

POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING No. 1, January 11, 1979

Present: Barnes, Britton, Clark, Dixon, Hawkins, Jaquith,
D. Jenness, Kramer, Morell, Ring, Sedwick,
Seigle, Stone

Guest: Sheppard

Chair: Barnes

AGENDA: 1. Districts
2. Gelfand Trial
3. Mexican Plenum
4. Canadian Plenum
5. Cambodia and Vietnam
6. National Committee Vacancy
7. YSA and Party Literary Discussion
8. Membership

1. DISTRICTS

Britton reported on trips that he and Lyons are planning to make to discuss with comrades in Washington and Minnesota the possibility of establishing a Seattle-Tacoma district and a Twin Cities district of the party.

2. GELFAND TRIAL

(Hansen and Novack invited for this point.)

Seigle reported. (See attached.)

Discussion

Motion: To find Gelfand guilty as charged.

Carried.

Motion: To expel Gelfand from the party.

Carried.

3. MEXICAN PLENUM

(Baumann, Halstead, Hansen, Marroquin, Novack, Pérez, and Vargas invited for this point.)

Sheppard reported.

Discussion

(over)

4. CANADIAN PLENUM

(Baumann, Hansen, Novack, Pérez, and Rose invited for this point.)

D. Jenness reported. (See attached.)

Discussion

5. CAMBODIA AND VIETNAM

(Baumann, Evans, Feldman, Hansen, Novack, Pérez, and Zimmermann invited for this point.)

Feldman reported.

Discussion

Agreed on press coverage. (See Jan. 19 Militant.)

6. NATIONAL COMMITTEE VACANCY

D. Jenness reported on letter of resignation from Judy White. (See attached.)

Motion: To notify Peggy Brundy that as first alternate, she now becomes a regular member of the National Committee to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Judy White.

Carried.

7. YSA AND PARTY LITERARY DISCUSSION

D. Jenness reported on proposal that the members of the Young Socialist Alliance be permitted to participate in the literary discussion in the party discussion bulletin on Cuba and the five international resolutions now before the world movement: "The World Political Situation and the Tasks of the Fourth International"; "Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation"; "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat"; "Resolution on Latin America"; and "The Crisis in Capitalist Europe and the Present Tasks of the Fourth International."

Motion: To approve.

Carried.

8. MEMBERSHIP

D. Jenness reported on recommendation of Upper West Side branch in New York that J.E. be readmitted to party.

Discussion

Motion: To concur with the recommendation of the Upper West Side branch.

Carried.

D. Jenness reported on recommendation of the Miami branch that P.C. be readmitted to party.

Discussion

Motion: To concur with the recommendation of the Miami branch.

Carried.

Meeting adjourned.

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January 5, 1979

Alan Gelfand
Los Angeles, CA

Dear Comrade Gelfand:

This letter is to inform you that the attached charges were filed by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, with the Political Committee today. They will be heard and acted on by the Political Committee at a meeting on Thursday, January 11.

Enclosed is a copy of the party constitution.

Fraternally,

Doug Jenness

Doug Jenness
National Office

copy

copy

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January 5, 1979

To the Political Committee

I charge Alan Gelfand with undisciplined and disloyal behaviour in violation of the organizational principles of the Socialist Workers Party for his attacks on and slander against the party, contained in a legal brief filed in the U.S. Court of Appeals, 3rd District, in December 1978 without any consultation with elected party bodies. This act is in direct violation of the directive to cease his slander campaign contained in the Political Committee letter to Gelfand of April 7, 1978.

Comradely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jack Barnes". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Jack Barnes

Typed on National Office letterhead.

COPY

COPY

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April 7, 1978

Alan Gelfand
Los Angeles

Dear Comrade Gelfand,

The Political Committee has discussed the series of communications received from you. These include: (1) The "Intended Tasks and Perspectives Discussion of Comrade Al G." dated January 23, 1978, which you had prepared for your branch meeting held to discuss the Los Angeles Local Tasks and Perspectives; (2) your letter of January 25 to the Los Angeles leadership; (3) your letter of January 29 to the Political Committee requesting "any and all suggestions as to how I may proceed to obtain the answers to my questions in a manner that is in conformity both with the norms of our party and our obligation to defend it from all attacks"; (4) your letter of February 13 to the Political Committee complaining that you had not yet received a reply to your January 29 letter; and (5) your letter of March 26 addressed to the National Committee, demanding, among other things, that "Joseph Hansen be required to give a complete and full accounting of his involvement with the GPU and the FBI, and that he hand over to the party any and all files, memos, manuscripts, letters or other correspondence in his possession or under his control." The Los Angeles local leadership has informed us that you leafleted your branch meeting with copies of this last item.

