

CHOKE POINTS

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Logistics Workers Disrupting the Global
Supply Chain

Edited by Jake Alimahomed-Wilson
and Immanuel Ness

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Introduction: Forging Workers' Resistance Across the Global Supply Chain

Jake Alimahomed-Wilson and Immanuel Ness

The shipping container, or box, has become one of the most recognizable symbols of modern global capitalism.¹ The standardized shipping container revolutionized global trade by making it possible for intermodal transportation—the ability to move goods across different modes of transport (ships, trucks, and trains) without their ever having to be unloaded or reloaded. This, in part, contributed to a massive decline in global shipping costs becoming a key element in the subsequent logistics revolution.²

Today, there are over 20 million shipping containers scattered around the world. On any given day, approximately 6 million of these containers are circulating the global supply chain on massive container ships, moving in and out of the world's ports, or on trucks and trains. Despite the fact that the ubiquitous shipping container has become a mainstay on our roads and highways, most people rarely ever think about the workers who move these containers across the global supply chain. Although containers are seemingly everywhere—hiding in plain sight—they remain an enigma for most consumers, and in some sense obscure the economic and power relationships inherent in global capitalism. Despite the increase of interest in logistics by academics, the stories and struggles of logistics workers remains an understudied component of logistics in contemporary capitalism.

Who moves the goods?

The vast majority of industrial production relies on the hyper-exploitation of manufacturing workers in the Global South.³ After a consumer

product is assembled in a factory in, say, China—the largest export economy in the world—it is typically packed on a pallet and subsequently loaded onto a shipping container, where it is then hauled by a truck driver who moves the box to the nearest warehouse, rail yard, or port. Once the container makes its way to the port, longshore workers (or dockworkers) use large cranes to unload the container from the truck’s chassis and onto a massive container vessel. Approximately 90 percent of all commodities are shipped across the world’s oceans by container vessels.⁴ From there, seafarers (the workers on the giant shipping vessels) ensure the movement of the container over thousands of miles across the world’s oceans en route to their destination port. This work is very dangerous for millions of seafarers in the world. The vast majority of these logistics workers are men from the Global South. Upon arrival at a port, the container will once again be offloaded from the ship by longshore workers, and typically placed on either a truck or train, before heading to a warehouse or distribution center, where the goods are processed and sorted by warehouse workers, then sent back out to retail stores via truck, or increasingly sent directly to a consumer’s home by a third party logistics provider thanks to e-commerce. So before a product arrives at a retail store, or appears on a person’s front doorstep from an e-retailer, that product touches the hands of numerous transportation and logistics workers. It is precisely these ‘invisible workers’ that this volume seeks to make visible by placing their struggles at the center of our analysis.

The strategic location of logistics labor

So who are the world’s logistics workers? Typically, they are longshore workers (dockworkers), warehouse and distribution center workers, seafarers, railroad workers, and truckers (both port truckers and long haul). Collectively, these workers represent a key group of laborers who are on the front lines of critical workers’ struggles around the world. Logistics workers are uniquely positioned in the global capitalist system. Their places of work are also in the world’s choke points—critical nodes in the global capitalist supply chain—which, if organized by workers and labor, provide a key challenge to capitalism’s reliance on the “smooth circulation” of capital. In other words, logistics remains a crucial site for increasing working-class power today.

