to support neutralism are in exile or in prison. Under such conditions it is obvious that a genuine reflection of popular wishes can be obtained only when the U.S. decides to stand aside and permit all contending factions to vie for popular support.

Admittedly, if there is sufficient support for them among the people, communist elements might well gain control of a freely elected government, a fact of life which we should be prepared to face. There is, however, considerable evidence that a

genuinely representative South Vietnam government, whether communist or non-communist, would opt for peace and neutrality, perhaps under international guarantees. It is also likely that North Vietnam, or even a communist-oriented, unified Vietnam, would welcome an opportunity to minimize its dependence on China, the historical "imperialist" of Asia. Consolidation of the complementary economies of North and South Vietnam would help to accomplish this by permitting the Southern rice surplus to fill the North's rice deficit, at the same time catering to the nationalistic passion which so dominates Vietnamese thought. The recent fissures in the Communist bloc suggest that nationalism will increasingly assert itself over monotheistic communism, and a unified or federated Vietnam would enjoy much greater maneuverability to pursue such a course.

The precise form which any negotiated solution might take can hardly be predicted at this time. Public statements by the National Liberation Front, spokesman for the bulk of the insurgent forces, concentrate on demands for a cessation of U.S. intervention in South Vietnam affairs. According to Georges Chaffard of Le Monde, the Front favors a neutral belt to include South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos and does not want South Vietnam to become dependent upon North Vietnam. Other rebel elements, more closely oriented toward North Vietnam, give high priority to unification of the country.

The continuing crisis in neighboring Laos cannot be settled until there has been a settlement in Vietnam, nor are our touchy relations with Cambodia likely to improve so long as we obstruct efforts to bring peace along her frontier. Cambodia has twice complained to the U.N. about U.S. violations of her border: first, charging that Americans participated in a bombing mission which killed 17 Cambodians, and second, charging us with the aerial spraying of destructive chemicals over Cambodian territory. Such "incidents" do us no good but great harm; they could even serve to ignite a major conflict.

The idea of reconvening the 1954 Geneva Conference which ended the French-Indochinese conflict has been revived periodically, most recently by U Thant (July 9, 1964). The U.S. response to this suggestion has been essentially that until the existing agreements are respected no purpose would be served by another conference.

Considerable doubt is cast on the sincerity of this response in view of the well known fact that some of the most blatant violations of the Geneva accords have been committed by the U.S. or with its encouragement. Probably the most crucial term of the Geneva Cease-fire Agreement was the provision for nationwide unifying elections to be held by June 1956. The South Vietnam government, correctly afraid that it would lose such an election, if for no other reason than its smaller population, adamantly refused to honor this provision in 1956, and has steadfastly continued to refuse to permit unification elections despite periodic demands for these elections by the North (both South Vietnam and the U.S. hide behind the technically correct claim that they never signed the Geneva agreements). Other provisions of the Agreement prohibited the introduction into Vietnam of any additional

military personnel (Article 16) or armaments (Article 17) and forbade the establishment of new military bases (Article 18). By 1956 both North and South Vietnam had been found guilty of violating these conditions. The massive buildup of U.S. forces in 1961, including the construction of jet air bases, was all done in knowing violation of this Agreement.

Another approach has been that of General De Gaulle. He proposes that the U.S., the U.S.S.R., China, and France withdraw from Indochina and that a massive economic and technical aid program be substituted for the fighting. This proposal, and indeed the entire idea of taking the Vietnamese conflict to the conference table, was summarily rejected by President Johnson (press conference, July 24, 1964) within 24 hours after the General suggested it. Such haste indicated a rigid and unthinking response.

