

**Guide to Herb Mills - Collected Papers**  
**ILWU International Library**  
**1188 Franklin St. - 4th Floor**  
**San Francisco, CA 94109 - 6800**  
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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  
Cocoanut 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

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\* 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