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SEATTLE ILWU-PENSION CLUB

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Meeting Dates	
October	4
November	1
December	6
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Is China Playing our Game?

By Dave Chaddock

On August 20 a South Korean pastor walked across the border from North Korea holding before him a flag of unification, a flag showing North Korea and South Korea as one. During his visit to North Korea, which he undertook without permission, he had gone so far as to question "the South Korean investigative report" on the sinking of the Choenan – the South Korean naval ship that split apart. As 200 North Koreans bid him farewell, elderly military veterans in uniforms on the South Korean side greeted him with cries of "Send him back!" and he was promptly put under arrest (NYT, 8-21).

How naïve of the pastor! Didn't he realize that the economic success of the United States, as President Bush confided to Argentinian leader Nestor Kirchner, was dependent upon war? (Only one of the many revelations in the excellent documentary South of the Border by Oliver Stone, which was poorly attended in Seattle due in part to hostile press coverage) And wasn't the pastor aware that the very nerve center and origin of this success was in his own country of Korea? In his excellent new book, The Korean War, Bruce Cumings points out that the U.S. "carpetbombed the North for three years with next to no concern for Korean casualties", on one date attacking Pyongyang with "1,254 air sorties by day and 54 B-29 assaults by night." Pyongyang was 75% destroyed and the destruction of other cities ranged from 80% to

100%. 635,000 tons of bombs were dropped, which was 132,000 more than in the entire Pacific theater of World War Two. "Oceans" of napalm were also dropped (it didn't start in Vietnam) – 32, 557 tons of it. And in July of 1950, near Seoul, local people were forced to dig pits 200 yards long, and then thousands of political prisoners were trucked in and executed, some by bullet and some by decapitation. As the bodies were placed in the pits in layers "like sardines", American officers stood by and did not interfere, only taking pictures for the record. Some of these pictures later appeared in an issue of the Black Panther. Official U.S. histories blamed the atrocity on the Communists. (See Cumings, 149ff.)

And it was beginning with Korea that, to quote Cumings, the phenomenon arose of "the permanent stationing of soldiers in a myriad of foreign bases across the face of the planet, connected to an enormous domestic complex of defense industries" (218).

It is against this backdrop that I would like to introduce a thesis for your consideration. It is the thesis of Edward S. Steinfeld, head of the MIT-China program, as presented in his new book, Playing Our Game. Steinfeld argues that China, around the time of 9/11, was "out of gas", run-down and enervated, while the U.S. was just the opposite. It was an "awesome fusion of technology, creativity, knowhow, and determination." It had "the best universities, the best companies." It was "exploding with Promethean might." And what

was the clearest proof of this dynamism? Steinfeld cites the "television footage of U.S. bombs being coolly and clinically guided down the smokestacks of Iraqi buildings" (P.54).

Inspired by the example of the United States, as Steinfeld sees it, China has joined the economic game of international capitalism. It has not tried to re-shape the world into some new system, as it had tried to do in its early days. It has agreed to play by the rules as they have been set up by the leading capitalist powers. "China set itself up to become a cog in an already extant, albeit rapidly changing, global system managed and controlled by others" (P.24). And as it has done so its rise has not been a threat. When CNOOC, in 2005, announced its intention to acquire Unocal, it was merely making a wise business decision in its own interest, a decision that had been backed by Goldman Sachs and J.P. Morgan. It was not a brazen intrusion on U.S. territory by the Chinese Government, as it had been pictured. And Steinfeld points out that 90% of Chinese exports are from foreigninvested firms. He notes that Lenovo is lagging behind HP, Dell, and even Taiwan's Acer. And Chinese motorcycles, reverse-engineered versions of Japanese models, while they may be getting a solid foothold at the low end of the product spectrum, are unable to compete with Honda or Harley-Davidson.

As for the possibility of a military threat, although China may now have the second-largest military budget in the world; the fact that, as Cumings points out, the U.S. military expenditures are "greater than the combined budgets of the next 18 ranking military powers in 2009" (P.217) means that it is a distant second.

Although China is on a quest to upgrade and innovate in its economy and some of Steinfeld's data may soon be obsolete, and although there is Chinese unease about the international monetary system, yet China is trying to bring about change by persuasion and consensus, and I agree with Steinfeld that China is not trying to throw its weight around. But as far as the theme of this essay goes - the stance of the South Korean pastor- I believe there is a profound divergence between the U.S. and China.