Any course of action is risky, but almost none is more risky than the one we are following. As mature individuals Americans must realize that we cannot dictate to every corner of the globe, nor do we win respect for ourselves by brandishing our nuclear arsenal whenever we cannot have our way. Forces in existence before the discovery of North America, as well as forces as fresh as post-World War II nationalism, are at work in the Vietnamese conflict. An American-backed, unrepresentative government can temporarily distort the relative strengths of these forces, but until they are allowed to assert themselves and to find their support among a free population, unchecked guerrilla warfare, accompanied by a political instability which cannot be restricted to Vietnam's border, will continue to sap U.S. energies and prestige, to irritate U.S. politics, both domestic and international, to aggravate the racial polarization of the world, and to stoke the flames of World War III.

August 1964

At a meeting of twenty national voluntary civic affairs, church, labor, and peace organizations, some of which are not formal participants in the Turn Toward Peace effort, it was agreed and stressed that United States citizens do not have, and do not receive, adequate information on the situation in Vietnam and Southeast Asia. Turn Toward Peace was asked to help provide and distribute such information. Turn Toward Peace does not itself take substantive positions but offers its channels for the distribution of responsible materials on war/peace issues. It is making this paper available to provide background and to stimulate the discussion necessary to a peaceful solution of the Vietnam crisis.

Additional copies of this paper, probably printed as a leaflet, may be obtained from Turn Toward Peace, 218 East 18th Street, New York 3, New York. Prices include postage and handling charges. Please remit with order.

Single copies	\$.15	100 copies	\$ 7.50	1000 copies	\$50.00
10 copies	1.00	500 copies	30.00		

International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union
Executive Board Meeting
San Francisco, California
September 21 - 22, 1964

Statements by Senators Wayne Morse and Ernest Gruening
on U.S. Policy in South Vietnam

Senator Morse, in a speech on Foreign Aid, Congressional Record,
March 4, 1964.

"Fifteen thousand U.S. troops in South Vietnam have not even halted the tide that is sweeping the Western Powers out of Vietnam and Cambodia. As I said to the Secretary of State in the Foreign Relations Committee yesterday, those troops should be brought home. They never should have been sent there in the first place. American unilateral participation in the war of South Vietnam cannot be justified, and will not be justified in American history."

"...In my judgment, we must keep in mind the fact that we have always considered southeast Asia to be beyond the perimeter of U.S. defense. Southeast Asia is not essential to U.S. defense..."

"...The effort to continue dominating the western shores of the Pacific, not to mention any part of the Indian Ocean, will be increasingly costly to us in blood and money. I am flatly and completely opposed to any expansion of our commitments there, and to increasing the scale of our participation in the Vietnamese war.

"U.S. War in Asia Would be Nuclear

"I am opposed to it because American involvement in any Asian conflict is going to be a nuclear involvement. I am satisfied that there is no other way this country could meet the manpower and geographic advantages that a Chinese-backed force would have over us. I am permitted to say, within the bounds of secrecy and in my capacity as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee who individually has passed a judgment upon American foreign policy in Asia, that we cannot win a land war in Asia with American conventional ground forces. That is fully recognized by outstanding military experts."

"...Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield before he goes to his next point?

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"Mr. MORSE. I yield."

"Mr. ELLENDER. What would the Senator advise that we do as to South Vietnam? Withdraw?

"Mr. MORSE. If the Senator will wait for me to make the remainder of my speech, I will tell him. I would give the same advice that I gave at the beginning: We should never have gone in. We should never have stayed in. We should get out.

"Mr. ELLENDER. I have been saying that for many years, in fact after each visit I made there."

Senator Gruening, in a long, documented historical review of U.S.

involvement in South Vietnam, Congressional Record, March 10, 1964.

After quoting Morse and Ellender:

"...I consider the life of one American worth more than this putrid mess. I consider that every additional life that is sacrificed in this forlorn venture a tragedy. Someday - not distant - if this sacrificing continues, it will be denounced as a crime.

"I would ask my colleagues and indeed American fathers and mothers this question: If your drafted son is sent to Vietnam and is killed there would you feel that he had died for our country?

"I can answer that question for myself. I would feel very definitely that he had not died for our country, but had been mistakenly sacrificed in behalf of an inherited folly.