You have asked for our opinion about how you may proceed to press your charges against Joe Hansen. The answer to that question is simple. The party cannot and will not allow agent-baiting within its ranks. Any further repetition by you of the Healyite slanders will not be tolerated.

Since you may not be aware of the long-standing tradition of our movement on agent-baiting, and therefore may not fully understand how seriously the party views your actions, we would like to take this opportunity to explain the party's position on this question.

In the voluminous material you have compiled you raise not one point that has not previously been raised by the Healyites in their three-year campaign of slander of Joe Hansen, George Novack, and the rest of the SWP leadership.

The verdict was brought in long ago on the Healyite slander campaign: it is nothing but a frame-up. It collapses like a house of cards under even the slightest scrutiny. It is based on the technique of the Big Lie.

(over)

Joe Hansen himself subjected the entire pack of lies to a detailed examination in the November 24, 1975, issue of Intercontinental Press. Hansen showed at great length that the Healy charges were nothing but slanders based on faked quotations, outright lies, and crude amalgams.

He also showed that the Healy witch-hunt is motivated by the Healyites' political opposition to the SWP and to the Fourth International. In particular, it flows from a desperate attempt to hold together the disintegrating "International Committee," which the Healyites have kept going as a rump organization since their sectarian opposition to the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963 and their split from the International.

The slander campaign against Comrade Hansen began shortly after Intercontinental Press published a document by Tim Wohlforth explaining the circumstances under which he and Nancy Fields left the Workers League, the American Healyite group. Wohlforth described Healy's vilification of Nancy Fields as a "CIA agent" and his preoccupation with "security," which he used as a weapon to silence critics. It was Hansen's accompanying comments in Intercontinental Press on this Healyite method of internal functioning that triggered Healy's slander campaign.

Healy responded to Hansen's answers by extending the charges and the list of "suspects" in the case. After George Novack published an article that branded the slanders as a frame-up "that stinks to the heavens" Healy uncovered "evidence" proving that Novack, too, is an "accomplice of the GPU."

Hansen prepared a second detailed refutation of the new, escalated charges. This appeared in the August 9, 1976, issue of Intercontinental Press. But once again, rather than pulling back, Healy escalated the slander campaign still further.

As Healy pressed deeper into the "Big Muddy" he had created, leaders of the Trotskyist movement around the world came forward to repudiate the abhorrent slanders and demand that Healy halt his witch-hunt. Finally, a wide range of individuals representing virtually the entire spectrum of groups identifying themselves as Trotskyists on a world scale, as well as individuals not belonging to any organized formation, and including numerous present and past leaders of the Fourth International, published a statement denouncing the Healy slander campaign.

"Healy and his associates," the statement declared, "have not brought forward the slightest probative evidence, documents, or testimony to substantiate their libelous accusations against Hansen and Novack, the nominal targets of the attacks. The script of their polemics is fabricated out of baseless innuendoes, gratuitous suppositions and outright lies that do not have any political content or foundation in fact. They constitute a shameless frame-up."

"A shameless frame-up." This was the verdict of those who had examined the evidence on both sides. It was unambiguous.

In December 1976, the National Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party published all of the materials repudiating the Healy slander campaign in a rather thick pamphlet. It is, as you know, available to all those who have questions about the Healy charges and are interested in how we have answered them.

Unfortunately, Healy still refused to pull back from his destructive course. Once again he fabricated new "proofs" of Hansen's guilt. This is a procedure he apparently intends to continue on a permanent basis.

It is, of course, possible to cook up endless variations on any slander theme, and to demand new answers each week. Each "answer" can then provide new material for yet more "questions."

However, once the charges have been rebutted in detail, once the character of the slander campaign has been exposed before the world movement and universally denounced as a frame-up, and once the political origin and purpose of the slander campaign have been revealed and analyzed, then the victims of the slander campaign are no longer obligated to spend their time unraveling each "new" pack of lies.

This is why you have not found comrades interested in answering the "new" Healyite accusations. The Healyite slander campaign has already been answered: in detail, in public, and in print.

Now let us turn to the question of what you assert to be your right as a member of the SWP to raise these slanders against Joe Hansen inside the party.

