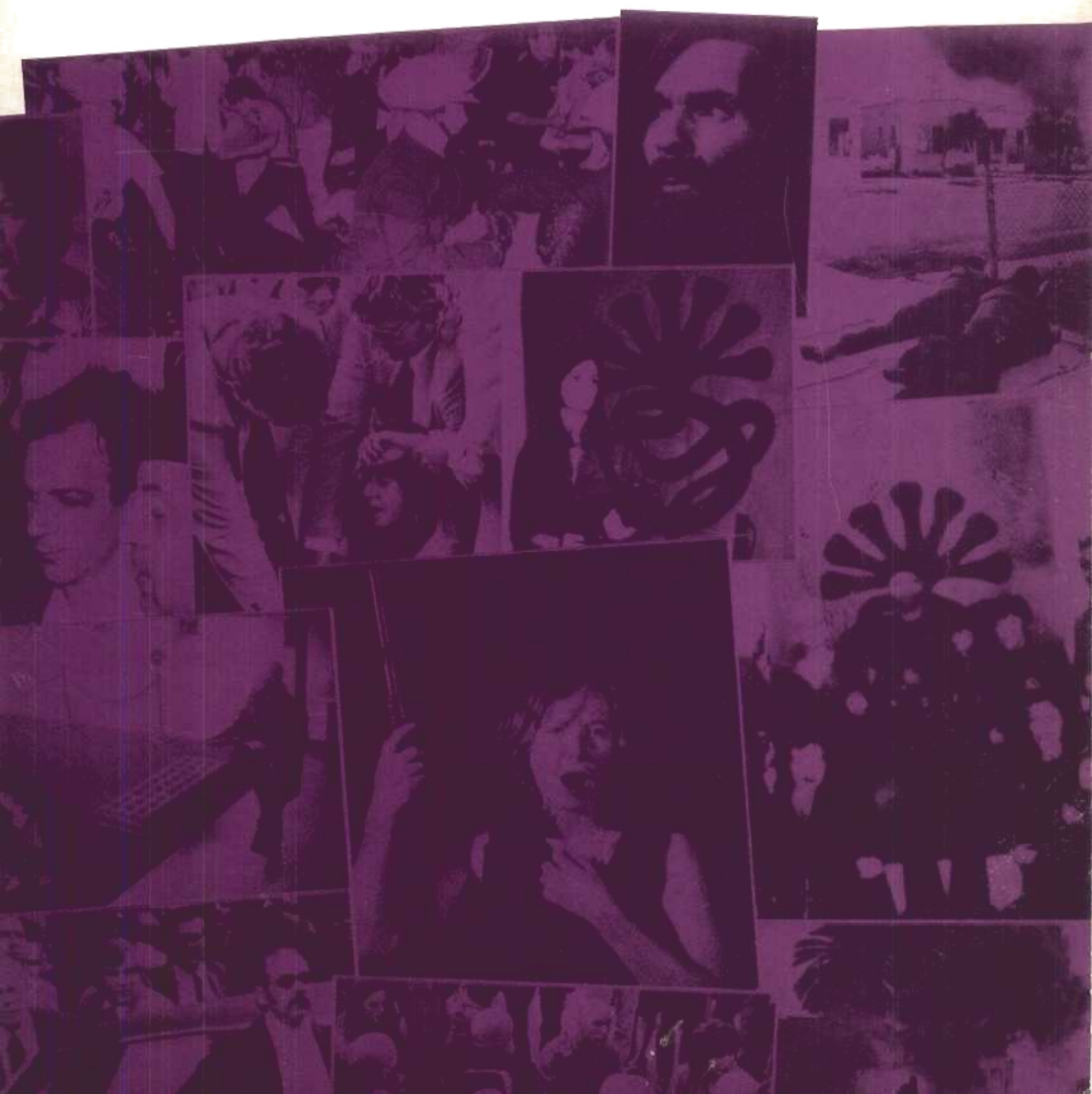


Trotskyism And Terror: The Strategy of Revolution

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Introduction

In the wake of the Socialist Workers Party's suit to halt surveillance of its activities by the FBI, there has been a steady flow of media comment suggesting the party is simply a group of peaceful "Socialists," of no particular danger to anybody.

A recent example is the August 8, 1977 issue of *The New Yorker*, containing a long article by Richard Harris on the alleged misdeeds of the FBI in its dispute with the SWP. Harris depicts the Socialist Workers Party as "a small, peaceable, and wholly ineffectual political party," shamefully harassed by the FBI. He goes on to describe the SWP as "these Socialists," and to assert that, "despite the SWP's harmless political efforts, the FBI did its utmost to destroy the Party. . . ."

Similar statements about the SWP appeared in the Jack Anderson-Les Whitten column of June 18, 1977. Anderson-Whitten wrote that the FBI had devoted "an incredible portion of its manpower, its budget and its priorities to spying on citizens who merely exercised the constitutional guarantees of free speech, assembly, and petition. The Socialist Workers Party, for example, preaches a peaceful but unpopular Marxist political philosophy. It does not advocate the violent overthrow of the existing system."

For anyone who knows the first thing about the Socialist Workers Party and its place in the Marxist pecking order, such statements are astonishing. As demonstrated by Rep. Lawrence McDonald in the pages that follow, the Socialist Workers Party is very far from being "peaceable" in intention, and equally far from being "Socialist" if that word is meant to suggest devotion to parliamentary change within the existing system. The facts of the case, as Rep. McDonald shows, are quite the other way around:

1. The SWP consists of American followers of the late Leon Trotsky, who was of course a major figure in the Communist revolution that destroyed the democratic Kerensky government in Russia. That means, in the first instance, that the SWP is a revolutionary Communist organization, not a peaceful "So-

cialist” one in the manner of Norman Thomas. The SWP is “Socialist” only in the sense that countries behind the Iron Curtain are “Socialist.”

2. Moreover, the distinguishing feature of Trotsky Communists is that they are *more* inclined toward immediate revolution than are members of the orthodox Communist party. Trotsky’s disagreement with Stalin was that the former believed in “permanent worldwide revolution,” as opposed to Stalin’s strategy of consolidating Communist power in the USSR before seeking additional worlds to conquer. To describe a Trotskyist party as one that “does not advocate the violent overthrow of the existing system” is absurd.

3. The Socialist Workers Party, as McDonald shows, is the American branch of the Fourth International—a global network of Trotsky Communist parties. The Fourth International contains elements that espouse (and practice) terrorism, and many exponents of global terror have contact with the SWP. The party’s single claim to “peacefulness” is that it contends that isolated acts of terrorism, right now, are counterproductive. Its leaders stress that this is a tactical difference, and that terror as part of a general struggle would be quite proper. (One spokesman asserts that, “if supporters of the minority view were against armed struggle, they would be Social Democrats or Stalinists, not Trotskyists.”)

4. The SWP, despite its doctrinal differences with the Communist Party, has collaborated with the CPUSA in various enterprises. Both groups were active, for example, in the so-called “mobilization” efforts of the latter 1960s designed to cripple American resistance to Communist aggression in Vietnam. They collaborated as well in the so-called Fair Play for Cuba Committee, financed by Fidel Castro, and the SWP of course remains enthusiastic in its support of Castro to this day.

5. Perhaps the most famous Fair Play for Cuba Committee member was Lee Harvey Oswald, the assassin of President John F. Kennedy. Oswald was not only a member of the SWP-supported Committee, but an avid reader of the SWP publication, *The Militant*, and an applicant for membership in the SWP (turned down because there was no chapter in Dallas). To prove his Communist credentials prior to the assassination, Oswald had himself photographed holding his rifle and a copy of *The Militant*—its masthead clearly visible in the picture.

(Interestingly enough, in a new ABC film about the Kennedy assassination, the actor portraying Oswald holds an entirely different newspaper, the Yugoslavian journal, *Politika*. In running this picture alongside the actual Oswald photo, *Newsweek* offered a blurred reproduction of the original in which the masthead of the SWP paper is indecipherable.)

In the pages that follow, Rep. McDonald offers a wealth of data by which to gauge the recent media effort to portray the SWP as a group of peaceable Socialists. The materials appearing here are reproduced from the *Congressional*

Record, where Rep. McDonald published them at intervals beginning August 30, 1976, and concluding April 29, 1977. In preparing these statements for publication, he was assisted by Herbert Romerstein and S. Louise Rees of his congressional staff. The ACU Education and Research Institute is pleased to make these materials available in collected format so that the public may judge the nature of the Socialist Workers Party, and the internal security problem presented by it, in the light of all the evidence.

M. Stanton Evans

Chairman, ACU Education and Research Institute

FOREWORD

By
Marx Lewis

Of the thirty identifiable Marxist-Leninist organizations or groups which advocate or justify terrorism in the United States, the most militant and active is the Socialist Workers Party, which is the American section of the Fourth, or Trotskyite, International. It and the Young Socialist Alliance, its youth section, are also the most vocal in demanding, in the name of civil liberties, that the agencies which monitor their activities, most notably the FBI, be dismantled.

Their patron saint whose theories they embrace and whose reliance on terrorism they endorse is Leon Trotsky. Along with Vladimir Lenin, Trotsky led the counter-revolution which overthrew the democratic regime in Russia after the latter had deposed the Czar. While both Lenin and Trotsky supported the terror which followed their seizure of power, Trotsky was its staunchest advocate. "Terror," he wrote in 1919, "as the demonstration of the will and strength of the working class is historically justified." He held to this view until he himself became its victim by an assassination order from Joseph Stalin, Lenin's successor.

In considering terrorism and its uses, a distinction must be made between acts of terrorism such as hijackings, kidnappings and bombings perpetrated by mentally disturbed individuals for reasons of their own, and acts of terrorism committed to further political and social objectives by force and violence. It is the latter, now transnational in scope and often coordinated throughout the world, very often with the connivance or approval of governments, that is a matter of growing concern. While terroristic acts are not new, the encouragement the terrorists have received has increased dramatically since 1969. The greatest increase occurred between 1974 and 1975, when the number of terrorist incidents rose from 893 to 1,313.

It is also worth noting that while there are some differences on details among the various groups, they are all dedicated to the use of terrorism as a means of achieving their aims. The Stalinist group in the United States, represented by the Communist Party USA, the Socialist Workers Party, representing the Trotskyite International, and the Maoist groups vie for the leadership of the American communist movement. They are supported by their respective parent

international organizations or governments. Yet they can work together when conditions make it expedient for them to do so. For example, the Trotskyites are working with Castro to bring about the independence of Puerto Rico and the surrender of the Panama Canal. Trotskyite terrorists collaborate with Castro's intelligence service, the D.G.I., in Latin America. They all subscribe, in language which may vary somewhat, to Mao Tse-tung's doctrine that "all power proceeds from the barrel of a gun."

In theory at least, the principal difference among these groups relates to timing. It is only a matter of *when* terrorism can be used most productively with the best results. Lenin and his associates did not favor individual acts of terrorism in which the nihilists engaged during the reign of the Czars. They did not believe that the assassination of Czars and other public officials would produce anything except a public reaction which would make the work of all revolutionaries more difficult. But mass terror was advocated and carried out by the Bolsheviks. Some of Lenin's associates, including Stalin, Molotov, and Litvinov engaged in bank robberies which Lenin sanctioned to raise money for the conduct of their revolutionary activities.

There are a number of definitions of terrorism, ranging from the "conventional wisdom" that "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" to Congressman Larry McDonald's definition in the *Congressional Record* of July 2, 1976, "Terrorism: A violent attack on a noncombatant segment of the community, for the purpose of intimidation to achieve a political or military objective." The congressman's definition is the most accurate and useful one that I have seen.

Terror, which is motivated violence for political ends, serves several purposes. One of them is to weaken the political and social structure and the faith of the people in the capacity and the willingness of a government to deal with it. Another is to provoke repression. When governments threatened by terror and subversion attempt to cope with terror they may have to resort to repressive measures which in a democracy repel civil libertarians who, however unwittingly, lend their help to the terrorists.

In this the terrorists in the United States have been eminently successful. Large numbers of civil libertarians in no way connected with the terrorists, and in fact opponents of terrorism as such, have joined with the Socialist Workers Party and other subversive groups in insisting that surveillance of suspected groups and individuals be discontinued and the agencies in charge dismantled. FBI Director Clarence Kelley revealed recently that, under new Justice Department guidelines, the FBI has had to cut domestic surveillance by 97 per cent. The FBI, to cite the obvious example here, has been forced to terminate its informants in the Socialist Workers Party.

The use of terror, and along with it torture, is inextricably linked to the communist movement. Such measures are deemed necessary because of the blueprint

which Lenin first devised and which his associates and followers have consistently followed.

Lenin said the communists cannot come to power by educating the masses to what he claimed were the benefits of communism. The masses are too passive and indifferent to revolutionary action. They are content with getting as much as they can from the existing system. To educate the masses to the advantages of socialism or communism would take 500 years, he said.

He proposed, instead, that the revolution be made by "professional revolutionaries" who had to be trained in sabotage, infiltration, subversion, and guerilla warfare. He established schools for training revolutionaries in the art and science of political and psychological warfare. Such schools now exist in all of the communist-controlled countries. Young people from non-communist countries are brought to these schools to receive the required training and then returned to their native lands to practice the art. The leaders of communist organizations in the United States publicly disclaim responsibility for the terroristic acts perpetrated here, and even deny that they advocate violence or are in any way connected with them. The Socialist Workers Party has repeatedly issued such denials. But these public protestations are belied by the evidence of what is said and done within its inner circle and in the secret material it circulates among its members. The evidence is overwhelming.

Congressman McDonald has made available in the pages that follow the most authoritative and best-researched study of the operations of the Socialist Workers Party and its Young Socialist Alliance. Between 90 and 95 per cent of the information presented here has come from the SWP's "internal documents," intended only for the eyes of its own members.

In making this study and inserting installments of it in the *Congressional Record*, Congressman McDonald has made a major contribution to an understanding of the perils we face and of the measures that must be undertaken to avoid the fate which has befallen other nations now living in captivity.

Marx Lewis is the retired Secretary-Treasurer of the United Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers of America, AFL-CIO. He spent many decades fighting against Communist and gangster infiltration of the labor movement. He is now Chairman of the Council Against Communist Aggression.

Chapter 1

The Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International

In recent months a great deal of mass media attention has been directed toward the Socialist Workers Party—SWP—and its youth arm, the Young Socialist Alliance—YSA—as a result of lawsuits filed by the SWP against various Federal and local law enforcement and intelligence gathering agencies.

Almost without exception, newsmen and editors have taken at face value the self-serving statements of Socialist Workers Party leaders. The basic SWP line is that the organization is a peaceful electoral political “third party” which has never engaged in any violence, which opposes terrorism, which has not been a member of any international political organization since 1940 when the SWP resigned from the Fourth International, the principal international coordinating body for Trotskyist communists, to comply with the Voorhis Act, and which is being “harassed” by the Government merely for being openly socialist and for openly dissenting from the established political and economic system.

The facts show the opposite. The Socialist Workers Party is the United States section of the Trotskyite Fourth International. Leading SWP officials serve on the highest bodies of the Fourth International—its United Secretariat and its International Executive Committee. Membership in the Fourth International is available only to national sections, not to individuals; and only representatives of national sections may serve in the Fourth International executive bodies. Therefore it is apparent that the SWP is lying when it denies such membership.¹

For the past few years, the Fourth International has been engaged in extensive international discussions on whether terrorism is a useful and appropriate revolutionary tactic at this time. The majority of the Fourth International favor the immediate use of terrorism on the broadest scale feasible in as many countries as possible. The minority in the Fourth International which includes the Socialist Workers Party argues that while terrorism may be a useful tactic in the future under different circumstances, it is a counterproductive

tactic at this time. While these discussions have proceeded, a number of Fourth International sections have been engaged in terrorism.

This report will document the relationships between the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International and the world-wide Trotskyite terrorist apparatus.

Background of SWP and FI

The Socialist Workers Party, the oldest and largest Trotskyist communist party in the United States, evolved in 1938 from earlier Trotskyist organizations. The American Trotskyists were led by James P. Cannon and Max Schachtman, prominent figures in the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA) who with other supporters of Trotsky were expelled from the Communist Party in 1928 and who then formed the Communist League of America. In 1934 Cannon's Communist League of America merged with a group led by A. J. Muste to form the Workers Party. In 1936 on Trotsky's orders, the Workers Party group went into the Socialist Party, U.S.A. where the Trotskyites tried to take over. Nearly two years later, the Socialist Party expelled the Trotskyites. Cannon then formed the Socialist Workers Party.²

In brief, the split between Trotsky and Stalin was a personality and factional fight which had political differences added as a facade to the quarrel. After the death of Lenin in 1924, Trotsky, a leading figure in the Russian revolution and founder of the Red Army, was unable to prevent Stalin's bid for absolute power. Expelled from the Soviet Communist Party and its Central Committee, Trotsky was deported from Russia in 1929 and assassinated by a Stalinist secret police agent in Mexico in 1940.

Trotsky is often represented, particularly by Trotskyists, as having been opposed to totalitarianism and terrorism and that this was one reason he opposed Stalin. The truth is exactly the opposite. Trotsky was Lenin's closest supporter and collaborator. Trotsky participated in and supported the state terrorism set up by Lenin—the purges, the persecution of political opponents, the slave labor camps and deportations to Siberia.

In 1922, before his expulsion from Russia, Trotsky wrote:

A victorious war, generally speaking, destroys only an insignificant part of the conquered army, intimidating the remainder and breaking their will. The revolution works in the same way: it kills individuals and intimidates thousands. In this sense, the Red terror is not distinguishable from the armed insurrection, the direct continuation of which it represents. * * *³

Despite the bitterness of the strife, Trotsky always maintained that the Soviet Union must be supported against the capitalist world. He argued that the Soviet Union was a workers' state even if deformed by Stalinism.

It is, consequently, the elementary and imperative duty of all workers, and especially of the revolutionary Party, to defend the Soviet Union unconditionally against any and every imperialist nation. * * *

Thus the SWP echoed Trotsky in the "Declaration of Principles and Constitution of the Socialist Workers Party," adopted at its founding convention.

Trotsky organized the Fourth International in 1938. The Socialist Workers Party played an important role in the formation of the new communist international.

However, the initial operations of the Fourth International were seriously disrupted by a series of assassinations of Trotskyist leaders, including Trotsky, by Soviet GPU—now KGB—agents; by the 1941 Smith Act prosecutions in Minneapolis of 18 top Socialist Workers Party leaders who were jailed for advocating the overthrow of the U.S. Government by force and violence; and by World War II which virtually destroyed the organized Trotskyist movement in Europe. Some key cadres were killed by the Stalinists, others by the Nazis.

During the war the Trotskyist Communists continued to support the Soviet Union, stating that the Marxist-Leninist revolution was merely "deformed" by Stalin. James Cannon introduced a resolution at the SWP's 1942 convention, only 2 years after the murder of Trotsky, which stated:

The war of the Soviet Union is our war, the war of the workers everywhere. . . .
We are the Soviet patriots in war as in peace.* * **4

At the end of the Second World War, the Socialist Workers Party was virtually the only organized and functioning Trotskyist communist party in the world. The SWP leadership selected Michel Raptis, a Greek who uses the alias Michel Pablo in the Trotskyist movement, and Ernest Mandel, alias Ernest Germain, a Belgian intellectual and Trotskyist theoretician, to reconstruct the Fourth International in Europe. Pablo served as secretary of the Fourth International.⁵

The Mandel-Pablo leadership of the Fourth International developed a theory that mankind must be prepared for "generations of deformed workers' states."⁶ By this they meant that the Soviet form of communism, including the whole repressive terrorist state apparatus of secret police, slave labor camps, et cetera, would be the dominant force in the world for many generations. While they considered this form of socialism unfortunate, they felt that it was preferable to capitalism. It was the duty, therefore, of Trotskyists to support the Stalinist movement and to aid it in taking power.

Thus Mandel and Pablo advocated a program they termed "entrism" by which they called on the Trotskyist parties to dissolve as public entities and for Trotskyists en masse to enter the Communist parties in which the Trotskyists would then function as a secret faction.

The Socialist Workers Party leadership headed by James Cannon opposed the “entrism” policy. A middle position, supported by some Trotskyists, was that they should enter into the periphery or front organizations of the communist parties. When the SWP leadership discovered that an SWP faction supporting entrism had received secret help from the Fourth International leadership, the SWP precipitated a split in the International. The SWP joined with the Socialist Labour League in England—Healyites—and a French group—Lambertists—to set up a new organization, the International Committee of the Fourth International. The Pablo-Mandel group called themselves the International Secretariat of the Fourth International. This split, which began in 1953, lasted until 1963.⁷

During this period, Michel Pablo (Raptis) carried out “entrism” by serving as an underground agent for the communist faction of the Algerian terrorist National Liberation Front (FLN). Raptis was arrested and convicted in Holland in 1961 of offenses committed while carrying out that activity.⁸

The Socialist Workers Party broke with Healy and Lambert in 1963 and rejoined the International Secretariat which was then renamed the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

A small group of Latin American Trotskyists actively engaged in terrorist activities then split away from the United Secretariat. The group, led by Juan Posadas, called themselves the Latin American Bureau of the Fourth International.

Shortly after the 1963 merger, Michel Pablo led another small group out of the Fourth International. For his services in the FLN underground, the Ben Bella government gave Raptis a job; however, after the Boumedienne coup Raptis was fired.

The Fourth International (United Secretariat)

The basic policymaking body of the Fourth International—FI—is the World Congress which is convened at varying intervals. Since the June, 1963, Seventh World Congress—Reunification—in Italy, World Congresses have been held in December, 1965—8th; April, 1969—9th; and in February, 1974—10th—in Sweden.

The representatives of the national sections attending the Fourth International World Congresses select the members of the International Executive Committee—IEC—which is the ruling body between World Congresses. The IEC, by faction, in turn selects the members of the United Secretariat—USeC—which meets roughly on a monthly basis and controls the Fourth International’s day-to-day operations between IEC meetings.

The Fourth International’s headquarters or Bureau are in Brussels, Belgium—76 rue Antoine Dansaert, Brussels 1000, Belgium—and its current

confidential mailing address is in care of Gisela Scholtz—Mrs. Ernest Mandel—Boite Postale—Post Office Box—1166, Brussels 1000, Belgium.⁹ Representatives of the Fourth International's member parties work at the FI Bureau. The representative of the Socialist Workers Party in the Fourth International Bureau is John Benson who uses the alias "Johnson" or "Benny Johnson." He has been an alternate member of the SWP National Committee since 1971.¹⁰ A John Benson was the leader of the SWP's Young Socialist Alliance branch in Philadelphia in the mid-1960's.¹¹

SWP Functionaries in the Fourth International

The minutes and voting record of the 1974 Tenth World Congress of the Fourth International reveal that the Socialist Workers Party had a total of 24 full voting delegates present. Two of these were supporters of the International Majority Tendency (IMT), the controlling majority faction which supports the broad use of terror tactics now; and 22 of the SWP delegates were supporters of the minority faction. It is again noted that these records are contained only in confidential internal publications of the Fourth International and are not available to persons who are not disciplined members of the FI's national sections.¹²

A comparison of internal Fourth International memoranda circulated by Mary-Alice Waters dated November 28, 1975, and December 19, 1975, with material in other confidential SWP and Fourth International publications, the SWP Discussion Bulletin, vol. 33, No. 4, June, 1975, p. 45, and the International Internal Discussion Bulletin, vol. 11, No. 5, April, 1974, p. 201, reveals that six top members of the Socialist Workers Party serve on the United Secretariat and travel regularly to Brussels to participate in Fourth International organizational matters. They are:

*Jack W. Barnes, aka "Celso", SWP National Secretary; member SWP Political and National Committees.

*John Benson, aka "Johnson," alternate member SWP National Committee resident in Brussels and serving as a full-time SWP functionary in the Fourth International headquarters.

*Joseph Hansen, aka "Pepe," long a leader of the SWP. Hansen had been one of Trotsky's bodyguards and had taken most of them up onto the roof of Trotsky's house to check a new security system at the time GPU agent Ramon Mercader arrived with his ice axe. Hansen is editor of the Fourth International's weekly magazine, *Intercontinental Press*, which the SWP publishes for the FI. Hansen remains active in SWP relations with the Fourth International and with *Intercontinental Press*, but was removed from the Political Committee in a reorganization in May, 1975.¹³

*Gus Horowitz, aka "Galois," a member of the SWP National Committee living in Paris and serving as an SWP liaison with foreign Trotskyites. Since his interna-

tional activities interfere with regular attendance at U.S. meetings, Horowitz left the SWP Political Committee in the May, 1975, reorganization.¹⁴

*Ed Shaw, aka "Atwood," a member of the SWP National Committee who because of his international activities also left the SWP Political Committee in the May, 1975, reorganization.¹⁵

*Mary-Alice Waters, aka "Therese," a member of the SWP Political and National Committees highly active in the work of the minority faction in the Fourth International.

The documents also show that all six of the Socialist Workers Party representatives in the United Secretariat are also leading members of the minority Leninist-Trotskyist Faction—LTF—steering committee and also are full members of the International Executive Committee. Other SWP members serve on the IEC as alternates—Mitchell, Pedro, and Susan—and on the EOC Control Committee-Bundy.

Two other Americans also serve on the IEC. They are John Barzman, alias "Hovis," and William Massey, alias "Moss." They are the leaders of a pro-terrorism-now faction. Most faction members were expelled from the SWP shortly after the Tenth World Congress for violating procedural rules, not for advocating terrorism. The Fourth International majority is pressuring the SWP to readmit Barzman, Massey, and their followers.

SWP Financial and Other Services to the Fourth International

The publications of the Fourth International include two confidential serial magazines, the International Information Bulletin and the International Internal Discussion Bulletin.

The International Information Bulletin's English language edition states it is "Published as a fraternal courtesy to the United Secretariat of the Fourth International" by the Socialist Workers Party.

The International Internal Discussion Bulletin issues state they are the "English-language edition of the internal discussion bulletin of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International" which "is published by the Socialist Workers Party as a fraternal courtesy to the United Secretariat of the Fourth International."

The public documents of the Fourth International include the bi-weekly magazine Inprecor—International Press Correspondent—which states it is the "fortnightly information organ of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International published in English, French, Spanish and German" in Brussels—76 rue Antoine Dansaert, Brussels 1000, Belgium.

Intercontinental Press is published by the Socialist Workers Party for the Fourth International in English in New York from P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. *Intercontinental Press*, formerly *World Outlook*,

states that "unsigned material stands on the program of the Fourth International." Its editor is Joe Hansen. The contributing editors are the three top leaders of the pro-terrorist IMT faction, Ernest Mandel, Livio Maitan and Pierre Frank, and George Novack, a veteran functionary of the Socialist Workers Party.

While avoiding technical violation of the Voorhis Act, the SWP picks up the expenses for the English language editions of the two confidential internal magazines and for the production of *Intercontinental Press*.

