

## Red-Baiting and the TDC/UPSurge Movement.

Red-baiting has become a major issue in the TDC, and we need to know more about it. Issue #5 of CONVOY carried an article responding to the IBT attacks--"Why they Fear US?"--which talked mostly about Oakland and Cleveland. CONVOY #6 has an article naming the TDC Steering Committee--"Who's Behind the TDC?"--which is also part of that response.

But we need to have a more detailed discussion for IS members. The red-baiting in TDC was not unexpected and is nothing new as a tactic. We had told everyone who was at the initial Chicago meeting, August 16, of our affiliation, but as the movement grew it became impossible to touch bases with everyone who was getting involved. Nevertheless, the effort was made to let people know about us as soon as we had established credibility in a new area..

The issue of credibility is key because TDC is not a socialist movement or a socialist group, but a group that is fighting for a decent contract. Where that has been established and people know our role in building that, we have the basis for explaining our politics which go far beyond the contract. The red-baiting attack is aimed at our credibility--"we are outsiders," "we aren't really interested in the contract or the members, but in selling our ideology," etc.--and therefore it is where we have established some credibility through our work that we are best able to defend and explain ourselves.

We lost some good contacts early on because we discussed our politics with them and some areas were closed to us for a while because of it, but we operated on the principle of trying to explain ourselves as early as we could. Some of the problem at first was that we communicated the fact that we were socialists or in the IS without giving that any content. Just letting people in on the fact we are reds doesn't help much. Even when we have given them WP or a pamphlet, many people will still say, "I didn't know you were commies?" It is only by working people in TDC and showing them how our larger political view enables us to make the detailed day to day assessments and let them see the content and the value of our ideas in action will be the best way of winning supporters and recruits out of TDC/UPSurge.

Unfortunately, in many areas we couldn't go into these questions early enough and in some areas where we could, we didn't. But in the initial phases of TDC this did not significantly hurt us, partly because we hadn't made big enough waves to be attacked. Our impact wasn't great enough to demand notice yet, and our losses at this stage were simply individuals who having been told about our politics chose not to get involved.

The first significant wave of red-baiting came in the wake of the successful November 22 Steering Committee which set plans for January 10.

(1) The clearest attack against the IS came not from the union or the companies, but from Arthur Fox of PROD. Early in December he mailed a long letter to about 40 of his major operatives dealing entirely with the IS, quotes from WP, etc. We do not know all of the people or how they reacted, but we do know that the entire January 10 Steering Committee meeting became focused around this attack and that the letter has been used by the union and the companies as a source of information. ~~Arthur's attack was motivated by both political hostility and organizational insecurity.~~ Our response, which he promised he would mail out to the same list, was never sent.

(2) In the same period the red question emerged in a bigger way at UPS. The company had associated Anne with WP early on and locally in Cleveland she had a reputation as some sort of radical, but in this period the line went throughout the whole

UPS system about UPSurge. It was in this period that the company and the union got together to red-bait Laura in Chicago, victimise Joe in New York, and began a consistent campaign to undermine UPSurge. An editorial in the January issue of UPSurge responded to this.

(3) In Pittsburgh there was an open attack against Mel. A steward's meeting was called after some local officials traveled to Washington. The IS was named, quotes from WE, etc. We responded in a two sided leaflet--one side of which was by non-IS TDCers defending TDC as a viable rank and file organization and the other was by Mel defending his politics. This leaflet went over well and was sent out previously.

But these attacks did not stop TDC/UPSurge from growing. There is no doubt that the attacks on Laura and Joe slowed down our growth in New York and Chicago. The Fox letter hurt us in Akron where one of his people used it openly against us. And perhaps there are other areas where we aren't quite so certain. But the Jan. 10 event came off moderately well and boosted TDC, the Indianapolis UPSurge meeting was a huge success, CONVOY was launched by TDC and the tempo of the movement built slowly, and then more quickly through February and into March.

As the contract fight heated up and ~~TDC/UPSurge~~ TDC/UPSurge has begun to ~~have~~ have some real though minor influence on the contract talks, the attacks on the union have become more vigorous, more widespread, and more consistent. They are the result of two things--(1) our success in putting real pressure on the IBT leadership--passing TDC resolutions in locals, CONVOY and UPSurge as real rank and file communications links, etc. and (2) the intransigence of the employers in giving Fitz nothing he can take back. He either has to deliver the goods or intimidate the members into accepting a bad deal. TDC/UPSurge is a focal point for serious rank and file opposition to a sellout and therefore has to be discredited.

