

Fourth International

A JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL MARXISM PUBLISHED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Volume 11 No. 2

Price: \$2.50

Autumn 1979

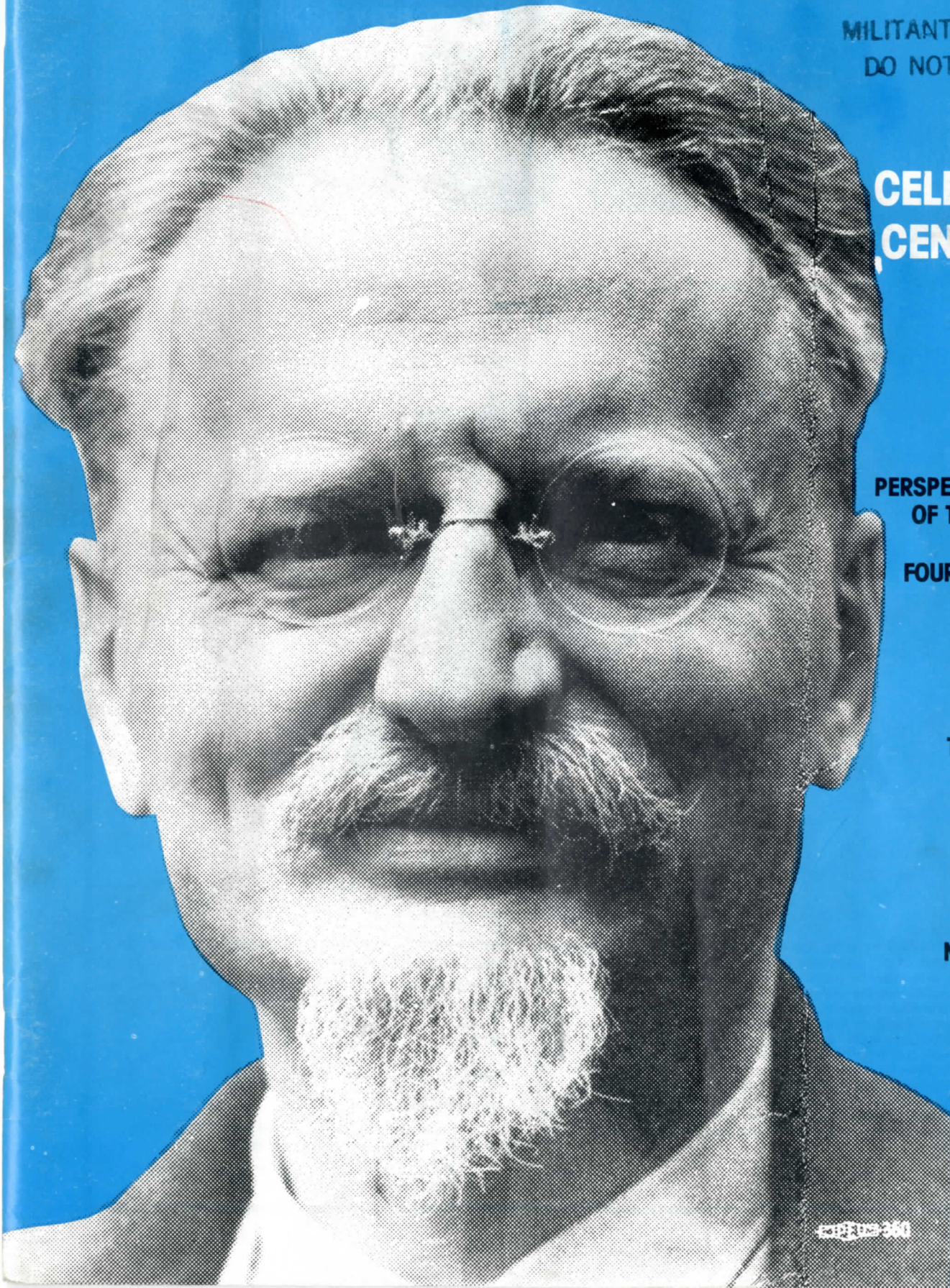
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**CELEBRATE THE
CENTENARY OF
TROTSKY'S
BIRTH!**

**PERSPECTIVES AND TASKS
OF THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMITTEE OF THE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**

**39 YEARS SINCE
THE ASSASSINATION
OF TROTSKY**

**HANSEN'S WORLD
NETWORK EXPOSED!**



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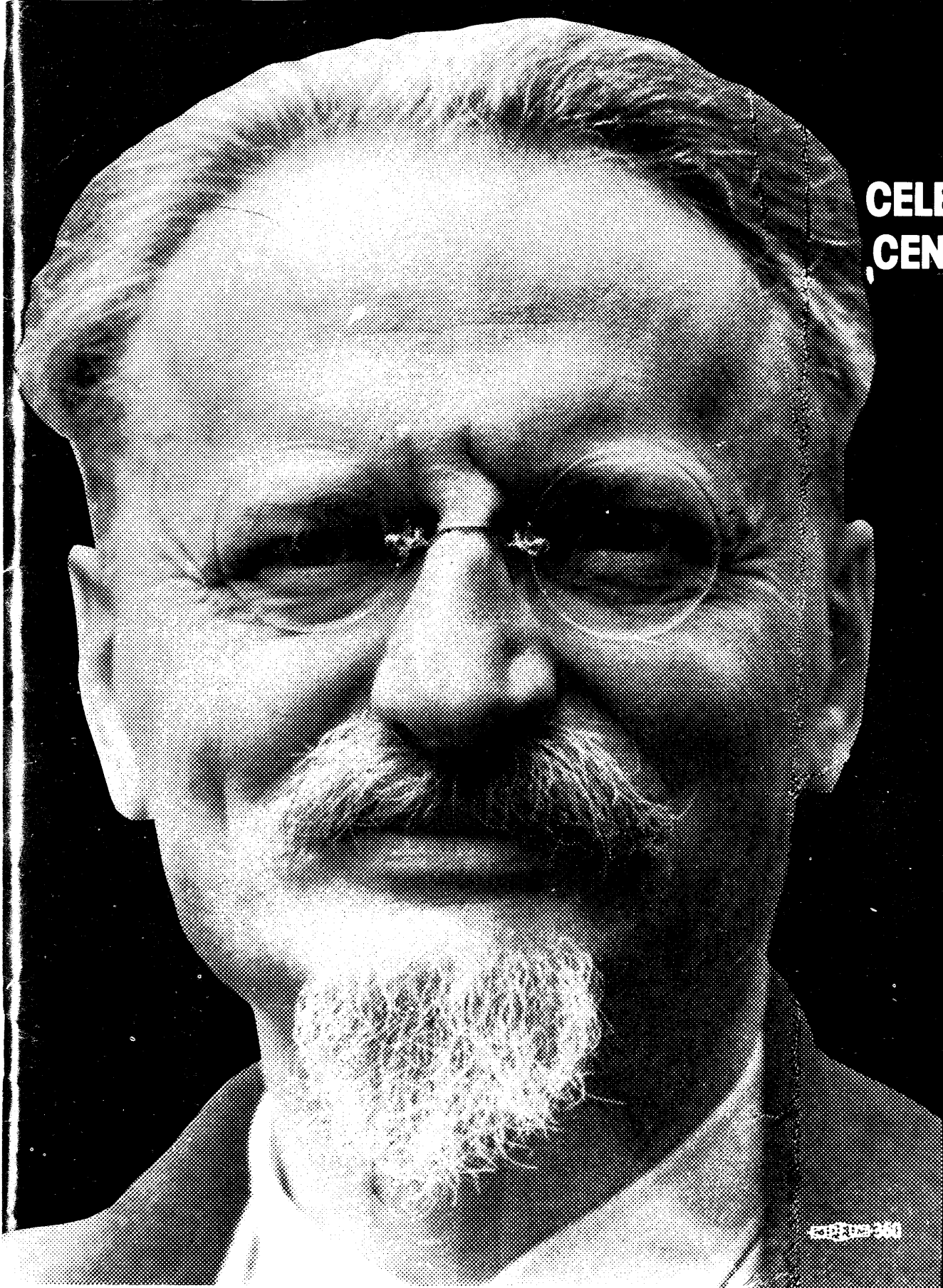
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1903



1903: SECOND CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Translated by Brian Pearce

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A JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL MARXISM
VOLUME 11 NUMBER 2 AUTUMN 1979
EDITORS: CLIFF SLAUGHTER, MICHAEL BANDA

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Editorial

This issue of the *Fourth International* celebrates the centenary of the birth of Leon Trotsky — co-leader of the October Revolution, first supreme commander of the Soviet Red Army, the “organizer of victory” in the 1918-1921 Civil War, author of the first manifesto of the Third Communist International, leader of the Left Opposition, implacable opponent of the Soviet bureaucracy and Stalinism, and founder of the Fourth International as the World Party of Socialist Revolution.

The vast historical significance of this anniversary resides not in any sort of superficial symbolism attached to the passage of 100 years, but rather in the powerful revolutionary role today of the teachings of Leon Trotsky as they are expressed and developed through the International Committee of the Fourth International.

As we go to press, the gangster puppet regime of US imperialism in South Korea is in mortal crisis following the Mafia-style assassination of Park Chung Hee.

Another bastion of American imperialism is crumbling at the hands of the revolutionary masses.

The overthrow of Uncle Sam’s tyrants in Iran and Nicaragua has already made 1979 the year of the greatest upsurge of the world’s oppressed since the October Revolution of 1917 itself.

The powerful advance of the national liberation struggles in southern Africa and in Palestine continues to undermine the fascist and Zionist outposts of world imperialism.

The proletariat of the metropolitan centers is thrust forward into the struggle for power by the onslaught against living standards and basic rights.

It is as if history decided to make the 100th anniversary of Trotsky’s birth a triumphant celebration of Permanent Revolution.

The driving force is the world economic crisis of capitalism. The breakup and disintegration of the capitalist mode of production, in mortal conflict with the world’s productive forces, is gathering force.

The collapse of the dollar and the soaring price of gold are the unmistakable expressions of bankruptcy and impending crash.

Trotsky’s great historic vision of the World Socialist Revolution — based on the scientific foundations of Marxist theory, the teachings of Lenin and the achievement and experience of the 1917 October Revolution — is now being materially realized through the practice of the masses in every corner of the globe.

The victories of the masses in Iran and Nicaragua, guns in hand, were equally crushing blows to the petty-bourgeois nationalist and opportunist theories of “Socialism in One Country” and “Peaceful Coexis-

tence” with imperialism, which underlie the counter-revolutionary policies and practice of Stalinism.

Lenin fought throughout his political life against all forms of national chauvinism, pacifism and opportunism to train the revolutionary cadre of October on the foundations of dialectical materialist — and therefore internationalist — method and world scientific outlook.

Trotsky continued Lenin’s work in his heroic struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, which emerged as a reactionary excrescence of the first workers’ state, under conditions of isolation and economic backwardness.

Trotsky’s great historic achievement — the founding of the Fourth International — was inseparable from his scientific analysis of the world revolution.

He always insisted on beginning from the whole of the world capitalist crisis and the international class struggle to grasp the unfolding of its interconnected parts in the various countries, in direct opposition to Stalin’s refurbishing of the national chauvinist theories of Social Democracy.

It is an irrefutable historical fact that the continuity of the theoretical conquests and political struggles of Marx, Engels and Lenin flowed through the work of Leon Trotsky.

Scientific precision demands that the only true revolutionary theory based on dialectical materialism be known as Marxism-Leninism-Trotskyism. This is proven in the whole historic development of the struggle for Marxism throughout the century.

The assassination of Trotsky on August 20, 1940 in Mexico was the crime of the century.

The product of the counterrevolutionary conspiracy of Stalinism and imperialism, it was the culmination of the great defeats suffered by the working class in the 1920s and 1930s.

But this is not the 1930s. Capitalism today is mortally wounded, having suffered major defeats in Vietnam, Angola, Iran and Nicaragua.

Its post-war strategy of retreat before the strength of the working class, through the creation of an inflationary boom, now lies in shambles.

Only the International Committee of the Fourth International, today celebrates the centenary year of Trotsky’s birth.

There is no mystery here — only our movement has fought for and embodies the continuity of Trotskyism.

This continuity is today expressed at the highest point in the exposure by the International Committee of contemporary revisionism as the center of operations of the provocateurs and assassins of the imperialist police.

In the ongoing investigation into "Security and the Fourth International," the International Committee has proven that revisionism today, above all the Socialist Workers Party, USA, is totally controlled by the imperialist police agents.

These creatures reflect nothing but the enormous decay of world imperialism, which today must bring revisionism directly into the police precincts to prosecute its desperate war against revolutionary Marxism.

The fact that the International Committee has carried out this exposure has enormous historical significance.

It has clarified the meaning of the entire 26-year struggle of the International Committee against revisionism.

Against the background of the monumental betrayal of Social Democracy in 1914, Lenin revealed in the years of the war and the struggle to found a new international the great revolutionary content of the preceding 20 years of his political and theoretical struggles (from the writing of *What the Friends of the People Are* in 1894 through the split with the Mensheviks in 1903, the writing of *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* in 1908 and the *Philosophical Notebooks* in the war years).

In the same way, the International Committee today has clarified through "Security and the Fourth

International" all the implications of the split with Pablo in 1953, the struggle against the SWP's reunification with Pabloism in 1963, the struggle against the French OCI, Wohlforth, Thornett and all the latter day revisionists — the entire bitter and unrelenting battle to develop dialectical materialist theory as a guide to revolutionary practice.

And just as the historical reckoning with the Social Democracy after 1914, Lenin's split and struggle for the Third International were the preconditions for the first victory of the world proletariat in October of 1917, so the historical clarification of the significance of the International Committee's war against revisionism is the prelude to the completion of October — on a world scale.

Today the essence of the IC's struggle is being revealed as never before in the struggle of the oppressed masses themselves.

That essence is the world socialist revolution.

One hundred years of Trotsky and Trotskyism is embodied in the cadre, the traditions, the theory and practice of the International Committee of the Fourth International — the World Party of Socialist Revolution.

In the training of a cadre internationally to lead the masses in the conquest of power, the International Committee has raised the science of Marxism to its greatest heights.



**PERSPECTIVES AND TASKS
OF THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMITTEE OF
THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**

PERSPECTIVES AND TASKS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Manifesto of the Eighth World Congress of the International Committee of the Fourth International, June, 1979

1. All the material conditions are now present for the overthrow of capitalism, the taking of state power by the working class and the victory of the world socialist revolution. This is the real driving force of the Iranian revolution which signals the entrance of the masses **in all countries** into struggle against imperialism on a scale unprecedented in history. The Shah's terror regime was placed in power by the CIA in 1953 to protect American oil supplies, bolster Zionism and police the Middle East against progressive Arab nationalism. The smashing of this brutal dictatorship is a shattering blow to imperialism — above all, in the United States. The ex-Shah embodied the ruthlessness of American imperialism and personified the barbarism of the client state system through which the US ruling class defends its world-wide interests. Nothing since the 1917 October Revolution can compare to the broad and awesome sweep of the Iranian revolution. The masses who made this revolution have provided a mighty impulse for the acceleration of the world capitalist crisis and the development of revolutionary struggles on every continent. The uprising of the Nicaraguan masses against another CIA-backed dictator, Somoza, is continuing the work of the Iranian revolution.

2. Iran and Nicaragua are not exceptions: they are merely the latest shocks of a volcanic economic and political explosion of the world capitalist system. Since the mid-1960s, when the crisis of the British pound provided unmistakable signs of the impending breakdown of the post-war boom, the death agony of imperialism has been characterized by a chain-reaction of political and social explosions. Each of these explosions has been more devastating than the one which preceded it. The revolutions in 1979 in Iran and Nicaragua are not only the culmination of a decade of explosions. They are the transition to revolutionary struggles by the oppressed masses on a scale unprecedented in history. The driving force of these explosions all over the world is the accumulation of the historical contradictions of the world capitalist system. The vast mass of productive forces rebels violently against capitalist private property and the nation state. The capitalist class is forced to cut living standards of the working class through the working of uncontrolled inflation;

slump and depression are used to drive millions on to the unemployment lines, the middle classes are impoverished; and above all productive forces are destroyed on a vast scale. Basic social services in the advanced capitalist countries are scrapped; nationalized industries in countries such as Britain are bankrupted and dismantled. The repressive state forces are feverishly built up to enforce these savage attacks on the working class. All these various manifestations of the world economic and political crisis are now being drawn together in the collective shock experience of millions as the impulse to the revolutionary explosion.

3. It is in this perspective, in which hundreds of millions will enter a revolutionary struggle against capitalist state power, that the 8th World Congress of the International Committee of the Fourth International must make its preparations. Never before, even at the time of the October Revolution and the subsequent revolutionary wave, have the material conditions existed on such a scale for carrying through successfully the fight to build communist leadership and lead the working class to the smashing of the capitalist state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

4. Purely formal, propaganda acceptance of this perspective is not merely inadequate; it is mortally dangerous. The sections of the IC must be transformed into leading revolutionary parties of the working class through the conscious practice of establishing the dialectical relation between theory and practice in cognition of this world revolutionary explosion, the world social revolution. This means above all a relentless struggle to defeat every form of sterile propagandist circle methods, which are the heritage of the old period of defeats of the working class, the period of the middle-class and bureaucratic domination.

Trotsky warned in 1940 that the indispensable lesson of the first successful proletarian revolution was the necessity of a party founded on the struggle for dialectical materialism as a scientific world outlook. The fight today for new Octobers means taking up that same struggle and defeating the legacy of the decades during which Trotsky's advice was ignored. This means a practice based on theory

developed and abstracted from the movement of the international class struggle by the practice of the cadres of revolutionary fighters organized by the International Committee of the Fourth International determined to put an end to capitalism and to equip themselves and the party with the theory to guide the practice necessary for that purpose. The cadres are sensitized to this practice of cognizing the objective reality of the class struggle through the bitter and unrelenting fight to expose and overcome the problems of the party itself. In this way, cadres must be dialectically trained who will not place propaganda labels on the developments of the class struggle, thereby obscuring and preventing any real abstraction of its essence, but who will instead develop a fighting sensuous revolutionary awareness of what the developing revolutionary reality demands.

5. All the historically accumulated contradictions of world capitalism are continued in the present world crisis. Capitalism is economically and politically utterly bankrupt. Its leaders assembling at the Tokyo summit are powerless to halt the plunge into catastrophic slump and the explosive force of uncontrolled inflation. Indeed this is not their aim. They recognize the developing revolutionary explosion and prepare the counterrevolution to defeat it.

6. The crisis at the Tokyo summit was the concentration of the historical crisis of the world capitalist system. In the 35 years since the Bretton Woods conference in 1944, all the institutions and mechanisms set up to restabilize capitalism in the aftermath of World War II have either collapsed or become transformed into their opposite. The economic pillar of the boom, the US dollar, convertible into gold made possible the credit and monetary inflation vital for the expansion of industry, trade and finance. But by the early 1960s, as the amount of dollar holdings began to greatly exceed the known gold reserves of the United States, doubts about the viability of its currency increased. The gold supply in Fort Knox fell steadily as European central banks cashed in US paper dollars for gold. In March 1968 a two-tier gold price system was established to halt the run on the dollar. But on August 15th, 1971, when dollar holdings in European banks totalled ten times the gold reserves in Fort Knox, Nixon abruptly ended dollar-gold convertibility. The whole structure of world credit was transformed overnight into a system of debt. All the inflationary pressures that had built up during the post-war boom now ran out of control. The quadrupling of the world oil prices after the 1973 Arab-Israeli war was the product, not the cause of capitalist inflation. In turn, the rise in oil prices created a demand for liquidity that could only be met by printing still more paper dollars and calling them value upon which to establish credit. Therefore, the creation of a massive structure of world debt has been the main policy employed by American capitalism temporarily to avert economic collapse and the social revolution. To control and betray the struggles of the

masses, the ruling class has relied above all on the counterrevolutionary bureaucracies of Stalinism and Social Democracy. But the conflict of the productive forces against social relations of capitalism has found its most powerful and profound expression in the indomitable struggles of the masses on a world scale against imperialism. Brutal military repression could not and cannot defeat the national liberation struggles in Vietnam, the Middle East, Africa and Asia. The end-result of the intervention in Indo-China and Africa was that imperialism strained its own resources and undermined the material economic basis for class compromise in the advanced capitalist countries, where the working class was fighting relentlessly to advance and defend its living standards.

7. Even at the height of the boom, civil war simmered just beneath the surface calm of bureaucratically-orchestrated class compromise in all the major capitalist countries. This was revealed in the explosive response of the working class to any attempt by the ruling class to attack its living standards. President Johnson's attempt to finance the Vietnam War at the expense of the minority sections of the American working class sparked the bloody ghetto rebellions of black workers and youth from 1965 to 1968. The deflationary policies of General de Gaulle in the mid-1960s led to the outbreak of the greatest political general strike in history: the sudden and explosive May-June events in France in 1968.

8. These events were transcended by the unprecedented revolutionary struggles following the dollar convertibility crisis of 1971. In October 1973 Zionist imperialism suffered its first major defeat at the hands of the Arab armies. The escalation of oil prices following the war led directly to the intensification of the class struggle in Europe and undermined the military aggression of US imperialism in Asia. The imperialist dominoes began to fall in rapid succession. In Britain the Heath government collapsed before the miners' strike in February 1974. In April the Caetano dictatorship was disbanded by the Portuguese army. In July the Greek junta fell without a shot being fired. Then came the historic victory of the North Vietnamese army as the Saigon puppet regime collapsed like a house of cards in April 1975. This was followed by a dramatic victory of the Angolan and Cuban forces against the CIA and South African mercenaries in early 1976. In Spain, less than a year later, the death of Franco led to a powerful upsurge of the working class and national minorities' struggles. The collapse of the United States' counterrevolutionary strategy found its most dramatic expression in the Watergate crisis and the resignation of Nixon and Agnew. The resurgence of the working class at home and abroad forced US imperialism to embark on another spree of inflation and dollar devaluation in order to postpone the ultimate reckoning with the working class. Between 1975 and 1979 six million new jobs were created in the United States. A corollary to this was the growth of

unemployment throughout Western Europe. At the same time this took a heavy toll on the US balance of trade: in 1977 and 1978 the total deficit was close to 65 billion dollars.

9. These policies however did not stop nor delay the upsurge of the working class and peasantry in Asia, Africa, the Middle East or the struggle against US capitalism. The chronic strain of inflation on living standards led to the greatest increase of trade union militancy in post-war US history. The 110-day-long miners' strike which culminated in the successful defiance of government intervention marked a turning point in class relations in the United States. The miners' strike, coinciding with the firemen's strike against the state and a Labour government in Great Britain, represented the definite entrance of the working class in the major capitalist centers into political struggles against the state. But these great struggles are only the very first steps towards revolutionary class battles on a scale as yet unknown.

10. World capitalism is now gripped by an inflationary crisis unparalleled in history. The sum of dollars held in banks outside the United States is estimated at 600 billion dollars, a total greater than the money supply within the US itself. The American economy has been inflated to an extent which defies description. The total public and private debt of the US economy is estimated at 4.5 trillion dollars. The rise of the official price of gold from 35 dollars per ounce in August 1971 to 280 dollars per ounce in June 1979 — an increase of 800 percent — is the clearest measurement of the uncontrollable growth of world inflation. Since the beginning of 1978, the official price of gold has risen by nearly 70 percent despite the public auctioning of thousands of ounces by the International Monetary Fund. The slump and depression grow inexorably out of the breakdown of the world monetary and credit system. Each national bourgeoisie — above all, the ruling class in the United States — seeks to extricate itself from the economic nightmare with measures which inevitably intensify the crisis. President Carter's decision to provide a five dollar per barrel subsidy for heating fuel means that Wall Street has embarked upon a policy to crush its international capitalist competitors and crash the world economy. Protectionism, interest rate wars and deflationary budgets are the signposts of a world economic collapse on a scale far greater than that of the 1930s. The deepening slump in the United States will have a devastating impact on the export-oriented economies of Germany and Japan. The growth of economic warfare will aggravate all inter-capitalist rivalries, intensify the militarization of the capitalist economies and encourage all the tendencies toward new wars — not only among the capitalist powers themselves but principally against the Soviet Union and China. During the boom, the economic "strength" of the United States relative to its European and Japanese rivals was the decisive factor in the post-war stabilization of world capitalism. Now,

this very economic "superiority" will provide the final impulse for total economic collapse and revolution in Europe and Japan. And the very shocks set off by the desperate efforts of the American ruling class to save itself will reverberate back into the political and economic structure of the United States, producing a revolutionary situation there in which the working class will have to overthrow capitalism and take power.

11. Capitalism cannot extricate itself from this crisis without seeking to destroy the power of the working class in the major imperialist countries and the national revolutionary movements. The measures which the ruling class must take in each country to deal with the crisis means confronting the working class in unity with all the oppressed peoples. This signifies a decisive change in ruling class policy. The establishment of the Bretton Woods system and all the inflationary measures taken to prop up the post-war boom as long as possible were guided by one essential consideration: to postpone as long as possible the social revolution and to destroy it in whichever country it arose.

12. The policy of class compromise has ended. Recognizing necessity, world capitalism is determined to return the masses back to the conditions of the 1930s and worse. The so-called "energy crisis" which has developed throughout the United States and Europe is nothing else but a manifestation of the vicious slump policies. From the decades of inflationary boom comes a mass of fictitious capital which must be destroyed. This means destroying or closing down vast sections of basic industry, not to mention all marginal industries and public services. In the background of this decision is the massive growth of inventories as inflation has eroded the purchasing power of workers' wages. The collapse of American industry will mean the smash-up of the Japanese and European export economies.

13. The worldwide explosion brings into the open the irreconcilable conflict between the working class and the Stalinist and Social-Democratic bureaucracies. These bureaucracies find it increasingly difficult to control the ranks and thereby preserve the fraud of parliamentary democracy and class compromise. The collapse of the Callaghan Labour government, the continuing crisis in Italian Stalinism and the electoral difficulty of the French CP and SP vividly indicate the nature of this problem. Callaghan's condemnation of political strikes against the present Tory government is unquestionable proof of the fear and hatred of the reformist bureaucracies towards the revolutionary power of the working class. The great mass movements in the national liberation struggles bring them more and more into conflict with counterrevolutionary Stalinism. Everywhere the bureaucracy appears — as it did in the British firemen's strike of 1977 — as the chief defender of the capitalist state and as an arm of that state. Nowhere has this been made more brutally clear than in the unprovoked military aggression of the Peking



Angry British firemen lobby the TUC which voted against support for their strike. The labor bureaucracy appears everywhere as the chief defender of the capitalist state.