The established principles of the revolutionary workers movement are quite clear on this question. The party has an obligation to protect itself from spy scares and internal witch-hunts carried out in the name of "security." This obligation is at least as important as the party's need to protect itself from infiltration by enemy spies and provocateurs.

These principles were summarized in an article written by James P. Cannon in the August 28, 1950, issue of the Militant. The article took up the charge by one Louis Budenz, a notorious FBI stool pigeon and ex-GPU operative, that one of the comrades working in the SWP national office was a Stalinist agent. Cannon reported that this particular accusation had, several years earlier, been referred to the party Control Commission, which had found the information on which the charge was based to be false, and exonerated the comrade. (The Healyites have now taken up Budenz's charge anew, and Cannon's article was reprinted in Intercontinental Press of November 24, 1975, along with Joe Hansen's initial reply to the Healy slanders.)

Cannon wrote: "A 'spy scare' caused by planted 'disinformation' can do a hundred times more damage than any spies by undermining the confidence of comrades in each other and disrupting the comradely collaboration which is necessary for fruitful work."

(over)

"Character assassins are more dangerous than spies," Cannon said. "Those who make false accusations or circulate slanderous rumors must be thrown out."

This approach is the polar opposite of the Healy "security" system. As the unimpeachable testimony of former members of Healy's movement proves, the Healyite "security" method amounts to a permanent witch-hunt inside his own organization. The Healyite concept of protecting the security of the party is to generate the highest possible level of mutual suspicion among comrades who are supposed to be working together for a common cause.

We can add some concrete examples to what Cannon wrote in 1950, as the result of the mountain of materials that has been dislodged from the FBI's secret files. These show that the planting of accusations about spies inside an organization is one of the FBI's favorite tricks. They have used anonymous tips, forged documents, and other fabricated evidence to make the case look convincing. They know quite well that setting an organization on the tracks of uncovering spies in its own ranks can do more to destroy its functioning than anything the FBI's own spies can do by themselves.

What's more, such spy scares rarely uncover the real spies, who are invariably among the most determined and enthusiastic about "security." In fact, starting and fueling spy scares aimed at others is one of the favorite tricks of FBI informers.

The Militant has written extensively about the disastrous effects of this FBI tactic on the American Communist Party, and on ultraleft groups like the Black Panther Party. The FBI had the members of these organizations looking under every bed for spies, suspecting their comrades of being agents. This had a devastating impact on the internal life of these groups, and was absolutely fatal to their internal security because it gave the real agents a free hand to disrupt and create havoc.

Fortunately, despite repeated attempts, the FBI has never been able to use this tactic effectively against our party. This is because we simply do not allow agent-baiting in our ranks.

If anyone persists in spreading rumors or false accusations about the loyalty of other comrades, they find themselves subject to the disciplinary proceedings the party constitution provides to protect the party from disloyalty and disruption from within.

Any other course would only lay the party open to all kinds of disruption efforts. It would permit suspicion and distrust among comrades to become widespread. And, as we have seen from the Healyite groups themselves, it would allow bureaucratic paranoia about "security" to infringe on the democratic rights of the membership to question and raise criticisms of party positions and policies.

We repeat: any further steps by you to circulate slanders

against Joe Hansen or any other party member would be in violation of the organizational principles of the party, and will not be tolerated.

Political Committee

Larry Seigle
Larry Seigle

1 IN THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS, SECOND DISTRICT

2
3 SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
4 et al.

No. 786114

5 Plaintiff and Respondent,

6
7 ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED
8 STATES et al.,

9 Defendant,

10 GRIFFIN BELL, Attorney General
11 of the United States,

12 Defendant and Appellant.

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14 APPLICATION OF ALAN GELFAND
15 FOR LEAVE TO FILE BRIEF AS
16 AMICUS CURIAE IN SUPPORT OF
17 APPELLEE

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19 AMICUS CURIAE BRIEF OF
20 ALAN GELFAND IN SUPPORT OF
21 APPELLEE

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1 IN THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS, SECOND DISTRICT

2
3 SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY)
4 et al,)

No. 786114

5 Plaintiff and Respondent,)

6 v.)