The attacks have come most strongly in Cleveland and Oakland, but it is obvious that information about the IS is being circulated throughout the country by the International through local officials. In Cleveland, one week before March 13, an anonymous leaflet was circulated naming specific individuals as IS members, radicals, ~~and~~ criminals, etc. Much of the info is lies or mis-information gotten from PO Box records and such from some moldy FBI file. We put out a response to the leaflet.

Ours was a signed leaflet. This was important. A lot of people discounted the union (there is no hard proof the union put it out, but it is obvious that it came "from the hall" and we said so in the leaflet) because it was not signed. Anonymous leaflets have little impact. Many people responded positively to the leaflet and what they responded to was the directness and integrity of ~~it~~ it. Most people who are uncomfortable about socialism are still uncomfortable about it. Some, who support us, whom we hadn't admitted we were socialists. Many still reject the TDC because there are reds in it. But the atmosphere of fear was dampened considerably by our open response and allowed us to maintain ourselves as a force.

Our response was so well received that it forced another leaflet, actually two from the union. The second was less frenetic and more reasonable. The lies they had told in the first hurt. We heard that an Akron BA had gone around personally retracting the most damaging portions of the first leaflet. ~~It is possible that the frenetic tone of the first was due to the particular response of a local official who was upset because we had taken him to court in an effort to stop his intimidation of TDC at the February union meeting and we had won. The Joint Council has hired a public relations firm to handle all future attacks, press releases, etc. about TDC/UPSurge and they have already contacted all Cleveland media extensively. Also, the union sent a delegation from Akron to the March 13 rally in the Cleveland/Akron area which tried to deflect the meeting onto the red question and off the~~

track of the contract fight.

The Oakland response was more direct. There officials went barn by barn denouncing TDC. Where TDC was strong, it was defended well, but the attack had the effect of drying up a periphery. This meant joining TDC was a possibly dangerous, most certainly a courageous thing to do, not something that masses of people were just "joining in with." This attack by Local 70 officials most certainly hurt the turnout on March 13 from that local and has driven away some previous TDC stalwarts. This has hurt the situation, and created immediate problems, but it also puts the union out on a limb--it has to deliver on the contract and if it doesn't, a lot of that resentment can flow back as support for TDC as the group that has been fighting around the contract.

The situation with UPSurge is somewhat different. Here the red-baiting has come primarily from the company, with a little help from their union friends. But importantly, the strength of the UPSurge movement is greater than that of TDC in many ways. It has had large meetings--Indianapolis, Minneapolis, Detroit--and some solid shop floor organizations to back them up. Also, the arena it is operating in is smaller--70,000 UPS employees nationally, 15,000 in the Central States while the MFA covers 435,000 workers--which makes its relative strength even greater. (It should be noted however that it is going up against the largest freight company in the country and the most single minded about labor relations. It ain't a cakewalk sports fans.) This has affected the union's response. The IBT adopted a substantial portion of the UPSurge program in its Central States Contract proposals and it has been more willing to talk strike openly around the UPS contract than around the MFA. (Roy Williams, Director of the Central States Conference told an UPSurge delegation on March 13 in Kansas City that there would probably be a strike May 1 ~~and~~ that it could "shut the bastards down for about 2 weeks.) Also, UPS workers are a substantial block of votes in many locals and local officials will have to appear militant enough to appease them in order to blunt any UPSurge appeal. This does not mean there will be no red-baiting around UPSurge, but the union has both to co-opt and attack in this area rather than just attack.

UPS, however, is going great guns with its red-baiting efforts--even to the point of spreading fictitious rumors that William Mackie, Portland sign painter recently admitted into the country after being banished for subversive activities is Anne's father. And the company pressure has had its effect. Akron had a very strong group which has been hurt by the company attacks. Portland has had a hard time getting going because of it.

We must be ready to respond to red-baiting strongly and directly. There are a number of things to keep in mind:

- 1) Red-baiting tries to create an atmosphere of fear and intimidation around TDC/UPSurge activity in two ways. (a) it makes people feel that to join TDC/UPSurge is to be manipulated by the "socialists" and (b) makes the question of being an open supporter or member less a matter of agreement with the stand than one of personal courage.
- 2) A direct, open response can cut through the aura of fear to some extent. And that is what it should be trying to do. It is less an elaborate defense of your socialist ideology than a stand which says--we're open, don't be buffaloed, these things can all be brought out in the open. It is to create a space for TDC/UPSurge, keep people around, so that the longer term work of political explanation can take place at all.
- 3) Red-baiting is a manipulative tactic on the part of management and the officials

to convince the ranks that something--the TDC/UPSurge contract programs--which are clearly in their interests really isn't. These people do not, and probably have never had, the interests of the ranks at heart, but people fear "communism" because they fear they will be made dupes. It should be pointed out who is really manipulating them. TDC/UPSurge are doing something about this contract. To reject working with them is to give up doing anything ~~about~~ for yourself and surrendering your next three years to whatever the officials want to give you.

