

VOICE OF THE ILWU



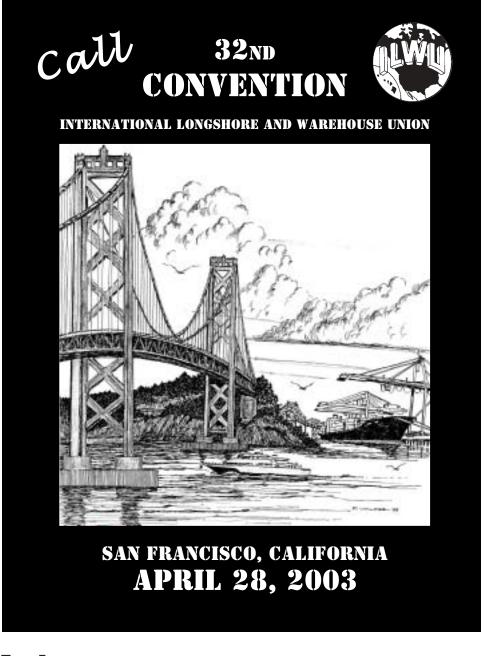
Volume 42 • No. 10

The VOICE of the ILWU—Published monthly except April and a combined June/July issue by Hawaii Local 142, International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union

December 2002

This year, 2003, will be a busy year for ILWU democracy. There will be two major meetings (we call them conventions) where ILWU members will have the opportunity to set the policies and direction of their union. In addition, there will be three internal union elections at all levels of the union where **ILWU** members have the right to run for office or nominate and elect others to represent them or run the daily affairs of the union.

These events will give ILWU members many opportunities to learn more about their union and get involved in the democratic process of running their union.



I speak as one who loves America, to the leaders of our own nation: The great initiative in this war is ours; the initiative to stop it must be ours.

> —Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Beyond Vietnam, page 8

ILWU Democracy in Action A union run for members and by members

International Convention in April

The first meeting is the ILWU International Convention, which will be held in San Francisco, California, from April 28 to May 2, 2003. This convention is made up of 300-400 delegates from the 60+ ILWU local unions that make up the International ILWU. (Local 142 Hawaii is one such local union.) Meeting in convention, these rank-and-file delegates have the power to review the work of the International officers, set the direction of the union, and amend the union's constitution.

The International Convention is held every three years. The location of the convention rotates through six regions of the ILWU—Hawaii, Oregon/Colum-

bia River,
Northern
California,
Canada,
Washington/
Puget Sound,
and Southern
California. The
last International
Convention

was held in April 2000 in Portland, Oregon. This year, the International Convention rotates to Northern California and will be held in San Francisco. In 2006, the International Convention will be held in Canada.

Actions taken by the International Convention, including changes to the constitution, take effect immediately upon adoption. Thus, the convention is the highest governing body of the

Delegates to the International Convention are elected by direct rank-and-file vote by the members of each ILWU local or affiliate.

> direct rankand-file vote by the members of each ILWU local or affiliate. About one-third of the delegates from Local 142 were elected in elections held in November 2000—these are local delegates who attend the convention at the Local's expense. Units may elect and send their own delegates, who attend at the expense of the unit. [See page 6 for the names of the local delegates.] In the last convention held in April 2000,

ILWU, and

this is how

control the

union.

the members

Delegates

to the Inter-

Convention

are elected by

national

Local 142 had a total of 124 delegates—27 were Local delegates and 97 were unit delegates from some 49 units.

Units interested in sending delegates to the International Convention must hold membership meetings soon to elect delegates and get the necessary membership approval for their expenses. Delegates must be elected by secret ballot and all names must be submitted to the Divisions as soon as possible in order to book airplane reservations and take care of other paperwork.

Although the deadline to submit names for credentials is in March, airline and hotel reservations must be made in February to ensure participants have confirmed flights and lodging.

—continued on pages 4, 5 & 6

WASHINGTON D.C. REPORT

The first battle of the year By Lindsay McLaughlin, ILWU Washington Representative

Economic stimulus vs. tax cuts for the rich

Both major political parties "say" something needs to be done to shore up the economy. The details of these plans clearly outline who the parties serve.