A letter to Ernest Mandel in Brussels from Barry Sheppard, the SWP organization secretary, on behalf of the SWP political committee dated June 28, 1974, makes clear the Socialist Workers Party is a section of the Fourth International and that it has used a variety of means to overcome the ban on financial contributions to its parent organization. Sheppard wrote:

Dear Comrade Mandel:

The Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party has considered the report from Comrades Johnson [John Benson], Atwood [Ed Shaw] and Therese [Mary-Alice Waters] that took place at the May meeting of the United States Secretariat under the agenda point designated as "finances."

However, at the last meeting of the United Secretariat, some comrades of the majority, we were told, even went so far as to make remarks like "We're getting tired of hearing about this Voorhis Act excuse," and comments of a similar nature. Threats were made by some to bring out alleged "records" to "prove" that the SWP has in the past given cash to the Fourth International. We can only assume that such comments stem from ignorance, since obviously there have been no such contributions.

On the substance of the matter, it seems to us that some of the implications are quite grave.

Since the SWP is unable to affiliate with, accept financial support from, or contribute to the Fourth International, it was always understood that the SWP took responsibility for legitimate SWP expenses such as:

1. Living and travel expenses abroad for one or more SWP leaders;
2. Travel expenses for our observers, which are extremely high because of the fact that the headquarters of the world movement is located in Europe;
3. Printing and distributing free of charge as a fraternal courtesy to the United Secretariat an English-language internal discussion bulletin (in the last year this has been expanded to include a series of Spanish-language bulletins also);
4. Postage for international bulletins printed in the U.S.A.;
5. Purchase of substantial quantities of Trotskyist literature published in the U.S.A. to facilitate its circulation at reasonable prices in colonial and semicolonial countries;
6. Assuring the regular publication of *Intercontinental Press*, the weekly magazine of the Fourth International.

Since these expenses come to many thousands of dollars a month (several times more than the contributions of the largest sections and sympathizing organizations) our cothinkers in the world Trotskyist movement have always agreed with us that morally this was equivalent to what official sections of the International contributed to the work of building the world movement.¹⁶

Sheppard goes on to say that this is the basis on which the SWP has operated with the Fourth International since reunification in 1963. In other words, the SWP is paying the living and travel expenses of John Benson and Gus Horowitz, its representatives at the Brussels Fourth International headquarters. It pays all travel expenses for SWP members traveling on Fourth International business. It prints and distributes the English language confidential internal Fourth International publications. It subsidizes the publication of "vast amounts" of Trotskyite literature and picks up the distribution costs. And the SWP publishes the Fourth International's weekly news magazine for the FI. These expenses are paid by the SWP in lieu of direct cash contributions and have been accepted as the SWP's fair share of Fourth International costs to be paid by each national section.

The fact that the Socialist Workers Party is actually a section of the Fourth International and that its "sympathizing" or "fraternal" status is a mere fiction is also shown by the fact that leading members of the Fourth International's International Executive Committee have attended sessions of the SWP national conventions open only to SWP delegates and top functionaries. At these sessions, even members of the SWP and YSA who are not delegates but who are attending as observers are not admitted.

At the August 1973, SWP national convention, Livio Maitan, alias "Domingo" and "Claudio," spoke at length on behalf of the International Majority Tendency supporting terrorism. Maitan is the head of the Italian section of the FI and with Ernest Mandel and Pierre Frank of France is a top leader of the FI. Accompanying Maitan was Peter Petersen, another Fourth International IEC leader from the British FI section.¹⁷

In 1973, Charles Micheloux, a FI-IEC member and leading member of the Fourth International's French section, the LCR, toured the United States speaking to Young Socialist Alliance meetings in support of the proterrorism line of the IMT majority faction and supporting like-minded members of the SWP and YSA.¹⁸ His tour was in accord with the Statutes of the Fourth International. Statute 14 states:

The International Executive Committee cooperates with the national sections in helping to raise the theoretical, political, and organizational level of their internal life. * * * intervention of this kind (is) carried on by such activities as tours and visits by members of the International leadership. * * * the International has the right to send a representative to present its views.

Statute 14 continues:

Such representatives are responsible to the United Secretariat and the International Executive Committee. The national leadership should cooperate closely, giving representatives of the International Executive Committee voice (but only consultative vote) in all leading bodies, enabling them to discuss freely with the membership, and permitting them to present motions if they wish.

Thus, in 1974, Micheloux attended a closed, as usual, meeting of the SWP National Committee as a representative of the IEC and its controlling "terrorism-now" majority.¹⁹

The fact that the Socialist Workers Party is under the discipline of the Fourth International was again demonstrated at the August, 1975, SWP National Convention. Both the majority and minority factions of the Fourth International have been trying to bring into the Fourth International other Trotskyist parties that had previously split with the organization in order to bolster their factions.

The Mandel leadership has been involved in unity maneuvers with Michel Pablo and his group. The SWP has carried on the same kind of activity with Lambert and his OCRFI. In 1971 Lambert broke with Healy.²⁰

The SWP invited observers to attend its convention from the French Lambertist group, the OCRFI. As Jack Barnes explained:

We invited the comrades of the OCRFI to observe the open sessions of our convention * * * with the proviso that the closed sessions will be closed to them as to other observers, and open only to the convention delegates and the IEC members of the Fourth International here as observers.²¹

In other words, even friendly Trotskyite observers from groups outside the Fourth International are barred from attending the closed sessions of the SWP convention, while the representatives of the Fourth International IEC are admitted as full participants.

Chapter 2

Socialist Workers Party Structure and Ideology

The Socialist Workers Party is a revolutionary Communist Party working for the imposition of a worldwide Communist system.

At its founding conference held December 31, 1937 to January 3, 1938, it passed a declaration of principles of the Socialist Workers Party. This said that the role of the Socialist Workers Party was “the overthrow of the capitalist state and the transfer of sovereignty from it to their own workers’ state—the dictatorship of the proletariat.”¹

It said:

The main specific task of the S.W.P. is the mobilization of the American masses for struggle against American capitalism and for its overthrow.²

In the imperialist United States, the S.W.P. fights against war preparations and militarization; but at the same time always makes clear that war cannot be permanently prevented unless the imperialist government of the United States is overthrown and its place taken by a Workers’ State, that lasting peace is possible only under socialism.³

It is, consequently, the elementary and imperative duty of all workers, and especially of the revolutionary party, to defend the Soviet Union unconditionally against any and every imperialist nation.⁴

The April 1940 SWP National Convention reaffirmed the resolution, “on the internal situation and the character of the party,” drafted by James Cannon and Max Schachtman and originally adopted at the founding convention:

The Socialist Workers Party is a revolutionary Marxian party, based on a definite program, whose aim is the organization of the working class in the struggle for power and the transformation of the existing social order. All of its activities, its methods and its internal regime are subordinated to this aim and are designed to serve it.

The struggle for power organized and led by the revolutionary party is the most ruthless and irreconcilable struggle in all history. A loosely-knit, heterogeneous,

undisciplined, untrained organization is utterly incapable of accomplishing such world-historical tasks as the proletariat and the revolutionary party are confronted with in the present era. * * * From this follows the party's unconditional demand upon all its members for complete discipline in all the public activities and actions of the organization.

Leadership and centralized direction are indispensable prerequisites for any sustained and disciplined action, * * *

It is from these considerations * * * that we derive the Leninist principle of organization, namely democratic centralism.

* * * It is an important sign of a serious and firmly constituted party * * * that it throws up out of its ranks cadres of more or less able leading comrades, * * * and that it thus insures a certain stability and continuity of leadership by such a cadre.⁵

The same resolution specifies that "discussion, debate, and criticism" are restricted "by such decisions and provisions as are made by the party itself or by bodies to which it assigns this function" and that all criticism and discussion of party programs and leadership must take place "inside the ranks of the party."⁶

The resolution further states that "The first obligation of party membership is loyal acceptance of the program of the party * * *. Party membership implies the obligation of 100 percent loyalty to the organization, * * *."⁷

A second resolution adopted at the 1940 SWP National Convention stated:

The Bolshevik party of Lenin is the only party in history which successfully conquered and held state power. The S.W.P., as a combat organization, which aims at achieving power in this country, models its organization forms and methods after those of the Russian Bolshevik party, adapting them, naturally, to the experience of recent years and to concrete American conditions.

The S.W.P. as a revolutionary workers' party is based on the doctrines of scientific socialism as embodied in the principal works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky and incorporated in the basic documents and resolution of the first four Congresses of the Communist (3rd) International and of the conferences and congresses of the Fourth International.⁸

SWP founder James Cannon wrote in thesis 15 of his "Theses on the American Revolution":

The hopeless contradictions of American capitalism inextricably tied up with the death agony of world capitalism, are bound to lead to a social crisis of such catastrophic proportions as will place the proletarian revolution on the order of the day.

The revolutionary vanguard party destined to lead this tumultuous revolutionary movement in the U.S. does not have to be created. It already exists, and its name is the Socialist Workers Party.

It is the sole legitimate heir and continuator of pioneer American Communism and the revolutionary movements of the American workers from which it sprang.⁹

In his speech to the Socialist Workers Party 1973 convention, SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes admitted:

You know, our ideas aren't originally American ideas. Our ideas are basically Russian. That's what Comrade Cannon always emphasized. And if you look up at the banners of Lenin and Trotsky there, you will see the two main Russians whose ideas they are.¹⁰

As SWP National Chairman, Barnes gave a "state of the party" report to the national committee on May 2, 1975, in which he said:

Maybe we can say there are three basic stages in the development of a revolutionary party. One is a propaganda nucleus. Second is a cadre group capable of initiating propaganda actions. And third is a party of mass action. * * *

We can say we are crossing the bridge from the first to the second stage, to a cadre nucleus capable of initiating propaganda actions. * * *¹¹

The Socialist Workers Party leadership is self-perpetuating. As John Studer noted in his nominating commission report to the 1975 SWP National Convention, "The regular members of the national committee represent the rounded team of the tested leaders of the party. * * * The alternate list we viewed as serving two purposes. It includes those who are next in line to be brought on to the full list. * * * and it is a testing ground for developing party leaders."¹²

The process of leadership selection was demonstrated in 1971 when a minority grouping called the Proletarian Orientation Tendency—POT—recommended two of their members for the national committee. These were "Lewis" who was actually Ralph Levitt and "Gregorich" who is Barbara Gregorich. Their nominations were rejected because they did not have enough "individual stature" in the party, this despite the fact that they represented almost 10 percent of the SWP membership.¹³

In rejecting the POT nominations, Peter Seidman, selected in 1973 and 1975 as an alternate national committee member himself, noted, "There has never been an automatic right of any grouping within the party to have its views represented on the National Committee."¹⁴

The national committee selections at the 1971, 1973 and 1975 conventions as well as the members of the political committee may be found in the appendix. The political committee runs the SWP between conventions. Its composition has been basically the same for a number of years.

The SWP is divided into branches, usually one to a city except in a few cases such as New York City where they have sufficient members for more than one branch.

In 1971, the Socialist Workers Party made an extensive survey of its mem-

bership. They determined that 60 percent of the membership had joined in the previous 2 years. Over 50 percent of the membership held dual membership in the Young Socialist Alliance, the SWP youth group. Of the members who joined during or since 1960, 91.8 percent had come through the YSA.¹⁵

The SWP reported that 21.4 percent of all members had full-time jobs with the Socialist Workers Party or its fronts. In a membership of less than 1,000, this is at least 200 people—a tremendous financial burden on the others.¹⁶

Chapter 3

Socialist Workers Party Fronts

A front organization is a group controlled by a Communist Party for the purpose of attracting non-Communists to the support of a Communist cause and to recruit new members. The Trotskyite Communists, following the example of the Stalinists, have also set up front organizations.

The method by which the Trotskyites operate in the trade union movement was revealed by Jeff Mackler, since 1973 an alternate member of the SWP National Committee, at the 1971 SWP National Convention. Mackler, who used the alias Jeff Maxton at the convention, described his misuse of his union affiliation on behalf of the SWP-controlled National Peace Action Coalition—NPAC. Mackler said:

My first day of school in California I looked around for an AFT button and out of 1,000 teachers I finally found one. They were having a union meeting so I went. The meetings started out with twelve teachers, built up to about thirty. There was a controversial point on the agenda, and I don't know what prompted me to do it, but I spoke on it. The next item that came up on the agenda was that the vice-president of the union had transferred. A hand went up and nominated me for vice-president, second, call the question, vote, and I was a district vice-president of the Federation of Teachers.

I was subsequently elected statewide representative to NPAC, and I attended the NPAC national conference and through that we participated in the labor support committee. Since I represented 20,000 workers, as opposed to the longshoremen, who only represented 10,000, I participated in the NPAC labor support committee in San Francisco.¹

Mackler went on to describe how, using his position as an AFT district vice president—elected at a meeting of merely 30 people—he was able to “initiate a little antiwar project” and circulate an anti-Vietnam resolution to the other AFT locals for endorsement.²

The National Peace Action Coalition had been organized by the SWP to compete with the Communist Party, U.S.A.—CPUSA—controlled People's Coalition for Peace and Justice—PCPJ. Both groups supported the North Vietnamese Communist aggression against South Vietnam.

The 1971 SWP National Convention also received a letter of commendation from Pierre Frank, leader of the French section of the Fourth International, on behalf of the United Secretariat. Frank wrote:

First of all I express to you the attention and the passion with which the international Trotskyist movement in its entirety follows the action against the Vietnam war waged in the U.S.A. and in which you, the S.W.P., play such an important role. It is this mass mobilisation increasingly large and increasingly firm to "Bring the GIs home now" which, after the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people, contributed decisively to sap at the determination of American imperialism and to paralyse its forces. This anti-war activity must not stop for one minute, even if the victory of the Vietnamese revolution seems imminent. It must continue in the U.S.A. as in the whole world to prevent American imperialism from making an orderly retreat, to insure that its defeat henceforth inevitable should be the worst possible.³

The Young Socialist Alliance

The Young Socialist Alliance—YSA—was established in 1960 as the SWP youth group. While it is not necessary to be a member of the Socialist Workers Party to belong to the YSA, 50 percent of the YSA members hold dual membership in the SWP.⁴ And it is noted that expulsion from the SWP also results in expulsion from YSA.

In 1971, Ken Simpson and Nancy Adolfi were expelled from YSA. According to their appeal, the only reason for their expulsion was that they had already been expelled from the SWP and that the charges were "preferred against them by party members and the majority of their trial body * * * were also members of the party—people who had previously voted for their expulsion from the SWP."⁵

Barry Sheppard, SWP organizational secretary has said, "recruitment to the YSA is party work * * *." He went on to say,

For the last 15 years our basic recruitment to the party has been from the YSA. This aspect of our recruitment will continue to be important. Since the YSA serves in this aspect as both a training ground and a screening process, when YSA members join the party we are recruiting people who have already decided they want to be professional revolutionaries. They go through a process in the YSA that helps them make up their minds. They've learned something about our program, methods and organization. It's going to be different when we begin to recruit larger numbers of people who are coming directly to the party. We should not succumb to the temptations to automatically put all recruits in the YSA. Sometimes I think we've done that, precisely because its a good training ground. What we have to begin to think about is that people we recruit directly to the party have not yet made the same kind of commitment, nor do they have the same kind of training as someone who has gone through the YSA.

Sheppard said further,

There are new possibilities of bringing around more contacts from our work in the desegregation fights, from our work in the unions, and from our election campaigns.

Many of these contacts are YSA-age and attracted to the YSA. But a significant and growing number, though still a minority, are direct party contacts. Some are in their late twenties and thirties. Some are younger workers who, given their life situation, are direct contacts of the party regardless of their age. We can expect some contacts like this are going to be more comfortable in coming directly to the party and not the YSA. A worker who is nineteen, has a family, has been working two years and is attracted to our movement through union activity won't necessarily join the YSA.⁶

The YSA serves as the principal recruiting ground for the Socialist Workers Party and its major supporter in running the fronts. Most YSA members are recruited in the colleges. However, a campaign to organize high school students has also been undertaken by YSA.

Malik Miah, who has served as YSA national chairman and now is a regular member of the SWP National Committee, described the high school recruitment in a report to the YSA National Committee Plenum in July 1974. He stated:

We want to increase our recruitment work * * * on the Black struggle and socialism to attempt to win Black militants to the YSA.

This orientation of developing a good base on campus also applies to high school work. When we talk about high school work, in most cases we are talking about Black work. Blacks as the most radicalized segment of the population are generally the most receptive to our ideas. This holds true for Black high school students. Some of our best opportunities to do campaign work, youth support work, is at the high schools. The New York City high school campaign rallies and the response they received are such examples.

Coupled with YSA work directed at the high schools and the major universities is the work we do at the community colleges and all-Black schools. This is just as important as other campus work and must be well planned out. In many cases this may mean trail-blazing to campuses where we don't have members or where we haven't visited before in the cities we function in. The number of students open to our ideas is great on all campuses and we should take advantage of this.⁷

In that same report, Miah noted how the Young Socialist Alliance rallied to support the Symbionese Liberation Army. It is noted that Gary D. Atwood, former husband of SLA member Angela D'Angelis Atwood, was a member of the YSA at the time his ex-wife and other SLA members were killed in a shootout with police in Los Angeles. Miah said:

After the SLA members were executed in Los Angeles, the YSA in alliance with other community forces helped to organize a protest demonstration against the terrorist methods used by the cops.⁸

Here we have a high SWP and YSA official calling the police “terrorists” in defense of a gang of revolutionaries who had murdered the superintendent of the Oakland schools, Dr. Marcus Foster, and at the same time had fired a shotgun into the abdomen of his assistant, Robert Blackburn, and had committed armed robberies and kidnapping.

Miah also described the YSA and SWP attitude toward the police:

I'd like to say a few words on our view of cops. We do not consider cops as part of the working class. They are direct agents of the capitalist state. * * * This holds true for both white and Black cops * * *. We are not for the reforming of the capitalist police force. We stand for its complete dismantling and abolition.⁹

National Student Coalition Against Racism

Designed to exploit controversies arising from forced busing, the National Student Coalition Against Racism—NSCAR—was established by the Young Socialist Alliance and SWP at a conference held in Boston in February 1975. NSCAR is targeted principally at black college and high school students and is being used extensively to recruit new SWP and YSA members from those groups.¹⁰

NSCAR claims some 70 chapters—these are attached to the local YSA and SWP branches. NSCAR headquarters are at 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Mass. 02121 (617-288-6200); its national coordinator is SWP national committee member, Maceo Dixon, former national chairman of YSA. NSCAR's third conference was scheduled to be held at Boston University, November 19-21, 1976. One of the invited guests was Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, an Irish Trotskyite and leader of the Irish Republican Socialist Party—IRSP.

Shortly after the founding conference, SWP National Organizational Secretary Barry Sheppard described the SWP and YSA role in NSCAR. He said:

It took a little time and a lot of work. But we played an important role—from the December 14 (1974) demonstration and teach-in, the formation of the student committee (against racism), the conference of the student committee, to building for the May 17 march.

Sheppard continued:

NSCAR is basically a student and youth group; that is, it is attracting non-student youth as well as students. Helping to build NSCAR is a major task for the

YSA. But it is also a task for the party, because of the role this group is playing within the whole desegregation fight. It is the only group consistently projecting the proletarian line of mass mobilization. And the party's got to pay attention to it; we've got to help build it as a broad action coalition. That's part of the proletarian orientation we've been talking about. NSCAR can reach beyond its own forces to the NAACP, and other forces in the Black community especially.¹¹

Committee for Democratic Election Laws

It's a proper and correct procedure to exploit every possibility to utilize what cracks there are in the bourgeois-democratic system to advance our ideas. It's like taking part in their elections. It's wise to utilize a situation like this to explain our ideas to a wide audience. —James P. Cannon, *Intercontinental Press*, October 29, 1973.

Although the Socialist Workers Party ignored the electoral process during the first 10 years of its existence, it saw in 1948 the usefulness of electoral participation to gain a sort of "legitimacy" and as a ploy to gain publicity and media attention for its programs. However, in a number of states, the SWP was hindered from gaining ballot status by loyalty oaths and anti-Communist barriers.

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws—CODEL—was set up to coordinate support for Socialist Workers Party lawsuits challenging loyalty oaths and other provisions of State election laws. A CODEL brochure said of loyalty oaths:

These carryovers from earlier witch-hunt days serve no purpose except to limit the rights of radicals to run for office.

In fact, the loyalty oaths served to limit as candidates those who would not swear to uphold the Constitution of the United States.

The Socialist Workers Party selected Ronald Reosti, an attorney and American Civil Liberties Union member who was the SWP's 1970 candidate for attorney general in Michigan, as CODEL's legal director. The services of Leonard B. Boudin were obtained as CODEL general counsel. Another SWP member, Judy Baumann, was named CODEL national secretary. At the 1973 Socialist Workers Party national convention, Baumann led the CODEL "tasks panel."¹²

Political Rights Defense Fund

According to a mailing dated September 30, 1973, "The Political Rights Defense Fund—PRDF—has been formed as an adjunct of the Committee for

Democratic Election Laws” as a direct result of a series of disclosures of Government surveillance and counterintelligence activities directed at the Socialist Workers Party.

In a report to the SWP National Committee, Barry Sheppard outlined the role of the SWP's lawsuit against the FBI:

The suit supported by the Political Rights Defense Fund is an important initiative in the context of the impact of Watergate, * * *. Of all the tendencies on the left, we've taken the lead in this situation. We saw the opportunity and took the initiative. This has already attracted people to us who see the party taking the lead in an important fight for democratic rights; it's a fight for everyone. And we've already had unprecedented results. Never before has the FBI been forced to turn over some of its files on what they do to socialist organizations. * * * it is very damaging to the government.¹³

We have already seen that the SWP regards the courts and the electoral process as “cracks” in the “bourgeois-democratic system” which can be used to advance the SWP's program.

Sheppard clearly understands that the FBI, which is responsible for both intelligence and counterintelligence work, is extremely reluctant to have the details of its investigative techniques given to the very organizations it was investigating. The SWP leadership believed that the FBI would remain silent and not resist the lawsuit rather than explain the nature and extent of the threat posed by the SWP and its Fourth International comrades.

Sheppard stated that —

The government's going to attack us for our internationalism.

By “internationalism” he meant membership in and support of the Fourth International and its terrorist groups and allies. The SWP Organizational Secretary noted that —

Many of the same kinds of issues that were fought out in the Smith Act trial are going to be brought out in this one too. But this time we are suing the government. They are the defendants, not us.¹⁴

The genesis of the SWP suit against the FBI lies in a burglary and theft of files from the FBI field office in Media, Pa., on March 8, 1971, by leftwing activists. The stolen documents were published in WIN magazine, the publication of the militant pacifist War Resisters League, March 1972. These documents provided the first public knowledge of the FBI's counterintelligence program — COINTELPRO — whose purpose was to disrupt potentially violent groups in order to prevent violence.

In December 1973, NBC reporter Carl Stern received FBI memoranda related to COINTELPRO as the result of a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit. These documents were then used by the SWP to augment a lawsuit

which it had filed on July 18, 1973, in Federal District Court in New York against the FBI and various other officials. The lawsuit discovery proceedings have since been used to obtain additional FBI investigative files.

The FBI was required to turn over to the Socialist Workers Party and its attorneys raw investigative data and internal memoranda revealing FBI methods of intelligence-gathering including mail covers and surreptitious entries of SWP and YSA offices. Comparisons of informant materials has enabled the SWP to identify a number of those informants.

As a result of these disclosures, former Attorney General Edward Levi ordered the FBI to end all investigation of the Socialist Workers Party.

The national staff of the Political Rights Defense Fund includes the following SWP functionaries: Syd Stapleton, national secretary;¹⁵ Janice Lynn,¹⁶ and Cathy Perkus,¹⁷ national field secretaries—letterhead, September 30, 1973. A letterhead dated June 15, 1976, shows that Stapleton remains PRDF national secretary; in 1973, he was an alternate member of the SWP National Committee, and in 1975, was promoted to full membership.¹⁸ The national staff includes Cathy Perkus, Kipp Dawson,¹⁹ Geoff Mirelowitz,²⁰ and Clair Moriarty,²¹ all SWP members.

The lists of sponsors of the Political Rights Defense Fund in 1973 and 1976 are attached as an appendix.

Fair Play for Cuba Committee

The Socialist Workers Party supported the Castro regime in Cuba from its inception, not in spite of, but because of Cuba's relation to the Soviet-controlled world Communist movement. A December 23, 1960, "Draft Thesis on the Cuban Revolution," later adopted by the SWP read in part:

Despite the colossal power of American imperialism and its counter-revolutionary ruthlessness, plus the grave dangers and sacrifices these signify for the Cuban people, the perspectives for the defense of the revolution are most promising. It occurs in the general context of colonial uprisings beyond the capacity of the imperialist powers to contain and it derives strength from this vast upheaval. The Cuban revolution occurs, in addition, in the context of the rising world power of the Soviet countries, whose interests coincide with the defense of Cuba. Finally, the workers and peasants of the small island appear as the vanguard of the Latin American revolution and therefore enjoy mass support on a continental scale.

Born under the influence of these forces, the Cuban revolution quickly established connections with them. It began influencing them in turn. A highly dynamic revolution, it can, by following the natural lines of its defense through revolutionary policies on the international scene, add qualitatively new force to

the colonial revolution, to the defense of the Soviet countries against imperialist attack, and to the struggle for world-wide socialism.²²

In 1963, when the Fourth International was reunified, the FI characterized the Cuban regime as "unconscious Trotskyites"²³ although at that very time the Cuban Communist regime was persecuting domestic Cuban Trotskyites.²⁴ While American SWP members were honored guests in Cuba, the Castro regime jailed Cuban Trotskyites and prevented the printing of Trotsky's writings by smashing the press. Since 1962, Argentinian Trotskyists had been sent to Cuba for guerrilla training.

Despite the persecution of Cuban Trotskyites, the Socialist Workers Party actively participated in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in developing support in the United States for Castro's regime which was now clearly Communist.

