

POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING No. 20, February 27, 1976

Present: Barnes, Blackstock, Breitman, Camejo, D. Jenness,
L. Jenness, Jones, Lyons, Miah, Seigle, Stapleton

Guests: Morell, Petrin, Rodriguez

AGENDA: 1. Chicano Work Director
2. National Campaign around Boston Desegregation Fight
3. Angola Campaign
4. National Black Assembly
5. Establishing Locals and New Branches
6. Washington D.C. Area Local
7. National Committee Assignment
8. Membership
9. Healyite Splits and Slander Campaign
10. FBI's Statement at Pike Committee Hearing

1. CHICANO WORK DIRECTOR

D. Jenness reported that Rodriguez, the party's National Chicano work director, has been released from assignment in YSA to work in party national office, and proposed that she be invited to attend Political Committee meetings.

Motion: To approve the proposal.

Carried.

2. NATIONAL CAMPAIGN AROUND BOSTON DESEGREGATION FIGHT

(Bailey, Dixon, and Manuel invited for this point.)

Dixon reported (see attached).

Discussion

Motion: To approve the report.

Carried.

3. ANGOLA CAMPAIGN

(Bailey, Dixon, and Manuel invited for this point.)

Miah reported (see attached).

Discussion

Motion: To approve the report.

Carried.

4. NATIONAL BLACK ASSEMBLY

(Bailey, Dixon, Manuel, and Wright invited for this point.)

Wright reported on the first meeting of the National Committee for People's Politics (NCP) held in Washington, D.C. on Feb. 20-22. The NCP meeting was organized by the National Black Assembly, which is sponsoring the Third National Black Political Convention in Cincinnati, Ohio, March 17-21.

Miah reported on plans for party participation in the Cincinnati conference.

Discussion

Agreement on Militant coverage. Reports on NCP meeting and Cincinnati conference to be sent to branches next week.

5. ESTABLISHING LOCALS AND NEW BRANCHES

(Matson and Ogden invited for this point.)

D. Jenness and Stapleton reported on their recent trips to branches and locals where they discussed the problems and progress of establishing locals and new branches.

Discussion

Agreement to continue sending Political Committee members to locals and branches to consult directly about new steps in establishing locals and new branches.

6. WASHINGTON D.C. AREA LOCAL

D. Jenness reported on proposal of Washington D.C. branch to establish the Washington D.C. Area Local with two branches: Prince Georges County branch and Washington D.C. branch.

Discussion

Motion: To approve establishing Washington D.C. Area Local.

Carried.

7. NATIONAL COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT

D. Jenness reported on proposal to assign National Committee member Samuel Manuel who is part of the New York City leadership, to the Los Angeles Local as part of the city leadership there.

Discussion

Motion: To approve proposal.

Carried.

8. MEMBERSHIP

D. Jenness reported on proposal to accept J.J. and C.J. as provisional members-at-large in Charleston, South Carolina

Discussion

Motion: To approve the proposal to accept J.J. and C.J. as provisional members-at-large.

Carried.

9. HEALYITE SPLITS AND SLANDER CAMPAIGN

Barnes reported on further disintegration of the Healyite Forces around the world, including a major split in their organization in Greece and the removal of Fred Mazelis as national secretary in the U.S. The committee established by the Political Committee (see Political Committee minutes of February 6, 1976) has been gathering information on Healyite slanders and its members will give a report to the Political Committee soon. We will hold off on further articles in our press until we get this report. More material by European revolutionists criticizing Healyite attacks is appearing and IP will publish them when they are received. Further contacts have been made by ex-Worker League members concerning party membership. (See attached.)

Discussion

Motion: To approve the report.

Carried.

10. FBI'S STATEMENT AT PIKE COMMITTEE HEARING

Stapleton reported on letter sent to the House Select Committee on Intelligence (the Pike Committee) by the FBI. The letter was an attempt by the FBI to respond to testimony presented to the committee by Peter Camejo on November 18, 1975.

The contentions in the FBI letter were rejected by the committee, which noted the FBI's "failure to uncover illegal activity by this party. . . [despite] thirty-four years of intensive investigation."

Comrades should especially note the particular arguments used by the FBI to falsify the party's policies. (See attached.)

Meeting Adjourned.

Report on Boston Desegregation Campaign

by Maceo Dixon, February 27, 1976

The February 21 national steering committee meeting of NSCAR held in Boston was a big success. Three hundred people attended and a lengthy discussion on the current stage of the desegregation struggle and the tasks ahead of NSCAR took place. The current issue of the Militant carries coverage of the steering committee meeting.

The major report was a "spring perspectives" report given by NSCAR national coordinator Maceo Dixon. The report described the escalated wave of racist violence in Boston today and the complicity of local and federal officials with the antibusing campaign. Dixon explained why the future of school desegregation in the city is in jeopardy.

