The worst dreams of the trucking companies and the leaders of the Teamsters union are coming true. There is a powerful rank and file movement in the Teamsters demanding that the union use its power for the workers and against the company, rather than the other way around. For the first time the movement is organized (Teamsters for a Decent Contract and UPSurge) and it keeps growing.

**THEY'LL TRY TO DISCREDIT A WORKERS' MOVEMENT**

The companies and the IBT leaders know that the strength of the movement is in its unity, and they try every trick to break that unity. The latest trick is called red-baiting. Fitz and Company hope that the use of the label "socialist" on this movement, then its thousands of supporters will be Quinned to shape, like sheep, and go home, and realize how much better it is to let Fitz and his Mafia friends run the union in peace.

**(WE'RE PROUD TO BE FIGHTING THE BOSSES**

Teamster members of the International Socialists have never made any mistake in the leadership of TDC and USSurge, along with many more non-socialist Teamster rank and file who have been fighting this fight for several times in our newspaper. We sell openly at as many bars, warehouses, hubs and centers as we can. But now the companies and Fitz's henchmen are putting out little slander sheet which they don't even have the guts to sign, pretending that they have discovered something new.

**HIDDEN FROM HISTORY**

Yes, there are certainly socialists active today in the new rank and file movement. But what Fitz will not tell you is that it was socialists who were crucial in building the Teamsters union in the 1930's, as well as most of the other major unions in this country. This special edition explains that history, and how socialists are still playing a key role in the Teamsters union today.

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**SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT**

"I wouldn't agree with Farrell Dobbs' political philosophy or his economic ideology, but that man had a vision that was enormously beneficial to the labor movement. Beyond any doubt, he was the master architect of the Teamsters' over-the-road operations."

—Jimmy Hoffa

Jimmy Hoffa never liked socialists. He was a Republican, in 1960 he supported Richard Nixon. He firmly believed in American capitalism, including his own right to make a million off the dues and pensions of rank and file Teamsters.

Nevertheless, Hoffa knew who first organized the Teamsters union. He was there and he was willing to give credit where credit was due.

In his first autobiography, The Trials of Jimmy Hoffa, Hoffa wrote that Farrell Dobbs, the Minneapolis socialist, "was the master architect of the Teamsters' over-the-road operations," the campaign that organized truck drivers in the midwest.

**DOBBS' VISION**

He also wrote that Dobbs "had a vision that was enormously beneficial to the labor movement. His plan to use over-the-road drivers—the long distance operators—to spread the word about Teamsters to all parts of the nation was very successful, especially as he reasoned—most accurately, as it turned out—that improvements would follow for other drivers all along the line."

Hoffa was 21 when he met Dobbs. He had just finished leading the now famous Kroger's strawberry strike, and had been appointed Business Agent for Detroit local 299.

**HARD TIMES**

It was 1935, the middle of the great depression. Hoffa wrote that "whole families, sheltered by worn blankets, lived in city parks, and fathers scrounged through garbage pails for the ingredients of multi-gien stew."

"The unemployeed of Detroit were angry—at the employers, the city, the state, the federal government, the cops who harassed them and were unsympathetic to their plight."

Hoffa also wrote that "radicals and communists filled the city. They spoke on street corners and in park clearings. They irritated the lines that formed before the factory employment offices."

**FIGHTERS WERE CALLED "REDS"**

In 1935 Jimmy Hoffa himself was often called a "red" and an "outside agitator." But then so was anyone who was willing to stand up and fight for what was right for workers.

Therefore, Jimmy Hoffa did not find it strange when he was assigned by the union to go to Minneapolis to work for Farrell Dobbs, the famous socialist.

Dobbs was then involved in the organizing drive that led to the formation of the Central States Drivers Council. He used Local 574 in Minneapolis as his base. Hoffa was sent along to learn what he could.

**"BETTER THAN A UNIVERSITY EDUCATION"**

"It was better than a university education," he wrote later. The socialist Dobbs was a "crackjack organizer" and a "brilliant strategist."

Hoffa helped Dobbs organize the Central States Drivers Council. It later became the Central States Conference of Teamsters.

**HE TOOK DOBBS' TACTICS**

Hoffa of course went on to make the Teamsters union the most powerful union in the world, also the most corrupt.

