

NOV 1 1973 Oct. 29, 1973
Oakland, Cal.

SWP, P.C.
New York City

Dear comrades,

It is my wish that this appeal will be given immediate attention. Certainly you may have more time than it took to expell me. But hopefully you will be able to reach a decision by the time of the special convention of the SWP in December. Thank you.

Comradely,

Gerald Clark
Gerald Clark

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Oct. 23, 1973

LETTER OF APPEAL TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE
OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Because of the bureaucratic nature of my expulsion from the Socialist Workers Party, I, Gerald Clark, find it necessary to issue this appeal to the National Committee in conformity with Article 8, Section 5 of your Constitution. This appeal constitutes a political act on my part designed to bring to the attention of the N.C. and the entire party the complicity of the leading members of the Political Committee in my expulsion, and the hope that once informed of the facts of my case, the Committee will want to reverse the decision of the Oakland-Berkeley branch and find me innocent of all charges. If the latter steps are taken, I would hope the Committee will see to it that the individuals who engineered my expulsion through perjured testimonies and the use of agent-provocateurs will be brought to trial and treated in a fair and just manner.

My appeal is based on the following points:

A. My expulsion was politically motivated. The proof of this charge can be found in the tapes of the trial proceedings themselves. The constant theme running through the entire line of questioning was "what was my political characterization of the Spartacist League?" During the trial one comrade asked me to elaborate my position on Cuba! The "proof" which really convicted me was my refusal to state whether I thought the Spartacist League was revolutionary!!

Further proof of the political basis for my expulsion was that after I successfully proved one of the charges against me completely false, i.e., that I was in attendance at the SL summer camp, almost the entire Executive Committee before the branch changed its argumentation and stated that my presence or non-presence at the camp was no longer an important point! They then shifted their emphasis to my supposed "double recruitment" attempt of Steve Beumer at the SWP convention.

Because of the obviously flimsy nature of the evidence against me, the members of the trial body were forced again and again to resort to a political attack upon my ideas. The trial, then, represented merely a continuation of an attack which began with the refusal to circulate my document in the International discussion. This has been followed by the expulsion of three members of the YSA from Binghamton and three from Detroit, all of whom for supposedly "disloyal"

ideas. But it hasn't stopped with the expulsion of the Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency. At my trial itself, a comrade who came to my defense was threatened with expulsion if he didn't conform to the "norms" of the majority. The backdrop to all this is of course the factionalism raging in the International, a fact which the party leaders do not want us to forget. The expulsion of the RIT and the other youth comrades represents therefore an attempt to cleanse the SWP-YSA of any left critics which might weaken the leadership in the face of this faction fight.

B. My expulsion was carried out bureaucratically and was based on fabricated evidence. To give you an idea of what I am talking about, I enclose a copy of a statement of protest I read to the Oakland-Berkeley branch concerning my proposed trial. Except for the last request(num. 4) which was ruled out of order, all my requests were turned down. These simple democratic procedures should have been granted as normal rights for an accused person in a Leninist organization. Why were they refused me? Why did the branch leadership push my trial through so quickly? What was there to fear? In so doing, the branch--and therefore the party--has deliberately violated the statutes of the Fourth International.

The evidence used to convict me was two letters: one signed by comrade Kelly and one signed by comrade Beumer. After categorically denying the charges contained in the letters, I was asked to produce evidence disproving the charges. (One should keep in mind here the fact that I was only granted 30 hours to prepare my defense. My proposal for a 5 day delay was rejected.) I was able to secure a copy of my time card from my place of employment indicating that I had worked on those days which I was supposedly at the summer camp of the Spartacist League, held between Aug. 11 and Aug. 19. At that point I was asked by comrade Montauk if I had my check stubs to back up my story. I told him that I wasn't sure if I had saved them but that I would be willing to go home and look(I only lived a few blocks away). This was not allowed. The trial continued anyway, without anyone desiring to find out the truth; the truth which would have refuted comrade Kelly's charges that he and three others observed me in attendance at the SL summer camp "during the early period of the conference or whatever it was."

Such normal procedures were not taken because to do so the trial body would have been forced to admit that comrade Kelly(the Detroit branch organizer) had deliberately falsified the facts. The aim of the trial body was of course not to uncover the truth but to create an aura of suspicion through guilt by association(in this case, with the other two comrades of the RIT who admitted they had attended the summer camp) and political amalgamation(in this case, with the Spartacist League) in order to expell me as quickly as possible.

The Steve Beumer letter represents nothing more than a string of lies, bits and pieces of a short conversation I had with him(30-40 minutes at the most), and deliberate distortions. But more important than the contents of the letter was the role the leadership played in this whole affair. Beumer was used by the party as an agent-provocateur to entrap comrades holding minority viewpoints. Such behavior stands out as one of the worst examples of unLeninist practices ever witnessed in the Marxist movement. Such examples are commonly found only in Stalinist circles, an ideological tendency which has long ago abandoned any formal adherence to Leninist norms of workers democracy. Not only was this comrade used by the party to spy on other comrades suspected of being "disloyal agents" of an "enemy" organization, but he was told to deliberately lie about his politics in order to infiltrate our tendency. In this role as agent for the party majority, Beumer consciously encouraged members of the RIT, particularly myself, to break discipline so that we might be caught and expelled.