The report pointed out that desegregation remains the central struggle in the Black movement and the number one national priority of NSCAR. What is critically needed, the report outlined, is a national response to the racist offensive against busing in Boston. Protest actions, rallies, and educational activities are needed as part of building a movement to stop the racist attacks and the threat to school desegregation in Boston.

The meeting unanimously voted to approve the report and to throw NSCAR's support behind any forthcoming decision by Boston's Black community leaders to organize a national march and rally in Boston in support of school desegregation and Black rights. NSCAR leaders have played a central role in initiating a discussion among Black leaders of the need to issue a call for a march in either late April or early May.

In addition, student and youth leaders at the national steering committee meeting agreed to go back to their cities and solicit telegrams and letters from prominent community leaders in support of a call for a national action in Boston if Black leaders were to issue it. A letter signed by two prominent community leaders in Boston, Ruth Batson and Ellen Jackson, and NSCAR coordinator Maceo Dixon asking for support for such a call was distributed at the steering committee meeting. Local activists plan to circulate the letter in their areas.

The steering committee decided that NSCAR chapters around the country will initiate or participate in activities on or around April 3 and 4--the date of Martin Luther King's assassination. These rallies and teach-ins will be built around the theme: "Protest in support of what Martin Luther King died for!" In some areas, such activities may have already been initiated by the NAACP or other groups. In these cases, NSCAR chapters plan to join the effort to build them. These events should be seen as an opportunity to educate on the fight for school desegregation and the stage of the Black struggle today.

If a call for a national march in Boston is issued soon, NSCAR has projected using the April 4 activities as building actions for the national march.

We want to join with NSCAR chapters in helping to initiate, organize and build these activities. NSCAR chapters can begin immediately to approach campus and community groups -- NAACP chapters, Urban League, church groups, trade unions -- for their involvement in April 4 activities.

We also want to work with NSCAR chapters in immediately soliciting support around the country for an action call from Black community leaders in Boston. Messages of support for such a call should be sent to Ellen Jackson, 14 Crawford Street, Roxbury, Massachusetts, with copies to the NSCAR national office.

Building the April 4 activities will be a big opportunity for NSCAR chapters to involve new activists, help to build the chapters, and reach out to new forces to draw them into the probusing fight.

We also want to step up our socialist propoganda work around the current stage of the desegregation fight. Sales of our press is an important way to get out the facts about what is going on in Boston and what it means for the Black liberation struggle. The Militant and Young Socialist are two of the few newspapers telling the truth about the busing struggle.

SWP candidates should make the desegregation struggle and the fight for Black rights in Boston and other cities a prominent subject in their campaign talks. In the YSA's student government election campaigns, we want to do the same.

NSCAR has prepared some fact sheets on busing, a new national speakers bureau brochure, and other new materials. Where this has not already been done, we should encourage SCAR chapters to write for order forms so that they can make use of these materials.

Reports on plans and local activities in the probusing campaign this spring should be sent to the national office.

Report on Angola and Southern Africa Work

by Malik Miah, February 28, 1976

A National Black Coalition on U.S. Involvement in Angola and Southern Africa was formed at a conference held at Howard University in Washington, D.C., on February 6-8. (See report in February 20 Militant.)

This new coalition did not set any dates for activities against American involvement in Angola or against U.S. support to the racist regime of South Africa. However, Sylvia Hill, the chairperson of the working committee established by the conference and the former North American Secretary-General of the Sixth Pan African Congress, has indicated to me, in a recent discussion, that the March 13 working committee meeting of the Coalition will be discussing the possibility of issuing a call for a national march and rally in Washington, D.C., on African Liberation Day, May 26. If such an action is called it will probably be set for May 26, a Saturday.

Even with the military victory of the MPLA in the civil war, there is still considerable interest in Angola. The war there has also increased interest in the American policy in southern Africa. U.S. support to South Africa, Rhodesia, and its opposition to the just struggles of the African peoples in southern Africa was exposed, for the first time, to millions of Americans during the Angolan civil war. This heightened interest, and opposition to American intervention in Angola, has been reflected in the type of meetings organized for Tony Thomas and myself around the country.

We can expect increased interest in southern Africa to continue even with the new situation in Angola. The reports of the possible outbreak of fighting in Rhodesia, and the existence of over 5,000 South African troops in southern Angola, still poses the danger of a more active U.S. involvement in southern Africa. The American news media, as well, has increased its coverage of southern Africa. For example, the case of the SASO (South African Students Organization) Nine has received media exposure. An international defense effort, which we support, is gaining support in this country. (Background information on the case is reported in the March 5 Militant.)

If another African Liberation Day demonstration is called, it is likely, because of the increased interest in southern Africa, that a significant demonstration can occur demanding that the U.S. get out of all of southern Africa.