Stalinist bureaucracy against the heroic masses of Vietnam, an action which was clearly planned and sponsored by US imperialism.

14. Inevitably the development of world revolution blows sky-high the myth of socialism-in-a-single-country and exposes the lie of peaceful-parliamentary-roads-to-socialism. But the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy in the defense of its privileges and in its implacable hostility to the working class becomes even more blatant in its international class collaboration with imperialism in order to undermine and isolate the revolutionary movements in the underdeveloped and the metropolitan countries. In particular, the signing of the SALT treaty in the aftermath of the Iranian revolution and the Arab boycott of the traitorous Sadat regime in Egypt, the running dog of Zionism, has given the go-ahead for the NATO powers to prepare over a hundred-thousand-strong counterrevolutionary task force to be used in civil war situations against the working class in Europe and against uprisings in the Middle East and Africa. More even than in Stalin's day, the counterrevolutionary aims of the Soviet leaders and their fear and hatred of the world revolution is exposed. The policy of "detente" means death to the world proletarian revolution.

15. In the nineteen thirties and forties imperialism was able to rely on the betrayals of Stalinism and Social Democracy to preserve itself from the revolutionary assaults of the working class. This is no longer true. That era of world-historical defeats is long finished. So great is the crisis of imperialism today that it can exist only by exploiting every weakness within the revolutionary vanguard. Millions of dollars are now being spent by the US State Department towards this end. In its death

agony, imperialism relies more and more on the revisionist movements — led by the renegade Trotskyists of the United States Socialist Workers Party — to provoke, slander, divert and destroy revolutionary cadres and movements. The bourgeoisie in its hour of doom recognizes instinctively the importance of revolutionary leadership for the working class and sets out consciously to create the maximum confusion and, through diversion and terror, to prevent the clarification of theoretical and political questions. This is the meaning of the collaboration of the late J. Hansen with the GPU and the FBI since 1940, the harboring of GPU agents and assassins within the SWP, their unashamed support for defenders of the dictator Somoza such as Fausto Amador, and the sinister intervention of the SWP assisted by Ralph Schoenman in the Iranian revolution, as well as the SWP's willingness to enter into a deal with the US State Department to protect FBI agents in the SWP. The transformation of revisionism into an open instrument of imperialist provocation does not come from the corruptibility of individuals but from the failure of a whole generation to grasp the unity and conflict of dialectical theory and practice as the basis of the struggle for power. The failure of these propagandists, despite their individual courage and devotion to the cause of socialism, to develop theory in this way in the end opened the door to the penetration of the Trotskyist movement by the agents of imperialism and the GPU. The fate of these leaders is the fate of a propagandism which began with preconceptions and program but not with revolutionary practice and a dialectical materialist comprehension of that practice. Cut off from the mass movement by the betrayals and repressions of Stalinism and the victories of fascism, these propagandists, at first shouldering the essential task of propaganda defense



Leon Trotsky in Mexico. The International Committee bases itself on the most important lesson of Trotsky's struggle for dialectical materialism against Burnham and Shachtman in 1939-40.

of principles, eventually transformed Marxism from a theory of knowledge into a ritualistic and dogmatic incantation of historical facts and programmatic demands. Their strength — fidelity to principle — was overcome by their weakness — the refusal to take Trotsky's advice in 1940 to dialectically develop Marxist theory as a guide to practice and thus to create within the Fourth International the conditions for breaking the isolation of the movement from the masses. The verbal radicalism of those propagandists in the 1950s and 1960s now becomes transformed into the most malicious hatred of the national liberation struggles and the most fervent support for Euro-Stalinism, Social Democracy and the CIA.

16. The International Committee. A cornerstone of the history of the IC is that it bases itself on the most important lesson of Trotsky's struggle for dialectical materialism against Burnham and Shachtman in 1939-40. The implications of the SWP leaders' refusal to develop this theory is in sharp contrast to the history of the IC and its seven congresses which is a history of intense and uncompromising struggle against any belief that abstract propagandism can replace the dialectical theory and practice of cognition. At the basis of the degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party of America was the idea that an all-round training in dialectical materialism for all the cadres of the party was not essential. Marxist theory was treated as the exclusive vocation of a select few. This method opened the door to the invasion of pragmatism, i.e., bourgeois ideology and the theoretical degeneration of those engaged in the study of theory. No social revolution can be organized and led without a conscious grasp of the dialectic of the day to day struggle of building the party and not only by its leaders but by the members as well. Every congress of the IC has been concerned essentially with the development of dialectical materialist

theory as a guide to practice. This involves the whole movement and not just individual leaders.

17. In the First and Second Congresses the IC analyzed the struggle against Pabloite revisionism, opposed the opportunism of Moreno and Vidale and elaborated revolutionary perspectives which reaffirmed the revolutionary role of the working class against the sceptical and revisionist perspective of "war-revolution" and "entrism sui generis" proposed by Pablo. This struggle enabled the IC in 1966 at the 3rd Congress to defeat the scepticism of the Robertson-Spartacist group and Lutte Ouvriere and their attack on the continuity of the Fourth International, and in the course of that struggle, deepen our knowledge of the rationalist scepticism of the French OCI. The theoretical complacency and indifference to the dialectic of the OCI leaders led inevitably to the separation of theory and practice and opened the doors of the OCI to the ideology of the counterrevolutionary French bourgeoisie. The refusal of the OCI explicitly to recognize dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of Marxism led directly to the betrayal of the French general strike and their subordination to the Social Democratic bureaucracy in France. The split with the OCI and Varga group in 1971 deepened the knowledge of the IC in the material roots and the theoretical expression of scepticism of the OCI epitomized in their slogan "For the Reconstruction of the Fourth International" which they claimed was necessary because Pablo destroyed it — but Pablo could not destroy the Fourth International. In rejecting dialectical theory they rejected the very existence of the International Committee of the Fourth International. The theory of the OCI was nothing more than a belated echo of all the petty bourgeois groups of the Centrists in the 3-1/2 International of the 1930s like Burnham, Shachtman

and the post-war sceptics of the German IKD, and Morrow and Goldman who wrote off the Soviet Union, revised the whole nature of the imperialist epoch and replaced it with the conception of a "totalitarian universe." The practice of the next three years and ruthless break with the positivism of the OCI brought out a series of conflicts against idealist tendencies. Sklavos tried to adapt the movement to bourgeois democracy after the fall of the Greek junta, developing a spontaneist theory of natural equilibrium in society and nature. Wohlforth rejected dialectical materialism for a crude "starting from the particular" and recognizing the universal only as a mental category in the manner of Kant. With this method he defended his co-partner Fields against any checking of her CIA contacts and went over directly to the FBI agent Hansen. In Britain, Thornett and his clique made a hysterical middle-class attack on democratic centralism, backed by a "theory" of the primacy of the conflict between man and nature and between party and class which was sheer subjective idealism. All these renegades gave support to the SWP, the Mandelites and the OCI on the "Platform of Shame," designed to isolate and frame the IC, the WRP, and in particular, Comrade G. Healy.

18. The fight against this subjective idealist tendency constituted an important lesson for the whole IC. It proved that there could be no compromise or conciliation with idealist propagandism in any form and that in every unchallenged idealist theory there was the seed of a split and the pressure of counterrevolution. The aftermath of the 7th Congress proved this. Although lipservice was paid to the IC, the leadership of many sections refused to fight for Marxist theory and, in 1977, ended up adapting to Carter's reflationary boom. What were the consequences for the IC? Firstly it led to a pronounced right turn expressed in a tendency to capitulate to bourgeois democracy and Stalinism. Secondly it led to a complete indifference to the IC's struggle on Security and the Fourth International and disarmed the IC on the very eve of Comrade Tom Henehan's assassination. Lastly the historic significance of the 7th Congress decision to turn to the national liberation movements in order to build the World Party of Socialist Revolution was either ignored or belittled. Underlying this right-wing trend was a scepticism towards the working class and the depth of the imperialist crisis. The emergence of middle-class scepticism and idealism in the IC was a variant of the euphoria about the US boom which pervaded revisionist groups and was summed up in Mandel's thesis "Waiting for the Upturn," (*Intercontinental Press*). This impressionist nonsense expressed the credulity of the middle class and completely distorted the worldwide drive to slump and revolution.

The indifference to theory of this tendency meant in practice a rejection of any turn to the working class and the stagnation of a number of sections. This conservatism was partially overcome only through the practice of the Euromarches, renewal of the

struggle on Security and the Fourth International, and a bitter and unrelenting struggle against this idealism at every IC school. The conservatism of these leaderships affected the development of the IC in many ways: failure to take any initiative on recruitment, failure to struggle to publish daily papers, adaptation to syndicalism in the unions, and refusal to construct a viable youth movement; in short, the rejection of the concept of the IC as the nucleus of the World Party of Socialist Revolution, while paying lipservice to it at the same time. Just as "the fight to develop theory" was turned into a phrase by propagandists, so now was the perspective of the struggle for power!

19. The Iranian revolution and the collapse of Carter's limited reflation into worldwide slump has completely destroyed every vestige of hope in continuation of the postwar boom. What faces the working class and sections of the middle class on a world scale is a colossal destruction of jobs and living standards. This is the explosion which is upon us now and from which there is no escape for any section. To ignore the lessons of the last five years and to continue propagandist practice which reduces theory to quotations and phrasemongering is to prepare betrayals far worse than those committed by the OCI or the LSSP. The explosion is the highest form of dialectical development. To understand it is to train every member of the party in a knowledge of dialectical theory as a guide to practice and to cultivate in the party an implacable determination and a passionate desire to conquer and destroy the imperialist system. Without this no development of theory is possible.

What is required in every section is not the repetition of "correct" formulae but a revolutionary practice which can unleash the explosive force of the masses, a practice which learns how to dialectically bring the objective world crisis into dialectical relationship with the parties of the IC and provide the driving force for the victorious struggle for power. This conscious struggle for a development of dialectical materialism is the only scientific meaning which can be attached to the turn to the masses, and the only basis for defeating every tendency to middle class scepticism and propagandism.

The training of Trotskyist cadre is the high point of the unity and conflict of theory and practice. The prerequisite for this training is a resolute and uncompromising struggle within the leadership of every section against all traces of subjectivism, whose ideological origins lie in the idealist separation and mechanical counter-posing of the subject (the Party) from the object (the working class). The Party and the working class are a unity of opposites. The unity of the Party and the class is continuously established and re-established in the revolutionary practice of the Party within the class directed toward the overthrow of capitalism. The problems and conflicts which arise in the course of this practice have their objective source in the class struggle. To resolve these problems within the Party — through their theoretical elaboration and their resolution in

practice — is, in fact, to materially resolve them within the working class. These problems are not to be seen as distractions from political activity, but as the source of the theoretical enrichment of the Party's work and the real basis for the education of cadre. Every leadership of the sections of the International Committee must make the method and outlook of Trotsky its own:

"A revolutionary organization selects and educates people not for intrigues among cliques but for great struggles. That imposes very heavy demands upon the cadres and even greater ones upon the 'leaders' or the candidates for the role of leadership. Moments of crisis, no matter how painful they may be, have this political significance in every organization — they disclose the real political character of its members: what sort of spirit animates them, in whose name they struggle, whether they have the power of endurance, etc.

"Naturally, the political evaluation of people, especially of younger people, is not of a decisive character in most cases. People can learn on the basis of their experiences, repress some features and develop others. However, it is precisely in order to achieve just such a collective education

that the International Left in general and the various sections in particular must diligently pursue the development of every single one of its members, and especially that of the responsible workers; and with extreme attentiveness in times of crisis. They must not leave unpunished toying with principles, journalistic light-mindedness, moral looseness, and pseudo 'irreconcilability' — in the name of personal caprice. Only in this manner can the organization be secured against catastrophic surprises in the future. The spirit of circle chumminess (you for me, and me for you) is the most abominable of organizational sicknesses. With the aid of chumminess, one can gather a clique around oneself but not a faction of co-thinkers." (Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1930-31. pp. 149-150)

The world revolutionary explosion ends forever any belief in the future of small groups carrying on a sterile propaganda existence. It demands imperiously and immediately from every section a single-minded rejection of this reactionary opportunist idealism and an audacious and resolute turn to the masses. Only in this way can we go forward to the construction of the World Party of Socialist Revolution and the independent and creative development of Marxism.

Conclusion: Tasks of the International Committee

Section I

1. The construction of the existing sections and of new sections of the IC is nothing less than the building of the World Party of Socialist Revolution.

2. This world party can be built only by cadres who break decisively from the refusal until now to take up Trotsky's last and urgent advice: take up the struggle for the scientific method and world outlook of dialectical materialism as the only basis for revolutionary victory. That is the lesson of the first successful socialist revolution. As Trotsky wrote:

"It is historical experience that the greatest revolution in all history was not led by the party which started out with bombs but by the party which started out with dialectical materialism."
(In *Defense of Marxism*, New Park, p. 100)

3. The only ones who will be able to act on this injunction are those cadres who set out as proletarian revolutionists to arm and train themselves as Trotskyist communists in all conditions, for every possible test, and against all problems. Only from

such a standpoint can we learn the importance of Trotsky's advice and develop a practice which develops the movement and develops Marxism as Trotsky and Lenin did.

4. This means rejecting and defeating propagandism, that middle-class curse on the movement, which "explains" the revolutionary upsurge of the masses and thus transforms the revolutionary perspective into a dead phrase which **obstructs** the penetration of the objective reality and the training of cadres. Reflection of the universal is taken as a thing-in-itself instead of becoming a transition to essence, existence and appearance.

5. Revolutionary parties are built "from the top down" (Lenin) by cadres consciously trained to be able to abstract the developing, changing objective reality of the world revolution and their practice as the basis for new and necessary practice. This is the meaning of Trotsky's insistence on dialectical training as necessary for revolutionists as finger exercises to a pianist. The working class can be led to free itself from the prison of bourgeois ideology only when a conscious and constant struggle is mounted in the party to fight all resistances as the penetration of the enemy class in the party.

Section II

1. The practice of every section of the IC must be aimed at the publication of **daily newspapers** as the essential instrument in fighting for leadership of the class. This means above all the selection and training of the cadres on whose practice the daily paper can be based. They are trained in and through the fight for the material resources for the daily paper, through the struggle to overcome the conservatism and opposition of the propagandist tendencies in the sections. The daily paper itself, as was shown especially in the firemen's strike in Britain, must be the organ through which the revolutionary party posits the objective development of the class struggle and its developing consciousness on the party and its theory and program: not propagandistically preconceived plans, but working to abstract new knowledge through **development** of Marxism to arm the working class for the revolution.
2. It is the urgent responsibility of every section leadership to put an end to all stagnation in **recruitment** to the party. The IC can and must recruit thousands more members from the mass struggles which are being pushed forward by the explosive crisis of world capitalism. Among the youth, in the trade unions, and in the mass actions, which, as Iran shows, embrace virtually all sections of society against the state and the bourgeoisie, recruitment to the party is the first aim of every intervention.
3. Stalinism, for us, is not some left tendency in the working class to be debated with. The SALT Treaty, the maneuvers of the Stalinist bureaucracy with imperialism in the Middle East, the counterrevolutionary Chinese intervention in Vietnam — all of these signify that the world revolutionary explosion has forced the Stalinist bureaucracy to the point where it is more openly reactionary than ever before. This is only natural: it is the world revolution itself which brings them to use every resource of the degenerated and deformed workers' states to crush the revolutionary working class. They are in profound crisis: the development of the world revolution undermines their base. We work for the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the restoration of Leninist democracy inside the USSR. Our cadres must be trained in an implacable struggle to smash the Stalinists within the mass movement in every country as their turn to the camp of imperialism throws them into crisis.
4. The world explosion of productive forces finds its deepest expression within the trade unions of Europe and the USA and provide entirely favorable opportunities for the building of revolutionary leadership and of transforming the unions — under IC leadership — into organs of revolutionary struggle. The

cadres of our movement must be educated in a spirit of uncompromising struggle not only against any patronizing aloofness or abstention from the inner struggles within the unions but, equally, against any tendency towards a fetishistic adaptation to the apparatus and non-political atmosphere of the unions.

"If it be criminal to turn one's back on mass organization for the sake of fostering sectarian factions, it is no less so passively to tolerate subordination of the revolutionary mass movement to the control of openly reactionary or disguised conservative ('progressive') bureaucratic cliques. Trade unions are not ends in themselves; they are but means along the road to proletarian revolution."(Transitional Program)

Indissolubly tied up with this task — and an indispensable precondition for it — is the theoretical training of trade union cadres and their development as party leaders. All sections must establish, under the direction and control of its Central Committee, trade union departments to carry out systematic recruitment and training of trade unionists and the building of party factions in the workers' mass organizations.

5. In the education of the youth and the fight to smash the Stalinists, the systematic publication and dissemination of Trotskyist literature in every language, and the expansion of basic educational work, publicly and in the party, is essential. Every section must have a definite program of such publications and education and a plan for the necessary reserves to do this.
6. Sections of the IC have a definite and immediate responsibility for the work to establish new sections in a number of countries: in particular, India, Latin America, Turkey and France.
7. In every country, the IC sections must be in the leadership of the struggle to defend and support the national liberation struggles — Africa, the Middle East and Latin America, and the Iranian revolution. This means an unrelenting war against Stalinism and Pabloite revisionism, which are the principal agents of imperialism's interests in separating the metropolitan working classes from the masses in the colonial and ex-colonial countries.
8. In this centenary Year of Trotsky, it is the responsibility of every section to fight to transform the International Committee into the genuine nucleus of the world party of socialist revolution through a resolute turn to the working class and a systematic and truly international campaign of recruitment and education. Lectures, festivals and rallies must be organized by all sections to introduce thousands of workers, youth and professionals to the principles for which Trotsky fought and died — the principles of Lenin, the October Revolution, the first four congresses of the Communist International and the Fourth International.

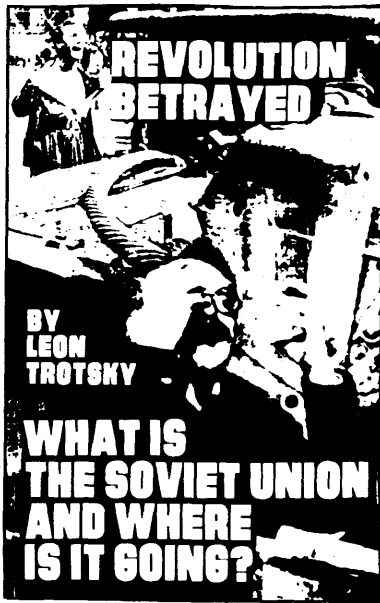


Resolution of the International Committee of the Fourth International

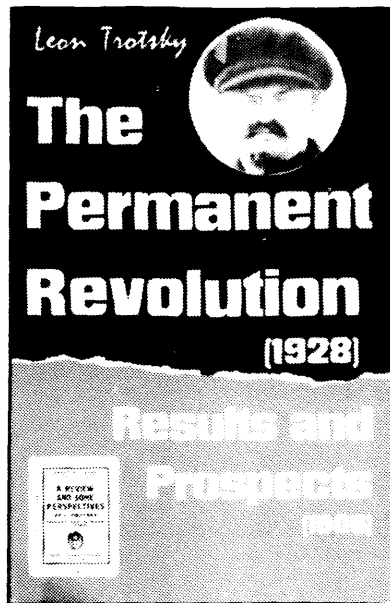
- 1.** 1979 is the centenary of the birth of the founder of our movement, Leon Trotsky. The only way to commemorate and celebrate this hundred years is to take into our own period the great task to which Trotsky devoted himself, that of training communist cadres of the Fourth International to lead the struggle for workers' power. That is the task of the International Committee.
- 2.** For Trotsky and for us that training of cadres is a training as dialectical materialists. The cadres of the Fourth International rededicate themselves in this struggle in this centenary year under conditions where the world revolutionary explosion of the capitalist system is unprecedented even by October 1917 and the subsequent revolutionary wave. The task of the IC sections is to arm the working class with Marxist theory and Bolshevik organization for the great mass revolutionary struggles which are now inevitable and unpostponable. The task is the building of the world party of socialist revolution.
- 3.** Our work for the centenary of Trotsky must bring to hundreds of thousands of workers and youth in every continent the great historical and theoretical conquests of revolutionary Marxism, which were carried forward after Lenin only by Trotsky.
- 4.** At the 8th Congress of the International Committee, every section has adopted a six-month program for this centenary, a program of party-building: rallies, meetings, lectures and festivals on Trotsky's heritage; big recruitment drives in the sections and their youth movements; mass work in the trade unions; major increases in the circulation of our press and immediate preparations for daily papers in a number of sections, with special funds raised for the necessary material foundations; publication in new translations of basic writings of Trotsky; urgent practical steps to found new sections. Definite responsibilities by the leading members in all sections have been accepted for every one of these tasks.
- 5.** The 8th Congress sets aside all considerations of differences over work in the past for the period of this turn in practice, and pledges to carry out the tasks agreed, by the end of 1979. The Congress will reconvene in January 1980. It will then be time to check and discuss the carrying out of these decisions, against the changed world situation which will by then have developed, and to elaborate the next tasks of revolutionary leadership.

28th June, 1979

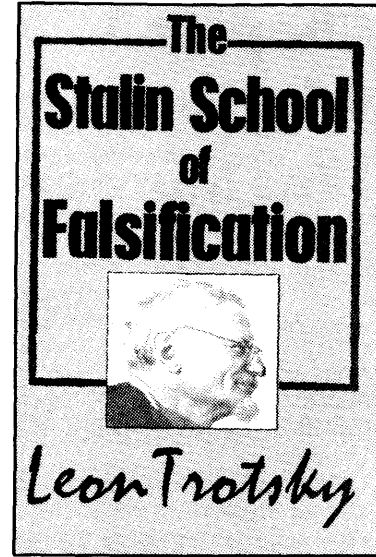
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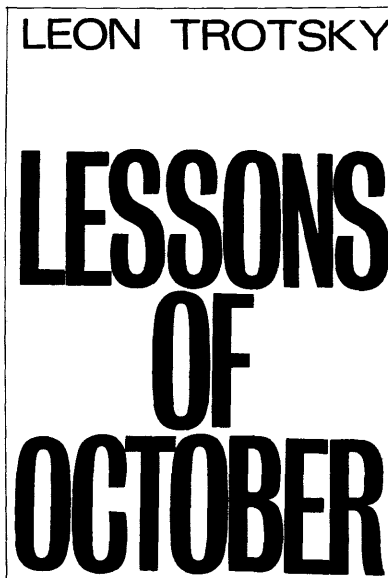
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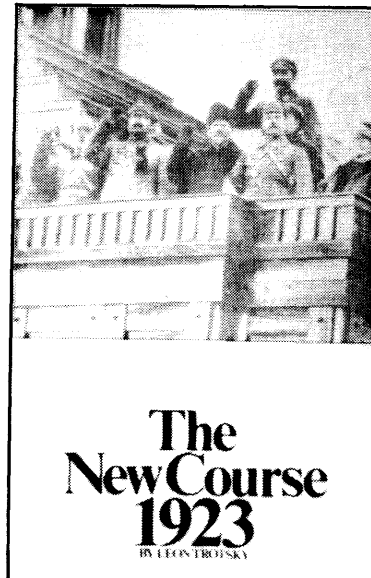
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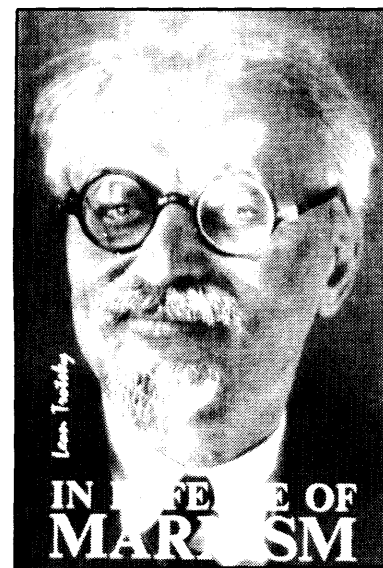
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39 Years Since the Assassination of Trotsky

Chapter 1 Why Leon Trotsky Was Murdered

On August 21, 1940, Leon Trotsky — co-leader of the 1917 October Revolution, organizer of the Red Army and founder of the Fourth International — died from a wound inflicted 26 hours earlier by an agent of the GPU, the secret police of the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy.

Trotsky was assassinated in the fourth year of his exile in Mexico.

He had arrived there on January 9, 1937, two weeks after his deportation from Norway. The Social Democratic ministers of the Norwegian government had revoked — under pressure from Stalin — the democratic right of asylum which it had reluctantly extended to the revolutionary leader in 1935.

The assassin was Ramon Mercader, a highly-trained GPU killer who had stalked Trotsky for nearly two years. But he was only part of a vast conspiracy organized by the Soviet bureaucracy, with the full support of the democratic imperialists, to murder the last and greatest surviving leader of the Bolshevik Party which had overthrown capitalism in Russia and secured for the world socialist revolution its first victory.

The murder of Trotsky was the crime of the century. It represented the high-point of counter-revolutionary betrayals of the international working class by the Stalinist bureaucracy. These betrayals, which since 1933 had been organized consciously by the Stalinists to maintain the privileged position of the bureaucracy inside the Soviet Union, produced catastrophic defeats of the working class throughout Europe.

As the most important agency of imperialism within the workers' movement, the Stalinist bureaucracy sought to liquidate every vestige of the October Revolution and its leaders.

During the infamous Moscow Trials, which passed death sentences against virtually all of Lenin's comrades-in-arms, Trotsky and his son Leon Sedov were also sentenced to death. Trotsky publicly challenged the Soviet government to seek his extradition back to the Soviet Union.

But Stalin did not dare accept Trotsky's challenge, because he would have then been compelled to present factual evidence to justify the demand for extradition. But Stalin had no evidence to substantiate the monstrous accusations made during the



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Moscow Trials. His own "evidence" consisted of false confessions extracted from aged and demoralized revolutionists obtained through torture and diabolical threats.

The bureaucracy, however, was determined to murder Trotsky. As early as 1929, the Stalinists began resorting to murder to deal with Trotskyism. Toward the end of that year, Jacob Blumkin, an official in the GPU and former supporter of the Left Opposition, briefly visited Trotsky on the island of Prinkipo.

Upon his return to the Soviet Union, Blumkin carelessly discussed his visit with Karl Radek, who had by then completely capitulated to the bureaucracy. Radek then informed Stalin who immediately ordered the arrest and execution of Blumkin.