Logistics workers are facing immense challenges in exercising (or

maintaining) working-class power around the world. Collectively, they are confronted with a combination of the following factors: the systematic assault on logistics and transportation unions; deteriorating working conditions; a rising tide of contingent employment relations and third-party employment systems; wage theft; anti-worker legislation; employment misclassification; precarity; automation and technological control over their workplaces; racialized forms of exploitation; alarming safety hazards and workplace dangers; and the privatization of their industries. Taken together, these conditions can be overwhelming—but all hope is not lost. Realizing the strategic nature of the transportation sector, labor organizers have long known and successfully focused on organizing transport workers for many decades as a result of their propensity for militancy and collective action. Many of these unions are fighting just to hold on to what they earned. Others are trying to organize industries in the new economy. As this volume demonstrates, transportation and logistics workers are actively engaging in resisting exploitation across many of the world's choke points. As capitalism has shifted away from the mass production Fordist model to a logistics-driven "flexible" capitalism, labor organizers and unions have also had to adapt and shift labor-organizing strategies.¹ In this process, there have been some key victories achieved by workers and organized labor, but there have also been failures (and everything else in between). One thing remains clear: corporations and states are heavily invested in fragmenting logistics workers from one another. These workers, although connected in the global supply chain, largely remain divided across region, nation state, industry, and job sector. In light of this, linking these global struggles remains an important task in developing strategies of resistance.

Identifying both the victories and challenges of these workers is also an important step toward building stronger workers' movements. As industrial investments have spread throughout the Global South, new workers' movements have emerged across critical industries, thereby challenging the hegemony of state, capital, and traditional union policies, which have in many cases weakened the collective interests of the majority of the global working class. This has certainly been the case for global transportation workers throughout the South. Transportation workers across Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America, are engaged in struggles for dignity in the face of vast exploitation and economic violence. Logistics workers in the Global

North are also engaged in struggle. Drawing connections between these previously fragmented struggles provides an essential blueprint for building stronger coalitions of workers who have been divided by nation state borders, unequal transnational trade agreements, or neoliberal policies.

Tracing the rise of retailers such as Walmart, the world's largest big box retailer, and Amazon, the biggest e-commerce company, plus other major contractors for industrial goods like Alibaba, can also provide insight into the broader structural forces that have occurred in global capitalism in connection with the restructuring of the global logistics industry. Global changes in the ways goods are produced, stored, transported, and moved have had immense deleterious consequences for workers, workers' movements, and trade unions. While the global capitalist system is certainly not defined by the practices of two individual corporate entities, contextualizing the rise of Walmart and Amazon within the logistics revolution helps identify a critical framework for understanding the changing nature of global production and distribution, including its negative impact on workers around the world. Indeed, Walmart's rise in retail power, and Amazon's uncompromising technological control of its warehouse workers, are directly linked to the preeminent neoliberal paradigm and technocratic 'science' of supply chain management.⁶ As corporations, governments, and universities collude to increase the scope and power of controlling the global capitalist supply chain through the exploitation and suppression of global logistics workers, unions and workers are left to fend for themselves.

Toward an unmanageable supply chain

The chapters in this volume center the resistance struggles, challenges, and issues facing logistics workers across many of the world's logistical choke points. Moreover, the chapters also represent a critical intervention into the academic study of logistics, which lately has become increasingly obsessed with a detached academic tone and infatuation with the seamless circulation of global trade. The exploitive material conditions inherent in global trade become lost when workers' perspectives, conditions, and struggles are ignored.

This volume also represents a challenge and opposition to the collusion of universities and academics with corporations in the growing

business-driven managerial field of supply chain management. While the business literature theorizes labor control strategies that enhance the exploitation of transnational logistics workforces by emphasizing avoidance of “disruptions” on the supply chain, the chapters contained in this book implicitly call for the resistance to the so-called managerial disciplining of the supply chain by identifying the critical areas and issues facing logistics workers. Drawing connections becomes an essential ingredient in strengthening logistics workers’ unions, and developing new strategies for increasing labor power across the global supply chain. In this regard, global logistics workers must become unmanageable.

Today, global “logistics management” has become a burgeoning career field and many universities are rapidly moving in this direction, thereby aligning with the interests of capital—not workers—in order to produce more and more supply chain managers whose purpose is to further squeeze workers across the logistics industry. Take, for example, the rise of educational institutions adopting neoliberal supply chain management principles in their curricula. One of this book’s co-editors, Jake Alimahomed-Wilson, teaches at California State University, Long Beach. His university office is just a few miles away from the largest port complex (the neighboring ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach) in the United States, and is at the epicenter of roughly 600,000 logistics-related jobs scattered throughout the Southern California region. In recent years, Cal State Long Beach, along with countless other universities around the world, has developed a number of degree and certificate programs including degrees in Global Logistics and Supply Chain Management, operated under the auspices of the College of Business Administration. Absent from the curriculum in supply chain management programs like these are courses on logistics workers, unions, and labor. Yes, “jobs” are discussed, but what kind of jobs are they talking about? Are these union jobs? Are they safe jobs? Are these permanent jobs? Do these jobs pay living wages?