In this light the publication of Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War by Pathfinder Press is quite timely. It is the first book to be published on Angola that provides a socialist analysis of the civil war and the struggle of the Angolan people to win national liberation. Most significantly,

the book outlines American foreign policy not only in Angola but in all of southern Africa for the last thirty years. Two chapters alone discuss American and South African ties. Getting this book into the hands of Black and white activists interested in and concerned about southern Africa will aid the education of the American public on Washington's aims in Africa and will help build a movement against U.S. intervention in southern Africa.

Finally, Pathfinder Press plans to send out a special mailing to prominent Blacks about publication of the book, as well as a special news release to the Black press encouraging them to review the book. If branches do the same we can expect the book to get a fairly broad circulation rapidly.

WE CHALLENGE PETER CAMEJO
Workers League Political Committee
Statement
(from Bulletin, February 24, 1976)

On Friday, February 13, the Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, Peter Camejo, held a campaign meeting in San Francisco.

During the discussion period, Camejo was asked to reply to the evidence published by the International Committee of the Fourth International which proves that Joseph Hansen and George Novack, both leaders of the SWP, are accomplices of the GPU--the secret police of the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy.

Camejo was asked to give a factual response to a series of questions which arise from the irrefutable evidence amassed by the International Committee.

Among these questions were the following:

*Why did Hansen and Novack hide the fact that the SWP leadership made the arrangements to bring Mark Zborowski the Number 1 anti-Trotskyist spy of Stalin, into the United States in 1941?

*Why have Hansen and Novack deliberately suppressed the story of Zborowski's activities within the United States after he was reintegrated into the leadership of the Fourth International in New York?

Zborowski was known as "Etienne" as he worked within the Left Opposition and the Fourth International as Stalin's prize agent.

He set up the assassinations of Rudolf Klement (the young secretary of the Fourth International whose headless corpse was thrown into the Seine on the eve of the Founding Conference of the Fourth International), Ignace Reiss (the GPU agent who defected from Stalinism and was machine-gunned to death days later in Switzerland, Leon Sedov (Trotsky's son), and Leon Trotsky himself.

This same Zborowski and his wife live today in quiet luxury in San Francisco. He has an impressive job at the Medical Anthropology Department of Mount Zion Medical Center where he investigates the effect of pain on the human species.

In response, Camejo said that Hansen and Novack had no responsibility for bringing Zborowski into the United States. Camejo made the further point that the IC's charges were a slander against the two SWP leaders.

These statements are a deliberate lie on Camejo's part. The proof that Camejo is a liar is provided by none other than George Novack.

Novack, in the December 8, 1975 issue of Hansen's journal Intercontinental Press, wrote the following:

"I was placed in charge of securing documents and visas for Trotskyists in Western Europe whose lives and liberties were menaced by the Nazis and their agents.

"I collaborated with several voluntary agencies and negotiated with government officials in this cause and succeeded in bringing to safety a number of Jewish and non-Jewish comrades. For example, I made all arrangements for Walter Held (Heinz Epe) and his family to come to the United States, but he was apprehended by the Soviet secret police in transit through the USSR and executed.

"Unknown to us at that time was the presence of one GPU agent among those we brought to safety. That was Mark Zborowski (Etienne) around whom Healy has raised his hue and cry decades later."

Novack clearly admits that he was responsible for bringing Zborowski to the United States. Yet Camejo totally denies it, accusing us of slandering the SWP when we repeat Novack's own words.

From this, one can only conclude either that Camejo has not read Novack's article, which is itself a damning indictment of a presidential candidate of a party claiming to be Trotskyist or that Camejo considers Novack's admission so damning that he cannot repeat it in public.

Novack tries to explain away his admission by claiming that Zborowski was simply one among other legitimate Trotskyist refugees.

But by 1941, Zborowski was under heavy suspicion throughout the Trotskyist movement. Sneevliet, the Dutch communist leader, declared openly: "There is an agent and it is that little Polish Jew, Etienne."

Yet, Zborowski was brought to New York and reintegrated into the top levels of the Fourth International. His apartment was used as a meeting place for Trotskyist refugees during the war and he kept his Stalinist masters well-informed of all that went on.

In fact, Zborowski's credentials were never even challenged until he was brought before a Senate committee in 1956 and later put on trial for perjury, first in 1958 and then retried in 1962.

But, even then, when mountains of evidence began to

pour out from GPU agents like Jack Soble and others about Zborowski's work for the Stalinist secret police, Hansen and Novack did everything possible to block an investigation of Zborowski.

They suppressed the evidence of Zborowski's GPU activities from the world Trotskyist movement. They did nothing to use this material against the Stalinists, who in 1956 were in their worst crisis following the Khrushchev revelations. Their behavior at that time amounted to a conscious coverup for Stalinism and the GPU.

Pierre Frank, the SWP's ally in revisionism, wrote to George Vereeken on March 2, 1956, the following:

"Zborowski has been questioned by a sub-committee of the American Senate. We can't expect much more about his activity in our ranks to come out from that direction.