By 1936, the bureaucracy had completely destroyed the Bolshevik Party founded by Lenin and defended its materially privileged position within Soviet society through its monopoly of political power.

The judicial murders of the Old Bolsheviks — applauded by all the Stalinist parties throughout the world and particularly by the American Communist Party — were carried out to destroy all opposition to the bureaucracy within the Soviet Union and to reassure the democratic imperialists of the Kremlin



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Following the defeat of the German working class in 1933, Trotsky demonstrated that the Stalinist leadership in the Soviet Union and in the Third International had passed definitively into the camp of counterrevolution. He called for the creation of the Fourth International.

Despite the smallness of its ranks, assembled with such difficulty under conditions of unprecedented working class defeats, Stalin was terrified by the Fourth International and its leader, Leon Trotsky.

In his greatest political treatise, *The Revolution Betrayed*, Trotsky had revealed the objective dialectical laws behind the bureaucratic degeneration of the first workers' state. He had shown that the bureaucracy and Stalin's "victory" were rooted principally in the material backwardness of the Soviet economy which had been inherited from the Tsarist past, the failure of the German revolution between 1918 and 1923 and the subsequent isolation of the Soviet Union. The growth of bureaucracy expressed in the sharpest form the pressure of world imperialism on the isolated workers' state.

But as Trotsky explained the objective reasons for the growth of bureaucracy, he no less decisively

elaborated the historical dialectic of its inevitable downfall.

The Soviet bureaucracy rested on nationalized property relations which had emerged out of the October Revolution and whose development directly contradicted the existence of the ruling elite. Despite all its terrible crimes — the murder of thousands of Bolsheviks and the usurpation of all political power — the bureaucracy was unable to overthrow the property relations established by the Russian working class through its overthrow of the national bourgeoisie.

The bureaucracy did not represent a new class, capable of working out new forms of property relations through which its own rule could acquire a certain degree of historic stability and legitimacy.

Rather, the bureaucracy was essentially a parasitic caste which had absolutely no progressive role to play within the Soviet Union. The bonapartist dictatorship of Stalin was the consummate expression of the desperation and hopeless historical position of the bureaucracy.

Far from being the legitimate offspring of the October Revolution, the bureaucracy was the noxious product of the defeat of the working class and the temporary inability of the Russian Revolution to extend itself into the advanced capitalist countries of Europe and America.

Trotsky therefore demonstrated that the destruction of the bureaucracy was historically bound up with the development of the world revolution. The resumption of this revolution, begun in October 1917, would provide the impulse for the overthrow of the bureaucracy by the Russian working class. Trotsky added this decisive clarification: the smashing of the bureaucracy would be a political, rather than social, revolution. The task before the Russian working class would not be the overthrow of the property relations, but rather the defense of these historically progressive relations through the political overthrow of the bureaucratic usurpers.

This was the theoretical and scientific foundation of Trotsky's struggle to build the Fourth International. Both imperialism and Stalinism recognized in this struggle the greatest threat to their survival. In the final analysis, the Stalinist bureaucracy functioned as an agency of imperialism. This meant that in the war against Trotskyism, the GPU and the political police of the imperialist democracies had no difficulty finding a common ground.

Shortly before his assassination, Trotsky recounted an anecdote which laid bare the nature of this alliance:

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"On August 25, 1939, just before the break of diplomatic relations between France and Germany, the French ambassador Coulondre

reported to G. Bonnet, Minister of Foreign Affairs, his dramatic interview with Adolph Hitler at 5:30 p.m.,

"'If I really think' — I observed — 'that we will be victorious, I also have the fear that at the end of the war there will be only one real victor: Mr. Trotsky.'

"Interrupting me, the Chancellor shouted: 'Then why have you given Poland free rein?' (Diplomatic Documents, 1938-1939, p. 260, Document No. 242)

"Two authoritative representatives of two imperialist powers, democratic and fascist, in the critical moment just prior to the war, seek to frighten each other with the name of a revolutionist whom the agents of the GPU have been trying in vain to blacken for a number of years as an 'agent of imperialism.' I could adduce other evidence of the same sort. But this is hardly necessary. Hitler and Coulonde are at all events expert politicians much more serious than David Siqueiros and Lombardo Toledano.

"As a former revolutionist Stalin understands that the course of the war must provide a mighty impulse to the development of the Fourth International, in the USSR as well. That is why Stalin issued an order to his agents: Get rid of Trotsky as quickly as possible." (The Comintern and the GPU from Stalin's Gangsters, New Park Publications)

It is this alliance between imperialism and Stalinism which comprises the principal component of the counterrevolution in this epoch, and nowhere is the functioning of this alliance so clearly exposed as in the assassination of Trotsky and the unrelenting efforts of these combined agencies to destroy the Fourth International.

For 35 years after Trotsky's death, the circumstances and details of his assassination were largely unknown. This state of affairs was carefully preserved by the agencies which had organized and carried out the assassination because it enabled them to use the same well-oiled murder machine against the Trotskyist movement whenever provocations were considered necessary.

It is the towering historical achievement of the International Committee of the Fourth International to have exposed the inner workings of this counterrevolutionary conspiracy and its principal operatives.

The assassin Mercader obtained access to Trotsky through the criminal preparations of a vast army of GPU agents directed by the Kremlin and working throughout Europe, the United States and in Mexico. The filthiest work of all was carried out by GPU agents who had penetrated the sections of the Fourth International.

Aside from Mercader, who finally carried out the assassination, there were three agents whose actions

were decisive in organizing the physical extermination of the founding leaders of the Fourth International.

The first was **Mark Zborowski**, alias "Etienne." He was a Russian Jew, born in 1908, who spent much of his youth in Poland and then travelled to France. He entered into the service of the GPU and, for money, agreed to spy on the Trotskyist movement in France. The GPU had a special interest in the workings of the Fourth International in France. During the mid-1930s, it was the center of the international Trotskyist movement. Trotsky was in exile in France from 1933 to 1935. And it was from Paris that the work of the Trotskyist movement was directed by Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son.

Zborowski provided the GPU with detailed reports on the activities of the Trotskyist movement: these reports were read by Stalin himself. Fluent in Russian, Zborowski sought to make himself invaluable in the difficult work of producing the *Bulletin of the Opposition* and gradually made himself a constant companion of Sedov.

His first major "coup" for the GPU came in November 1936. Zborowski informed the Stalinists that a large portion of the Trotsky archives had been deposited in the Nicolaevsky Institute in Paris. During the night of November 6 and 7, 15 bundles of the documents weighing just over 160 lbs. were stolen.

That was only the beginning. Within a few months of the robbery, Zborowski was helping the GPU organize murders. His job was simply to inform the GPU of the whereabouts of the intended victim.

In the early summer of 1937, the outstanding young Trotskyist Erwin Wolf who had served as Trotsky's secretary departed from Spain. Zborowski passed the news of Wolf's trip on to the GPU. Sometime after Wolf crossed the Spanish border, he was arrested by the Stalinists and murdered.

Shortly afterwards, Ignace Reiss, an important functionary in the GPU, broke with the Stalinists, publicly denounced the crimes of the GPU and declared his adherence to the Fourth International. His whereabouts were to be known only to the most important and reliable leaders within the Trotskyist movement. Zborowski obtained this information and notified the GPU.

On September 4, 1937, Reiss was machine-gunned to death by a squad of GPU killers in Switzerland.

Zborowski's next victim was Leon Sedov. Working under tremendous strain, Sedov was being hunted down by the GPU which was waiting for the most favorable moment to strike the fatal blow. In addition to informing on Sedov, Zborowski also worked zealously to poison the political atmosphere between different factions within the French movement.

In February 1938 Sedov suddenly took ill. Stricken with abdominal pains, he was taken to a hospital on February 9. The hospital — clinic Mirabeau — was

teaming with Russian emigres. This meant that its staff consisted both of reactionary sympathizers of the old Tsarist regime and of Stalinist agents. When the time came to take Sedov to the hospital, Zborowski made two calls. The first was to the ambulance service; the second was to the GPU.

After an operation, it appeared that Sedov was making a routine recovery. But on the evening of February 13-14, he suddenly and inexplicably fell into a delirium. On the morning of February 16, he lapsed into a coma and died. A large bruise was found near the abdominal scar left by the operation.

Leon Sedov had been assassinated by the GPU. Zborowski soon claimed another victim. The secretary of the Fourth International, in charge of preparations for the founding conference, was the young German Trotskyist Rudolf Klement. With the death of Sedov, Zborowski now collaborated regularly with Klement. In July 1938, Klement disappeared without a trace. A letter was then received by Trotsky, ostensibly from Klement, containing crude attacks on the Fourth International. It was signed with a pseudonym that Klement did not use in his correspondence with Trotsky. It was obvious that the letter was either a forgery or had been written by Klement under extreme physical duress.

The fact that Klement's "break" with the Fourth International had not been made voluntarily was soon made tragically clear. The torso of Klement, without head nor limbs, was found floating in the Seine River. Within the space of just one year, information provided by Zborowski had led to the liquidation of three leaders of the Fourth International and an important defector from Stalin.

Zborowski's career as a GPU agent was by no means at an end. But the central focus of GPU activity now shifted to the Americas, for the GPU was determined to murder Trotsky who was living in Mexico. To carry out this task the Kremlin



Mark Zborowski. Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov, was among those who were murdered due to the activities of this GPU agent.

transferred the nerve center of its operation from Paris to New York.

In Europe, the liquidation of the leading cadre of the Trotskyist movement had been made possible by the penetration into the Fourth International by the agent Zborowski.

Now, to organize the murder of Leon Trotsky, the GPU needed the American equivalents of Zborowski to penetrate the Trotskyist movement in the United States.

By the time Klement was murdered in July 1938, the GPU had already placed two agents in key positions in the Trotskyist movement in the United States.

One was **Sylvia Franklin**, maiden name **Callen** and known in the newly-founded Socialist Workers Party as **Sylvia Caldwell**. A young Stalinist from Chicago, married to the GPU agent Irving Franklin, she had been infiltrated into the Trotskyist movement by the top Soviet agent in the United States, Gregory Rabinovitz. She had been recommended for the assignment by the leader of the Stalinist Young Communist League, Jack Kling.

Once she had established herself inside the Trotskyist movement, she travelled to New York and volunteered to work full time in the national offices of the Socialist Workers Party. Her offer was accepted, and within a short time she was working as the personal secretary of James P. Cannon, founder and leader of the SWP.

The other agent occupied a still more vital position. He was sent to Coyoacan to serve as Trotsky's secretary. His name was **Joseph Hansen**.

With his participation in the conspiracy to murder Leon Trotsky, Hansen launched a 40-year-long career as an agent of imperialist reaction inside the SWP, which continued even after his decisive exposure by the International Committee in 1977 and only ended with his death in January 1979.



Sylvia Franklin. The Kremlin bureaucracy had access to all the Trotskyist movement's most important records through her role as personal secretary to the Socialist Workers Party's founder and leader, James P. Cannon.

Chapter 2

Stalin's Agents in the Fourth International

During the last year of his life, Leon Trotsky represented a greater threat to world imperialism and its Stalinist agency than ever in his history of revolutionary struggles.

Despite the appearance of isolation, at 60 years of age he brought to the struggle against the disintegrating world capitalist system, powers as a revolutionary fighter, strategist and Marxist theoretician that were still ascending to ever greater heights.

As the living embodiment of the historical continuity of the October Revolution, he was uniquely equipped to train the cadre of the Fourth International to meet the vastly complex problems which emerged with the outbreak of the Second World War.

Trotsky confronted these problems as a dialectical materialist and, consequently, as the indomitable builder of the World Party of Socialist Revolution — the Fourth International.

It was precisely the vital interconnection between the building of the Fourth International and the struggle to develop dialectical materialism against all forms of bourgeois ideology that Trotsky had emphasized in the last great inner-party struggle that he led. This was the fight against the petty-bourgeois opposition inside the Socialist Workers Party which emerged in 1939 following the signing of the Non-Aggression Pact between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany.

Led by the New York professor James Burnham and the co-founder of the SWP Max Shachtman, the opposition insisted that the Fourth International abandon its position of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. Adapting to the "democratic" indignation of the middle class over the signing of the Pact and the USSR's subsequent invasion of Finland, the opposition demanded that the Fourth International align itself with what it called the "Third Camp."

On the political front, Trotsky explained that the signing of the Non-Aggression Pact, while certainly a grotesque example of Stalin's unlimited capacity for treachery, did not in itself alter the class character of the Soviet Union as a workers' state. As for the invasion of Finland, this action was politically justifiable on the basis of the defensive interests of the isolated workers' state.

Trotsky exposed the class basis of the opposition's political platform: the petty-bourgeois' fear of alienating democratic public opinion. Neither

Shachtman nor Burnham had sought to renounce the Soviet Union as a workers' state as long as the Kremlin's diplomacy was directed toward alliances with the democratic imperialists, i.e., Britain, France and the United States. However, the task of defending the workers' state required greater political resilience after the Stalinist bureaucracy reoriented itself toward the fascist imperialists because this risked alienating the democratic petty bourgeoisie.

Answering Burnham and Shachtman on the political front posed no special problem for Trotsky. Since 1934 he had answered at great length all the "theoreticians" who wanted to either place a question mark over the class nature of the Soviet state or pronounce it to be "state capitalist."

The central purpose of Trotsky's intervention was to place the struggle against the petty-bourgeois opposition on a higher theoretical plane. Thus, he introduced into the discussion an examination of the philosophical method of the opposition. On this level of struggle he identified the pragmatist Burnham as the ideological leader of the petty-bourgeois minority opposition.

Trotsky had often explained that in periods of intense political reaction, the most backward trends of thinking are pushed to the surface and the development of advanced philosophical thought becomes exceedingly difficult. The struggle waged by Trotsky against Burnham and the creative development of Marxism which he produced through this struggle was a powerful and decisive counterblow struck by Trotsky against the counterrevolution.

As he waged uncompromising war against Burnham's attempt to repudiate dialectical materialism as the philosophical foundation of the revolutionary movement, Trotsky sought to prepare the Fourth International for the great qualitative leap in the world revolution that he confidently anticipated with the outbreak of World War II.

Trotsky understood that the Second World War, far from resolving the contradictions of imperialism would greatly exacerbate them. European capitalism was hopelessly bankrupt. American imperialism would emerge from the war as the world policeman, desperately seeking to contain not only revolutionary explosions in the metropolitan countries, but also in the tottering colonial empires, whose teeming masses were now inexorably entering the struggle for their liberation.

That is why he turned with greater confidence than ever toward the revolutionary masses of the world. In his last great manifesto, "Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution," Trotsky wrote:

"The Fourth International turns not to the governments who have dragooned the peoples into the slaughter, not to the bourgeois politicians who bear the responsibility for these governments, nor to the labor bureaucracy which supports the warring bourgeoisie. The Fourth International turns to the working men and women, the soldiers and sailors, the ruined peasants and the enslaved colonial peoples. The Fourth International has no ties whatsoever with the oppressors, the

exploiters, the imperialists. It is the world party of the toilers, the oppressed and the exploited. This manifesto is addressed to them.” (Documents of the Fourth International, Pathfinder, p. 311)

And, with undiminished contempt for the Stalinist bureaucracy Trotsky insisted again that:

“The preparation of the revolutionary overthrow of the Moscow ruling caste is one of the main tasks of the Fourth International. The task is not simple or easy. It demands heroism and sacrifice. However, the epoch of great convulsions upon which mankind has entered will strike the Kremlin oligarchy with blow after blow, will break up its totalitarian apparatus, will raise the self-confidence of the working masses and thereby facilitate the formation of the Soviet section of the Fourth International. Events will work in our favor if we are capable of assisting them!” (Documents of the Fourth International, p. 330)

All of Trotsky’s political work was carried out under the shadow of the Stalinist bureaucracy’s relentless efforts to assassinate him. A huge network of GPU agents was being assembled in the United States and Mexico to prepare the assassination. The Stalinist press in both countries devoted a large portion of their editorial work toward preparing public opinion for the inevitable murder attempt.

“I can therefore state that I live on this earth not in accordance with the rule but as an exception to the rule,” wrote Trotsky.

For nearly 35 years after the assassination of Trotsky, the Socialist Workers Party emphatically maintained that it had done everything possible to protect the life of the “Old Man,” for whose security it was principally responsible.



Joseph Hansen — the GPU agent who served as secretary to Trotsky and captain of the guard at Coyoacan.

In place of a critical examination of the circumstances which surrounded the assassination of the politically irreplaceable founder of the Fourth International, SWP leaders rested on the claim that there was no way the movement’s small forces could have saved Trotsky from the powerful apparatus of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

This argument was, at the very least, a vulgar exercise in political buck-passing which left no one responsible for the tragedy of Trotsky’s assassination.

Moreover, it was a deliberate evasion of the one glaring fact that the assassination of Trotsky was prepared through the penetration of GPU agents into the ranks of the SWP.

Significantly, it was Joseph Hansen — long-time leader of the SWP — who championed the argument that it was impossible to prevent the penetration of agents and politically incorrect to attempt to do so!

In his article “With Trotsky To The End,” which was presented by the SWP for many years as the official version of Trotsky’s assassination, Hansen provided a thoroughly rotten justification for Mercader’s successful penetration of the Coyoacan household — and attributed it to Trotsky:

“Mutual suspicion in his (Trotsky’s) eyes was a disintegrating force much worse than the inclusion of a spy in the organization, since such suspicions are useless anyway in uncovering a highly skilled provocateur. Trotsky hated personal suspicion toward members and sympathizers of the Fourth International. He considered it worse than the evil it was supposed to cure.”

The claim that Trotsky had some sort of liberal laissez-faire attitude toward security is, of course, disproven by his historical role as the leader of the



Ramon Mercader — the Stalinist agent who murdered Trotsky.

October Revolution. If Trotsky could not abide "suspicion," then why did he participate as a leading member of the first Soviet government in the establishment of the CHEKA, the "Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counterrevolution," which — as the police agency of the victorious revolution — continuously called on the masses to report all their suspicions?

In fact, the argument belonged not to Trotsky but to Hansen — and with good reason.

In the course of its four-year-long investigation into the circumstances surrounding the assassination of Leon Trotsky, the International Committee has proven irrefutably that the late Joseph Leroy Hansen, functioned inside the Fourth International as a double agent of the GPU and of the FBI.

Hansen went to his grave on January 18, 1979 without ever answering the mountains of evidence — much of it consisting of official US Government documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act — which exposed his 40 year connection with both the Soviet and American secret police.

As an informer Hansen was unique in just one respect: the twists and turns of his insidious career faithfully mirrored the criminal progression of the combined imperialist-Stalinist conspiracies against the Fourth International.

In 1934 Hansen infiltrated the Trotskyist movement as an agent of the Stalinists. It was not long before he became part of the vast apparatus being assembled by the Kremlin in the United States to carry out the murder of Leon Trotsky.

By 1938 the Stalinists had succeeded in planting agents in two key positions that greatly facilitated the plans for the assassination.

Sylvia Caldwell, nee Callen and secretly married to GPU agent Irving Franklin, successfully penetrated the national office of the SWP and became personal secretary to Party founder and leader James P. Cannon.

Joseph Hansen successfully penetrated Trotsky's household in Coyoacan and became one of the Bolshevik leader's secretaries. He also was appointed by the SWP Political Committee to oversee the organization of Trotsky's defense.

Under Hansen's supervision, Trotsky's security was continuously undermined. He saw to it that the guards at Coyoacan were issued ammunition that would jam in their rifles and he opposed their receiving proper instruction in marksmanship. He employed petty intrigues to attempt to discredit guards such as Harold Robins who were determined to provide every possible protection for Trotsky's life.

Most important of all, from 1938 on he provided the GPU with a regular flow of vital information that the Stalinists needed to prepare the agent Ramon Mercader for the assassination of Trotsky.

In fact, among the documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act is one which strongly

suggests that Hansen was in personal contact with Mercader in the months leading up to the assassination of Trotsky.

Hansen was at Coyoacan on the day of Trotsky's assassination, August 20, 1940. He was on the roof of the house in which Trotsky lived when the assassin arrived in his Buick. It was Hansen who gave the signal to admit Mercader, although Trotsky had already voiced suspicion about him.

Mercader accosted Trotsky in the courtyard of the compound and claimed that he wished to have an article read. Trotsky consented and walked with the assassin into his study. Mercader was carrying a raincoat with which he concealed a .45 caliber automatic, a dagger and an icepick.

While Trotsky studied the article, Mercader withdrew the icepick and then brought it down upon the revolutionary's skull with full force. Incredibly, Trotsky rose to grapple with the killer. Having heard Trotsky cry out, Robins ran into the study and subdued Mercader. Hansen then ran into the room and, as Robins has recalled, feigned anger and hysteria.

Trotsky had been wounded so severely that he had no chance of recovering from the blow that had been struck. He lapsed into a coma and died at 7:25 p.m. on August 21, 1940.

As far as Hansen was concerned, the mission had been accomplished. But he promptly received new instructions from the GPU.

August 31, 1940 — 10 days after Trotsky's death — was a turning point in Hansen's life.

On that day Hansen paid a visit to the American Embassy in Mexico City. It was a Saturday morning, and no one in the Trotskyist movement knew anything about the meeting until 35 years later — when the International Committee discovered the official report made by US Consul Robert McGregor informing the State Department in Washington, D.C. of his talk with Hansen.

McGregor reported to his superiors an astounding admission made by Hansen:

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

Hansen told a representative of US imperialism what he had never told anyone in the Trotskyist movement: that he had been in contact with the GPU before the assassination.

The claim that these contacts were authorized by Trotsky was, of course, a lie. Not only is there absolutely no record of any such authorization but the idea that an agent of the GPU would casually

introduce himself to a loyal secretary of Leon Trotsky and ask him to join the Stalinists is patently absurd. And this supposedly happened in 1938 of all years, when the GPU murdered Trotsky's last surviving son and two of his closest European secretaries!

The subsequent investigations of the International Committee made clear why Hansen went to the American Embassy and why he admitted to having met with a GPU agent in New York.

Hansen was trying to cover up his tracks as a GPU agent by admitting what he was certain the FBI already knew: that he had been working with Soviet agents in the period leading up to Trotsky's assassination. As a lame alibi, Hansen claimed that the meetings had been authorized by Trotsky.

In anticipating that the FBI knew of his GPU connections, Hansen was not incorrect.

Under the direction of J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI had been carefully monitoring the activities of the GPU in Mexico and the United States. The name "Joseph Hansen" was not one with which the FBI was entirely unfamiliar.

As a matter of fact, he was a man the FBI wanted very much to talk to.

Chapter 3

From Mexico City to Carleton College

The full implications of Joseph Hansen's secret visit to the US Embassy in Mexico City on August 31, 1940 were finally revealed by the International Committee in September, 1978 after three years of exhaustive investigation into the assassination of Leon Trotsky.

Official US Government documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act have irrefutably established that Hansen, a GPU agent who played a central role in the conspiracy to murder Trotsky, made the visit in order to defect from the Stalinist police and become a double-agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The great importance of this discovery was that it exposed the origins of the 30-year-long process through which the Socialist Workers Party was gradually transformed from a pioneer Trotskyist party into a revisionist movement betraying every principle Trotsky fought for and, ultimately, into a police-infested organization controlled by the FBI.

All the evidence obtained by the International Committee suggests that Hansen approached the FBI in order to obtain a new cover for his role as an agent inside the Fourth International. It can be safely assumed that the GPU itself authorized Hansen's visit to the American Embassy because the FBI was already tailing him as a Soviet agent.



J. Edgar Hoover. He personally supervised Hansen's collaboration with the FBI.

In accordance with the counterrevolutionary equations of Stalinism, the GPU considered it worthwhile to voluntarily trade Hansen to the FBI in order to preserve the functioning of an important agent inside the Fourth International.

This is why Hansen immediately told FBI agent Robert McGregor, then serving as US Consul in Mexico City, that he had been working with the GPU in New York City for three months in 1938.

Everything Hansen did in the weeks following Trotsky's assassination confirms that he was striving to successfully launch a new career as a double agent inside the Trotskyist movement.

Similarly, the response of the US Government shows that it saw in Hansen a potentially valuable recruit from the GPU who could be used against the American Trotskyists.

Between August 31, 1940 and September 24, 1940, Hansen made no fewer than five trips to the US Embassy. He was trying hard to present himself as a useful informer — handing over photographs, articles and internal security documents to the police representatives of the capitalist government.

For its part, the Embassy officials maintained a revolving door for Hansen. While the Roosevelt administration was denying the SWP the permission to bring Trotsky's body to the United States for a public funeral and burial, the Embassy spooks were showing the living Mr. Hansen uncommon courtesy. They were under instructions to do so from the director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover.

On September 1, 1940, George P. Shaw — American Consul in Mexico — filed his first report to the

State Department on Hansen's visit the previous day.

This dispatch prompted an urgent memorandum from J. Edgar Hoover to his principal counter-espionage specialist — B.E. Sackett, the New York director of the FBI. Dated September 3, 1940 and coded "Personal and Confidential," Hoover sent Sackett the following communication:

"I want to impress upon you the keen importance of every effort being made to discover GPU operatives in the United States who are said to be centered in and around New York and the case involving the murder of Trotsky in Mexico."

He continued:

"In further confirmation of the telephone call to you in the afternoon of September 1, 1940, it is important and urgently necessary that this matter be given close attention and personal supervision by you in order that the identity of agents, scope and plan, and methods of operation of secret Russian agents be developed by your office."

The far-fetched and politically indefensible excuse which Hansen presented after his secret visit to the US Embassy was first exposed was that he was trying to obtain information about the assassination of Trotsky from the Government. This excuse — based on the absurd premise that the American imperialists were interested in protecting the Trotskyist movement from Stalinist attacks — was demolished by the discovery of a memorandum sent by FBI agent P.E. Foxworth to Hoover.

Dated August 23, 1940, Foxworth informed Hoover that he had instructed Sackett to:

"... conduct the appropriate investigation, having in mind the fact that it might be possible to develop facts concerning the Communist movement, and agents in this country. I made it clear that we were not interested in the investigation of the Mexican assault."

The investigation into the activities of the GPU was motivated exclusively by the pressing domestic and foreign policy interests of the US Government on the eve of its intervention in the Second World War.

Following the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact in August 1939, the policies of the Kremlin bureaucracy temporarily clashed with the immediate interests of the American ruling class. In the interests of an accommodation with Hitler, Stalin had been obliged to abandon his former counterrevolutionary alliance with the democratic imperialists.