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee was established in 1960. The FPCC's first public act was to place an advertisement in the New York Times, April 6, 1960. Dr. Charles Santos-Buch, one of the original organizers of the FPCC, testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security that the money for the advertisement had been given to him and Robert Taber by Raul Roa, Jr., of the Cuban Mission to the United Nations in New York.²⁵

Members of the Socialist Workers Party played an important role in the FPCC. Berta Green, now known as Berta Langston, served as the secretary of the New York FPCC chapter. She was then and is still an active member of the Socialist Workers Party.²⁶ Berta Green Langston was a member of the Internationalist Tendency of the SWP which supported the "terrorism now" line of the international leadership of the Fourth International. She and her husband, Robert, resigned from the IT in 1974 rather than be expelled from the SWP;²⁷ however, the Langstons continue to support the positions taken by the FI international leadership.²⁸

Edward Shaw, member of the SWP Political and National Committees, organized the Michigan FPCC branch.²⁹

Some members of the Socialist Workers Party are not as enamored with Castro as is their leadership. While they must, of course, take an active part in supporting all SWP activities, they have criticized Castroism in the party's internal publications. David Keil, in 1975 wrote:

Now the time has come to draw the balance sheet on the Cuban Revolution and be more precise about the nature of this workers' state. It is today utterly impossible to seriously defend the idea that Cuba is a healthy workers' state, with or without democratic forms. It would be hard to conceive any mass struggle against the Stalinists in Cuba that would not involve a violent confrontation between the repressive state apparatus and the working class. Nor is it possible to conceive of reforming this state apparatus—it must be entirely reorganized in all essential features, i. e., subjected to the process of political revolution.³⁰

Lee Harvey Oswald

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee vanished in November 1963. The FPCC had become a major embarrassment to the Left because of its involvement with Lee Harvey Oswald, the assassin of President John Kennedy. Oswald was a member of the FPCC and had a lengthy correspondence with the committee's national office in New York. At the same time, Oswald was carrying on a correspondence with the Socialist Workers Party and had inquired into membership. In a letter to Oswald dated November 5, 1962, SWP national secretary, Farrell Dobbs, explained that the party had no branch in Dallas and that the SWP did not take in individual members in cities without a branch, and suggested Oswald sell SWP literature in the "hope it will be possible before long to welcome a Dallas, Texas branch into the party."³¹

Shortly after the death of President Kennedy, Fidel Castro falsely denied that Oswald was connected with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, but inadvertently admitted that the Cubans maintained the FPCC's file system. In a speech reprinted in the Communist Party, U.S.A. newspaper, *The Worker* (December 1, 1963, pp. 6 and 8), Castro said:

We have searched through all our files and this man is not listed as president of any committee. Nowhere is there any mention of any Fair Play for Cuba Committee in Dallas or New Orleans.

U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) was organized in 1966. Richard "Catarino" Garza, a member of the SWP National Committee and then the SWP candidate for governor of New York, was USLA's assistant executive secretary and its administrator. Miguel Fuente, a leader of Grupo Trotskista Venezolano (Venezuelan Trotskyist Group), the sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Venezuela, described the support given by the Socialist Workers Party to the Trotskyite terrorist ERP of Argentina. Fuente wrote:

"We should above all include in the record that it has been the SWP comrades, as well as the Argentine comrades of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) who have done exceptional revolutionary work in solidarity with the PRT-ERP comrades in the face of the heavy repression of which they have been the victims."³²

Fuente continued:

"The SWP comrades have organized and promoted the effective work of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners

(USLA), whose periodical, the *USLA Reporter*, has carried many reports on the repression in Argentina. The USLA has organized tours throughout the USA for Argentine activists to give talks denouncing Lanusse's dictatorial regime and the crimes he has committed, such as the Trelew massacre. The Canadian comrades have not lagged behind in this campaign of solidarity."³³

USLA's founding Statement of Aims again points to the close cooperation between the Trotskyites and the Cuban Communists. The document said that "with the triumph of the Cuban Revolution in the closing days of 1958, it seemed reasonable to hope that a new era * * * was opening." According to USLA, the chief block to revolutionary progress was, and is, the United States; therefore one of the organization's purposes was to generate public pressure "for a basic change of policy toward Latin America." USLA was to "cooperate with organizations in Latin America and other countries which have similar purposes."³⁴

The Young Socialist Alliance made an "international defense campaign" for "revolutionaries in many Latin American countries" who "have been imprisoned, tortured, and murdered for their opposition to repressive national regimes subservient to the interests of U.S. imperialism" a major project.³⁵ The defense campaign was principally in support of the Argentinian ERP, the largest Trotskyite terrorist movement, as well as in support of movements in Bolivia and Brazil.

Shortly afterward, Lynn Silver and Sue Adley, members of the lower Manhattan branch of the YSA, wrote in a YSA internal publication that "USLA work is not only important international defense work, but it is also important in building the YSA."³⁶

USLA publishes a monthly newsletter, the *USLA Reporter*. The first editor of the *USLA Reporter* was Hedda Garza, then the wife of USLA director and SWP national committee member Richard Garza. Hedda Garza was a member of the pro-terrorism-now Proletarian Orientation Tendency and joined its successor, the Internationalist Tendency, which also supports the "terrorism now" tactic of the Fourth International majority. Hedda Garza of the lower Manhattan SWP branch was expelled from the SWP in 1974 with other IT members who violated SWP procedural rules.³⁷

Judith White, long an alternate member of the SWP national committee—her husband, Gus Horowitz, is a regular member of the SWP national committee and until his recent reassignment as SWP representative in Paris was also on the SWP political committee—replaced Hedda Garza as editor of the *USLA Reporter*.³⁸ White and Frank Grinnon, an SWP and YSA member on USLA's staff,³⁹ led the "tasks panel" on "Latin American Political Prisoners" at the 1973 SWP national convention.⁴⁰

Other YSA or SWP members who have been prominent on USLA's staff include Selva Nebbia,⁴¹ Walter Brod,⁴² and Lew Pepper.⁴³ Mirta Vidal, an

SWP member formerly assigned to recruitment work among Mexican Americans,⁴⁴ and SWP member Jim Little now head USLA nationally. At the 1975 national convention Vidal and Little led the workshop on the projected tour by Peruvian Trotskyite terrorist Hugo Blanco.⁴⁵

As listed in the November-December, 1975, issue of the USLA Reporter, USLA officers and staff include:

Officers: Co-Chairpersons: Dave Dellinger, Dore Ashton; Vice-Chairpersons: Judith Malina, Julian Beck; Acting Executive Secretary: Richard Garza; Executive Board: Robert Collier, Bert Corona, Warren Dean, Ralph Della Cava, Richard Fagen, Richard Falk, Rev. David Garcia, Timothy Harding, George Preston, Annette T. Rubenstein, Muriel Rukeyser, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Stanley Stein, Robert Van Lierop.

National Staff: Mirta Vidal, Jim Little; Reporter Design: Will Reissner.

USLA has been active in organizing U.S. tours of foreign Trotskyite Communists and other revolutionary supporters of "armed struggle" and terrorism. In 1973, USLA-sponsored tours by the Argentinian Daniel Zadunaisky and by Mary Elizabeth Harding, a former Maryknoll nun who was expelled from Bolivia, were especial successes. Harding, a U.S. citizen, admitted in a Washington Post interview on May 6, 1973, that she had been a member of and recruiter for the ELN (National Liberation Army), a terrorist guerrilla organization containing both Trotskyite and Castroite Communist elements.

With the fall of the Marxist regime of Salvador Allende in Chile, USLA moved into organizing protests and demonstrations against the coup. Among those featured at USLA rallies in the fall of 1973 were Edward Boorstein, a former assistant to Allende's economic adviser;⁴⁶ Mark Cooper, Allende's personal translator;⁴⁷ Heather Dashiell, also an Allende translator;⁴⁸ and Joe Collins of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS). The SWP's newspaper reported a speech by Collins at a New York rally on November 4, 1973, on his return from an "investigative tour" of Chile he had made as a congressional aid, as pointing out the "urgency of on-going visible protests" against the anti-Marxist Chilean Government.⁴⁹

A revealing analysis of local USLA work was provided by SWP members Gary Prevost and Marvin Johnson, of the Twin Cities SWP branch, which is attached as an appendix.

In his May 2, 1975, report to the SWP National Committee, SWP Organization Secretary Barry Sheppard said:

Another important area of work is our efforts to help USLA to defend Latin American political prisoners. The USLA tour of Juan Carlos Coral was quite successful. Especially in reaching out to Chicanos and Puerto Ricans and other people of Latin American descent. USLA hopes it can follow the Coral tour up and take advantage of some of these gains with a tour next fall by Hugo Blanco.⁵⁰

Juan Carlos Coral is a leader of the Argentinian section of the Fourth International, the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST). Hugo Blanco, an admitted and convicted terrorist, is a member of the Fourth International's International Executive Committee (IEC). The denial of an entry visa to Blanco has been the subject of considerable congressional commentary.

On September 22, 1975, USLA wrote to Representative Edward I. Koch of New York, asking his aid in getting a visa for Hugo Blanco. On September 24, 1975, the Congressman wrote to Secretary of State Kissinger asking for information on the Blanco matter. Dr. Benjamin Spock wrote to the Congressman on September 30, 1975, also asking him to intervene in aiding Blanco. An exchange of letters followed between the Congressman and Robert J. McCloskey, Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, Department of State. McCloskey at first refused to provide any details concerning Blanco's terrorist acts and advocacy stating the information was classified. Finally, after much prodding by Congressman Koch, McCloskey referred him to this Congressman's report in the Congressional Record of December 19, 1975, which contained information on Blanco including, "his affiliation with the Fourth International and other groups, as well as quotations from his writings in which he has advocated the use of violence."

McCloskey further stated that Blanco's public record included "his declaration that he took full and sole responsibility for the murders of three policemen which occurred during a raid he and his followers made on a police station in Peru during 1962."

Congressman Koch wrote to Dr. Spock indicating his agreement with the State Department's decision to bar Blanco on the grounds of his "admitted responsibility for the murder of three policemen" and his advocacy of "the use of violence."

Dr. Spock responded on February 18, 1976:

I have no idea where the truth lies. The plea for his entry came from a responsible organization.⁵¹

On May 27, 1976, Congressman Koch spoke again on the question of Hugo Blanco. He said:

But those who must make decisions on the admission to this country of persons who have engaged in violent acts, particularly ones which result in death, must exercise that judgment carefully even if it results in erring on the side of excessive caution—so long as the decision is not arbitrary or capricious. In this case, I do not believe the State Department was either arbitrary or capricious.

Congressman Koch included in the Record a rambling, self-contradictory statement by USLA attacking Congressmen Koch and McDonald and columnist William F. Buckley for supporting the State Department decision to bar Blanco. Also included was a May 24, 1976, letter from the State De-

partment providing quotations from Blanco in support of violence that had appeared in this Congressman's statement in the Record of December 19, 1975. The State Department had also supplied Congressman Koch with a copy of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security hearing, "Trotskyite Terrorist International," as well as copies of the confidential Fourth International publication, International Internal Discussion Bulletin, which documented Blanco's activities.⁵²

The SWP in the Women's Liberation Movement and Related Issues

By early 1969, the Socialist Workers Party had determined that the "women's liberation movement" which had surfaced among "radicalized" women in the New Left, particularly on the college campuses, had a revolutionary potential to be exploited. However, while the women's liberation movement has focused to a large extent on psychological pressures and on the desire for careers by middle class women, the SWP saw the movement as a method of cutting women off from family ties so as to make them another component in the proletarian labor force. As the SWP phrased it in 1969, the women's liberation movement might release "the full creative energies of half the potential revolutionary forces available."⁵³

From 1969 through 1971, SWP and YSA women involved themselves in the proabortion movement as the "broadest" issue for organizing campus and young white collar women. The SWP's Women's Liberation report to the March 1970 National Committee stated:

The abortion question is made to order as the initial issue on which the women's liberation movement can cut its teeth. It involves the most fundamental rights of women—to control their own bodies, to remove from the state the prerogative to decide who will bear a child and when. * * * the abortion issue has emerged as the key demand with potential for involving masses of women in action.

In June 1971 the SWP set up a special front, the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition—WONAAC—whose principal figure was Carol Lipman, a member of the SWP National Committee. WONAAC dissolved after the Supreme Court decisions in favor of abortion.⁵⁴

The Socialist Workers Party is continuing to organize on women's liberation movement issues. The August 1975 SWP National Convention featured three women's liberation workshops: "Coalition of Labor Union Women" led by Linda Jenness; "Women's liberation work," also led by Linda Jenness; and "ERA (Equal Rights Amendment) work" led by Nancy Brown.⁵⁵

In his report to the SWP National Committee in May 1975, Barry Sheppard said:

We should see helping to build CLUW from this vantage point. Several months ago Linda Jenness sent out a letter describing the character of CLUW in different cities. She broke it down into three categories, depending on what kind of problems CLUW had with the ultralefts or the bureaucrats. That evaluation of the general problems remains accurate. However, CLUW has continued to develop. It hasn't disappeared, and in fact in some cities it has made some leaps forward. It retains its importance, given everything we talked about in our political resolution, as a Coalition of Labor Union Women. It has big potential as a part of the developing radicalization. And we want to see it grow.⁵⁶

In the 1975 women's liberation workshop, Linda Jenness said:

I also want to emphasize that whereas we separated CLUW out for a special workshop, as we did last year, we don't want to think of it as totally divorced from our women's liberation work; it isn't. It's part of our women's liberation work and we want to try to think of ways that CLUW can relate to other feminist issues and general women's liberation activities in any given city.⁵⁷

Jenness also described the Socialist Workers Party effort in support of the Equal Rights Amendment:

Before going to reports about what we're doing in several cities I'd like to note that we've separated out two areas of our women's liberation work for special workshops. One was the Coalition of Labor Union Women workshop which we had this afternoon and the other is the ERA workshop. We separated these two areas out because we are involved in national campaigns, and in the case of the ERA we are planning on stepping up our national campaign. One thing we've noted is that, while the main fight around the ERA for the past couple of years was in those states which haven't yet passed it and the fight is to get it ratified in those states, it's become clearer that the ERA fight is nationally much broader than just getting it passed in those states. There are basically three fights.

One is to get it passed in states that haven't passed it, like Illinois, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Utah, and several others. Then there's the fight to defend the ERA in places which have passed it but where the right wing is mobilizing to try to reverse it. As you know, two states have rescinded the ERA. It's not known yet whether this is constitutional, but the anti-ERA forces are trying to do it. We've seen in Colorado a big attack on the ERA by right-wing groups trying to get it reversed, and a coalition is forming to defend the state's ratification.

The third area is the phenomenon of states trying to adopt a state ERA that they can begin to work on and implement regardless of what happens to the national one. For instance, New York and New Jersey are states where state ERAs will be on the ballot in a referendum in the fall elections. So of course coalitions have been formed to make sure people vote yes on this referendum.⁵⁸

The workshop documents go on to describe in detail SWP work with the National Organization for Women—NOW—in the Boston Coalition to Defend Abortion Rights, with the Georgia Committee to Defend Abortion Rights and other groups. Eva Chertov, who had previously participated in the

SWP's gay (homosexual) liberation "probe,"⁵⁹ reported on a July 26, 1975, fund raising party in Atlanta paid for by one of the private abortion mills and held by the Georgia Committee to Defend Abortion Rights:

On July 26 we held a wine and cheese party to announce the Committee's plans at the Kennedy Center, a kind of political center in the middle of the Black community. The wine and cheese party was paid for by a private clinic, and the rent was paid for by a city councilman. More Black women were present at this event than at any previous woman's activity, including ERA activities, that we've organized. These women were mainly workers in abortion clinics. It also involved prominent Black doctors who are influential in family planning networks which are statewide.⁶⁰

SWP in the Homosexual Movement

In his "Report on Membership Policy Given to the Political Committee of the SWP" by Jack Barnes on November 13, 1970, the SWP official stated:

Since the early 1960s the party and YSA have been moving toward a policy which proscribes homosexuals from membership. This was mentioned in the organizational report to the February 1970 SWP plenum. The evolution of this policy was summarized as part of the organizational report which was adopted by the August 1970 YSA plenum. This report was printed in the September 2, 1970, *Young Socialist Organizer*.

The main purpose of this policy was the protection of the party now and in the future from the effects of legal or extralegal victimization and blackmail of homosexual members.

The Administrative Committee believes that this policy is wrong. It doesn't accomplish its purpose and it breeds problems and misinterpretations both internally and publicly. In so doing it shifts attention from the central question in all membership policies and decisions—the security of the party, its growth by recruitment from the mass movement, its capacity for disciplined activity in all periods, and its political homogeneity.⁶¹

Kipp Dawson, a leader of the SWP "Gay Liberation Problem panel," noted in her report at the 1971 SWP Convention the problems she and Eva Chertov experienced in attempting to work with the Daughters of Bilitis—DOB—and the Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee—CSLDC—in New York as well as in WONAAC in support of abortion on demand:

As I mentioned, at the June 13 CSLDC meeting about eight women from the DOB loft, none of who had been active in CSLDC, led by Martha Shelley, walked in to demand that Eva and I be excluded from participation in SCLDC meetings on the basis of our participation in the June 12 abortion conference planning meeting. They interrupted the meeting to read a statement which basically (1) claimed that at the abortion meeting Eva and I, as lesbians, had led a fight

against the recognition of lesbian demands; (2) therefore they doubted whether we were really lesbians (the statement described us as “heterosexual imposters”) (3) therefore we were the “oppressors” of lesbians; (4) therefore “the lesbians” couldn’t work on the same committee as Eva and me; (5) therefore they demanded that we be kicked out. During a highly emotional five-hour debate and discussion, most of the members of the committee expressed hostility at what they thought we did at the abortion meeting, but defended non-exclusion in the CSLDC, in spite of their strong desire to involve these women in the committee.⁶²

Hedda Garza, since expelled from the SWP on other grounds, commented in a discussion article, “For a Better Relationship Between Word and Deed:”

Comrades have publicly stated that homosexuality is “transitional.” Transitional to what? Why, to abolition of the family, of course! There’s only one problem. If Gay people are better people and it is more revolutionary to be Gay, then not only the nuclear family is threatened but indeed the existence of all of humanity—in which case, why bother about making a socialist revolution!

Woman comrades attending all-woman parties are sharply chastised if they don’t care to dance with other women, and are definitely made to feel that they are backward if they, too, as so many others have done, don’t declare themselves man-haters and lesbians. Confessions of newly acquired homosexuality have become a regular event, as though it were a fine model, a badge of honor, and worse yet, as though comrades who would rather “fight than switch” are somehow not true-blue Bolsheviks. All of this hasn’t the faintest resemblance to a “probe” into Gay Liberation.

On April 24th, the Gay Contingent, or at least a large section of it, went up on a hill facing the crowd, over to one side of the speakers’ platform, about a city block away. They proceeded to put on what can only be described as a sex circus for the benefit of the masses of people facing the speakers’ microphones. They cavorted and carried on, making sexual gestures and freely fondling each other in a most intimate style. I will not go into a graphic description of the proceedings, but suffice it to say that if two hundred or so heterosexual comrades lined up facing the public and carried on in that fashion, they would be expelled from the party.⁶³

Committee to Defend Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran

The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran—CAIFI—is a minor SWP front headquartered at 853 Broadway, room 414, New York, N.Y. 10003. This is a room which is part of the office suite of the SWP/YSA New York City headquarters—room 412 is the main door.

The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran—CAIFI—developed from a Socialist Workers Party 1972-73 effort to prevent deportation of one of its non-U.S. members, Babak Zahraie. Zahraie was a member

of both the Young Socialist Alliance and the SWP, and led a small Trotskyist faction in the Iranian Students Association, U.S.A., the U.S. branch of an internationally active revolutionary student organization. Zahraie was not deported because while a student at the University of Washington in Seattle, he married a U.S. citizen, Kathy Camile Sledge, who like Zahraie was also a dual SWP and YSA member.⁶⁴

According to his defense committee, Zahraie entered the United States in 1967; and after attending high school in Turlock, Calif., and Stanislaus State College transferred to the University of Washington, Seattle, in 1969, where he became head of the Iranian Student Association chapter. The militant ISA expelled its Trotskyist members 3 years ago. The ISA's Maoists have disrupted CAIFI meetings from time to time.

Zahraie, now a national field secretary of CAIFI,⁶⁵ had violated Immigration laws by traveling to Canada as a resident alien and member of a subversion organization, the SWP. Kathy Sledge Zahraie, now Kathy Sledge-Lovgren (Fred Lovgren was an SWP Congressional candidate in 1974 in Washington)⁶⁶ has claimed she was "harassed" by an FBI investigation of her SWP membership when she applied for a Federal job.⁶⁷

During 1973 CAIFI led a campaign for the release of an Iranian militant, Reza Baraheni, who was jailed by Iranian authorities for 3 months in the fall of 1973. Baraheni is now a U.S. resident and a CAIFI "chairperson." Baraheni is one of CAIFI's most active public speakers against the government of Iran. He testified before the House Subcommittee on International Organizations on September 3, 1976.

Caroline Lund led the workshop on CAIFI work, "Defense of Iranian political prisoners," at the 1975 SWP National Convention.⁶⁸ Two Iranians who are members of the SWP-led LTF minority serve on the Fourth International's International Executive Committee using the names "Ahmed" and "Cyrus."⁶⁹

According to the CAIFI newsletter for March 1976, CAIFI officers include:

Chairpersons: Dr. Reza Baraheni, Kay Boyle; Vice Chairpersons: Ervand Abrahamian, Mahmoud Sayrafiezadeh, Allan Silver; National Secretary: Mohammad B. Falsafi; Field Secretaries: Bahram Atai, Fairborz Khasha, Babak Zahraie.

The same publication lists the following signers of a statement in support of CAIFI and Baraheni:

Dore Ashton, chair of bd., USLA Justice Comm.
Nan Bailey, nat'l chair, YSA.
Eric Bentley, author.
Kay Boyle, author.
Richard Butler, National Council of churches.
Chuck Cairns, prof. Queens College.
Helen Cairns, prof. Queens College.

Peter Camejo, Pres. Candidate SWP.
 Noam Chomsky, prof. MIT.
 Jack Clark, Democratic Socialist Organizing Comm.
 Rep. John Conyers, Mich.
 Douglas Dowd, prof. San Jose State.
 Tom Foley, Daily World.
 Rep. Donald Fraser, Minn.
 Irene Gendzier, prof. Boston U.
 Ann Gregory, TAPOL.
 Rep. Michael J. Harrington, Mass.
 Michael Harrington, Democratic Socialist Organizing Comm.
 Nat Hentoff, Writer.
 Iranian Students Association (Democratic), Austin.
 Iranian Students Association (Democratic), Houston.
 Iranian Students Society, Philadelphia.
 Denise Levertov, poet.
 Don Luce, Dir., Clergy and Laity Concerned.
 Jeffery Mackler, Exec. Dir. AFT 1423.
 Sam Manuel, Student Coalition Against Racism.
 Paul Martin, Dir. of Earl Hall, Columbia U.
 Ivan Morris, chair of bd., Amnesty International USA.
 National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.
 Willie Mae Reid, V. Pres. Candidate, SWP.
 Muriel Rukeyser, Pres. American PEN.
 Liz Schenklyn, The Matriarchy.
 Syd Stapleton, Nat'l. Secty. Political Rights Defense Fund.
 Rep. Pete Stark, Calif.
 I. F. Stone, author.
 Tom Tobin, Pres. Student Senate, Teachers College, Columbia U.
 George Wald, Prof. Harvard U.
 Ruth Wald.
 Howard Zinn, Prof. Boston U.

SWP Role in the “Peace” Movement

Trotskyites are not pacifists. During the Vietnam war the Socialist Workers Party played a major role in the “anti-war” movement. The SWP was not for “peace”; they were for an American defeat. This position was consistent with the traditional Trotskyite role of supporting Communist aggression against the free world.

Pierre Frank, member of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, wrote a letter to the 1971 SWP National Convention praising the SWP for its role in the anti-Vietnam movement. On behalf of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, Frank wrote:

First of all I express to you the attention and the passion with which the international Trotskyist movement in its entirety follows the action against the Vietnam war waged in the U.S.A. and in which you, the S.W.P., play such an important role. It is this mass mobilization increasingly large and increasingly firm to "Bring the GIs home now" which, after the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people, contributed decisively to sap at the determination of American imperialism and to paralyse its forces. This anti-war activity must not stop for one minute, even if the victory of the Vietnamese revolution seems imminent. It must continue in the U.S.A. as in the whole world to prevent American imperialism from making an orderly retreat, to insure that its defeat henceforth inevitable should be the worst possible.⁷⁰

A letter from the SWP-controlled National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) addressed to its large mailing list and dated April 29, 1971, said, "We believe that April 24 will prove to be a turning point in the fight to end the Indochina war."⁷¹ Note that at no time did they advise the supporters of the organization that their real desire was an American defeat and a North Vietnamese Communist victory.

The bank records of NPAC which were subpoenaed by the House Committee on Internal Security showed that those authorized to sign checks for the organization were all SWP members.⁷² As of February 1, 1971, Cathy Perkus and Syd Stapleton were listed as president and secretary-treasurer, respectively. As of May 10, 1971, the bank records showed Sydney Stapleton, president, and Patricia Grogan, secretary-treasurer.⁷³

Through a series of factional maneuvers, the SWP/YSA grouping was able to take control of the Student Mobilization Committee—SMC. An interesting insight into how a minority can be organized to take control of a group was provided in a letter to members of the YSA dated January 21, 1970, and marked "Confidential: Not to leave your possession." The letter was signed by SWP Political and National Committee member Gus Horowitz and SWP member Susan LaMont.⁷⁴

P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station,
New York, N. Y., January 21, 1970.

CONFIDENTIAL: Not to Leave Your Possession

Dear Larry: Because of the importance of the Cleveland antiwar conference, the east coast and midwest locals should mobilize for it. The west coast and southern locals should send at least the leading comrades active in antiwar work. Please send the N.O. a list of those who will be attending from your local. More information on our intervention will be forthcoming.

Comrades should plan on full fraction meetings on Saturday and Sunday mornings in Cleveland. In addition, each local should elect one representative to be on the steering committee for our national fraction. The steering committee will meet frequently during the conference. The comrade on it from a given local will be responsible for keeping in touch with the other comrades from that local.

It is likely that the SMC will hold a national steering committee meeting on Friday evening. Everyone who is a representative to that body from a local SMC chapter should plan to arrive in Cleveland on Friday. More information on this meeting will be sent out later.

The antiwar conference will most likely be the largest in the history of the SMC, and will include numerous opponent tendencies in attendance. It is important that all comrades have a clear understanding of our functioning in this type of situation, which will be in a strictly centralist manner. Much of the YSA membership has joined since the time of the last conference, so the local leadership should take on the responsibility of explaining in more detail: (1) our political goals, and (2) the nature of our intervention in the conference. This will also be explained at the fraction meetings, which all should attend.

Comradely,

Gus Horowitz,
National Antiwar Steering Committee.
Susan LaMont,
National Secretary.