Secretary of State Clinton argued that a "thorough and comprehensive scientific investigation" has shown that the Choenam was sunk by a North Korean torpedo and that the evidence is "overwhelming" (NYT, 5-22). And senior U.S. officials were quoted as saying

that China "will not be able to deny the facts" (NYT, 5-27).

But who has examined this so-called "overwhelming" evidence? We are told that there were "experts from three countries" (NYT, 5-23). As a Chinese analyst objected, the S. Korean government "did not ask the UN or other international organizations to participate in the investigations. Instead, it invited some U.S. experts for a private investigation" (BEIJING REVIEW, 5-20). North Korea has "repeatedly asked to send its own team to examine the ship's wreckage" but this has not been permitted (BR, 8-12).

In a press conference on May 28 a North Korean spokesman declared that it "did not have anything to do with the sinking of the Choenam" (BR, 6-24). And China has simply called for further investigation and discussion. It has "taken note of the result of the S. Korean investigation" but has added: "We have also taken note of the [N. Korean] response" (WSJ, 5-26).

Even in South Korea it is reported that a "sizeable minority" suspect a government conspiracy against the North (NYT, 5-28). In a radio interview, opposition candidate Yoo Si-min declared: "The government is unable to present any factual evidence that the ship was broken in half by a torpedo" (NYT, 5-19). And on the internet (Gowans.wordpress.com, 5-20) I found a report that the alleged torpedo propeller fragment found by a fisherman not only appeared to be corroded for several months, but that the Korean word on the driving shaft was not inscribed but was written on it by a felt-tip pen! Moreover, the writing was in a style common in the south but not in North Korea.

Let me take note at this juncture of a point made by another new book on China in order to drive this essay to a conclusion. Stefan Halper (The Beijing Consensus) argues that although China does not posit either a military or an economic threat to the United States, still there is a third threat, a threat to "Western values." He says that China's "market-authoritarian" model is more appealing to the third world than the "market-democratic" model of the United States. China's model is that "people have a duty to obey" whereas the U.S. model is that people have "the right of political expression", freedom of speech, and loyal opposition. His remedy to counter-act China's appeal, among other things, calls for inviting African leaders to Washington with stops at the Lincoln and Jefferson Memorials

"for a moment of thought."

First let me make two responses of a general nature (not fully developed) before going to the issue critical for this essay. (1) Although calls for "free speech" have a certain appeal, third world countries tend to be more impressed by U.S. actions, such as the war in Vietnam and the war in Iraq. (2) Although China may give the impression of being undemocratic, (2a) there is an enormous amount of free discussion in China on all kinds of issues that have yet to be decided, and (2b) on issues where China's mind appears to have been "made up", this tends to be a reflection of an immense amount of previous uninhibited discussion.

But the critical point right now is this. Halper points out that China does not hesitate to deal with "rogue states"- states "that have been snubbed...because their ethics cannot be defended before Western publics" (45). Yes, and Halper has his own list of states that are "rogue." They include Iran, Venezuela, Zimbabwe. Especially they include North Korea! But he does not include Israel, which, as most of the world sees it, has been awfully roguish. Nor does he include the United States, whose roguish behavior has been documented by many of its leading scholars!

Yes, as Halper says, China "believes sovereignty is inviolate." It has friends all over the world. It is not only friendly with North Korea but with South Korea as well. It is not only friendly with Russia but with the United States also. Its stance implies friendship for the people of each and every country on earth, no matter how small or insignificant it may seem, and no matter how retrograde its government may be at any given moment, because governments can change.

On the other hand, compare the recent behavior of our own country. Since the invasion of Iraq by Bush, millions of innocent people have been killed. Every bomb that goes off today in Iraq is a direct result of this intervention. A medical worker who helps fit victims with artificial limbs declares: "I cannot get married and have a family because I may lose them any minute by a bomb or bullet" (NYT, 9-1) As religious leader Moktada Al-Sadr, whom the U.S. is trying to exclude from a role in the new government, declares: the Americans have "messed up everything" (NYT, 7-20).