To prove his sincerity to Hitler, Stalin instructed the satellite Communist Parties of Europe and the United States to temporarily engage in "anti-war" activities against the war measures and preparations of the ruling class in their countries. There was nothing principled about this position, which in no way resembled the historic policy of revolutionary defeatism fought for by Lenin during World War I. Stalin's policy was merely a shift of alliances from democratic imperialism to fascist imperialism. This shift was entirely in line with the bankruptcy of the bureaucracy's reactionary program of "socialism in one country."

Nevertheless, the sudden transformation of the American Communist Party from the most grovelling supporter of Roosevelt into a "left" opponent of his war preparations annoyed the ruling class. It therefore intensified its investigation of GPU activities.

The FBI was well aware of the fact that the bulk of GPU activities in the Americas was concentrated between 1937 and 1940 on organizing the assassination of Trotsky. It focussed its attention on the GPU apparatus involved in the murder plot not to stop the assassination — which the US Government eagerly awaited — but only to uncover the *modus operandi* and personnel of Soviet agents.

It was in this way that the name Joseph Hansen first came to the attention of the FBI.

By the 24th of September, 1940, Hansen had made his critical maneuver. This is recorded in a letter dated September 25, 1940, from Consul Shaw to R.E. Murphy of the State Department:

"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."

Shaw went on to report that Hansen:

"... wishes to be put in touch with someone in your confidence in New York to whom confidential information could be imparted with impunity."

When Murphy replied on September 28, 1940, he told Shaw:

"I would suggest that Mr. Hansen be informed that he get in touch with Mr. B.E. Sackett, Room 607, United States Court House, Foley Square, New York City, and use that office as a liaison. Mr. Sackett, agent in charge of the New York District of Federal Bureau of Investigation through its office in Washington is developing the investigation of the Trotsky case in the United States."

The significance of Murphy's referral of Hansen to Sackett is obvious. The State Department evaluated Hansen as an informer and he was therefore shuttled over to the man in the FBI in charge of handling informers — B.E. Sackett.

Both the State Department and the FBI considered Hansen's overtures to McGregor to be a major breakthrough in the investigation of GPU activities.

This is because the FBI was in possession of information connecting Hansen with a gang of GPU killers in Mexico.

On October 1, 1940, Hoover personally wrote a letter to B.E. Sackett, advising him on the procedures to be used when meeting with Joseph Hansen. We quote below this extraordinary letter:

"Dear Sir:

"Information has been received through the State Department that Joseph Hansen, secretary to the late Leon Trotsky, is leaving Mexico City shortly for New York City where he intends to

conduct some independent investigation into the assassination of Trotsky. He has requested advice from the State Department as to whom he can contact to furnish any information that he may develop, and he is being advised by the State Department to contact the New York City Office.

"According to the State Department, there are three different groups in Mexico City furnishing information regarding the Trotsky murder, which groups appear to be operating at cross purposes, and information has further been supplied by the State Department to the effect that Hansen and his associates liquidated George Mink six months ago, shortly before the first attack on Trotsky in May of 1940, by tying Mink up and throwing him into a crater some thirty miles from Mexico City.

"Should Hansen call at the New York Office, he should be handled tactfully and all information which he can supply and his assistance in this investigation should be obtained. No information, of course, should be furnished him concerning the progress of the investigation by the Bureau. However, every attempt should be made to determine the truth of the report concerning George Mink.

Very truly yours,
John Edgar Hoover
Director"

Even before the International Committee obtained this document through the Freedom of Information Act, it had totally rejected Hansen's claim that he was investigating Trotsky's death.

First, the International Committee established conclusively that Hansen never received any authorization from the SWP to conduct negotiations with the US Government.

Second, the policy of the SWP in that period was not to supply confidential information to the FBI but to publicly pursue its investigation into Trotsky's assassination and publish its findings.

The fact that Hansen was acting as an informer is proven simply on the basis of his collaboration with the State Department and Sackett.

But Hoover's reference to Hansen's involvement in the murder of George Mink completely exposed Hansen's game as a double agent.

George Mink was a notorious GPU agent who functioned as a hit-man for the Stalinists. He was a political thug who had a record of killings that would have compared favorably with that of Al Capone. The fate of Mink has always remained a mystery, but it is known that by 1940 his activities had become too public for the GPU's liking.

It is highly probably that the GPU did liquidate Mink in 1940. His arrival in Mexico in the spring of 1940 had been widely publicized and the GPU doubtlessly feared that his presence might jeopardize the success of the plot to assassinate Trotsky.

But of far greater importance than the fate of Mink is the suspicions of the State Department and the FBI that Hansen was involved in this alleged killing.

It is absolutely clear that the FBI did not associate Hansen with the killing of Mink in his capacity as Leon Trotsky's secretary.

Had the FBI believed the SWP to be involved in the murder of Mink, an American citizen, it would have questioned James P. Cannon and other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party.

Hoover wanted Hansen questioned to find out more about the murder of Mink and the methods of Stalinist agents in the United States. No information was to be given to Hansen.

Why would Hoover have advised Sackett to question Hansen tactfully about his possible involvement in a murder unless he knew he was dealing with a potential defector from the GPU from whom information could be solicited? In short, Hoover told Sackett: **Make a deal with Hansen. Offer to wipe the slate clean on his activities as a GPU agent, including his involvement in Mink's killing, provided he gives us information.**

On October 23, 1940, Hansen informed Shaw by letter that he had received his instructions concerning Sackett "and shall visit him shortly."

The meeting with Sackett in Room 607 of the United States Court House at Foley Square certainly consummated Hansen's conversion into a double agent. Hansen was not only back in business: in the world of police agents, he enjoyed a very special status — invaluable to both the Stalinists and the imperialists.

As long as Hansen worked as a provocateur inside the Fourth International, neither the GPU nor the FBI wanted him out of action — even if neither agency was entirely sure to whom he owed his principal loyalty.

As far as Hansen was concerned, his new role as a double agent soon began to pay dividends. When the FBI swooped down upon the SWP in June 1941, indicting 18 of its leaders for subversive activities under the Smith Act, Joseph Hansen was not touched even though he was by then a member of its Political Committee and the editor of *The Militant*.

Even more significant is the way Hansen survived the post World War II roundup of GPU agents in the United States. As we pointed out before, Hansen was one of three key GPU agents inside the Fourth International who played decisive roles in organizing the assassination of Trotsky. The other two were **Sylvia Franklin**, who infiltrated the national headquarters of the SWP and became the personal secretary of Party-founder James P. Cannon, and **Mark Zborowski** who infiltrated the European center of the Trotskyist movement in Paris in the mid-1930s.

Sylvia Franklin's GPU connections came to light in 1946 when Stalinist Louis Budenz defected from the Communist Party and became an FBI informer. He was soon talking and writing about a GPU plant in Cannon's office. Franklin suddenly disappeared in 1947 — and the SWP covered up for her by faking a control commission report which, without ever mentioning her name or publicly refuting Budenz' charges, cleared Franklin. But for the next 13 years, Franklin was continuously referred to in Government inquiries as a one-time GPU agent and finally, in 1960, a Federal Grand Jury named her as an unindicted co-conspirator in the spy trial of master GPU agent Robert Soblen.

As for Zborowski, he was brought into the United States through the combined efforts of George Novack — Hansen's closest ally in the SWP and Lola Estrine Dallin. Shortly after arriving in the United States, he once again took up spying for the Stalinists and his field of operations remained the Fourth International.

During the late 1940s and early 1950s, Zborowski used his connections to wheedle his way into respectability as a high-powered anthropologist with a big university position. The man who organized the killing of four Trotskyist leaders in 1937-1938, including Trotsky's son Leon Sedov, scored his greatest academic triumph with the book, *Life is with People*.

But eventually the FBI came knocking on his door, and in 1955 Zborowski was indicted for lying about his association with top GPU agent Jack Soble.

Hansen, however, never had to suffer the professional indignity of handcuffs and the exploding flashbulbs of newspaper photographers. This is because he continued to provide the FBI with three invaluable services.

The first was a non-stop flow in information concerning the activities of the Trotskyist movement in the United States and internationally.

The second was the systematic disruption of the work of the Fourth International through Hansen's ceaseless undercover warfare against the International Committee. The highpoint of Hansen's disruption came in 1963 when he carried through the split of the SWP with the International Committee and thus the principles of Trotskyism. Hansen could never have carried out this foul disruption had it not been for the disgraceful capitulation of older leaders of the SWP such as James P. Cannon and Farrell Dobbs. It cannot be excluded that Hansen was assisted by other highly-placed police agents in the SWP. But he played the leading role, and following the split set out to liquidate the cadres of the Trotskyist movement wherever he could. His activities had a particularly disastrous impact in Latin America, where thousands of young Trotskyists were led to their deaths as a result of the adventurist policies sponsored by the provocateur Hansen.

The third and most vital service performed by Hansen was his assembling over a period of nearly two decades of an international network of police agents whose function has been attempted subversion of the entire Trotskyist movement.

By 1961 Hansen had become the principal leader of the SWP. Under his patronage the SWP was inundated with FBI informers. It was Joseph Hansen who sponsored the virtual takeover of the SWP by a group of 11 college students recruited mysteriously into the SWP in the mid-1960s from a prestigious middle-class ivory tower called Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota.

This group includes the present SWP national secretary, Jack Barnes; the editor of *Intercontinental Press*, Mary-Alice Waters; the associate editor of *The Militant*, Cindy Jaquith; and seven other members of the SWP national committee: Doug Jenness, Larry Seigle, Caroline Lund, Elizabeth

Stone, John Benson, Dan Styron (who committed suicide last April), and Barbara Matson. Another leading member of the SWP, Paul Eidsvik is also a graduate from Carleton College.

The network of agents constructed by Hansen inside the Socialist Workers Party was considered so important by US imperialism, that in 1978 Attorney General Griffin Bell defied a court order instructing him to release the names of 18 informers inside the SWP. In November 1978, US Attorney Robert Fiske defended Bell by declaring that the exposure of FBI agents inside the SWP would cause "incalculable damage to the nation's ability to protect itself."

From his base of operations in the New York headquarters of the SWP, Hansen painstakingly assembled an international network of agents. He founded the magazine *Intercontinental Press* after the split with the International Committee. The purpose of this magazine was to provide a cover for the recruitment of CIA agents all over the world whose full-time occupation is the attempted destruction of the Trotskyist movement and sinister police provocations against the oppressed masses internationally.

The most notorious of these agents, now exposed, was the Nicaraguan provocateur, Fausto Amador. This man was a renegade from the Sandinistas and informer for Somoza who was recruited by Hansen and billed in *Intercontinental Press* as a "leading Latin American Trotskyist."

Hansen sought desperately to block his exposure as an FBI double agent. His last act of desperation was to attempt to intimidate the International Committee through the assassination of Tom Henehan, a Political Committee member of the Workers League, on October 16, 1977.

We have no doubt whatsoever that the man who helped the GPU murder Trotsky would not shrink from helping the FBI and CIA assassinate a 26-year-old leader of the Workers League. Following Henehan's death, the SWP never once condemned the murder. *The Militant* never even reported it.

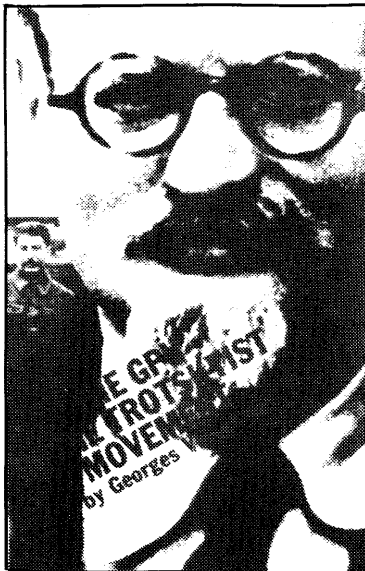
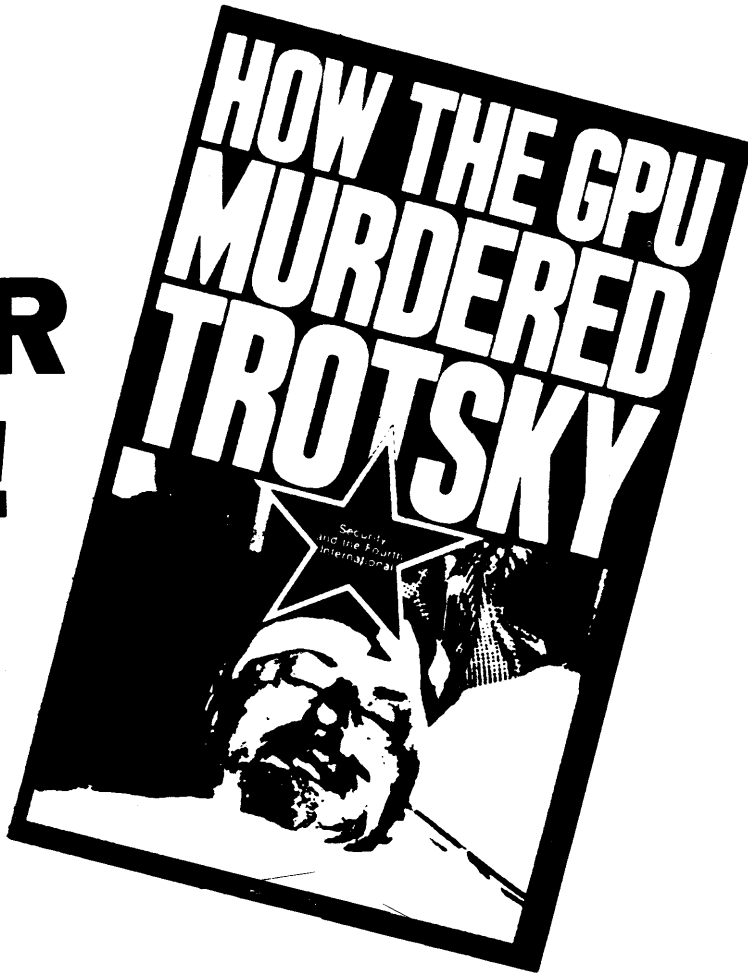
The agent Hansen went to his death on January 18, 1979 without having ever answered the evidence proving his role as an FBI double agent.

It is historically symbolic that this life-long agent of counterrevolution, a miserable lackey of Stalinism and imperialism, should have breathed his last almost the very moment that the most important political puppet of imperialism — the Shah of Iran — was fleeing the onslaught of the revolution.

Nor is this a mere coincidence. The exposure of Hansen and the collapse of the Shah have a very real historical interconnection. The process which unites both developments is the mighty advance of the world revolution to which Leon Trotsky dedicated his life.

The International Committee has been able to expose not only Hansen but also a considerable portion of the police network he set up because of the powerful material growth of the world revolution and the conscious struggle of its leadership to build the Trotskyist parties that will ensure its victory.

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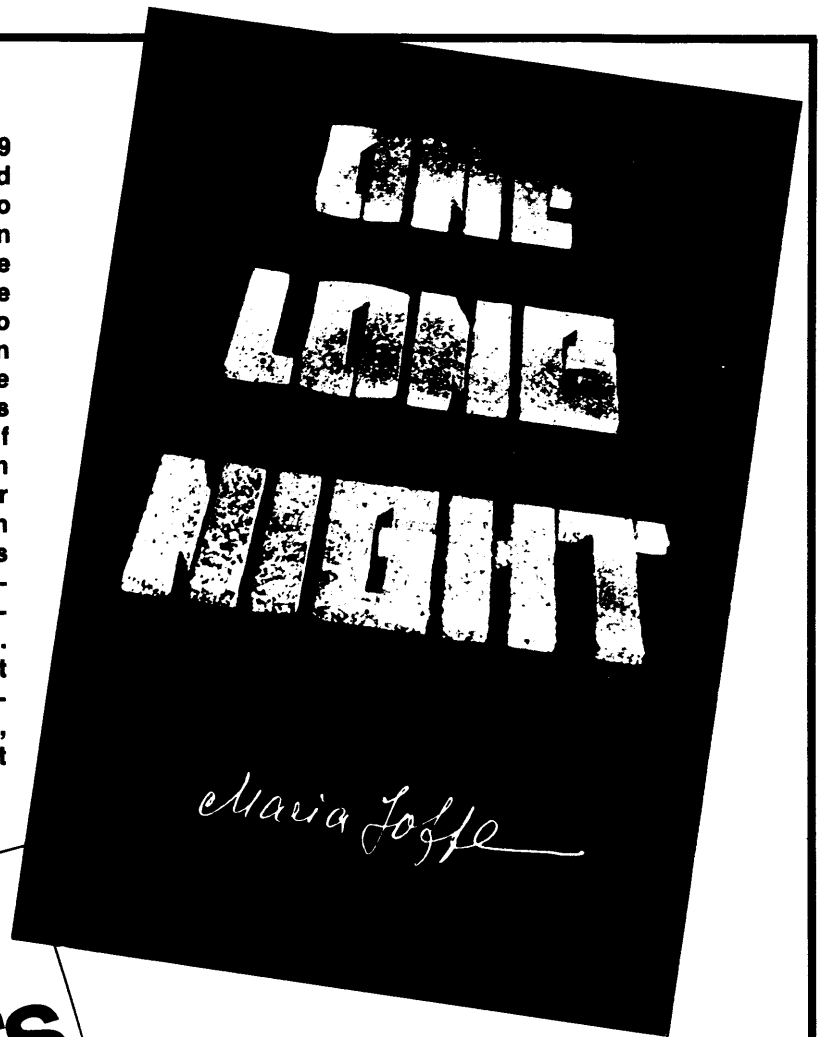
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CELEBRATE THE CENTENARY OF TROTSKY'S BIRTH!

1. On the centenary of the birth of Leon Trotsky, the Workers League continues the struggle to which Trotsky dedicated his life, the resolution of the crisis of revolutionary proletarian leadership for the world socialist revolution. The Workers League pledges to carry forward the resolution of the 8th Congress of the International Committee of the Fourth International,* to transform the sections of the IC into the genuine nucleus of the world party of socialist revolution.

The prolonged death agony of imperialism, which began with the outbreak of the First World War, has now reached the stage, as shown in Iran and Nicaragua, of the greatest revolutionary struggles in history. Victory requires a party based on the history, traditions and principles of the Great October Revolution.

2. The October Revolution was made possible only through the relentless struggle by Lenin over more than 15 years to build a party based on the world outlook of Marxism, dialectical materialism. The greatest revolution in all history, as Trotsky later pointed out, was led by the party that began, not with bombs but with dialectical materialism. Only the Bolsheviks, in the course of long struggle against all forms of opportunism and revisionism, created a leadership that rose to the level of the tasks of the epoch of wars and revolutions.

This is the party which in 1917 overcame the ideological pressure of the enemy class within its own ranks. Lenin defeated those Old Bolsheviks who continued to hold onto the slogan of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry after it had been superseded by the February Revolution and the overthrow of the Tsarist autocracy.

The position of the Old Bolsheviks led by Stalin and Kamenev meant in practice support for the Mensheviks and the bourgeois Provisional Government. Lenin's grasp of the nature of the epoch, elaborated in his analysis of imperialism, enabled him to recognize the correctness of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, which the latter had formulated in 1906-1907 in the aftermath of the 1905 Revolution. It was only Lenin's party which could actualize this theory. Simultaneously, in 1917 Trotsky came to a complete recognition and acceptance of Lenin's 14-year struggle against Menshevism and all brands of conciliation toward revisionism in the fields of theory, politics and organization. From that moment in May 1917 on,

* The Workers League is in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International, but is barred from membership by the reactionary Voorhis Act.

Resolution of the Central Committee of the Workers League

there was as Lenin said "no better Bolshevik" than Trotsky.

3. Lenin and Trotsky led the working class to victory in Russia as the opening shot of the world socialist revolution. The October Revolution was the product, not of peculiar Russian conditions, but of the world contradictions of capitalism expressed on Russian soil. The Bolsheviks proceeded to found the Third International (Comintern) against the Social Democratic traitors whose capitulation to their own ruling classes at the start of World War I in 1914 caused the collapse of the Second International. The policies of the Comintern were based on the historic crisis of capitalism and the fundamental strategical goal of world revolution which determined the tactics of all national sections.

As Trotsky would later explain:

"The basic principles of revolutionary strategy were naturally formulated since the time when Marxism first put before the revolutionary parties of the proletariat the task of the conquest of power on the basis of the class struggle. The First International, however, succeeded in formulating these principles, properly speaking, only theoretically, and could test them only partially in the experience of various countries. The epoch of the Second International led to methods and views according to which, in the notorious expression of Bernstein, 'the movement is everything, the ultimate goal nothing.' In other words, the strategical task disappeared, becoming dissolved in the day-to-day 'movement' with its partial tactics devoted to the problems of the day. Only the Third International re-established the rights of the revolutionary strategy of communism and completely subordinated the tactical methods to it. Thanks to the invaluable experience of the first two Internationals, upon whose shoulders the Third rests, thanks to the revolutionary character of the present epoch and the colossal historic



Lenin and Trotsky. In October and in the Communist International, their names were linked inseparably with the world revolution.

*experience of the October Revolution, the strategy of the Third International immediately attained a full-blooded militancy and the widest historical scope." ("Strategy and Tactics in the Imperialist Epoch," *The Third International After Lenin*, New Park, pp. 57-8)*

The Third International set out to establish the complete political and ideological independence of the working class internationally, to resolve the crisis of proletarian leadership and extend the October Revolution. The famous "21 Points," which established the conditions for membership in the Comintern, was a political declaration of war against all forms of centrism, opportunism and revisionism in the international working class movement. It was the profound conviction of every revolutionary Marxist that this world strategy was the only way forward. Millions of the most advanced workers around the world were won to the Comintern on this perspective. In October, and in the Communist International, the names of Lenin and Trotsky were linked inseparably and forever with the world revolution.

4. Immediately after the revolutionary victory, the first workers' state was thrown into the battle for survival against the forces of internal counterrevolution and world imperialism. In the space of one year, Trotsky built the Red Army of 5 million workers and peasants to decisively defeat the White Armies and the 14 imperialist armies of intervention. The Soviet masses sacrificed millions of lives to secure victory. Bolshevism was shown in action to be the expression of the historic interests and the movement of the working class and the oppressed masses in Russia and all over the world.

The new state, mobilizing the peasant masses under the leadership of the working class organized in the Bolshevik Party, was required to regulate the antagonism between these two major classes on which the Revolution rested. The defeats of revolution in Germany and Hungary, combined with the devastation caused by the Civil War and foreign intervention, forced upon the Revolution the policy of militarization of the economy, known as War Communism. By 1921 this policy had to be superseded by the New Economic Policy, a conscious retreat which allowed the development of private capital within the framework of the monopoly of foreign trade and the planned economy, to make possible a revival of the economy. The principal cause of this retreat was the delay in the social revolution in the West. But the NEP was in no way a retreat from internationalism and the struggle for world revolution. However, the NEP unavoidably deepened the tendencies toward the growth of bureaucratism in the Party and state apparatus. Lenin was compelled to characterize the Soviet Union as a workers' state with bureaucratic deformations. He immediately took up the struggle against the growing bureaucratism. Lenin and Trotsky, recognizing its objective material basis, fought it by working to strengthen the alliance of the proletariat and poor peasantry through a policy of planned industrialization, while preparing to break the isolation of the Soviet state through victorious revolution abroad.

5. The political struggles within the Bolshevik Party were the reflection of conflicting class forces. The bureaucracy grew out of petty bourgeois layers strengthened by the NEP, and wide sections of the Party itself who had been taken out of the



Trotsky seated at the center of a group of Oppositionists on their way to exile in 1928.

productive sector and placed in the state apparatus. The function of these cadres, in many cases the most able in the Party, was to regulate the distribution of limited resources. Under conditions of generalized want this led inevitably to the growth of inequality. From the leadership of the Bolshevik Party came those, above all Stalin, who through their narrow national outlook and empiricists' contempt for theory became the spokesmen for this rising privileged caste. Lenin and Trotsky, on the other hand, based themselves on the historic interests of the working class and the world revolution to wage a conscious struggle against bureaucracy. The illness and death of Lenin, together with the defeat of the German Revolution in 1923, brought the struggle in the Party to a new stage. The platform of the 46, in October 1923, expressed the struggle of the Marxist forces in the party for democratic centralism against the growing bureaucracy. This opposition coalesced around Trotsky, who with the publication of *The New Course* in the autumn of 1923, took up Lenin's last struggle for the continuity of Bolshevism against the bureaucracy. In his Testament, Lenin specifically warned of the danger of degeneration of the Soviet state, pointed to the vast potential of abuse of power concentrated in Stalin's hands, and called for Stalin's removal as General Secretary.

6. The defeat of the Left Opposition between the years 1924-1927 marked the Soviet Thermidor. The tendencies of bureaucratism were transformed into a growing privileged and uncontrolled caste hostile to socialism and the working class. From an unreliable but necessary servant of the young workers' state, the bureaucracy

turned into the master of the working class. The growing self-confidence of the bureaucracy was given theoretical expression in the formula of "Socialism in One Country," put forward by Bukharin and adopted by Stalin in the months following Lenin's death. For the first time in the history of Bolshevism the position was advanced that it was possible to achieve the victory of socialism in a single country. This was a complete break from Marxism, the Leninist conception of the epoch, and from the whole work of the first four Congresses of the Comintern. As Trotsky explained, this open attack on internationalism would have been unthinkable as long as Lenin was alive. From this point on the battle waged against Stalinism, for the permanent revolution against socialism in one country, was a life and death matter for the working class.

We repeat: Trotsky's struggle against the bureaucratic degeneration of the Bolshevik Party and the Stalinization of the Comintern represented the continuity of Leninism. Just as Trotsky was Lenin's greatest disciple Lenin, had he lived through the 1920s, would have been the first Trotskyist. All of Lenin's historic contributions — his ruthless war against social opportunism, the irreconcilable contradiction which he revealed between bourgeois democracy and the proletarian dictatorship, his analysis of the imperialist epoch as one of wars and revolutions, his insistence on the decisive role of dialectical materialism in the revolutionary movement — found their enrichment and elaboration in the struggles of Leon Trotsky.