He borrowed the tactics developed in Minneapolis, but he took nothing else. He did not believe in Dobbs' vision, that workers could run society, and they had to begin by getting something of their share. Hoffa believed only in power, and mainly for himself, his families and his cronies. He would do anything to get that power. Naturally he was willing to bring the Mafia, and a thousand local gangsters into the union, including those who killed him.

**POLITICS FOR THE RICH**

He also preferred leaving politics to the millionaires, businessmen, and bankers. Truck drivers, he believed, should stick to driving trucks.

Still, he knew the Teamsters union. And anyone who wants to call socialists 'outsiders' or 'antiunion' would do well to remember what Hoffa said and wrote about the Minneapolis socialists. For the rank and file is the move again. And as always, corrupt union power is on the rise!

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**INSIDE:**

- IFT Ranks on the Move
- Teamster Rebellion
- Building the CIO
RE-BIRTH OF OUR MOVEMENT

IBT Ranks On The Move

When you look at almost every real struggle of workers over the past fifty years, one thing becomes clear: fighting back against the bosses is a “do-it-yourself” business. Ordinary working people have no one to rely on but themselves. The trade union leaders won’t fight in our interests. They don’t have any good reason to. Unless the rank and file push them into it. After all, the union leaders don’t have to live and work under the conditions they cheerfully accept for thousands of their members!

So if they can get away with it, without upsetting too many of the members who pay their over-sized salaries, they will always take the easiest route, and sell out.

ONLY THE RANK AND FILE

Only the rank and file, organized shop by shop, barn by barn, local by local, has both the will and the means to put up a fight. This was never more true than that this year in the Teamsters Union where major contracts for freight and UPS workers would have passed almost unnoticed.

If it hadn’t been for Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC) and UPSurge, these contracts would have gone by with no gains for the Teamster rank and file.

TEAMSTERS FOR A DECENT CONTRACT

The Teamsters for a Decent Contract is exactly what it says—a rank and file organization of short months it has become a major force on the negotiations for the Master Freight agreement. The thousands of Teamsters in TDC haven’t got within a mile of the bargaining table, but you can bet that their spirit is hovering over Roberts’ shoulder every minute of the day.

UPSurge FIGHTS ON

The UPSurge movement goes a little bit further than TDC. UPSurge is a permanent organization pledged to resist the atrocious working conditions imposed on UPS employees. (See box for UPSurge program.) UPSers that agree with the program should join UPSurge.

At the moment the main focus for this fight is the upcoming Central States contract. And quite a fight it’s going to be. UPSurge is so strong that the union bureaucrats are now openly talking about a sanctioned strike against United Parcel Service because it has become crystal clear that there is going to be one anyway, and they hate to be exposed as irrelevant.

MILITANTS TAKE THE LEAD

TDC and UPSurge are powerful movements that have been built in the Teamsters union. Movements like these don’t happen by accident. Somebody starts them.

Who started TDC and UPSurge? The answer is militant rank and file Teamsters. That’s right, some of them are socialists, just like in the 30’s. That some of the founders of these two movements are socialists isn’t any big secret, they have been quite open about it.

SOCIALISTS FIGHT FOR WORKERS—NOT BOSSES

But if you think about it, even if you hadn’t known for certain, it is pretty obvious that there would be socialists among the initiators of any movement designed to get a fair deal for workers. Because that is what socialism is all about.

It is no accident that socialists are effective working class leaders. Because socialist politics are based on the knowledge that the interests of the bosses and those of the workers are directly opposed. Socialist politics are concerned only with advancing workers’ interests. So socialists are ready to fight unconditionally for the working class.

Most labor leaders sympathize with liberal or conservative politics. Their politics tell them that when they try to get something for workers, they must do it without hurting the bosses. So they are not ready to fight unconditionally for workers. Often they are caught in the middle and have no solutions. A large part of the reason that the bosses and union bureaucrats are so powerful is that they have their own national organizations. They are a small minority compared to the working class, but they are quite effective at keeping the rank and file down and disorganized. This brings us to the second reason that socialists are effective working class leaders. Socialists too, realize that being well-organized is essential to being effective.