7 ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED)
8 STATES et al,)

9 Defendant,)

10 GRIFFIN BELL, Attorney General)
11 of the United States,)

12 Defendant and Appellant.)
13

14 APPLICATION OF ALAN GELFAND FOR

15 LEAVE TO FILE BRIEF AS AMICUS

16 CURIAE IN SUPPORT OF APPELLEE

17 TO THE HONORABLE PRESIDING JUSTICE AND THE
18 ASSOCIATE JUSTICES OF THE UNITED STATES
19 COURT OF APPEALS, SECOND DISTRICT:

20 Alan Gelfand hereby applies for leave to file
21 the attached brief as amicus curiae in support of
22 appellee, Socialist Workers Party.

23 Alan Gelfand is an attorney who has been a member
24 of the State Bar of California, as well as the Federal Bar
25 of the United States District Court for the Central District
26 since December, 1974.

1 Alan Gelfand has been a member of the Socialist
2 Workers Party for approximately the past three years.

3 Alan Gelfand is familiar with the issues raised
4 in this case. More importantly, however, as a member of
5 the Socialist Workers Party, Alan Gelfand has been
6 inquiring for the last one and one-half years into the
7 alleged FBI relationships of certain prominent S.W.P.
8 members. The center of this inquiry has focused on one
9 Joseph Hansen.

10 Joseph Hansen has been a leading member of the
11 S.W.P. for 40 years. He was working as one of Trotsky's
12 secretaries in Mexico at the time that Trotsky was
13 murdered. Hansen has subsequently served as the editor of
14 the Militant (weekly newspaper of the S.W.P.), editor of
15 Intercontinental Press (weekly international periodical
16 of the S.W.P.), as well as authoring countless documents
17 and books on Trotskyism.

18 With regard to Joseph Hansen's alleged FBI
19 relationship, several government documents have been
20 obtained pursuant to various Freedom of Information Act
21 requests. Among these documents are the following:

22 1. A State Department memorandum by Robert G.
23 McGregor, an employee of the American Consul in Mexico
24 City, dated August 31, 1940,¹ which reports on a meeting

25 _____
26 ¹Trotsky was assassinated on August 20, 1940, by
the GPU--the Soviet Secret Police.

1 that McGregor had just had with Hansen. This memorandum²
2 stated in part the following:

3 "Hansen stated that when in New York in 1938
4 he was approached by an agent of the GPU and
5 was asked to desert the Fourth International
6 and join the Third. He referred the matter
7 to Trotsky who asked him to go as far with
8 the matter as possible. For three months
9 Hansen had relations with a man who merely
10 identified himself as 'John', and did not
11 otherwise reveal his identity."

12 2. A letter dated September 25, 1940, from the U.S.
13 Consul to Mexico, George P. Shaw, to Raymond Murphy, a
14 State Department official in Washington which stated that
15 Joseph Hansen, "wishes to be put in touch with someone in
16 your confidence located in New York City to whom confi-
17 dential information could be imparted with impunity."

18 See Exhibit "A"

19 3. A letter dated September 28, 1940, from Murphy
20 to Shaw. This letter stated in part the following:

21 "I would suggest that Mr. Hansen be informed
22 that he get in touch with Mr. B.E. Sackett,
23 Room 607, U.S. Court House, Foley Square, New
24 York City, and use that office as a liaison.

25

²See the August 5, 1977 issue of the Bulletin,
26 twice-weekly publication of the Workers League.

1 Mr. Sackett, agent in charge of the New York
2 District of the FBI----."3

3 4. A letter dated October 1, 1940, from J. Edgar
4 Hoover to agent B.E. Sackett informing Sackett that Hansen
5 intends to conduct some "independent investigation into
6 the assassination of Trotsky." Hoover further informed
7 Sackett that information had been received that "Hansen
8 and his associates liquidated George Mink six months
9 ago..." Lastly, Hoover instructed Sackett on how to
10 handle Hansen. "...he should be handled tactfully and all
11 information which he can supply and his assistance in this
12 investigation should be obtained. No information, of
13 course, should be furnished him concerning the progress of
14 the investigation by the Bureau."

15 See Exhibit "B"

16 5. A letter dated October 23, 1940, from Joseph
17 Hansen to George Shaw in which Hansen states, "I received
18 your letter concerning Mr. Sackett in good condition and
19 shall visit him shortly."