And speaking of people who "messed up" big time, Paul Wolfowitz recently had the audacity to put an oped piece in the New York Times suggesting that Korea is a "model for Iraq." (NYT, 8-31) Remember Paul? He's the guy who fell for the cockamamie idea that Saddam Hussein had been responsible for the

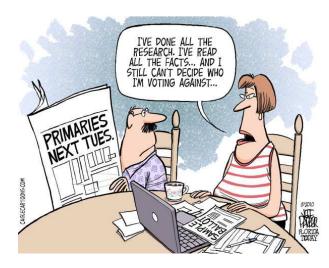
earlier bombing in the basement of the World Trade Center and who therefore must have had a role in 9/11. Wolfowitz whispered all this nonsense in Bush's ear and may have been primarily responsible for the decision to invade Iraq. Incidentally if Wolfowitz's advice is taken to heed, Bruce Cumings has the best picture of the future scenario:

The country will be divided, civil war will erupt (beyond what has transpired already), and millions will die but nothing will be solved; and in the 2060's, thirty thousand American troops will still be there, holding the line against the evil enemy (whoever he might be), with a new war possible at any moment (Cumings, 233).

One final reference back to Steinfeld's book. He argues that in 1895, after China had been defeated by Japan, China made efforts to grasp the "awesome, bewildering power of the West." He would have us believe that 19th-century Great Britain, with its "breathtakingly potent military" as well as its "liberated human intellectual energy", which he claims was "harnessed for the betterment and power of the nation as a whole," set an example which was "everything that China was not" (Steinfeld, 65).

It just so happens that I have recently completed a labor of love delving into the history of these early times and my book, Starting Off on the Wrong Foot: US Relations With China and Korea 1839-1895, is about to be released. Therefore I have no hesitation in stating that Steinfeld's analysis on this point is utter nonsense. In fact, Britain, growing opium in India and selling it to China, had made itself utterly despicable in the eyes of the Chinese, and they were ready and willing to fight off not only Britain but France and Japan

Continued on page 7



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Let's go get the Neah Bay salmon

By Jon Halgren, 55817

Fishing season was about to start on the Straights. Two retired longshoremen were waiting for the ferry at the Washington State Ferry terminal, sometimes called pier 52.

They knew the wait would be awhile as they had just missed the previous boat. Let's walk around here on the dock. They walked over to the south side. "Do you remember working at pier 48?" "You bet I do, Carl, I had never seen so much sugar, or pineapple.

The Matson ship would come in and we would do the drill. Rig gear, uncover to the lowertween deck and call for the board spreaders and cargo boards. "The boss would roar, 'OK boys we are going to be here a few days. Build good loads that are safe, and they should have 21 sacks on each board. The two in one, sacks will count as one as usual.'

Larry, told of how he sometimes would think we will be here forever. No way can we move all of this sugar to the dock.

"The first time I remember working sugar, it was at Pier 88, a Mail ship, bringing sugar from the Philippines. The ship gangs would work discharging and the railroad would put the boxcars in the depressed area and floor gangs would start a day after the ship."

I still remember the boss yelling. "11:00 lunch, at 12:00 we will be working #3 hatch, discharging cases of pineapple."

The Greenfront can fix early lunches. "I do not have to worry, the wife reminded me of Christmas and what the kids are asking for. She finished with the statement that she packed some favorites of mine, and no drinks during or after work. Every penny counts."

When working case goods the cardboard shavings would go all over, hair, nose, ears, socks. When you finished for the day, and took a shower you could see the discolored water. Blowing the nose, could turn a ladies stomach.

Back on the sugar we were starting to see progress in digging down to the deck. We would try to dig a hole, so we would be about four feet below the cargo. This would make it so we were not bending over to pick up the sacks. We would be below and pull the sack to us and then put on the cargo board. The back was still tired at the end of the day. When the sugar and all discharge was finished, load out was started. You might begin loading unitized lumber, and putting big boxes of toilet paper on top of the lumber. There was a great deal of beer. How can the

people of Hawaii drink so much beer? Military have bases there and much of the beer goes to Air Force, Navy, and Army, a lot of troops.

Pier 42, South, or North or the face of the dock could have about 8 ships working.

On Thursday night all of the shippers wanted to make their deliveries to make the Friday sailing. Traffic might be lined up from the 42 gate to Jackson Street.

