THE 1971 - 72 WEST COAST LONGSHORE STRIKE

The Strike Demands and Statements

of

Local 10 -- San Francisco

... and a Brief Addendum

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These four strike statements were written by Herb Mills, the chairman of the Local 10 Publicity Committee, who also proposed their layout. With the strike having begun on July 1, 1971, the local expected a statement such as the first of these from its International. But in the absence of any such statement, and having been approved by the local's Strike Committee, it was published and widely distributed during the third week of the strike. And, to some extent, it was also reprinted for public distribution by all of the longshore locals. And with the continuing silence of its International as to the basic strike demands, the Local 10 Strike Committee also sent forth the second of these statements in another three weeks. And with another three weeks of both strike and silence, the third one also so appeared. And after President Nixon resorted to the Taft -Hartley law so as to invoke a ninety-day injunction against the strike, the last one likewise so appeared. Since each of the last two publications was issued in tabloid form, use the magnification function on the Adobe Acrobat Reader to enlarge as needed.

The Local 10 Strike Bulletin of Oct. 4, 1971 (#45) which next is posted here was also researched and written by Mills. And given this, it should be noted that most of that "research" consisted of two lengthy talks with a former officer and long standing member of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union - the union which represented the striking workers of Kennecott Copper. With the resultant collapse of Mine - Mill, he had been invited to join the San Francisco Ship Clerk Association of the ILWU -- a brotherly invitation which, of course, he very gladly accepted. Since, however, the ILWU International bitterly complained about this bulletin, it should be noted, too, that its publication did not require the approval or the financing of the Local 10 strike committee. And as for the final document which is posted here as something of an addendum, Mills only had it "in draft" when the strike ended.

THE LONGSHORE STRIKE

WHAT WOULD YOU DO, IF . . .

your jobs were being taken over by the "progress" of new "labor-saving" devices and modes of operation (machines and containers)?
you had been "wiped out" by inflation?
you had no paid holidays?
you had no paid prescription drug plan?
you had no paid sick leave?
you had no dental coverage for yourself and spouse?
you faced injury or death every working day because your industry's accident rate is second only to underground

AND WHAT WOULD YOU DO IF . . .

mining?

. . . during eight months of negotiating efforts your employer had never sat down to seriously discuss such things????

YOU'D DO WHAT WE HAVE DONE . . .

STRIKE!!!

ce 12

LONGSHOREMEN ON STRIKE . . . say the headlines

The first thing you should know is that we longshoremen have never treated contract negotiations and the prospect of a strike lightly . . . this is our first strike in twenty-three years and this time we spent eight months in a fruitless attempt to negotiate a settlement prior to the expiration of our contract.

WHAT LIES BEHIND THE HEADLINES?

The biggest issue really comes down to what we working people are going to accept as "progress."

We, like many other workers, are faced with a technological revolution of new "labor-saving" devices and methods of operation. This is what our employer means by "progress" . . . but, if this "progress" is left unchecked, it will simply mean that our employer will line up at the bank with ever bigger profits, while we line up at the unemployment and welfare office.

It is essential for labor to challenge the notion that the employer—in the name of "progress"—can simply go ahead and slash his workforce or close his factory or, as is being planned in our industry, close an entire port . . . and to do this without any regard for the people and community involved. We in Local 10 also have the particular responsibility of presenting such a challenge to our employer because the majority of us are from minority communities which have already been engulfed by "the progress" of massive unemployment.

WHAT WE MUST HAVE . . .

Our demand for job security takes several forms.

First and foremost is our demand for waterfront jurisdiction and for forty hours of work or pay each week.

Secondly, our basic manning scale must remain as it is and we must have a "say-so" with respect to the manning of all new operations. Thirdly, our jointly agreed to job categories, training programs, and seniority system — and the equalization of work opportunity through a hiring hall — shall be protected from what has become a concerted employer effort to undermine them in the name of "progress."

A fourth thing that we must and will have in order to ensure our security and dignity in the face of technological change is a substantial monthly pension at the age of 55 and after 25 years or more of service.

"BUT THAT'S INFLATIONARY . . ."

Like all working people, we've been clobbered by inflation . . . and, like workers elsewhere, we know the reason for this inflation: the war in Vietnam and the price-fixing/super profit operation of the nation's corporate structure. But, what happens? The working man asks for a decent wage and — while the maritime industry gets billions of our tax dollars (subsidies) to pay for the very technological revolution which we are struggling with — he and the public is told "That's inflationary." Well, we expect this sort of thing, but our wage demand is a considered and righteous demand . . . we must and will ensure the welfare of our families and provide, as best we can, for the future of our children.

"WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT, PART OF OUR WAGE AND FRINGE IS FOR RISKING OUR NECKS . . ." (Rank-and-Filer)

You probably have some idea of what working "on the waterfront" is like, but you may not know that death and injury stalks the longshoreman each time he "turns to." There were some 10,500 accidents distributed amongst 14,000 West Coast longshoremen in 1969, 2,080 of which were "lost time" accidents (repeated doctor visits, home confinement, or hospitalization). Well, we know this and our employer does, too, but the public

should also know it because our wage and fringe demands reflect the fact that "the front's no picnic." Indeed, the accident rate is such that we must also demand an increase in our life insurance coverage and our accidental death and disability coverage. At the same time—since our employers helped block Federal legislation which would have increased our weekly accident compensation from its present \$70.00 a week—we must demand supplemental accident coverage so as to protect our families from need during times of real crisis.

AND WHAT OF OUR OTHER DEMANDS???

By this time, you're no doubt beginning to understand our demands, but the other ones you'll also recognize as basic to a decent and secure life . . .

- (1) We must have dental coverage for ourselves and wives.
- (2) We must have a paid prescription drug plan.
- (3) We must have a paid sick leave provision.
- (4) We must have some paid holidays.

WHAT LIES BEHIND OUR DEMANDS???

We have given deep and serious thought to our demands. Indeed, these demands were hammered out over a two-year period of democratic give-and-take amongst ourselves and our fellow longshoremen up and down the coast. And this discussion — which reflects and embodies the profoundly democratic tradition of our union — has also produced what our employer is just now getting a taste of: A UNITED UNION MEMBERSHIP WHICH IS DETERMINED TO WIN ITS JUST DEMANDS!!!

Our very best and fraternal regards,

THE MEMBERS OF LOCAL 10 ILWU SAN FRANCISCO

Our Longshore Strike

LOOK OUT-You and your union may be next



Bargaining in good faith????

Our employers—the Pacific Maritime Association—have failed to bargain in good faith. Phase I of the PMA's plan was to force a long and grueling strike with the intention of starving us into voting for a sub-standard contract. Failing in that attempt, Phase II of the PMA's scheme is to sit back and await a pro-employer legislated settlement. In either event, their master plan was to break the back of our union and they have pursued this plan in complete disregard for the public.