The Socialist Workers Party subordinates everything to building mass respectable support for its activities. To do this it needs respectable names as sponsors of its fronts. In 1970-71, the SWP needed the support of United Auto Workers official Paul Schrade for NPAC. At that time an SWP member, Tom Cagle was leading a wildcat strike against the orders of Schrade. He was ordered by the SWP leadership to cease his strike activity. As Cagle described his problem with the SWP leadership:

My work at Fremont during the strike conflicted with and embarrassed their efforts to "win over" the UAW western regional director, Paul Schrade, into their anti-war coalition (which subsequently has been accomplished with much gleeful handclapping by the right wing revisionist forces in our party's leadership clustered around Jack Barnes). This same "liberal anti-war" Paul Schrade went on after that first stormy night of our strike to establish a virtual dictatorship over our local by abolishing all meetings inventing a phony "red bomb plot" in order to justify a large goon squad armed with baseball bats to guard the union hall and prevent contact with outside supporters of our strike. Forming a liaison committee to co-ordinate between management and the Fremont police department on all phases of "riot control." When the United Action Caucus, minus SWP support, attempted to counteract these dictatorial methods of outright intimidation by calling for a massive strike support rally to be held on the union's parking lot, this same liberal, anti-war Paul Schrade armed 70 goons with baseball bats, called out the Fremont police force and 200 Bay Area Mobile Tact squad in full riot gear in the ultimate intimidation forcing the UAC to call off its scheduled rally to avoid bloodshed.⁷⁵

Cagle noted plaintively:

It would have been interesting to observe comrade Barnes and his followers reaction to this piece of treachery. While the party attempted to blind, gag, and

tie my hands so I could not give a *lead* in this strike I still managed to get the floor at the contract ratification meeting and speak out against treacherous sellout and betrayal by our union leadership using the one at a time strike strategy and sharply call Schrade to task for his dictatorial methods and called for a massive no vote on the contract.

The Socialist Workers Party leadership sent a top SWP official, Tom Kerry, to Cagle's branch—the Berkeley, Calif., branch—to convince him to stop his strike activity. Kerry threatened him by saying:

You'd better think very seriously, Tom C., about what you're saying, whether you really believe what you're saying. If you really believe what you're saying, then this is not the party for you. I'm sorry.⁷⁶

A short time later Cagle was out of the SWP and had joined a rival Trotskyite group, the Workers League.⁷⁷

Chapter 4

The Fourth International Debate on Terrorism

In 1961, 2 years prior to the reunification of the Fourth International, Argentine Trotskyites were sent to Peru to aid Trotskyite leader Hugo Blanco in his revolutionary terrorist campaign. In 1962 Blanco led a raid on a police station in which three police officers were killed.¹ Blanco was captured in May, 1963 and sentenced to twenty years imprisonment. The Peruvian Government granted him an amnesty in 1970 and expelled him in 1971 for continuing his revolutionary activities.

In 1962 the Argentine Trotskyite movement led by Nahuel Moreno sent the first group of cadres to Cuba for terrorist training.² Some of the Latin American sections of the Fourth International engaged in terrorist activities during the 1960's, often in close collaboration with Castroite groups promoted by the Cuban Government.

At the Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International held in 1969, a resolution was passed ratifying the turn toward "armed struggle," a term the Trotskyites use to cover all violent acts including terrorism. The resolution stated:

Take advantage of every opportunity not only to increase the number of rural guerrilla nuclei but also to promote forms of armed struggle especially adapted to certain zones (for example, the mining zones in Bolivia) and to undertake actions in the big cities aimed both at striking the nerve centers (key points in the economy and transport, etc.) and at punishing the hangmen of the regime as well as achieving propagandistic and psychological successes (the experience of the European resistance to Nazism would be helpful in this regard).³

While the majority of the Fourth International supported terrorism and armed struggle as a tactic, a minority, led by the SWP, argued against the premature use of violence. The debate still continues.

The two major factions in the Fourth International are the International Majority Tendency—(IMT)—led by Ernest Mandel, Livio Maitan and Pierre Frank, and the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction—(LTF)—led by Joseph Hansen and other SWP functionaries.

The Socialist Workers Party does not reject the use of violence in principle, but argues only that this may not be an appropriate time. As Peter Camejo, a member of the SWP Political Committee, stated in an answer to Ernest Mandel—Comrade Germain:

Comrade Germain leaves the impression that Lenin opposed terrorism but supported guerrilla warfare. Lenin's approach was not that simple.

Guerrilla warfare is only one form of the utilization of arms. It cannot be correctly counterposed to terrorism.

The word "terrorism" is commonly used to mean the politics of those who believe that violent actions against individual bourgeois figures can bring about social change, precipitate a revolutionary situation, or electrify or help mobilize the masses even if undertaken by isolated individuals or groups. Terrorism in that sense is rejected by the Marxist movement. But under the conditions of civil war, terrorist acts can have a totally different political import. Their isolated nature fades. In the process of an insurrection, terrorist acts *may be* advantageous to the workers movement. They may also be damaging. But terrorist acts that are not part of a generalized mass armed struggle remain isolated and are detrimental to the workers movement.⁴

SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes accused Mandel of "attempts to smuggle terrorism under the name 'urban guerrilla war,' into the traditions of Leninism. * * *."⁵

Mary-Alice Waters, another member of the SWP Political Committee, characterized the debate in the International as follows:

The majority held that they too were for building parties but that revolutionary parties could only be constructed today in Latin America if the Trotskyists proved themselves the best guerrilla fighters, arms in hand. Such was the only path to either the vanguard or the masses.

The minority felt that such a strategy could only lead to the political miseducation of the entire world movement and the decimation of the small Trotskyist parties and cadres in Latin America. Logically it would have to be extended beyond Latin America to other parts of the world.

Other supporters of the Latin American majority document have tried to shift the discussion onto the axis of "for or against armed struggle." We reject any implication that that is what the discussion is really about. If supporters of the minority view were against armed struggle, they would be Social Democrats or Stalinists, not Trotskyists. What we reject is the strategy of "pick up the gun" as the road to power. As a strategy it stands in the way of the construction of mass revolutionary parties throughout Latin America, and that is what the debate is about.⁶

The Socialist Workers Party has described the leadership of the IMT majority faction of the Fourth International in rather colorful terms. Accord-

ing to the old-time SWP Political and National Committee member Tom Kerry:

There is, of course, a division of labor among the Mandel-Maitan-Frank trio. Ernest Mandel is the ideologue of the group and among the “Old Husbands,” is the one who fathers the political documents, although they, too, often bear the anonymous authorship of “IEC Majority Tendency.”

Pierre Frank is the org-spetz, who draws on his decades of experience to beget—in the name of “democratic centralism” of course—the belligerent, factional documents, that deal with the “organization question.”

Livio Maitan, since he fell from grace following the debacle of his Latin America line, is the “trouble-shooter” for the faction, the faction “fireman,” who is dispatched to the “hot spots.”⁷

The Canadian section of the Fourth International, the League for Socialist Action—LSA—has also split on the issue of whether or not to support terrorism at this time. One faction called the Revolutionary Communist Tendency has left the LSA and joined a rival Canadian Trotskyite group, the Revolutionary Marxist Group—RMG. The RMG is a sympathizing group of the Fourth International.

Before the split, the Revolutionary Communist Tendency argued:

As Marxists, we do not believe in individual terror because it underrates the class struggle. We instead believe in increasing the struggle, in mass terrorism!

Let us make it perfectly clear to the CEC (Central Executive Committee)—that for Marxists, kidnappings can never constitute a strategy; a kidnapping is a tactical question. And further, the resolution on Latin America adopted by the 9th World Congress allowed for the employment of such a tactic within the general framework of the armed struggle; the resolution states that it is necessary to “undertake actions in the big cities aimed at striking the nerve centers . . . and at *punishing the hangmen of the regime as well as achieving propagandistic and psychological successes*”. (our emphasis—RCT)⁸

The leadership of the LSA answered:

Lenin, of course, did not reject terrorism “in principle”—as the supporters of the RCT have often pointed out. Marxists do not reject any method of struggle “in principle.” We judge each method according to one criterion: “will this method, used at this time and in these circumstances, advance the cause of proletarian revolution?” If the answer is yes, then we use the method if we are able. If the answer is no, then we don’t. We are concerned only with effectiveness, and anyone who reads the works of Marxism on terrorism, including the citations from Lenin made above, will see that effectiveness is the only criterion used.⁹

Terrorist activities have been conducted by sections of the Fourth International in Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, Spain, France, England, and Ireland, and the Middle East.

Chapter 5

Latin American Terrorism

Argentina

The first section of the Fourth International to adopt terrorism as a tactic was the group in Argentina called Palabra Obrera, led by Nahuel Moreno. Moreno arranged for Argentine Trotskyite cadres to be trained in Cuba in all aspects of revolutionary armed struggle, including terrorism, as early as 1962.¹ This was consistent with the policy of "entrism" developed by Pablo and Mandel. Trotskyites discovered among the membership of Communist organizations had been expelled, or in some cases were murdered by the Stalinist Communists. For example, 500 Trotskyite Vietnamese cadres were killed by the Stalinists under Ho Chi Minh.² Only the Cuban Communists accepted the Trotskyites as allies.

In 1961, terrorist acts were carried out by the Trotskyites in Tucuman. Activities included an "expropriation," the euphemism for a bank robbery.³ In 1963, Palabra Obrera merged with the Castroite group, Frente Revolucionario Indoamericano Popular, FRIP. This group pressed for an escalation of "armed struggle." In 1965, the organization was renamed Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores, PRT. The PRT leaders were Moreno and Mario Roberto Santucho.

Under the Santucho leadership, a PRT cadre in Tucuman led violent street mobs throwing Molotov cocktails and firing pistols at police officers and stations.⁴

In 1968 the PRT split over a combination of personality and tactical disputes. Santucho's group, the PRT-Combatiente, openly espoused and engaged in terrorist activities. The PRT-Verdad, headed by Moreno, played down the armed struggle aspects of revolutionary activity, and emphasized electoral action.

The Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International held in 1969 recognized the Santucho group as the official Argentine section of the Fourth International and the Moreno group as a sympathizing section. Since that time the Moreno group merged with the Coral faction of the Argentine Socialist Party to form the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, PST—the Argentine Socialist Workers Party.

The Tenth World Congress of the Fourth International held in 1974 voted to continue the PST as a sympathizing section although they were allowed to participate and vote at the Congress. A secret resolution was passed with the admonition that it not be published in the public press of the International. The resolution passed by the proterrorist IMT majority in the World Congress excoriates the PST for dodging "the problems of armed struggle, of the violent destruction of the bourgeois state, of the formation of workers' militias" and for using "ambiguous formulas in its press that give the impression that the proletariat could win simply through propaganda against the army, directed to soldiers and noncommissioned officers, without necessarily forming armed detachments of the proletariat and without armed confrontations with the bourgeois repressive apparatus." (The full text of the resolution appears in the appendix following this section.)

The Santucho faction held a secret congress on July 19-20, 1970, at which the decision was made to organize their armed units into the Ejercito Revolucionario Popular, ERP, which was to be tightly controlled by the political leadership of the PRT. The PRT resolution stated in part:

The Central Committee and executive committee of the party will make up the collective leadership conducting the war. It will appoint the national military secretary, the military leaders of the various units, the respective political commissioners and the military committee of the party. In the countryside, these military leaders will make up the branch and section executive committees of the party. On all levels the cells of the party that are in the army will assure that the military directives coming from the Central Committee and the executive committee are steadfastly and correctly applied.

Groups and individuals from outside the party who join the ERP will do so under the condition that they accept the party's military leadership and the political commissioners it designates.⁵

From 1971 through mid-1975 the ERP was the most successful revolutionary terrorist group in the Western Hemisphere, raising many millions of dollars in ransom from kidnap victims. The ERP made a specialty of assassinating aged retired military officers, ambushing police and small military units, and robbing banks for additional funds. Executives and employees of multinational corporations were made special targets for ERP kidnappings and assassinations.

Santucho himself was captured by the Argentine police, but in August 1972, led a spectacular jailbreak from Trelew prison. Santucho and some guerrillas hijacked an airplane and fled over the Andes to Chile where they received a warm welcome from Chile's Marxist-Leninist President Allende who aided them in traveling to Cuba where they were given a very warm welcome and refuge.⁶

In 1973, Santucho led his PRT/ERP out of the Fourth International. A very small faction remained in the FI and continued terrorist activity. This

group, which called itself the ERP—Red Faction, kidnapped in May 1973 a business executive, Aaron Bellinson, and received \$1 million for his release. Bellinson was released on June 3, 1973. The ERP-Red Faction turned \$100,000 of this sum over to Livio Maitan, an official of the Fourth International. Half of the money was to go toward Fourth International operations, and half was to be transferred to the MIR terrorists in Chile.⁷

Less than 2 months after receiving the extortion money, Maitan appeared at the national convention of the Socialist Workers Party, held in Ohio, August 5–10, 1973. Maitan, attending the convention as a leading FI-IEC official, spoke in support of terrorism as an immediate tactic at the convention.⁸

A series of Argentine police raids during 1975 broke the back of the Red Faction which had changed its name to the Revolutionary Communist League, LCR.⁹

The Santucho majority of the ERP became the cornerstone of a Latin American “terrorist international” called the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee, JCR. This apparatus was created late in 1973 to coordinate the activities of the Castroite Tupamaros of Uruguay, the MIR of Chile—which also had a Castroite orientation but a Trotskyite origin—and the ELN of Bolivia, a Trotskyite successor to Che Guevara’s group of the same name.

In June, 1974, \$5 million that had been extorted by the ERP from the EXXON Corp. as a result of the kidnapping of Victor Samuels, EXXON operations manager in Argentina, was divided among the three other JCR terrorist groups.¹⁰

Each of the JCR groups supplied cadres to the others to engage in terrorist activities throughout Latin America. The JCR has also established three European offices in Rome, Lisbon, and Paris to maintain contact with other terrorist organizations.

Effective action by the governments of Uruguay, Chile, Argentina, and Bolivia has wiped out a substantial portion of the JCR leadership. On July 19, 1976, Mario Roberto Santucho was killed in a shootout with Argentinian counter-insurgency forces in the town of Mercedes in Buenos Aires province.

The PST, led by Moreno, serves as a major force in the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction of the Fourth International. However, a dispute has developed between the Moreno organization and the U.S. Socialist Workers Party which controls the faction. This has resulted in the possibility that Moreno may pull his group out of the Fourth International, thus greatly reducing the strength of the Socialist Workers Party’s LTF.¹¹

Bolivia

The Bolivian section of the Fourth International, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, POR, is headed by Hugo Gonzales Moscoso. He is a leader of

the proterrorism now IMT faction of the Fourth International. In 1967, the POR established an underground terrorist armed branch, the ELN, which was named for the group led by Che Guevara in Bolivia which had been wiped out that year.¹²

Hugo Gonzales Moscoso wrote in the September 22, 1969, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, that the POR and ELN had suffered severe losses in combat with the police, but that on July 14 they had resumed activity by murdering a man who had allegedly assisted the police in tracking down Guevara's group.

Martine Knoeller, a leader of the IMT faction in the Fourth International, boasted in 1973 that "the Bolivian comrades adopted their turn toward armed struggle long before the Ninth World Congress," of the Fourth International.¹³ Although decimated by police and military actions, the Bolivian Trotskyites continue to attempt to organize among the tin miners, particularly in the Siglo district.

Chile

The Chilean Trotskyites played a major role in the founding of the MIR—Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria—in August 1965. The MIR was formed as a proterrorism, progueerrilla warfare coalition of Trotskyites and Castroites from the Chilean Socialist and Communist Parties. Under Salvador Allende's government, the MIR served as Allende's brownshirts and shock troops. The Chilean President's nephew, Andres Pascal Allende, the son of his sister, Laura, is a member of the MIR Central Committee.

When the Allende regime was deposed in September 1973, many MIRistas fled to Cuba and Argentina where they became part of the JCR—Revolutionary Coordinating Council—with the ERP, the Bolivian ELN, and the remnants of the Tupamaros.

At the opening of the 10th World Congress in February 1974, Ernest Mandel moved to make Trotskyite MIR leader Luis Vitale, under arrest by the Chilean military government, honorary chairman of the Congress.¹⁴ The motion carried.

The overt publications of the Fourth International have devoted considerable space to promoting the MIR. The November 19, 1973, edition of *Intercontinental Press* carried an interview with a Chilean Trotskyite who pointed out that the MIR had been founded "by some of our comrades." The May 6, 1974, issue of that magazine carried an interview with MIR Central Committee member Miguel Enriquez who had been interviewed in France for Rouge, the newspaper of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire—LCR, the French Fourth International section. Miguel Enriquez was killed in a shootout with Chilean police on October 31, 1974. His "companion," Carmen Castillo, was

wounded, arrested, and shortly afterwards deported. She commutes now between Cuba and Europe and is a member of the top MIR leadership. The brother of Miguel Enriquez was reported in 1975 to have become a top commander of the ERP in Argentina, leading a JCR-terrorist unit. The JCR's Paris apparatus has claimed Enriquez has disappeared and speculates that he may have been arrested or killed.

Peru

Trotskyite revolutionary armed struggle began in Peru in 1962 by the Frente Izquierdista Revolucionaria—FIR—led by Hugo Blanco-Galdos. Blanco sought to utilize land seizures by Peruvian Indian peasant unions as a preliminary to the “necessary” armed struggle. Blanco's FIR was assisted by Argentinian Trotskyite cadres sent to Peru by Nahuel Moreno.¹⁵

During an arms raid on a police post in 1962 led by Blanco, two police officers were shot to death. Hunted by the authorities, Blanco was apprehended in 1963. At his trial Blanco admitted to having killed a total of three police officers.¹⁶ He received a 25-year sentence. Blanco was released in a general political amnesty in December 1969; he resumed revolutionary organizing activities and was deported to Argentina which soon did the same for identical reasons. Blanco was then given refuge by the Allende government in Chile, which was deposed in September 1973. Blanco then lived in Europe and acted as an important figure in the Fourth International IEC.

Blanco returned to Peru in December 1975, to resume work with the Peruvian section of the Fourth International, the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores. Blanco was again deported from Peru in July 1976.¹⁷

In an analysis of the failure of his terrorist movement which appeared in *Intercontinental Press*, September 30, 1968, Blanco said he had not developed a party organization “rooted in the masses on a national scale.” Blanco criticized rival Peruvian Castroite terrorist groups, the MIR and ELN, which were based among radicalized students, as having the “very prevalent attitude of underrating the workers' and peasants' mass movements. * * * In Peru this struggle offers the shortest and surest road to armed insurrection.”

Blanco is now allied with the minority Leninist-Trotskyist Faction on the International Executive Committee. The Socialist Workers Party and its front, the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners—USLA—attempted during 1975 and 1976 to bring Blanco into the United States for a speaking tour and to bolster its positions. Blanco's application for a visa was turned down.

In a press release dated March 22, 1976, the USLA characterized Blanco's crime—which was murdering police—as “a political one, the crime of organizing landless peasants in a long overdue land-reform movement that

defended itself against repression * * *." USLA termed the visa denial "a brazen pretext used by Washington to justify its undemocratic exclusion of a former political prisoner whom organizations representing tens of thousands of Americans have demanded the right to hear."¹⁸

Chapter 6

Terrorist Activities in Europe

The Trotskyite Communist Fourth International not only has been vociferously supporting terrorist activities—bombings, kidnappings, assassinations, and armed robberies, “expropriations” as the revolutionaries term them—by non-Trotskyite revolutionaries and nationalist groups, but also has conducted terrorist activities itself.

France

During the 1960's, the French section of the Fourth International led by Pierre Frank was able to recruit some of the violence-oriented New Left. These New Leftists recruited by Frank, were similar in their outlook and desire for street violence to the SDS Weatherman faction which led major street riots in New York, Berkeley, Boston, and Chicago during 1969 and 1970 before disappearing underground.

In April 1966, a New Left segment split away from the Communist Party controlled Union Etudiants Communistes de France and declared itself Trotskyist. It affiliated with Pierre Frank's Fourth International section which was then called the Parti Communiste Internationaliste. The youth group, led by Alain Krivine, was then called the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire and expressed its strong admiration for Castro and Che Guevara.

For their prominent role in leading the student and worker riots which nearly precipitated a civil war, in April 1968, the French Government outlawed the Trotskyite group. However, the Trotskyites merely changed the names of their organizations and continued to function. The Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire became the Cercles Rouge—Red Circle—then changed its name to Ligue Communiste. For its involvement in continuing violence, the Ligue was dissolved again in June 1973, by the French Government. However, the Ligue merely changed its name again to Front Communiste Revolutionnaire, LCR. LCR's top leaders include the aging Pierre Frank, Gerard Vergeat, Alain Krivine, Charles Micheloux, and Daniel Bensaid.¹

The involvement of the French Trotskyites in terrorism was revealed by SWP Political and National Committee member, Mary-Alice Waters, alias Therese, who is one of the SWP members on the Fourth International United Secretariat. On behalf of her minority faction, Waters submitted a report attacking the "terrorism now" position of the Fourth International majority to the December 2-6, 1972, United Secretariat meeting.

Incidentally at the opening of her report Waters listed "six comrades who are members of the United Secretariat—Adair, Hans, Juan, Pedro, Stateman, and Therese."² Comparison with other internal Fourth International documents indicates that Adair is the Canadian Alan Harris who was sent by the Fourth International to Great Britain to help lead the British section; Hans is an alias for SWP National Secretary, Jack Barnes; Juan was Joseph Hansen; Pedro is Peter Camejo and Stateman is apparently Barry Sheppard.

The Waters report which was of course rejected by the majority attacked "violent minority actions":

She wrote:

Let us turn now to one of the most important questions being debated in the European movement—a question so vital that it can prove fateful for our sections in the immediate future. The issue is what several comrades of the Ligue Communiste refer to as the need for "deliberate somewhat voluntaristic initiative by the vanguard" to reintroduce "violence" into the class struggle. [See Appendix, "The Debate in the Ligue Communiste."]

This idea is not developed clearly in the European document, but the essence is included in Section 19, which states: "The spirit in which our sections will have to educate the entire mass vanguard moreover, is this: to show the bourgeoisie *in practice* that the price it will have to pay for any attempt to establish an open dictatorship will be a civil war in which both camps will use *arms*." (p. 25. Emphasis added.)

One interpretation of this line has already been initiated in France to a sufficient degree to indicate what it entails.

The May 13, 1972, issue of *Rouge*, the official paper of the French section of the Fourth International, prominently featured a "last minute" news bulletin that announced:

"In response to the intensification of imperialist aggression in Indochina, on Wednesday, May 10, at 6:30 a.m. revolutionary militants attacked the offices of Honeywell-Bull and the machine display at the Trade Center. Molotov cocktails were thrown and the machines were seriously damaged. Simultaneously, a similar action took place against the Toulouse headquarters of Honeywell-Bull.

"The Ligue Communiste supports and salutes the revolutionary militants who have thus demonstrated their determination not to let the new arrogance of imperialism go unanswered. By these acts they have denounced the war profiteers who furnish the materiel for imperialist aggression. And they have demonstrated their solidarity with the Indochinese people—at the very moment when the French government was trying vainly to ban the mass demonstrations that took place Wednesday night."

On September 2, 1972, *Rouge* carried another special article, which approvingly reproduced the press release issued by a commando squad that firebombed the Argentine embassy in Paris, following the murder of the Argentine comrades in Trelew. As *Rouge* reported it:

"In France in the dawn hours of August 25 revolutionary Marxist militants attacked the Argentine embassy with Molotov cocktails. The following communique was issued by these revolutionists shortly after their actions:

"Today revolutionary Marxist militants attacked the Argentine embassy in Paris. This symbolic action is part of the worldwide wave of protest developing in the wake of the savage murder of sixteen unarmed Argentine revolutionists by the mercenaries of Lanusse. On the defensive today politically, the imperialists and their watchdogs are escalating their extortions and crimes in Latin America and throughout the world.

"They will not go unpunished because the day is near when the Argentine and Latin American masses, mobilized by their vanguard on the road of revolutionary war, will sound the death knell of the murderers' system and make them pay the full retribution for their accumulated debt of blood.

"Long live the Argentine socialist revolution.

"Long live the Latin American revolution.

"Hasta la victoria siempre. Venceremos.

"Cuarta Internacional"

The signature of the communique falsely gave the impression that this was an action approved by the Fourth International and carried out by its forces.

"Cuarta Internacional" is of course Fourth International. Despite Waters' denial of responsibility, Pierre Frank, a leader of both the French section and the International took full responsibility for the terrorist acts.

Waters went on to say,

The rationale for such actions has been explained at length in a number of articles in *Rouge*.

For example, the June 10, 1972, issue carried an article entitled "Terrorism and Revolution" by Daniel Bensaïd, a member of the Political Bureau of the Ligue. He states:

"As far as we're concerned, we have not hesitated to resort to violent minority actions when the actions were tied up with mass activity. In December 1970, at the time of the Burgos verdict, the Ligue Communiste supported the attack of a group of militants against the Bank of Spain, but that was parallel with leading the mass campaign on behalf of the Basques threatened with death. We also led actions against General Ky when he visited Paris, against the U.S. consulate, an action that led to the indictment of Alain Krivine, and we supported the action led by militants against the firms profiting from the U.S. war. But this was parallel with systematic mass work on behalf of the Indochinese revolution, within the framework of the FSI [Front Solidarite Indochine—Indochina Solidarity Front] in particular."

Such actions, we are told, have a basis in theory—the theory of the "dialectics of mass violence and minority violence." According to this "theory," violent

actions organized by a small group can show the way, stimulate actions by the masses of workers through raising their combativity, and prove to the workers that they can and should use violence on a mass scale.

For example the June 10 article takes up the question of kidnapping factory owners or supervisors. "It is clear that the occupation of a factory that mobilizes a mass of workers to control the means of production and eventually passes over to active administration has a far greater significance than the kidnapping of a supervisor or a boss . . . But if the kidnapping expresses a genuine anger, if it is not presented as an end in itself, a pure revolt, but rather as a means of breaking up a passivity and resignation of the masses by beginning to overthrow its hierarchical idols, then kidnapping can be a correct initiative the workers ought to defend and even in certain cases promote."

Waters argued, however, that Trotskyites should engage in violence at the proper time:

The Leninist method of educating the working masses in effective anti-capitalist action is not through the exemplary action of small, clandestine groups, violent or otherwise. It is by organizing and leading the masses in struggle to achieve their demands. As those struggles unfold, the masses themselves come to understand the need to defend their interests against the violence of the rulers. As that point approaches, we help the masses to organize their defense of their struggles.

As in every other aspect of the struggles of the masses, we play a vanguard role. We take the initiative within the masses on such questions as the formation of strike pickets and workers militias or, in certain situations, guerrilla units to defend the mass struggles of the peasants. We take these initiatives as members of the mass organizations, and in the name of the mass organizations, even if initially few besides ourselves are involved. The course followed by Hugo Blanco in Peru and the course followed by the Trotskyist leaders of the 1934 teamsters strike in Minneapolis offer instructive examples.³

Pierre Frank answered:

The use of force is not in itself terrorism and it is necessary to take care not to use the critiques made in our classics, for example against the Narodniks, incorrectly. Let's listen to what Trotsky himself said:

"It must be said that the Narodnik terrorists took their own words very seriously: bomb in hand they sacrificed their lives. We argued with them: 'under certain circumstances a bomb is an excellent thing but we should first clarify our minds.' " (P. 79, In Defense of Marxism.)

Under certain circumstances a bomb is an excellent thing! Under certain circumstances, Trotsky, according to Comrade Mary-Alice, fell prey to adventurism and terrorism.