7. The ten years of struggle of the Left Opposition, 1923 to 1933, against bureaucratic centrism, were marked by the successive defeats of the international working class because of the bankruptcy of the Stalin leadership and the betrayals of Social Democracy. The period following the defeat in Germany was marked by continuous struggles of the working class, in China and Britain in particular. Basing himself on the reactionary national-chauvinist perspective of socialism in one country, Stalin abandoned the fight for the independent mobilization of the working class and subordinated the proletariat to petty bourgeois forces. In Britain the Comintern tied the Communist Party to the policy of support for the Anglo-Russian Committee which paralyzed the revolutionary movement during the 1926 General Strike and assisted in the betrayal of that struggle by the trade union bureaucracy. A decisive opportunity to break the isolation of the workers' state was lost. The defeat, stemming from the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy, in turn reinforced and strengthened that bureaucracy. In China, in 1925-1927, Stalin's policy took an even more deadly course. The Comintern revived the reactionary Menshevik theory of the two-stage revolution, liquidating the Chinese Communist Party into the bourgeois Kuomintang, making Chiang Kai-shek an honorary member of the Communist International and paving the way for the massacre of more than 50,000 workers and communists in 1927. These international defeats were the product of Stalin's subordination of the world revolution to the interests of the bureaucracy.

Inside the Soviet Union the policy of building up the kulak exploded in the face of the regime, with the direct attack by the rich peasants on the state and the economy. This threat to the entire foundation of the workers' state, the planned economy and the bureaucracy's own privileges forced a 180 degree turn in policy. Stalin turned against the kulak, pragmatically adopting bits and pieces of the Opposition program and embarking on the frenzied bureaucratic adventure of forced collectivization. The adventurist liquidation of the kulaks as a class, flowing out of the bankrupt perspective of socialism in one country, wreaked havoc on the Soviet economy, the effects of which are felt to this day.

8. The ultra-left turn was mechanically extended to the Comintern in the form of the so-called "Third Period." Communist Parties were instructed to follow identical adventurist policies all over the world. Separate Red Trade Unions were set up to split the ranks of the mass organizations of the working class. This action weakened the working class at the outset of the great world depression. In Germany the Third Period meant labeling the Social Democrats as "social-fascist." Behind this ultra-left demagoguery was the bureaucracy's deep skepticism about the revolutionary role of the international proletariat and the capacity of the working class in Germany to defeat Hitlerism. As Trotsky explained, the slogan, "After Hitler, Us!" implicitly made fascism the agency of historical progress. By claiming that the victory of fascism would hasten the socialist revolution, Stalin relegated to Hitlerism the tasks which were the responsibility of the Third International. Against this, the International Left Opposition fought at every point for the revolutionary policy of the united front, to win the masses away from the Social Democratic traitors, re-arm the Communist Party and prepare the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The defeat in Germany was a crucial turning point. Decisive here is the revolutionary method of Trotsky. He fought every inch of the way, first against bureaucratism in the party and the state apparatus, then the development of the privileged caste itself, its ruinous policies in the Soviet Union and internationally, and its consolidation of its grip on the state, the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International. As long as the struggle in Germany remained undecided, as long as there remained the possibility that the struggle of the Left Opposition could snatch victory from the jaws of defeat, Trotsky fought to reform the Communist International. He remained both a staunch proponent of the Comintern and for that very reason an implacable enemy of Stalinism, even in the face of mass expulsions, exile and imprisonment of the Opposition. He no less decisively called for a break in March 1933, when the Comintern defended its policies in Germany up to and after Hitler's coming to power. During this period Trotsky opposed both the sectarians, who took as their point of departure not the historical experiences of the working class but their own disappointments, and the centrists who claimed that the bureaucracy was carrying out the policies of the Opposition. History showed that these errors were

often made by the same people. The common method, the rejection of Marxism in favor of impressionism and the rejection of the revolutionary role of the working class, represented capitulation to imperialism and its Stalinist agents.

9. The next five years, the preparation for the founding of the Fourth International, were decisive in the training of cadre. The fight for the continuity of Bolshevism required swimming against the stream. Trotsky never made the slightest concession, however, to revisionist skeptics who resigned themselves to defeat. This was not an epoch of counterrevolution but a deepening of the period of imperialist decay, of tremendous revolutionary struggles and possibilities, cruelly betrayed by Stalinism and Social Democracy. The world was aflame with revolution. The disintegration of world capitalism was accompanied by the historic upsurge and general strike in France, the Spanish Revolution, the CIO movement in the US, the indomitable revolutionary struggle including the Long March in China, the struggles of the Ethiopian and Indian masses against imperialism, and the birth pangs of Arab and Palestinian nationalism against the emerging Zionist menace. Again and again the masses came forward only to be betrayed to fascism and imperialism. Under these conditions, Trotsky waged an uncompromising struggle not only against Stalinism but against all forms of centrist capitulation to the bureaucracy. These forces included the fake lefts of the London Bureau, the SAP of Germany, the Spanish POUM led by Andres Nin, Sneevliet of the Dutch RSAP and Pivert of the PSOP of France, as well as the sectarians such as Vereeken, who despite his loyal devotion to the working class movement and his uncompromising hatred for Stalinism, refused to understand the necessity to found the Fourth International.

Trotsky's struggle against centrism was an irreplaceable component of his struggle against Stalinism. As Trotsky insisted in February 1934, "For a revolutionary Marxist, the struggle against reformism is now almost fully replaced by the struggle against centrism." (*Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1933-1934*. Pathfinder, p. 235)

In response to the movement of the masses and Trotsky's struggle for a new international, Stalinism was driven headlong into the arms of imperialism. The 1935 Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, known as the Congress of Liquidators, adopted the popular front policy of alliance with democratic imperialism against the working class. Now Stalin came forward openly as the defender of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state. Inseparable from this counterrevolutionary policy was the extermination of the Old Bolsheviks. The Moscow frame-up trials, in which all the leaders of the October Revolution were imprisoned and executed, were set up to guarantee the western democracies that there would be no return to Bolshevism. Tukhachevsky and all the other major leaders of the Red Army were shot in order to assure the Nazis that the Soviet Union represented no threat to them. The main defendants at the Moscow Trials were Leon Trotsky and his son Leon Sedov. In exile, they were tried and condemned **in absentia**.

10. On the eve of the mass purges Trotsky completed the *Revolution Betrayed*, his monumental analysis of the Soviet bureaucracy. Trotsky proved that Soviet Bonapartism represented a bureaucratic degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but that the bureaucracy had not been able to develop new property relations. The dictatorship of the proletariat remained intact although the bureaucracy usurped all political power from the working class. It was a parasitic caste but not a new class. He therefore called for a political revolution to destroy the bureaucracy and to defend and develop the nationalized property and all the basic conquests of the October Revolution. This scientific analysis stands unchallenged and irrefutable to this day. It is the basic theoretical capital to guide the international working class and its vanguard in the struggle to destroy Stalinism and imperialism. Trotsky followed this analysis of Stalinism with a devastating exposure of all the lies and slanders spewed forth at the Moscow Trials. In exile in Coyoacan, Mexico, Trotsky testified in 1937 before the Dewey Commission and turned the tables on his Stalinist accusers. The independent commission of inquiry found Trotsky and his son not guilty and established that the Moscow Trials were the most monstrous frameups in history.

11. As Trotsky was assembling the forces to found the Fourth International, the Stalinist murder machine was infiltrating the Trotskyist movement all over the world in preparation for carrying out the verdicts of the Moscow frame-up trials. Tens of thousands of Trotskyists heroically met their deaths inside the Soviet Union. In Western Europe, on the eve of the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938, leading Trotskyists were systematically assassinated. These victims included two of Trotsky's secretaries, Erwin Wolf and Rudolf Klement, GPU defector Ignace Reiss, and Trotsky's son Leon Sedov, who was killed in Paris in February, 1938. One of Stalin's key agents, Marc Zborowski, was the representative of the Russian section of the Opposition and the virtual organizer of the Founding Conference. It was Zborowski who set up the assassination of Sedov and the other leading Trotskyists. In spite of these blows, however, the founding of the Fourth International on September 3, 1938, based on the *Transitional Program* written by Trotsky, was a historic victory for the international working class and a decisive step in maintaining the continuity of the October Revolution. It was likewise a defeat for the centrist and revisionist deserters, such as Isaac Deutscher, who opposed the founding of the Fourth International and capitulated to Stalinism. In the *Transitional Program* Trotsky explained the Fourth International's continuation of Bolshevism in the period of the deepening decay of imperialism marked by the rise of Stalinism and fascism:

"The present epoch is distinguished not for the fact that it frees the revolutionary party from day-

to-day work but because it permits this work to be carried on indissolubly with the actual tasks of the revolution.

*"The Fourth International does not discard the program of the old 'minimal' demands to the degree to which they have preserved at least part of their vital forcefulness. Indefatigably it defends the democratic rights and social conquests of the workers. But it carries on this day-to-day work within the framework of the correct actual, that is, revolutionary perspective. Insofar as the old, partial 'minimal' demands of the masses clash with the destructive and degrading tendencies of decadent capitalism — and this occurs at each step — the Fourth International advances a system of **transitional demands**, the essence of which is contained in the fact that ever more openly and decisively they will be directed against the very bases of the bourgeois regime. The old 'minimal program' is superseded by the transitional program, the task of which lies in the systematic mobilization of the masses for the proletarian revolution."*

12. The first major challenge to the basic principles of the Fourth International arose when the Stalin-Hitler pact was signed in 1939. The petty bourgeois opposition in the Socialist Workers Party, led by Burnham and Shachtman, had been willing to defend the Soviet Union when the bureaucracy's foreign policy was the alliance with democratic imperialism during the period of the Popular Front.

When, however, the bureaucracy signed the pact with Hitler, the middle class propagandists inside the SWP caved in to the moral indignation of bourgeois public opinion. They rejected Trotsky's scientific characterization of the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers' state. In place of this Marxist analysis the petty bourgeois renegades substituted reactionary theories of bureaucratic collectivism, state capitalism and even fascism, abandoning the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. This political shift against the defense of the USSR represented above all a rejection of the Leninist and Trotskyist conception of the epoch. The petty bourgeois minority replaced the perspective of the international working class extending the October Revolution and smashing capitalism with the perspective of a new totalitarianism which would last for an entire epoch. Trotsky showed in *In Defense of Marxism* the connection between the pragmatism of the opposition and its wholesale rejection of Marxist principles and revolutionary perspectives. Trotsky's fight in 1939-40 for the development of dialectical materialist theory as a guide to practice was his greatest contribution to the Marxist theory of knowledge and his last great struggle before his assassination by the GPU. This historic struggle against and defeat of revisionism on the eve of the second imperialist war laid the indispensable foundations for the subsequent struggles and development of the Fourth International.



Left to right: Trotsky's son and closest collaborator, Leon Sedov; secretary to Trotsky, Rudolf Klement; GPU defector Ignace Reiss; Erwin Wolf, another of Trotsky's secretaries — all murdered by Stalin.

13. The assassination of Leon Trotsky in 1940 was the crime of the century. The high point of the defeats of the world revolution, it was made possible by the penetration into the highest leadership bodies of the Fourth International of Stalinist agents such as Marc Zborowski, Sylvia Franklin and the late Joseph Hansen. The assassination represented a major blow to the working class. Imperialism and Stalinism recognized that Trotskyism was their most dangerous common enemy, and murdered the leader of the world revolution.

The greatest student and collaborator of Lenin, Trotsky combined revolutionary passion with scientific understanding and precision. Trotsky will be remembered forever as the co-leader of the October Revolution, founder of the first workers' state, builder of the Red Army and one of the principal leaders of the Communist International. His most heroic and imperishable contributions to the working class, however, were his struggles against Stalinism and his founding of the Fourth International, under conditions more difficult than any other revolutionist has ever faced. In his life he gave an example of revolutionary determination which will light up the pages of history for all time.

Even in the darkest hours of Stalinist repression and the rise of fascism, Trotsky never doubted for a moment the Marxist perspective of the death agony of world imperialism. He based himself on the whole history of capitalism and the development of the world revolution, not the temporary defeats or obstacles faced by the working class.

For Trotsky, the Soviet Union represented the dawn of a new epoch, proof of the power of the planned economy and the inexhaustible revolutionary determination of the proletariat. The betrayals of Stalinism reflected the desperation and weakness of imperialism. The bureaucracy was an agency of imperialism, an impediment to the development of the planned economy and the most vicious opponent of the world revolution. It was a transitory phenomenon, a parasitic excrescence arising from the delay of the world revolution. The sole agency of historical progress was the proletariat and the oppressed masses, not the bureaucratic apparatus. The Soviet Union was a transitional regime, where capitalism had been overthrown but socialism had not yet been built, and where the

bureaucracy was undermining the struggle for socialism every single day. The degenerated workers' state faced the alternatives of the advance to socialism through the overthrow of the bureaucracy and the extension of the revolution, or the restoration of capitalism through the counterrevolution assisted by Stalinism. Trotsky predicted and called for the political revolution to smash Stalinism, defend the planned economy and place the Soviet Union once again on the road to socialism. Of this fundamental perspective, nothing — not even a comma — is subject to revision.

Though constantly laboring under the shadow of a death sentence imposed upon him by the Kremlin gangsters, Trotsky inflicted a political blow to the bureaucracy from which it could never recover. Those sceptics and cynics and professional centrists who speak of Trotsky's "defeat" by Stalin demonstrate only their superficiality and political bankruptcy. Expressed in the difficulties and harshness of the conditions under which Trotsky worked were the vicissitudes of the world revolution. History has already rendered its verdict. The name and deeds of Stalin stink in every corner of the globe. So great was the stench he left behind after his death in 1953 that even his accomplices and heirs looked for a way to disengage themselves from the memory of "their beloved leader." In 1956, Khrushchev admitted that Stalin was a cold-blooded murderer whose Moscow Trials were based on false confessions extracted with threats and torture. In 1961, the bureaucracy removed Stalin from his public mausoleum and buried his corpse. But neither denunciations of the "cult of personality" nor reburial can provide the bureaucratic caste with a progressive historical role. It remains what Trotsky said it was: a ruthless and parasitic gang of usurpers who function as an agency of imperialism. Its inexorable destiny: overthrow via the political revolution of the Soviet masses. And as for its accomplices in the Stalinist parties throughout the world, they too face the political abyss. Their organizations are built upon the rotten structure of lies, crimes and cover-ups. The American Stalinists of the Communist Party can claim only this distinction: despite the smallness of their organization, they have a record of betrayals and crimes second to none.

To be a Trotskyist today — that is, an unflagging partisan of the International Committee of the

Fourth International, a member of the Workers League — is to march under the proudest revolutionary banner of all history.

*“The Fourth International builds its program upon the granite theoretical foundations of Marxism. It rejects the contemptible theoretical eclecticism which now dominates the ranks of the official labor bureaucracy of the different camps, and which most frequently serves as a cloak for capitulation to bourgeois democracy. Our program is formulated in a series of documents accessible to everyone. The gist of it can be summed up in two words: **PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP.**”*

14. These are the unshakeable theoretical principles upon which the International Committee of the Fourth International was founded 26 years ago, in struggle against Pabloite revisionism. The Pabloite perspective of centuries of deformed workers' states and imminent war-revolution was the rejection of the whole political legacy of Trotsky in favor of the same middle class despair which seized the Shachtman-Burnham opposition earlier.

Impatient with the development of the class struggle, Pablo, secretary of the Fourth International, capitulated to the pressures of imperialism. He could not grasp that the post-war restabilization of capitalism was the contradictory manifestation of the intensification of the historic crisis of world capitalism. Viewing the working class as the passive object of history, Pablo claimed that the Stalinist parties would be forced to “project a revolutionary orientation.” On the basis of this impressionism and idealism he demanded the liquidation of the Trotskyist movement into Stalinism. This revisionist challenge expressed the needs of imperialism and Stalinism in their deepest crisis, in the aftermath of the Second World War. The International Committee was formed in November 1953 at the initiative of the British, US and French Trotskyists to fight and defeat Pabloite revisionism. The Open Letter to All Orthodox Trotskyists rallied the forces within the Fourth International against Pablo's capitulation to Stalinism and imperialism.

15. The struggle against Pabloism in 1953 was the last great contribution of James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism. Also revealed in this struggle, however, were the weaknesses of Cannon's failure to develop dialectical materialist theory and practice as the basis of the struggle for power. This led, ten years after the break with Pablo, to the reunification of the Socialist Workers Party with the revisionists. Contained in the struggle to repulse Pabloite revisionism in 1953 were the seeds of a new and more profound struggle within the Fourth International.

Cannon took up the fight against revisionism in 1953 only after a truly hideous opposition to Marxism had arisen inside his own ranks. The American

Pabloites, led by Cochran and Clarke, openly and cynically repudiated every bit of Trotsky's heritage. They ridiculed the patient and persistent struggle to train cadres, sneered at the working class, and embraced the trade union bureaucracy and Stalinism. Cochran went on to become an adviser to the bureaucracy, the admiring biographer of Harry S. Truman, and the friend of Zbigniew Brzezinski. The real essence of Cochranism was the same American exceptionalism which has characterized every renegade from Marxism in the United States from the days of Jay Lovestone. Characteristic of all these brands of revisionism is the rejection of internationalism, above all the revolutionary role of the American working class as part of the world revolution. It is impossible to reaffirm belief in Trotsky's conception of the epoch unless one is profoundly convinced that imperialism will meet its doom at the hands of the working class in the US. Scepticism is bound up with the pragmatic method which combines the crassest impressionism with mechanical thinking, rejecting the law-governed dialectical process of social development.

In the hands of American pragmatism, revisionism is molded into its most hideous shapes and forms. It has always led directly to capitulation to the capitalist state. This was the path followed by Lovestone to the CIA, and Cochran to the bureaucracy, as well as that of James Robertson of the Spartacist sect, who has functioned as the errand boy and provocateur for the double agent Hansen, and Tim Wohlforth, the associate of the dubious Nancy Fields and the accomplice of Joseph Hansen.

The most instructive example of the role of pragmatism is the history of the degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party. Cannon and the SWP leadership lost all confidence in the working class and the principles of Trotskyism. This enabled the agents of imperialism and Stalinism roosting in the leadership of the SWP to take over that party completely. The historical record is clear: the degeneration of Cannon and the SWP leadership led to liquidationism and the takeover of that party by the agencies of counterrevolution; the continuous struggle of the International Committee against revisionism led to the building of new sections, the forging of alliances with the revolutionary forces in the national liberation movements, and the training of the leadership of the world revolution.

16. The history of the Workers League is the struggle against revisionism for the whole history of Trotskyism. The Workers League was founded out of the struggle against revisionism which led to the expulsion of the Trotskyists from the Socialist Workers Party 15 years ago. The development of the Workers League has taken place in the struggle against pragmatism and scepticism, in the struggle for the revolutionary perspective in the United States.

At the center of this has been the fight against the trade union bureaucracy and Stalinism for the building of a labor party to establish the political independence of the working class. From 1937 until



Comrade Tom Henehan. We are convinced that his assassination in October, 1977, was the work of Joseph Hansen's network of agents in the SWP.

his death in 1940, Trotsky, alongside all his other labors, acted as the teacher of the American working class, elaborating the perspective of the labor party. This struggle is taken forward only by the Workers League.

But no struggle has been more important than that waged by the Workers League alongside the International Committee to expose the workings of the whole combined Stalinist-imperialist conspiracy against the Fourth International. The historic investigation conducted by the International Committee of the Fourth International has decisively established the criminal continuity between the Stalinist GPU penetration of the Trotskyist movement in the 1930s and today's total domination of the SWP and revisionist organizations throughout the world by the FBI-CIA.

The connecting link between these two murderous agencies of counterrevolution — the GPU-KGB and the FBI-CIA — was the late Joseph Hansen. But the conspiracy did not die with Hansen. It is the FBI agents recruited off American campuses like Carleton College and trained by Joseph Hansen who presently run the SWP from its national headquarters in New York City. There is no crime they will not commit to maintain a position from which blows can be dealt to the Trotskyist movement. They enjoy unlimited backing from the

capitalist state. We are convinced that the assassination of Comrade Tom Henehan in October 1977 was organized by these agents to stop the investigation into Security and the Fourth International. In July, a supporter of the Workers League, Augustin Vielot, was shot dead in New York. And, just one day earlier, Comrade R.P. Piyadasa of the Sri Lankan section of the International Committee, was brutally murdered. These desperate attacks will achieve nothing.

The Workers League makes this solemn pledge: Alongside of the International Committee, we will expose all those agents before the masses and put an end for all time to the sinister fraud that the Socialist Workers Party and its satellite organizations have anything to do with the traditions and heritage of Trotskyism.

17. 1979 is the year of the centenary of Trotsky's birth. This anniversary must be the occasion for a truly international revolutionary celebration. How historically appropriate it is that the centenary year of the greatest strategist of the world revolution should have already been marked by the victories of two great revolutions! How to celebrate this historic anniversary? The Workers League and the Young Socialists will organize meetings and rallies throughout the United States to introduce the principles, teachings and policies elaborated by Trotsky through his struggle for the victory and defense of October, the defeat of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the founding of the Fourth International.

We will make this anniversary the basis for the founding of the most relentless struggle against Stalinism, which remains to this day the principal counterrevolutionary agency of world imperialism within the international workers movement, and we will intensify our campaign to expose the revisionist agents of the FBI-CIA. Above all, we will campaign tirelessly to tell the working class who we are and what we represent: that we stand on the principles and teachings of Leon Trotsky and that only the perspectives of the Fourth International — as advanced in 1938 and elaborated by the International Committee since 1953 — can provide the working class with a way out of the capitalist catastrophe. This campaign will be the driving force of all the essential tasks of Party building: mass recruitment, continuous education of trade unionists and youth, the launching of the first daily Trotskyist newspaper in the United States and the transformation of the Workers League into the Revolutionary Party. We call on all our members to mark the centenary of Trotsky's birth by making the history of Trotskyism live. Trotsky's theory must be the conscious guide to revolutionary practice for the taking of power.

Long live the teachings and example of Leon Trotsky!

Down with Stalinism, revisionism, centrism and American exceptionalism!

Long live the International Committee of the Fourth International!

Long Live the World Socialist Revolution!

September 16, 1979



HANSEN'S WORLD NETWORK EXPOSED!

by the International Committee of the Fourth International

The following are three articles on the FBI-CIA network of the late Joseph Hansen, double-agent and long time leader of the United States revisionist Socialist Workers Party.

Hansen died on January 18, 1979 but he left behind him an organization of carefully trained agents placed strategically inside the leadership of the revisionist groups throughout the world.

The headquarters of Hansen's operation was and remains the weekly magazine *Intercontinental Press* set up in 1963 and published in the New York City national offices of the SWP and with a special bureau in Paris.

It has been publicly established that there are more than 100 agents of the FBI presently functioning in the SWP. Wesley Swearingen, a recently retired 25-year veteran of the FBI has told the press that agents control the "highest offices" of the SWP.

A federal court ruled in March that the government cannot be compelled to release the names of the 18 FBI spies functioning in the leadership of the SWP. But here comes the irrefutable proof that the SWP is stage-managed by the FBI itself. SWP leaders have told the government that they will drop legal efforts to obtain the identities of FBI agents inside the organization in exchange for cash.

Since May 1975 the International Committee of the Fourth International has been conducting an investigation into Hansen's double-agent career.

Today we publish vital new chapters in the investigation showing the world-wide tentacles of Hansen's network in Latin America, Australia and Britain.

- Fausto Amador — Hansen's Latin American Caretaker
- Helen Jarvis — the Sydney-Jakarta Connection
- John Lister — the FBI's Oxford Attorney

1. Fausto Amador

— Hansen's Latin American Caretaker

The name Fausto Amador first appeared in *Intercontinental Press* in its issue of June 27, 1977.

He was the subject of a six-page interview headlined "How I Came to be a Trotskyist," and the introduction stated that Amador was "a former participant in the guerrilla struggle in Nicaragua."

Several days later, on July 1, 1977, Livio Maitan — a co-editor of *Intercontinental Press* and member of the United Secretariat* — sent an indignant letter to editor Joseph Hansen which he insisted be "published immediately."

This letter, which went unanswered, stated:

"I have read the interview with Fausto Amador that you published in your June 27 issue.

"I think that just reading this document must

have raised questions in the minds of more than a few comrades about the kind of character to whom you gave so much space.

"I also think that not very many people would take an indulgent attitude toward a man who left a movement fighting against bloody dictatorship, taking advantage of his family's ties with the dictator to comfortably return home, and then deliver political sermons before the reporters of a press that is one of the most corrupt in the world.

"I would hope, moreover, that no one thought that the murdered and tortured militants of the Sandinista Front had any lessons to learn from someone who shortly after returning to the bosom of his family became an embassy functionary, so that, as he informs us, he would not have to pay taxes and could 'live more easily in Brussels.'

"If I wanted to stir up the mud, I would ask you to publish the reports in the Managua press at the time when Amador says they reproduced his statements in part and did not totally falsify them.

* The "United Secretariat" was formed in 1963 to bring together the revisionist supporters of Michel Pablo who were expelled from the Fourth International in 1953 and those groups, particularly the SWP, which abandoned Trotskyism and split from the International Committee of the Fourth International in June 1963.



Fausto Amador, standing second from right, with a group of Sandinistas including his brother Carlos Fonseca Amador, extreme left.

"In his interview, he says, among other things, that although he was repelled by the bureaucratization in Cuba — oh, such an impeccable revolutionist! — he considered Cuba and the countries like it a thousand times preferable to the capitalist ones.

"Unfortunately, he launched foul and slanderous accusations in the press, claiming, for example, that in the USSR they pull workers' teeth without an anaesthetic.

"The least that might be considered is that such moves were unworthy and contrary to the interests of the people of Nicaragua.

"It is true that at a certain time, Amador had contacts with Trotskyists in France and Belgium. But as soon as it became clear how he had behaved, our comrades took their distance.

"Amador's claim that he is working in the Fourth International is absolutely false. He is not a member of any section or sympathizing organization. Nobody of the International has ever agreed to admit him. This must be absolutely clear."

To Maitan's protest was added an official remonstrations by the United Secretariat which, at the conclusion of its meeting on July 21-22, 1977, voted to send the following notice to Hansen:

"1. THAT the publication in the June 27, 1977, issue of IP and the June 20, 1977, issue of Perspectiva Mundial of the interview with F. Amador without prior consultation with the United Secre-

tariat, the Bureau, or even one of the associate editors (E. Mandel, L. Maitan, or P. Frank) represents an initiative that clearly goes against the type of functioning that should prevail for the production of such a document.

"2. THAT in explicitly asserting that Amador is a member of the Fourth International, the interview not only contains a falsification, but goes against the motions adopted by the United Secretariat ..."