The International Socialists (I.S.) members who have been active in TDC and UPSurge from the beginning, bring to their work and to the movement itself, the strengths of a national organization. I.S. members have communication with other members in many locals and can pool their experiences and resources.

More than that they can use their organization to break down the isolation that many Teamsters militants felt at the beginning. The bureaucracy didn’t have a monopoly on organization. The value of that cannot be over-estimated.

The Programs of the TDC and UPSurge

Teamsters can judge for themselves whether to support TDC and UPSurge. But they should judge these movements on what they stand for, not what someone says they stand for. That is why we have reprinted the TDC program from Convoy, the TDC paper and “The Big Idea” program from the UPSurge paper. These are not socialist programs, but they represent a real step forward for workers. That is why we in the International Socialists are proud to support them. But every rank and file teamster, not just the socialists, should support them too. For only a shareholder in a trucking company or a full timer of the International union should be against what they stand for.

THE TDC PROGRAM WHAT WE NEED

1. Protect our wages, run automobile costs or wages come with no trap.
2. Protect our families. Company paid health and welfare on laid off employees up to one year. 100% health and welfare coverage.
3. All overtime voluntary and paid double.
4. End danger for road drivers. 1½ rate after 40 hours. Voluntary dispatch after 40 hours.
5. 100% job protection in mergers and changes of operation.
6. End cashization. Full union protection and benefits from first day of hire.
8. Protect our lives. Maintain all safety and maintenance standards. Log books to be kept in vehicle. No employee shall be asked to break any law, DOT, or OSHA regulations.
9. Paid sick leave up to 12 days a year.
10. Premium pay for week-end work. Stop the Wednesday thru Sunday work week.
11. Right to vote. All supplements and riders to be voted on separately by the workers affected.
12. All conditions (holidays, work rule, start time, etc.) brought up to the highest standards enjoyed by any area of the country.

WE DEMAND OUR BASIC RIGHTS. We have a right to our jobs, fair wages, a real grievance procedure, a safe job, and a chance to vote on our contracts. WE MUST BE PREPARED TO REJECT ANY CONTRACT THAT DOES NOT GRANT OUR BASIC RIGHTS!

OUR BIG IDEA

UPS has a Big Idea — making big money by working us to death. We have a different Big Idea, just stand up for:

A NATIONAL CONTRACT

A national contract with the best conditions extended to all. No more local strikes which are isolated and defeated.

RANK AND FILE CONTROL OF BARGAINING

The UPS officials are now talking about a national UPS contract. It won’t be any better than the local ones if we don’t have a say in it. The rank and file know what they need. We must fight the bargaining committee.

ELECTING UNION AGENTS AND OFFICERS

We need representatives who are responsible to us and not beholden to the union officials that control them.

A NEW GRIEVANCE SYSTEM

Uniform until proven guilty — no discipline until the entire grievance procedure is exhausted, no right to strike over grievances.

NO DISCRIMINATION AGAINST MINORITIES AND WOMEN

Full union support in case of discrimination. Don’t let UPS divide us by playing black against white.

AN END TO MILITARY DRESS AND APPEARANCE STANDARDS

Get rid of these. UPS same regulations and ridiculous appearance standards to try to turn their workers into robots. We say, the union should put an end to this by exercising its power.

FULL WAGES AND BENEFITS FOR PART-TIME

For one part-timers hired, present part-timers should have the option of keeping their jobs or getting first shot on new full-time jobs. No more using part-timers off against full-timers. Build a rank and file movement in UPS and UPS Teamsters.

Only a strong, organized rank and file movement among workers allied with other Teamsters can win these gains. They’ve kept us divided, isolated and in the dark too long. This can’t be tolerated.

TDC program reprinted from Convoy, weekly newspaper of the TDC. “Our Big Idea” reprinted from UPSurge, the newspaper of UPS workers.
The 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strike...
What Are They Afraid Of?

When a movement of ordinary working people becomes powerful, it threatens both the union bureaucrats and the companies. They look around for the cause of this terrifying phenomenon. They decide that socialists must be to blame for building a workers' movement.

So they set out a vile campaign of slander and intimidation against them. AND THEY FAIL. They don't realize that it is capitalism, not socialism, that created the movement.