20 See Exhibit "C"

21 6. A memorandum from a special agent to J. Edgar
22 Hoover dated December 1, 1950, which was headed, "Unknown
23 Subject, "John." This memorandum indicated that Frank
24 Jacson (the assassin of Trotsky) should be considered as
25

26 ³See the August 5, 1977 issue of the Bulletin

1 a candidate for unknown subject "John."⁴

2 Prior to the publication of documents 2-5, Hansen
3 responded to as of yet undocumented allegations concerning
4 his relationship with the FBI in an article which he wrote
5 in the November 24, 1975 issue of Intercontinental Press.
6 The applicable section of the article was entitled, "FBI
7 Associations--a Geyser of Mud." Since the publication of
8 documents 2-5 in August 1977, neither Hansen nor any other
9 leader of the S.W.P. has ever publicly confirmed, denied,
10 or otherwise explained any of the statements set forth in
11 these documents.

12 With respect to documents 1 and 6, which relate to
13 Hansen's relationship with the GPU, Hansen did admit for
14 the first time in the August 9, 1976 issue of Interconti-
15 nental Press, that he did in fact meet with a GPU agent
16 by the name of John in New York City in 1939. Hansen,
17 however, claimed that he did so with Trotsky's authori-
18 zation. Hansen explained that the reason no documentation
19 exists to confirm and verify Trotsky's authorization as
20 well as the results of Hansen's three month relationship
21 with the GPU was because Trotsky communicated to Hansen
22 about this subject in "secret code" and Hansen communi-
23 cated to Trotsky about it in "invisible ink."⁵

24 _____
25 ⁴See the October 3, 1978 issue of the Bulletin.

26 ⁵See the August 9, 1976 issue of Intercontinental
Press).

IN REPLY REFER TO

FILE NO.

Personal



AMERICAN CONSULAR SERVICE

México, D. F., México, September 25. 1940

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIR MAIL - Strictly Confidential

File from Eu

Dear Murphy:

I am resorting again to a personal letter in order to acquaint you with a desire of Mr. Joseph Hansen, secretary to the late Mr. Trotsky, to establish confidential means by which he may be able to communicate with you and through you to this office from New York City.

Mr. Hansen sails this evening from Veracruz with the remainder of the late Mr. Trotsky's archives, which are destined to Harvard University. He will not return to Mexico. In New York City he may be reached at 116 University Place.

Prior to leaving Mr. Hansen said that he was going to follow very closely all leads in New York pertaining to the identity of the assassin of Mr. Trotsky. He believes it possible that certain information may become available to him in which the Department will be interested, and there may develop certain clues which would lead back to Mexico City, and which could be of value to this office. For this reason he wishes to be put in touch with someone in your confidence located in New York to whom confidential information could be imparted with impunity.

I would greatly appreciate if if you would let me know the name of the person whom you indicate to Mr. Hansen.

With kind regards,

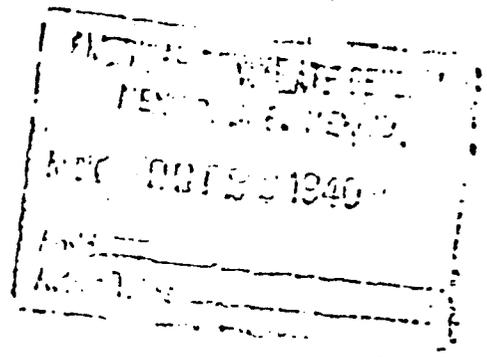
Sincerely yours,

Geo. P. Shaw

Raymond E. Murphy, Esquire,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

RECEIVED
MEXICO CITY
SEP 19 1941

October 23, 1940



Mr. Geo. F. Shaw
American Consul
American Consulate General
Mexico, D.F., Mexico

Dear Mr. Shaw,

I received your letter concerning Mr. Sackett in good condition and shall visit him shortly.

There was a little delay in my receiving your communication due to my absence from New York for some days while I was at Boston.

Respectfully,

Joseph Hansen

Joseph Hansen
116 University Pl.
New York City, N.Y.

EXHIBIT "C"

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1 IN THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS, SECOND DISTRICT

2
3 SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
4 et al,

No. 786114

5 Plaintiff and Respondent,

6 v.