The plan worked. I, along with the other two comrades of the Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency, were expelled; in fact, we were all expelled on the same day, August 29th, which was more than a mere coincidence. Beumer was rewarded by being accepted into the party without any apparent differences. But there is only one problem: he lied in order to do it. He fabricated a story and presented it as fact. Here are some of his fabrications.

Fabrication Number One. Beumer states, "during this summer the two Detroit members of the RIT, Mike Milan and Irene Gorgosz, a tendency which Gerald Clarke(sic) also belongs to, attempted to recruit me to the tendency even though I am not a member of the SWP...."(my emphasis) False! The RIT was not formed until July 12th. Approximately one week before the 12th, comrades Milan and Gorgosz called me by phone to indicate their support for both my documents. During that week we worked out our joint declaration of tendency statement. From the 12th until our meeting with Beumer on August 4th, an interval of three weeks, no attempt was made by comrades Milan and Gorgosz to recruit Beumer to our tendency. Beumer converts three weeks into "the summer" in order to prove his first fabrication.

Fabrication Number Two. "While at the SWP convention in Oberlin" Beumer writes, "comrades Milan and Gorgosz introduced me to comrade Clarke(sic) and suggested(sic) we have a meeting together. On Sunday evening, August 5th, we met." False! Comrade Beumer, acting as a good agent, insisted on meeting me, which comrades Milan and Gorgosz set up for us. And it was not Sunday August 5th that we met, but Saturday, August 4th!

Fabrication Number Three. Beumer continues his story: "During the evening comrade Clarke(sic) continued the process

of attempting to win me over to the RIT's positions. He also questioned me extensively on such questions as the nature of 'bourgeois nationalism' (he equated it with black nationalism) and the 'NPAC and WONAAC pop-fronts', etc." False! If I was trying to win Beumer over to "the RIT's positions" as he says I was, why would I have questioned him extensively about the "NPAC and WONAAC pop-fronts, etc." since these are not the RIT positions? And as far as discussing the nature of bourgeois nationalism is concerned, yes, we discussed it, but anyone can read the Works of Lenin and find a similar explanation as the one I gave him, albeit, much better. Did I try to win him over to the RIT's positions? No. I didn't have to. He said he read my documents and agreed with them. I simply wanted to hear it in his own words. He of course obliged me.

The significance of our discussion was not that we discussed nationalism or anti-war work, something one would expect at a political convention. The significance of it was what we discussed in terms of his perspective, which leads us into the next fabrication.

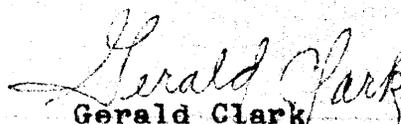
Fabrication Number Four. Lastly, Beumer writes, "During the discussion comrade Clark asked me if I knew that the Spartacist League (S.L.) was going to hold a summer camp outside Chicago the week following Oberlin. He encouraged me to check it out and perhaps attend it. By the way, he knew I was only a member of the YSA." Distortion! I say distortion because of what he deliberately left out of this statement. During our little chat together, Beumer indicated in no uncertain terms, that he was going to drop out of the YSA right after the convention and would be investigating the possibility of joining the Spartacist League. I encouraged him to stay in the YSA and fight for his views at the next YSA convention. He insisted he would not do this under any circumstances because he saw no future in the YSA; his interest was in the SL. At that point, I asked him if he knew about the SL summer camp and encouraged him to ask the SL salespeople at the convention where it was and if he could attend, as a way of learning as much as possible about the organization before joining it. Then he encouraged me to attend! I of course refused.

As far as the charge of "double recruiting" is concerned, I made no attempt during the remainder of the time I was at the convention to contact Beumer for any purpose. After my talk with him I was not at all impressed with his seriousness. We met again only by accident when he came up to Mike and Irene's room one evening snooping around. We showed him no attention and he left a few minutes later. Yet, I was expelled primarily on the grounds that I "attempted to double recruit" Steve Beumer! Fantastic!

I'm really curious how someone in an ostensibly Leninist party can be charged with attempting --not succeeding--but attempting to "double recruit" at a national convention? What is a national convention for if not to win over the majority of people and delegates to one's positions? An open and honest debate of political ideas, followed by a vote on a program and strategy to guide the membership, is the main purpose of a national convention of a Leninist party. Although I was not responsible for inviting "outsiders" to the "closed" convention of the SWP, the presence of Beumer and other YSA youth was absolutely correct from the point of view of educating the youth in principled politics.

But how can I be charged with attempting to double recruit him at the convention, since this was where I first met him and talked with him? I suppose any of the comrades at the convention who held minority viewpoints could likewise be charged. Even if the charge were true, which it is not, no comrade should be brought up on charges for such open political activity at a national convention, particularly if the individuals involved are all apart of the same ideological tendency (SWP, YSA, Fourth Internationalists, etc.).

Both letters, the Kelly letter and the Beumer letter, contain either outright lies or deliberate distortions, and should not have been a basis for any charges of collaboration with the Spartacist League or breaking discipline. The trial itself was a mockery of revolutionary justice because its main purpose was not to uncover the truth but to expell a political tendency. The responsibility for this miscarriage of justice lies completely with the Political Committee. The decision to expell me must be reversed and the authors of the perjured testimonies and their accomplices brought to trial. The party ranks must learn about this trial and remember it well.


Gerald Clark
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