4) It should be strongly stressed that TDC/UPSurge are what they claim to be--rank and file movements. They are not socialist groups simply because there are socialists in them. We do not ask people their politics as a condition of membership.

5) Any lies, fabrications, etc. in the attacks must be pointed out, but we shouldn't say it is all a lie in a way that would seem to say, "NO, there aren't any reds her." Be specific and hard hitting when rebutting charges.

6) Any open response must be signed. Anonymous leaflets are no good, no one pays any attention to them. There is a healthy tradition that people should stand behind what they say. We can use it to our advantage. Our openness about our beliefs contradicts people's image of what socialism is about and allows our ideas a hearing.

7) If there are open lies in the attack, and union officials openly hand it out, there may be grounds for legal action. If management hands it out or allows the attack to be circulated, but not the response, there may be grounds for legal action. But remember--you need proof, witnesses, etc. But check it out.

8) A response must be made to an attack. Whispering campaigns can be devastating, but once the attack is specific, do something. An unanswered attack can simply confirm the rumor as true in the minds of many people.

9) Report, in detail, any situation around red-baiting to Cleveland as well as Detroit immediately and be as detailed as possible. Also, outline plans for response. Use the collected information ~~exclusively~~ and experience of the center in these situations.

10) Finally, we must be clear. Given the level of consciousness we are dealing with, red-baiting can hurt. It has hurt in Oakland, Springfield, Mass., Boston, Chicago, and to some extent Cleveland. Our responses can help and in some cases will succeed (especially with individuals) and in others it will not be able to crack the response. But we are in a fight and we always keep coming back. We have seen situations in TDC and UPSurge change dramatically--both up and down--already in the course of this campaign. Events--some beyond our control, some not--are constantly changing the arena we work in. We must always be ready to take advantage of what's there.

For red-baiting also can create some great opportunities. Once your affiliations are known, it is an opening to explain our ideas, solidify our periphery, and give people a real sense of what class struggle unionism is about. But we must communicate a specific content to our political ideas. This means using WI, the Conspiracy in Trucking pamphlet, Fighting to Win, etc. It also means ~~explaining why socialist ideas are key to building the movement around the contract and beyond and not just something "extra" that can be done away with because it create public relations problems.~~ If the IBT is going to let people know about the IS, let's make sure they really become familiar with our politics.

Mike F., for the Steering Comm.

**Brother and Sister Teamsters:**

For the past several months a group of transient Johnny-come-latelies have been giving you a line of bull. This small group of agitators is trying to use you and your families to destroy our union and its democratic procedures. You should know who these people really are, where they come from and what they stand for.

Douglas Passey - Age 32 from Portland, Oregon. Casual employee, Local 407, Cleveland. Lives with Ann Mackie who is a UPS Cleveland employee and one of the producers of UPSurge. Passey is a member of the International Socialists. Was a Marxist student in Portland, Oregon. He is a member of Teamsters for a Decent Contract (T.D.C.).

Ken Paff - International Socialist since 1968. Dissident member of Local 407 who transferred from Local 70 Oakland, California. He is an active member of T.D.C. and T.D.C. National Secretary.

Carol Kirby - International Socialists member, attended the same school as Douglas Passey. Involved in "Far Left Activities of Criminal type". She is a member of T.D.C.

Daniel Petty - Member of International Socialists; editor of "Teamsters Network", member of T.D.C.

Steve Kindred - Member of International Socialists, former president of S.D.S. (1965) at University of Chicago. Was head of Labor Education Committee (L.E.C.) in 1973. Presently is editor of literature published by T.D.C. in Chicago.

Michael Rubin - Member of International Socialists and involved with its weekly publication "Workers Power".

Hester Butterfield - Member of Progressive Labor Party (P.L.P.) New York City which is a Mao-Marxist revolutionary type organization. Grand-daughter of Cyrus Eaton.

Donald McKelvey - High up in "New Left Organization". Former S.D.S. member while in college in Boston.

Michael Friedman - Member of International Socialists. Distributes "Workers Power" at UPS facilities in Cleveland. Active in "New Left Organization".

