

Guide to Herb Mills - Collected Papers
ILWU International Library
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Herb Mills Collection *
Guide (*Draft 2-25-09*)
Prepared by Irene Rible & Robin Walker

Herb Mills is a Scholar-longshoreman who has been a voice on the San Francisco waterfront since the 1960s. Mills has presented numerous articles and lectures on longshore work, history, and politics, and has been featured in documentary films. Mills' career took two simultaneous paths. He served as a longshore worker in ILWU Locals 10 and 34 from 1963-1991 and also developed an academic career, receiving his B.A. in Political Science from the University of Michigan in 1952 and a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California, Irvine in 1970. Integrating his education and his experience as a rank-and-file longshoreman, Mills wrote numerous articles on the ILWU, labor culture, and the history and development of longshore work on the West Coast. A participant in the 1971 strike, Mills wrote many articles and critiques of the modernization and mechanization of longshore work. Herb Mills began his career as a longshoreman in ILWU Local 10 in 1963. As a rank and file union member, he served as a union steward. He held numerous offices in the local, including Business Agent, and Secretary-Treasurer. Additionally, he served on the ILWU Coastwide Negotiating Committee, the ILWU Northern California District Council, and was a delegate to ILWU caucuses and conventions. In 1983, Mills transferred to ILWU Local 34, where he worked as a Ship Clerk until he retired due to an on-the-job injury in 1991.

The Herb Mills papers contain documents and memorabilia spanning the period from 1919-2001. The bulk of historical research notes span a period from 1934 to the mid-1970s. Of special note are Mills' materials related to containerized shipping and the 1971 longshore strike. Also included is correspondence from 1975-2002.

Mills Box #1

Dates: 1919 – 1969

Blue Book Constitution – 1919

Blue Book Days

General Strike

Bloody Thursday – Plague

Bloody Thursday – Folklore

National Longshoremen's Board - October 12, 1934 onward

Cocconut Sling-load

Roster of Registered Longshoremen – 1935

ILA Constitution – 1935

Maritime Federation of the Pacific Constitution and Rule – 1938

Job Action Maritime Federation of the Pacific

The Truth About the Waterfront – ILA – Fall 1935

Hot Cargo Awards – 1935

* This collection of papers is on file at the international library of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), 1188 Franklin Street, 4th Floor, San Francisco, California, 94109 - 6800, (415) 775.0533 / Fax: *415) 775 - 1302. This index guide to the papers was prepared under the supervision of Gene Vrana, who having begun his life with the ILWU by longshoring as a member of ILWU Local 10, was then serving as the Librarian and Educational Director of the ILWU.

Water Employers "Hot Cargo" – 1935
Agreement – April 21, 1936
The Maritime Crisis – ILA – 1936 Strike
Maritime Strikes on the Pacific Coast" Waterfront Employer's Association - November
2, 1936
ILA to ILWU
Local 38 - 79 Constitution – 1935
Contract – February 4, 1937
Contract – October 1, 1938
Arbitrator's Award – 1939
ILWU Constitution – 1939/1938/1937
Wage Rates, Penalty Rates – July 26, 1937
Supplementary Memorandum – September 30, 1938
Scrap Iron Arbitration Awards – 1939
Contract – December 20, 1940
ILA Port of Tacoma, Port Angeles – 1941
Constitution Local 10 – 1941
ILWU Constitution – 1941
ILWU Directory – 1941
West Coast Longshoremen and the Bridges Plan – 1942
Work Stoppages WWII
Roscoe Proctor Case – Local 6
Bridges Case
Bridges Cases
Local 10 History – 1943
Behind the Waterfront Local 6 History
San Francisco Harbor for Ships and Men – Chamber of Commerce
Job Action – Bay Area – 1942 - 1945