"The American groups (Cannon, Shachtman, . . .) ought to get together on it and try to make this Etienne speak. Unfortunately, we get the impression that they are not very keen on the whole business."

SWP candidate Camejo says that the IC is trying to slander his movement by saying that Hansen and Novack are accomplices of the GPU.

Yet, Camejo himself cannot come forward with a single fact to disprove the charges of the IC, charges based on a wealth of carefully researched evidence.

Hansen and Novack have not answered one of our charges since our indictment was printed one and a half months ago. The reason for this is simple--they cannot answer it because it is based on irrefutable evidence.

But Camejo has a ready reply to all of this. Answering a Workers League member, he said:

"You're all crazy. You'll wind up in institutions."

This is a charge taken straight from the handbook of the Stalinists, who are well known for accusing their political opponents such as Grigorenko, Plyusch, or Fainberg of being "crazy," and then throwing them in mental "institutions" to silence their exposure of the bureaucracy's crimes.

Peter Camejo, the same man who hurls GPU-style slanders at the International Committee, which represents the historic continuity of Trotskyism, told a Montreal audience while on tour last month that he does not like to be called a Trotskyist because "people think it sounds like a disease."

We issue a challenge to you, Candidate Camejo.

Will you, Candidate Camejo, answer these questions:

*Why did Hansen have secret meetings in New York in 1938 with the GPU agent Gregory Rabinovitz, alias "John," who was at the center of Stalinist operations to murder Trotsky in Coyoacan? Why did Hansen fail to have "John" photographed during his meetings with him over three months or in any way identify this dangerous GPU agent?

*Why has Hansen defended Sylvia Franklin as an "exemplary comrade" when she was been (sic) publicly unmasked as a GPU agent in a Federal Grand Jury indictment? What hold does Franklin have on Hansen and Novack?

*Why did Hansen and Novack hide the fact that the SWP leadership made the arrangements to bring Mark Zborowski into the United States? Why have Hansen and Novack deliberately suppressed the story of Zborowski's activities within the United States after he was reintegrated into the leadership of the Fourth International in New York?

*Why has Hansen deliberately sought to brush off the real extent of GPU agent Floyd Cleveland Miller's actions within the SWP?

*How can Hansen explain the failure of the SWP to play any role in unmasking any of the GPU operatives in their midst? Had it been left to Hansen and Novack, Mark Zborowski might have to this day preserved his reputation as an "old Trotskyist" and "secretary to Leon Sedov."

*Why has Hansen contrived to prevent an inquiry into the role of Robert Sheldon Harte and into all the serious questions raised by Harold Robins, captain of the guard at Coyoacan, related to Trotsky's security, in his Open Letter of December 23, 1975, to the SWP?

Will you, Candidate Camejo, support the demand of the IC for a public Commission of Inquiry into these charges and will you demand that Hansen and Novack appear before such a Commission?

Meanwhile, the International Committee of the Fourth International will continue its investigation and prepare for a public Commission of Inquiry into the charges that Joseph Hansen and George Novack are accomplices of the GPU.

* * * *

[This new escalation of the Healyites' attack on the SWP appeared with the "wanted poster" pictures of Hansen and Novack, and a similar picture of Camejo. The quotations attributed to Peter Camejo are, of course, misrepresentations.]

THE RENEGADE SKLAVOS
Statement by the International Committee of the Fourth International
January 25, 1976
(from the Bulletin, Feb. 20, 1976)

Since the collapse of the military junta in Greece, the Workers' International League of Greece (WIL), section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, has made great strides in the building of the alternative working class revolutionary leadership.

They have attracted into the Trotskyist movement hundreds of workers, youth, and students, as the Greek proletariat recovers from the treachery and betrayals of the Stalinists.

The government of Karamanlis is and can only be a regime of crisis and instability, a Bonapartist regime dependent primarily upon the ability of the Stalinists to continue to "discipline" the working class and peasantry to bourgeois order.

There is no going back to the iron grip of the colonel's junta without a new civil war to bloodily defeat the workers and peasants. There is no "democratic" way out of the economic and cultural problems of a backward and parasitic economy.

In the revolutionary struggles ahead, everything depends on the building of the revolutionary party which prepares for the conquest of workers' power. Opportunists of all kinds swing between sectarian and propagandist characterizations of the Karamanlis government as a continuation of the junta on the one hand (which would paralyze the movement) and pathetic democratic illusions on the other. The revolutionary party must fight all these tendencies outside and inside the movement and elaborate the strategy and tactics for power.

The leadership of the WIL has been constructed in the struggle to develop this strategy. This has meant a fight against a tendency to capitulate to the Stalinists (which called upon the split Stalinist factions to "unite"!) and against the characterization of the Karamanlis government as "the junta."