If the co-editors of *Intercontinental Press* — Maitan, Ernest Mandel and Pierre Frank — entertained any illusion that their protest would carry some weight in New York, they were in for a big disappointment.

Hansen and his SWP colleagues on the *Intercontinental Press* editorial board had not made a mistake. They were in the middle of an operation.

Hansen's international agent-gathering network was moving fast and had just signed up a new recruit.

His name was Fausto Amador — one more among many. But the special importance of this case is that it lays bare the method of work of the *Intercontinental Press* network of imperialist agents created by Hansen on behalf of the FBI-CIA.

Once potential recruits came to his notice, Hansen would introduce them in *Intercontinental Press* as new "Trotskyist" leaders. In the United States secret service, this is called "opening doors."

For the Hansen-*Intercontinental Press*-SWP network, Amador was a prize catch. In terms of sheer

political loathesomeness, he was in a special class of traitors.

He betrayed countless former comrades among the guerrillas in the Sandinista Front — including his own brother, Carlos, who was murdered by the brutal Nicaraguan dictatorship in 1976.

Hated in his native Nicaragua, reviled as a deserter by the guerrillas of the Sandinista Front, renounced by his own brother before his death, Amador came to Hansen with hands already dripping with the blood of heroic fighters he had betrayed to the regime of Anastasio Somoza.

INTERVIEW

Amador's interview with *Intercontinental Press* reads like the autobiographical career resume of an applicant for the CIA.

The younger brother of a leading Sandinista fighter, Fausto Amador joined the guerrillas for a period but then fled Nicaragua to escape the repression.

He spent a "traumatic" two years in Cuba, feeling "revulsion at the bureaucratic methods" he witnessed.

Hansen's interviewer did not object to this attack on the Cuban government, which is remarkable considering the fact that the SWP has been the most uncritical admirer of Castroism.

Amador now decided that he wanted to return to Nicaragua, but not as a fighter. He broke with the Sandinistas as an out-and-out coward.

"When I started to get ready to return to Nicaragua, I realized that I had to be able to come back to some kind of legal existence in order to find new political alternatives and to think over and decide more fundamentally what I was going to do, what political course I was going to follow in the future.



Ex-dictator of Nicaragua, Somoza. Hansen's agent Fausto Amador worked to protect his despotic rule.

"In that period, I was rather strongly inclined to Maoism, but China's foreign policy gave me serious problems.

"In this situation, I managed to get in touch with my father, and discussed the question with him. He is a personal friend of the dictator and has managed his property for twenty-five years.

"He told me that he could easily get permission for me to return to a legal existence and secure a guarantee of my complete physical safety. It was under these conditions that I returned to Nicaragua." (Intercontinental Press, June 27, 1977, p. 743)

Once back in Nicaragua in 1969, Amador started spying and informing on the Sandinista Front. He called a press conference in which he denounced Cuba, attacked the Sandinistas, and called upon its fighters to surrender and throw themselves at the mercy of Somoza.

After listening to this disgusting narrative, the *Intercontinental Press* interviewer — or shall we call him recruiting officer — asked Amador if his interview with the press had turned his former comrades against him. "Make them consider you a traitor or something like that?"

"That, in fact, is what happened," replied Amador. "Prior to this, I was already in a tiny minority that opposed the guerrilla course, while engaging in the work of the organization. When I made my statements, all my comrades began to consider me a traitor to the Frente Sandinista.

"Carlos, who was jailed around that time in Costa Rica, said that he no longer considered me his brother. But at the same time, he called on me to return to the organization, which shows, obviously, that he did not consider me a traitor, since you could hardly call on a traitor to come back into the Frente.

"Nonetheless, in the general context, the results of the interview were disastrous.

"The consequences of this political error continued to affect me throughout that period, and still do. Many layers that have radicalized or come into left activity in the last two to four years don't know exactly how this incident came about.

"The only thing they know about is the old tale of betrayal. They don't really know what it was all about. And so this story continues to cause me a certain amount of trouble." (Intercontinental Press, June 27, 1977, p. 744)

In other words, *Intercontinental Press* was for Amador the last refuge of a political and moral leper. But we have not yet completed the chronology of Amador's adventures. His long odyssey to the eventual rendezvous with Hansen now took Amador from Nicaragua to London.

Striving hard to cleanse his reputation, Amador turned up at a Christmas party given by the Nicaraguan Embassy in London.

His next stop was on the European continent, arriving in Belgium in 1972.

"In Belgium, I got into direct contact with members of the Fourth International, but at the

same time another thing happened that caused me quite a few problems.

"My family offered to buy me a car. In order to avoid paying taxes on it, and without knowing for certain what they were doing, they had me named cultural attache at the Nicaraguan Embassy in Belgium.

"This appointment was a pure formality. My name was mud in the embassy and it still is to this day.

"The whole purpose of it was to be able to live more easily in Belgium — more peacefully and with guarantees of a certain type. And so I accepted this diplomatic post, when I was appointed to it.

"I thought that this was not a very important matter. I was not a member of any political party. I was a totally isolated individual. And so I thought taking this purely honorary post would not have any repercussions. This was a second big error, but it was one that could be rectified more easily." (*Intercontinental Press*, June 27, 1977, p. 74)

Eventually, in 1973, Amador resigned from the embassy in order to return to Nicaragua.

"Later on, my father told me I had been an idiot — which he repeats every time I see him — because he had managed to arrange it so I could come back to Nicaragua again.

"I had great difficulty in getting the papers for going back. It was only through my father's close friendship with Somoza that I was able to get a passport. So, normally I can enter Nicaragua without a lot of problems." (*Intercontinental Press*, June 27, 1977, p. 744)

PROBLEMS

Having introduced Amador as the new leader of the United Secretariat in Central America, Hansen now had to have him accepted by his "comrades" in the leadership of the international Pabloite organization.

It looked at first as though there were going to be serious problems. On March 24, 1977, the United Secretariat moved a resolution which declared that it:

"considers that the actions of Amador in 1969-1973 objectively aided the Nicaraguan dictatorship in its struggle against the Nicaraguan people. Such actions are incompatible with the defense of the interests of the working class and therefore incompatible with membership of the Fourth International."

The resolution insisted that:

"only after a clear public rejection made by Amador himself (specifically for the Central American public, and among other things, to be published in the paper of the OST, *Que Hacer?*) could the United Secretariat rediscuss the modalities of his integration in the Fourth International."

As Amador refused to respond to this demand, the United Secretariat wrote to his associate — a comrade Rodrigo — on June 29, 1977, just after the publication of the *Intercontinental Press* interview. The letter stated:

"We remind you that the resolution adopted by the United Secretariat asks for a declaration signed by F. Amador, and published in a Central American press organ.

"While taking security problems into account, it is up to F. Amador to choose the Central American publication that is the most adequate for publishing such a declaration on a broad scale.

"In the opinion of some comrades, the monthly magazine *Diagolo Social*, published in Panama, could be used for this purpose.

"We hope for a speedy application of the United Secretariat's recommendation."

Following its deliberations on July 21-22, 1977, the United Secretariat plucked up its courage and sent Hansen the following note (date July 25, 1977):

"Dear Joe,

"We enclose for your information:

"1. Two resolutions passed by the United Secretariat on July 22nd, 1977, concerning the publication in *Intercontinental Press* of the interview with Amador; and

"2. A copy of the letter, dated June 29th, 1977, from the United Secretariat Bureau to Comrade Rodrigo."

What was now to happen? The United Secretariat had branded Amador's actions as "incompatible with membership in the FI" while *Intercontinental Press* promoted him as a "leading Central American Trotskyist."

A clash would have seemed inevitable. But by the next meeting in late October, the "summer lions" of the United Secretariat had been transformed into "autumn sheep."

On October 31, 1977, during the last session of a three-day meeting of the United Secretariat, Comrade Aubin introduced the discussion on Costa Rica by reading a statement which had just been received from Fausto Amador:

"Although I have already stated publicly — in what I thought were clear terms — that I made two very grave political errors before becoming a Trotskyist, the charge has been made that in the context of my explanations of how I came to make the errors, my specification of the errors themselves was ambiguous."

Note the arrogance of Amador in the remark "in what I thought were clear terms." As far as he's concerned, the United Secretariat has no business sticking its nose into his affairs.

After all, he's been signed aboard by *Intercontinental Press* station-chief Hansen; and if anyone's got any complaints, they should take them up with New York!

However, "to clear this up" Amador deigned to "specify what the errors were":

"1. **GRANTING** a press conference in Managua on August 21, 1969 which the Somoza regime exploited;

"2. **ACCEPTING** the formal post of cultural attache at the Nicaraguan embassy in Brussels in 1972."

This statement did not even meet the requirements of the March 24 resolution of the United Secretariat. It was not a public statement for publication in a Central American newspaper. It was nothing more than a contemptuous sop to the Pabloite members attending the meeting of the United Secretariat.

Nevertheless, the minutes of the October 29-31 session of the United Secretariat meeting show that Aubin then introduced the following resolution.

"The statement of Comrade Amador of October 30, 1977 meets the conditions of the United Secretariat motion of March 24, 1977 (sic).

"His status is now the same as that of all members of organizations that have entered into fraternal relations with the Fourth International pending recognition by the next world congress, except for the probationary limitation recommended below.

"The United Secretariat recommends that for a probationary period of twelve months or until the eve of the next world congress, whichever is less, Comrade Amador function as a militant of the organization in the country in which he is residing, without accepting any national leadership posts."

VOTES

In July Aubin's vote was cast against the publicizing of Amador as a leader of the United Secretariat in Latin America. Now he had introduced the resolution aimed at whitewashing the whole affair.

A counter-motion was introduced by Claudio of the Colombia PST (Partido Socialista de Trabajadores) led by N. Moreno. It read:

*"The United Secretariat **decides** that the position it adopted at its March 24, 1977, meeting on the Amador case should be made public in the countries where a public polemic has occurred; **finds** the self-criticism of Amador insufficient because it does not recognize the error of having abandoned the struggle against a bloody dictatorship for a period of several years; **decides** that after he has made public his self-criticism, Amador will work with an organization of the Fourth International for a period of two years.*

"After this period, if the organization with which Amador has worked is in agreement, he will be readmitted as a member of the Fourth International with full rights."

The vote was then taken, and the majority supported the cover-up of the agent Fausto Amador.

Aubin's motion was passed by a vote of 14 to 4, with one abstention. Those recorded as voting for the

motion in the minutes of the October 29-31, 1977 meeting were: Adair, Aubin, Brewster, Celso, Duret, Frej, Hovis, Jones, Juan, Manuel, Riel, Roman, Susan, and Walter.

Those voting against were Claudio, Enrique, Fourier and Romero. Abstaining was Sylvain.

Claudio's motion was rejected 15 to 1. Voting **against** the motion were: Adair, Aubin, Brewster, Celso, Duret, Frej, Hovis, Jones, Juan, Manuel, Riel, Roman, Susan, Sylvain, and Walter. Voting **for** the motion was Claudio.

The three abstentions were Fourier, Enrique and Romero.

What happened between July 21-22 and October 29-31 to swing the vote around in support of Amador, Hansen's new agent in the United Secretariat?

The answer to this question lies not in the facts relating to Amador's case, but rather in new facts dealing with Hansen himself uncovered during that period by the International Committee of the Fourth International.

In the summer of 1977, the investigation conducted by the International Committee into the history of "Security and the Fourth International" had reached a crucial turning point.

The International Committee was able to arrive at two irrefutable conclusions about Hansen's role in the Fourth International.

The first conclusion was that Hansen had systematically lied about the extent of penetration by the Stalinist secret police (GPU) into the Fourth International and had deliberately covered up for agents like Sylvia Franklin, the private secretary of SWP founder James P. Cannon. She had been involved in the conspiracy to assassinate Trotsky.

The second conclusion was that Hansen himself had joined the FBI in September 1940 as an informer working inside the Trotskyist movement.

Before the assassination of Trotsky, on August 20, 1940, Hansen had been in association with members of the Stalinist GPU killer squad planning the murder — including the assassin himself: Ramon Mercader.

OPPORTUNISTS

As crass opportunists, the majority of the United Secretariat were determined to prevent the eruption of a scandal that would blow the lid off the spy ring working through Hansen inside the Pabloite ranks.

This position was openly stated by several members as they sought to explain their votes in favor of the whitewash of accepting Amador's activities. A statement by Walter and Manuel declared:

"We consider the motion insufficient because it does not repeat the judgment of the commission of inquiry, to wit, that the acts committed by Comrade Amador before he became a Trotskyist did grave harm to the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement.

"However, we vote for the motion to avoid an explosive public conflict which could be very damaging to the Fourth International."

The "Walter" who is so anxious to prevent the "explosive public conflict" that could result from a refusal to admit an agent into the leadership of the United Secretariat is none other than Ernest Mandel.

A similar position was stressed by Adair, who happens to be Alan Harris — an English Canadian who now lives in London and was trained by Hansen to be the SWP apparatchik in the United Secretariat.

"For the United Secretariat to demand from Comrade Amador more than his statement is unjustified and sets a dangerous precedent in our movement."

What is the dangerous precedent? That agents may be uncovered in the course of an investigation? Is it that Adair was frightened the setting of this "dangerous precedent" might produce a mass exodus from the SWP that would cut off the income of the organization's representatives overseas?

More likely, Adair was expressing a strongly held belief among those in attendance at the United Secretariat meeting: "Let's not start talking about agents because Hansen himself is implicated and the International Committee will be proven right."

This was precisely the position advanced by Maitan on July 1, 1977, when he wrote to Hansen:

"None of us wanted a public polemic over this whole distressing story. This could only discredit us and be exploited by our opponents."

In the final analysis, it was the rotten opportunism of the Pabloite leaders which played into Hansen's hands. They would rather live with Hansen's network of agents than subordinate themselves to the historic principles of Trotskyism.

They would betray their own members in Latin America rather than admit the truth about Hansen. And so the "delegates" moved onto the following motion:

"To instruct the Bureau to send a letter immediately to the PRT of Costa Rica — and any other Fourth International organization that wrote public polemics against Amador or the OST — telling them to cease and desist all such attacks and to co-operate in the defense of Amador, the OST, and the Fourth International against the Stalinists' slander campaign."

Fourteen voted in favor of the motion: Adair, Aubin, Celso, Duret, Fourier, Hovis, Jones, Manuel, Riel, Roman, Susan, Sylvain and Walter. No one voted against the motion and there were no abstentions.

Enrique and Romero are listed as "not voting," but it is not clear what the difference is between abstaining and not voting.

Among themselves, behind the backs of their membership in the different sections of the United Secretariat, the delegates admitted that they had voted to whitewash the Amador affair to head off a devastating scandal arising from the massive infiltration of FBI-CIA into their organization.

But they nevertheless passed a resolution which committed them to denounce any exposure of Amador as a Stalinist "slander campaign."

This position merely mirrors the method employed under Hansen's direction against the International Committee.

Privately, those who worked with Hansen and the *Intercontinental Press* network of agents knew they were dealing with a gang of police spies.

But publicly, the official position was that charges against Hansen were a "shameless frame-up." They all joined in a slander campaign orchestrated by Hansen against Comrade G. Healy of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

And among those who signed the fraudulent "Verdict" of September 1976 which denounced the campaign on Security and the Fourth International and which set out to frame Comrade Healy, **was none other than Fausto Amador.**

By the end of October 1977, the case on Fausto Amador was virtually closed. From having initially held that Amador's actions were incompatible with the Fourth International, the United Secretariat had arrived at a 14 to 0 vote imposing a gag rule on "Stalinist slanders" against Amador.

But Hansen ran into opposition from the Central Committee of the PST of Colombia, whose resolution on the Amador case was reported to the January 27-29, 1978 meeting of the United Secretariat.

"Whereas:

"1. The activities of Fausto Amador, which were the object of an investigation by the Fourth International, constituted acts of collaboration with the Somoza dictatorship.

"2. These acts disqualified Fausto Amador from exercising leadership posts in the Fourth International until a long period of testing demonstrated that he was morally capable of exercising them.

"3. The question of Fausto Amador is of enormous political importance in Central America, an importance that is multiplied by the present crisis shaking the region and particularly Nicaragua, so that any support given by the Fourth International to Fausto Amador places in danger the very existence of the Fourth International in Central America.

"4. The United Secretariat at its meeting of October 29-31, 1977, admitted Fausto Amador into our International with a status 'the same as that of all members of organizations that have entered into fraternal relations with the Fourth International pending recognition by the next world congress,' which means that in actuality he has been converted into a full member of our International.

"5. The same resolution accepts Fausto Amador's residing in Costa Rica.

"6. The only limitation established in said resolution is the 'recommendation' that 'for a probationary period of twelve months or until the eve of the next world congress ... Comrade

Amador function as a member ... without accepting any national leadership posts.'

"7. This final 'recommendation' is absolutely formal, since Fausto Amador has ample recourse to the mass media of Costa Rica where he is well-known as a sympathizer of the OST, and Intercontinental Press is trying to promote him on an international level by publishing articles bearing his signature.

"The CC of the PST resolves:

"1. To categorically reject the resolution of the United Secretariat with respect to Fausto Amador.

"2. To demand that the United Secretariat rectify the cited resolution and replace it with a different one along the following lines:

'In view of the fact that Fausto Amador acted as a collaborator of the Somoza dictatorship and was denounced as such by the heroic fighters of the Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional, the USec of the Fourth International resolves: not to admit Fausto Amador into the Fourth International, but test him for a minimum period of five years with rank-and-file tasks outside of Central America in a section of the Fourth International, and after this period has passed to rediscuss his entrance.'

"3. To repudiate IP's (Intercontinental Press) policy of promoting the figure of Fausto Amador as a Nicaraguan and Central American Trotskyist leader.

"4. To call on USec to censure any attempt similar to that of IP and require all publications of the Fourth International to refrain from promoting in any way the figure of Fausto Amador as a Trotskyist leader.

"5. To recommend to Revista de America that it follow a policy of not collaborating with any publication that promotes by any means whatsoever the figure of Fausto Amador as a Trotskyist leader.

"6. To call on the USec to open a public debate regarding this case in the publications of the Fourth International, inviting the Frente Sandinista de Liberacion in particular to participate in it.

"7. To demand that the United Secretariat of the Fourth International place at the disposition of the PST all the documents it has on the Amador case."

UNPRINCIPLED

This resolution exposed the completely unprincipled nature of Amador's readmission into the United Secretariat.

For having taken this stand against the agent-gathering network of *Intercontinental Press*, Hansen organized a destabilization campaign against the PST equal to anything attempted against the Latin American working class by the CIA.

In December 1977, Hansen led a delegation of the United Secretariat to attend a central committee

meeting of the PST in Colombia which, as Moreno described in a letter to the United Secretariat, "attempted to threaten, intimidate, and blackmail us."

The delegation encouraged the formation of a minority faction against the elected leadership, supported violations of discipline and actively worked to create a split.

In his report to the United Secretariat meeting of January 27-29, which had to be sent in letter form because Hansen and the European Pabloite leaders refused to postpone the conference so that it could be attended by PST delegates, Moreno summed up his charges against the Hansen delegation:

"For all these reasons: for developing a factional policy aimed at liquidating our party; for having been complicit by their silence with slanders against the Argentine comrades, against Comrade Moreno, and against the leaders of the Colombia PST;

"for having made an alliance with a bourgeois who tried to destroy a Trotskyist publishing house;

"for having been de facto accomplices of a lumpen who is conducting a public chauvinist and police-style campaign in the bourgeois press;

"for having encouraged a petty-bourgeois and factional party — for all these reasons, we consider the United Secretariat delegation composed of Comrades Riel, Hansen, and Galarza morally impeached and thus unable to give any kind of report to the United Secretariat on the situation of our party.

"For the same reason, we would have liked to be present at the United Secretariat to expose the political and moral decomposition of these comrades before the entire Fourth International.

"If the United Secretariat does not want to sink as low as Comrades Riel, Hansen, and Galarza have sunk; if the United Secretariat wants to prove to the International that its present majority is not an unprincipled front against the Bolshevik tendency and against our party; if it wants to make clear that it does not support the alliance which its representatives made with lumpens and bourgeois; if it wants to take its distance from chauvinist, police-style methods which the factional group and the United Secretariat delegates employed, the United Secretariat must accept the proposals made by the PST Executive Committee ..."

The United Secretariat was unmoved. Hansen's man Riel put forward a resolution charging that "the majority of the Central Committee of the PST violated the provisions of the statutes of the Fourth International upholding internal democracy."

The resolution then went on to endorse the activities of the Hansen-created minority faction working to smash up the PST. The resolution, put to a vote without the PST being present, was passed unanimously — 22 to 0.

The 22 yes-men were: Adair, Aubin, Brewster, Claudio, Dunder, Duret, Enrique, Fourier, Frej,

Georges, Holden, Marline, Otto, Pepe, Petersen, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Sylvain, Therese, and Walter.

The United Secretariat voted on one more resolution before adjourning its session of January 27-29, 1978:

"MOTION by Sylvain: To reject the 'Resolution on Fausto Amador adopted by the Central Committee of the PST,' since there exist no new elements which would make it necessary for the United Secretariat to reconsider this case.

"This means that the motion concerning Comrade Amador passed at the October 29-31, 1977, meeting of the United Secretariat remains in force. The United Secretariat also rejects the proposal for a public discussion concerning Comrade Amador, which could be harmful to our movement."

This motion was carried by a vote of 17 to 1, with 3 abstentions. Voting yes were Adair, Aubin, Brewster, Dunder, Duret, Frej, Holden, Otto, Pepe, Petersen, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Sylvain, Therese, and Walter. The one vote against belonged to Romero. The three abstentions were Claudio, Georges and Marline.

MORENO

Moreno was put in his place, though it should be pointed out that even though it is obvious that he knows Hansen was a police agent, he supported this FBI man against the International Committee and lent his name to the chorus of slanders against Comrade Healy of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

The United Secretariat meeting of January 27-29, 1978 closed the books on the case of Fausto Amador. This new recruit into the Hansen-*Intercontinental Press*-SWP network of State Department agents, was now, officially, the undisputed representative of the United Secretariat in Central America.

And, it appears, Fausto Amador is presently riding high in the saddle. The Bureau of the United Secretariat recently received a letter from Amador, dated January 31, 1979 and posted in Costa Rica.

Amador, judging from the letter, now fancies himself a real theoretician and he was displeased with a certain lack of political clarity on the part of the United Secretariat — though what he does find:

"extremely positive is the Bureau's interest in politically feeding the sections especially in the face of serious and contradictory international events."

In this letter, Amador states that he is concerned by ambiguities in the position of the United Secretariat toward the Vietnam-China war. The problem he notes in the position of the United Secretariat is that:

"we find not a single explicit reference to the class character of the Cambodian state."

Amador roundly takes the Bureau to task, for by: *"leaving the question of the Cambodian state unclarified, the basic political foundations escape our perception."*

He asks a series of questions:

"Is it a war between workers' states and do we then call on those who took the military initiative to cease hostilities immediately?"

"Or is it a war between a workers' state and a non-workers' state and do we defend the non-workers' state against the aggressor workers' state, asking for the immediate withdrawal of invading troops without any other military or political consideration?"

"Is it a war in which we have no interest in the class character of the states confronting each other, in which all are guilty, so we can condemn everyone and ask for the withdrawal of any troops which have crossed the other's frontiers?"

"If in the opinion of the Bureau Cambodia is a workers' state, we think it should have been said explicitly and politically explained. If, however, they thought that Cambodia was not a workers' state, but that even so it was necessary to defend it against an aggressor workers' state, this should also have been clearly explained. We would have been able to be better oriented."

"Do the comrades of the Bureau agree with the analysis made by the OCI, calling it just a war of rapine?"

We quote this letter because it is indelibly stamped with the buffoonish and cynical style of Amador's mentor, Joseph Hansen. The letter has nothing to do with Cambodia. It is the agent showing his contempt for the United Secretariat which was steamrolled into accepting him as the "Trotskyist leader" in Central America.

Amador wrote the letter just to let the Bureau know that he is well ensconced in Central America.

The case of Fausto Amador is by no means unique. He is the creature of an agent-gathering network that remains in operation.

In recent weeks, the activities of Hansen-trained revisionists returning to Iran have been a continuous source of provocations against the Revolution.

Their disruptive political role has received on-the-scene guidance by correspondents from *Intercontinental Press* like SWP leaders Cindy Jaquith and Gerry Foley.

It was immediately after the overthrow of the Shah that Jaquith "discovered" the oppression of the veil and worked alongside U.S. feminist Kate Millet in denouncing the Iranian Revolution.

At the present time, it is the multi-lingual Gerry Foley touring Iran — opposing the first democratic election held in more than a quarter century and stoking the flames of Kurdish separatism as preached by the tool of the CIA, the late Barzani.

It was the International Committee of the Fourth International which unmasked Joseph Hansen as an agent of the FBI.

It will leave no stone unturned to unmask his successors and drive them out of the international workers' movement.

2. Helen Jarvis

— The Sydney-Jakarta Connection

One of the main functions of the late Joseph Hansen's FBI operation was to recruit a spy network all over the world, and one of his key outposts was Australia.

Control of Hansen's group in Australia is in the hands of an American named **Allen Myers** who was trained in the offices of Hansen's *Intercontinental Press* in New York for approximately four years (1970-1974).

He runs the Socialist Workers Party, which publishes a weekly called *Direct Action* and seems to have limitless resources and a steady intake of American graduates as members.

There is absolutely no doubt about Myers' role in Hansen's network. When the International Committee of the Fourth International raised the call for an international Commission of Inquiry into Hansen's activities, Myers was one of the most feverish and hostile opponents.

His policy is to fight off any investigation and to keep the agents at their posts. For Myers himself this is not only carrying out the instructions of the State Department's branch office at *Intercontinental Press*, it is an act of self-preservation.

Information has been uncovered in Australia which **proves conclusively** that Hansen was running an FBI recruiting agency and that Myers remains part of the network he left behind. It concerns Myers' companion since 1969, a certain **Helen Jarvis**.

When she ran as a candidate for the Australian Senate in December 1975, the weekly *Direct Action* gave this potted biography of her:

"Helen Jarvis is 29 and works at Sydney University where she is a post-graduate student. Jarvis was a founding member of the Sydney women's liberation movement in 1969, and was an activist in the early days of the anti-Vietnam war campaign in Canberra.

"She was in the United States from 1970 to 1974, where she participated actively in the women's liberation and anti-war movements.