ILWU – CP and WWII – Richard Boyden
"Communists on the Waterfront" – CP 1946
1946 Strike – ILWU Story
"Stalinists on the Waterfront" – 1947
1948 Strike ILWU Story
1948 Strike – Local 10
Association of Catholic Trade Unionists – 1948 Strike
1948 Strike – Victor Silverman
CP – WWII – Richard Boyden
Waterfront Employers' Strike Statement – 1948
ILWU – "Report from Europe" – 1949
"Union Busting" – ILWU – 1951
Registration and De-registration – Local 13 – 4/11/52
ILWU vs. Sup-AFL – June, 1952
Sure Statement – Senate Committee on Labor – April, 1953
Bulletins – typical – mid-50's
The ILWU Story – 1955
Hall – Mechanize
Report on Automation – Local 10 – 1957
Report on Automation – 1957
New Building – 1959
Memorandum of Understanding Between PMA and ILWU – August 10, 1959

Memorandum of Understanding Between PMA and ILWU – 8/26/60
Yellow Dog – August, 1960
Automation and the Longshoremen – Atlantic Monthly – 1960
Membership Meeting Local 10 Longshore Bulletins
Questions and Answers to Memorandum of Agreement on Mechanization and
Modernization – 1961
Anti-ILWU
Statement of J. Paul St. Sure Before the House Committee on Education and Labor –
11/64
Pete Velasquez – 1965
Men and Machines – Supplement – 1966
St. Sure “Automation, San Francisco Shipping and Labor Unions’ – 8/12/66
Outline of Section 17 – August, 1967
ILWU Attitude Survey
Container Conference – November, 1968
Discrimination – 1968
CFS – Contract, etc. – 1969
Press – general – 1968/1969
Coast Labor Relations Committee – T - Letters

Mills Box # 2

Dates: 1970 – 1971

Mergers – ILA
Cambodian War – San Francisco Chronicle – 1970
Outside Political Issues – Local 10 – 1970 and earlier
Miscellaneous – 1970
Bay Area Longshoreman’s Memorial Association – 1970 and earlier
Economic Conversion – Bay Area – 1970
Penalty Pay Arbitration – 1970
Longshore and Harbor Workers’ Compensation Act – 1970
Financial – 1970 and earlier
Elections Prior to 1970
Elections for 1970
“World Around Us” – S.C. Bulletin – 1970
Safety Issues – 1970
Political Agitation – 1970
Steward Council Minutes – 1970
On the Job Incidents – 1970
Stewards Council – Miscellaneous – 1970
Stewards Council/Bulletin Materials – Used – 1970
Press – Union – 1970
Stewards Council Workshop – 1970 ILA – Crime
Stewards Council – 1970
Stewards Council Workshops – 1970
Elections – 1970
Safety Committee – 1970
Cambodia and Kent State – 1970
ILWU Pickets
Caucus – Portland Beef – May, 1970
Other Locals Activities – 1970

Steward Council Program to Membership – July - August, 1970
1970 Caucus
1971-72 Strike – Mills Draft Bulletins, etc.
History of Longshore Work Stoppages
Steward Mobilization
Longshore Strike – Newspaper Articles
Bay Area Longshoreman’s Memorial Association – 1972
Elections for 1971
Press – Union Port – 1971
Finances – 1971
Taft - Hart/ “Final Offer” and Vote – December, 1971
Stewards Council Miscellaneous – 1971
Strike – Miscellaneous
1971 Safety Programs
Elections – 1971
“Political Agitation” – 1971
Lash Barge Manning 1971 – onerousness
Strike Publicity Committee – support sought
Strike Publicity Committee – Minutes
Publicity Committee – last and unfinished, not published
Strike Publications – 1971
Strike Strategy – Coast – 1971
Strike Bulletins – Seattle
Strike Bulletins – Local 34
Strike Bulletins – Local 8, etc.
Strike Bulletins – San Pedro
Steward Council – Minutes – 1971
Coast LRC – Election – 1971
Strike, local strategy – 1971
Negotiations – Coast – 1971