Democratic Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) unveiled the Democratic plan, which she said, would "advance a proposal that will be substantial enough to have the immediate effect of stimulating the economy, but at the same time will not cause long-term harm for our budget."

While considering some sort of "payroll tax holiday" to put money into the hands of hard working Americans, Pelosi blasted the President's tax cut plan as "Trojan horse" to give more money to the wealthiest Americans. Pelosi stated that the Democrats would not support dipping into the Social Security Trust Fund to pay for such a tax break. According to Pelosi, the Democratic plan would jumpstart the economy by creating more than 1 million new jobs this year, provide relief to laid-off workers, ease the financial burden on states, and put money into the hands of working families and small business owners. The plan is estimated to cost just \$100 billion over 10 years, which Democrats speculate would not bust the budget.

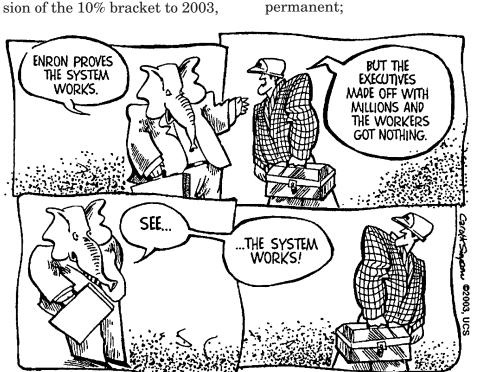
Bush, on the other hand, has proposed a \$674 billion dollar package that would be certain to bust the budget. According to Bush, his plan would accelerate all tax rate cuts and the expansion of the 10% bracket to 2003

exclude stock dividends from taxable income, accelerate marriage penalty relief and child credit increase to 2003. Finally, the amount of purchases for equipment small business can write off would be increased to \$75,000.

Beyond providing tax cuts for the wealthy, there is little the Bush plan would do to actually stimulate the economy. In fact, the proposal received a lukewarm reception from the two top Republican tax writers in Congress, who said that the White House "vision" has little chance of passing as it is currently written.

The AFL-CIO has proposed a more expansive stimulus package to create jobs. To meet short-term needs without doing long-term damage, Congress should pass a recovery plan that:

- Kicks in immediately, rather than years from now;
- Is temporary, rather than permanent;





- Encourages consumption (hence, job creation), rather than saving; and
- Meets commonly-shared needs and serves broad public interests, rather than promoting narrow special interests.

The AFL-CIO calls on Congress to pass and the President to sign an economic recovery package that includes the following components:

- Emergency unemployment benefits;
- Financial help for the states;
- Investments in schools, roads,

bridges, water, our industrial base and other infrastructure;

- Tax rebates that will benefit low income and moderate income Americans;
- Minimum wage increase.

Perhaps the most important thing is that the economic recovery package is paid for. Any economic recovery program carries upfront costs. The cost of proposals to date range from \$155 to \$300 billion. We can cover those costs—and more—by modifying the 2001 tax cut, instead of ignoring our nation's economic crisis with a business-as usual-response.

U.S. House to create Homeland Department monitor

The House is creating a new committee to oversee the Homeland Security Department that is to take shape this year as part of the new rules just passed on Tuesday, January 7, 2003. House Republicans agreed to the new panel as part of a package of organizing rules that the entire House voted on Tuesday when the 108th Congress opened. There had been some debate over

whether congressional oversight of the new department should be handled by existing committees or a new panel.

Also attached to the new rules is a loophole of the gift ban for Member of Congress and staff. The Republican House rules now will allow lobbyists to deliver to House offices catered meals which could include caviar and filet mignon.

WASHINGTON D.C. REPORT

This legislation is dangerous for

the ILWU. It is conceivable that

an amendment could be offered

to apply these same anti-union

standards to longshore workers.

Airlines aim to make strikes more difficult, industry lobbies to bust airline unions

Airlines are asking Congress to amend the federal law that governs airline labor relations to make it harder for unions to strike. The Air Transport Association, the industry's largest lobbying group, is urging lawmakers to revise the Railway Labor Act of 1926, the federal law that regulates the industry's labor relations. Airlines, which have been struggling to regain profitability, say labor expenses are their biggest costs. If the ability to strike is limited by the federal government, it would make it easier for carriers to win wage and work-rule concessions.