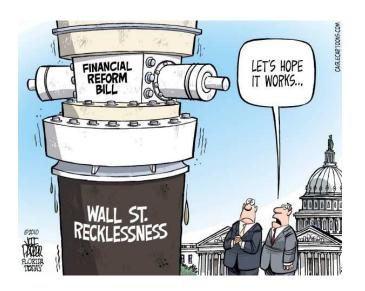
Carl, do you remember how many Bull drivers, truckers and clerks would be used at 42, Monday to Friday, in the summer?

"It was a lot. Easter to July 4th it seemed we could get a job if the 'Steam' was working. That is where containerization started. The cribs could be loaded on the dock and sometimes uptown. The deck could be filled in a hurry. The steam developed a platform to move containers into the wing. If the ship had a list the winches in the lower hold could not pull the weight. It seemed that a few years later Sea/land took over the Alaska trade."

"APL tried develop a air glide mover for containers. It sounded possible, putting a cushion of air under a 40 foot container and then moving it into the wings of a ship. I remember one of APL's Captains coming into the hatch to watch." Said Larry. "It was not long, maybe three trips by the ship, and we were discharging all the equipment used in the trial."

"Time to go. Did you hear the ferries whistle Larry?"

"No, Carl, I was just remembering, hard, sweaty work with a bunch of good people. Tomorrow we will be cooking some of those good King Salmon."



PCPA SEPTEMBER 2010 EXECUTIVE BOARD AND CONVENTION REPORT

This fall's Executive Board was held in San Francisco, followed by the Convention. There were six resolutions, (including a constitution by-laws change,) that were introduced and passed at the Executive Board and sent on to the Resolutions committee, then to the full body of the convention. Resolution #1 dealt with spousal pensions. It called for a change in the ILWU-PMA Pension Agreement to permit surviving spouses to qualify for pension after being married for one year. this would cover those married after you retire.

Resolution #2 changes Article VII of the Constitution and By-Laws #2, paragraph 2. It changes the per diem from \$175 per day, to "hotel and \$50 per day.

Resolution #3 calls for recruiting new members and encourage those who belong to step up and participate. #4 Is a pledge for members of congress to sign, supporting Social Security.

Resolution #5 is in support of Jerry Brown, who is running for Governor of California. The last resolution #6 calls for the support, both financial and hitting the bricks, for Local 13 Allied Division's Tesaro Workers, who have lost their jobs at the Coker unit. All resolutions were passed by the body.

The convention also passed a motion from the Executive Board calling for a \$1000 donation toward the establishment of the Labor Archives at the University of Washington.

We were honored with the presence of our International officers, who filled us in on the on going struggles. Including Costa Rica's attempt to privatize the Ports and throw out the Union. We sent representatives down and filed charges under the "Free Trade Act." The Costa Rican Government backed down and reinstated the Union.

October 6th is a "Day of Action" in support of Rite-Aide workers, who, after winning the right to form a Union, have been stone-walled for the last two years over a contract.

There were reports on Health Care and patient care. Remember, Health Care is a human right.

Some interesting statistics;

83% of US stocks are in the hands of 1% of the people. 61% of Americans live pay check to pay check. (Can you remember that?) 43% of Americans have less then \$10,000 toward retirement.

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Final Dispatch

PENSIONERS

SURVIVORS

George H. Daly 52 Salvador Gran 19 Wayne S. Holt 19 Ardell Havlisch 52 Jan C. Kassuhn 98 Richard E. Marshall 98 Richard W. Moran 19

Michael S. Sisti 19

Anne Carson 19 Patricia Eirksen 98 Freda M. Hiatt 19 Monita M. Murray 19 Louise Rohrscheib 19

The bottom 80% of Americans hold only 7% of the liquid assets. Does this give you something to think about?

One of our Lawyers gave a report on Social Security and the commission that Obama set up. It has 18 members, all politicians, no economists. The Committee make up is 6 Obama appointments, 6 house members, (3 Republicans and 3 Democrats,) and 6 from the Senate, (again 3 Republicans and 3 Democrats. The committee co-chairs have decided that they will focus on Social Security, not the mission statement that Obama used to set up the Committee. Some facts on the Social Security Fund;

- 1) the Fund has a surplus of \$77 Billion
- 2) 2025 will be the first year the Fund may have to draw down
- 3) funds will not dry up until 2037

The options the Committee is looking at are,

- 1) raise retirement age to 70,
- 2) raise the tax cap above the present dollar level.