It is not just universities that are looking to jump on the supply chain management bandwagon: high schools, trade schools, and community colleges, especially in port cities, are also developing programs and “partnerships” with private corporations in order to grow the field of supply chain management. For example, in 2016 the Port of Long Beach, in collaboration with the Long Beach Unified School District, launched the Port of Long Beach Academy of Global Logistics at the

mostly working-class Cabrillo High School with great fanfare. Even the local community college in Long Beach, Long Beach City College, now offers a program in Supply Chain Logistics. The program is partly funded by a grant from the Walmart Foundation, so that students can be trained in warehouse and distribution center supply chain logistics, some of the most precarious jobs in the region. Both the curricula and the philosophy of academic supply chain management programs fail to seriously consider the perspective of labor or workers. That is, these programs generally approach logistics within an anti-worker pro-capitalist paradigm, which teaches students (the future managers) the latest and most efficient strategies of controlling labor, maximizing profit, and ensuring the smooth circulation of capital.

In light of this, this volume seeks to identify the key labor struggles in the global logistics system to advance dialogue and connections between disparate workers' struggles, which are too often fragmented from each other by borders, regions, or the long supply chains. What, then, do Walmart's warehouse workers in the Inland Empire region of Southern California have to do with the organizing strategies of Amazon's warehouse workers in Poland? What linkages can we draw between workers' strikes in the ports of China and the privatization of Greece's ports? What have been the successes and failures of labor organizing across various supply chains around the world, and how can we connect these struggles? What can the history of dockworkers using their labor power from South Africa to the us West Coast teach us about the power of solidarity in choke points? What do longshore workers in Mumbai have in common with truckers in Occupied Palestine? This volume seeks to answer these questions by bringing together a group of experts from a diverse range of perspectives.

The authors include an international group of logistics workers, activists, union and labor organizers, academics, graduate students, and researchers. The chapters in this volume collectively analyze both the past and present struggles facing logistics workers across various choke points in the global supply chain. The authors provide a diverse exploration into the unique circumstances shaping the working conditions of logistics workers throughout various ports, warehouses, and logistical hubs around the world. The themes highlighted in the book include both the historical and contemporary role of solidarity actions, unionization and workers' resistance struggles, attacks on workers

and unions, the effects of neoliberalism and technology in the goods movement sectors, among other areas. While it is critical to highlight the unique social, political, and historical forces shaping the various struggles in the goods movement sector around the world, taken collectively, the works contained in this volume also implicitly draw together some important lessons that can, in some sense, help unify a divided global supply chain. The chapters explore and identify critical organizing challenges and strategies facing logistics workers, while offering insight into the key role that these workers have played, and will continue to play, in building capacity for worker's resistance in the global struggle against exploitation.

Chapters in the volume

The chapters are organized thematically as follows: Part I: Building Labor Power and Solidarity Across the World's Choke Points; Part II: Disruptions: Logistics Workers Resisting Exploitation; Part III: Neoliberalism and the Transformation of Ports; and Part IV: New Organizing Strategies for the Global Supply Chain.