The article in question denounces two "adventurist" actions, the one against the Argentine Embassy and the one against Honeywell-Bull. They were "in no way related to the needs of the masses or of any section of the masses." (P. 25)

In our opinion, the crime of Trelew required an immediate response and, as

everyone knows, one cannot always summon up mass demonstrations. Thus the question of a vigorous action was posed, and we were of the opinion that the Trelew crime required more than a telegram or a customary gesture. But in the question of Honeywell-Bull, one finds a problem posed that Comrade Mary-Alice didn't seem to suspect. Why did revolutionary militants attack this American firm if not because it made material used against the Vietnamese revolution? We are for the defense and victory of that revolution, of the workers state of Vietnam. On this question we are not just for mass actions but also for the sabotage of the capitalist troops and of their armament: "The Fourth International has established firmly that in all imperialist countries, independent of the fact as to whether they are in alliance with the USSR or in a camp hostile to it, the proletarian parties during the war must develop the class struggle with the purpose of seizing power. At the same time the proletariat of the imperialist countries must not lose sight of the interests of the USSR's defense (or of that of colonial revolutions) and in case of real necessity must resort to the most decisive action, for instance, strikes, acts of sabotage, etc." (P. 30, *In Defense of Marxism*.)

The action against Honeywell-Bull, symbolic as it has been, fell into this category. It was "related to the needs" of the Vietnamese masses, and one can simply regret that there weren't more of them and more vigorous ones.

In peremptorily asserting that minority violence and mass violence cannot be complementary, that they are politically contradictory, Comrade Mary-Alice rejects in toto all the actions taken on by the Ligue Communiste that had a minority character. But the Ligue concretely showed the contrary within the framework of solidarity actions toward the Indochinese revolution. On the day after the presidential "elections" in Saigon, the Ligue clandestinely organized a demonstration of 400 militants in front of the American consulate in Paris. This demonstration, like the others (against the South Vietnamese consulate in Paris, Honeywell-Bull . . .) politically prepared the January 20, 1973, demonstration, in the course of which 15,000 demonstrators violently confronted the police in order to make their way to the American Embassy. That demonstration even had an echo in the ranks of the French CP. It represented a step forward in the anti-imperialist mobilization. It would have been much more difficult to carry out if it hadn't been prepared by the Ligue.⁴

Ernest Mandel, writing under his pseudonym Ernest Germain, answered the charge that the French section wanted the terrorist violence to escalate into guerrilla warfare. Mandel wrote:

We repeat: what we threaten the fascists with is not "guerrilla war," but civil war of the Spanish type, which, let us repeat again, was started by relatively limited vanguard forces.⁵

Great Britain and Ireland

The British section of the Fourth International has always been under the domination of the International movement. In 1963, the British section was

reorganized by the Fourth International and cadres were sent from Canada to supervise the operations. Alan Harris was one of these and had his salary paid by the Fourth International.⁶

The British section now called the International Marxist Group later complained that Harris was being subsidized by the Socialist Workers Party to carry out factional activities against the IMG leadership.⁷ The leadership of the IMG support the pro-terrorist International Majority Tendency of the Fourth International. Harris works with the SWP in the Leninist-Trotskyist faction.

Ernest Mandel is now in complete control of the IMG. He even wrote the political resolution for the 1976 IMG convention. That resolution was adopted at the December 22-23, 1975 meeting of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and then presented to the English section.⁸

The IMG supports the terrorist activities of a small group in Ireland. This organization called Saor Eire considers itself part of the IRA, but has engaged in assassinations of other IRA members. A history of the relationship between the IMG and Irish terrorists was given by SWP member, Gerry Foley, in a lengthy discussion article entitled "The Test of Ireland." Foley wrote:

The first sign of the IMG's interest in the official republican movement came when the May 1970 issue of the *Red Note* reprinted an interview with the official leader Malachy McGurran from *Intercontinental Press*. Contacts seem to have developed subsequent to that, leading to Comrade Purdie's visit to Belfast in July 1970 and to the official Ard Fheis in December 1970. But at the same time, the IMG came in contact with, or began to take more seriously, a group of adventurers expelled from the republican movement in the 1960s. These adventurers were associated with Gery Lawless, an "independent" Trotskyist who had broken with the republican movement in 1955, accusing it of reluctance to begin the guerrilla campaign for which it began preparing with the arms raids in the early 1950s. Many of them were ex-members of the Irish Workers Group, a heterogeneous grouping led by Comrade Lawless which disintegrated in early 1968. The IMG's interest in this group seemed to increase at the end of 1970 when Comrade Lawless joined the IMG and became the co-leader of its Irish work.

An Irish ERP

In its January 1-15, 1971 issue, the *Red Mole* published an interview with a representative of this grouping, Saor Eire, which offered a different version of the movement toward politics in the official IRA. This interview was announced on a cover with a picture of a guerrilla pointing a gun at the reader. In answer to a question about the split in the republican movement, this anonymous spokesman said:

"Well, we have seen the inevitability of such a split occurring for the last eight years. We did not particularly favour it since, unfortunately, it happened over wrong issues. In the official section, we have an amalgam of peaceful roadmen, reformers, and left-wingers; and within the Provisionals, we have more militant elements, but right-wing politics. In practice, we have found ourselves more

closely aligned to the Provisionals; it is among those elements that we draw a lot of our support.

“Of course, it is important to draw a distinction between the leadership and the rank-and-file in both these organizations. Both leaderships seem equally opposed to us and equally capable of spreading slanders about us, whereas with both rank-and-files we have very much in common. We are grateful for the help that Cathal Goulding, the chief of staff of the official IRA, sent in relation to Frank Keane’s case. But we condemn unequivocally their actions in issuing disclaimers and thereby helping police to finger our organization in the Arran Quay robbery.”

The representative described the origins of his organization in this way:

“I’ll have to go back to the ’60s and trace the development of the Republican movement. After the failure of the mid-’50s military campaign in the Six Counties, a certain amount of disillusionment set in within the IRA and Sinn Fein. People saw the futility of a purely military campaign not backed up by some form of political action. In the early ’60s some people connected with the London-based ‘Irish Democrat’ joined the movement. Their Stalinist politics were not accepted overnight, but on account of the lack of clear-cut politics within the Republican movement, the position was that any brand of politics was accepted. With the influx of these people, political classes were started, which were good in themselves, as they gave many members of the Republican movement their first knowledge of left-wing politics; but hand in hand with the growing political awareness, there began a running-down of the armed section, the IRA. This unfortunately led to a lot of people equating left-wing politics with reformism. Many of our members at this stage started to voice their objections to this running down of the IRA. These people were either dismissed on trumped-up charges or left of their own accord. Other members saw through the politics of Stalinism and left on a political basis.

“At this time too, many English-based revolutionary groups started to spring up. People saw in these groups alternatives to the Irish Communist Party and to the current Stalinist orientation of the Republican movement, and thought that maybe, through such organisations, a new fusion could be made between left-wing politics and the traditional military of Republicanism. Some people who had been involved in the Trotskyist English-based Irish Workers’ Group formed an important section of Saor Eire and began to form links with these dissident elements of the Republican movement. This resulted in a loose organization being formed in Dublin about three to four years ago, which carried out some arms raids and some bank raids in an attempt to try to get a militant politically conscious, armed group off the ground.

“After these initial actions there was not such a mass movement toward this grouping as was expected, since its actions were seen as more in the tradition of the international revolutionary movement, as opposed to the Irish movement. The next period was spent in discussion with various political groupings, and with various members of the Republican movement, in an attempt to win them over to this new concept of political action.”

The method by which this tiny adventurist group hoped to stimulate a “mass movement” toward itself was explained as follows:

“Saor Eire is a left-wing armed group which is attempting to act as a fuse or detonator to the Irish revolutionary struggle. It is attempting to step up the tempo of development of political life. It is part of the Republican tradition but also draws from the international revolutionary movement, both politically and in a military sense. As opposed to past forms the Republican struggle took, Saor Eire is centered around the cities and could be called an urban guerrilla group, inasmuch as it sees the main struggle taking place in the cities, and within the working class directly.”

As for Saor Eire's activities, although they did not exactly depend on mass support, they were designed to win mass sympathy:

“Unfortunately due to publicity given to us by the bourgeois press, people seem to think that we are only involved in robbing banks and living high lives, etc. etc. This could not be further from the truth. We *have* robbed many banks and taken responsibility for them. But we have also been involved in armed raids, in industrial disputes, in direct confrontations with the state and its agents, also in local disputes and tenants' disputes. The money expropriated from the banks is used to purchase arms and equipment for the forthcoming struggle in Ireland. A lot of our finances have gone to aid the Catholic population of the North who have been under attack from British imperialism. This took the form of money, ammunition, and equipment. The money is also used for the maintenance of our revolutionaries in the field, who, at the moment, number quite a few. It is also used for political education, the arrangement of classes, camps, and all of the other running expenses that any armed group is liable to. We're also involved in military training of members of other left-wing groups in Ireland, people from the North, and the broad Republican movement, who have not been able to get this training within their own organizations.” (Emphasis in original.)

Despite a certain autonomy from the masses, Saor Eire was not, it was explained, a foquista group: “We don't believe that the foco itself can become the party or has any monopoly on the revolution. But small guerrilla groupings, to a certain extent independent of the working class, *can* help to raise the level of the working class and so help to create the party.” (Emphasis in original.)

In fact, Saor Eire was a very special kind of guerrilla group, one sympathetic to the Fourth International and especially to the International's support for “armed struggle,” an Irish facsimile of the Argentine Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo! An exemplification of the correctness of the line of the Ninth World Congress. . . .

“As regards the Fourth International: we recognise the revolutionary role it has played since its inception; how it came to the aid of the Algerian revolution with arms and weapons while other so-called revolutionary organisations failed to fulfill their duty. We also admire how they came to the aid of the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions and defended them against imperialism, in America and throughout the world. We are particularly sympathetic to the political assistance it is giving the Irish struggle at the moment. While the Stalinists have consistently dilly-dallied and vacillated on the question of Ireland and on the role of armed struggle in Ireland, the Fourth International is probably the only organization which has consistently given it support. A lot of our members have been, at some time or other, members of Trotskyist groupings.”⁹

The Trotskyist Martyrs; or the International “Secret Army”

When Peter Graham, an active member of IMG and Saor Eire, was murdered by a rival IRA group strong statements advocating violence were made by IMG activists. Concerning this Foley wrote:

But it is not necessary to wait for the truth about Comrade Graham's death to draw some conclusions about the way the IMG and its European cothinkers responded to this tragic incident.

“After recalling Peter Graham's life as a revolutionist, Comrade Tariq Ali issued a warning: ‘At present we do not know what criminal brute shot Peter Graham to death; but we will find out; and when we do we have ways of dealing with this type of individual.’

“An investigation is now in progress, but as Saor Eire declared (cf. *Rouge*, no. 126), any investigation must be directed at the offices of the Special Branch (political police) in Dublin.” (*Rouge*, November 6, 1971.)

Comrade Ali's solemn warning could not fail to make the headlines. This was particularly true since the Dublin papers were giving sensational coverage to the Graham killing, treating it as a mysterious gang war among the republican and far-left fringe.

Comrade Ali's threats were made even more newsworthy by an article in the independent left-liberal news weekly *This Week* by Sean Boyne.

“The Dublin Trotskyist leader Peter Graham (26) may have been murdered in the middle of a gun-running operation. Informed sources in both Dublin and London link him with a plan to smuggle guns through the 26 Counties for the IRA war against British troops in the North.

“Graham would have been in a key position for any such operation. He was the Irish representative of the Fourth International, an influential, pro-IRA Trotskyist organisation with a world-wide network of branches and previous gun-running experience. He had very close contacts with Saor Eire almost since its inception. He was reported to have had access to large sums of money and he was held in very high esteem by important members of the Provisional IRA.

“There is no evidence that the Fourth International has been involved in gun-running to Ireland. But through the organisation he would have been able to make valuable contacts abroad. The Fourth International in recent years has supplied arms for the rebellions in Cuba, Algeria and Hungry [sic], and is has now decided on a policy of ‘maximum support’ for the IRA.

“But even if Graham had been running arms, and there is no conclusive proof for this, who should want to kill him? His close associates in Dublin have ruled out the possibility that he was sentenced to death as an informer by Saor Eire or any Republican organization.

“‘Peter Graham was no informer and he was most security conscious,’ said Tariq Ali, sentiments which were echoed by all who knew the dead man. The Young Socialists have however recalled some allegations made some weeks ago by Saor Eire that “murder squads” had been formed among right-wing gardai [police] and Special Branch men. And a London-based friend of Graham's has

mentioned the possibility of a move by British Intelligence to thwart a Trotskyist intervention in the Northern Ireland situation.

"But there is also a theory that the shooting may have been ordered by some rival bank-robbing group to Saor Eire which for some reason wanted to teach the 'Trots' a lesson. It may be significant that Saor Eire men have stated in recent weeks that they were not responsible for every bank raid carried out in the 26 Counties.

"One thing is certain. Whoever was responsible for the murder is in a rather delicate position. As one London Trotskyist said ominously: 'There is an awful lot of anger about the shooting of Peter Graham.' "

Boyne's version of Comrade Ali's remark was: "We have our own ways of dealing with such people."

There is unfortunately no doubt that the IMG appreciated this kind of publicity, with all its exciting suggestions that the Fourth International was engaged in international gun-running and had its "own ways of dealing" with assassins. Comrade Ali in fact protested because *Intercontinental Press* did not reprint this flattering article in full.

In fact, one organ of a section supporting the IEC Majority Tendency seemed really to strain itself to present the situation of the Irish Trotskyists in the most heroic light.

"In difficult conditions after the cowardly assassination of Peter Graham and the mysterious death in January 1972 of Mairin Keegan, another leader of the RMG, our comrades of the Irish section are assuming an enormous task. They have to offer real support to the two branches of the republican movement (the Official and Provisional IRA), to develop Marxist analyses of the Irish question, and above all to coordinate the struggles in the North as well as the South because they alone of all the revolutionary organizations have a base both in Ulster and the Republic." (*Rouge*, June 3, 1972.)

Tragic as Comrade Keegan's death was, it was not unexplainable. She died of a long illness. She was, however, a member of Saor Eire, as a member of the RMG pointed out at a memorial meeting held for her in London.

"She was not simply an armchair Marxist; she allied theory to action. In May 1968 in Paris she took part in the struggle of the workers and students which has opened the new era of working class revolution. And in 1969, back in Ireland, as a member of the Dublin Citizens Committee and more importantly Saor Eire, she gave aid to the national revolution that has been developing in Northern Ireland. . . .

"I might conclude by wishing a long life to the FI (Fourth International) but this would be contrary to that body's aims. It wants world revolution and the world includes Ireland as soon as possible. So I prophesy a short and successful life to the FI and to Saor Eire. Let our enemies which are those of the working class beware. We are only beginning." (*The Red Mole*, January 24, 1972.)

The dangers that this kind of romantic rodomontade by the supporters of the IEC Majority Tendency represent for the entire International are only too obvious. From the standpoint of revolutionary morality, moreover, it was extremely dubious. It did not honor Graham's sacrifice but exploited it, threatening to

build a farcical tissue of romantic pretensions around his death that could only discredit the Irish Trotskyists.

At the same time, this type of boastfulness and lurid imagining had a powerful momentum. For many months after the death of Comrade Graham, adventurist fantasies tended to dominate the discussions in the RMG. This was particularly noticeable in the conference of February 1972. The representative of the IMG, Comrade Lawless, to his credit, stopped this trend at one point in the discussion as it reached a dangerous point. (As for the representative of the International leadership, he was apparently not disturbed by it and in fact was anxious to reassure me when I showed signs, no doubt, of getting rather agitated.) However, it is clear from the line of *The Red Mole* and the IMG speaker at Comrade Graham's funeral that the British organization and the International leadership encouraged precisely this sort of thing. It is fortunate that Comrade Lawless decided to retreat from the logic of their adventurist line. One wonders what the IMG would have done if this kind of talk had resulted in an actual adventure and victimizations. Would they have sent a commando team to "avenge" the Irish comrades? It is much more likely that a few more martyrs would have been exploited to add to the luster of the "revolutionary pole of attraction."¹⁰

Alan Harris also complained that the IMG was, "giving full support to a small group that was expelled from the Republican movement, Saor Eire, an anti-Leninist terrorist grouping based in the Irish Republic."¹¹

The British press, however, has accused Saor Eire of doing some of the bombings in London and other English cities.

The SWP has given considerable publicity to a group in Ireland called the Irish Republican Socialist Party. There is reason to believe that this group is closely linked to Saor Eire. In an interview with an IRSP leader, Seamas Costello, the SWP's Gerry Foley asked about the warfare between his group and the official IRA.

Q. The "Officials" say that a shadowy military organization linked to the IRSP has carried out attacks on their members. They draw two different conclusions from this. Some say that you don't control it. Others say that you are trying to use it as your assassination squad without taking responsibility for what it does. What is the relationship between the IRSP and the military groupings that have expressed support for it in the conflict with the "Officials"?

A. Well, the relationship with the PLA [People's Liberation Army] and the other armed groups that have acted in this way is as follows: The PLA and other groups that haven't chosen to say publicly what their names are offered to assist us in defending our members against the "Officials." This followed the death of one of our members in Belfast. The Belfast Regional Executive accepted that offer. The basis of this acceptance was that as long as the "Officials" attacked IRSP members, these groups would defend IRSP members against such actions and retaliate for such actions.

It's true to say that we don't control the individual actions carried out in pursuit of this policy, any more than the Army Council of the "Official" IRA controls the

individual actions of members of its organization. But we are quite satisfied that as soon as agreement is reached between the IRSP and the "Official" IRA and as soon as we have some concrete indication that the "Officials" are going to call off its campaign, there will be no difficulty whatsoever about ensuring that there are no attacks on members or supporters of the "Official" IRA.¹²

IMG leader Tariq Ali has publicly supported terrorism and boasted that if Governor Wallace had visited his university he would have killed him.¹³

The Trotskyite Communist Fourth International is actively supporting terrorism and organizing proterrorist parties in other European countries.

Spain

There are two Fourth International sections in Spain. One, the Liga Comunista—Communist League—supports the Socialist Workers Party, U.S.A. and its Leninist-Trotskyist faction. The other, Liga Comunista Revolucionaria—Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (VI) (LCR-ETA (VI)) translated Revolutionary Communist League—Land and Freedom VI—supports the "terrorism now" International Majority Tendency. The latter was formed by a merger of the Trotskyite LCR with the Basque terrorist ETA (VI) early in 1974.¹⁴

When a rival ETA faction, ETA (V), assassinated the Spanish Prime Minister, Luis Carrero Blanco, in December 1973, LCR-ETA (VI) expressed public support for the grotesque murder. The official newspaper of the British Fourth International section, Red Weekly, headlined their January 11, 1974, issue "Spanish Trotskyists Give Total Support to Carrero Blanco's Assassination."

Portugal

The official Fourth International section in Portugal is called the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI) (International Communist League). Another group has recently surfaced called Partido Revolucionario dos Trabalhadores (Revolutionary Workers Party) which is mainly based among militant high school students.¹⁵ Attempts are being made to merge the two groups.

On October 31, 1975, the Central Committee of the LCI complained to the leadership of the Fourth International that the two representatives of the United Secretariat operating in Portugal, Comrades Aubin and Duret, had been organizing a faction within LCI.¹⁶ "Comrade Duret" has been identified as A. Udry, a member of the Fourth International Executive Committee from Switzerland. "Aubin" is Charles Michaloux, one of the most active propo-

nents of international terrorism now in the French Fourth International section.

Greece

The International Communist Party is the Greek section of the Fourth International. One of its active members, Theologos Psaradelles, was prosecuted for breaking into a military depot and stealing explosives. He was arrested in 1969, tried in 1970 and sentenced to a 12-year term.

He told the court:

I am a worker and a member of the Fourth International. This precise class and political position has led me onto the road of struggle against oppression and into attempting to give a correct orientation to the Greek and world workers.

I am accused of attempting to overthrow the state by force and violence. I do not deny it. * * *

These are my aims and they are the aims of the Fourth Communist International to which I belong.

Psardelles concluded:

In the end, the working class and the oppressed masses will destroy the barbaric capitalistic system, which brings only misfortunes, hunger, and wars. On the ruins of capitalism they will build the United Socialist Republics of the World.

Try us, but wait. A fire is consuming everything. It is burning under your feet, above you, around you. You and your masters will not escape it.

Long live the world working class!

Long live the Fourth International!

Long live the World Socialist Revolution!¹⁷

Chapter 7

Terrorist Activities in the Middle East

The Fourth International supports terrorism in the Middle East as a weapon for the eventual creation of an Arab Communist state stretching from North Africa to Pakistan. As an initial step toward that goal, the Fourth International supports Palestinian terrorists and the destruction of the State of Israel.

This policy was described in an article signed by "Jaber," a member of the International Executive Committee from Lebanon; "Sami," of Iraq; and Gerard Vergeat, an alternate member of the IEC who is assigned to work for the Fourth International Bureau, the apparatus for day-to-day operations.¹

The article revealed the Fourth International position in support of the "complete and unconditional right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination; that is, their right to reclaim all the territory from which they have been expelled."

The article states:

The exercise of this right presupposes the destruction of the Zionist state * * *. * * * this solution cannot be envisaged outside the context of a revolutionary overturn in the entire Near East, which alone can provide the forces necessary to liberate Palestine from the Zionist and imperialist grip. That is, the destruction of the Israeli state goes hand in hand with the abolition of the other Arab states, on the road to creating a united Arab state.²

The Israeli section of the Fourth International is called the Revolutionary Communist League, also known as Matzpen-Marxist. Its leader is Michel Warshawsky who serves on the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International under the alias "Mikado."³

In an article in the official Fourth International magazine, *Inprecor*, Warshawsky boasted of the role of his organization during recent rioting by Arab students in the Israeli-occupied West Bank area. He wrote:

The response to the RCL's activity, amplified by a press campaign after the arrest of some of its militants, has strongly increased the esteem for and audience

of the revolutionary Marxists among the Palestinian population. For the first time, the RCL appeared not as an organization of anti-Zionist Jews in solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinians, but as an organization that is an integral part of the struggle of this Palestinian population and is implanted among it.⁴

The Revolutionary Communist Group, led by S. Jaber, operates as the Lebanese section of the Fourth International. They actively participated in the 1975-1976 civil war in support of the Palestinian-Lebanese Left coalition. Jaber wrote in "Inprecor": "Militarily, the RCG participated in the fighting in the anti-reactionary camp." He went on to say "the RCG chose to participate essentially in the task of defending the popular neighborhoods. It took charge of some of the advanced defense posts."⁵

Both the Israeli and Lebanese sections of the Fourth International pretend that they are only sympathizers, rather than members of the Fourth International. In a letter signed "Mikado" and "Jaber" addressed to the 10th World Congress of the Fourth International held in Sweden in February 1974, they asked that their groups be recognized as sections of the International. However, they asked that "for political as well as security problems, we are asking to be identified only as sympathizing groups in the organs of sections and groups of the International."⁶

On August 3, 1975, the Cairo newspaper Al-Akhbar, reported that the Egyptian Government had arrested several revolutionaries. The report stated:

The State Security Investigation Department has arrested members of a communist organization which has links with communist organizations in Lebanon and France. Some 20 members of the organization, including five women, have been detained. The communist organization called itself the "International Communist League," whose objective is to overthrow the political economic systems in the country and to impose the extremist communist "Trotskyite" system.

The security authorities have been following the organization's activity since August 1974 and its members were arrested last July. The communist organization has links with the revolutionary communist amalgamation in Lebanon and the Fourth International, which is an extremist communist group in France.

According to Intercontinental Press, a total of 20 Trotskyites had been arrested on July 3, 1975. The Egyptian government had accused them of connections with the Fourth International section in Lebanon from which they had received funds and literature.⁷ Intercontinental Press reported on July 19, 1976, that the remaining five Trotskyists had been released from prison in Egypt.

The Socialist Workers Party, U.S.A. has been active in support of Middle East terrorist movements. SWP National Committee member Tony Thomas has explained the use of anti-Zionism as a cover for the Trotskyite desire to overthrow all of the existing Middle East governments. He wrote:

It must be remembered the limitations of organizing rights in all of the Arab countries. In fact until the early spring or late winter of this year Palestinians had more organizing rights and less danger of total victimization than radicals in Egypt or Syria. By centering on the demands against Israeli-occupation of Palestine and against imperialist domination, revolutionists can make it more difficult for repression to strike them, or when it strikes make it less advantageous for the Arab capitalists and their imperialist backers.

This type of strategy, in summary, will make it more possible to add to the already massive nationalist consciousness of the Palestinian and Arab peoples the most important type of class consciousness — consciousness of the fact that the ruling capitalists cannot grant the major demands they raise. This will be the basis of a mass movement of the Arab revolution and a mass revolutionary party.⁸

The SWP even opposed American arms shipments to the Arab states, claiming that such aid really benefits Israel. Thomas wrote:

As we know, a third corollary of the theory of permanent revolution is that socialism cannot be completed in one country and that the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be assured of safety from imperialist intervention or bureaucratic degeneration, until revolutions are successful in the capitalist countries. This is again another reason why the main axis of the Palestinian and Arab revolutions must be centered on struggle against imperialism and Zionism. This is why our central task must be mobilizing and educating the people of the U.S. and other advanced capitalist countries to support the Arab revolution and to oppose U.S. support to Israel, including in the form of aid to Arab states.⁹

The use of anti-Zionism as a cover for the real Trotskyite goal was also explained by Denis Hoppe of the East Lansing, Mich. local of the Young Socialist Alliance, the SWP youth group. Hoppe was describing relationships between YSA and the Organization of Arab Students. Some of the Arab students were Stalinist-oriented — that is, pro-Russian or pro-Red Chinese — others supported their own governments. Hoppe wrote:

The YSA must be careful in dealing with these organizations to make it clear that we do not want them to be restrictive. They are most effective and active when they do not limit political discussion to only one point of view. That is why we must reserve our specific revolutionary analysis of the Middle East to our internal relations with OAS. At public forums with OAS, we should limit our comments to the defense of the Arab revolution against Zionism and imperialism. The OAS is critical of the YSA for speaking about the evils of Stalinism at public forums on the Middle East. Furthermore, since many members of the OAS are outright supporters of the countries and regimes who sent them to this country on scholarship (Iraq, Libya, etc.) we must be careful to avoid alienating them by excessive criticism of the Arab regimes at events co-sponsored with OAS. As I mentioned earlier, the OAS's effectiveness is largely due to the fact that large numbers of Arabs of differing political views can unite around the task to be done

in the U.S.: defense of the Palestinian and Arab revolution. Since the YSA agrees with this, we unite with them on that issue. The specific expression of Trotskyist ideas must be reserved to informal discussions. Actually, since the Arab students have seen that the YSA and SWP are the best defenders of the fight against Israel in the U.S., it is they who will come and ask us about our politics to find how we reached our position on the Middle East.¹⁰

Africa

The Fourth International has little real influence in Africa, although they do support Marxist-Leninist terrorist groups trained and armed by the Soviet-bloc operating in Rhodesia, South Africa, and Southwest Africa. The British section of the Fourth International, the International Marxist Group, publishes a magazine called *Africa in Struggle* to express this support.