Transportation unions said they were outraged by the effort and accused carriers of using their financial crisis to weaken unions. "It's about getting the upper hand on their workers," said Edward Wytkind, executive

director of the Transportation Trades Department of the AFL-CIO, which represents 35 transportation unions,

including all of the airline unions.
Airlines are one of the most unionized industries in the United States.

Last year, Senator John

McCain (R-AZ) introduced a measure that would have changed the federal law by requiring that a panel of arbitrators quickly resolve disputes, effec-

> tively curtailing workers' ability to strike. The measure did not pass. It would have eliminated the long coolingoff periods and require that labor disputes be referred to a

small panel of arbitrators, which would have 30 days to select the proposal of the union or the company. The decision could be appealed only in limited cases and would be binding on both parties.

McCain is now Chair of the Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee and airlines are hopeful that they can get the federal transportation labor law rewritten. McCain has scheduled a hearing on the state of the airline industry. His staff declined to comment on whether he would reintroduce the measure; however, union spokespersons said they were told McCain would do so next month.

This legislation is dangerous for the ILWU. It is conceivable that an amendment could be offered to apply these same anti-union standards to longshore workers.

Welfare law is set to expire—what will happen?

Last year, ithe Senate's proposal

was to maintain the 30 hour work

week and provide \$5.5 billion in

additional child care spending

while allowing states to provide

One of the first issues before the 108th Congress will be the extension of the major provisions of the Welfare Law, which is set to expire on January 11th, 2003. The likely outcome is that the current law will be extended for several

months while Congress decides what to do. Last year, Congress failed to reauthorize the 1996 law that replaced more than 60

replaced cash benefits to legal immigrants.

more than 60
years of guaranteed public assistance with new work mandates and greater flexibility for states to operate their programs. The welfare program serves more

cash benefits to legal immigrants.

Senate Finance of this approach. We wait and see if an example of the program serves more cares about the programs.

Americans.

It is expected that House Republicans will propose legislation similar to what they offered last year. Their proposal would increase the hours each adult

than 2 million of the poorest

Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable.

—John F. Kennedy

recipient would be required to work from 30 to 40 a week and provide \$1 billion in new mandatory child care spending.

The Senate approach is less certain. Last year, their proposal was to maintain the 30 hour work

week and provide \$5.5 billion in additional child care spending while allowing states to provide cash benefits to legal immigrants. The

Senate Finance Committee has a new chair, who did not support this approach. We will have to wait and see if anyone really cares about the poorest Americans.



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Name

Address

Local #

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Editor: Mel Chang

Important Notice on ILWU Political Action Fund

Delegates to the 30th Convention of the ILWU, meeting in Honolulu, Hawaii, April 7-11, 1997, amended Article X of the International Constitution to read:

"SECTION 2. The International shall establish a Political Action Fund which shall consist exclusively of voluntary contributions. The union will not favor or disadvantage any member because of the amount of his/her contribution or the decision not to contribute. In no case will a member be required to pay more than his/her pro rata share of the union's collective bargaining expenses. Reports on the status of the fund and the uses to which the voluntary contributions of the members are put will be made to the International Executive Board.

"The voluntary contributions to the Political Action Fund shall be collected as follows:

"Up to One Dollar and Fifty Cents (\$1.50) of each March and July's per capita payment to the International Union shall be diverted to the Political Action Fund where it will be used in connection with federal, state and local elections. These deductions are suggestions only, and individual members are free to contribute more or less than that guideline suggests. The diverted funds will be contributed only on behalf of those members who voluntarily permit that portion of their per capita payment to be used for that purpose. The Titled Officers may suspend either or both diversions if, in their judgement, the financial condition of the International warrants suspension.

"For three consecutive months prior to each diversion each dues paying member of the union shall be advised of his/her right to withhold the contribution or any portion thereof otherwise made in March and July. Those members expressing such a desire, on a form provided by the International Union, shall be sent a check in the amount of the contribution or less if they so desire, in advance of the member making his/her dues payment to the local union for the month in which the diversion occurs.