The leadership of the Greek section, after participating in the IC discussions which fought out these questions, is now engaged in organizing and conducting a pre-National Conference discussion throughout the organization. In the midst of this preparation, the CC of the WIL was confronted on Friday, January 16 with a letter from its secretary, Cde. L. Sklavos, that he was resigning both his secretaryship and his membership of the Central Committee, to which he had been elected at the last conference. This letter was delivered to a CC meeting called to continue the discussion on his own document, and from which he absented himself.

For two reasons, which are inescapably correct, the CC of the WIL demanded that L. Sklavos withdraw the resignation and continue as secretary and on the CC. First, the preconference discussion was opened, in that every question was open to full discussion in the party; there was no possible need for any leading comrade to resign his position in order to fight for his line; Sklavos like every other comrade must carry through to the conference the responsibilities for which he has been elected by the whole membership of the previous conference.

Second, L. Sklavos had already, in accordance with the decisions of the IC (see below) submitted a lengthy document on Marxist philosophy, the discussion of which was only now beginning.

The preconference discussion at the IC level, gave Comrade Sklavos, as well as every other comrade, complete facilities for presenting any views whatsoever on political, philosophical, and organizational questions.

Conference is the highest body of the WIL, in accordance with the democratic centralist practice of Bolshevism. But L. Sklavos could not wait for the highest body of the party to decide. He resigned from the leadership. And when requested on the following day, to withdraw his resignation, he completely refused.

The IC had already dealt extremely patiently with L. Sklavos's contribution on questions of philosophy. When L. Sklavos first raised differences on these matters (September 1975) the IC agreed (with L. Sklavos and the Greek section in support) on the following timetable: LS's offer of submitting a document by October 31 was accepted; on this basis, the IC and the CC of the WIL meeting together would begin the discussion in late November; this was to be the agreed and sole framework for the discussion; any subsequent steps must be by the decision of the IC. (Resolution of the IC 27. 9. '75 appended). All signatories (including L. Sklavos representing the Greek section) committed themselves to oppose all splits and to facilitate the discussion.

Even though Cde. LS broke these decisions, the IC persisted in arranging for the discussion. LS circulated and discussed his document with non-members of the IC and CC of the WIL and worked to organize a faction around himself before any further IC and CC discussion.

He submitted one-half of his document (untranslated at that point) only just before the IC meeting of December 14, 1975. It was then resolved to arrange translation, with discussion to begin on January 3 & 4 between the IC and the

CC of the WIL. The second half, however, did not arrive until January 1. As soon as translation was complete, though not before any reply could be prepared, a comrade from the IC visited Greece (January 15, 1976) for discussion preliminary to the IC-WIL meeting.

Having already broken the agreement, LS now proceeded on a campaign of open disruption. The CC of the WIL, as well as the IC, had accepted the discussion of his views on philosophy, but he now (January 16, the day after the visit to Athens of an IC member) announced political differences with the IC; i. e., a new platform of attack on the IC, and resigned from his leadership positions.

This is in complete conflict with democratic centralism which demands that such differences must first be fought out in the leading committees of which the comrade concerned is a member. In a preconference discussion, such a comrade may take views into the party as a whole, but such action does not require his resignation. In view of this, the CC of the WIL demanded that LS withdraw his resignation. This action was absolutely correct. They made this appeal to LS even despite the fact that on the evening following his resignation, he had mobilized a factional grouping together with non-party disruptive elements and engineered a provocation in one of the party's offices.

When LS was requested to resume his leadership positions he was also asked to give an undertaking not to violate the constitution or to disrupt the work of the party. On this condition, he was guaranteed every right to fight for his positions up to and including the conference. The first concern of the CC was, absolutely correctly, to exclude all provocations and organizational disputes so that the political discussions could proceed.

At this point, LS and his supporters were forced to either accept discipline and face the full political and theoretical issues up to the conference, or to attempt full-scale disruption. They chose the latter course, engineering a provocation on the same evening. On this breach of the constitution and deliberate disruption, the CC was compelled to act. It did so, with all responsibility and expelled LS and his closest supporters who organized the disruption.

In the following two days the whole membership, at specially convened branch meetings, endorsed the actions of the CC. Despite their actions, those who politically supported LS have been given every right to bring their case to the CC if they sign the undertakings previously placed before LS. Those who do not do this, of course, have the right to appeal to the party conference against their expulsion.

The IC, meeting on January 25, 1976, fully endorses and supports the resolute action of the CC of the Greek section. Only a leadership which fights for democratic central-

ism will be able to carry out the revolutionary tasks posed by the crisis in Greece.

The IC fought over many years to correct the serious political errors of LS; and in the center of these struggles, the Greek leadership was built. When LS developed his philosophical differences, denying the conflict of opposites as the source of development, he took a course which was calculated to destroy all that had been built in Greece. Eclecticism is substituted for dialectics.