Mills Box #3

Dates: 1971 – 1973

9.43 Beef – 1971 Lockout
Container Beef – 1971
Merger – ILWU – IBT
Contract Vote – February, 1972
Safety Arbitration – Notes – 1972
Finances – 1971-72
Hold/Hatch Arbitration – 1972
Equalization of Steady Men – Sam Kagel – July 5, 1972
Onerous – Arbitration – notes
Miscellaneous – 1972
Finances – International – 1972
Contract Negotiations – 1972
BLS – Citations – January, 1972
Negotiations – Coast – 1972
Strike Strategy – Local – 1972
Strike Strategy – Coast – 1972
Compulsory Arbitration – February, 1972

PMA Citations Against Business Agents
Work Now, Grieve Later – 1972
Safety Issues – 1972
Outside Politics – 1971
Low-Man-Out – 1972
Jurisdiction – 1972
Joint Certification – 1971/72
Promotions Committee – 1972
Gangs – Reduced – 1972
Stewards' Council – 1972
Delinquents – 1972
Bay Area Longshoremen's Memorial Association – 1972
Pay Board
1972 Beefs but no Arbitration
9.43 Issues – 1972
Requests – outside – 1972
Press – general items – 1972
Steady Crane – Seattle – 1972
Bay Area Longshoremen's Memorial Association, Inc. – Audit Report – 1973
Bigge Crane – 1972/73
Sea-land at Oakland – History – May, 1973
Reports to Membership
9.43 Arbitration
Election for 1974
ILWU Organizing – 1973
Crane Supplement – 1973
Secretary – Treasurer's Report – December 31, 1973
Seatrains Contract
Miscellaneous 1973
Outside Requests – 1973

Mills Box #3a
Dates: 1971 – 1972

Union Speeches
Phase II & Later
Strike Publicity Materials
"Nixon's 'Wage Price Freeze'" by Herb Mills
Wage Price
Longshore Strike Clippings (3)
Later Phase I Clippings

Mills Box #4

Dates: 1973 – 1974

General Press Items – 1973
Longshore Labor Relations Committee Safety – 1973
Safety Issues – 1973
Grievance Machinery – Arbitrator
Run-off Election – 1973
Coast Pro Rata Committee – 1973

B-Men – 1973
9.43 Arbitration – 1973
Bay Area Longshoremen's Memorial Association – 1973
"Kaye Case"
Press – Committee – Pont Union – 1973
Formal Arbitration of MTC Crane Drivers – Thursday 2:00 PM March 22, 1973
Washington Report
Safety Beefs – Notes
Junis – Commercial Lift Palletizing
Occupational Safety and Health Association Hearings
1973 Negotiations – 9.43 and Crane S.
Convention – 1973
1973 Negotiations – Minutes/1973 Negotiations – Documents
B.A. Binder
CLRC Index
Mandate – 1973 Crisis
Outside Requests
LRC's – Jurisdiction
Jurisdiction – LASH – 1973
Contract Negotiations – 1973
Auditor Letters

Mills Box #5

Dates: 1974

Bay Area Longshoremen's Memorial Association – 1974
Cash Flow/Monetary Reports
Board of Trustees Index – 1971/72/73
Local 10 Longshore Bulletin – April 18, 1974
Audits – Bay Area Longshoremen's Memorial Association – 1974
Bay Area Longshoremen's Memorial Association – 1975
Secretary Treasurer's Report – 1974
Authorization for Check-off – August, 1974
Frank Stout – 1974
Local 10 – Under Attack – Common Sense – December, 1974
Indebtedness – 1974
Dues Increase Ruling – 1974
Election for 1975
Proposed Constitutional Convention – 1974
Pro-Rata Deling Program
Delinquent Situation
Department of Labor Investigation
Bookkeeper – Cash short.
Hall – Hours. – 1974
Important Miscellaneous – 1974
International Executive Board – After "Trial"
Radical Press – Union Port – 1974
Community Press – Union Port – 1974
Requests from Outside – 1974
Chile – 1974