President McEllrath said that the Coast will be sending members to D.C. to lobby. He wants to include six pensioners. PCPA President Austin feels that the make up should be two officers and one member from each area. His preference is that we send somebody that has already done lobbying.

Our pension plan is presently funded at 55%

The Sunday evening BBQ at Local 10 was a big success. The Monday afternoon trips, a city tour as well as a trip to the casino in the wine country were also successful. I went on the city tour, even after all the years I had exploring San Francisco, And I still found it to be informative and enjoyable.

In Solidarity, Ian

Conversations with Harry

By Ian Kennedy

As I was going to be in San Francisco for the PCPA Convention anyway, I decided to go down early and see Harry. He beat me, and he wasn't alone. It looked like they had been there a while. They had a pitcher of beer, half empty, in front of them. They also had a pint of whiskey, Old Quaker, I think, that was also half empty, or is that half full? Harry's guest was an older man with white, thinning hair. He looked like he might be a little shorter then Harry, certainly heavier.

As I got to the table they both got up, Harry smiled, "Hi Kid, I didn't expect you today. Don't know if you know my good friend?" I was sure I recognized, but couldn't put a name to him. "Kid this is Sam Kagel. He was the Coast Arbitrator until a few years ago."

We shook hands, "Sure, I remember. I've only seen you a couple of times. You spoke at some function that the Union put on several years ago, that I attended. And, of coarse, I've read more then a few of your arbitration awards. Didn't always agree, but who does?"

Sam was seated by this time. He smiles up at me, "Can't say I was always right, but, once I ruled, that was that." He sips his whiskey, smiles. I sat down and waved for a glass. Sam offered me the whiskey, I smiled and shook my head no. "I've got to be able to find my way back to the Hotel. I said. Harry asked, "Is it true that the Jack Tar is no longer open? "Yes," I responded, "It's closed and fences are blocking all the entrances to the property. I expect the next time I'm in town, it will be torn down.'

Sam and Harry weren't paying a lot of attention to the pitcher of beer, but had drained the Old Quaker. Sam reached into his coat pocket and pulled out another. "Harry's told me a little about your visits, and how you two will discuss some topic. Well, do you have a special topic for today?" Sam asked. "Since we've just celebrated Labor Day, why don't we discuss what has happened to Labor?" I responded.

"Are you talking about Organized Labor or labor in general?" Harry asked.

"Both, I responded, "until the Government opened up the Mexican Border to Big Business and let them open factories south of the boarder, this country had plenty of working class jobs. Jobs that didn't require a college degree.

When nobody made a big enough issue of it, then came NAFTA, and all those other trade agreements that gave Corporate America the green light to take all the good union jobs overseas. We've seen a consistent loss of working class jobs throughout the country. And what jobs that have stayed in the country have been moved from areas with unions to non union states that pay minimum wages, or at least, much lower wages without the benefits." I sat back, chugged my beer, refilled all the glasses and waved for another. "If you look at the financial health of the population, you see that the wealthy are getting richer while the middle class is shrinking. Not moving up, but moving down. We will soon be a two class nation, and as that happens, we'll see the moneyed people moving to other countries."

"Millions of families have lost their homes and are now living on the streets. That's families, not just single men, but women and kids as well. Do you know that 1.5 million children in this country are homeless? Banks expect 2.4 million foreclosures this year alone. Where do these people go but into the streets. This does not bode well for this country. And yet the Republicans and a good number of the Democrats want business as usual. We must put a stop to it, force jobs back at livable wages. Wages that permit one member of the family to stay home, if they wish." Boy, did I need another beer. "We're fat, our actives make a living wage and are protected from the economy, as are we. But, for that very reason Corporations are doing away with defined benefit plans. Hell, most of them don't want to give you any kind of pension, unless you're one of the big money folk, then you've got it made." I sat back, drained my beer and refilled the glass.

Harry and Sam just sat there, looking at their whiskey. "How did it get so bad?" Harry asked. He looked up at the wall clock, "It's time to go Sam." he looks over at me, "You're getting off light this time kid." They get up as the bartender slaps down the tab in front of me. And off they go.