In essentials, he wanted a theoretical rationalization for opportunist adaptation to the national political milieu, dominated as always by "democratic" opportunism. For this it was necessary, just as it was for Wohlforth and Hansen in the US and Thornett in England, to build up a smokescreen of lies and slanders about the "intervention" and "bureaucratic" dictatorship of the IC and the WRP leadership. LS's resignation and disruption was designed to do exactly this. His conduct was a continuation of his previous opposition to publishing in Greece the material of the IC on Wohlforth.

All sections of the IC, already forewarned by the work on Security and the Fourth International, which followed the struggle against Wohlforth, are warned to be vigilant and completely firm against all such disruptions.

They are not accidental, on the contrary, are characteristic of the period in which we now fight. Trotskyism has been successfully wrested from the hands of agents and those who capitulated to agents through theoretical neglect, political adaptation, and organizational softness. The middle class propagandists who want Trotskyism tied to the coat-tails of the reformists and Stalinists, grow more and more hysterical and resort to sheer provocations, because they hate being politically defeated; they are caught like rats in a trap.

For this reason, no one should be surprised if this handful of enemies of the IC came together quickly, even though in the most recent past they have made the most bitter denunciations of each other. Wohlforth joins Hansen, despite the most vitriolic political exchanges between the two. Thornett publishes and sympathizes with the "treatment" of Wohlforth rediscovered friend of the SWP. LS in Greece turns to Thornett to build up his position against the IC, even though the burden of his "philosophy" document is that the IC does not go far enough in denouncing the renegade Thornett on basic questions of materialism!

What unites all these gentlemen is this: the maturing of the world revolution leaves less and less space between the IC, the world revolutionary party on the one hand, and the demands of the ruling class that this leadership be broken up, on the other. It is an inexorable logic which drives those who disrupt the party in Greece and attack the IC in Britain and in the US. The IC appeals to any comrades in Greece

who have been confused by the actions of Sklavos to return to the WIL and participate in the preconference discussion,

in which all political positions will be discussed.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

1.

The International Committee, meeting on September 27, 1975, heard a report from the international cadre school, and in particular, the situation in the Greek delegation. Comrade Sklavos said he had differences of opinion on the running of the educational work at the school. He said he had differences with the positions put forward on Marxist method by the IC comrades responsible for the school. He asked for a discussion. This was agreed at once.

The IC proposes to prepare and organize the discussion on these questions in the following way. The differences are at a level of the IC and the discussions must be regulated by the IC itself. Comrade Sklavos will submit to the IC by October 31 a written document for the IC Internal Discussion Bulletin, and will have the right also to present his differences verbally at the meetings of the IC. The first of these will be held jointly with the Central Committee of the Greek section during the second half of November 1975.

The IC will reproduce and circulate to all sections, including the Greek section, copies for discussion, and make arrangements with the sections for translation into other languages. The IC will prepare and circulate a reply to Comrade Sklavos's document. This discussion in the IC sections must be organized and conducted as a fundamental

discussion. From this date in the Greek section, it must in no way whatsoever be the vehicle of any factional divisions or irresponsible talk of "splits." Both sides pledge themselves to work together immediately against any such developments, should they occur. The leadership and the membership must ensure that the unity and the work of the section are in no way impaired by the discussion and difference revealed by it.

The IC together with Comrade Sklavos and the Greek delegation to the international cadre school, accept this procedure and framework for the discussion. Any further step in the discussion must be a decision of the IC.

Signed 27. 9. '75 by representatives of sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International including L. Sklavos (Greece).

2.

The International Committee resolves to begin immediately the translation of the document outlining Cde. Sklavos's differences with the majority of the IC. This document will be circulated for discussion among IC members and CC of the WIL of Greece only and will be discussed on January 3 and 4 at the meeting of the IC and CC of the WIL.

Agreed unanimously 14. 12. '75



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

November 28, 1975

RE: STATEMENT OF PETER CAMEJO BEFORE
THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON
INTELLIGENCE, NOVEMBER 18, 1975

Peter Camejo, as the Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), testified that his organization has been victimized by FBI and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) activities since 1945. He briefly explained the nature of the SWP and its position on election campaigns, advocacy of violence, and foreign influence. Numerous references were made by Camejo and others to 30 years of investigation of the SWP by the FBI. Since the SWP was founded only 37 years ago in 1938, a desire to avoid discussion of the early years of the SWP was apparent and ignored the fact that 18 members of the SWP were convicted 32 years ago for violations of Federal statutes dealing with conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States and to advocate insubordination in its armed forces.

In *Dunne v. United States*, 138 F.2d 137 (1943), the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals considered statements of the SWP on the same topics that were discussed by Camejo. Of particular significance to the court was the Declaration of Principles and Constitution of the SWP which was adopted at its founding convention in Chicago from December 31, 1937, to January 3, 1938. The 1938 Declaration of Principles sets forth the goals of the SWP to be:

- 1) "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) "...take control of state power through the overthrow of the capitalist state and the transfer of sovereignty from it to their own Workers' State -- the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

Statement of Peter Camejo Before
the House Select Committee on
Intelligence, November 18, 1975

- 3) "The Workers' State is a temporary political instrument making possible the transition to the class-less, socialist society."
"...The noblest objective of the human race-- communism, the classless socialist society-- inaugurating a new era for all of mankind, will be realized."