"Let us do a little hard rethinking. Must the United States be expected to jump into every fracas all over the world, to go it all alone, at the cost of our youngsters' lives, and stay in blindly and stubbornly when a decade of bitter experience has shown us that the expenditure of blood and treasure has resulted in failure?

"Shall we not, if taught anything by this tragic experience, consider that of the three alternatives: First, to continue this bloody and wanton stalemate; second, to go in 'all out' for a full-scale invasion and the certain sacrifice of far more lives and a scarcely less doubtful outcome; or, third, to pull out with the knowledge that the game was not worth the candle."

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"...This is a fight which is not our fight into which we should not have gotten in the first place. The time to get out is now before the further loss of American lives. Let us get out of Vietnam on as good terms as possible - but let us get out."

A few days later, Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, in a speech in Salt Lake City, attacked those who advocated bringing "our boys home," meaning Senators Morse and Gruening, though not naming them. He called them "quitters" who are lending aid and comfort to our enemies", as reported in the press.

Senator Morse (Congressional Record, March 20, 1964) took violent exception:

"...Mr. President, if the Secretary of State wants to talk about quitting, I have a few suggestions as to some things he should quit doing, and some policies he should quit forming.

"He should quit trying to mislead the American people into believing that the United States has some vital interest in South Vietnam, without proving it. And he has never proved it except to refer to it in terms of semantic generalities. He should quit trying to fool the American people into believing that we are defending freedom in South Vietnam. What we are doing is involving ourselves in a family war between two factions of South Vietnamese.

"He should quit building up the military oligarchy in South Vietnam, instead of trying to help the people of South Vietnam establish a system of economic freedom."

"...We do not have to worry about beating communism in the world, in the long struggle of the decades ahead, if we help the people in the underdeveloped areas of the world become economically free. But it cannot be done with American arms. It cannot be done by transplanting 15,000 American boys in South Vietnam to help, under the military leadership of the U.S. forces, egg two factions of the South Vietnamese into a civil war."

"... Mr. President, I think we should explore a great many possibilities and potential programs for reaching an accommodation with honor in South Vietnam. Only a few days ago spokesmen for the administration sent up one trial balloon after another in this country to see what the reaction would be to "beefing up" our effort, to an escalation by taking the war into North Vietnam. Under cross-examination, we obtained from the Secretary of State the admission that if we got into an escalated posture in North Vietnam, probably we would have to resort to nuclear weapons."

"...The policy of preempting the world, the policy of "pax Americana," is a favorite one of the current generation of American military and diplomatic careerists, just as "pax Britannica" was the favorite policy of generations of British civil servants and military officers. But the lesson to be learned from the British, and from the French and the Dutch and the Belgians and the Spanish and the Germans, is that such a policy cannot be sustained for long.

"The British sustained it longer than most. But the Empire dissolved and collapsed a lot faster than it was built up, and I am not in favor of any policy that will put the United States on that same course. If we do not watch out, we will go broke, as the British Empire did, but faster.

"It is time to turn away from the old theory that one nation alone can enforce world peace on its own terms if it has the will and the resources to do it."

Senator Gruening, after associating himself with Senator Morse's remarks with regard to Secretary Rusk:

"It is my view that on the contrary in South Vietnam he is pushing us along the ghastly path toward war. That is what our further involvement may well mean. We have heard of both of escalation of our offensive and invasion of North Vietnam. That is not the toilsome path to peace. It is the path toward involving the United States in a major war with staggering casualties."

Senator Morse, in the debate on Senate Joint Resolution 189, a resolution introduced by Senator Fulbright and others in response to a message from President Johnson asking for Congressional support after the bombing of North Vietnam shore facilities. (Congressional Record, August 5, 1964).

"It makes no difference who says that our objective is peace, even if he be the President of the United States. Our actions speak louder than words; and our actions in Asia today are the actions of warmaking.