Would we want these people responsible for the well-being of ourselves and our families...are they decent Americans?

Decent, Concerned Teamsters,  
a Majority of the Rank & File

#### WHAT ARE THEY AFRAID OF?

This week a flyer appeared naming people connected or supposedly connected with the Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC). We are responding to this disgusting attack on the rank and file movement. Unlike them, we will sign our names.

#### LIES AND LIARS

Their leaflet is full of lies. It names people who have no connection to TDC. (Cyrus Eatons Granddaughter??) It names groups that are imaginary (the "Labor Education Committee"2). It claims school connections and other things that are simply lies. These disgusting liars even accuse Ken Paff's wife, Carole, of being involved in "criminal type activity". William Presser is a self-admitted criminal who had to get off the Pension Board, yet his flunkies call Ken's wife (who has never been arrested in her life) a Criminal!

#### WHO'S BEHIND IT?

Everyone knows where these leaflets came from. Not just out of the Hall, but from Presser and Fitzsimmons. They are out to stop the rank and file movement. The leaflet talks about protecting our unions "democratic procedure" but it is those behind this leaflet who have violated democratic procedure. At the last 407 meeting we were not allowed to make or vote on a simple motion. After the meeting a member was sent to the hospital for asking a question about our rights. This leaflet is one more of their intimidation tactics.

#### WHY NOW?

Because our contract is coming up. The TDC has worked from coast to coast to inform and organize the membership to stand together. This interferes with Fitz's game-plan to slip another sellout by us. So he has told his people to attack the TDC, to intimidate the membership. THE TACTICS ARE A SMOKESCREEN FOR THE INTERNATIONAL TO HIDE BEHIND. Just like in 1970 when Presser called the strikers, "Communists". These tactics are always used when the officials cannot speak to the real issues affecting us.

#### THE TRUTH ABOUT THE TDC

TDC is having an effect. Major locals have endorsed its program. In the UPS negotiations, the union officials even had to put forward the UPSurge-TDC program. Next Saturday, March 13, TDC & UPSurge are holding rallies in 20 cities to report on the negotiations and to organize the final push for a decent contract. TDC is a grassroots movement open to ALL Teamsters. It has a national Steering Committee that includes people with many different backgrounds and views. It stands for UNITY behind rank and file demands. TDC is not out to "represent you", it's about all of us getting involved ourselves to stand together. Divided we will end up the losers, with Fitz laughing all the way to the bank.

#### THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIALISTS

The three of us are named in the leaflet as socialists. Aside from all the lies in the leaflet, this part they got dead right! We have not hidden our views, but explained them to many people, including members of the Executive Board of 407. We are proud of what we stand for and that we have the guts to say it straight out.

We are not a conspiracy and we are not just politicians running for office. We are Teamsters who are fed up with the way things are going and think that to get a democratic union and decent contracts we need a movement of the rank and file. We think working Teamsters can run a democratic union, that we don't need Frank Fitzsimmons to control our union. And we think working people can and should run the country, that we don't need to have millionaires control the government. That's why we are socialists. Many think this is impossible. But until people stand up together, anything is impossible, except more unemployment and corruption!

That's why we support and help build TDC and UPSurge, that are rank and file movements to bring power where it belongs, in the hands of the membership. It's the rank and file organizing that the Teamster big shots hate. That's why they whisper about "Communists" while they deny your democratic rights!

IF the rank and file fall for it, it will be that much easier to push through a sellout, and we'll all lose. IF we stick together our officers will have to deliver more. It's time to take a stand with thousands of other Teamsters across the country who are saying NO to the old tricks and YES to a decent contract and a democratic union. TAKE A STAND, BE AT THE TEAMSTER RALLY NEXT SAT. MAR 13 AT 1 PM. ASSEMBLE - SALEM RESTAURANT NEXT TO C-F ON RTE 21 IN W. RICHFIELD. BRING YOUR FAMILY.

Ken Paff	Anne Mackie	Steve Kindred
Driver for Shippers	Driver for UPS	Driver for Krogers,
		laid off

P.S. Next time, how about you boys signing yours?

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

The T.D.C. leadership, Ken Paff, Ann Mackie and Steve Kindred have now admitted in writing along with their signatures that they are proud to be socialists. They admit that the concerned membership is dead right that you should know who these people really are, where they come from and what they stand for.

Socialists do not agree with the democratic procedures of this nation, and they even boast of it. Not only do these radicals want to run our union, they also want to run the country and control the government, as stated in their own letter signed by these three socialist leaders.