More about legislated settlements

The ILWU is just the first union threatened by a government-employer settlement. Should we be forced into a settlement by Congressional action, the end of traditional collective bargaining will have begun. Unions will lose their fundamental right to strike for adequate wages and conditions and be compelled to abide by terms imposed by compulsory arbitration whenever labor disputes occur.

The PMA's "offer"

Meanwhile, the offer which we are being asked to accept as a settlement to our grievances and strike is little more than a very bad joke. Let's take a look at what we are being asked to accept....

- —A contract with no paid holidays.
- —A contract with no paid sick leave or paid funeral leave.
- —A contract with no prescription drug coverage.
- —A contract with no cost-of-living adjustment for our pensioners.
- —A contract which provides a sub-standard hourly wage for work in the nation's second most hazardous industry and after we have been "wiped out" by inflation during two five-year contracts.
- —A contract without a single improvement in health and safety conditions on the job.
- —A contract with a "wage guarantee" that is hopelessly inadequate in the face of the unemployment being caused by the automation and mechanization of our industry. (The proposed fixed fund of this "guarantee" is limited to approximately \$400 per man per year.)
 - -A contract with inadequate vacations.

The matter of jurisdiction

To hear the newspapers and TV tell it, our strike is the result of a jurisdictional conflict between ourselves and the Teamsters, with the PMA standing by as the hapless and innocent victim.

The truth of the matter is this: the PMA is trying to welch on the container jurisdiction which they contractually recognized as longshore work over two years ago. This recognition of our jurisdiction has also been upheld by the arbitrators of our industry and the courts. In the attempt to welch on this, the PMA has sought to embroil us in a conflict with our fellow trade unionists, the Teamsters. By doing so, they have also tried to create a smokescreen so that the vast amount of container work being done by non-union workers who are forced to accept inferior wages and conditions will go unnoticed.

Our struggle against discrimination and favoritism

We are being asked to accept a set of PMA demands which would destroy the system of job dispatch which has always prevented discrimination and favoritism, while insuring an equal work opportunity to all of us. Since these demands seriously jeopardize our immediate economic welfare and long-term job security while threatening the very existence of our union, they are in fact a basic issue in our strike!!!

The truth of the matter

The story of our strike is really very simple

We simply cannot support our families and provide for the future welfare of our children on what we are asked to accept as a contract.

Since the very existence of our union and the tradition of collective bargaining is at stake in our strike, we also feel that OUR FIGHT IS THE FIGHT OF ALL WORKING PEOPLE OF THE NATION.

What you can do to help:

Send letters to the Pacific Maritime Association, 635 Sacramento St., San Francisco, Calif.

Send letters to your Congressmen.

Ask your union, club, or fraternal group to contact us for a speaker.

Ask them to pass a resolution in support of our strike.

If possible, send a strike donation to our "Strike Assistance Committee."

AND THEN PASS THIS STRIKE PUBLICATION ON TO A FRIEND!!!

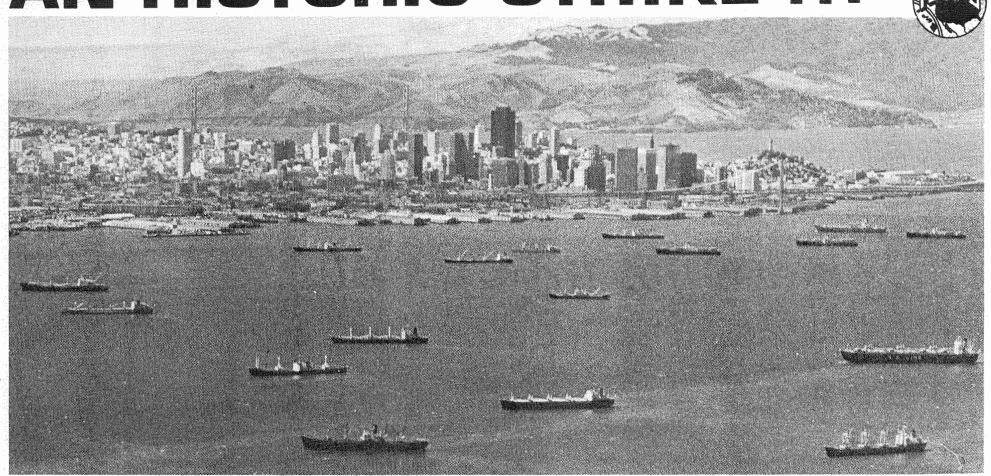
Our very best and fraternal regards,

The Members of Local 10 ILWU—San Francisco





AN HISTORIC MOMENT . . . AN HISTORIC STRIKE!!!



International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union

SAN FRANCISCO · LOCAL 10

WALLER PRESS 3192

"When we get our job done, we will go to Uncle Sam, Mr. Nixon or some other board and we'll say, look, this is it ... we were caught in the middle of a strike, and unless you say this is okay, the ships will stay where they are."

Harry Bridges, ILWU President and Chief Negotiator

An Open Letter to Our Sisters and Brothers. . .

OUR LONGSHORE STRIKE CONTINUES!!!

We longshoremen have informed the government and our employers that our strike will continue on all demands, including wages, until we ratify an agreement.

Our strike will also continue so long as the demands of our employers pose a fundamental threat to our job security and union.

Our determination to win this struggle has in no way been weakened by President Nixon's grossly unjust and discriminatory "New Economic Policy", nor by his proposed multi-billion dollar tax-gift to U.S. corporations—a gift which would threaten our jobs, as it would the jobs of an untold number of American workers.

Nor has our resolve been in any way shaken by the President's personal intervention in our strike or by the threat which his chief labor mediator—who is now "mediating" our strike—has made to "ban" all strikes during the "freeze" period.

These things have made our task much more difficult, however; and, for this reason, we are appealing to all working people—whether employed or unemployed, organized or unorganized.

We are also making this appeal because our struggle is now even more important to you and to all working people of our nation. Nixon has launched a deadly and bitter attack against us. At the same time, your boss, just like ours, is now seeking "strength and comfort" in this attack. This being so . . .

OUR STRUGGLE IS YOUR STRUGGLE

WHEN WE WIN, YOU AND ALL WORKING PEOPLE WIN!!!

Our very best and fraternal regards

THE MEMBERS OF LOCAL 10 ILWU SAN FRANCISCO



WHAT THIS STRIKE IS ABOUT

"The West Coast longshoremen are engaged in a struggle which will determine the course of labor in dealing with the impact of mechanization and automation—it is part of the endless fight between human rights and property rights."

Louis Goldblatt ILWU Sec.-Treas.

We longshoremen have had enough of the Nixon-type "progress from our own employers.

This kind of "progress" has meant outright profiteering by our employers . . . profits wrung from us, from the new machines which have already caused us to suffer severe underemployment, and from the public in the form of ever-higher freight rates and enormous government subsidies.

This kind of "progress" has also meant a threat, not simply to the security of our jobs and to our ability to provide for the immediate needs of our families and the future needs of our children, but to the very existence of our union.