"...Thus I say that the incident that has inspired the joint resolution we have just heard read is as much the doing of the United States as it is the doing of North Vietnam. For 10 years, the role of the United States in South Vietnam has been that of a provocateur, every bit as much as North Vietnam has been a provocateur. For 10 years, the United States, in South Vietnam, has violated the Geneva agreement of 1954. For 10 years, our military policies in South Vietnam have sought to impose a military solution upon a political and economic problem. For 10 years the Communist nations of that part of the world have also violated the Geneva accord of 1954.

"...The American effort to impose by force of arms a government of our own choosing upon a segment of the old colony of Indochina has caught up with us.

"Our violations of the Geneva accord have caught up with us. Our violations of the United Nations Charter have caught up with us.

"Our failure to apply the provisions of the Southeast Asia Treaty have caught up with us. We have been making covert war in southeast Asia for some time, instead of seeking to keep the peace. It was inevitable and inexorable that sooner or later we would have to engage in overt acts of war in pursuance of that policy, and we are now doing so.

"When the high emotionalism of the present crisis has passed, and historians of the future will disclose some

of the provocative things that have occurred, I have no doubt that they will disclose that for quite some time past, there have been violations of the North Vietnamese border and the Cambodian border by South Vietnam, as well as vice versa.

"I am also satisfied that they will disclose that the United States was not an innocent bystander. We will not receive a verdict of innocence from the jury box of history on several counts.

"Our extensive military aid to South Vietnam was a violation of the Geneva accords in the first instance. Our sending troops into South Vietnam, even under the semantic camouflage of designation as military advisers, was a violation of the Geneva accords. In fact, both of those two counts were also a clear violation of the spirit and intent of the peaceful purposes of the United Nations Charter, itself."

"...These facts are as well known to the world as they are to officials of the U.S. Government. They mean that our charges of aggression against North Vietnam will be greeted by considerable snickering abroad.

"So, too, will the pious phrases of the resolution, about defending freedom in South Vietnam. There is no freedom in South Vietnam. I think even the American people know that to say we are defending freedom in South Vietnam is a travesty upon the word. We are defending General Khanh from being overthrown; that is all. We are defending a clique of military generals and their merchant friends who live well in Saigon, and who need a constantly increasing American military force to protect their privileged position."

"...If war is really too important to be left to the generals, then the American people are going to have to make themselves heard soon on U.S. policy in Asia."

"...Mr. President, I have been briefed many times, as have the other members of the Foreign Relations Committee; and all this time witness after witness from the State Department and from the Pentagon have admitted under examination that they had no evidence of any foreign troops in South Vietnam from North Vietnam, Red China, Cambodia, or anywhere else.

"The sad fact is that the only foreign troops that have been in South Vietnam in any numbers have been American troops."

"...Let the record be clear—the maximum figure that any official of the executive department of government has ever given us in any briefing as to the numerical strength of the Vietcong is 35,000. More frequently it is said the number is probably nearer the neighborhood of 25,000.

"Four hundred thousand to four hundred fifty thousand South Vietnamese military troops have been unable to defeat 25,000 to 35,00—to use their top figure—Vietcong."

"...Five and one half billion dollars worth of aid to South Vietnam, 18,000 American "advisers," and now the threat of war with China has not put Humpty-Dumpty back together—and never will. Out of this \$5½ billion, \$1½ billion went to France to help her in the Indochina war prior to her withdrawing in 1954. Today we are spending better than \$1½ million per day and will reach \$2 million shortly, just as aid to Vietnam, not covering the cost of our own military force in southeast Asia. Unless the American people make their voices heard very soon, they are going to spend even more in this fruitless and unavailing task."

Senator Morse, Congressional Record, August 8, after inserting in the record two news stories concerning the "Maddox" incident.

"I am satisfied that the major premises on which we have marked our course of action in southeast Asia up until today are so unsound that no sound, final conclusion can result from their application.