True to form, haters of this country not only hate our union, they attack the country and government. They are aware, as maybe some of you are not, that we understand why they were able to get T.D.C. voices in numerous cities across this country. The socialist party is not a stranger to any national organization, be it labor, companies or our democratic government. None of these three admitted, self-appointed socialistic leaders have ever attempted to run as leaders of any organization under democratic procedure. Their specialty is radicalism, subversive tactics, charges and allegations, and all the time we are aware that their ultimate goal is NOT TO LET THE REAL TRUTH BE KNOWN.

Their job is to destroy or hinder or cripple any type of major industry. Decent Teamsters do not need socialist or subversive elements to speak for their benefit. T.D.C.'s socialists will find out that we, the Teamsters rank and file, will not let young socialist students destroy the safety and security that we have built in over the years. T.D.C. has now joined with the UPSurge element, yelling the names of various socialist and subversive organizations.

They admit that we have got this part dead right. Rest assured, we also have the rest of it dead right. They do not run for office. They do not give financial reports. They do not tell where their financing comes from. Most members of the group come from other areas of the country. Most are short-term members of our organization...and yet THEY, AS SOCIALISTS, HAVE COME TO SAVE ALL OF US.

Aren't we lucky that these socialists believe in a democratic system. They select their own spokesmen without elections. They tell us who they have chosen for their national steering committees, and they tell us that they hate our country and our government. They don't tell us why we should strike, and what we will get by listening to them. They only tell us that they have all the answers to not only the country and government problems, but to all of the problems.

Below is the definition of what a socialist stands for according to the Webster and American dictionaries of 1976. DO WE WANT THIS ADMITTED GROUP OF SOCIALISTS TO REPRESENT US, THE DECENT AMERICAN TEAMSTER???

**Socialism** - A social system in which the producers possess both political power and the means of producing and distributing goods. The theory or practice of those who support such a social system. In Marxist-Leninist theory, the building, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the material base for communism.

**Socialist** - An advocate of socialism. A member of a socialist party. Of, promoting, or practicing socialism. Of, belonging to, or constituting a socialist party.

Decent, Concerned Teamsters,  
A Majority of the Rank & File

Brother and Sister Teamsters:

I am writing this letter as the wife of a member whose husband has many years in Teamster Local 407. I've been reading some of this stuff put out by the T.D.C. group. I can't believe some of the things they are saying.

Since I am a woman I will not come out against the male members of T.D.C., instead, I will use Ann Mackie as the subject of this letter. I understand she is a driver for UPS and she wants to have a rally this coming weekend to show what can be done to employers and the union. Well, I asked myself, why this weekend? The master freight contract is not due til March 31, 1976, and UPS has a later date for their contract. So why is she concerned with our contract?

The only reason I can come up with is, she being a socialist party member, she could care less. She is trained to cause disruption in unions. If she and her fellow members of the party can cause enough trouble this weekend to cause a wildcat strike, they could stymie negotiations as well as cost us our wages. By the time they get back to the contract talks it will be past the deadline time, and this little T.D.C. group can come back again and say, "see, your contract isn't ready, Let's strike again."

Ann Mackie has nothing to lose.. I have children to take care of and a home to make payments on. Children have to be educated, fed, clothed and they do have medical problems. Ann Mackie isn't married, she supposedly lives with a male T.D.C. member, she has no home payments to make and there are no children to worry about.

As I asked before, what does she have to lose? If she pleases her party leader, she gets a bigger job to do. She is not concerned about us as Teamster families because she and the socialist party have no use for unions. They are using the contract as a wedge to split the rank and file. I don't always agree with the union, but I do realize what the union does for the individual member and his family.

Ann Mackie is only interested in turning us against each other because then we will be weak and the socialist party can pick away at the weak spots...and then, GOOD-BYE UNION.

I am telling you here and now, no socialist party member, man or woman, is going to use us to climb up the ladder of their party group.

She tries to make you believe her group can get you all you want. Well, ~~no employer~~ is going to talk contract with a socialist group and every brother and sister Teamster should feel the same way. Remember, they are using you for a power struggle. They have nothing to lose, but you and I do...our homes, our jobs, our families and maybe even our city.

I for one don't want to have to leave this city to go and look some place else for a job. They are on the move all the time so it doesn't bother them to have to pack up and leave. Don't disrupt your life for them. Stand up and show the T.D.C. we are strong when we have to be and we will help each other...THEY THINK WE ARE DUMMIES., LET'S SHOW THEM!

Wife of a  
Decent, Concerned Teamster,  
A Majority of the Rank & File