"Jarvis joined the Socialist Workers League (since renamed the SWP) at the end of 1974 and has been an executive member of the Sydney branch SWL and prominent in the Sydney women's movement and in the Women's Abortion Action Campaign."

This is only **half** of Jarvis' career. There is another side, a secret side, which is completely concealed. It only became known in January this year when Jarvis applied for a job and became involved in a newspaper controversy.

Jarvis made application to the government to become acquisition officer for the Australian National Library in Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia.

She was turned down, apparently on the grounds of an adverse security report. The issue was raised in the Canberra-published newspaper, the *National Times* on January 20 and revealed Jarvis in a completely new light.

This was not the traditional story of a left-winger victimized by the sinister vetting procedures of the civil service and the secret police.

On the contrary, it showed that this so-called "Trotskyist" had high-up friends in the Australian government and the Indonesian military dictatorship.

One of those who supported Jarvis for the Jakarta job was the former Australian ambassador to Indonesia, Richard W. Woolcott. He said: "Helen Jarvis is quite well known in Jakarta," and noted that she was "favorably known" to Adam Malik, the former Foreign Minister and now Vice-President of Indonesia.

Woolcott added a personal recommendation: "I have the impression that, if she gets the job, she would be a good appointment."

The news that Jarvis was "favorably known" to Dr. Malik came as a bombshell. It fits exactly to the pattern of Hansen's Latin American recruit, Fausto Amador, who was "favorably known" to the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua.

Malik played a key role in the 1965 CIA-backed coup in Indonesia which installed Suharto and his junta of generals. More than half a million people, mainly communists and trade unionists, were massacred during the establishment of the military dictatorship.

As Vice-President, Malik is today the right-hand man of the butcher Suharto ... as well as being "favorably known" to Ms. Jarvis, the lady freedom fighter.

Woolcott is not the sort of individual to make "slipups" in the selection of his friends. Before becoming ambassador, he was the official spokesman of the Ministry for External Affairs (Foreign Office) in Canberra, where he advocated Australia's brutal participation in the Vietnam war.

As a top permanent civil servant and a man tipped to become head of External Affairs, Woolcott had access to every intelligence file produced by the Australian Security Intelligence Organization (ASIO).

There cannot be the slightest doubt that Woolcott knew Jarvis was a leading member of the SWP and a



Helen Jarvis. She worked as a functionary for the Suharto regime in Indonesia before taking a leading position in Hansen's Australian section.

so-called "Trotskyist." He could only have given her his personal recommendation if he also knew the other side of her career — as part of Hansen's secret network.

The *National Times* article revealed that Jarvis had a lengthy and close connection with the Indonesian rulers.

It stated that she had an expert knowledge of the Indonesian language, a rare and precious achievement in the 1960s when she left school.

Indeed, students who chose Indonesian, Japanese or Chinese during those years were usually hand-picked or specially selected for government service.

The *National Times* said that "during a stint" in Indonesia Jarvis translated Suharto's first five-year plan into English. In other words, she served as a direct employee of the Suharto dictatorship at a time when thousands of trade unionists and members of the Communist Party (PKI) were locked away in concentration camps.

To give a simple parallel, it would be like working in Tehran for the Shah and translating his decrees so they could be used for propaganda for his blood-stained dictatorship.

In 1969 she met Allen Myers when he came to Australia as Hansen's personal emissary to organize a revisionist protest campaign against the Vietnam war. They married and, in 1970, went to live in New York.

Myers went on to the full-time staff of Hansen's *Intercontinental Press* and Jarvis worked there as well — but only part-time.

The *National Times* disclosed that Jarvis shared her time between Hansen's headquarters and the Indonesian diplomatic missions in Washington, D.C., and New York!

It was not a menial job. She had the highly important post of research assistant and speech-writer for the spokesmen of one of Asia's most repressive anti-communist regimes.

When she worked at the U.N. mission in New York, her deputy boss was **General Yoga Sugama**.

He is now the head of BAKIN, the Indonesian Intelligence Co-ordinating Agency.

This gave new meaning to Woolcott's statement that "Helen Jarvis is quite well known in Indonesia."

Jarvis told the *National Times*: "Yoga certainly knew I was a lefty of sorts, but he never made any attempt to ease me out of the mission that I could see."

There was no reason why he should. They were both in the United States for training purposes — Yoga for the Pentagon and the CIA, Jarvis for Hansen's double agent network based on *Intercontinental Press*.

To the outsider, it might seem incredible that a leading member of Hansen's group should also be employed by the diplomatic service of a CIA-backed military dictatorship. In fact it is all too credible and all too familiar in examining Hansen's recruitment policies.

With Jarvis he had someone who could read and write fluently in Indonesian, who could translate newspapers, broadcasts and communiques and also keep a close watch upon Indonesian foreign policy and personnel in Washington and at the U.N.

In 1974 Myers and Jarvis returned to Australia to take charge of Hansen's group, with Myers taking a backroom role as editor of *Direct Action*.

When she stood for the Senate the following year, the details of the Indonesian connection were dropped from her biography altogether. As far as the electorate and the SWP's membership were concerned she was an anti-war, pro-abortion feminist, when the truth was that she had only recently stopped working for the Indonesian dictatorship.

The fact that she applied for the Indonesian post late last year demonstrates that she is still active in Indonesian circles. And the fact that Woolcott provided her with a personal recommendation shows she hasn't lost her connections in the top echelons of the Australian government either.

The question could be asked — what was Jarvis, now a member of the SWP's national committee in Australia, doing when she applied for the post of "acquisitions officer" for the National Library in Jakarta?

She could only have taken such a step with the sanction of her controllers in New York at *Intercontinental Press*.

The fact that this job transfer did not take place smoothly can only be put down to inter-agency rivalry and nothing else.

The Jarvis-Myers affair is stunning proof of Hansen's FBI role and the correctness of the call by the International Committee of the Fourth International for a complete investigation into his activities.

Hansen is dead, but his network is intact and functioning in the United States, Britain, Australia and Latin America.

It is the unyielding pledge of the International Committee and all its sections that the historic task this year — the centenary of Trotsky — is to unmask and drive out the double agents.

3. FBI Discovers an Oxford Attorney

The so-called *Socialist Press* of the renegade Thornett clique has endorsed the insidious deal between the Socialist Workers Party and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

The essence of this deal is that the revisionist SWP will officially accept and sanction in return for an agreed sum of money the presence of FBI agents within the ranks and leadership of its organization.

Only one point remains to be cleared up: the amount of money which the U.S. government is to pay the Socialist Workers Party for the use of its office space and stationery.

The SWP is publicly asking for \$5 million, privately asking for \$1 million and willing to settle for much less. The U.S. government, in line with Carter's anti-inflation program and economic guidelines is driving a hard bargain.

The background of these negotiations is the March 19 ruling by a Federal Appeals Court that U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell not be held in contempt of court for refusing to release the names of 18 agents working inside the SWP.

This decision, which approved the breaking of the law by the Attorney General was the culmination of a long series of measures taken by the government to protect its agents inside the SWP.

- In June 1978, Bell was summoned to Camp David where he was instructed by President Carter and top security officials to defy an order to release the files of 18 agents.

- One month later, following the issuing of a contempt citation against Bell by Judge Thomas



John Lister. He assumed the role of attorney and apologist for the SWP's sordid deal.



Alan Thornett. Leader of the renegade clique which endorses the SWP's making a deal with the US government.

Griesa, a higher court judge intervened on the Attorney General's behalf to support the appeal of the contempt ruling.

- In November 1978, while arguing against the contempt citation, U.S. Attorney Robert Fiske Jr. stated that the government was prepared to forfeit \$40 million rather than release the contested files. He claimed that to name the 18 agents would cause "incalculable harm to the nation's ability to protect itself."

While the court case was in progress, a 25-year veteran of the FBI began talking to the press about the illegal activities of the Bureau. The former agent, Wesley Swearingen, told the United Press International:

"I wouldn't be surprised to find out that everybody controlling the SWP is an FBI agent."

Determined to maintain the FBI apparatus it has built up inside the SWP, the Federal judiciary — the most class-conscious instrument of the capitalist state — has dismissed the contempt order against Bell.

In turn, the SWP has announced that it is willing to settle its 5-year-old law suit against government harassment without obtaining the names of the 18 informers — let alone the 1,600 agents who have worked in and around the SWP during the last 20 years.

True to the totally unprincipled anti-Trotskyist politics of the Workers Socialist League (Thornett clique), a Mr. John Lister has assumed the role of attorney and apologist for the SWP's collaboration with the U.S. government. Writing in the April 25 issue of *Socialist Press*, Lister blatantly covers up for the SWP's decision to accept the presence of FBI agents within its organization in exchange for the Judas silver of American imperialism.

He begins by claiming:

"The dramatic five-year struggle by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party to gain access to evidence of illegal activity by FBI informers, including

those within the Party's ranks, now stands at the crossroads."

This "dramatic" struggle does not stand at the "crossroads." It has, in fact, limped across the finishing line.

The SWP has explicitly declared that it is anxious and willing to settle the lawsuit without the names of the informers.

In a statement to the press, SWP leader Larry Seigle declared:

"The Court of Appeals has now upheld the government's right to keep secret the identities of its stool-pigeons ... by letting the government off the hook on the question of the identities of the 18 informers, which is a secondary issue in this case, the court's decision clears the way for a settlement of the central issues."

Leonard Boudin, the SWP's lawyer, sent the following message to the Justice Department on March 21, 1979:

"I have been authorized by my clients in the above matter (Socialist Workers Party, et. al. vs. Attorney General, et. al.) to discuss with you a proposed settlement of their lawsuit against the government. It would be useful to discuss this proposal very soon so that we can all avoid, if possible, a third trip to the Supreme Court, as well as the elaborate and expensive (for the government) discovery which would be required under the Court of Appeal's most recent decision."

So much for the fate of the SWP's "dramatic five-year struggle" against the government.

But Lister tries to apologize for the SWP's sordid deal by suggesting that the suit brought to light numerous cases of government harassment against the SWP.

"To force such information and much more from the files of the secret political police of the U.S. capitalist state," writes Lister, *"is without doubt a major achievement of the SWP lawsuit."*

What does this "major achievement" consist of? Without exposing who the agents are, there can be no real exposure of their activities. And without kicking the agents out of the SWP, there is no stopping their activities.

The SWP lawsuit documented certain instances of "harassment." But these cases give no real indication of the actual scope of police activity against the revolutionary movement. As *The Militant*, organ of the SWP, wrote last August 4:

"Bell, on the other hand, is protecting a gang of criminals who disrupt legal political activity, burglarize, and — like Gary Rowe, the FBI's man in the KKK — beat up and murder people."

(In the spring of 1978, it was publicly learned that Rowe had murdered a civil rights activist and several black people in the U.S. South while working as an FBI informer inside the racist Ku Klux Klan.)

Lister goes on to praise the SWP's:

"historic success in putting the forces of repression on the defensive ..."

But what has turned out to be "historic" about this case is the SWP's sanctioning of the presence of "the forces of repression" within the leadership of the organization.

And this is where we arrive at the essence of the miserable lie upon which Lister's apology for the criminal activities of the SWP leadership is constructed.

Lister claims that:

"the massive coverup of the 18 informers by the FBI has emerged politically as the main question at stake."

This is not the case. **It is the massive cover-up of FBI agents within the SWP leadership itself which has emerged as the central issue in this case.**

Does Lister have any illusions about the capitalist state? Why should it come as a surprise to anyone that the FBI, as an instrument of that state, should seek to conceal its crimes against the workers' movement? To "demand" that the FBI should expose itself is no less politically ludicrous than to demand that the capitalist state should cease being a state.

But it is something else indeed for the SWP to cover up for FBI agents within its ranks and leadership and to negotiate an agreement with the state that explicitly sanctions the activities of these agents.

Lister seems shocked by the wholly predictable actions of the FBI, but accepts as absolutely natural the functioning of the SWP as the U.S. State Department Party.

The FBI refuses to release the names of its agents inside the SWP and the SWP wants an agreement to shut down the case without the names for one and the same reason:

The agents being protected by the FBI are the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party.

Lister knows this, but he has written this article as a friend and political accomplice of the international network of police agents whose center is located in the SWP Political Committee.

He tries to pose as a "left critic" of the SWP in order to soften the impact of the international exposure of its role as an instrument of the FBI and the U.S. State Department. His main criticism is that it has failed to take its campaign into the trade union movement.

But Lister has no objection at all to the SWP's willingness to take blood money from the U.S. government.

Just the opposite is the case. He assumes the role of the SWP's overseas solicitor in Britain.

A question which naturally arises is: Why has Lister decided to assume this role?

Is it because Lister himself and the WSL would be prepared to take this type of ruling class blood money if the occasion should arise?

Or is it, perhaps, because the FBI leaders of the SWP have promised Lister himself a cut of the proceeds if and when the blood money is delivered?

May 4, 1979

FBI SPIES IN THE SWP

by the International Committee of the Fourth International

When Joseph Hansen died on January 18, 1979 he left behind a network of secret police agents in the leadership of his revisionist Socialist Workers Party.

This group of agents constitutes a tremendous danger to the Fourth International, the international working class and the oppressed masses.

They function not only as domestic stool pigeons within the American labor movement, but as the organizers and instigators of provocations against revolutionary movements all over the world.

The center of this conspiracy is the weekly magazine *Intercontinental Press*, which was founded by Joseph Hansen and is published in the national headquarters of the SWP in New York City.

It is the nerve center of an international network of skilled and ruthless police spies such as Fausto Amador, the agent of ex-dictator Somoza, who was billed by *Intercon-*

tinental Press as "a leading Latin American Trotskyist." (November 27, 1977.)

The agents inside the leadership of the SWP enjoy unlimited backing from the U.S. government. A federal court order that the files of some of these agents be released was first defied by the U.S. Attorney General and then overturned by a higher court. The government is now seeking legislation that would impose a seven year moratorium on the exposure of informants' files under the Freedom of Information Act.

Simultaneously, the SWP has decided to drop its suit to uncover the names of hundreds of agents within its "top offices" and membership in exchange for a cash settlement with the government.

The International Committee of the Fourth International is determined to expose the present functioning agents in the SWP — just as the late Joseph Hansen was exposed. Who are they, how were they recruited, who trained them, where did they come from?

The Strange Group From Carleton College, Minnesota



Joseph Hansen. He left behind a network of agents in the Socialist Workers Party after his death in January 1979.

In recent weeks the four year investigation into Security and the Fourth International has entered a completely new field of research. It has temporarily left the skyscraper metropolis of New York City, the steaming suburbs of Mexico City, the gray granite US National Archives Building in Washington, DC, and the pre-war records centers of Western Europe.

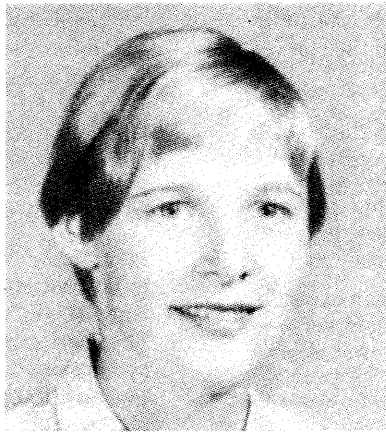
The investigation has travelled to the midwest of the United States to the small sleepy rural town of Northfield in the state of Minnesota. The pride of the upper middle class who live there is **Carleton College**, an elite private college set in idyllic surroundings of vast lawns, gardens and playing fields.

While the other numerous state colleges have few restrictions on admissions, low tuition fees and a large intake of working class youth, Carleton is a strictly exclusive institution. It is expensive, its students are creamed from "the best and brightest," and it specializes in the "liberal arts."

Applicants are primarily from bourgeois and well-off families who want their sons and daughters to "get on in life" and to make the right connections. Each potential student is obliged to submit an



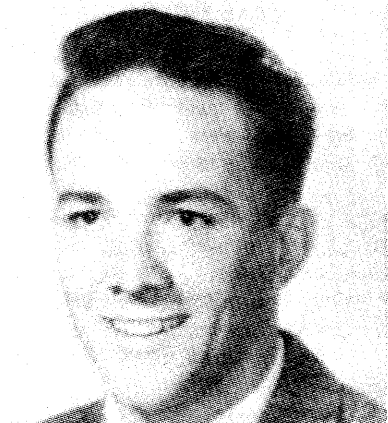
JACK BARNES '61



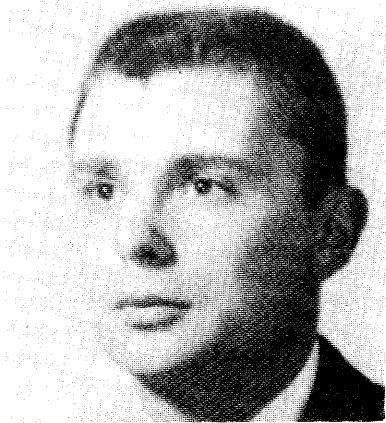
BETSY STONE '61



MARY-ALICE WATERS '63



DAN STYRON '63



JOHN BENSON '63



DOUG JENNESS '64

autobiographical essay with his or her application form. These are studied by a staff of admissions officers who are skilled at spotting those who can be trusted to uphold "the American way" and weeding out the "undesirables."

Carleton's Board of Trustees consists largely of the most reactionary industrialists and bankers in the United States. During the 1950s and early 1960s, the President of Carleton College was **Lawrence Gould**, an explorer and admirer of the world federalist scheme championed by the dean of CIA agents, **Cord Meyer, Jr.**

The official philosophy at Carleton during their period was based on a fervent anti-communist liberalism. It preached on behalf of "responsible" free enterprise against the "horrors of totalitarian collectivism."

As the conservatism of the Eisenhower years gave way to the crusading anti-communism of the Kennedy administration, it was common for students from the middle class to enroll in government service — anything from the so-called "Peace Corps" to the CIA — in order to prosecute the "war against communism." Carleton College was no exception.

Our attention is now concentrated on a group of eleven people in the leadership of the SWP: **Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters, Elizabeth Stone, John Benson, Doug Jenness, Caroline Lund,**

Larry Seigle, Barbara Matson, Cindy Jaquith, Dan Styron and Paul Eidsvik.

All these individuals — with the sole exception of Eidsvik — have served as members of the SWP Political Committee, National Committee or as alternates. Six of them are presently members of the Political Committee: Barnes, Waters, Stone, Jenness, Seigle and Jaquith. They have all been renominated to serve again on a revised Political Committee of 16 which is to be elected at the SWP convention at Oberlin, Ohio this month.

Barnes is National Secretary of the SWP, Waters is editor of *Intercontinental Press* (replacing Hansen) and Jaquith is associate editor of the weekly *Militant*. In addition to being leaders of the SWP, this group is the most hardline defender of the double agent Hansen and the architect of the sordid deal to accept US government money and halt all claims to the identity of the FBI agents in the SWP.

These eleven have something else in common. They all attended the same university — Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota.

Barnes and Stone entered Carleton in the fall of 1957 and graduated with the class of 1961. They left the school as husband and wife.

Waters, Styron and Benson belonged to the class of 1963.

Jeness and Eidsvik belonged to the class of 1964. **Seigle, Matson and Lund** belonged to the class of 1966.

Jaquith belonged to the class of 1969.

The fact that more than one-third of the SWP's Political Committee and more than a quarter of its entire national leadership come from the same exclusive midwestern college cannot be passed off as a coincidence. It is thoroughly suspect and demands a full investigation.

To say the least, the SWP leadership is an example of political inbreeding without precedent in the history of the socialist movement. It represents — and this is the best that could be said of it — an utterly hideous clique formation.

Who are these eleven people?

None of them come from a background in any way connected with the struggles of the American working class. They arrived at Carleton College with reputations as “all American” high school boys and girls, not even remotely associated with any form of protest or radical activities.

They impressed their teachers as community do-gooders, avid scouts and campers, sports enthusiasts and, in most cases, high minded participants in church activities.

NO HISTORY

There might have been an explanation for the incredible influx of Carleton College graduates into the SWP's leadership if the campus was a hotbed of radical activities in the 1960s or if the SWP ran a flourishing branch here. But there is not the slightest evidence that this was the case. On the contrary, the SWP appears to have **no** history of activity at Carleton. In that part of the United States, the SWP's original roots were in the great historic struggles of the Minneapolis working class. The SWP played a crucial role in the leadership of Local 544 of the Teamsters, starting with the great strike of 1934 and leading to mass recruitment into the union across eleven states.

Yet today, the group of eleven from Carleton have a stranglehold over the entire SWP.

In a recent report to the SWP National Committee, entitled “**Forging the Leadership of the Proletarian Party**” Mary-Alice Waters stated:

“The membership of the SWP is roughly 42 percent female, but 33 percent of the National Committee is women. On the other hand, six or seven percent of party members are black but 26 percent of our National Committee is black. The Latino members make up about five percent of the party and about seven percent of the National Committee.

“As of this plenum, about 39 percent of the membership and 30 percent of the National Committee are industrial workers.

“My own opinion is that the composition of our National Committee is not out of harmony with the real leadership of the party. Give or take a few percentage points — and that is not important — those figures fairly accurately reflect what we have

accomplished. In that sense, the National Committee elected at the last convention is good. Because as we pointed out at the time, our elected leadership and our real leadership had better coincide or else our leading committees would lose their authority. We would be as phony as a three dollar bill if our real leadership and our elected leadership got out of mesh.” (Discussion Bulletin, Vol. 36, No. 13, Page 8)

The statistically-minded Ms. Waters might have mentioned the following interesting set of statistics. The Carleton eleven constitutes approximately 0.6 percent of the entire membership of the Socialist Workers Party. However, the Carleton group holds 15.2 percent of the seats on the present National Committee.

“CARLETONIZED”

This figure still does not give the true measure of the control which this group exerts on the SWP, because the percentages are even higher on the committee which governs the day to day activities of the SWP.

While Ms. Waters promotes a thorough-going diversion about the “proletarianization” of the SWP, the fact is that it has been “Carletonized.”

On the SWP Political Committee the Carleton group holds 35.2 percent of the seats. Following this month's convention at Oberlin, this figure will rise to 37.5 percent.

The control of this Carleton group was strengthened following the last SWP convention in 1977 when the size of the Political Committee was reduced from 24 to 17 members. At the convention taking place now, it will be reduced further to 16 members.

This reorganization at the top and centralizing of control must be seen against the background of Hansen's death in January and the inevitable reshuffling in the network of agents.

During the past year, actions have been taken which place under the control of this Carleton group every aspect of the SWP's work.

During the past few months, the Political Committee has established an Organization Committee. According to Waters,

“The Organization Committee handles questions of personnel, finances, communications with the field; helps to organize and prepare meetings of the Political Committee; and takes care of as many of the day to day administrative tasks as it can.” (Vol. 36, No. 13, Page 12)

When this Organization Committee was established it consisted of six members. Three of them were Political Committee members: Doug Jeness, Elizabeth (Betsy) Stone, and Larry Seigle — all from Carleton College!

The SWP Political Committee also established an international subcommittee which directs the activities of the SWP in the United Secretariat (which it, however, cannot join because of the

reactionary Voorhis Act). This subcommittee which directs all of the international work of the SWP has five members.

Three of them are alumni of Carleton College — Jack Barnes, Doug Jenness and Mary-Alice Waters.

To complete this picture, let us note again that the position of National Secretary and the editorship of *Intercontinental Press* are in the hands of the Carleton alumni Barnes and Waters.

And another crucial assignment — the handling of the SWP contacts with the Justice Department in negotiations over the settlement of the Political Rights Defense suit — was placed in the hands of Seigle. Under his guidance, the SWP has dropped its demand for the exposure of the agents' files in return for money and has virtually abandoned the entire lawsuit.

There is still another statistic which should be noted: **Out of the Carleton students who joined the SWP, all of them — except Eidsvik — became full members or alternates on the National Committee.**

These statistics present an extraordinary picture of an organization which is entirely controlled by a group that attended the same exclusive midwestern college and who share virtually identical middle-class backgrounds. The running of the SWP is in the hands of a group who discuss and coordinate their activities among themselves. The National Committee rubberstamps decisions prepared in advance.

An investigation of these 11 individuals is an urgent necessity. There may be important agents in the SWP who did not attend Carleton College. But Jack Barnes and his associates must be considered prime suspects.

Barnes is no stranger to Mr. Tariq Ali of the revisionist "International Marxist Group." And during a recent visit to Paris he met with IMG "envoy" Ms. **Dodie Weppler.**

It is beyond the realm of probability — either mathematical or political — that the central leadership of what claims to be a revolutionary party could emerge out of one small midwestern college.

As every Marxist knows, the development of revolutionary leadership is bound up with the question of "generations" and the historical and social experiences through which these generations pass. The impulse for the development of revolutionary fighters and Marxists is provided by the class struggle. Reflected in each individual leader are problems associated with different periods in the class struggle and various layers within the working class and sections of the middle class. Leaders come forward in their development not as individuals but as an expression of social forces in the class struggle.

The pioneers of American Trotskyism emerged out of both the heroic period of IWW struggles in the United States and the all-powerful impact of the 1917 October Revolution.

The next generation of Trotskyist leadership in the United States who participated with Cannon in the building of the SWP emerged out of the great movement of the working class provoked by the

Depression. The highest expression of this development was the cadre of Minneapolis workers who either participated in or were influenced by the 1934 General Strike.

After the initial upsurge of the working class following World War II, during which the membership of the SWP grew rapidly, the problems of party-building became exceptionally difficult as the post-war economic "boom" got underway. The vast majority of the new recruits of 1945-1947 were lost.

The growth of McCarthyite reaction only deepened the isolation of the SWP from the broad masses of the working class. Within the party itself a whole section of trade unionists succumbed to the pressures of the boom, abandoned Trotskyism, and deserted the Fourth International with Pablo in 1953.

Toward the end of the 1950s, other factors also intervened to weaken the SWP — the death of John G. Wright (Usick) and the resignation of Morris Lewitt (Stein) to name but two.

So great was the impact of the isolation imposed by the boom on the SWP that its old leadership began to politically retreat and was completely incapable of taking advantage of the one great opportunity for recruitment that emerged in the 1950s: that is, the smashing up of the Communist Party in the shattering of world Stalinism that emerged out of Krushchev's secret speech to the 20th Congress in 1956 and the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution.

In the late 1950s, the SWP embarked on its ill-fated and opportunist "regroupment" policy which eventually led to the recruitment of a layer of students out of the Shachtmanite group, but it was not even from this layer that the new leadership of the SWP emerged.

APPEARED

The Carleton College group suddenly appeared on the scene like a bolt from the blue. It had absolutely no identifiable political genealogy. The Minneapolis branch of the SWP had never undertaken political work at Carleton College.