"Every thing that Senator Gruening and I have warned the Senate about in the last 5 months concerning our mistaken course of action in Asia has come home to haunt us. We never should have attempted to substitute unilateral military action in South Vietnam in direct violation of the Geneva accords and the United Nations Charter for the international conference table. Unless we propose and urge a political and economic approach to the settlement of the threat to the peace in Asia,

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now stalking as a skeleton symbol of death, we may set back for a quarter of a century or longer the substitution of the rule of law for the rule of military might."

Senator Morse

Speaking in Los Angeles early in September (as reported by William Winter Comments, September 7).

"Almost anything that seems to make the war against the Vietcong more efficient is approved and usually promoted by the American spokesmen in Saigon. In the name of war-making efficiency we helped depose Diem, then General Minh. On the wave of emotion that followed the American raid in the Gulf of Tonkin, Ambassador Taylor approved the plan of General Khanh to discard the last vestiges of legitimacy and take over as complete overlord of the country."

Editorial in N.Y. Times (August 3, 1964.)

"...The only feasible solution for Vietnam is a political settlement that removes all four Indochina states from the cold war. They must be restored, with suitable guarantees, to their status under the Geneva agreements as unaligned, neutral states. For South Vietnam that means the removal of Communist guerrillas, as in 1954, as well as foreign troops and bases."

Editorial in Wall St. Journal (May 13, 1964).

"...No nation should count on military success, even limited, in the most unfavorable circumstances. No piece of territory is beyond all price, worth any cost, as the French finally discovered 10 years ago after such great cost. And the U.S., for all its great power, cannot forever police the world alone and unaided."

oteu29
9/17/64

International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union
Sixteenth Biennial Convention
Vancouver, B. C.
April 5 - 9, 1965

Resolution #47

STATEMENT ON AMNESTY FOR CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATORS

WHEREAS: 98 young people were arrested at the Federal building in Los Angeles in a sit-in to protest the brutalities and murders in Alabama, including the savage murder of Reverend Reeb; and

WHEREAS: the absence of enforcement of federal law protecting elementary human rights in Alabama triggered this protest action; and

WHEREAS: the spirit of justice and human brotherhood in action shown by these young people is our greatest asset and safeguard and the only hope in a world torn by fear and hate;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED: that amnesty be granted for all civil rights supporters throughout the country convicted in their efforts on behalf of human rights.

Submitted by the Resolutions Committee

International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union
Sixteenth Biennial Convention
Vancouver, B.C.
April 5 - 9, 1965

Resolution # 8

Resolution on THE UNITED NATIONS AND
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

WHEREAS: The United Nations was established for the purpose of promoting cooperation and peaceful relations among all the peoples of the earth; and

WHEREAS: The exclusion from membership in the United Nations of the People's Republic of China, comprising nearly one-quarter of the world's population, prevents the conclusion of truly international agreements on peace, disarmament, trade and other matters; and

WHEREAS: Canada and other countries which have negotiated trade treaties with the People's Republic of China have benefited greatly from such trade;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That this Convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union urges the United Nations to admit into membership the People's Republic of China and all other countries that do not now belong to it.

SUBMITTED BY:

ILWU Local 501

oteu29

FIRST DRAFT OF A SPEECH BY THE HONOURABLE ALVIN HAMILTON, P.C., M.P.
TO THE INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S UNION AT VANCOUVER, B.C. ON

APRIL 7, 1965

Mr. Chairman, may I join in the welcome to the fraternal delegates from Hawaii and Alaska as well as the Westcoast members of the International Union. I welcome you to Canada. I welcome you to Vancouver. In spite of the disdain that many in Vancouver feel for the rest of us in Canada, we still feel that Vancouver is part of Canada. We hope that your meeting in this city will help us bring attention to the tremendous place that Vancouver can play in the world of the present and future.

The I.L.U. is an International Union. This is an interesting phenomena for Canada. There are strong forces in Canada in favour of national unions. However, when you point out that there are international corporations in Canada, and do these forces want national corporations only, then the pressure subsides. As I said it is an interesting phenomena.