Part I (Building Labor Power and Solidarity Across the World's Choke Points) contains four chapters and begins with Chapter 1, Labor and Social Movements' Strategic Usage of the Global Commodity Chain Structure, authored by Elizabeth A. Sowers, Paul S. Ciccantell, and David A. Smith. In this chapter, Sowers, Ciccantell, and Smith argue that by focusing on global commodity chains (GCCs), along with key nodes related to logistics and transportation, we can gain insight into the potential for resistance by labor and other social movements. The authors argue that a "lengthened" GCC approach, beginning with extraction and focusing on global logistics, offers critical insight into the ways that workers, unions, and other social movements can exploit various choke points to resist the power of capital and states. In light of this, the chapter explores how transport systems can link various nodes and choke points around the world, ranging from containerized shipments of goods through seaports, to the movement of raw materials such as coal or oil, which is often via railroads, tankers, or pipelines. Finally, the authors explore some case studies of disruptions by commodity chain workers. Some of the key vulnerabilities shared by the cases stem from the global integration and capital intensiveness of each commodity chain. In terms of integration into the global economy, the importance of containerized

consumer production and oil to the vitality of today's global economy is significant, and suggests that choke points are indeed places that logistics workers, and workers in commodity chains generally, have a crucial role to play in the broader struggle for social justice.

Chapter 2, *Across the Chain: Labor and Conflicts in the European Maritime Logistics Sector*, is authored by Andrea Bottalico. This chapter provides an overview of the working conditions and conflicts along the European maritime-logistics chain, with a special focus on dock labor in the port sector and the container shipping industry. Bottalico identifies critical fragility points of the European transport chain, especially the transshipment system—the shipment of goods to an intermediate destination before moving to another destination. The transshipment revolution since 1990s and the increasing size of vessels increased the rigidity and therefore the fragility of the maritime logistics chain. As Bottalico argues, the relationships between the European logistics workforce and transnational companies along the logistics chain should be read with awareness of a structural power in the hands of a variegated, fragmented workforce involved in a common structure of exploitation. The challenges for the future, in other words, have to be faced by looking at the potential common struggles to be disseminated at both the national and international levels, across the overall European logistics chain.

Part I concludes with Chapter 3, *Durban Dockers, Labor Internationalism, and Pan-Africanism*, authored by Peter Cole. Cole provides an excellent historical analysis of the ways in which dockworkers in Durban, South Africa, have historically (and into the present day) wielded power and solidarity in support of anti-racism and other international working-class and/or anti-colonial struggles around the world. Cole demonstrates how Durban dockworkers combine their leftist and anti-racist ideologies into the practice of solidarity by utilizing direct action tactics in the form of boycotting ships. The commitment to Pan-African freedom struggles by Durban dockers, in addition to other anti-colonial causes such as the Palestinian freedom struggle against Israeli apartheid, remains a critical reminder of how logistics workers can potentially utilize their strategic location within a region, node, or the global economy, to extend solidarity with struggles against oppression and exploitation. Indeed, as Cole notes, despite the ongoing assaults on logistics workers and port communities around the world, (Durban) dockworker power still exists. Understanding the historical and pres-

ent-day contributions and activism of Durban dockworkers remains a crucial component in the global struggle for social justice.

Part II (Disruptions: Logistics Workers Resisting Exploitation) begins with Chapter 4, *Worker Militancy and Strikes in China's Docks*, authored by Bai Ruixue and Au Loong Yu. In this chapter, Ruixue and Yu provide an important overview of the major struggles facing logistics workers throughout China's major ports. The authors argue that "logistic workers in China occupy a very strategic position not only for China but also for the world, if they know how to make use of their power." The chapter links China's economic rise as the "world's factory" to the rapid expansion of ports and overall restructuring of the logistics infrastructure throughout the country. Indeed, China's export-led growth strategy has relied on significant investment into expanding the capacity of China's ports, both inside the country and in its efforts as a major investor in overseas port construction. This, of course, means that China's logistics workers have faced a high degree of exploitation, poor wages, unsafe working conditions, and a host of other structural challenges, including automation. Across various logistics sectors throughout China, the authors analyze some of the key strikes and workers struggles throughout one of the world's largest choke points.