- 4) "...The revolutionary party in this country does not aim merely to lead the working class of the United States in revolution, but to unite with the workers of all other countries in the international revolution and the establishment of world socialism."

The current position of the SWP is contained in evidentiary material in FBI files. Included in this material are official SWP documents such as "The Decline of American Capitalism; Prospects for a Socialist Revolution" which was approved by the 26th National Convention of the SWP and appeared in a special issue dated November 7, 1975, of the "International Socialist Review," monthly supplement of "The Militant," the SWP newspaper. The 1975 Prospects for a Socialist Revolution states, "The Marxist model for constructing a revolutionary program in the imperialist epoch is the founding document of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938." The 1938 Declaration of Principles also includes this program.

The following is a comparison of specific portions of Camejo's testimony with other material concerning the SWP, most of which is from court decisions and official SWP documents:

AIMS AND PURPOSES

Camejo testified, "I think it is important that I briefly explain exactly who we are and what we stand for." He described the SWP as a "political party based on the working class" or as a "workers movement" and SWP members as "Marxists" or "internationalists."

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The explanation of what they stand for included, "On the question of establishing socialism, however, we are in a minority. Our goal is to win a majority to our point of view." At no point in his statement did Camejo acknowledge the SMP is a revolutionary, Trotskyist-communist organization which has as its purpose, as stated in its Declaration of Principles, the overthrow of the U. S. Government, the institution of a dictatorship of the working class, and the eventual achievement of a communist society.

In Dunne v. U. S., the court considered the Declaration of Principles and said,

"The Declaration sets forth the program of action to effectuate this overthrow of the existing capitalist society and the Government which supports it. The first step is to build the strength of the party so that it can have a majority of the exploited classes back of its leadership. The final step is to overthrow the existing Government by force."

The 1975 Prospects for a Socialist Revolution states, "The world crisis of capitalism does not favor extensive and effective long-term capitalist reform in the United States but the development of the requisites for a revolution."

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

Camejo states, "We think a political party based on the working class is needed. That is why we are offering candidates in the 1976 elections."

The 1938 Declaration of Principles also discusses election campaigns and says,

"While relying primarily on mass actions, propaganda and agitation as the means for furthering its revolutionary aim, the Party will also participate in election campaigns though at all times contending against the fatal illusion that the masses can accomplish their emancipation through the ballot box."

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FOREIGN INFLUENCE

Camejo denies that the SMP is run by a foreign power or organization and states that SMP members are "internationalists" who "maintain a relationship of fraternal solidarity with the Fourth International."

The 1938 Declaration of Principles states,

"The revolutionary party in the United States collaborates in the fullest measure with all groups, organizations and parties in all other countries standing on the same fundamental program as our own; and cooperates with them in the elaboration of a complete world program. The S.W.P., therefore, is affiliated with the Bureau for the Fourth International as its section in United States."

Camejo stated, "and although we strongly disagree with the Voorhis Act, since it was passed in 1940 we have not been affiliated to the Fourth International." In Dunne v. U. S., the court discusses an attempt to suspend and withdraw the Declaration of Principles and quotes defendant James P. Cannon (founder and leader of the SMP until his death in 1974) as follows: "The principal reason, I may say, was the passage by Congress of a bill known as the Voorhis Act, which penalized parties belonging to international organizations." The court then concluded, "Even as to the Voorhis Act, this action was merely a subterfuge and smoke screen." Another quote from Dunne v. U. S. seems particularly appropriate when considering the SMP's denial of membership in an international organization while also following Trotsky's teaching that communism cannot be established with lasting success as an isolated phenomenon in one country alone. The court said,

"When they use words which may or may not mean the forbidden thing, they intend just one thing and that is to squirm through the statute leaving a haze which they hope will make it impossible or difficult to find any fracture by their passage."

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The Fourth International continues to be the worldwide Trotskyist revolutionary organization and is presently headquartered in Brussels, Belgium. Although claiming to have withdrawn from formal affiliation in 1940, the SWP continues to maintain a close association with the FI and participates and votes as a "sympathizing group" in FI meetings.

The 1975 Prospects for a Socialist Revolution states:

"The Marxist model for constructing a revolutionary program in the imperialist epoch is the founding document of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938."

"The Socialist Workers Party is internationalist to its core. Not only are world developments shaping the coming struggles at home, but the American workers' enemies are the exploiters on a world scale. The perspective of the Communist Manifesto--'Workers of the world, unite'--remains our fundamental goal. While reactionary legislation precludes formal affiliation to the Fourth International, the Socialist Workers Party, since its founding, has been an integral political component of the world party of socialist revolution."