Your Union has also provided us with another interesting phenomena. Your recent contract dealing with the subject of automation is a pioneer approach. Mostly automation is looked on with fear by governments and unions alike. Management and your Union have apparently decided to take the tremendous advantages of automation and use them to provide more efficient operation and take the "labour" out of the heavy work of handling cargo. You have protected the labour force by applying the reduction of staff to the top age group where pensions can be substituted in lieu of wages.

In the case of the Canadian branch of your Union, the labour force has not been reduced but increased in recent years. Probably this gives a clue to the real solution to automation, namely expansion. As you know Vancouver has risen to the top wheat port in the World, because of increased wheat sales to the Orient. In addition new products such as potash and sulphur will soon surpass the tonnage of wheat. The future of our western ports looks good.

This suggests that there is a new task looming for labour and management. Instead of constant confrontation between labour and management over wages and working conditions we may find a solution to common problems such as automation by unions and management joining together to push programs of mutual advantage.

What I have to say now deals with Canada particularly, but has I believe similar application to the United States.

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Traditionally in Canada when faced with economic emergencies we have tended to use restrictive policies to protect our working force and business. A few years ago Canada was faced with such an emergency. Our deficit on international payments was close to \$1.5 billion annually. Traditional forces and precedents argued that we should put restrictions on goods coming into Canada, that we should control foreign investment, that we should increase taxes and generally tighten our belts until balance was achieved.

The Government of the day after a long period of debate decided to take the course of expansion instead of restriction. This historical change of direction could have been observed in a series of policy initiatives. The National Development Policy, the National Agricultural Policy, the expansion of domestic credit by fiscal means were all evidence of a new philosophy in action.

In the field of foreign trade it was the same. Amendments were made to the Combines Investigation Act to allow companies to combine legally for certain purposes such as export. Export credit was broadened and increased. A promotional drive to get company management looking outward for markets was started. The dollar was brought to its proper international level. Long term agreements with Communist countries were negotiated for the sale of Canadian Wheat.

Naturally this reversal of traditional direction in Canadian economic policy caused some disturbance politically. As a government we failed to educate and explain our policies. Canadians present will recall the "Diefenbuck" and other manifestations of the fear campaign that was waged.

In 1965 we can examine the results more objectively. Exports have doubled. No restrictions (except for a temporary period) were placed on imports. Not only did our primary industries prosper, but our manufacturing plants in spite of automation, are now short of skilled workers. When the new Government tried to turn back to restrictive measures in the budget of 1963, it was immediately rebuffed.

We are not out of problems by any means. Once embarked on a policy of expansion there is no turning back. A whole new concept of development of our parts must take place. It was quite a shock in 1964 to learn that 100 million bushels of grain sales had to be turned down because of lack of facilities to handle them. Our Canadian delegates will recall in 1961 that the official advice given to me was that our western ports could only handle 15 million bushels a month. We held a long conference of all groups connected with the movement of grain. Out of that conference came cooperation and word that by working together over 20 million bushels a month could be moved. Your local here was part of that cooperation. Undertakings were given that have not been broken. Everyone has benefitted.

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In 1964 a similar invigoration had to be applied and in January of that year nearly 30 million bushels were moved in one month. Surely this would indicate that when there is leadership obstacles can be overcome. Instead of sporadic efforts, I am suggesting permanent leadership. This will have to be by all groups deciding on the best machinery and working together to make it a fact.

If we assume that we can produce a program of development and management of our ports which envisages the port city being the leader and champion of the whole hinterland behind it, then we can face forward in tackling a major obstacle to expansion. I refer to the newly developing nations.

Many of these nations have an annual income per capita of around \$100. So if we wish to sell more to them these living standards must rise. Some of these nations are state trading nations which have failed to move into trading patterns in sizeable volume. So if we wish to sell them more, we must help them to bridge the gap between state trading corporations and the complex private enterprise distribution systems.