Since we of the ILWU have always been a progressive institution and have always been found on the side of the oppressed and victimized, this threat to us is also a threat to all working people.

OUR EMPLOYERS' DEMANDS

THE THREAT TO OUR JOBS . . .

We longshoremen have *already* suffered severe underemployment in the name of "progress" . . . that is, in the name of our employers' "progress" toward ever greater profits.

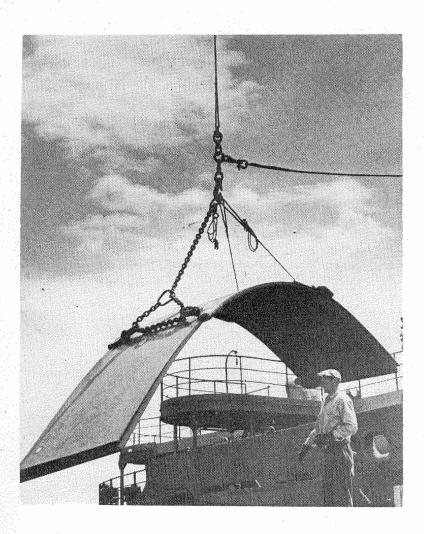
The present demands of our employers also include many measures which would cause us even greater underemployment. Indeed, the threat which these demands pose to our jobs and to our being able to provide for our families is one of the basic reasons we were forced to strike.

These demands would permit our employers to cut the very sinews of our union, as well as undermine the basic principles which we share with every union. Thus, for example, they include: the unilateral destruction of job categories and the shifting of men about; the unilateral violation of our seniority system and, indeed, the unilateral setting up and manipulation of new and independent seniority systems; and the unilateral introduction of new operations and then the determination of the men who will work them . . . all, once again, in the name of "progress."

And what, in return for such unilateral rights, is the "progress" which they suggest for us???

Well, thus far, it is a wage "guarantee" which, in the words of our International President Harry Bridges, "is too vague and full of restrictions and (which) fails to offer a fair fixed weekly guarantee."

In other words, their idea of "progress" is a simple one:—Progress means the replacing of men by machines and a "guarantee" that offers the underemployed worker no protection at all!!!



The Old and the New...

And, should the strength and unity of a progressive union stand in the way of such "progress", then that union must be undermined... if not, indeed, destroyed.

To this we have said "NO" . . . and to this we will continue to say

"NO"!!!

THE UNDERMINING OF OUR UNION . . .

Another basic issue of this strike is the threat which our employers' are making (and have made) to the very heart of our union...our hiring hall and the rules of our job dispatch.

By means of our hall and dispatch rules, we equalize the opportunity to work amongst all of us... and this is now threatened.

By these same means we have prevented both favoritism and discrimination—be it racial, religious, or political—on the part of our employers. . . and this is now threatened.

But, more than this. . .

Our job dispatch system has been the very foundation of our strength and unity since it was won in our long and bitter strike of 1934 because it has in fact welded us into a union. . . and this is now threatened.

Since, moreover, our doors have for many years been open to all races, creeds, and nationalities and to people of all political and social persuasions, this system has also been the bedrock of our tradition as a progressive and dynamic institution. Indeed, it's because of this system that we are a uniquely American institution. . . an extraordinary amalgam of the peoples of this nation working side-by-side, both on the job and in the community. . . and this, once again, is now threatened.

But, what do our employers say?

They say that "progress" and "technology" demand an end to your job dispatch system. . or, if we can't quite starve you into that during the strike which we have forced upon you, your hiring hall must simply be a place where we can get some "extra help" on a "temporary" basis whenever we need it.

And what is our view?

It is simply this:—We know that all of the new machinery of the longshore industry can be safely and efficiently operated by men dispatched from our hall on a rotationa and equalized basis. We know this because this has in fact been done.

Since our employers also know this, we can only conclude that they want to do away with our dispatch system, not because of the demands of new technology, but because it is the heart of our union. Indeed, whether by design or otherwise, they have moved to break up our union and to put an end to it as a progressive force within our community. . . all in the name of "progress".

But, to this we have said "NO"... and to this we will continue to say

"NO"!!

AND THEN, TO TOP THIS OFF, A BIG POWER-PLAY...

On January 5, 1970, a "Container Freight Station Supplement" to our West Coast Longshore Contract went into effect.



In this contract supplement, our employers recognized our jurisdiction over the "stuffing" and "unstuffing" of certain cargo containers. This is why our International President, Harry Bridges, has informed the Federal mediator that the issue "is not a proper subject for arbitration."

But our employers, having decided on a big power play, refused to renew the jurisdictional provisions of this supplement. . . a fact which again forced us out on strike.

So what do our employers have in mind. . . and how have they tried to hide the truth from the public ? ? ?

To begin with, we have no jurisdictional dispute with the Teamsters or with any other union and our employers are in no sense "caught in the middle."

On the other hand, our "innocent and hapless" employers do have a "strategy" and goal in all of this. They have simply played a long-shot:—If we threaten the longshoremen with a loss of the work which we have already recognized as legitimately theirs, maybe they'll begin to run scared and agree to a substandard contract.

Well, we won't be fooled by this power-play. . .

WE WERE FORCED TO STRIKE SO AS TO PROTECT THE JURIS-DICTION AND WORKING CONDITIONS OF OUR PREVIOUS CONTRACT!!!

And thus our strike began and thus it shall continue. . .

OUR DEMANDS

JOB SECURITY...

We feel that it is essential for labor to challenge the notion that an employer—in the name of "progress"—can simply go ahead and slash his work force or close his factory or "close down" an entire community.... and to do this without any regard for the people involved.

We also feel that we in Local 10 have a particular responsibility to challenge this notion simply because the majority of us are from minority communities which have already been engulfed by the "progress" of massive unemployment.

On the other hand, we in the ILWU are not unfamiliar with change, nor do we oppose it. As a matter of fact, our last two five-year contracts were hailed throughout the nation as "model" contracts for industries undergoing rapid technological change.

it is, then, in this tradition of our industry that our demand for job security takes several forms:

We must have waterfront jurisdiction and a forty-hour, work or pay, weekly guarantee.

Our basic manning scale must remain as it is and we must have a "say-so" on the manning of new operations,

Our jointly agreed to job categories, training programs, and seniority system—together with the equalization of work opportunity—must continue.

WAGES...

As Pres. Bridges has observed, we lost ground in our struggle with soaring prices over

our last five year contract. This being the case, we must and will have a substantial increase of our present \$4.28 per hour base pay rate. . . \$.85 and \$.75 over a two year contract.

PENSIONS

Our demand is for a substantial monthly pension at the age of 55 with 25 years or more of service. We must have this to ensure our security and dignity in the face of the rapid technological change occuring in our industry. Such retirements will not only permit our older brothers to enjoy some additional years, but will also make room for younger men.