"Those members who do not wish to have any portion of their per capita payment diverted to the Political Action Fund, but wish to make political contributions directly to either the Political Action Fund or their local union, may do so in any amounts whenever they wish."

Signature
☐ More than \$1.50 - I wish to contribute more than the minimum voluntary contribution of \$1.50 to the ILWU Political Action Fund. Enclosed please find my check for \$
☐ Less than \$1.50 - I do not wish to contribute the entire \$1.50 to the ILWU Political Action Fund. I will contribute I understand that the International will send me a check for the difference between my contribution and \$1.50 prior to March 1, 2003.
☐ No contribution - I do not wish to contribute to the ILWU Political Action Fund. I understand that the International will send me a check in the amount of \$1.50 prior to March 1, 2003.

Return to: ILWU, 1188 Franklin Street • San Francisco, CA 94109 NOTE: CONTRIBUTIONS ARE NOT DEDUCTIBLE AS CHARITABLE CONTRIBUTIONS

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ILWU Democracy A full year ahead f

The Local 142

Convention is the

highest governing

body for ILWU

Local 142 in Hawaii.

Local 142 Convention in September

The second major meeting is the Local 142 Convention, which will be held in Honolulu from September 15-19, 2003. Just as the International Convention is the highest governing body of the **International** union, the Local 142 Convention is the highest governing body for ILWU Local 142 in Hawaii. This convention is usually attended by more than 500 delegates from the 200 plus units that make up Local 142 Hawaii.

Meeting in convention, these rankand-file delegates have the power to review the work of the Local officers.

set the direction of the union in Hawaii, and propose amendments to the Local 142 Constitution. However, unlike the International, the work of the Local 142 Convention and any changes to the constitution must be ratified by the members of Local 142. Membership meetings must be held to give members a full accounting of what happened at the convention and to get their vote of approval. In the ILWU, the members have the final say of what happens in their union. This is what makes the ILWU democratic.

Delegates to the Local Convention are elected by direct rank-and-file vote by the members of each ILWU unit. All units with 10 or more members are entitled to one delegate and up to

five delegates for units with more than 751 members. These delegates attend the convention at the Local's expense. Units may send additional delegates with observer status at the unit's expense. At the last Local Convention held in September 2000, Local 142 had a total of 124 delegates—27 were Local

delegates and 97 were unit delegates from some 49 units.

Units usually hold meetings in June or July to elect their delegates to the Local Convention. Delegates must be elected by secret ballot and all names must be submitted to the Divisions no later than July 28, 2003.

International elections from June to July

The first internal union election will be at the International level.

This election spans the period from mid-April to mid-July and involves the four International titled officers and the members of the International executive board, all of whom serve a threeyear term of office.

The International officers are the president, two vice-presidents, and a secretary-treasurer. Together they run the day-to-day affairs of the union and supervise the International staff. The **International Executive Board** consist of the four titled officers and additional members elected from the six ILWU regions and from the marine division or Inlandboatmen's Union (IBU) on a per capita basis.

The International Executive Board is the second highest governing body of the union and has the power to take action and make policies between meetings of the convention. The executive board must meet at least three times a year. Local 142 has six members on the executive board—President Bo Lapenia,

> Richard Morgan from Oahu, Robert Zahl from Maui, Wilma Revilla from Hawaii, Nate Lum and Jaylene Pascual from Oahu.

The officers and executive board members are nominated on the last day of the International Convention from among the delegates of the Convention. This means you must

Local 142 elections give all members in good standing the opportunity to vote for the full-time officers who carry out the day-to-day work of the union, the representatives to the local executive board, and delegates to the 2006 International Convention.

December 2002 VOICE THE ILWU page 5

in Action—continued from page 1 or ILWU members

ILWU balloting

committees are

responsible for running

and upholding the fair

conduct of elections.

be a delegate to run for international office. You must also have been a dues paying member of the ILWU for at least five years and worked as a rank-and-file ILWU member for at least two years.