Office Services and Bookkeeping
Pensioner's Rights – Vote
Political Agitation – 1974
Religious Exemptions
Retirees – 1973-74
Secretary Reports – 1974
Secretary Reports – Materials
Secretary – Board of Trustees
Welfare Office
Washington Report – 1974
Walking Bosses
Arbitrations
Arbitration – Index
Coast Labor Relations Committee
Contract – Index Bay Area
Local 13 Dispatch Rules
Grievance Machinations – Arbitration Role
Jurisdiction – 1974
Container Jurisdiction – 1974
Lines
Miscellaneous Contract
Maritime Services International
Pilferage
Promotions Committee
Safety Issues
Seatrains Accident – 1974

Mills Box #6

Dates: 1975 – 2002

Agit-Prop/Convention – 1975
Political Agitation and Press – 1975
Carl Smith "Politics" – 1975
Press – ILWU – Mosley – 1975/79
Locals 8-10-13-19 Membership per capita 1945-1977
Herman – Presidential Candidacy – January, 1977
ILWU – ILA Mutual Aid – September, 1977
"Pete Brown"
Abestos – 1978/79
Contract – 1978
Steady Crane Operators – Seattle – 1978
CO Poisoning – Compensation Paid – 1978
Henry Schmidt
Letters from Public – 1978
1978 Contract – Local 10 Office
Election Results
"Stalinism in ILWU" Worker Vanguard – 5/1979
Bridges Retirement – Press
Coast Labor Relations Committee – Alternating Steady Men – Local 10 – 1979
Bridges and M&M – Los Angeles Times – 1980/82

Lou Goldblatt – Obituary – January, 1983
 1984 Looking Back to '34 Fort Point Gangs – Oakland Tribune July 5, 1984
 Occupational Code – Stevedoring Services of America – 1984 (?)
 “Longshore Militant”
 Bjorne Tape/Interview
 Rohatch Interview
 Left-led Unions and Racism – Victor Silverman – 1983
 Race and Radical Unionism – Victor Silverman thesis – 1984
 Peace and War Stamp
 Parathion
 Longshoremen’s Time Book #1
 Longshoremen’s Time Book #2
 Longshoremen’s Time Book #3
 1967 Date Book
 1967 Week-at-a-Glance
 Time Book – ILWU Local 12 – September, 1969/ January, 1971
 Time Book – ILWU Local 12 – January, 1971/January, 1972
 Time Book – ILWU Local 12 – February, 1975/April 23, 1976
 Time Book – 3/31/82 – 7/25/84
 Time Book – 7/30/84 – 11/14/86
 Time Book – 11/14/86 – 4/23/88
 ILWU Local 10 – Secretary Treasurer
 ILWU Local 10 – Membership Book and Working Card
 Class B Record – Picket Duty Card – Receipt for Class A Registration
 “The San Francisco Waterfront – A Morality Play Moves On”
 “The San Francisco Waterfront: The Social Consequences of Industrial
 Modernization Pt. 1: ‘The Good Old Days’”
 “The San Francisco Waterfront: The Social Consequences of Industrial
 Modernization Pt. 2: ‘The Modern Longshore Operations’”
 “A Rat’s Eye View of History” – excerpt
 “The San Francisco Waterfront” in Case Studies on the Labor Process
 “An Expert’s View of Port Problem”
 “The San Francisco Waterfront: Labor/Management Relations – On the Ships and
 Docks Pt. 1: ‘The Good Old Days’”
 “The San Francisco Waterfront: Labor/Management Relations – On the Ships and
 Docks Pt. 2: ‘Modern Longshore Operations’”
 Mills, Herb – Collected Works Vol. 1
 Mills, Herb – Collected Works Vol. 2
 South Korea
 Mills, Herb – Waterfront Bibliography
 Mills, Herb – Resume
 Correspondence – General – 1975-2001