INSURANCE AND ACCIDENT COVERAGE...

"Whether we like it or not, part of our wage and fringe is for risking our necks."

Rank-and-file Longshoreman.

You probably have some idea of what working "on the waterfront" is like, but you may not know that death and injury stalks the longshoreman each time he "turns to." Our accident rate is second in the nation only to underground mining. In order to protect our families, we must have an increase in both our life insurance coverage and our accidental death and disability coverage. We must also demand supplemental accident coverage since our families presently receive only \$70.00 a week.

AND WHAT OF OUR OTHER DEMANDS???

By this time, you're no doubt beginning to understand our struggle, but our other demands you'll also recognize as basic to a decent and secure life. . .

We have no dental coverage for ourselves and our wives and we must have such coverage.

We have no paid prescription drug plan and we must have such a plan.

We have no paid sick leave provision and we must have such a provision.

We have no paid holidays and we must have some.

WHAT LIES BEHIND OUR DEMANDS???

The first thing you should know is that we longshoremen have never treated contract negotiations and the prospect of a strike lightly... this is our first strike in twenty-three years and this time we spent eight months in a fruitless attempt to negotiate a settlement prior to the expiration of our contract.

We are also continuing to negotiate on both the coast and the local level. Our employers, however, seem bent upon lining up at the bank with their super-profits, while scheduling us for the local unemployment and welfare offices.

You should also and finally know that we have given deep and serious thought to our demands. Indeed, these demands were hammered out over a two-year period of democratic give-and-take amongst ourselves and our fellow longshoremen up and down the doast. And this give-and-take—which reflects and embodies the profoundly democratic tradition of our union—has also produced what our employer is just now getting a taste of: A UNITED UNION MEMBERSHIP WHICH IS DETERMINED TO WIN ITS JUST DEMANDS!!!

CONTAINER FREIGHT STATION SUPPLEMENT

to the

PACIFIC COAST LONGSHORE AND CLERKS' AGREEMENT

July 1, 1966-July 1, 1971

Between

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION

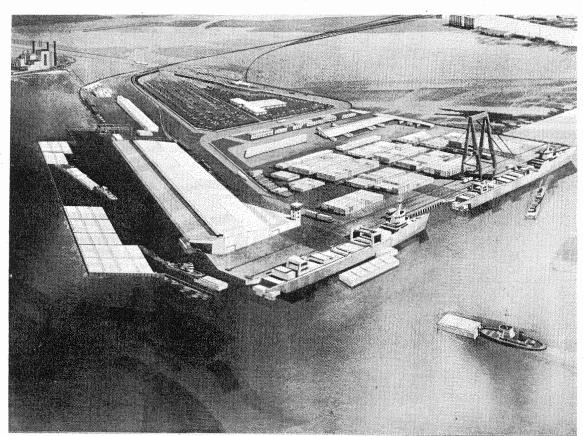
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Social Security No.

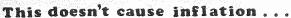


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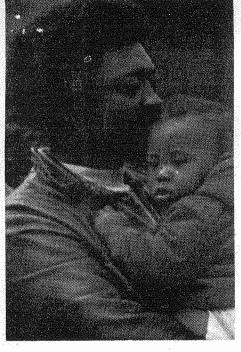
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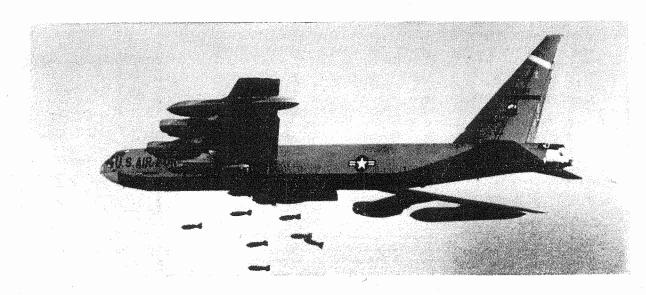
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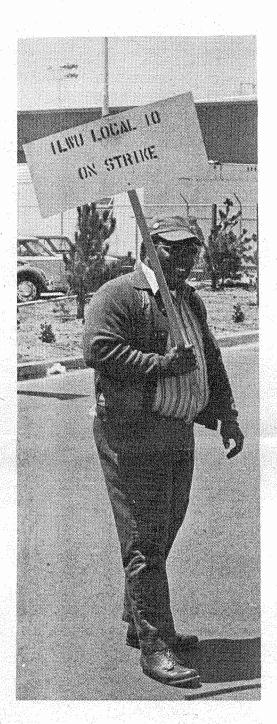
And just around the corner ...



THIS DOES !!!



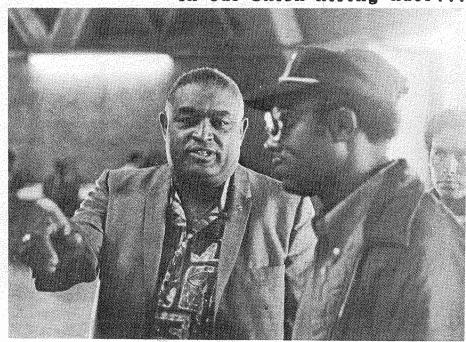






ON THE LINE ...

In our Union hiring hall.



WHAT YOU CAN DO TO HELP . . .

Since its birth, the ILWU has been in the forefront of the struggle to win and maintain a secure and decent life for all working people. The same is true today:— Our program deals both with the basic problems faced by all of labor and with the basic issues confronting our community and nation. We also intend to keep it so in the future. That is why we are now asking you for your help and support.

- * Send letters to the Pacific Maritime Association, 635 Sacramento St., San Francisco, Calif.
- * Ask your union, club, or fraternal group to contact us for a speaker.
- * Ask them to pass a resolution in support of our strike.
- * If possible, send a strike donation to our "Strike Assistance Committee."
- * AND THEN PASS THIS STRIKE PUBLICATION ON TO A FRIEND !!!

Fraternally yours, Local 10 – ILWU 400 North Point San Francisco, California 94133

"THE FREEZE"



International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union

SAN FRANCISCO · LOCAL 10



. favors the rich, creates a new tax bonanza for U.S. corporations, allows interest rates to run scot-free and hurts millions of American workers and small businessmen.

Harry Bridges President-ILWU

IT DOES NOT GET TO THE BASIC CAUSES OF INFLATION

Vietnam.

Defense spending pumps 80 billion income dollars into the economy each year. Since, however, defense produces no goods or services for the consumer, these income dollars (which we tax payers supply) simply "compete" for the goods and services which others produce. This being so, consumer prices would rise even in a free and competitive market...that is, even without the manipulated profit-making of Big Business.

Another fundamental cause of inflation is the manipulation and uncontrolled profit-making of Big Business

Manipulated profit-making occurs through monopolistic domination of markets and by price-fixing agreements. Such basic industries as steel, auto, chemical, and paper are dominated by three or four "giants" who raise prices at will. Price-fixing agreements between corporations of other industries have also become commonplace.