In Hawaii, the International election has usually been conducted by mail. While the exact timetable for the election has yet to be worked out,

Worked out,
Hawaii members could normally expect to receive their ballots in
June and have until July to return the ballots. The International Constitution requires the election to be completed within 70 days after the adjournment of the convention.

Members can also expect to receive campaign literature or see candidates campaigning beginning in May and throughout the balloting period. Members have the right to support the candidates of their choice.

Local 142 elections in November

The second internal union election is for the officers of Local 142. This election will span the period from mid-August to late November. This election includes the full-time officers who carry on the day-to-day work of the union, local executive board members, and the delegates to the 2006 International Convention.

All members in good standing have the right to support and vote for the candidates of their choice. Members who meet the requirements also have the right to run for these offices.

A total of 28 full-time officers are elected. This includes: three Local officers—president, vice-president, and secretary-treasurer; four division directors; and 21 business agents. Local 142 is somewhat unusual in electing business agents from among its membership. Many unions appoint or hire business agents.

Candidates for the three Local offices and five executive board positions from the industrial groupings are nominated on the last day of the Local Convention. Similar to the requirements for International office, you must be

an official delegate or observer to run for these offices.

Nominations for all other local elected positions do not require you to be a convention delegate or observer. You are required to be a

> member in good standing for different periods of time, depending on the position and you must submit a petition signed by at least 25 members in good

standing. These petitions must be turned in to the Secretary-Treasurer between September 1 and September 15, inclusive. These offices include the division director, division trustees, division local executive board members, business agents, and International Convention delegates.

In addition, members must meet the job requirements of the position to serve as a local or division officer. Please consult the Local 142 Constitution for the exact requirements for each office.

Balloting for the Local Election will take place the week of November 15-21, 2003. Members can expect to receive campaign literature from candidates throughout the election period.

Unit elections in December

The third and last internal union election is for unit officers. Units may hold their elections anytime from August 1, 2003 to December 31, 2003. Some of these elections take place at the same time as the Local elections. Many units hold their elections in early December, after the completion of the Local elections.

Members who meet the requirements have the right to run for any unit office, to vote in unit elections, and serve as election volunteers.

Help Wanted— Balloting Committees

A lot of effort goes into making democracy work. Someone has to determine the best dates to hold the election at your unit. Someone has to check the membership lists to make sure only members in good standing cast a ballot.

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—More on page 6

page 6 VOICE THE ILWU December 2002

ILWU Democracy in Action

—continued from page 5 **A full year ahead for ILWU members**

Delegates to the

Local Convention

are elected by direct

rank-and-file vote

by the members of

each ILWU unit. All

units with 10 or

more members are

entitled to one

delegate and up to

five delegates for

units with more than

751 members.

These delegates

attend the

convention at the

Local's expense.

Someone has to set up the voting booths and prepare the blank ballots. Someone has to make sure candidates follow the rules to ensure a fair election. Someone has to monitor the polling place

while the voting is being conducted. Someone has to count the ballots.

All of these "someones" are your fellow unit members who have volunteered to serve on a balloting committee. Each unit will need to form a balloting committee to help run the local and unit elections. The size of the committee varies from 2-5 members,

depending on the size of your unit. Division balloting committee members are also needed.

Serving as a member of a balloting committee is a great way to learn how democracy works in your union. If you're interested, call the Division Office nearest you.

A Full Calendar

- February and March Units should hold meetings to elect International Convention delegates and submit names of delegates to the Local—the sooner the better.
- April 28 May 2, 2003 International Convention
- May Membership meetings to report on International Convention
- June International Elections balloting;
- June and July Units should hold meetings to elect Local 142 Convention delegates
- August Notice of nominations for Local Election; unit balloting committees for Local Election formed
- Sept. 1 15 Local Election Nominations period
- Sept. 14-19 Local Convention
- October Membership meetings to ratify Local Convention
- November Local Election Balloting, Unit election nomina-

tions

• December – Unit elections -Local Election results

Who are the delegates to the International Convention

from Hawaii?

a) The Local **Executive Commit**tee—7 members: Local President Eusebio "Bo" Lapenia, Jr., Local Vice-President Robert G. Girald Local Secretary-Treasurer Guy K. Fujimura, Hawaii **Division Director** Fred Galdones, Maui Division Director Roger Tacdol, Kauai **Division Director** Clayton Dela Cruz, and Oahu Division **Director Ray** Camacho

b) All the elected Local 142 International Convention Delegates from

each Division's industrial groups and at large—20 members:

Hawaii Division

Eli Miura (Longshore), George Martin (General Trades), Brevely Blas (Tourism), Rankin Gossert and Dean Piltz (At-Large).