In Chapter 5, "Work Hard, Make History": Oppression and Resistance in Inland Southern California's Warehouse and Distribution Industry, Ellen Reese and Jason Struna provide an overview of both the warehouse industry in inland Southern California—a region known as the logistics capital of the United States—and workers' efforts to improve their working conditions in the region. Just east of the port complex of Los Angeles-Long Beach, the region is home to about 1 billion square feet of warehouses. Like elsewhere in the United States, the region has been impacted by the "Amazon effect" as e-commerce and home delivery have expanded the demand for goods movement and inventory space in the logistics and warehousing industries. Reese and Struna argue that despite rhetorical and discursive claims that seek to make the industry appear attractive and innovative—embodied by one of Amazon's employee mottos, "Work hard, make history"—the region's warehouse workers, most of whom are Latinx, earn poverty-level wages, are commonly hired through temporary agencies, and are frequently subject to wage theft and health and safety violations. Furthermore, the types of management-by-stress schemes addressed by other researchers pervade the industry, even as automation threatens to

make large segments of already precariously employed workforce redundant. Even so, since 2008, warehouse workers have organized and fought to improve their working conditions through the Warehouse Workers United (wwu) campaign, which involved a series of workers' strikes and other collective actions including a 50-mile public march, as well as a series of legal complaints, many of which targeted Walmart and its contractors. wwu's efforts won millions of dollars of back wages for workers who experienced labor law violations, and contributed to the passage of a new state law to better regulate the industry. Together with other members of the transnational "Making change at Walmart" campaign, wwu members also obtained an agreement with Walmart to improve its safety standards and to better monitor the labor conditions of its contractors.

Chapter 6, *Stop Treating Us Like Dogs! Workers Organizing Resistance at Amazon in Poland*, provides a first-hand account of workers' resistance and organizing strategies in Amazon warehouses in Poland. The chapter is collectively authored by Amazon warehouse workers, in collaboration with activists from a grassroots union and the co-organizers of Amazon workers' meetings. This group has participants from several European countries. The chapter begins with an overview of the working conditions at an Amazon warehouse in Poland, including an analysis of the various forms of worker control such as technology, and some of the detrimental effects on workers' health and well-being. The authors provide a detailed account of the various mechanisms of exploitation present in Amazon warehouses while simultaneously documenting the various strategies and tactics that Amazon workers have developed in order to build workers' power and resistance in one of the largest logistics-driven corporations in the world. In doing so, the chapter delves into both the successes and challenges that the workers faced in resisting exploitation and empowering themselves. Finally, sharing the stories of struggle across the global supply chain, like the story of Amazon warehouse workers' resistance in Poland, remains a key and necessary step in order to build alliances in the global struggle against capitalist exploitation.

Part II concludes with Chapter 7, *Decolonizing Logistics: Palestinian Truckers on the Occupied Supply Chain*, authored by Jake Alimahomed-Wilson and Spencer Louis Potiker, which analyzes the role of logistics in shaping Israel's colonial occupation of Palestine. Alimahomed-Wilson and Potiker argue that Palestinian logistics and transportation workers

labor in one of the most violent supply chains in the world today. The chapter focuses on the structural conditions facing Palestinian truckers who move goods to and from Israeli-controlled security checkpoints and military crossings throughout Gaza and the Occupied West Bank. These workers face an intense combination of logistical capitalist exploitation, colonial violence, and anti-Arab racism, largely structured by Israel's dehumanizing supply chain security apparatus. Despite the seemingly insurmountable colonial conditions inherent in the occupied supply chain, Palestinian logistics workers are actively resisting such dehumanizing conditions. The chapter also highlights the role that international logistics labor unions and workers movements have played in supporting the call by Palestinian workers and trade unions to boycott Israeli goods across the global supply chain.

Part III (Neoliberalism and the Global Transformation of Ports) begins with Chapter 8, *Decoding the Transition in the Ports of Mumbai*, authored by Johnson Abhishek Minz. The chapter provides an in-depth study of the port of Mumbai (formerly known as Bombay), located on the west coast of India. The port of Mumbai remains one of the oldest and most important ports in India. Minz argues that the Indian port sector is going through a major transition. He analyzes the impact that global trade and the broader restructuring of the Indian economy has had on India's port workers. The chapter also examines various themes that affect port labor in India, especially the governance model of the ports and the trend of containerization. Finally, the chapter analyzes the challenges that port labor unions have faced amid the restructuring of the ports across India.