CAPITALISM IS THE VILLAIN

It was capitalism, not socialism, that cut Teamster wages through inflation. It was capitalism, not socialism, that forced thousands out of jobs, brought massive speedup to those who were working; and it was capitalism, not socialism, that murdered Teamsters by the score through faulty equipment.

THERE-think-we're-too-stupid-to-fight-back!

Yes, capitalism created the TDC and UPSurge, not the socialists who are a tiny minority, even among the leaders of those movements. But the bosses and bureaucrats won't even believe that there are any socialists—"commies" or "reds" in the lead. They have such contempt for the workers they exploit, that they really believe workers who have nothing to do with socialism are too stupid to fight back. They will learn about their mistakes eventually. But by then it will be too late for them.

All across the country, union bureaucrats have been trying to label the TDC and UPSurge as "communist organizations." Even Chicago has had the misfortune of UPSurge as "socialist."

LIES TO DIVIDE US

In Cleveland they have gone to the length of publishing anonymous letters under the name of the wife of a Teamster leader of being a criminal. Needless to say this woman has never even been consulted, let alone convicted, of anything. You can be sure that Ohio Teamster boss William William hopes he could say the same.

The list of incidents is endless. Everywhere that Teamsters have organized they have faced red-baiting and intimidation. And although the union bureaucrats have not been successful in destroying the movement, there can be no doubt that they have weakened it.

And the Teamsters must see the real meaning of socialism, as opposed to the vicious lies of the enemies of working people.

THE REAL MEANING OF SOCIALISM

Socialism is a system in which those who do the work, control the fruits of their labor. Where the working class controls all industry, the communities and their own lives through democratic, workers' control countries.

Is it any wonder that the Teamster bureaucrats lie about socialism and fear it so intensely? What would happen to Fitz and his goons if the Teamsters union was under its members' control? Is it any wonder that UPS and the other freight companies collaborate with the union leaders in their slander campaigns? What would happen to the bosses, shareholders, and the rest of their parasite class when the workers take over the trucking industry?

WORKERS CONTROL—EAST AND WEST

Socialism has nothing to do with Russia. After all, that's a whole country that is run exactly like the worst Mafia locals in the Teamster union, a dictatorship of terror. Indeed, true socialists are the only people who support the struggles of workers in the so-called "communist" countries.

Socialists had no doubt about whose side they were on when Russian tanks were used to put down the workers in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Be clear, socialists are against the bosses and it doesn't matter if the boss is an American capitalist or a Russian bureaucrat.

IF WE WANT IT—WE HAVE TO FIGHT FOR IT

As long as workers fight back, they will be persecuted by the bosses and their agents—the trade unions. Workers will be persecuted because they are black, because they are Mexican, because they are women, because they are Buddhists, and yes, because they are "reds."

There is nothing the bosses won't do to divide the working class. They cannot rule us unless we were divided; and they know that as well as we do.

This persecution, this "divide-and-rule" policy must be ended. Workers have to struggle for unity and collective action above all other things. Even the smallest gains will prove impossible for workers who are divided among themselves. TDC's and UPSurge's greatest contribution to the Teamster union has been to weaken the unity of the rank and file and give back to the membership some of their power.

But if the bosses and bureaucrats succeed in dividing Teamsters by their red-baiting campaign, you can be absolutely sure that Teamsters will get a rotten contract and Fitz and his Mafia thugs will continue to run the union.

WHO THE RED BAITERS ARE...

This collection of criminals, thugs or incompetents are among the leaders of the team the bosses use to red-bait ordinary working people. When they are not stealing pension funds from retired Teamsters, intimidating rank and file dissidents, or playing golf with their Mafia friends, they have a little time left to do their jobs as officers of the international union.

Their job is to push sell-out deals down the membership's throat and undermine by any means possible any rank and file organization which could give the trucking bosses a hard time. The whole collection of them is not worth the little finger of a single Teamster whose life they will try to destroy through their foul abuse. These creeps live like kings while the leaders, socialist and non-socialist, of the TDC and UPSurge are just ordinary working men and women. Keep that in mind.

WORKERS' POWER TEAMSTER SPECIAL—March 31, 1976