I. B. Tabata serves as a "consultant" member of the International Executive Committee using the alias "Tom." Tabata, born in South Africa and long resident in Europe, is the only African member of the IEC.¹¹

Chapter 8

Terrorist Activities in North America

There are two Trotskyite organizations in Canada. One of these, the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere LSA/LSO, supports the minority Leninist-Trotskyist Faction which believes terrorism may be a useful tactic in the future. The other, the Revolutionary Marxist Group, RMG, which has its principal base among French-speaking Canadians in Quebec, is a staunch supporter of the "terrorism now" International Majority Tendency.

During the 1970 wave of terrorism by the Front de Liberation du Quebec, FLQ, Canadian Trotskyites tried to maintain a low profile. They were embarrassed by the open support of terrorism in Canada by their British comrades in the International Marxist Group, IMG, and its publication, at that time called the Red Mole.

Joseph Hansen of the Socialist Workers Party described the problem of his Canadian comrades:

While the Canadian Trotskyists were trying to differentiate their own position from the ultraleft one taken by *The Red Mole*, they were confronted by an even worse problem – what to do about the remarks made by Comrade Tariq Ali on a television panel filmed at Oxford by CTV, the national Canadian television network. This program was shown throughout Canada, while our comrades, like the rest of the left, were doing their best to mobilize a massive defense against the repression.

Some very provocative questions were directed at Comrade Ali. In answering, he did not appear to keep well in mind the situation in Canada and the need to help to the best of his ability in mobilizing a broad defense against the repression.

For instance, he was asked: "Do you believe, sir, that society today has reached the point where you see you have to use violence to achieve your ends?"

Comrade Ali replied: "I would say that this is largely a tactical question, depending precisely on the degree of opposition which we encounter in our struggle for socialism. But briefly, the answer is yes. I think that to achieve the ends we believe in to the establishment of a socialist republic, I believe that a certain element of violence is absolutely necessary."

Another provocative question was: "When you were president of the Oxford

Debating Union did you not invite Governor Wallace of Alabama to speak at the Oxford Union?"

Comrade Ali answered: "Yes. Do you know why? Because we would have killed him."

That did not come off so well, and Comrade Ali was soon explaining: "Of course, when I say, 'Kill him,' I don't mean it necessarily literally. It's a tactical question. If I believed we could get away with killing him we would. It is a question of if you are organized to do so. I don't think we are. I meant kill him politically. That is what we wanted to do, but that wouldn't have taken place because Wallace wouldn't have got further past Oxford Station."

The setting for broadcasting this TV program, it should be underlined, was Canada in the midst of a great police hunt for urban guerrillas charged with kidnapping and murder. It was shown on the television screens during a repression in which our own headquarters and the homes of many comrades were raided, and two of our leaders were thrown into prison.

Comrade Ali did what he could to turn the provocative questions into a high-level dialogue on the difference between "individual terror" with mass support and "individual terror" without mass support—a distinction a bit too fine, one must suppose, for the Canadian audience to appreciate at the moment. "At times," he said, "I think that individual terror becomes necessary. I don't believe in individual terror as a principle; I am completely opposed to it. I'll give you a concrete instance. I don't believe in solving this particular argument by shooting off a few people, who are making rude noises. Nor do I think individual terror can in itself bring you any nearer to what we believe in. Of course not. I believe that individual terror is justified when you have a mass movement, when you have mass support inside a particular society, then it is justified."¹

Tariq Ali serves on the Fourth International Executive Committee under the alias "Ghulam."² He receives his salary from a U.S. tax-exempt organization, the Transnational Institute, TNI, of the Institute for Policy Studies, IPS, located in Washington, D.C. Ali, a Pakistani, is reportedly "working on a series of essays on Indian nationalism and communism" for the Transnational Institute.³

The Institute for Policy Studies is a leftist think-tank which usually takes a pro-Soviet and pro-Cuban stance; and whose staff has included a variety of terrorist supporters and members of terrorist organizations. The Transnational Institute has offices both in Washington, D.C. and in Amsterdam, Holland. The TNI is headed by Eqbal Ahmad and a leading Castroite propagandist, Saul Landau.

On September 9, 1976, Basker Vashee represented the Transnational Institute of IPS at a congressional conference on southern Africa sponsored by the Fund for New Priorities in America. The conference was held in the Russell Senate Office Building. Vashee was identified to the audience by the conference moderator as "a member of the national executive of ZAPU." ZAPU is the Zimbabwe African People's Union, a Soviet-supported terrorist group in Rhodesia headed by Joshua Nkomo.

Chapter 9

Trotskyite Splits and Splinter Groups

The history of the Trotskyite movement since 1929 has been one of extensive faction fights and splits. To recount all of them would require a large book. It is useful, however, to analyze the post World War II splits which have significance in the study of international terrorism.

The Fourth International was decimated during World War II. A substantial portion of its European cadres died at the hands of both the Nazis and the Communists. Only the Socialist Workers Party in the United States had a viable organization functioning. As a result the SWP took the responsibility of rebuilding the International. The SWP leadership appointed Ernest Mandel (Germain) and Michel Raptis (Pablo) as the International leaders.¹

The Pablo-Germain leadership developed a concept that since world conquest by the Soviet Union was inevitable, it was the job of Trotskyites to aid the Soviet drive. As they phrased it — mankind must be prepared to live under a form of “degenerated workers’ states” for centuries. This is the Trotskyite designation for Soviet style communism. gram of entryism which meant that Trotskyites should work within the existing Stalinist Communist Parties and aid them in taking power.

In 1953 a strong group within the Socialist Workers Party — SWP — led by Bert Cochran, with the support of the international leadership, advanced a pro-Stalinist position. The logic of their argument would have resulted in dissolving the SWP and entering the Communist Party apparatus and its periphery. Cochran and his supporters were expelled from the SWP and the Fourth International — FI — was split.

The SWP, a group in England led by Gerry Healy and a group in France led by Pierre Lambert formed the International Committee of the Fourth International. The Pablo-Mandel leadership called themselves the International Secretariat of the Fourth International. This split continued until 1963.

During the 10 years of the split the International Secretariat provided full support for the world Communist movement; this included sending Viet-

namese Trotskyites to fight in Ho Chi Minh's army. They were arrested and many were executed by the Viet Minh Communists.

Argentine Trotskyites were sent to Cuba for terrorist training in 1962. Pablo was arrested in Europe while working with the Algerian Communists in support of FLN terrorism.

In 1963 the SWP split with the International Committee and joined with the International Secretariat to form the United Secretariat. A small Latin American group led by Posadas left the International Secretariat at this point and has been collaborating with Castroite groups in terrorist activities in various Latin American countries.

Early in 1964 two dissident factions were expelled by the SWP because they had indicated continuing support for the International Committee. One group led by James Robertson still exists under the name of the Spartacist League—SL.² The other group originally called the American Committee for the Fourth International has since changed its name to the Workers League—WL. This group now serves as the American section of the International Committee of the Fourth International led by Gerry Healy of England. The Spartacists have a close working relationship with the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste—OCI—led by Pierre Lambert which had also split with the Healy group.³

Although the SWP was involved in collaboration with the Communist Party U.S.A.—CPUSA—in a number of activities an even more pro-Stalinist faction emerged in 1959. This group was expelled from the SWP and became the Workers World Party—WWP.⁴ A report prepared for the Cuban communists by Deirdre Griswold, a leader of the WWP, described the origins of the organization. Griswold wrote:

Workers World was founded in 1959 by a small cadre of people who had existed as a distinct political tendency within the Socialist Workers Party for ten years. Differences with the SWP majority developed with the beginning of the Cold War. From 1948, our cadre had serious differences with the positions and practice of the SWP on every question that had to do with the socialist countries and the witch-hunt against the CPUSA within the United States.

The most important issues on which we differed were: (1) Tito's break with Stalin, which the SWP saw as a move to the left. We felt that objective conditions in Europe at that time would impel Yugoslavia toward the orbit of imperialism. (2) The Chinese Revolution, which we immediately evaluated as a socialist revolution, despite the small working class in China. It took the SWP six years to acknowledge the class character of the Revolution, and even then it was with no enthusiasm. (3) The Korean War, which we saw as an expression of the global class war between the class camp of the workers on the one hand and the camp of world capitalism on the other. (4) The witch-hunt against the CPUSA, and especially the SWP's attitude toward the execution of the Rosenbergs. The SWP only gave a minimal paper defense to Communists under government attack, and refused to mobilize support for the Rosenbergs—not even just in defense of their

democratic rights, let alone as class comrades in the struggle against imperialism. We took initiative on our own to send a delegation to the protests organized on behalf of the Rosenbergs. (5) The Hungarian counter-revolution. Despite all objective evidence, the SWP majority refused to see the real class forces in the rebellion, and hailed the so-called "freedom fighters" with revolutionary rhetoric. We supported the intervention of Soviet troops as necessary to prevent counter-revolution (as we did later in the Czechoslovak crisis), although our analysis of how the counter-revolution was able to mobilize some mass support differed from that of the CP's.⁵

After leaving the SWP the Workers World group still considered themselves Trotskyist and applied for membership in the International Secretariat of the Fourth International which at that time was still in conflict with the SWP.⁶

The International Secretariat rejected the WWP application and after a short period of time Workers World abandoned even the vestiges of Trotskyism. Griswold in her report to the Cubans said:

We do feel, however, that Trotsky made great contributions to the Russian Revolution, both as a leading member of the Bolshevik Party, and organizer of the Red Army, and in his theoretical contributions on the problems of socialist revolution in backward countries, and on the contradictory character of the social grouping that rose to power in the Soviet Union after Lenin's death. Because there is great confusion on these questions in the world Marxist movement, however, and because most radicals associate Trotskyism with the degenerated parties of the Fourth International, a position on Trotsky is not a requirement of membership in our party.⁷

As a result of the terrorist orientation of the majority of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, a faction fight developed in the SWP. A minority group called the Proletarian Orientation Tendency—POT—supported the international leadership and its "terrorism now" tactic. This group was defeated at the 1971 SWP convention. Many of its members led by Barbara Gregorich and Phil Passen left to set up their own organization which has not affiliated with any international movement.

Those members of POT that remained in the SWP joined other dissident factions to form the Internationalist Tendency in 1973.⁸ This group argued in support of terrorism as outlined by the International Majority Tendency of the Fourth International led by Ernest Mandel. In July 1974 most of the members of the IT were expelled from the SWP for violating party discipline. None were expelled for their advocacy of terrorism.⁹ Some members of the proterrorist faction remained in the SWP.

The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International meeting, January 27–30, 1975, ordered the SWP to take back the expelled IT members. A resolution was passed which said in part:

The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International accepts the following proposals commonly agreed upon by the International Control Commission in its investigation:

1. To make the recommendation that the SWP act in good faith and consider without delay the collective application of the IT for reintegration in the SWP.

2. We note that the IT states it wants to participate in public activities supported by the SWP. We note that the SWP does not object to this. Until the situation is resolved, we recommend that when the IT and the SWP are involved in the same activities they seek to maintain a cooperative attitude avoiding public attack on one another.¹⁰

The SWP agreed to abide by the order. According to the official minutes:

Two members of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, Jack Barnes and Joseph Hansen, have pledged that they will urge the National Committee at its coming plenum to weigh favorable implementation of the proposals commonly agreed on by the International Control Commission in its investigation.¹¹

At this time about two dozen IT members have been readmitted to the SWP. The IT itself has split into a number of small warring factions. Two members of the IT serve on the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International; Jon Barzman is a full member under the name "Hovis" and William Massey is alternate member under the name "Moss."¹²

Some members of the IT have joined a group called the Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee headed by Milton Zaslow. Under the name Mike Bartell, Zaslow was the New York City organizer of the SWP until he left with the pro-Stalinist faction in 1953.¹³ The RMOC is sympathetic to the International Majority Tendency of the Fourth International including its support for the terrorist orientation. The IMT has urged the SWP to work closely with this group.¹⁴

Conclusions

First. The Socialist Workers Party is the American section of the Fourth International.

Second. The Fourth International advocates and engages in terrorism in various parts of the world.

Third. A considerable amount of information concerning international terrorism contained in this report was obtained from confidential internal publications made available only to members of the Socialist Workers Party.

Fourth. The Socialist Workers Party which was on the Attorney General's subversive list for many years should remain the subject of a continuous investigation by our law enforcement agencies.

Chapter 10

The Socialist Workers Party—An Update

During the last session, I inserted into the Congressional Record a series of reports on Trotskyism and terrorism. These reports, taken primarily from the internal documents of the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International, showed that the majority of the Fourth International supported and carried out a strategy of armed struggle and terrorism. The Socialist Workers Party, as part of the minority of the Fourth International, opposed this strategy at this time, but supported terrorism as a possible tactic at a more opportune moment in history.

The Socialist Workers Party has been engaged in a lawsuit against the U.S. Government claiming an infringement of its rights because of Government surveillance of its activities. As a result of this suit, extensive FBI files have been available to the SWP. Last year then Attorney General Levi ordered the FBI to terminate its surveillance of the SWP and remove its informants. As a result, the Government no longer has available the internal documents of the SWP showing continued affiliation with the Fourth International which continues to support terrorism as a tactic to be used now.

The SWP has now demanded production of Central Intelligence Agency files. As Socialist Workers Party member Syd Stapleton said in answer to *The Militant's* question, "What kind of information do you hope to get from CIA?"—"We know that the CIA collects information about the SWP and Fourth International—the SWP's revolutionary socialist cothinkers in other countries." (*The Militant*, March 25, 1977.)

The SWP demand for documents was resisted by the CIA. A Government brief citing the reasons to the court said:

"A close analysis of various documents produced by plaintiffs in this action indicates that (a) the Fourth International and its constituent sections comprise a worldwide network which supports revolutionary violence and political terrorism; (b) sections of the Fourth International have been responsible for notorious acts of terrorism with the approval, if not the actual connivance of the Fourth International's leadership; (c) the Fourth International takes credit for an important role in at least one major instance of revolutionary violence

against an important ally of the United States.” (The Militant, April 1, 1977).

Jack Barnes, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, in an answering deposition, claimed that the Fourth International never advocated terrorism. He said that the International majority had mistakenly supported the activities of the ERP, a terrorist group in Argentina. According to Barnes, they have now repudiated that support. Referring to a resolution of the Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International which took place in 1969, Barnes stated:

“All tendencies in the Fourth International now recognize that the Ninth World Congress document was in error. (See *Self-Criticism on Latin America*, by the Steering Committee of the International Majority Tendency, attached as Exhibit 1.) All tendencies agree that the position adopted at the Ninth World Congress did not politically arm the Fourth International to resist the evolution of the Revolutionary Worker Party (PRT) in Argentina. The PRT had always held positions differing from those of the Fourth International. These differences deepened after the Ninth World Congress. Many PRT activists took part in the broader ERP (Revolutionary Army of the People) formed in 1970, and carried out adventurous and even terrorist acts. This evolution of the PRT away from Trotskyism resulted in its breaking with and denouncing the Fourth International in 1973.” (ibid)

Barnes failed to note that the Socialist Workers Party leadership has accused the Fourth International leadership of supporting terrorism, not only in Argentina, but in Spain, France, and Ireland. He further neglected to state that the Tenth World Congress of the Fourth International, held in 1974, had reiterated its support for armed struggle and terrorism, but had criticized the idea that armed struggle should stand alone not linked with political organization. The resolution on armed struggle adopted by the majority of the Fourth International in 1974 read in part:

“The strategy of armed struggle is part of the central effort of the Fourth International to resolve the crisis of revolutionary leadership through building new mass revolutionary parties. Unless it provides a concrete answer to the problems posed by the rise of revolutionary struggles, such a party cannot be built. One of the most burning questions raised in the very course of the class struggle in Latin America is what to do, given the succession of military coups, and the repeated crushing of the most promising mass movements in one country after another, what to do given the total failure of ‘foquismo.’

“When they possess the minimum forces necessary to do so, the revolutionary Marxist organizations must consider the creation of armed detachments of the party—in the conditions elaborated above—as a special task within the framework of their overall orientation. In any case the experience of the Argentine PRT [Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers Party] has demonstrated that whatever political and organizational errors were committed, the revolutionaries who had been satisfied with literary

and academic proclamations in this regard when they were in the Moreno organization were able to take a necessary turn toward the creation of armed detachments of the party, and were able to influence the course of political events in their country.”¹

Jack Barnes conveniently forgot that he, himself, had accused the leader of the Fourth International, Ernest Mandel, of “attempts to smuggle terrorism under the name ‘urban guerrilla war,’ into the traditions of Leninism. . .”²

The self-criticism on Latin America by the International Majority Tendency, referred to by Barnes in his deposition, means the exact opposite of what he claims.

The FBI no longer has informants in the SWP. It cannot obtain the secret internal documents of the SWP and the Fourth International needed to refute the claims made by Barnes.

A careful reading of the “self-criticism” shows that the International Majority Tendency continues to support the strategy of armed struggle. It says in part:

“But apart from the fact the formula ‘strategy of armed struggle’ obviously does not provide the necessary instruments for precise elaboration by a section in Latin America, it falsely *identifies* what must be an *element* of revolutionary strategy with the *whole* of this strategy, which could be interpreted—and was—as reducing revolutionary strategy to ‘armed struggle’ alone.”³

The criticism has the IMT asserting that armed violence must be only one element of the revolutionary struggle. Even this minor concession was opposed by Livio Maitan, one of the key leaders of the International Majority Tendency. Maitan stated:

“I vote against the document on Latin America: (a) because I consider that the necessary self-criticism was made in the documents of the Tenth World Congress and that the additional elements of self-criticism must be based on an overall political analysis of the whole period.”⁴

Maitan has been in close contact with Trotskyite terrorist groups in Latin America. When the ERP left the Fourth International, a group called the Red Faction remained in. This group continued to commit terrorist acts in Argentina. In May 1973, they kidnapped an Argentinian business executive, Aaron Bellinson. The next month, he was released upon payment of a \$1 million ransom. One hundred thousand dollars of this ransom was turned over to Livio Maitan to support Trotskyite and other terrorist operations throughout the world. Shortly after receiving the money, Maitan attended the 1973 convention of the Socialist Workers Party where he spoke in support of terrorism.

Leaders of the Socialist Workers Party have expressed the position, in their secret internal bulletins, that while they oppose terrorism as a tactic now, they support it as a possible future tactic. SWP national committee member, Peter Camejo, in an answer to Ernest Mandel—Germain—stated:

“Comrade Germain leaves the impression that Lenin opposed terrorism but

supported guerrilla warfare. Lenin's approach was not that simple.

"Guerrilla warfare is only one form of the utilization of arms. It cannot be correctly counterposed to terrorism.

"The word 'terrorism' is commonly used to mean the politics of those who believe that violent actions against individual bourgeois figures can bring about social change, precipitate a revolutionary situation, or electrify or help mobilize the masses even if undertaken by isolated individuals or groups. Terrorism in that sense is rejected by the Marxist movement. But under the conditions of civil war, terrorist acts can have a totally different political import. Their isolated nature fades. In the process of an insurrection, terrorist acts may be advantageous to the workers movement. They may also be damaging. But terrorist acts that are not part of a generalized mass armed struggle remain isolated and are detrimental to the workers movement."⁵

Mary-Alice Waters, another SWP National Committee member, made the following statement:

"The majority held that they too were for building parties but that revolutionary parties could only be constructed today in Latin America if the Trotskyists proved themselves the best guerrilla fighters, arms in hand. Such was the only path to either the vanguard or the masses.

"The minority felt that such a strategy could only lead to the political miseducation of the entire world movement and the decimation of the small Trotskyist parties and cadres in Latin America. Logically it would have to be extended beyond Latin America to other parts of the world.

* * * *

"Other supporters of the Latin American majority document have tried to shift the discussion onto the axis of 'for or against armed struggle.' We reject any implication that that is what the discussion is really about. If supporters of the minority view were against armed struggle, they would be Social Democrats or Stalinists, not Trotskyists. What we reject is the strategy of 'pick up the gun' as the road to power. As a strategy it stands in the way of the construction of mass revolutionary parties throughout Latin America, and that is what the debate is about."⁶

As a result of the faction fight within the Fourth International concerning terrorism and other related matters, a faction developed within the Socialist Workers Party supporting the International Majority Tendency against the leadership of the SWP. Most of the members of this group were expelled from the SWP in 1974, not because of their support of terrorism, but because of violations of SWP bureaucratic rules. Some members of this faction called the Internationalist Tendency were not expelled as they had not broken any rules. They continue to support the pro-terrorism now line of the Fourth International. These include Robert Langston, Berta Langston, Peter Graumann, Gerard Guibet, Jim Moran, Celia Stodola, and Alan Wald.⁷

As a result of pressure from the Fourth International some members of the Internationalist Tendency were readmitted to the SWP. These united with those who had been left behind and together total about 25 members.⁸ One of them, John Barzman, serves on the International Executive Committee and the United Secretariat of the Fourth International under the name of “Hovis.” The 1976 Socialist Workers Party convention elected Barzman as a member of the National Committee of the SWP.⁹ Prior to the convention Barzman set forth as the position of his faction in the Socialist Workers Party a collection of resolutions supported by the International Majority Tendency and passed at the Tenth World Congress, including the pro-terrorist “Resolution on Armed Struggle in Latin America.”¹⁰

On June 24, 1975, Barzman wrote a letter to the United Secretariat of the Fourth International in Brussels recommending that they accept the resignation of William Massey as an alternate member of the International Executive Committee. According to Barzman:

“This letter is to report some information which may be of use in making a swift disposition with regard to Cde. Massey’s letter of resignation. Recently, he has become inactive and dropped out of the IT new faction. Further, at a rally in defense of Joanne Little, held Saturday, June 21, 1975, I saw him carrying a bundle of the newspaper ‘Workers World’, the organ of the Workers World Party and Youth Against War and Fascism. Other indications from our former comrades Don Smith and Ed Hoffman seem to indicate that this is part of a general political retreat toward this pro-Stalinist sect. I would recommend an immediate break-off of all party relations with him and the acceptance of his resignation.”¹¹

According to SWP Organizational Secretary, Barry Sheppard, Massey had joined the Workers World Party.¹²

Why Barzman should be surprised at Massey’s relationship with the Workers World Party is an interesting question, since both Massey and Barzman had had close contacts with it in 1974 in Chicago. The reference to the Workers World Party as a “pro-Stalinist sect” refers to Trotskyite terminology for a group which follows or works closely with the Soviet Union, Red China, or any of the current Communist countries.

Another group that the Trotskyites could properly term as a pro-Stalinist sect is the Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee. It is led by Milton Zaslow—aka Mike Bartell. Zaslow, the former New York City organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, was expelled in 1953 during a faction fight in which he and others advocated a closer relationship with the Communist Parties around the world.¹³ According to John Barzman:

“RMOC is an organization founded last November by the L.A. Socialist Union, the Baltimore Marxist Group, a number of former IT comrades who refused to abide by the IEC recommendations to collaborate with the SWP, and

a few other elements. RMOOC claims to support the F.I. and has submitted a proposal that it be collectively admitted into the SWP. The proposal consisted in a letter of a few lines.”¹⁴

Zaslow led the Los Angeles group. The Baltimore group consists mainly of Rick Ehrmann, John Sinnigen, Lisa Sinnigen, and Star Bowie. The latter had been expelled from the SWP in 1974 while the others had left earlier.¹⁵

It is interesting to note that Livio Maitan, the most vociferous supporter of terrorism in the Fourth International, attended the founding conference of the Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee in November 1975.¹⁶

RMOOC in Baltimore works closely with the Workers World Party.

The Socialist Workers Party is very proud of its ability to disrupt the Government’s antsubversive and antiterrorist apparatus. They see their lawsuit as a major weapon against the United States. SWP National Committee member, Larry Seigle, boasted at the August 1975 convention of the party:

“The government side on the case really does have a morale problem. It’s a serious one for them. Our suit and the Justice Department criminal investigation our suit has triggered have done things to them that they can’t adjust to. They can’t adjust to being defendants in their own courts. That don’t know how to act, how to argue for their positions openly. It’s not one of the things they’re trained to do, and historically they’ve never had to do it.

“You can see the demoralization on the faces of the government’s young attorneys every time there is a hearing before the judge. The lawyers for the government aren’t especially dedicated to the FBI and the CIA. They’re just serving time in the U.S. Attorney’s office before moving on to the world of corporate law or tax law. And they don’t see *this* case as a promising steppingstone for their careers. After one recent hearing, when our attorneys had presented arguments on a procedural issue, the top government attorney told one of our lawyers, ‘Look, you don’t have to worry about the procedural issues; we’re going to lose this case on the merits.’

“I don’t think we have yet fully grasped the meaning and consequences of the massive publicity about the party and this case. This is not just one big splash. It’s constant repetition, week after week, sometimes day after day, in major newspapers and on radio and television.

“Millions are learning the name of the Socialist Workers Party. And if they don’t know anything else about us, they know that this is the party that is standing toe to toe with the FBI. Slugging it out. Not giving an inch. And—to the surprise of millions—we are landing some blows, some heavy blows, against the FBI.”

The 1976 convention also heard a report by Judy White on the “Campaign Against Repression in Argentina.” She said in part:

“The official repression, by the army, has cost the lives of at least 400 so-called subversives. Among them are dedicated revolutionists like Mario Roberto

Santucho, leader of the People's Revolutionary Army, the ERP, who was gunned down in a raid on an apartment near Buenos Aires July 19."

Santucho, the leader of the ERP, was thus eulogized by the SWP as a "dedicated revolutionist." This is at a time when the SWP was supposedly repudiating the murders and kidnappings committed by the ERP terrorists.

The convention also sent the following greetings to Lureida Torres:

"To Lureida Torres: The 28th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party at Oberlin, Ohio, sends you its warmest greetings. We are sorry that you could not attend the July 4 demonstration in Philadelphia for a bicentennial with colonies. We know how much you desired to be there.

"The use of imprisonment to punish fighters for freedom is just one of the weapons of Yankee imperialism. We know that you are aware of it and we salute your courage and determination to fight for Puerto Rico's independence. We look forward to joining with you on the field of battle and we pledge our efforts to obtain your earliest release."¹⁷

What the SWP characterized as fighting for freedom, was in this case Torres' refusal to testify before a grand jury about the activities of the Puerto Rican terrorist group, FALN. Torres preferred to sit in jail for contempt rather than reveal information about a group which has committed numerous bombings including the one at the Fraunces Tavern in New York where 4 people were killed and over 50 injured.