The other fundamental cause of the inflationary spiral is the interest rate imposed—at will, once again-on consumers.

The arbitrary imposition of interest rates has gotten completely out of hand. There are two reasons for this. The lending industry is again dominated by a small number of "giants" who set the pattern. There are also nationwide interest-rate agreements between the giant retailers of goods. The results of this manipulation of "the money market" have been catastrophic for millions of Americans.

IT IS A MONUMENTAL INJUSTICE

A radical redistribution of the nation's wealth in favor of the rich. . . Robin Hood in reverse. It steals from the poor and gives to the rich.

George Meany President, AFL-CIO

"Grossly discriminatory against workers"

Pres. Leonard Woodcock **United Auto Workers**

The fundamental cause of inflation in our economy is a huge defense budget and the war in While Nixon's program for "the new prosperity" totally fails to get the basic causes of inflation, it both favors the rich and works great harm to us working people...be we employed, underemployed, or unemployed.

* Nixon's program freezes the wages of some of the people, but not of all of the people.

The income of the wage earner is effectively frozen simply because the boss has a vested interest in saying "no" to any wage increase. Indeed, the Nixon Administration has even said that previously negotiated wage increases are not to be honored by the boss!

Well, we workers know enough about corporate life to know that under-the-table "understandings" and tax-free "fringe benefits" are all a part of the game. We also know corporate raises will be "worked out" with no governmental interference and no public knowledge.

* The program fails to set up the machinery necessary for an effective freeze of prices.

During World War II, prices rose about 20% even after the setting up of a wage-price panel and the machinery to enforce its rulings. Why should we working people be hoodwinked with a "voluntary" price freeze which relies upon the "conscience" of the businessman. We've already been a victim of that "conscience" many times!!!

* This program for "the new prosperity" also fails to freeze the price of raw agricultural products.

A very substantial part of our income—whether employed or unemployed—is spent on food. At the same time, a large part of our food budget is for raw agricultural products. Nixon's brazenly callous failure to put a freeze on items we must buy makes "good political" sense", however. Afterall, the power and influence of big corporate agri-business (which disguises itself as "the small family farmer") is such that we tax-payers have subsidized it for years!

* The program fails to provide a freeze on land prices.

This is no doubt very pleasing to those who "earn" their wealth by speculating in land and "land development"...but, by the way, Mr. Nixon, rising costs for land are far more inflationary in housing costs than are construction worker wages.

* Nixon has also failed to freeze profits through an excess profits tax. . . but this, afterall, is simply a part of "the new prosperity" for some of the "right" people.

Profits, of course, are a part (and, as a matter of fact, a very large part) of the price charged for any consumer good or service. That's why there was an excess profits tax during World War II. Nixon however, has "explained"-to a nation which is suffering an "official" unemployment rate of over 6% and a far higher rate of underemployment-that profits have been "too low".

But what are the facts on this score?

The most recent government report shows that firms with over \$1 billion worth of assets increased their profits by 19% in the first quarter of this year! On the other hand, smaller firms did suffer a decline of profits. This doesn't mean that the small firms did not make a healthy profit. ...it means that they, too, are being badly squeezed by the domination which giant corporations exercise over consumer markets.

* But, what about dividends. . . Nixon has at least tried to control business on this front.

Many stocks never pay a dividend. ..the money earned is simply reinvested. In such instances, the market value of each share of stock is increased and if that value goes high enough, it may be "split" into two shares. The mere fact that a corporation's increased earnings (which, for example, may be gained by refusing to honor a previously negotiated wage hike) are not paid out in higher dividends simply means that its stock holders will have a more valuable investment. ..it's money in the bank and in no sense a "sacrifice" by the owners of American industry.

* The Nixon program has permitted an "early thaw" to some of the "right" people, . . the program is as grossly inequitable in its execution as it was in its conception.

While such things have received little or no press coverage, an "early thaw" has set in for some of the "right" people. For example, . . and these are only examples:

The steel industry has been permitted an 8% price hike.

Auto has been permitted to go back to first-of-the-year prices. . .several hundreds of dollars higher than the prices of Nixon's base period.

The insurance industry has been permitted to raise what it admits are "by far the outstanding majority of insurance policies."

And, meanwhile, Nixon administrators are hard at work in other departments. For example, a Federal Communications examiner has just recommended that giant American Telephone and Telegraph be permitted to raise profits on interstate phone calls from 7.5% to 8.8%!!

ITS GIFT TO THE RICH WILL NOT SOLVE UNEMPLOYMENT

..,a giant raid on the Federal treasury. The same kind of trickle-down economic program that has been discredited so often before.

George Meany President, AFL-CIO

President Nixon has also proposed three changes in the domestic tax structure.

First of all, he wants business to have a 10% tax credit for investments in new machines and facilities. It is this tax-break—worth an estimated 8 billion dollars, which we tax-payers will have to make up—that all but the most ardent Nixon supporters have called a "bonanza" and a "windfall" for business and a "raid" on the Federal treasury.

But, won't the purchase of new machines and facilities create jobs as Nixon and his supporters have claimed?

Yes, at least on a temporary basis and in a very limited sector of the economy, it will someone will build the machines and facilities purchased. The idea is this: if you give the guy on top a big break, something will "trickle down" to *some* of us working people. Since, however, business is mainly interested in machines and facilities which pay for themselves (many times over) by replacing workers, the final results to be expected from this tax break are: 1) a temporary increase in work for those who are in such industries as machine-tool, 2) an increased unemployment and underemployment rate for those whose industries do invest in new machines and facilities, and 3) far greater profits for the investing corporations.

The other two domestic tax-changes which Nixon proposes are an end to the 7% auto excise tax and speed up of the already scheduled increase in personal income tax exemptions.

We support these proposed changes because they will benefit all of us and help stimulate the economy and employment through increased demand.

IT MAKES INTO LAW A VERY BAD JOKE: "WAGES CAUSE INFLATION"

With respect to inflation, the Nixon Administration has in one sense been very successful:—it has successfully misled the public into thinking of it in terms of "a wage-price spiral," Having succeeded in this, it has also been successful in making it seem that rising prices are caused by rising wages. To put it bluntly:—the Nixon Administration has successfully hidden the disasterous effect which defense spending, big profits and dividends, interest rates, land prices, and plain old-fashioned price fixing has on the cost of our living.

But what about wages?

In 1952...which is to say, when the extraordinary burden of defense spending was just beginning to be fully felt in our economy...Charles E. Wilson, the President of General Motors and subsequent Secretary of Defense under President Eisenhower, observed: "It is not primarily wages that push up the prices. It is the prices that pull up the wages."

Since 1952, many economists and public officials have observed the same thing, but one of the more interesting and recent of these observations was made at the 1970 United Auto Workers Convention by George P. Schultz, then serving as Nixon's Secretary of Labor. Mr. Schultz, who now heads Nixon's Bureau of the Budget, admitted that "Fundamentally, the worker has been on a treadmill...the wage earner should not be the scapegoat for inflation."