Maui Division

Patrick De Ponte (Longshore), James Chester (Sugar), Martin Jensen (Pineapple), Rikizo Tengan (General Trades), Casey Del Dotto (At-Large). [The Maui Tourism seat was not yet filled at the time the VOICE went to press.]

Kauai Division

Nelson Rita (Longshore), Jerry Lagazo (Sugar), Pam Green (General Trades), Robert Bukoski (Tourism), Claudia Theade (At-Large).

Oahu Division

David Jones (Longshore), Gordon Wilson (Pineapple), Dona Hamabata (General Trades), Peter Imoto (Tourism), Lance Kamada (General Trades).

c) Hawaii members of the International Executive Board - 5 members: Richard Morgan (Pineapple-Oahu, Robert Zahl (Sugar-Maui), Wilma Revilla (General Trades-Hawaii), Nate Lum (Longshore-Oahu), Jaylene Pascual (Tourism-Oahu).

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In fond memory of ILWU sakada Jose Corpuz

HONOLULU—Retired ILWU Oahu Division Director and long-time ILWU leader Jose Corpuz passed away on December 18, 2002. Jose retired from the ILWU in 1991, after 45 years of active involvement in the labor movement.

Jose Corpuz was a "sakada," one of 6,000 Filipino laborers brought to Hawaii by the sugar planters in the last major importation of workers. These workers arrived in 1946, the same year that ILWU sugar workers struck the sugar industry. Thousands of miles away from home and in a new country, Jose and his fellow Sakada showed great courage when they chose to join ranks with the striking ILWU sugar workers. Sugar workers were struggling to improve their wages and working conditions after a booming war time economy had left them far behind other workers. It was a historic display of working class unity.

Jose began work as a weeder at Waialua Sugar Company in 1946.



Jose Corpuz (right) at an ILWU Local 142 Executive Board meeting with ILWU founder and International President Harry Bridges (left), August 1973.

During the strike, Jose was active in educating other Filipinos about the need for all working people to be united in a union. When the strike ended in victory, Jose became even more active in the union.

He was appointed as the steward for newly hired workers in his camp, and quickly moved up the union ranks to camp steward chairman, then steward council chairman. In 1949, Jose was elected unit treasurer for Waialua and a year later was elected vice-chairman.

Jose's strong leadership and commitment to union principles was recognized and appreciated throughout the union. In 1952, Jose was elected Oahu business agent and in 1964, Oahu Division Director. As Division Director, Jose could often be found helping his business agents by visiting units and taking care of members' problems. Oahu has the largest number of units and general trade groups in the union, which kept Jose quite busy.

Jose was also the voice of the ILWU on its daily Filipino language radio program, which he diligently maintained for 28 years, ever since he took over the program in 1963. Jose served as Division Director until his retirement in 1991, serving for more than 25 years as the top ILWU officer for Oahu.

In addition to his work with the ILWU, Jose actively dedicated much of his time to his community as the president of the Kawailoa Filipino Community; president of the Kawailoa PTA; officer in the Waialua Filipino Community; treasurer of the United Filipino Oahu; and Fiesta Chairman of the State Filipino Council.

Much of Jose Corpuz's success can be attributed to the patience of his wife Angelita and children Jovita, Jeanette, Roger, Merilyn, Jose Jr., and Dave.

The ILWU Local 142 would like to express its deepest appreciation to Jose Corpuz for the many years he has dedicated to the development of the Union.

Hundreds of thousands of workers were brought to Hawaii to work on

the sugar and pineapple plantations. Many of them stayed in Hawaii, and through their hard work and struggles for a better life, made a living for their families and built Hawaii into a modern, democratic society.