7 ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED
8 STATES et al,

9 Defendant,

10 GRIFFIN BELL, Attorney General
11 of the United States,

12 Defendant and Appellant.

13
14 AMICUS CURIAE BRIEF OF ALAN GELFAND
15 IN SUPPORT OF APPELLEE

16
17 ARGUMENT

18 I

19 THE INFORMANT'S PRIVILEGE MUST
20 GIVE WAY WHENEVER THE NONDIS-
21 CLOSURE OF AN INFORMANT'S
22 IDENTITY MAY RESULT IN DISTUR-
23 BING, OBSTRUCTING, THREATENING,
24 OR OTHERWISE INTERFERING WITH
25 A CITIZEN'S RIGHT TO ENGAGE IN
26 POLITICAL ACTIVITY

1 It is well established that the informant's
2 privilege is a qualified one and must give way whenever
3 the identity of the informer appears essential to the
4 defense. (U.S. v. Schnerdeman 104 F. Supp. 405., Scher
5 v. U.S. 305 U.S. at 254, U.S. v. Coplan 185 F.2d at
6 638-639, U.S. v. Andolschek 142 F.2d at 506).

7 In Roviario v. U.S. 353 U.S. 53, the Supreme Court
8 placed further limitations on this privilege by holding
9 that the privilege must give way if disclosure of an
10 informer's identity is essential to a fair determination
11 of a cause. This determination is to be made by balancing
12 the particular interests involved in each case.

13 "The problem is one that calls for balancing
14 the public interest in protecting the flow of
15 information against the individual's right to
16 prepare his defense. Whether a proper balance
17 renders nondisclosure erroneous must depend on
18 the particular circumstances of each case, taking
19 into consideration the crime charged, the
20 possible defenses, the possible significance
21 of the informer's testimony, and other rele-
22 vant factors."

23 In applying this standard to the case at bar, one
24 must balance the interests of the right of a citizen to
25 engage in political activity unfettered by governmental
26 surveillance versus the "right" of the government to

1 "monitor" such activity.

2 The appellant, by previously representing to the
3 court that it has ceased using informants in the S.W.P.
4 has presumably conceded that in balancing the interests
5 involved, the greater interest lies in a private citizen's
6 right to engage in political activity without the fear,
7 either real or imagined, of government surveillance.

8 The issue that therefore now remains before the
9 court is whether or not the appellant should be compelled
10 to disclose the identities of "past" informants.

11 The Attorney General has taken the position that if
12 the identities of his informants are disclosed, their
13 lives may be endangered. This position is not only highly
14 speculative, but is, from a historical sense, clearly
15 contrary to fact. This is clearly shown by the exposure
16 three years ago involving Timothy Redfern, one of
17 appellant's informants in the S.W.P. Since his true
18 identity has been disclosed, Mr. Redfern has not suffered
19 from any of the types of repercussions which the appellant
20 fears will happen to his other informants.

21 If the appellant argues that Redfern was only a
22 "petty informant" and therefore not the type of informant
23 who would be harmed, he is conceding that at least some
24 of the informants in question are very high-ranking party
25 members and therefore more likely to be harmed. Again,
26 however, historical precedence disputes this contention

1 when one examines the case involving Mark Zborowski.
2 Zborowski was a GPU agent who infiltrated the Trotskyist
3 movement in Europe. It has been well established amongst
4 Trotskyists that Zborowski helped in setting up the murders
5 in Europe of leading Trotskyists, including Trotsky's son,
6 Sedov.

7 With the outbreak of WWII, Zborowski was able to
8 enter the U.S. with the assistance of the S.W.P. He was
9 later exposed as a Soviet agent and was eventually con-
10 victed in 1958 of perjuring himself before a Senate
11 committee that was investigating his activities.

12 For the last several years Zborowski has been living
13 comfortably in San Francisco, where he is employed as an
14 anthropologist in one of that city's major research
15 hospitals.

16 The relevance of Zborowski and the comfortable manner
17 in which he lives today should dispel any fears which the
18 court may have as to the safety of disclosed informants.
19 Certainly if a man like Zborowski, who most Trotskyists
20 are firmly convinced was involved in the murders of many of
21 their most important comrades, is allowed to live in the
22 manner in which he does; this should alleviate any of the
23 court's fears as to possible adverse repercussions that
24 may come to a disclosed informant.

25 The appellant, however, cannot produce a similar
26 spotless record as to the conduct of its informants.

1 These informants certainly are not in the S.W.P. to help
2 build this party. Their ultimate purpose is to destroy
3 it. The multitude of "dirty tricks," burglaries, and
4 thefts, which have been carried out by these informants,
5 has been well documented both in this suit as well as in
6 other recent cases. Such activities overwhelmingly
7 confirm the sinister role played by these informants.

8 Lastly, the revelations and allegations concerning
9 one of the appellant's top informers, Gary Rowe, should
10 leave no doubt in this court's mind as to what the
11 appellant's informers are capable of and willing to do.