Chapter 9, *Back to Piraeus: Precarity for All!* authored by Dimitris Parsanoglou and Carolin Philipp, provides an in-depth account of the impact of privatization on the port of Piraeus in Greece. As Parsanoglou and Philipp note, in less than two years following the outbreak of the global financial crisis in 2008, Greece became an exemplary case study of the ongoing and growing crisis extended from finance and sovereign debt and its impact on labor, unions, and logistics workers. One of the central issues at stake has been the neoliberal readjustment—including use and ownership—of critical logistics infrastructure, especially ports, in increasing efforts by capital to make goods and commodities move in more efficient ways. The chapter begins with an analysis of how the privatization effort of this formerly state-controlled port was initiated and completed prior to the Greek debt crisis. The firm of Cosco, based

on Chinese capital, purchased a concession through 2051, thereby controlling 67 percent of the state-owned harbor.

Chapter 10, *Contested Logistics? Neoliberal Modernization and Resistance in the Port City of Valparaíso*, authored by Jorge Budrovich Sáez and Hernán Cuevas Valenzuela, focuses on a case study of Valparaíso, the historic port city located in central Chile, just 118 kilometres from the capital, Santiago. Because of the radical nature of the economic and labor reforms implemented and the depth of the social and political changes experienced there, the city provides an opportune case study for observing the operations of capital and the resistance that these generate in society. Budrovich Sáez and Cuevas Valenzuela argue that the changes and development of Valparaíso can be best understood using three concepts: neoliberalization, extraction, and logistics—three master logics that govern or structure social processes in Valparaíso.

Part III concludes with Chapter 11, *Logistics Workers' Struggles in Turkey: Neoliberalism and Counterstrategies*. Authors Çağatay Edgücan Şahin and Pekin Bengisu Tepe explore the current challenges facing logistics unions in Turkey. Drawing on extensive data including interviews with militant logistics workers and union leaders, the authors provide a thorough analysis of the challenges facing logistics and transport workers (and their unions) in neoliberal Turkey. Şahin and Tepe contextualize their chapter with an overview of the impact of neoliberal policies on the logistics and goods movement sectors in Turkey. The authors supplement their analysis with an in-depth glimpse into some of the logistics struggles on the ground—in the ports, ships, trucks, and warehouses—from the perspective of militant Turkish logistics workers and trade unionists themselves. The chapter concludes with a discussion of possibilities and strategies for the future of organized logistics labor in Turkey.

Part IV (New Organizing Strategies for the Global Supply Chain) begins with Chapter 12, “The Drivers Who Move This Country Can Also Stop It”: *The Struggle of Tanker Drivers in Indonesia*, authored by Abu Mufakhir, Alfian Al’ayubby Pelu, and Fahmi Panimbang. This chapter discusses the struggle of fuel tanker drivers in several cities throughout Indonesia, with a special focus of the Plumpang depot in Jakarta, the largest fuel terminal in the world. The authors provide a comprehensive overview of the circumstances behind the organizing of the fuel tanker drivers, which led to the formation of the fuel tanker drivers’ union. The chapter highlights both the organizing strategies

and the building of solidarity between tanker drivers across Indonesia in order to exert their collective influence to attain their rights. Although a series of industrial actions by the drivers was not quite successful in bringing about significant change, their collective action was a remarkable experience and the start of a journey, which led to where they are today. The collective experience of strikes and resistance has taught them that grassroots labor organizing is necessary for success in the union's political struggle.