Jose Corpuz served as the voice of the ILWU on its Filipino language radio show from 1963 until his retirement in 1991.

From the ILWU 142 Constitution and Bylaws DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES:

We, the men and women working under the jurisdiction of ILWU Local 142 Hawaii . . . have determined that we shall be guided by the following principles . . .

13. To join in the worldwide people's movement against war and the causes of war, and to work for an enduring peace maintained and protected by powerful international organizations dedicated to the elimination of fascism, war and aggression.

Who were the Sakada?

"Sakada" is a Filipino word historically used by both Ilocanoand Visayan-language speakers that refers to farmers who leave their farms and seek work elsewhere. These "migrant workers" left their homes, often during slack agricultural seasons, to look for work in other villages and provinces.

The literal translation of sakada is "those who sell work."

When the ILWU refers to "the Sakada," we are usually referring to the 6,000 contract laborers who were brought over from the Philippines in 1946 by the Hawaii Sugar Planters Association (HSPA).

The Sakada recruited by the HSPA were organized into the ILWU while they traveled by ship to Hawaii. When they reached the islands, they joined with other sugar workers in the industry's first multi-racial strike. This was the first strike that oppressed plantation workers ever won, and the first step in Hawaii's change from a feudal economy to an economy in which workers used collective action to improve their working conditions and get a fair return for their labor.

Thanks to Dr. Dean Alegado of the University of Hawaii at Manoa's Ethnic Studies Department for his definition of sakada Martin Luther King Day—A Day On ... Not A Day Off

On January 20th, many of us will celebrate the Martin Luther King Day holiday. This is a holiday where we are encouraged to take action to promote the values and principles that Dr. Martin

Luther King championed—racial equality, social justice, and

nonviolent social change.

Dr. King's vision was not limited to a struggle for a better America—his vision included the struggle to create a better world. This global perspective was clearly and beautifully expressed in a speech, "Beyond Vietnam," at the Riverside Church in New York City on April 4, 1967, before a group called the "Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam."

In that speech, Dr. King spoke against the madness and injustice of the U.S. war against Vietnam. These words remain relevant and appropriate today as the Bush administration maneuvers for a war against Iraq.

"The war in Vietnam is but a symptom of a far deeper malady within the American spirit, and if we ignore this sobering reality, we will find ourselves organizing 'clergy and laymen concerned' committees for the next generation. They will be concerned about Guatemala and Peru. They will be concerned about Thailand and Cambodia. They will be concerned about Mozambique and South Africa. We will be marching for these and a dozen other names and attending rallies without end unless there is a significant and profound change in American life and policy. So such thoughts take us beyond Vietnam..."

Excerpts from "Beyond Vietnam"—Martin Luther King, April 4, 1967, New York City

"A time comes when silence is betrayal." That time has come for us in relation to Vietnam. The truth of these words is beyond doubt, but the mission to which they call us is a most difficult one. Even when pressed by the demands of inner truth, men do not easily assume the task of opposing their government's policy, especially in time of war. Nor does the human spirit move without great difficulty against all the apathy of conformist thought within one's own bosom and in the surrounding world. Moreover, when the issues at hand seem as perplexing as they often do in the case of this dreadful conflict, we are always on the verge of being mesmerized by uncertainty. But we must

Somehow this madness must cease. We must stop now. I speak as a child of God and brother to the suffering poor of Vietnam. I speak for those whose land is being laid waste, whose homes are being destroyed, whose culture is being subverted. I speak for the poor of America who are paying the double price of smashed hopes at home, and dealt death and corruption in Vietnam. I speak as a citizen of the world, for the world as it stands aghast at the path we have taken. I speak as one who loves America, to the leaders of our own nation: The great initiative in this war is ours; the initiative to stop it must be ours.

Now there is something seductively tempting about stopping there and sending us all off on what in some circles has become a popular crusade against the war in Vietnam. I say we must enter that struggle, but I wish to go on now to say something even more disturbing.

The war in Vietnam is but a symptom of a far deeper malady within the American spirit, and if we ignore this sobering reality, we will find ourselves organizing "clergy and laymen concerned" committees for the next generation. They will be concerned about Guatemala and Peru. They will be concerned about Thailand and Cambodia.