12 It becomes abundantly clear, therefore, that the
13 purpose in disclosing the identities of the appellant's
14 informants is not so that such informants can be harmed;
15 but on the contrary is to ensure that the innocent members
16 of the S.W.P. will not be harmed by such informants.

17 Only by this court ordering that the Attorney General
18 must disclose the names of all the informants in the S.W.P.,
19 both past and present, can the clouds of suspicion which
20 hang over the S.W.P. be removed. Thus only by such full
21 disclosure can a healthy political atmosphere again exist
22 within the S.W.P. which will be conducive to encourage the
23 type of political expression and activity which the
24 constitution is designed to promote and to protect.

25 Respectfully submitted,

26 By 
ALAN GELFAND

Socialist Workers Party
14 Charles Lane
New York, N.Y. 10014
January 15, 1979

Alan Gelfand
Los Angeles

Dear Alan Gelfand:

This letter is to inform you that the Political Committee at its January 11 meeting, acting under Article VIII, Section 3 of the party constitution, considered the charges brought against you by Jack Barnes and found you guilty as charged. A motion was adopted to expel you from the party effective immediately.

In your phone call to the National Office on the morning of January 8, you acknowledged that you had received the charges against you and the letter from Doug Jenness indicating that the Political Committee would be considering and acting on these charges Thursday, January 11. I confirmed for your information that the Political Committee was acting as the trial body in this case and any statement by you could be considered by the Political Committee if it were sent by air express, which guarantees delivery within 24 hours. I also indicated that if you came to New York, the Political Committee would consider inviting you to the trial.

The Political Committee received no statement from you denying the charges.

Sincerely,



Mary Roche
National Office

RWL turns to industrial unions

Socialists discuss tasks in labor movement unions

By Richard Fidler
and Leon Peillard

TORONTO—Leaders of the Revolutionary Workers League have launched a campaign to qualitatively increase the number of RWL members in key industrial unions.

Meeting in Toronto over the New Year's weekend, the RWL Central Committee voted unanimously to make industrial implantation a central axis of the League's activity in coming months. The other main axis will be the internal discussion leading up to the RWL's first pan-Canadian convention scheduled for mid-April. A major topic of debate will be how best to root and build the RWL in the labor movement.

There is an "urgent need," the Central Committee resolution says, "to increase our forces in key industrial unions between now and the convention.

"The Central Committee therefore launches a pan-Canadian campaign to establish strong industrial fractions in each city where we have forces, and to ensure that this process is well under way by the time of the convention.

"Central Committee members must take the lead in this campaign, with the aim of substantially increasing the number of CC members in key unions in industry before the convention," the resolution adds.

The campaign will focus on increasing the RWL's membership and influence in unions that are at the center of the class struggle in English Canada and Quebec.

In addition to the two main tasks—getting jobs in industrial unions and continuing the pre-convention discussion—the Central Committee singled out the importance of continuing the campaign to defend the Canadian Union of Postal Workers; building the women's movement, in particular around the March 8 International Women's Day actions and the campaign for abortion rights; and the RWL's campaign in the coming federal elections.

About 80 leaders of the RWL, the Canadian section of the Fourth International, participated in the discussion at the New Year's plenary meeting. Guests included delegations from the Latin American Trotskyist group and the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

Also attending the plenum was a delegation from the Quebec Socialist Workers Group (GSTQ), the other Trotskyist organization in this country. GSTQ leader Normand Guevremont, addressing the plenum, said his organization held out a "perspective of fusion" with the RWL, and noted that both groups plan to launch a common discussion bulletin within the next few months.

A turn for the RWL

What the campaign means for revolutionary socialists was summed up by RWL leader Art Young at the plenum: "The lessons learned by socialists in the earlier periods, the cadres won to our program and party—all of these are very important, provided they are now applied to the central challenge before us today: becoming leaders of the emerging class-struggle currents within the working class, especially in its most powerful sector, the industrial working class."

Judy Rebeck, the editor of *Socialist Voice*, underscored this point: "...colonizing a majority of our membership into the trade unions and concentrating our colonization drive into the industrial unions is central to the major turn that the RWL must make to respond to the turn in the present political situation."

Rebeck noted: "We all agree that making this turn is vital to the future—both immediate and long-term—of our organization, and that if we fail to make it we will be bypassed by the events of the class struggle."