On October 16-17, 1976, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International met in Brussels, Belgium. Among the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party present at the meeting were Jack Barnes, Joseph Hansen, and Mary-Alice Waters. After the meeting in Brussels the three met with the Political Committee of the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International, in London. According to a report given to the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party on October 25, 1976:

"The IMG comrades are anxious to help 'internationalize' the SWP and YSA's suit against the American government."¹⁸

According to a report by Mary-Alice Waters on January 4, 1976, to the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, the leaders of the two major factions in the IMG are, Tendency A: Tariq Ali, Pat Jordan, and Robin Blackburn; Tendency B: Alan Jones, Brian Grogan, and Bob Pennington.¹⁹

Tariq Ali has been deeply involved in support operations for terrorism in a number of areas including Ireland.

The Socialist Workers Party successes have been achieved by a combination of their own aggressiveness and the Government's lack of will to fight. The inability of the executive branch of the U.S. Government to obtain the secret internal documents of the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party has further hindered the Government defense. The demand by the SWP to see classified CIA documents, some of which contain reports from foreign intelli-

gence services on international terrorism, must be resisted by our Government. It is outrageous for American supporters of an international terrorist network to demand that the Government tell them what information it has on their terrorist comrades. If this information is turned over to the SWP no foreign government will ever cooperate with us in the fight against terrorism.

Seven members of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party serve as “fraternal members” with full voting rights of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. The seven plus four more serve as members with full voting rights of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International. The seven with dual membership are (with their pseudonyms in parentheses): Edward Shaw (Atwood), Jack Barnes (Celso), Gus Horowitz (Galois), John Barzman (Hovis), John Benson (Johnson)—while all the others are full members of the National Committee of the SWP Benson is an alternate member—Joseph Hansen (Pepe), and Mary-Alice Waters (Therese).²⁰ The other four, who serve on the international executive committee, are Barry Sheppard (Stateman), Carol Lund (Susan) and two who use the names Mitchell and Bundy.²¹

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party consists of the following 35 regular members and 27 alternates:

Regular Members: Jack Barnes, John Barzman, Nelson Blackstock, George Breitman, Joel Britton, Peter Camejo, Pearl Chertov, Clifton DeBerry, Maceo Dixon, Catarino Garza, Fred Halstead, John Hawkins, Gus Horowitz, Doug Jenness, Linda Jenness, Lew Jones, Frank Lovell, Caroline Lund, Wendy Lyons, Malik Miah, Andrea Morrell, Derrick Morrison, Andrew Pulley, Harry Ring, Olga Rodriguez, Bev Scott, Larry Seigle, Ed Shaw, Barry Sheppard, Syd Stapleton, Betsey Stone, Tony Thomas, Mary-Alice Waters, Nat Weinstein, Tim Wohlforth.

Alternate Members²²: Susan LaMont, John Benson, Judy White, Gerry Foley, Les Evans, Cindy Jaquith, Dick Roberts, Barbara Matson, Lynn Henderson, Sam Manuel, Peter Seidman, Willie Mae Reid, Rich Finkel, Peggy Brundy, Jeff Mackler, Baxter Smith, B. R. Washington, Dick McBride, Ken Shilman, Ray Markey, Mac Warren, Pedro Vásquez, Pat Wright, Ed Heisler, Omari Musa, James Harris, Richie Ariza.

Among the members of the National Committee are John Barzman, representing the 25 supporters of the proterrorist International Majority Tendency, and Tim Wohlforth, a recent convert from a rival Trotskyite group who has agreed to participate in an SWP campaign against his former friends.²³

The Socialist Workers Party Control Commission consists of Kipp Dawson, Wayne Glover, Helen Scheer, Larry Stewart.²⁴

Footnotes

Chapter I The Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International

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2. James P. Cannon, *The History of American Trotskyism*, Pioneer Publishers, New York.

3. Leon Trotsky, *Dictatorship vs. Democracy*, Workers (Communist) Party of America, New York City, 1922, pp. 58-59.

4. James P. Cannon, *The Workers and the Second World War*, Pioneer Publishers, New York, pp. 25, 26.

5. Tim Wohlforth, *The Struggle for Marxism in the United States*, Bulletin Publications, New York, p. 54; *Education for Socialists: Towards a History of the Fourth International, Part 2*, National Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party, 1976 reprint.

6. See *International Information Bulletin*, December, 1949, "On the Class Nature of Yugoslavia," by M. Pablo; *International Information Bulletin*, January 1950, "The Yugoslav Question, The Question of the Soviet Buffer Zone, and Their Implication for Marxist Theory"; *SWP Internal Bulletin*, February 1950, "The Problem of Eastern Europe," by Joseph Hansen.

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7. See *International Socialist Review*, New York (published by the SWP), Fall, 1963; *4th International*, Paris (published by the United Secretariat), October-December, 1963.

8. *4th International*, Paris, Summer 1960; Winter 1960-61 (published by International Secretariat of the Fourth International).

9. Letter from SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes to Pierre Lambert of the Central Committee of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), the French section of the Organisation Communiste pour la Reconstruction de la 4 Internationale, dated October 9, 1975, and circulated in a memorandum by Mary-Alice Waters dated November 1, 1975.

10. *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 31, No. 4, May, 1973, p. 5; *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 33, No. 4, June 1975, p. 51; (*SWP Internal Information Bulletin*, October, 1975, p. 10, No. 2 in 1975.
11. *YSA Discussion Bulletin*, February, 1967, pp. 6, 7, 12, 13.
12. *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. XI, No. 5, April, 1974, pp. 13-14.
13. *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 33, No. 4, June, 1975, "Report on National Committee Perspectives and Election of Political Committee," by Jack Barnes, pp. 48, 50.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Internal Information Bulletin*, No. 8 in 1974, August 1974, p. 37.
17. *Internal Information Bulletin*, No. 7 in 1973, December 1973, pp. 8, 9.
18. *Young Socialist Discussion Bulletin*, December 1973.
19. *Internal Information Bulletin*, No. 6 in 1974, July 1974, p. 58.
20. *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. XII, No. 6, October, 1975, (Documents and Correspondence Concerning the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International and their Request for Discussion With the United Secretariat); Mary-Alice Waters Memorandum "To the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction Steering Committee," November 1, 1975 (Two Letters from Pierre Lambert, and a reply from Jack Barnes); *Internal Information Bulletin*, No. 9 in 1976, July 1976, (particularly "Relations with Trotskyist Organizations, or Groups Claiming to be Trotskyist, Which are Outside of the Fourth International" Motions adopted by United Secretariat meeting July 3-4, 1976; and "Translation of a letter from Michel Pablo to Ernest Mandel, dated February 11, 1976").
21. *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 12, No. 6, October 1975, p. 39.

Chapter 2

Socialist Workers Party Structure and Ideology

1. "Declaration of Principles and Constitution of the Socialist Workers Party," 1938, p. 9.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
5. "The Organization Principles Upon Which the Party Was Founded," *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, James P. Cannon, 1943, pp. 227-229.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 229.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 229-230.

8. "The Organizational Conclusions of the Present Discussion," *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, James P. Cannon, 1943, p. 232.
9. "Theses on the American Revolution," James P. Cannon, 1946.
10. *Internal Information Bulletin*, No. 7 in 1974, August 1974, p. 15.
11. *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 33, No. 4, June 1975, p. 9.
12. *Internal Information Bulletin*, No. 2 in 1975, October 1975, p. 21.
13. *Internal Information Bulletin*, No. 6 in 1971, November 1971, p. 19.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
15. *Internal Information Bulletin*, No. 7 in 1971, November 1971, pp. 7-8.
16. *Idem.*

Chapter 3 Socialist Workers Party Fronts

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2. *Ibid.*
3. *Internal Information Bulletin* #6 in 1971, November 1971 p. 6.
4. *Internal Information Bulletin* #7 in 1971, November 1971 pp. 7-8.
5. YSA *Internal Information Bulletin*, "Documents on the Cases of Nancy Adolphi and Ken Simpson" December 21, 1971 p. 8.
6. *Socialist Workers Party Discussion Bulletin* Vol. 33 #4 June 1975, pp. 24, 25.
7. *Young Socialist Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. XVIII, #1, Nov. 1974 p. 5.
8. *Ibid* p. 7.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Militant*, Sept. 24, 1976 p. 25.
11. Barry Sheppard report to SWP National Committee May 2, 1975, *SWP Discussion Bulletin* Vol. 33, #4 June 1975 p. 20.
12. Report by SWP National Organization Secretary Barry Sheppard, adopted by the National Committee plenum. May 2, 1975, *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 33, No. 4, June 1975, p. 21.
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14. *Idem.*
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33. *Idem.*
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39. *Militant*, March 23, 1973, p. 3; *Militant*, July 25, 1969, p. 2.
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70. "National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ)", Part 4, Hearings, House Committee on Internal Security, p. 3999.
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77. *Internal Discussion Bulletin of the December 10th Faction of the Workers League*, December 10, 1974.

Chapter 4 **The Fourth International Debate on Terrorism**

1. Letter from U.S. Department of State to Congressman Edward Koch dated January 29, 1976—*Congressional Record*, March 1, 1976, p. H1417.
2. *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Volume XI, No. 5, April 1974, p. 18.
3. Resolution on Latin America, Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International—*Intercontinental Press*, July 14, 1969, p. 720-721.
4. *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Volume X, No. 8, June, 1973, p. 11.
5. *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Volume X, No. 9, July, 1973, p. 11.
6. *Internal Information Bulletin*, January 1972, No. 1 in 1972, p. 4, 11.
7. *Socialist Workers Party Discussion Bulletin*, Volume 32, No. 1, December, 1973, p. 13.
8. *Internal Information Bulletin*, June 1972, No. 2 in 1973, p. 4, 5.
9. *Ibid.* p. 9.

Chapter 5 **Latin American Terrorism**

1. *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Volume XI, No. 5, April, 1974, p. 18, "Letter to the World Congress from Luis" describing the early history of Trotskyist "armed struggle" in Argentina and Peru.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 16, "Letter to the World Congress from the Bolshevik-Leninist of Vietnam." *The Fourth International* (N.Y.), published by the SWP, November-December, 1951, reported the arrest of the leaders of the Vietnam Trotskyites by the Viet Minh authorities. Despite this, they said, "In Vietnam our reorganized forces will also attempt to work in the organizations influenced by the Stalinists, naturally including its armed formations. They will grant critical support to the Ho Chi-min regime in its struggle against imperialism, while distinguishing themselves from it on the goal of this struggle and the best means to lead it to victory."
3. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
4. *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Volume X, No. 5, April, 1973. Resolutions of the Fifth Congress of the P.R.T., p. 4-7.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

6. Intercontinental Press, September 11, 1972.
7. Trotskyite Terrorist International, hearing before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, July 24, 1975, p. 112-113.
8. Internal Information Bulletin, December, 1973, No. 7 for 1973, p. 3-5, and Internal Information Bulletin, August, 1974, No. 7 for 1974, p. 3-4.
9. Trotskyite Terrorists International, op. cit., p. 112.
10. Ibid., p. 114.
11. Mary-Alice Waters, memo to the steering committee on the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction, November 28, 1975.
12. World Outlook (Now Intercontinental Press), July 14, 1976.
13. International Internal Discussion Bulletin, Volume X, No. 24, December, 1973.
14. International Internal Discussion Bulletin, Vol. XI, No. 5, April, 1974, p. 3.
15. *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. XI, No. 5, April, 1974, p. 16.
16. Letter from U.S. Department of State to Congressman Edward Koch dated January 29, 1976, Congressional Record, March 1, 1976, p. H-1417.
17. *Intercontinental Press*, July 19, 1976, p. 1092.
18. *Intercontinental Press*, March 29, 1976, pp. 484-485.

Chapter 6

Terrorist Activities in Europe

1. Trotskyite Terrorist International.
2. Internal Information Bulletin, January, 1972, No. 1 in 1972.
3. Ibid.
4. International Internal Discussion Bulletin, Volume X, No. 14, August, 1973.
5. International Internal Discussion Bulletin, No. 4, April, 1973.
6. Report of the Fact-Finding Commission of the United Secretariat on the internal situation within the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International, March 12, 1972, pp. 18, 22.
7. Ibid., pp. 11, 13.
8. Mary-Alice Waters Memo, January 15, 1976, Report by Stateman and minutes of United Secretariat.
9. International Internal Discussion Bulletin, Volume X, No. 17, October, 1973, pp. 15-17.
10. Ibid., pp. 37-38.
11. International Internal Discussion Bulletin, Volume X, No. 23, November, 1973, p. 10.
12. Intercontinental Press, July 21, 1975.

13. *Internal Information Bulletin*, No. 3, April, 1971, p. 28.
14. Report by Mary-Alice Waters to the SWP National Committee, June 23, 1974, *International Information Bulletin*, No. 8 in 1974, August 1974.
15. *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. XII, No. 6, October 1975, p. 11.
16. Memorandum to Leninist-Trotskyist Faction Steering Committee from Mary-Alice Waters, November 1, 1975; Appendix contains text of letter.
17. *Intercontinental Press*, Vol. 8, No. 36, November 2, 1970, p. 935.

Chapter 7 Terrorist Activities in the Middle East

1. *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. XII, No. 1, January 1975, p. 4; Minutes of the November 23-24, 1975, meeting of the United Secretariat. Appendix II, Memorandum to members of the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction Steering Committee from Mary-Alice Waters, December 19, 1975.
2. *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. X, No. 21, November 1973, p. 22.
3. *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. XII, No. 1, January 1975, p. 4.
4. *Inprecor*, April 29, 1976, p. 27.
5. *Inprecor*, April 1, 1976, p. 20.
6. *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. XI, No. 5, April 1974, p. 22.
7. *Intercontinental Press*, September 8, 1975, p. 1163.
8. *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 29, No. 6, August 1971, p. 20.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Young Socialist Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. XVII, No. 6, December 1974, p. 27.
11. *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. XII, No. 1, January 1975, p. 4.

Chapter 8 Terrorist Activities in North America

1. *International Information Bulletin*, No. 3, April 1971, p. 28.
2. *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. XII, No. 1, January 1975, p. 4.
3. *Transnational Link*, June 1976, p. 4.

Chapter 9

Trotskyite Splits and Splinter Groups

1. Tim Wohlforth, *The Struggle for Marxism in the United States*, Bulletin Publications, New York, p. 54.
2. Spartacist League, *Marxist Bulletin No. 4*, Parts 1 and 2, "Expulsion from the Socialist Workers Party."
3. *Spartacist*, Winter 1973-4, pp. 28-32.
4. *Workers World*, March, 1959.
5. Deirdre Griswold, *A Brief Resume of the Ideology of Workers World Party*, 1972, reprinted in "The Workers World Party and Its Front Organizations," Staff Study, April 1974, House Committee on Internal Security, pp. 27-33.
6. *Internal Bulletin of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International*, September 1959, reprinted in full in National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), Part 4, Hearings, House Committee on Internal Security, 1971, pp. 3746-3764.
7. Deirdre Griswold, *op. cit.*
8. *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 31, No. 1, April 1973, p. 4-5; *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 31, No. 18, July 1973.
9. *Internal Information Bulletin*, No. 6 in 1974, July 1974.
10. *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 33, No. 4, June 1975, p. 35.
11. *Idem.*
12. *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. XII, No. 1., January 1975, p. 4.
13. *Trotskyite Terrorist International*, Hearings before Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, July 1975, p. 84.
14. *Internal Information Bulletin*, No. 9 in 1976, July 1976, pp. 3-4.

Note: The Socialist Workers Party Discussion Bulletin, The Internal Information Bulletin, The International Internal Discussion Bulletin, and The International Information Bulletin are internal publications of the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International available only to members.

Chapter 10 The Socialist Workers Party—An Update

1. International Internal Discussion Bulletin, Vol. X, No. 20, October 1973, page 31–32; International Internal Discussion Bulletin, Vol. XI, No. 5, April, 1974, page 11–14.
2. International Internal Discussion Bulletin, Vol. X, No. 9, July, 1973, page 11.
3. International Internal Discussion Bulletin, Vol. XIII, No. 8, December, 1976, page 7.
4. Ibid, page 11.
5. International Internal Discussion Bulletin, Vol. X, No. 8, June 1973, page 11.
6. Internal Information Bulletin, January 1972, No. 1, page 4, 11.
7. SWP Discussion Bulletin, Vol. 33, No. 7, June 1975, page 2.
8. Internal Information Bulletin, Sept. 1976, No. 10, page 39.
9. Ibid, page 10 and 39.
10. SWP Discussion Bulletin, Vol. 34, No. 6, July 1976, page 9.
11. Internal Information Bulletin, April 1976, No. 6, page 42.
12. Ibid, page 8.
13. Education for Socialists, a publication issued by the National Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party reprinted a large number of documents concerning the 1951–54 international faction fight. The documents were printed as a series called Towards a History of the Fourth International, Parts 3 and 4, each part consisting of four volumes.
14. Internal Information Bulletin, April 1976, No. 6, page 21.
15. Trotskyite Terrorist International, Testimony of Herbert Romerstein before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, July 24, 1975, page 84–86.
16. International Internal Discussion Bulletin, Vol. XIII, No. 5, November 1976, page 7.
17. Internal Information Bulletin, Sept. 1976, No. 10, pages 43, 34, 19.
18. Internal Information Bulletin, Dec. 1976, No. 15, page 9.
19. Internal Information Bulletin, Feb. 1976, No. 2, page 7.
20. Internal Information Bulletin, April 1976, No. 6, page 31.
21. Ibid, page 38.
22. Internal Information Bulletin, Sept. 1976, No. 10, page 11.
23. Jack Barnes and Joseph Hansen reported to the Political Committee of the SWP on discussions that they had had in October, 1976, with the Political Committee of the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International. One of the agreements was to coordinate activities against a rival Trotskyite group in England led by Gerry Healy. Wohlforth had been the leader of the American affiliate of Healy's group. Barnes and Hansen said:

“As to concrete areas of collaboration, we discussed first of all the importance of a public meeting scheduled for January 14 to condemn the Healyite slanders against leaders of the international and of the SWP. George Novack and Tim Wohlforth are scheduled to speak at this meeting, along with Ernest Mandel, Pierre Lambert, and others. Another proposal of the IMG comrades is that they build a tour for Tim Wohlforth as part of an offensive to further isolate the Healy forces.” (Internal Information Bulletin, Dec. 1976, No. 15, page 9.)

24. Internal Information Bulletin, Sept. 1976, No. 10, page 11.

Appendices

Appendices to Chapter 2

Appendix 1

(Compiled from Internal Information Bulletin, No. 2 in 1975, pp. 10-11)
Regular members of the SWP National Committee selected at the 27th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, August 17-21, 1975:

Jack Barnes, Nelson Blackstock, George Breitman, Joel Britton, Peter Camejo, Pearl Chertov, Clifton DeBerry, Maceo Dixon.

Dick (Richard Catarino) Garza, Fred Halstead, Al Hansen, Gus Horowitz, Doug Jenness, Linda Jenness, Lew Jones, Carol Lipman.

Frank Lovell, Caroline Lund, Wendy Lyons, Malik Miah, Derrick Morrison, Andrew Pulley, Harry Ring, Bev Scott.

Larry Seigle, Ed Shaw, Barry Sheppard, Syd Stapleton, Betsey Stone, Tony Thomas, Jean Tussey, Mary-Alice Waters, Nat Weinstein.

Alternate members of the SWP National Committee selected at the 1975 National Convention are:

John Benson, Frank Boehm, Steve Chainey, Steve Chase, Les Evans, Rich Finkel, Gerry Foley, John Hawkins.

Ed Heisler, Lynn Henderson, Susan LaMont, Dick McBride, Jeff Mackler, Sam Manuel, Ray Markey.

Barbara Matson, Andrea Morell, Omari Musa, Willie Mae Reid, Dick Roberts, Olga Rodriguez, Peter Seidman.

Katherine Sojourner, Baxter Smith, Dan Styron, Pedro Vasquez, Judy White.

The members of the National Control Commission, the group responsible for security and party discipline, are:

Peggy Brundy, Anna Chester, Wayne Clover, Helen Scheer.

Appendix 2

(Compiled from SWP Discussion Bulletin, Vol. 33, No. 4, June 1975, p. 51.)

Regular members of the SWP National Committee selected at the August 1973, SWP National Convention:

Jack Barnes, Charles Bolduc, George Breitman, Joel Britton, Peter Camejo, Pearl Chertov, Clifton DeBerry, Dick Garza.

Fred Halstead, Al Hansen, Joe Hansen, Gus Horowitz, Doug Jenness, Linda Jenness, Joe Johnson, Lew Jones.

Carol Lipman, Frank Lovell, Derrick Morrison, Harry Ring, Larry Seigle, Art Sharon, Ed Shaw, Barry Sheppard, Betsey Stone, Tony Thomas, Jean Tussey, Mary-Alice Waters, Nat Weinstein.

Alternate members of the SWP National Committee selected at the 1973 National Convention:

John Benson, Nelson Blackstock, Frank Boehm, Maceo Dixon, Les Evans, John Hawkins, Lynn Henderson, Linda Jenness.

Susan LaMont, Caroline Lund, Wendy Lyons, Dick McBride, Jeff Mackler, Andrea Morell, Andrew Pulley, Dick Roberts.

Bev Scott, Peter Seidman, Syd Stapleton, Dan Styron, Judy White, David Wulp.

Advisory members of the SWP National Committee (this position for elderly leaders abolished in 1975) selected at 1973 convention:

Milton Alvin, James Cannon, B. Chester, Farrell Dobbs, Asher Harer.
Tom Kerry, J. Liang, George Novack, Evelyn Reed.

The 1973 National Control Commission members were:

Anna Chester, D. Ferguson, B. Matson, Helen Scheer.

Appendix 3

(Compiled from SWP Discussion Bulletin, Vol. 13, No. 4, May 1973, p. 5)

Regular members of the SWP National Committee selected at the 1971 SWP National Convention were:

Jack Barnes, George Breitman, Joel Britton, Peter Camejo, Pearl Chertov, Oscar Coover, Clifton DeBerry, Farrell Dobbs.

Dick Garza, Fred Halstead, Al Hansen, Joe Hansen, Robert Himmel, Gus Horowitz, Doug Jenness, Joe Johnson.

Lew Jones, Frank Lovell, George Novack, Harry Ring, Art Sharon, Edward Shaw, Barry Sheppard, Betsey Stone, Jean Tussey, Mary-Alice Waters, Nat Weinstein.

Alternate SWP National Committee members in 1971 were:

John Benson, Charles Bolduc, Tony Camejo, Edwards, Les Evans, Lynn Henderson, Herman Kirsh.

Tom Leonard, Carol Lipman, Sarah Lovell, Mary Lou Montauk, Derrick Morrison, Andrew Pulley, Dick Roberts.

Charles Scheer, Bev Scott, Larry Seigle, Evelyn Sell, Dan Styron, Tony Thomas, Judy White, David Wulp.

Advisory SWP National Committee members in 1971 were:

Milton Alvin, James Cannon, B. Chester, Asher Harer.
Tom Kerry, J. Liang, Evelyn Reed, Larry Trainor.

Appendix 4

Socialist Workers Party Political Committee 1966–75

On May 4, 1975, the SWP National Committee approved a motion that the Political Committee consist of 12 persons:

Jack Barnes, SWP National Secretary; George Breitman, Peter Camejo, Al Hansen, Doug Jenness, Frank Lovell.

Ed Shaw, Larry Seigle, Barry Sheppard, SWP Organization Secretary; Tony Thomas, Mary-Alice Waters, YSA National Executive Committee member.

The 1973–74 Political Committee included:

Jack Barnes, George Breitman, Joel Britton (transferred to Illinois), Peter Camejo, Farrell Dobbs (retired), Al Hansen, Joe Hansen (retired), Gus Horowitz (transferred to Paris), Doug Jenness.

Lew Jones (transferred to California), Tom Kerry (retired), Frank Lovell, Derrick Morrison (transferred to Pennsylvania), George Novack (retired), Ed Shaw, Barry Sheppard, Betsey Stone (transferred to Chicago as field organizer), Mary-Alice Waters.

The 1971 Political Committee members were:

Jack Barnes, George Breitman, Joel Britton, Peter Camejo, Farrell Dobbs, Clifton DeBerry, Fred Halstead, Al Hansen, Joe Hansen, Gus Horowitz.

Doug Jenness, Lew Jones, Frank Lovell, George Novack, Harry Ring, Ed Shaw, Barry Sheppard, Betsey Stone, Mary-Alice Waters.

In 1969, Political Committee members were:

Jack Barnes, George Breitman, Clifton DeBerry, Farrell Dobbs, Fred Halstead, Joe Hansen.

Tom Kerry, George Novack, Harry Ring, Ed Shaw, Barry Sheppard.

In 1966 and 1968 the Political Committee members were:

Jack Barnes, Clifton DeBerry, Farrell Dobbs, Fred Halstead, Joe Hansen.

Tom Kerry, George Novack, Ed Shaw, Barry Sheppard, YSA representative.

Appendices to Chapter 3

Appendix 1

Partial List of Sponsors from

PRDF Letterhead Dated September 30, 1973

National secretary: Syd Stapleton.

National field secretaries: Michael Arnal, Janice Lynn, and Catherine Perkus.

Sponsors:

Eric Bentley, Abe Bloom, Nat'l Peace Action Coalition.

Ann Braden, Southern Patriot.

Carl Braden, Southern Patriot.

Dr. Noam Chomsky.

Ruby Dee.

Jules Feiffer.

Ruth Gage-Colby, Women's Int'l. League for Peace & Freedom.

Vincent Hallinan.

Dr. Robert Heilbroner.

Nat Hentoff.

Philip Hirschkop, Chairman, Va. American Civil Liberties Union.

Dr. Salvador Luria.

Conrad Lynn, Nat'l. Conference of Black Lawyers.

Dwight Macdonald.

David Mc Reynolds, War Resisters League.

Arthur Miller.

George Novack.

Dr. Linus Pauling.

John Roberts, Director, Mass. American Civil Liberties Union.

Prof. David Rosenberg, Harvard Law School.

Margaret Sloan, Nat'l. Black Feminist Organization.

Gloria Steinem.

I. F. Stone.

Edith Tiger, Director, Nat'l. Emergency Civil Liberties Comm.

William Turner, ex-FBI agent.

Dr. George Wald.

Dr. Howard Zinn.

Appendix 2

Staff and Sponsors from PRDF

Letterhead Dated June 15, 1976

National secretary: Syd Stapleton; National Staff: Kipp Dawson, Geoff Mirelowitz, Claire Moriarty, Cathy Perkus, Margaret Winter; Advisory board: Robert Allen, Philip Berrigan, Noam Chomsky, Ronald Dellums, Robert Heilbroner, Diana Bonnor Lewis, Eugene McCarthy, George Novack, and Edith Tiger.