I would like to put forward a series of proposals as a start to meeting these limitations on expansion. I will list them.

1. International Commodity Agreements.
2. Purchasing Boards.
3. Export Combines or Selling Boards (U.S. & Can.)
4. International Trading Companies.
5. International Bank for Short and Medium Credit.

The assumption is made that our countries should trade with all other countries regardless of race, religion or politics. Not only is this a sound principle of economics, but we believe that it is a force for peace. At the present time only the Arab nations, some Negro nations and the U.S.A. still rely on the persuasion of trade embargoes on non-strategic goods.

The second assumption is the belief that when you do something to help others, you always benefit yourselves. I put forward the World Food Bank as an example. It was first proposed in 1943. It was not accepted until 1961. Support for the proposal in the early years came from nations trying to get rid of surplus agricultural products. The objections to it stopped in 1961 when it became clear the multilateral approach was primarily in the interests of the countries that needed help. We achieved that end by putting up cash and allowing the International Agency to buy the goods needed where it wanted. You are allowed one guess as to where the World Food Program found the food it needed.

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International Commodity Agreements are not new. The wheat farmers of the world since 1949 have had an International Wheat Agreement. There is a floor and a ceiling price. There is a quota system for periods of surplus and scarcity. The Agreement allows for competition in price between the floor and the ceiling. It protects the producer against disastrously low incomes and the consumer against periodic high prices. It works.

Most newly developing nations produce one or two staple products. If we thought of their needs first it would not be too difficult to give them a fair price for their products without affecting our prices too much. The possibilities are immense. Some 2 billion people make up these nations. An increase of living standard by \$1. a person per year would provide new markets for somebody each year that would keep us pushing to produce. If we looked after the newly developing nations first, then we could look at Agreements for our products too.

I have mentioned Purchasing Boards and Selling Boards as possible methods of increasing trade. These proposals apply to both the United States and Canada. If private enterprise institutions cannot or do not bridge the gap between state trading nations and our complex distribution system then some form of organized action should be employed. I use as an example the need for newsprint in China. There are some 200 newsprint mills in North America. Most have their production tied to one or more newspapers. It may take some form of export agency to buy surpluses from many companies to get sufficient supply to provide the needs of a single purchaser. Another example is in the Dairy Field. Both the U.S. and Canada have surplus capacity in dairy production but so scattered over so many areas and companies that individually they are not strong enough or have they the incentive to sell in the markets abroad. Canada is moving towards such a Dairy Board now. The world demand is big enough for all. We would not mind if the U.S.A. followed our lead.

However it may not be necessary to put too much emphasis on Purchasing and Selling Boards if present machinery in selling grain were expanded. I refer to international trading companies. At the present time we have Canadian and International selling organizations to sell our grain. The competition among them is keen and the cost of selling is at a minimum. If such a machinery works well for grain, why could it not apply to all goods that can be graded, stored and shipped easily? These International Trading Companies could be the middle man between the State trading corporations and the private enterprise complex. They could buy and sell all over the world. They could use the wonders of electronic communication and computing. They could probably be the means by which we could bring the newly developing nations into the orbit of world trade better than any other.

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Since for many years to come credit arrangements between countries will probably count for more than price the machinery for handling world credit must be improved. I suggest a world clearing house or international trading bank for this purpose. It's function would be the short term and medium term loans or deferred payments that will be necessary to get trade moving at high speed in the shortest possible time.

You might ask me why do I bore you with a discussion of techniques for increasing world trade. My answer is what Union would have better reason to understand the importance of it than the Longshoremen. The farmers of Canada understand it. We want allies in the labour movement who understand it.

Your locals on the West coast helped me when I was trying to move wheat to China. Your cooperation with management was unstinting. I think I have made a few friends in your union. I think we want the same things for our country.