Members of the RWL are already active in many public sector unions. The CC agreed that these sectors would continue to be important for the work of the League, but stressed the need for special measures to overcome the relative absence of the RWL from basic industry.

This turn involves much more than simply increasing the number and proportion of RWL members in industry, although that is a "precondition of its success," as Rebeck pointed out.

"What we are talking about," said Art Young, "is taking our politics directly to industrial workers. We aim to transform the unions into instruments of revolutionary struggle. This means that socialists will fight for women's liberation, for Quebec's right to self-determination, and other key issues inside the unions....We are convinced that today growing numbers of workers are open to these ideas and will be attracted to an organization that fights for those ideas inside the working class."

Class-struggle current

A debate is now under way in the RWL over the precise orientation and program of revolutionary socialists in fighting to build a class-struggle current in the unions. Organized tendencies were formed at the plenum to help clarify the differences that have arisen on such questions as labor political action (the NDP and the struggle for a labor party in Quebec) and the relation between the fight for independence in Quebec and the developing workers struggles in both nations.

There are also differences on the relative emphasis to be placed on work in industry and the public sector, although there is general agreement on the need to redress the RWL's present imbalance between these sectors.

Another item of debate is the relationship between the turn to the labor movement and the RWL's work in the "autonomous" or independent social movements, like the women's liberation movement. Discussion will continue on these questions until the convention.

Some aspects of the turn were clarified by other reports and debates at the plenum. For example, the CC discussed a draft world political resolution to be voted on at the next world congress of the Fourth International, which discusses some of the same questions in an international framework.

Also discussed was the draft of an international resolution on women's liberation. The discussion focused on such questions as the vanguard role that women will play in building a class-struggle wing of the unions.

(OVER)

'Most powerful social force'

The RWL decision to make a major turn toward the labor movement centered on colonizing industrial unions is dictated by a fundamental change in the economic and political situation both here and abroad. Reports at the plenum analyzed the main features.

The generalized international recession of 1974 signaled the definitive end of the long postwar wave of capitalist expansion, opening a new phase of more extended downturns, slower growth, and chronic inflation.

If the capitalists are to reverse their declining economic prospects they must achieve a qualitative change in the relationship of forces, inflicting decisive defeats on the working class of sufficient scope to radically increase their rate of profits and pave the way for a new sustained phase of capital accumulation.

In Canada Trudeau's wage controls marked the first phase of the new capitalist offensive. The offensive is continuing and deepening in the post-controls period. Public and service sector workers have borne the brunt of the attack so far. But under increasing attack are the workers in the basic industries that produce the wealth and profits that are essential to the system.

But the capitalist rulers are further than ever from achieving their goals. The economic crisis continues to deepen, enormously compounded in Canada by the political crisis engendered by Quebec's rising independentist movement. Workers, while suffering setbacks, are resisting the offensive in militant struggles that more and more tend to outflank the union bureaucracy. The strike by more than 11,000 Inco workers in the face of huge company stockpiles and opposition from the Steelworkers' top brass symbolizes labor's new mood. Central to the class struggle today are unions like this in key sectors of industry, transport, and communication.

"Revolutionary Marxists have always had the goal of implanting their organizations in the industrial proletariat, the most powerful social force in society," Judy Rebick noted in her report to the plenum. "Today we agree that a central tactic to achieve this political implantation is direct colonization in the industrial unions... because there are now major openings within the industrial unions for the activity and building of the revolutionary Marxist party."

—R.F. and L.P.

DEC 19 1978

Mexico

December 9, 1978

Political Committee
Socialist Workers Party

Dear Comrades,

this is to request that you accept my resignation from the party as of the time you can act on this letter. As you know, I have been here in Mexico on a leave of absence for approximately six months and since the time granted for the leave is running out, it seems correct for me to request this change of status.

As many of the comrades of the committee may know, I have no political differences with the SWP and continue to consider myself a close sympathizer of the SWP and the Fourth International. It is strictly for personal reasons that I wish to leave the party.

I have been in contact with the comrades of the PRT who are active in Cihuatlan but it seems unrealistic for me to request a transfer to the PRT since I am living too far out in the country to make active collaboration possible. However, I hope to continue collaborating with them and with the SWP when I find myself north of the abominable border—in any way I can.

Meanwhile Hector and I avidly follow the militant and perspective Mundial and wish both of them could be expanded to give more coverage to those of us in the boondocks who depend on them to find out what's happening of importance in the world.

Comradely,


Judy White