Sponsors, Partial List

Sam Abbott.
Rev. Ralph Abernathy, pres., SCLC.
Artha Adair, v.p., Industrial Union Div., Oregon AFL-CIO.
Ruth Adams, exec. dir., Illinois ACLU.
Philip Agee.
Am. Fed. of Govt. Employees (AFGE) Local 1061, Los Angeles, AFL-CIO.
AFGE Local 1395, Chicago, AFL-CIO.
Am. Fed. of St. Cty. & Mun. Employees (AFSCME) Local 1497, Detroit, AFL-CIO.
AFSCME Local 1880, Detroit, AFL-CIO.
AFSCME Local 1930, New York, AFL-CIO.
AFSCME Local 2000, Chicago, AFL-CIO.
Eqbal Ahmad, Harrisburg 7.
Robert Allen, ed., The Black Scholar.
Louis Antal, pres., Dist. 5, UMWA.
James Aronson.
Kenneth Arrow, Nobel Laureate.
Frank Askin, corp. secy., ACLU.
Dennis Banks, Am. Indian Movement.
Richard Barnett, Inst. for Policy Studies.
Rev. Willie Barrow, v.p., Operation PUSH.
Geraldine Bean, regent, U. of Colorado.
Clyde Bellecourt, Am. Indian Movement.
Eric Bentley.
Berkeley City Council.
Louise Berman.
Daniel Berrigan.
Alvah Bessie.
Black Action Society, U. of Pittsburgh.
Abe Bloom, Nat'l. Peace Action Coalition.
Bro. Herbert X. Blyden.
Julian Bond.
Anne Braden.
Neal Bratcher, dir., AFSCME, Dist. Council 19, Illinois, AFL-CIO.
Thomas Buckley, Jr., pres., Cleveland State U. Law School.
Ned Bush, exec. v.p., E. V. Debs Foundation.
Alexander Calder.
Louisa Calder.
Jose Calderon, La Raza Unida party, Colorado.
Kay Camp.
Art Carter, Contra Costa City, Labor Council, AFL-CIO.
Charles Cassell.
Owen Chamberlain, Nobel Laureate.
Cesar Chavez.
Robert Chrisman, pub., The Black Scholar.
Ramsey Clark.

John Henrik Clarke, Hunter Coll.
 Cleveland ACLU.
 Walter Collins, exec. dir., SCEF.
 Audrey Colom, pres., Nat'l. Women's Political Caucus.
 Henry Steele Commager.
 Congress of Afrikan People.
 Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.).
 Vern Countryman, Harvard U.
 Alberta Dannells.
 Ed Davis, Nat'l. Bd., ADA.
 Ossie Davis.
 Emile deAntonio.
 Howard Deck, pres., AFSCME Local 590, Philadelphia, AFL-CIO.
 Ruby Dee.
 Michael Delligatti, pres., Amal. Clothing Wkrs., Local 86, Pittsburgh,
 AFL-CIO.
 David Dellinger.
 Detroit Welfare Wkrs. Union.
 Frank Donner.
 Norman Dorsen, gen'l. counsel, ACLU.
 Douglas Dowd.
 John Duncan, exec. dir., Texas CLU.
 Mahmoud El-Kati, Malcolm X Pan-African Inst.
 Daniel Ellsberg.
 A. Whitney Ellsworth, pub., The New York Review of Books.
 Edward Ericson.
 Assemblyman Arthur O. Eve, New York.
 John Henry Faulk.
 Jules Feiffer.
 Abe Feinglass, v.p., Amal. Meat Ctrs. & Butcher Wkmen. of No. America,
 AFL-CIO.
 Lawrence Ferlinghetti.
 Jane Fonda.
 Henry Foner, pres., Fur, Leather & Machine Wkrs. Jt. Bd., New York
 City, AFL-CIO.
 Moe Foner, exec. secy., Dist. 1199, Drug & Hospital Union, New York
 City, AFL-CIO.
 Rep. Donald Fraser (D-Minn.).
 Donald Freed.
 Rev. Stephen Fritchman.
 Erich Fromm.
 Luis Fuentes.
 Ruth Gage-Colby.
 Charles Garry, atty.
 Maxwell Geismar.
 Russell Gibbons, asst. ed., Steel Labor, United Steelwks. of America,
 AFL-CIO.

Allen Ginsberg.
 Jose Gonzales, La Raza Unida party, Colorado.
 Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, Crusade for Justice.
 Carlton Goodlett, ed., S.F. Sun Reporter.
 Patrick Gorman.
 Sanford Gottlieb, Sane.
 Father Gerald Grant, World Federalists.
 James Grant, Charlotte 3.
 Francine dePlessix Gray.
 Dick Gregory.
 Gene Guerrero, Jr., pres., Atlanta ACLU.
 Jose Angel Gutierrez, La Raza Unida party.
 Andrew Hacker, Queens Coll.
 Vincent Hallinan.
 Morton Halperin.
 Pete Hamill.
 Timothy Harding, Calif. State U., Los Angeles.
 Sheldon Harnick.
 Rev. Dr. Donald Harrington.
 Michael Harrington.
 Rep. Michael Harrington (D-Mass.).
 Tom Hayden.
 Dorothy Healy.
 Joseph Heller.
 Nat Hentoff.
 John Hersey.
 Herbert Hill, NAACP labor dir.
 Lennox Hinds, pres., Nat'l. Conf. of Black Lawyers.
 Philip Hirschkop, atty.
 Julius Hobson.
 David Hoffman, exec. dir., AFSCME Local 96, San Francisco, AFL-CIO.
 Robert Horn, pres., Arizona NAACP.
 H. Stuart Hughes.
 Josephine Hulett, Nat'l. Comm. on Household Employment.
 Human Rights Party, Michigan.
 David Isbell, vice chmn., ACLU.
 Abdeen Jabara, atty.
 Paul Jacobs.
 Almeta Johnson, pres., Cleveland Black Women Lawyers.
 Russell Johnson, New Eng. coord., AFSC.
 Walter Johnson, secy-treas., Retail Clerks Local 1100, San Francisco,
 AFL-CIO.
 Irv Joyner, Comm. for Racial Justice.
 David Kairys, atty.
 Louis Kampf, M.I.T.
 Murray Kempton.
 Florynce Kennedy, Feminist party.

Rev. Muhammad Kenyatta, Black Economic Develop. Conf.
John Kerry.
State Rep. Mel King, Mass.
Kings Cty. Dem. Coalition, New York City.
Fletcher Knebel.
Patrick Knight, pres., Soc. Service Employees Union Local 371, New York
City, AFL-CIO.
William Kunstler, atty.
Mark Lane.
Ring Lardner, Jr.
Christopher Lasch, U. of Rochester.
Norman Lear.
Assemblyman Franz Leichter, New York.
Sidney Lens.
John Leonard, The New York Times.
David Levine.
Mickey Levine.
A. H. Levitan, atty.
Robert Jay Lifton.
Viveca Lindfors.
David Livingston, pres., Dist. 65, Distributive Wkrs. of America.
Salvador Luria, Nobel Laureate.
Florence Luscomb.
Staughton Lynd.
Conrad Lynn.
Bradford Lyttle.
Dwight MacDonald.
Olga Madar, pres., Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).
Norman Mailer.
Albert Maltz.
John Marks.
Rabbi Robert J. Marx.
Father Paul Mayer.
Kevin McCarthy.
Charles T. McKinney, atty.
David McReynolds, War Resisters League.
Alan McSurley.
Margaret McSurley.
Carey McWilliams.
Russell Means, Am. Indian Movement.
Michael & Robert Meeropol.
Mich. Fed. of Teachers, AFL-CIO.
Arthur Miller.
Joseph Miller, Philadelphia SANE.
Merle Miller.
Kate Millett.
Minn. Fed. of Teachers Local 59, AFL-CIO.

Minn. Women's Political Caucus.
Rep. Parren Mitchell (D-Md.).
Jessica Mitford.
Rev. Howard Moody.
Howard Moore, atty.
Jane Moore, Majority Report.
Very Rev. James Parks Morton.
Nat'l Alliance Against Racist & Political Repression.
National Lawyers Guild.
Huey P. Newton, Black Panther party.
Kaye Northcott, ed., Texas Observer.
No. Calif. Nat'l. Women's Political Caucus.
Phil Ochs.
William O'Kain, secy-treas., AFSCME Local 1644, Atlanta, AFL-CIO.
Operation Push.
John Oster, pres., Lake Cty., Ohio AFL-CIO.
Gilbert Padilla, secy-treas., UFW, AFL-CIO.
Grace Paley.
Basil Paterson.
Linus Pauling, Nobel Laureate.
Juan Jose Pena, La Raza Unida party, New Mexico.
Peoples Party.
Philadelphia Resistance.
Channing Phillips.
Suzy Post, Nat'l Bd., ACLU.
Rev. Robert Pruitt.
Richard Purple, pres., Twin Cities AAUP.
Rep. Charles Rangel (D-NY).
Marcus Raskin, Inst. for Policy Studies.
Paula Reimers, v.p., AFT Local 2000, Detroit, AFL-CIO.
David Rein, atty.
Malvina Reynolds.
Al Richmond.
Myrian Richmond, Black Women's Coal., Atlanta.
Ramona Ripston, exec. dir. So. Calif. ACLU.
John Roberts, dir., Massachusetts CLU.
Rev. Frank Robertson, All South Church, Washington, D.C.
Margery Rosenthal, dir., Nat'l Comm. to Reopen the Rosenberg Case.
Annette T. Rubinstein.
Muriel Rukeyser.
Kirkpatrick Sale.
Beulah Sanders, chwmn, NWRO.
San Francisco NOW.
Dore Schary.
Franz Schurmann, U. of Calif.
Pete Seeger.
Lauren Selden, exec. dir., Wash. ACLU.

Evan Shirley, exec. dir. Hawaii ACLU.
Bessie Shute, chwmn., Philadelphia CLUW Affirmative Action Comm.
Mulford Q. Sibley, U. of Minnesota.
Paul Siegel, Long Island U.
Sol Silverman, pres. U. Furniture Wkrs. Local 140, New York City,
AFL-CIO.

Dick Sklar.

Margaret Sloan, Nat'l. Black Feminist Org.

William Sloane, College Young Dems.

Soc. Services Local 535, California, AFL-CIO.

Susan Sontag.

Ann Sperry.

Paul Sperry.

Benjamin Spock.

Gloria Steinem.

Oscar Steiner, Nat'l. Advisory Council ACLU.

Rep. Louis Stokes (D-Oh).

Chuck Stone.

I. F. Stone.

F. W. Stover, U.S. Farmers Assn.

Kenneth Sullivan, Oh. NAACP Youth Advisor.

Percy Sutton.

Paul Sweezy, ed., Monthly Review.

Harold Taylor.

Studs Terkel.

Andres Rodriguez Torres, La Raza Unida party, Los Angeles.

Twin Cities NOW.

Edith Van Horn, int'l rep., UAW.

Community Action Program.

Robert Van Lierop, Africa Info. Service.

Ernesto Vigil, Crusade for Justice.

George Wald, Nobel Laureate.

Robert Wall, ex-FBI agent.

Gerald Walker, The New York Times Magazine.

Eli Wallach.

Bishop Alvin Ward.

Mary Watkins, J. B. Johnson Defense Comm.

Jack Weir, pres., Cleveland Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO.

Rabbi Joseph Weizenbaum.

Rexford Weng, v.p., Mass. AFL-CIO.

Warren Widener, mayor, Berkeley, California.

Herb Williams, Cal. State U., San Francisco.

Rev. Hosea Williams, Atlanta SCLC.

John T. Williams, IBT Local 208, Los Angeles.

Robert F. Williams.

Clifford Wilson, pres., St. Louis Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

Wilpf, St. Louis.

Rep. Andrew Young (D-Ga).
Quentin Young, MCHR.
Gilbert Zicklin, pres., Maine CLU.
Howard Zinn, organizations for identification.

Appendix 3

[Party Builder, SWP Organizational Discussion Bulletin, August 1974] Chapter Building Perspective for USLA Work

(By Gary Prevost and Marvin Johnson, Twin Cities Branch)

The following report will attempt to show how an ongoing chapter of USLA was organized in Minneapolis during the past year in the context of the openings which have occurred in the wake of the September 11, 1973 coup in Chile. It should be noted from the very beginning that while the authors are writing almost exclusively from experience in the Twin Cities we do not think the Minneapolis experience should be unique, and a major purpose of the report is to stimulate the forming of USLA chapters in cities where they do not now exist.

In October 1973, USLA work in the Twin Cities was reevaluated and three basic goals were established. They were: (1) to establish the authority of USLA in a broad constituency, to include church leaders, union officials, community leaders, and politicians; (2) to organize visible, periodic, public events which serve to keep the issue of Chile alive in the Twin Cities; (3) to develop a chapter of USLA with regular meetings, sound finances, ongoing activities, and most importantly, a core of activists.

Today, more than nine months since the goals were set the following results have been achieved. The Minnesota USLA chapters have a core of 10-15 independent activists. The chapter meets bi-weekly, even now during the summer months, and sustains itself financially through contributions and special fundraising projects.

The chapter is in the process of formalizing a local sponsors list, which will reflect the breadth of authority USLA has achieved. The list includes Rev. John Sinclair, President church executive; Joe Bash, Director of Student Affairs, American Lutheran Church; Rev. Vince Hawkinson, Grace University Lutheran Church; Fran Moscello, Spanish Department, Hamline University; Mulford Sibley, Political Science Department, University of Minnesota; Alfredo Gonzalez, Chicano Studies, University of Minnesota; Larry Grimes, Spanish Department, University of Minnesota; Minnesota Democratic-Farmer Labor Party. Others are considering becoming sponsors, including the president of ADA and a member of the Minnesota Civil Liberties Board. Rep. Donald Fraser, U.S. Congress, has worked closely with us, although he has not yet agreed to be a sponsor. USLA's authority locally is also shown by

people who are interested in doing political work on Latin America naturally bringing their concerns to USLA.

The list of ongoing activities sustained by the chapter is impressive, including: a) a locally initiated political prisoner case; b) consistent interventions at Latin American and other political events. Interventions have involved the sale of approximately 50 *USLA Reporters* per month, and a total of over 2,000 signatures on various petitions for Chilean political prisoners. During the year USLA used three different petitions. USLA felt it was important that individuals coming to programs have a personal thing to do. Initially USLA used a list of 34 political prisoners, followed in January with the Chile 7, and, around May 11, used the list put together for that action; c) an investigation of complicity between the University of Minnesota and the junta controlled University of Chile; d) outreach to meetings of trade unions, church groups, and political and community groups; e) publication of a regular newsletter, which has produced a consistent flow of contributions; f) a telegram campaign in defense of the PST in Argentina and political prisoners in the Dominican Republic.

Evolution of the Chapter

Having outlined our original goals and what has been now achieved we would like to describe in some detail the evolution of USLA work in the Twin Cities.

During the 1972-1973 school year the work of USLA was centered on two national speaking tours, Daniel Zadunaisky of Argentina and Mary Elizabeth Harding, a former Maryknoll nun who was a political prisoner in Bolivia. The two tours were successfully conducted in the Twin Cities and began to show the potential for ongoing work. Daniel gave a well-attended talk at the University of Minnesota and the USLA was used publicly for the first time in Minnesota.

The Mary Elizabeth Harding tour of May 1973 was highlighted by a meeting of over 100 at the University of Minnesota Newman Center, which was attended largely by the adult Catholic community. The meeting was co-sponsored by the Sister Council and Priest's Senate of the St. Paul Archdiocese. The Harding meeting began a good relationship with the Newman Center, which remains in effect today. Though a collection was taken and 35 names were collected for ongoing work, no follow-up was attempted until after the Chile coup.

An emergency picket line was called following the coup on last September 11; about 40 persons marched on the picket. Outside of USLA, the party and the YSA, the most significant involvement was that of the Communist Party.

Unfortunately, there was no consistent USLA work done following the initial demonstration largely because there was no major assignment made to

the USLA chapter. The shortcoming was not remedied until mid-October, but not before considerable damage had been done and USLA had been put in a difficult position vis-a-vis our opponents, including the Chile Solidarity Committee (CSC).

The Chile Solidarity Committee, headed by the CP, organized a Chile eyewitness speaking tour in early November and due to USLA's weak position, completely excluded us to the point of our not being allowed a literature table at the major events. USLA did organize a successful intervention into several of the meetings, with sales of the Reporter and a petition on political prisoners. The CSC organized successful meetings financially but did not bother to get a mailing list.

The first public activity of the Twin Cities USLA was the national Linda Wine tour. Coming directly on the heels of the CSC tour, it was not terribly successful but was a beginning.

In the absence of any nationally planned action USLA decided to initiate a film tour on Minnesota campuses to raise money and establish its authority over the CSC. USLA worked to organize the film tour and a symposium at the University of Minnesota for about two months, beginning in early December. During that time CSC committed suicide when the Communist Party pulled out of it, and the remaining independents lacked the organizational skill or desire to maintain the group. Ever since CSC's demise USLA has remained the only Chile group in the Twin Cities. CSC's most active independent now works with USLA.

The film tour, using *When the People Awake* and *Campamento*, was the first major step forward for USLA. The films were shown ten times on eight campuses to over 900 people. A profit was realized, which put local USLA on sound financial footing and permitted a contribution to the USLA national office. The tour allowed USLA to greatly expand its mailing list and provided contacts throughout the state of Minnesota. A chapter of USLA was formed at Mankato State College as a result of the tour.

In connection with the film tour, a symposium was organized at the University of Minnesota, the largest campus in the region. The major purpose of the symposium was to involve Latin American Studies faculty and students, who we found are more receptive than the average faculty and students to the USLA campaigns. The symposium firmly established USLA as a campus organization and significantly raised its prestige among the Latin American Studies faculty, which has been very important in many current campaigns.

Unfortunately, the tour did not solidify any new activists for USLA in the Twin Cities, but the core of the chapter began immediately to make plans for another film tour in the spring.

At the same time, the national tour of former Swedish ambassador to Chile, Harald Edelstam, was announced by the national USLA. The significance of the Edelstam tour for Minneapolis USLA was the realization of

broader trade union, church, and political support which had been projected earlier but not achieved. A broadly endorsed city wide rally featuring Edelstam drew about 250 people and helped to raise over \$1,000 for the national Chile Appeal fund.

The second film tour, which featured *Chile: With Poems and Guns*, was conducted in late April. As with the earlier tour the film was accompanied by an USLA speaker who discussed the current Chilean events and USLA projects. The tour was less successful in some ways than the earlier tour as it drew but 350 in ten showings and raised a modest profit for the chapter. However, the most important result of the tour was the solidification of six to eight activists who attended the showings and indicated their desire to do ongoing work with USLA. Almost all of them are now active in the chapter.

The May 11 national action provided an opportunity for outreach similar to the Edelstam tour but with a new element, the existence of a working coalition which included such groups as New American Movement (NAM) and Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The May 11 action in the Twin Cities was successful with 175 people turning out as compared to the demonstration of 40 immediately following the coup. One drawback of the May 11 action was that because the action was organized through a May 11th action committee, which held open planning meetings, the ultraleft sects were given too much power in the coalition. In retrospect, we feel that the action could have been just as broad if organized under the auspices of USLA.

Current Ongoing Work

Since the May 11 action the work of the USLA chapter has actually increased rather than dropping off as might be expected following an action. However, USLA had the perspective of maintaining ongoing activities, and with a good number of activists willing to do work, it has organized several important activities.

Since May 11 USLA has done its first consistent labor union outreach. USLA has made presentations and had resolutions on Chile passed by the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers Local 59, Robbinsdale Federation of Teachers, University of Minnesota Federation of Teachers, Local 2408, and the Minnesota Federation of Teachers State Executive Council. The Minneapolis and Robbinsdale Federations are the first and third largest locals in Minnesota. We are presently making plans to present resolutions to several other union locals in Minnesota.

A special campaign for a Chilean political prisoner with Minnesota connections has underlined the authority of the local chapter. The prisoner, Galo Gomez, received a masters' degree from the University of Minnesota in 1969 and was known to many people here. He was vice-president of the University

of Concepcion at the time of his arrest. After getting many letters on behalf of Gomez through literature tables for a month, the chapter decided to step up the campaign. Within ten days emergency telegrams were obtained from many prominent professors at the University of Minnesota, and also from Senators Kennedy and Humphrey and Congressman Donald Fraser. The campaign included a telephone call to the prison camp in Chile where Gomez is being held. The call was made by a faculty member in the Spanish department.

University of Minnesota activists working with USLA are investigating an agreement between the University of Minnesota and the University of Chile which may involve the medical school, the agricultural school, and the Mayo clinic. It appears that the agreement went unimplemented during Allende's rule but was recently renewed following the secret visit of junta representatives to the Twin Cities. The chapter feels that the agreement may provide an excellent basis for an anti-complicity campaign at the University of Minnesota next fall.

Another area of work which has expanded since May 11 has been church outreach. Since an excellent reception at the University of Minnesota Newman Center in January, the chapter has been aware that outreach work toward the churches could be very productive. USLA found it necessary to take its program to the individual churches that are sympathetic, so it requires considerable persistence to arrange the engagements. The program consists of the Chile film *Campamento* and speaker from USLA. Several church presentations have been made since May 11 with the most sympathetic being at Lutheran and Catholic churches. Church social action committees and sympathetic pastors have been the best contacts for USLA. The church visits can be productive in obtaining numerous signatures on petitions and letters, in addition to financial support. USLA may use a slide show prepared by NICH (Non-Intervention in Chile) in future programs.

Work with church officials can also be important for giving breadth and authority to the USLA committee. Recently, USLA has had conversations with officials of both the Presbyterian and Lutheran churches about their role on behalf of victims of repression in Latin America, particularly Chile. They are proposing that an ad hoc committee on Chile be formed in their churches.

USLA has long recognized that support from the Chicano community can be an important boost to our work. Though the Twin Cities Chicano community is relatively small, USLA has actively attempted to involve Chicano community groups. USLA is now achieving some success, through its presence at a community fair. USLA has arranged meetings with two significant groups, the Spanish Speaking Cultural Club and the Brown Berets.

Recruitment

It should be noted that only through continuous activity will USLA result in recruitment to the party and the YSA. Some success has already been achieved in Minneapolis. One has joined the YSA, while a couple of others are interested in attending our activities. The presence of an USLA chapter also can provide new YSAers with an important assignment with which to integrate themselves into the work of the YSA.

In Summary

In summary, we feel that the most important lesson for USLA work stemming from the Twin Cities work is the importance of the chapter-building perspective. The chapter-building perspective is a long-range one which requires considerable patience and hard work on the part of the initial core of activists. As the report noted, the Minneapolis chapter did not actually obtain a number of independent activists until six months after the chapter had been initiated and several successful events had been organized.

The key factor in projecting a chapter is the formation of ongoing projects. Demonstrations and national speaking tours are simply not enough to sustain an ongoing chapter. Such events will be better organized if a chapter exists but they will not produce a successful chapter by themselves. Therefore, the chapters must initiate local activities. The report has described in some detail such activities in the Twin Cities—film tours, local political prisoner case, complicity case, interventions in Latin American events. Projects may vary from area to area, but the openings exist wherever there are branches.

Finally, the potential for ongoing Chile work clearly exists nine months after the coup, as shown by both activists willing to work for USLA and the prominent individuals willing to support Chile projects. Some may say that the Minneapolis USLA experience is unique, but such is not the case. Actually, Minneapolis has many objective limitations, the most important of which is the lack of any substantial Latin community to support the work. The objective conditions are ripe for the formation of USLA chapters in many more cities. All that is needed is a clear conception and commitment to doing ongoing work rather than just organizing a demonstration on May 11 or September 11.

Appendix to Chapter 5

Resolution passed at 10th World Congress of the Fourth International, February, 1974, and expurgated from the text of the resolutions published in *Intercontinental Press*, December 23, 1974. The secret resolution was published in the *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. XII, No. 1, January, 1975, p. 10.

[Point 36 of the majority resolution "Argentina: Political Crisis and Revolutionary Perspectives" is published internally only, in accordance with a motion adopted by a majority of the United Secretariat in May 1974.]

36. The World Congress draws a balance sheet on the organization recognized at the Ninth World Congress as a sympathizing organization. It can only be an extremely critical one.

First of all, the *La Verdad* group has publicly attacked several sections in Latin America in its press, and especially some leaders of the International who were guilty of defending the orientations decided on by the last World Congress.

Secondly, *La Verdad* has made clear its fundamental misunderstanding of the necessities of armed struggle at the present stage of the class struggle in Argentina, engaging in a political line that is in the first place purely syndicalist, and secondly, electoralist—for example, its election campaign in which it maintained complete silence on the necessity to destroy the bourgeois state apparatus.

Prepared to pay any price within its legalist perspective it reached an agreement, on the basis of a centrist political line, for political and organizational fusion with the Coral faction of the PSA (Argentine Socialist Party), a small left Social-Democratic current with no influence in the working class. The new party, the PST (Socialist Workers Party), confronted Peronism with a combination of purely propagandist positions and clearly opportunist attitudes. For example, it appealed to Peron to "put himself at the head of struggles"; it demanded that slates of FREJULI, the bourgeois Peronist party, be made up of "80 percent workers candidates"; it demanded that Campora, the bourgeois, form a government "with a majority working-class composition"; it carried on a respectful and responsible (sic) dialogue between Coral and the bourgeois finance Minister Gelbard, etc., etc.

The daily practice of the PST reflects a tail-endist and legalistic concept of building the party. It dodges the problems of armed struggle, of the violent destruction of the bourgeois state, of the formation of workers militias, not only in terms of present tasks but even in its programmatic formulations, as, for example, in the *La Verdad*-PSA fusion protocol. In its press it conducts no systematic propaganda for arming the workers, not even for workers self-defense. It uses ambiguous formulas in its press that give the impression that the proletariat could win simply through propaganda against the army, directed to soldiers and noncommissioned officers, without necessarily forming armed detachments of the proletariat and without armed confrontations with the bourgeois repressive apparatus.

The PST has several thousand members and organized sympathizers. Most are students and workers who sincerely want to struggle for socialism and who sympathize with Trotskyism. Consequently, the World Congress favors maintaining fraternal links between the Fourth International and the PST as a

sympathizing group. But the International cannot grant recognition as an "official" section to an organization with a political line and practice that are so far removed from the principles and tradition of our movement.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Lawrence P. McDonald is the Democratic Congressman from the 7th District of Georgia. He has served in Congress since January 1975.

Cong. McDonald was born in Atlanta, Ga. April 1, 1935. He completed his pre-medical training at Davidson College in North Carolina and was accepted to Emory University School of Medicine before his 18th birthday. In 1957 he received a Doctor of Medicine Degree from Emory.

He spent four years in the United States Navy as a physician and Overseas Flight Surgeon to Naval Squadrons in Iceland. He received the Air Force Commendation Medal for his service in Iceland, completing his military service as a Lieutenant Commander.

Dr. McDonald has devoted himself to fighting for the re-establishment of the House Committee on Internal Security. He is highly regarded as an expert on terrorist and violence-oriented groups. His reports in the *Congressional Record* have been widely cited as a source of information on this topic.

Congressman McDonald has been a member of the National Council of the John Birch Society since 1967. He describes himself as a Constitutionalist and is the author of the book *We Hold These Truths* which expounds the basic principles of the American Constitution.

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