Well, then, if it's not wages in general that have caused inflation, it must be the wage increases won by "the big, powerful (and selfish) unions."

O.K.. : .let's take a closer look.

In the *Wall St. Journal* of Nov. 22, 1968, there was a report on wage-inflation studies. The title of this report was:

INFLATION-PARADOX

Analysts Say Prices Rise Fastest in Fields Lacking Strong Unions

This report began by saying: "The prevailing impression is that the current round of inflation is fueled mainly by union demands for higher wages. But many economic analysts say that the biggest price increases are coming where unions are weak or where labor costs are not even a major consideration." Indeed, "The stereotype of big unions commanding big pay increases and causing, ultimately, big price boosts just doesn't jibe with the facts" (Victor B. Fuchs—Bureau of Economic Research).

Having detailed the sharp rise of prices which had occurred in weakly organized or non-organized industries and the actual decline in prices which had occurred in many strongly organized industries, the Journal concluded: "The record shows that today's inflation, to a remarkable extent, reflects factors that have little direct connection with labor costs."

So, who, afterall, is making the money??????

"With profits at a generally high level, many industries were in a position to absorb increases in labor costs either wholly or in considerable part."

President Nixon's Council of Economic Advisors-1970



WHAT DO WE THINK SHOULD BE DONE??

We working people were suffering the brunt of the Nation's economic ills even before Nixon's program for "the new prosperity." Nobody has to tell us about the fact or threat of unemployment and underemployment, about soaring taxes, or about deteriorating cities and inadequate housing and schools. Nor need we be told about skyrocketing prices. Nobody has to tell us about these things because they are the everyday realities of our lives, . .

So, what do we members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union think should be done?

Well, to begin with, the brothers and sisters which we elected to our April, 1971 International Convention said: "Wage and price controls are a bad prescription for national economic ills. Support for them proceeds from fallacious assumptions about how in fact the economy operates. . The ILWU is opposed to the imposition of wage-price controls."

This convention also pointed out that "a sweeping economic recovery program which would best serve the needs of the American people must include increased federal expenditures to meet domestic needs, tax reform and a redistribution of the tax burden, and higher wages for all. . . More money in the pockets of the consumers would lead to increased demand for goods and services, and thus the need to employ more workers to produce more goods and services."

Since, as our convention said, the primary cause of inflation has been the war in Vietnam, the maintenance of US troops around the world, and the build-up of a nuclear arsenal at home, it also said: "Any program to restrain inflationary forces at work in the economy must include a redirection of government spending away from defense and into socially useful enterprises such as schools, housing, health care, public transportation, cleaning up the environment and other similar projects for which there is a long-term public need and

As for our position now that Nixon's program for "the new prosperity" has been imposed on us, this we summed up in ILWU *Dispatcher* of August 27, 1971:

Higher wages are not the primary cause of inflation as Washington would have us believe. three factors—defense spending, monopoly control in basic industries, unregulated interest rates—plus absence of mechanisms for controlling price hikes in service industries—underlie the inflationary spiral.

To argue that wages are the villain is to ignore these important economic facts and place the burden of our economic problems on the backs of the working class while allowing corporate and financial giants to run roughshod over the ecomony. To that, the ILWU has consistently said, "No dice."

and the WATERFRONT

The situation in our, industry with respect to hourly wages and *actual* income (which, for underemployed workers, is far from the same thing) and with respect to rising productivity and rising underemployment is the same as in other highly unionized industries.

On the other hand, the maritime industry is different in two very important ways:

1) It has received enormous subsidies from us tax-payers for the purpose of "modernizing" itself, that is, for the purpose of replacing memby machines.

2)The *prices* which it charges the shipper (and these are ultimately passed on to us consumers) have not declined. . .they *have skyrocketed*.

These things being so, the imposing of awage freeze "on the waterfront" is even more grossly unfair than it is in other sectors of the economy.

WAGES, PRODUCTIVITY, AND FREIGHT RATES. IN THE LONGSHORE INDUSTRY

WAGES

As our International President Harry Bridges has said, we lost ground on the "price treadmill" during out last five year contract because of soaring inflation. Our loss of ground has in fact been such that we qualify for the freeze exemption which the Nixon Administration has provided when its effect is "grossly inequitable." This being so, Pres. Bridges has informed our employers that "we don't want to do anything illegal, but you can sit down and negotiate wages and any other matters, finally subject to government control boards that are set up."

On the other hand, our hourly wage rate—important as it is—is not the most basic problem we face. Our basic problem is the nightmare of a high and rising rate of underemployment and the loss of actual income due to our increasing productivity.

Let's first take a look at the productivity figures. . .

PRODUCTIVITY

The general measurement which the longshore industry uses to determine the productivity in *all* of its operations is the labor cost per ton of cargo moved across the dock to or from a vessel. These are the figures over our last five year contract:

	Tonnage	Labor Costs	Labor Costs per Ton
1966	3		
1966	31,233,729	\$179,199,739	\$5.737
1967	33,588,221	\$187,190,915	\$5,563
1968	37,529,593	\$188,277,586	\$5.016
1969	39,390,348	\$185,729,589	\$4.715
* 1970	26,109,553	\$114,611,118	\$4.389

* The figure for 1970 extended only through August 29 of that year. It is generally agreed within the longshore industry of the West Coast that the growth in productivity between 1960 and 1970 was approximately 66%.

As for the increased productivity of the industry's container and containership operations, this has been truly astronomical...productivity has increased by *more than 18 times* in the Port of New York, while our employers admit to an estimated increase of 20 times that of conventional operations!

FREIGHT RATES

But, what about freight rates? Maybe the gains in productivity which our employers have enjoyed have at least been in part passed on to the shipper (and, eventually, to the consumer) in the form of lower freight rates.

Well. . .let's take a look at what the *Pacific Shipper*, a highly respected trade magazine, had to say at a time when the container-ships were running full blast (Aug. 17, 1970-page 29):

"Freight rates today are generally at their highest level since the Suez Canal crisis in 1956 and there is strong evidence they will continue so. . .

Ships are in short supply, shipyards throughout the world are running at full capacity (most are taking no new orders), and world-wide ocean trade is growing at a faster than normal clip. Put this all together and the result has been a solid 25% gain in general freight rates on all commodities this year over 1969. . ."

And, then, in particular reference to the ship chartering business, this editorial remarks:

"In the United States, the robust condition of the ship chartering business is almost an embarassment in an economy faltering under the weight of many problems: inflation, unemployment, high interest, war spending, etc."

And what of "the rosy future" which the owners of our industry are planning for and hope to enjoy???

"The natural growth in the world's population means built-in increased demand for goods and a continuing strong rate of growth in ocean commerce. . rates will remain at least where they are through 1972, and most probably go up. How high they might go is anybody's guess."