ADVOCACY OF VIOLENCE

Camejo stated that the SWP "doesn't advocate or engage in violent or illegal activity. The FBI has never produced any evidence to the contrary." Mr. McClosky asked Camejo if the SWP hadn't originally advocated the overthrow of the Government by force of violence. Camejo answered, "Never in its history."

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The 1938 Declaration of Principles states,

"The belief that in such a country as the United States we live in a free, democratic society in which fundamental economic change can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and purely parliamentary methods, is an illusion."

The court in *Dunne v. U. S.* considered the above and other quotes from the Declaration of Principles and concluded that the SWP believed the "final step is to overthrow the existing Government by force."

The SWP does not publicly espouse violence or terrorism at the present time; however, material obtained by the FBI does dispute Camejo's statement that, "We believe, as Marxists have always believed, that the philosophy and the methods of terrorism are damaging to the workers movement", and that "Advocacy of terrorism is incompatible with membership in the SWP." In 1974, a minority faction within the SWP, the Internationalist Tendency (IT), supported the majority position of the Fourth International (FI) and was expelled from the SWP. The IT followers were not expelled for their support of the FI position which favors the current use of guerrilla warfare in Latin America and elsewhere if local conditions indicate that such violence would enhance the revolution. Rather, they were expelled for operating in secrecy in violation of SWP directives governing its own operations. In fact, the majority of the SWP did not reject violence per se but refused to support the FI position because they felt the use of violence was then premature. Some of the followers of the IT position have been reaccepted into the SWP by renewing their unconditional acceptance of the leadership bodies of the SWP.

The 1975 Prospects for a Socialist Revolution states,

"While powerful world forces are laying powder kegs under American imperialism, only forces inside the United States can take power away from the American capitalists and disarm them."

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"Obviously, the words cannot mean that before the Government may act, it must wait until the putsch is about to be executed, the plans have been laid and the signal is awaited. If Government is aware that a group aiming at its overthrow is attempting to indoctrinate its members and to commit them to a course whereby they will strike when the leaders feel the circumstances permit, action by the Government is required. The argument that there is no need for Government to concern itself, for Government is strong, it possesses ample powers to put down a rebellion, it may defeat the revolution with ease needs no answer. For that is not the question. Certainly an attempt to overthrow the Government by force, even though doomed from the outset because of inadequate numbers or powers of the revolutionists, is a sufficient evil for Congress to prevent. The damage which such attempts create both physically and politically to a nation makes it impossible to measure the validity in terms of the probability of success, or the immediacy of a successful attempt. In the instant case the trial judge charged the jury that they could not convict unless they found that petitioners intended to overthrow the Government 'as speedily as circumstances would permit.' This does not mean, and could not properly mean, that they would not strike until there was certainty of success. What was meant was that the revolutionists would strike when they thought the time was ripe. We must therefore reject the contention that success or probability of success is the criterion."

The Supreme Court additionally noted that, "If the ingredients of the reaction are present, we cannot bind the Government to wait until the catalyst is added." The Court of Appeals which has considered a portion of the current SWP lawsuit has stated, "The FBI has a right indeed a duty, to keep itself informed with respect to the possible commission of crime; it is not obliged to wear blinders until it may be too late for prevention." (Socialist Workers Party, et. al. v. Attorney General of the United States of America, et. al., 510 F 2d 253 (1974).)

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"To protect their struggles and gains against murderous attacks by goons, cops, and fascist bands, the workers will have to organize and train their own forces and use them in the most effective way. Starting with defense of picket lines and the right to strike, the protection of their demonstrations or those of their allies, and proceeding to workers defense guards, workers militias, and the requisite arming of the working class, the working masses will learn from their own experiences what measures to take. The lessons of history, incorporated into the general strategy of the workers movement will prove invaluable on this life-and-death question."

In addition to his statement, Camejo apparently turned over to the Committee a list of some 225 incidents of alleged FBI harassment which have taken place since April, 1971, when Cointelpro was discontinued. The SWP and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance, have filed a lawsuit against the Government. A large number of Bureau documents have been released to the SWP through pretrial discovery proceedings. The bulk of these documents concerned Cointelpro but some have included the files on individual plaintiffs. In the lawsuit, approximately 150 "investigative incidents" have been alleged as examples of harassment by the FBI. These have also included such items as interviews of SWP and YSA members, and their relatives, neighbors, associates and employers. These allegations have been answered in the discovery proceedings in the lawsuit and none has been admitted to be, or should properly be, interpreted as a Cointelpro action. Since the list of 225 items has not been furnished to the FBI and since it apparently concerns a matter in litigation, it would be improper to make further comments at this time.

Courts which have considered the role of the Government with regard to organizations such as the SWP have held that investigation of them is warranted. In Dennis v. United States, 341 U.S. 494 (1951), the court stated,