First we want peace to live and work. We want to raise the living standards of people all over the world. Not only is such a policy inducive to peace, but it takes some of the load off our conscience. One of the ways to do it is by trade. Most people are independent, they prefer earning their keep, rather than charity. Canada with it's tremendous reserves of energy and resources can use those assets to help not only ourselves, but the whole world. Canada in it's geographic position is well located tradewise to be a key part in this picture. Naturally we want the cooperation of the United States. We have enough resources to help them maintain their living standards. We want their help in raising the living standards of the newly developing nations by self-help techniques.

Your Union can help spread the message. Certainly the Woodworkers must know the demand for their products. We need allies to carry the message to the rubber and chemical workers, the electrical workers, the steel works et al.

Union in this century have fought the wage battle. They have fought for improved working conditions. They have fought the battle for improved social welfare. Your success is shown in the fact that every political party views with each other over support for social welfare measures.

I ask you now to consider joining the biggest battle yet, help the newly developing nations. I am not referring to the cries of the "do-gooders", namely, more giveaways. These may be unavoidable for a few years yet. I am referring to helping these nations by doing what they want. They want to work. They want to produce. They want to live better. They know this can come faster by trade than by doing it along. Canadians have shown they have the trade "know-how". We can give the lead.

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Let me conclude with a story:

The first ten days of my visit to China in March and April of 1964 were spent primarily on talks about trade. As part of the Chinese procedure there were formal banquets and private banquets. Invariably during the toasts I would thank my hosts for the purchase of Canadian Grain. Invariably they would thank Canada for selling them grain. Hospitality and courtesy are one thing, but this seemed a bit too much. Finally I blurted out my question "Why do you thank us?" "We had the wheat to sell, you bought and paid for it". "We should thank you". Here is the answer in rough resume in paraphrase form.

You do not understand our History. For many centuries we had our own culture cut off by the seas and mountains from the rest of the world. Last century your civilization forced it's way into our country and took away parts of our country when we were weak. In this century we have had much strife culminating in the Japanese occupation and Civil War ending in 1949. At long last we were one nation. We knew that Chinese Culture did not have the technology of your Civilization. Naturally we turned to a fellow socialist country for help in planning and building our Socialist Reconstruction. We found we did not like the Russians, even if they were socialists. In our great pride as Chinese we undertook to do it by ourselves. We thought that all your civilization was bad.

Our pride was rudely shocked by the weather difficulties of 1959 to 1961. We had to slow down our "Big Leap" forward in industrialization. We had to move our labour battalions from the cities to the country to build dams and drainage ditches to guarantee the basic need of our country, namely its food and fibre. Just at the moment when we were in the midst of this tremendous national effort, thinking we had no friends, you came selling wheat. Later Australia, Argentina and France also sold us grain.

We realized something that we think is very important. You cannot judge a nation by the criterion of whether it is socialistic or capitalistic. You judge a people by what they do. You are a capitalistic nation. We are a socialistic nation. You will do the best you can for your social system. We will for our's. But you taught us something. That is why we thank you.

The main point of the story to me is that China now accepts the fact that trade with others is a faster and better way of raising living standards. When their shortage of grain was over they continued to buy our grain. The consumers liked the quality. The Government did not want to ask them to go back. In 1963 when Russia fell short of grain, it could not let its consumers down.

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In spite of loss of prestige Russia came into the world markets and bought.

Possibly a new force for peace is loose on the world. Consumers are demanding higher living standards. Regardless of whether a government is communist or free enterprise they must listen to the consumer. Political dogmas, imperialism, nationalism, all take second place to the consumer. I think we should work to take advantage of this new force for peace.

Management and Union alike have a common mutual advantage here. It may cause new alignment of political forces. Those in favour of staying in the cozy rich man's club of the Western World and handing out a few crumbs to the billions of people at the gates may be one group. Another group may advocate and work towards bringing in all the nations of the world into a common trading pattern in the firm belief that it will not only raise the standard of the newly developing nations but our's as well.

I know where I stand. Where do you stand?