RISING PRODUCTIVITY AND RISING UNDEREMPLOYMENT IN THE LONGSHORE INDUSTRY

According to the authoritative Jane's Freight Container/1969-70, "The year 1969 saw the full impact of containerization on major deep-sea routes."

Behind this statement lie the new ships, the new machines, and the new modes of operation which have meant rising employer profits and a rising rate of underemployment for us longshoremen. New ships have also thrown thousands of seamen out of work.

As for the details of the "technological revolution" in West Coast shipping, the number of containerized tons of cargo jumped from 190,000 during the first six months of 1968 to 950,000 during the first six months of 1969. At the same time, containerized cargo jumped from 13% of the tonnage to 40%!!

And this revolution has moved relentless onward. . the "progress" of machines and profits has recently spelled the calamity of a loss of two or three days work each week for us.

And what of the future which is being planned for us. . as it is for the workers of many of our industries???

Well, we're not sure of the details of the "funeral" being planned. . we're not exactly "consulted", any more than you are, about the plans which will so vitally effect the future of ourselves, our wives, and our children. We do know, however, that we are already suffering severe underemployment. We also know that 92% of the tonnage carried on Pacific routes is now estimated as suitable for containerization by 1973!!!

"The West Coast Longshoremen are engaged in a struggle which will determine the course of labor in dealing with the impact of mechanization and automation—it is part of the endless fight between human and property rights."

Louis Goldblatt Secretary-Treasurer ILWU



SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

STRIKE BULLETIN #45 - OCTOBER 4, 1971

"HAVE GUN, WILL TRAVEL"

or WHO IS EDMUND FLYNN

and WHY IS HE SAYING THOSE BAD THINGS ABOUT US ? ? ?

THE STORY OF PMA'S "HIRED GUN" . . .

Edmund J. Flynn became the President of PMA in January of 1969 . . . that is, about two and a half years ago.

Flynn did not get this job because he knows anything about the longshore industry or the maritime industry . . and he certainly didn't get it because he knows or cares about our needs and the needs of our families.

Flynn got this job for one reason and one reason only: he has a reputation for busting unions and strikes . . and, in particular, because he has a reputation for "dealing with" militant unions.

So, where did Edmund J. Flynn come from and how did he get the reputation of a "hired gun" ? ? ?

Between 1946 and 1951, he was an attorney for the National Labor Relations Board.

He then moved on to the position of Secretary and Director of "Industrial Relations" for the Printing Industry of America. In that industry, the job of "industrial relations" is to keep all of the printing-trades unions "in line"... and, of course, to build "a stable of scabs" who will go around the country breaking strikes. This, as you know, was done up in Seattle and is now being done at The Los Angeles Herald and the San Rafael Independent.

Having pushed his "have gun, will travel" reputation in this job, Flynn then got the job of Director of Labor Relations for Kennecott Copper Corporation, one of the true giants of American Industry.

And now the story really gets interesting . . .

In mid-1967, the United Steel Workers of America and the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers struck the non-ferrous metals and copper industry.

The key demand of the Kennecott strike was for company-wide bargaining, uniform wage and benefit provisions, and a common contract expiration date. In other words, the unions set out to break the corporation's age-old pattern of discrimination and playing each local and union off against the other.

Flynn was the chief spokesman for Kennecott and never got beyond calling this "a power play" . . (something which he himself knows a whole lot about ! !!)

Bro. Joe Molony, Vice-President of the Steel Workers, repeatedly took this power-play "B.S." apart: "The unions just wanted all copper employees to be treated equally."

As Bro. Molony pointed out, this was a key demand simply because a united front was essential when bargaining with a giant like Kennecott. Thus, for example, he said in a Strike Bulletin that, since "our only power is in our unity," the striking Kennecott workers throughout the country would insist and continue to insist on "a common expiration date and fair and equal treatment."

Bro. Otis Brubaker, Research Director for the Steel Workers, also repeatedly insisted on this in the strike bulletins. "We are all on strike together and this is one of the practicalities of bargaining that cannot be ignored, for it is fundamental to the very idea of unionism . . all (of us) expect to be treated uniformly and fairly by this affluent corporation."

AND WHAT ABOUT EDMUND J. FLYNN ? ? ?

Well, in a pathetic effort to counter the unions' insistence on this key demand, he said at the January, 1968 Washington hearings that the whole idea of company-wide bargaining was "illegal" . . . In other words, something that Big Business and its spokesmen like to call "LAW AND ORDER" had struck again!!!

But, Bro. Molony was right there again: - he told the Washington committee that heard Flynn say this that Flynn's charge "is only a cover for Kennecott's own refusal to bargain in good faith." Having also noted that "our legal advisers advise us that our position is legal." Molony concluded that the situation was very simple: - "Kennecott refuses to bargain with us whether we're on legal or illegal grounds."

(NOTE: Just how interested the Flynns and the Kennecott Corporations of this world really are in "law and order" was also pointed out by Molony at this hearing:- "He ripped the company's plan to go ahead next month with its merger with the Peabody Coal Company despite the fact that the Federal Trade Commission has not approved the move." He then informed the committee that the Steel Workers would ask the Justice Department "to institute anti-trust proceedings against the two companies which are exhibiting a 'government-be-damned attitude' similar to Kennecott's 'worker-be-damned attitude'.")

'At the Washington hearings, Flynn also used the union's "illegal" demand for company-wide bargaining as the excuse for Kennecott's six-month refusal to bargain at all!!

But Bro. Molony was "Johnny-on-the-spot" once again: He pointed out that it was just this stiff-necked, reactionary attitude and phoney excuse that had forced the union into the longest strike in the history of the industry. He also reported that the President of Kennecott "told me early in the bargaining that the company had an offer on the table, that it would be there a week from now . . . a month from now . . . several months from now . . . and on Christmas Day."

Now, that, baby, is just plain cold, but dig this . .

In the same January, 1968 hearings that Bro. Molony reported this, Edmund J. Flynn testified that the company "has no reason" to improve its one-and-only economic proposal of June 7, 1967 because of the unions' position on the issue of company-wide bargaining.

SOURCES: United Steel Workers' Strike Bulletins, the Journal of Commerce, and the Daily Commercial News.

* * * * * *

Well, brothers, Edmund J. Flynn is "working out" again, but this time he's working out on us . . and he hopes to add to his reputation as a "hired gun" by becoming "the man who took the ILWU apart." And if he's successful, he'll hang around to enjoy San Francisco and Tiburon with his "upper crust" cronies for a couple of years . . he won't have anything to do because his work will have been done . . and then he'll move on to another industry for the purpose of "doing a job" on yet another union. BUT, THERE'S A HANG-UP IN THIS BECAUSE HE'S NOT GOING TO GET PAST US !!!