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Correspondence

Secretary John P. Fisher reports that he received \$200.00 from PAT SULLIVAN for dues for the next 3 years and \$126.00 for the Rusty Hook.

Thank You, PAT. Please let us know how you are doing those next 3 years.

From GEORGIA M. HENSLEE, Seattle. June 30, 2010 To whom it may concern:

Just a thank you for all my benefits from the ILWU. I so much appreciate it.

Thank you,

GEORGIA M. HENSLEE, widow of CLARENCE HENSLEE who passed away in 1988;

I very much enjoy the Rusty Hook—keep it coming.

Thank you GEORGIA, for the \$50.00 for the Rusty Hook. We are glad to hear from you.

From ROY LARSON, Newcastle. 6/30/10 I.L.W.U. Pensioners Club.

Take my dues out of the check and use the rest where it is needed most. Enjoying life with my new wife Patti and looking forward to more Summer weather & the Mariners winning a few games.

ROY LARSON 55749

Thank you ROY for the \$100.00 check and the good letter.

From TERESA LEWIS, Seattle. Pensioners and the Rusty Hook,

Enclosed is a check and you can put it where it is needed the most. I am sending the money in memory of my husband, BUTCH BOWMAN. He looked forward to reading the Rusty Hook and enjoyed the letters from the retirees the most. Keep up the good work! TERESA LEWIS, ILWU Local 52.

Thank you TERESA. We will make good use of the \$200..00

VERN SAUVE left \$500.00 to The Seattle ILWU Pensioners Club in his Will.

MICHAEL SISTI left \$5000.00 to Rusty Hook Charity in his Last Will and Testament.

CARL WOECK donated \$100.00, and we also received \$50.00 from Local 19 for the wreath placed on Shevy Daffron's grave at the annual ceremony commemorating the anniversary of Bloody Thursday July 5th.

We received contributions for the Rusty Hook from the following members. No messages, just the money. The money is very welcome. We'd also like to hear how you are doing. Please write!

JACK SPEARING \$25.00 RON & BETTY STICKLER \$44.00 PAT SULLIVAN \$116.00 GERALD & JOAN PRITTILA \$ 50.00 SVEN LERBREK \$25.00 AASIM BASHIRUDDIN \$50.00

Is China Playing our Game *Continued from page 3* as well. However, they were sold out by their leaders. I hope you will buy this book!

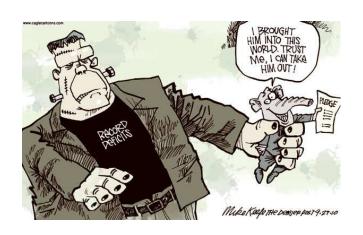
Now China, as a close friend of the United States, thinking of the future and the long range, does not blatantly berate the U.S. for its failures. Nevertheless, I have recently come upon a quote in Beijing Review that seems quite pertinent. Here is the quote:

Some developed countries seek to maximize their own gains by interfering in other countries internal affairs or waging wars. The U.S. is a notable example (BR, 7-15).

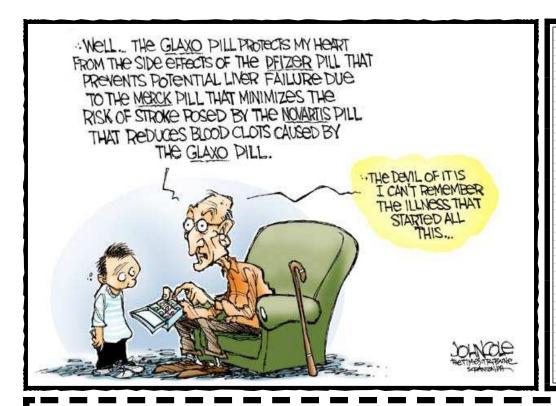
I ask you- which is better? Interfering in the internal affairs of no other country, or interfering in some of them in a misguided attempt to make them better, but in reality messing them up?

Steinfeld's thesis is that China is "playing our game." But regarding the point raised in this essay, is it not perhaps more appropriate to say that China is "onto our game"?

(And of course when I say "our " game I do not refer to the ILWU, which has clearly differentiated itself from the war policies of the military-industrial complex, not only opposing the sale of scrap metal to Japan for its oppression of China in the 30's, but also the more recent wars in Vietnam and Iraq)



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