In Chapter 13, *Lessons Learned from Eight Years of Experimental Organizing in Southern California's Logistics Sector*, Sheheryar Kaoosji, the founder and current co-director of the Warehouse Worker Resource Center, reflects on his eight years of organizing and research experience in the Southern Californian logistics sector. Over the past eight years, the unions at Change to Win (ctw) established organizing efforts among goods movement workers throughout Southern California, the hub through which \$500 billion in goods pass through each year—accounting for approximately 43 percent of the goods that enter the United States. These efforts were resourced with strategic researchers and experienced organizers, and supported by motivated community partners. While significant impacts were made on the way the goods movement sector operates, Kaoosji maintains that these efforts fell short of the ambitious original vision of sparking the organizing of production and retail workers using the power of the supply chain. In light of this, this chapter analyzes the experiences of these two distinct yet related efforts, with the perspective of eight years of lessons learned from somebody who worked on both projects and remains committed to organizing in the goods movement sector of Southern California. These two projects were intended to make significant, strategic changes in a sector that is critical to our global economy. While the optimism of these projects at their outset was not realistic, according to Kaoosji, the central strategy was correct, and this chapter examines both the victories and challenges of these efforts in order to offer a path for moving forward in organizing the supply chain.

Chapter 14, *Struggles and Grassroots Organizing in an Extended European Choke Point*, authored by Carlotta Benvegnù and Niccolò Cuppini and drawing on approximately 30 interviews with workers and labor organizers, traces the evolution of grassroots workers' organizing in the logistics and warehousing sector in Northern Italy. In doing so, the authors also examine the changes in the logistics labor

force, including the rise of migrant workers in the warehouse sector in Northern Italy, which today constitute approximately 80 percent of the warehouse workforce in some regions. In a context where traditional trade unions are encountering increasing difficulties in organizing contracted-out and precarious workers in the low-wage services sector, Benvegnù and Cuppini argue that the cycle of labor struggles that occurred in Northern Italy provides an important case study in order to understand how dynamics of resistance can emerge in a sector characterized by anti-union policies, the precarious status of the workers, and ethnic segmentation and divide-and-conquer strategies that challenge labor organizing and unionization. This logistical conflict also provides a concrete example of how alternative strategies can be put in place by grassroots organizing in a sector characterized by high fragmentation and where traditional trade unions seem to fail.

Part IV concludes with Chapter 15, *Beyond the Waterfront: Maintaining and Expanding Worker Power in the Maritime Supply Chain*, which is authored by Peter Olney, a labor organizer with over 40 years' experience and the retired organizing director of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU)—the union representing dockworkers in the Western United States. In this chapter, Olney examines the power that longshore unions, particularly the ILWU, hold over major maritime ports. The ILWU and other dockworker unions have been trailblazers in the past in standing with world-wide revolutionary people's struggles and in strengthening the domestic power of their sisters and brothers in the working class. While dockworkers still wield power at the point of production, according to Olney it is incumbent on them to recognize new structural and employment realities and adjust their strategies accordingly. The chapter argues that strategic choke points are not static and forever lasting since class conflicts, along with new technology, preclude any strategic position from becoming permanent. As a result of the increasing automation of port labor, coupled with anti-union legislation and the constant assault on dockworker unions, these workers face the challenge of preserving their power in the face of these challenges. Thus, Olney argues that working-class strategies cannot be static or frozen in time irrespective of the shifting terrain, and the ILWU provides an ideal case study for understanding how dockworker unions can respond to such challenges in the global supply chain.

Notes

- 1 Marc Levinson, *The Box: How the Shipping Container Made the World Smaller and the World Economy Bigger* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2016).
- 2 Edna Bonacich and Jake B. Wilson, *Getting the Goods: Ports, Labor, and the Logistics Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008).
- 3 Zak Cope, *Divided World, Divided Class: Global Political Economy and the Stratification of Labour Under Capitalism* (Montreal: Kersplebedeb, 2015).
- 4 Rose George, *Ninety Percent of Everything: Inside the Shipping Industry that Puts Clothes on Your Back, Gas in Your Car, and Food on Your Plate* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2013).
- 5 Jake Alimahomed-Wilson, *Solidarity Forever? Race, Gender, and Unionism in the Ports of Southern California* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2016).
- 6 Deborah Cowen, *The Deadly Life of Logistics: Mapping Violence in Global Trade* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).