DON'T BE MISLEAD: OUR STRIKE IS A LONG WAY FROM BEING OVER!!! TALK ABOUT "SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS" AND "PROGRESS" IS PRESSURE ON US TO SETTLE CHEAPLY. THE ONLY TENTATIVE AGREEMENT SO FAR REACHED IS ON PENSIONS. THERE MAY BE SOMETHING CALLED "CLOSE-TO-AGREEMENT" ON A FEW OTHER ITEMS, BUT THAT IS ALL. FURTHERMORE, ANY AGREEMENT HAS TO FIRST GO TO THE CAUCUS AND THEN TO THE ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP FOR DISCUSSION AND VOTE. ALL THAT WILL TAKE TIME!!!

AS FAR AS TAFT-HARLEY IS CONCERNED: NEITHER THE GOVERNMENT, THE PMA, OR WE STRIKERS WANT AN INJUNCTION... SO DON'T "BANK" ON THAT. LET'S HOLD TIGHT IN THIS BATTLE AND LET'S GET OUR NEW LEAFLET-"AN HISTORIC STRIKE" - OUT TO THE PUBLIC BECAUSE IT REALLY TELLS IT AS IT IS!!! RIGHT ON, BROTHER, BECAUSE WE'RE NOW GETTING DOWN TO THE "NITTY GRITTY"!!!

HALF-TRUTHS WON'T END OUR DOCK STRIKE

In its recent West Coast newspaper ads (Chronicle: Jan. 26, 1972 - p. 11), the Pacific Maritime Association simply told the public some half-truths about our longshore strike.

This amazingly brazen attempt to manipulate public opinion was launched in the hope that a public aroused by the "facts" would either force us to accept the PMA's contract offer or "justify" compulsory arbitration by a probusiness National Administration which has already launched a devastating offensive against all working people, be they organized or unorganized, employed or unemployed.

Let's take a look at this absolutely inexcusable effort to mislead and manipulate the public.

WHAT THEY TOLD YOU ABOUT THE WAGE OFFER . .

The wage offer is \$5.00 an hour for the first year of a two year contract and \$5.40 for the second year.

. .AND WHAT THEY DIDN'T TELL YOU!!!

- 1) That we are suffering unemployment due to technological change, that we face even worse unemployment, and that any wage is no good if you don't have the opportunity to work.
- 2) That we work in the nation's second most hazardous industry and that the waterfront is no "picnic" even if you are lucky enough to escape serious injury or death.
- 3) That we have been "wiped out" by inflation during two successive five-year contracts.
- 4) That we are expected to pay for very standard "fringe" benefits out of our hourly wage.

WHAT THEY TOLD YOU ABOUT THE WAGE "GUARANTEE" . . .

"Class A longshoremen would be guaranteed 36 hours work a week or straight time pay in lieu thereof" so as to "provide security during working years."

. . . AND WHAT THEY DIDN'T TELL YOU!!!!

1) That Class B longshoremen would at most be guaranteed 18 hours of work or pay a week.

- 2) That there is a "cap" to the funding of this "guarantee" and that the fund could well go broke before the end of the contract.
- 3) That were this fund to go broke, the average "guarantee" received by us would be \$400.00 per year.
- 4) That even if the fund doesn't go broke, the "security" which it offers does not cover our "working years" as the PMA would have you believe, but simply the next eighteen months.

WHAT THEY TOLD YOU ABOUT THE PENSION OFFER . .

To provide "security during retirement years," men retiring at 62 will receive \$500.00 a month. (When, at the age of 65, these men are eligible for social security, the benefit will be reduced to \$350.00 a month.)

. . . AND WHAT THEY DIDN'T TELL YOU!!!

湖流 中有機

- 1) That our present pensioners will continue to receive \$235.00 a month, plus whatever social security they may be entitled to.
- That even the cost-of-living increase that our present pensioners were scheduled to receive has been denied.
- 3) That the "security" being offered does not extend to our "retirement years", but only for the next 18 months.

BUT WHAT ABOUT THE "OTHER BENEFITS" THAT THE PMA SAYS IT'S OFFERING ? ? ?

- 1) Increased medical coverage. There is in fact no increase in medical coverage being offered.
- 2) Increased dental coverage. This is true. We long-shoremen and our wives have never had dental coverage, but at long last it is now being offered.
- 3) Higher pay for certain skilled jobs. This is also true, but this is a very minor cost item and of no benefit to the vast majority of us.
- 4) Increased meal and lodging allowances. This, too, is a minor cost item, but the "cost" to us from being away from our homes and families is hardly covered by it.

- 5) Improved life insurance. A far bigger improvement has in fact been demanded by us simply because we are working in the nation's second most hazardous industry.
- 6) "Up-grading" small port hospital-medical coverage.
 "Up-grading" is not the parity which we need, but
 even that is long over due.

While the PMA has intentionally sought to mislead the public with respect to these items of their proposed contract, the following facts about that contract are simply not mentioned by the Association.

- 1) There are no paid holidays.
- 2) There is no paid sick leave or funeral leave.
- 3) There is no prescription drug coverage.
- 4) There is no eye care coverage.
- 5) There is not a single improvement in our health and safety conditions on the job, despite the fact that the accident rate is astronomical and frequently exceeds that of the nation's most hazardous industry, underground mining.
- 6) There is no improvement in the vacation benefit which we have had for over ten years.

A FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE THAT YOU'RE TOLD NOTHING ABOUT. . . .

As it happens, the PMA is even less anxious for the public to know that a basic issue in this strike is our struggle against discrimination and favoritism. This being the case, the association fails to mention the set of demands which it has made with respect to our job dispatch system. This system has always prevented discrimination and favoritism, while insuring an equal work opportunity to all of us. While the PMA demands would destroy this system and threaten our immediate economic welfare and long-term job security, they would also undermine the very existence of our union.

THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER . . .

Our employers have failed to bargain in good faith. Phase I of the PMA's plan was to force a long and grueling strike with the intention of starving us into voting for a sub-standard contract. Failing in that attempt, Phase II of the PMA's scheme is to sit back and await a pro-em-

ployer legislated settlement. In either event, their master plan is to break the back of our union and they have pursued this plan in complete disregard for the public.

The story of our strike is really very simple . . .

We simply cannot support our families and provide for the future welfare of our children on what we are being asked to accept as a contract.

Since the very existence of our union and the tradition of collective bargaining is at stake in our strike, we also feel that OUR FIGHT IS THE FIGHT OF ALL WORKING PEOPLE OF THE NATION.

WHAT YOU CAN DO TO HELP!!!

Send letters to the Pacific Maritime Association, 635 Sacramento St., San Francisco, Calif. - 94120.

Send letters to your Congressmen.

± 10.

Ask your union, club, or fraternal group to contact us for a speaker.

Ask them to pass a resolution in support of our strike.

If possible, send a strike donation to our "Strike Assitance Committee."

AND THEN PASS THIS STRIKE PUBLICATION ON TO A FRIEND!!!

Our very best and fraternal regards,

The Members of Local 10 ILWU - San Francisco