They will be concerned about Mozambique and South Africa. We will be marching for these and a dozen other names and attending rallies without end unless there is a significant and profound change in American life and policy. So such thoughts take us beyond Vietnam, but not beyond our calling as sons of the living God.

In 1957 a sensitive American official overseas said that it seemed to him that our nation was on the wrong side of a world revolution. During the past ten years we have seen emerge a pattern of suppression which has now justified the presence of U.S. military advisors in Venezuela. This need to maintain social stability for our investments accounts for the counterrevolutionary action of American forces in Guatemala. It tells why American helicopters are being used against guerrillas in Cambodia and why American napalm and Green Beret forces have already been active against rebels in Peru.

It is with such activity in mind that the words of the late John F. Kennedy come back to haunt us. Five years ago he said, "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable." Increasingly, by choice or by accident, this is the role our nation has taken, the role of those who make peaceful revolution impossible by refusing to give up the privileges and the pleasures that come from the immense profits of overseas investments. I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin the shift from a thing-oriented society to a person-oriented society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights, are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, extreme materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered.

A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth. With righteous indignation, it

will look across the seas and see individual capitalists of the West investing huge sums of money in Asia, Africa, and South America, only to take the profits out with no concern for the social betterment of the countries, and say, "This is not just." It will look at our alliance with the landed gentry of South America and say, "This is not just." The Western arrogance of feeling that it has everything to teach others and nothing to learn from them is not just.

A true revolution of values will lay hand on the world order and say of war, "This way of settling differences is not just." This business of burning human beings with napalm, of filling our nation's homes with orphans and widows, of injecting poisonous drugs of hate into the veins of people normally humane, of sending men home from dark and bloody battlefields physically handicapped and psychologically deranged, cannot be reconciled with wisdom, justice, and love. A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death.

A genuine revolution of values means in the final analysis that our loyalties must become ecumenical rather than sectional. Every nation must now develop an overriding loyalty to mankind as a whole in order to preserve the best in their individual societies.

This call for a worldwide fellowship that lifts neighborly concern beyond one's tribe, race, class, and nation is in reality a call for an all-embracing and unconditional love for all mankind. This oft misunderstood, this oft misinterpreted concept, so readily dismissed by the Nietzsches of the world as a weak and cowardly force, has now become an absolute necessity for the survival of man. When I speak of love I am not speaking of some sentimental and weak response. I'm not speaking of that force which is just emotional bosh. I am speaking of that force which all of the great religions have seen as the supreme unifying

principle of life. Love is somehow the key that unlocks the door which leads to ultimate reality. This Hindu-Muslim-Christian-Jewish-Buddhist belief about ultimate reality is beautifully summed up in the first epistle of Saint John: "Let us love one another, for love is God. And every one that loveth is born of God and knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God, for God is love. . . . If we love one another, God dwelleth in us and his love is perfected in us." Let us hope that this spirit will become the order of the day.

We can no longer afford to worship the god of hate or bow before the altar of retaliation. The oceans of history are made turbulent by the ever-rising tides of hate. History is cluttered with the wreckage of nations and individuals that pursued this self-defeating path of hate.

We still have a choice today: nonviolent coexistence or violent coannihilation. We must move past indecision to action. We must find new ways to speak for peace in Vietnam and justice throughout the developing world, a world that borders on our doors. If we do not act, we shall surely be dragged down the long, dark, and shameful corridors of time reserved for those who possess power without compassion, might without morality, and strength without sight.

Now let us begin. Now let us rededicate ourselves to the long and bitter, but beautiful, struggle for a new world. This is the calling of the sons of God, and our brothers wait eagerly for our response. Shall we say the odds are too great? Shall we tell them the struggle is too hard? Will our message be that the forces of American life militate against their arrival as full men, and we send our deepest regrets? Or will there be another message —of longing, of hope, of solidarity with their yearnings, of commitment to their cause, whatever the cost? The choice is ours, and though we might prefer it otherwise, we must choose in this crucial moment of human history.