The official story advanced by the SWP leadership is that Barnes was radicalized by the Cuban Revolution. This must have happened very suddenly, for the conservative governors of the prestigious Ford Foundation detected nothing politically questionable about Barnes when they granted him a fellowship to visit Cuba. The president of the Foundation at the time was Dean Rusk, soon to be chosen US Secretary of State and in that office become one of the principle architects of the imperialist aggression against Vietnam. Barnes was also awarded the equally prestigious Woodrow Wilson Fellowship.

In fact, the whole story of the shock impact of the Cuban Revolution on the minds of young Carletonians is thoroughly dubious. Despite the importance of this struggle, there is absolutely no evidence to support the claim that the events in Cuba were accompanied by a wave of radicalization on the

American campuses. There is not another campus in the United States where the reaction to the Cuban Revolution produced any significant recruitment into the Trotskyist movement. The Carleton development was not only untypical; it was unique. Moreover, it becomes entirely unexplainable in politically legitimate terms when one recalls that the SWP virtually ignored the Cuban Revolution for the first year after Castro's accession to power.

It was Joseph Hansen who first made Cuba a major issue in the Trotskyist movement in 1961, and that was for the purpose of engineering on behalf of the FBI-CIA a split by the SWP from the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Barnes and the Carleton College group came into prominence as handraisers for Hansen against the minority within the SWP who opposed the split from the International Committee. Barnes and his Carleton associates entered the milieu of the SWP via the **Fair Play for Cuba Committee**. While serving as a senior proctor at Carleton, responsible for maintaining discipline among younger students, Barnes became identified with the newly-formed Carleton chapter of this Committee. As American imperialism became increasingly hostile to the Castro regime, the **Fair Play** committees became active in different parts of the country. There is no doubting that the chapters became prime targets for CIA and FBI infiltration. One can assume that both agencies occasionally set up chapters on their own in order to improve their access to left-wing groups. Barnes and his associates were not the only ones who made their initial contact with the SWP through the **Fair Play** committees. An identical path was travelled by Lee Harvey Oswald, the future assassin of President Kennedy.

One thing is certain: the emergence of the Carleton College group coincided with the most intensive period of FBI-CIA infiltration of the Socialist Workers Party.

There exists overwhelming grounds for suspicion that Barnes and his Carleton associates were recruited into the FBI or CIA during their years at the College and sent into the Socialist Workers Party.

There, their rapid advancement into the leadership of the Party was guaranteed by the influence exerted by the key FBI agent, Joseph Hansen.

The impeccably patriotic middle class backgrounds of the Carleton group — the sons and daughters of respected small town professionals, local businessmen and even a missionary — would serve as a stereotype of thousands of students in the late 1950s and early 1960s who were attracted by the prospects of an exciting government career in the CIA. One persuasive officer for the CIA on a visit to Carleton College could well have provided the impulse which led 11 of its students into the SWP.

Philip Agee provided a very straightforward picture of how he became a CIA agent, and it certainly applies to many others:

"Hundreds of companies come to the university to interview students for possible employment. I hadn't signed up for any interviews but I'd just had my first, and probably only, job interview. To my surprise a man from the CIA came out from Washington to see me about going into a secret junior executive training program. Virginia Pilgrim must have recommended me. I'd forgotten she mentioned a program like this when she stayed with us in Tampa last year — said she would dearly love to see the son of her oldest friends come into the CIA ..." (*Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, Bantam, p. 1)

What did the CIA like about Agee?

"Gus (the recruiter) knew a lot about me: student government, academic honors and the rest. I said that what I liked best was being Chairman of the Washington's Birthday Exercises in February when we gave the patriotism award to General Curtis Lemay." (*Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, Bantam, p. 2)

STYRON

As a social type commonly found on the midwestern campuses in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Agee as a student was mirrored in Barnes, Styron, Benson and Jenness. They all were active in student government, but perhaps the most outstanding young citizen among them was Charles Sheridan Styron, whom his friends called "Dan."

He was the popular student leader who was elected president of the Carleton Student Association. In 1963, after he had already become active in the Young Socialist Alliance, youth movement of the SWP, Styron was selected to give the student address at the inauguration of the new President of Carleton College — with whom he remained on intimate terms even after graduation. In this period, the intellectual climate on campuses like Carleton was dominated by the vicious anti-communism and anti-Marxism of the liberal university hierarchy.

Even more interesting about Styron, whose Carleton bride was Mary-Alice Waters, was his penchant for travel.

In 1960, he spent five weeks of the summer touring the Soviet Union. That period was the very height of the Cold War. There was no such thing as casual vacationing in the USSR for Americans. The scheduled Paris summit had just collapsed following the infamous U-2 incident in which an American spy plane was shot down over the Soviet Union. But Styron managed to get a visa and travelled 5,000 miles by car through Minsk, Smolensk, Moscow, Leningrad, Novgorod, Kharkov and Kiev.

At that time, such a trip could have been made only with the express authorization of the American government. And upon return, it would have been considered virtually mandatory that the individual who made the trip submit to an exhaustive debriefing conducted by the CIA.

As for Styron's political convictions, they are reflected in a column he wrote in a campus newspaper on December 6, 1961:

“Those who see the total destruction of mankind as a possible alternative to the ‘Red Menace’ also make the mistake of attributing to the dictatorship in the USSR undeserved power. They also show a complete lack of faith in the power of free institutions to overcome this totalitarian regime.”

When Styron wrote this anti-communist garbage, he and his friend John Benson were up to their ears in **Fair Play for Cuba Committee** activities.

The sentiments expressed in that passage are not those of a young man turning toward Marxism. It is the language of someone preening himself for a career in the CIA.

Styron’s rise through the ranks of the SWP was meteoric. He soon was a National Committee member and then a senatorial candidate of the SWP in California.

But in 1976, after more than a decade in the leadership of the SWP, Styron was suddenly removed from the National Committee without explanation.

This is unusual because Styron is the only member of the Carleton group that lost a position in the leadership. This occurred just as the official reports of 1,600 informers having been active in and around the SWP became front page headlines in newspapers all over the United States.

In April 1979, Styron committed suicide in Houston — where he had been sent ostensibly to participate in the SWP’s “industrializing” policy. The explanation for this suicide was Styron’s increasingly severe bouts with depression.

For a long-time party leader, Styron received incredibly short shrift — especially from his old classmates from Carleton College. There was a one page obituary in *The Militant* — **not** written by any of his Carleton associates — a small memorial meeting in Houston and that was that. He has not been mentioned since.

It must be considered a strong possibility that Styron’s removal from the National Committee was carried out because he stood — for one reason or another — in special danger of exposure as a police agent. In the interest of mutual self preservation, the Carleton group had to ease Styron out of the political limelight.

This sinister secret faction from Carleton College must be investigated. The 10 surviving members of this faction must be compelled to come before a Commission of Inquiry and answer detailed questions about their background and confront whatever documentary materials on their background that is put before them. If their reputations are clear, they should have no objections.

Responsible members of the SWP must insist at this Convention now in session at Oberlin that the entire Carleton group be removed from all offices and positions on the National Committee until the investigation is completed and if they are cleared.

The International Committee is now gathering further evidence on this Carleton group that it will submit to a proper and duly constituted Commission of Inquiry, as has already been set forth in Security and the Fourth International.

The Lies of Joseph Hansen:

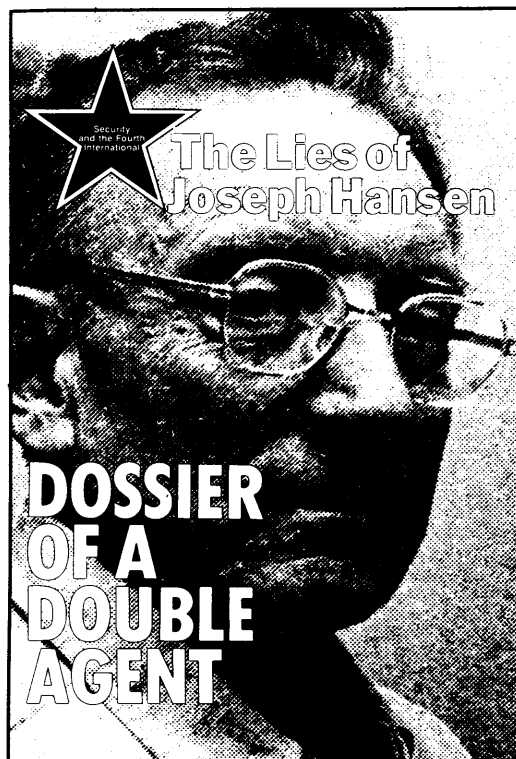
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IMPORTANT READING

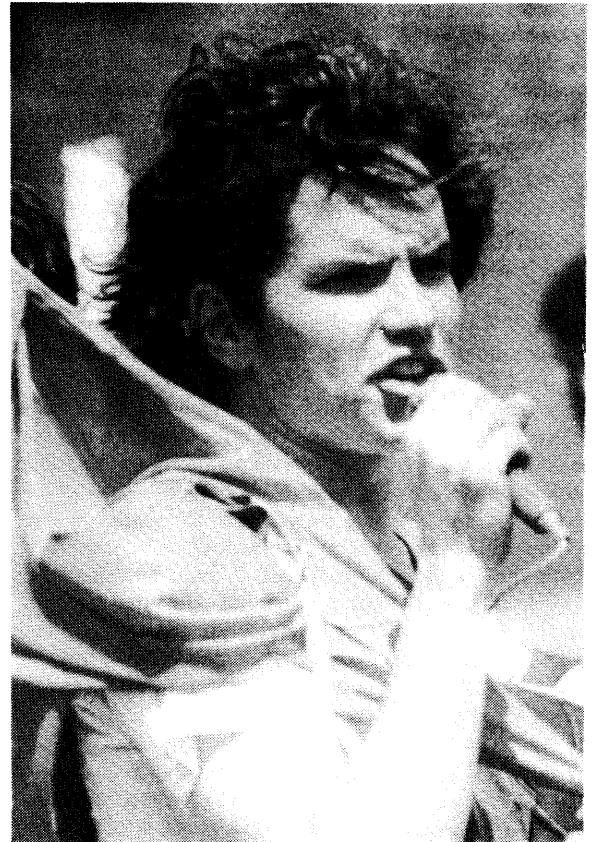


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Above: Comrade Tom Henehan. Below: Augustin Vietot. Their assassinations were both carried out with the same unrestrained viciousness as Comrade Piyadasa's.





Comrade Piyadasa was a member of the Revolutionary Communist League — Sri Lankan section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The Assassination of Comrade R.P. Piyadasa

Statement of the Workers League Central Committee

The Central Committee of the Workers League denounces the brutal murder of Comrade R.P. Piyadasa, member of the Revolutionary Communist League, Sri Lankan section of the International Committee of the Fourth International. All the circumstances surrounding this assassination and the hideous brutality with which it was executed establish irrefutably that Comrade Piyadasa was the victim of a contract killing. The four gangsters who mutilated and murdered Comrade Piyadasa were nothing more than hired hands.

Who did the hiring? We do not believe that it is a mere coincidence that the murder of Comrade Piyadasa on July 17 came only one day before Augustin Vielot, a supporter of the Workers League, was shot dead in New York City. Nor can we fail to emphasize that both killings were carried out with the same unrestrained viciousness. Cde. Piyadasa was subjected to multiple wounds with swords and knives. Vielot was shot 12 to 15 times and then one of the two assassins dropped a 60 lb. engine block on his body.

In less than two years, since the assassination of Comrade Tom Henehan on October 16, 1977, two members and supporters of the International Committee have been assassinated. A fourth, Comrade Jacques Vielot, the brother of Augustin, was seriously wounded in the attack that resulted in the death of Comrade Henehan.

We are convinced that all these murders and attacks are the response of the agencies of world imperialism to the International Committee's

campaign on Security and the Fourth International. The Workers League has publicly stated that it believes that the planning and organization of the assassinations of Tom Henehan and Augustin Vielot was the work of FBI and CIA agents in the leadership of the revisionist Socialist Workers Party.

The Central Committee of the Workers League considers it highly probable that the associates of these New York-based agents operating in Sri Lanka were behind the murder of Comrade Piyadasa. The International Committee has already established that the long-time FBI double agent who led the SWP, Joseph Hansen, set up an international network of police agents over a period of 20 years before his death last January. Among these police agents are Fausto Amador in Central America and Helen Jarvis in Australia. Considering the utter political depravity of the revisionist organizations in Sri Lanka, there is no question but that within its leadership in Colombo are police agents receiving regular instructions from the top police agents inside the SWP national headquarters in New York City.

The assassination of Comrade R.P. Piyadasa is a vicious blow against the oppressed masses of Sri Lanka and the Revolutionary Communist League. But we are confident that all the comrades of the RCL will answer this brutal political murder by intensifying their struggle to build the mass Trotskyist party in Sri Lanka. The example of Cde. Piyadasa's life must be an example for the youth and workers of Sri Lanka and for the oppressed masses throughout the world.

TURN TO THE MASS

Resolution Passed Unanimously at the Pre-Congress of the Fifth Congress of the Workers Revolutionary Party, September 8-9, 1979

The Pre-Congress of the Fifth Congress of the Workers Revolutionary Party calls on the working class, professional workers, trade unionists and youth to mobilize against the Tory government.

The two-day meeting of delegates from all over Britain unanimously voted on a resolution demanding that the TUC fight against the Tories and their slump policies.

The Thatcher government has dispensed with traditional **class compromise** and is waging **class war**.

This means that the jobs, living standards and basic democratic rights of the working class are in the greatest peril.

Class collaboration of the kind carried out by the Labour Party and TUC leaders and advocated by the Communist Party is now downright reactionary and sows the seeds for monstrous betrayals.

The biggest mistake which the working class could make is to regard the Thatcher government as another Heath government (1970-1974).

In reality, the Thatcher regime is a government which embodies the desperation and violence of the deepening world capitalist crisis.

It will use every means at its disposal — the police, the army, emergency powers, courts and prisons — to impose its slump policies on the masses, and is actively preparing its police state apparatus for this brutal purpose.

The emergence of this counterrevolutionary government, backed by Britain's "state within a state," presents the working class with the biggest challenge in its history.

It means that every struggle waged by the working class — whether it is to defend wages, jobs, living standards or basic rights like the social services or the National Health Service — cannot be resolved by simple trade union militancy.

Each struggle is now catapulted into a struggle against the government, against the ruling power of the malignant system of private ownership based on profit, greed and class violence. It means that the working class is being driven to resolve its basic problems in the only way possible — **in the struggle for power**.

By themselves, the trade unions cannot conduct this revolutionary struggle to achieve workers' power and to smash the capitalist state and its machine.

This requires the working class to build its own party, **the Workers Revolutionary Party**, to guide



Section of youth attending the 19th annual conference of the British Young Socialists in Blackpool, England. May, 1979

the working class on a revolutionary socialist program to build a socialist Britain.

The urgency of this task to be carried out is provided by the rapid developments in the world capitalist crisis which are bearing down mightily on Britain, the weakest link in the world capitalist chain.

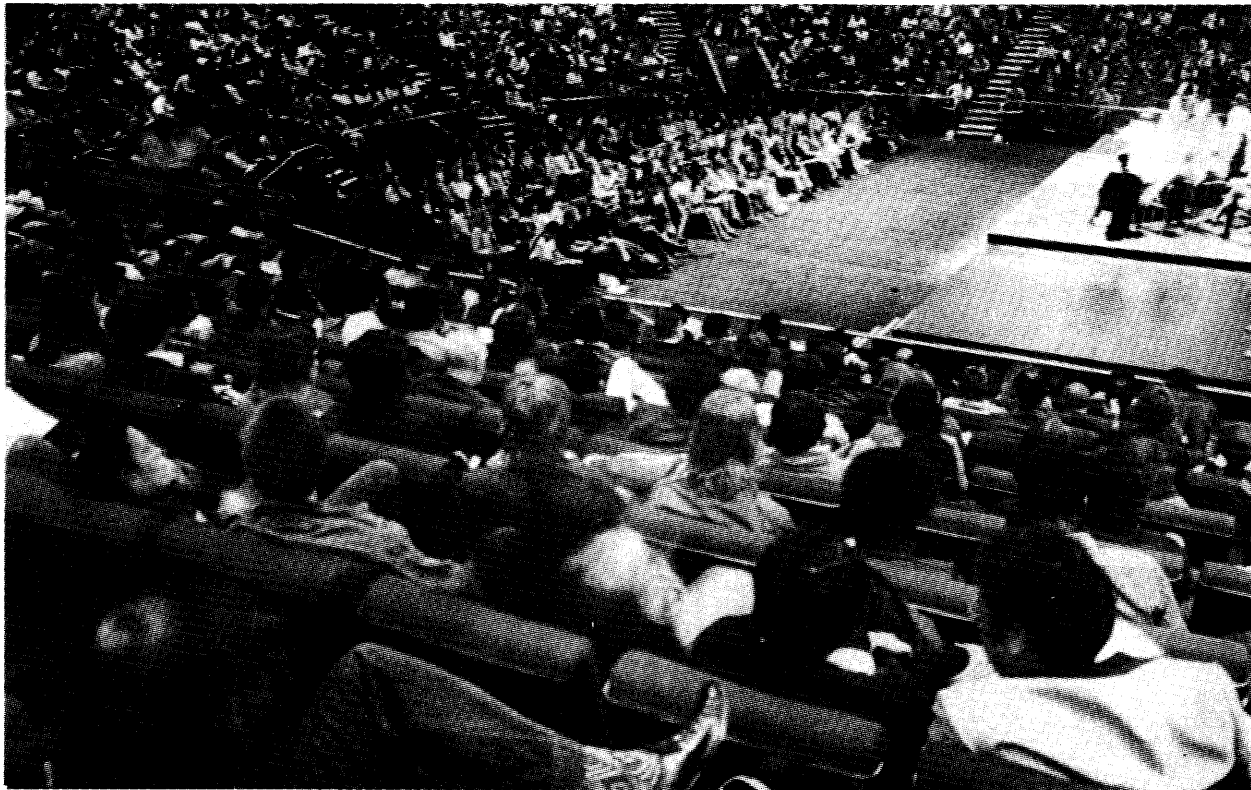
The soaring price of gold — now more than 340 dollars an ounce — is the surest sign of the international breakdown of world capitalist order.

The price of gold has risen by more than 300 percent in the past six years, totally undermining the value of the American dollar, the world's major trading currency.

The gold fever gripping the world banks foreshadows a crisis of value and a crisis of value means a crisis of credit.

The clear conclusion can be reached that when the banks are dumping paper money and buying into gold then they are committed up to and over their

ES AND THE YOUTH



The All Trades Union Alliance conference of July this year.

heads. They are anticipating the crash and they are taking out their only "insurance policy" which they consider "safe" — gold and other precious metals.

By plunging into the bullion market, the West German banks, which are inseparably bound up with manufacturing industry and the so-called West German "miracle," are giving notice that they see the world slump laying waste to factories and to millions of jobs.

This desperation and crisis of confidence can be traced to the economic summit in Tokyo in June when the seven leaders of world capitalism admitted that the ravages of the slump and uncontrolled inflation could not be stopped.

The only question before them was how to survive and how to impose "slumpflation" on the backs of the masses in their respective countries.

Mrs. Thatcher emerged as the uncrowned queen of reaction when she gave the summit a blunt undertaking to prosecute the class war and to smash the British working class, the oldest working class in the world with unparalleled traditions of militancy and struggle.

Since coming to power in May, the Tory regime has not wasted a moment in laying siege to the working class and its basic rights.

They have already imposed spending cuts of 1.5 billion pounds and a further 4 billion pounds are due in the autumn. The National Health Service is being murdered and so are the patients who depend on it. Steel works and shipyards are being sold off to the highest bidder as asset-stripping becomes official government policy. Education, housing, the social services and community care — the fabric of Britain's post-war Welfare State — are being dismantled, causing fear and anger among millions of working class families, young and old alike.

The social convulsions caused by the worsening capitalist crisis and emergence of the Tory government is scorching through layers of the working class and the middle class. Some 2 million voters switched from the social democrats and opted for Mrs. Thatcher in the May General Election. Now they are being shovelled into the furnaces of the class struggle as Tory policy gives them a few pounds in tax relief, but takes back much more in terms of increased VAT, mortgage and interest rates, and also lays waste to their professional skills in the health service, education, science and the entertainment industry.

The contradictory moods in the mass movement are best revealed in the extraordinary variety of

TURN TO THE MASSES AND THE YOUTH

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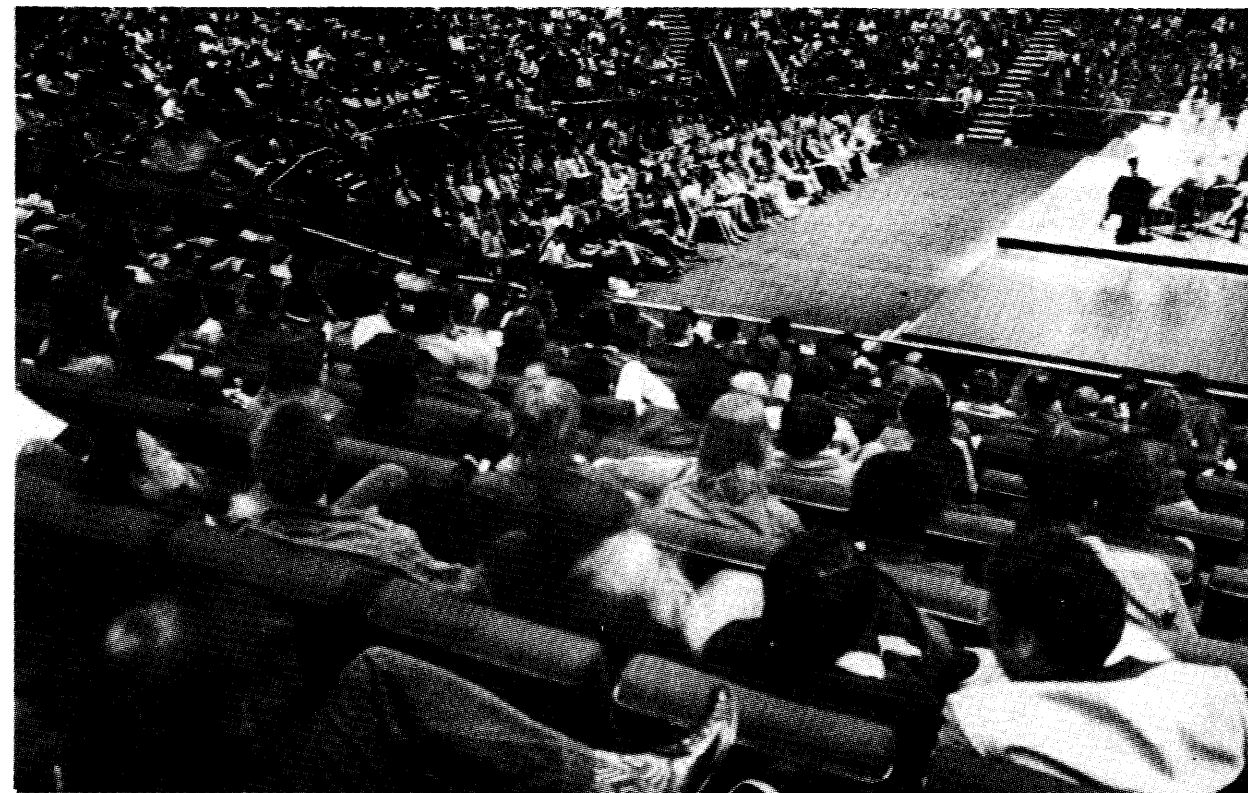
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This desperation and crisis of confidence can be traced to the economic summit in Tokyo in June when the seven leaders of world capitalism admitted that the ravages of the slump and uncontrolled inflation could not be stopped.

The only question before them was how to survive and how to impose "slumpflation" on the backs of the masses in their respective countries.

Mrs. Thatcher emerged as the uncrowned queen of reaction when she gave the summit a blunt undertaking to prosecute the class war and to smash the British working class, the oldest working class in the world with unparalleled traditions of militancy and struggle.

Since coming to power in May, the Tory regime has not wasted a moment in laying siege to the working class and its basic rights.

They have already imposed spending cuts of 1.5 billion pounds and a further 4 billion pounds are due in the autumn. The National Health Service is being murdered and so are the patients who depend on it. Steel works and shipyards are being sold off to the highest bidder as asset-stripping becomes official government policy. Education, housing, the social services and community care — the fabric of Britain's post-war Welfare State — are being dismantled, causing fear and anger among millions of working class families, young and old alike.

The social convulsions caused by the worsening capitalist crisis and emergence of the Tory government is scorching through layers of the working class and the middle class. Some 2 million voters switched from the social democrats and opted for Mrs. Thatcher in the May General Election. Now they are being shovelled into the furnaces of the class struggle as Tory policy gives them a few pounds in tax relief, but takes back much more in terms of increased VAT, mortgage and interest rates, and also lays waste to their professional skills in the health service, education, science and the entertainment industry.

The contradictory moods in the mass movement are best revealed in the extraordinary variety of

actions currently challenging the Tories: the campaign by the town of Corby to fight the steel closure, the continuing closure of Times Newspapers after nine months without publication, the intensifying strikes by Britain's engineers in support of more pay, industrial action by the staff of magistrates courts and the strike by highly-skilled television technicians in the ITV network. There is no surer sign of revolutionary change than when such social turbulence grips society from one end to the other.

The task of the Workers Revolutionary Party is to campaign the length and breadth of the labor and trade union movement to demand that the TUC fight the Tories.

We put forward a revolutionary socialist program on which to mobilize the democratic will of the masses to halt the destruction of industry, the social services, housing, education, and the health service and to replace the system of private profit with the nationalization of basic industries without compensation and under workers' control.

The task of the Workers Revolutionary Party is to campaign for this revolutionary socialist solution in the trade unions and to expose and unmask and drive out the reformist class collaborators who are working on behalf of the Tories.

It is to recruit and train trade unionists throughout industry and the public sector who will lead the struggle to defend workers' basic rights in the socialist reorganization of society — the struggle for power.

The youth will be the most dynamic factor in the struggle against the impact of capitalist rule. In their day-to-day lives the youth are subjected to police brutality, the poison of racism, the dead-end of unemployment and the poverty imposed on their schools, housing and communities.

The Young Socialists, the youth organization of the WRP, must recruit throughout the unemployed youth, apprentices, students, black and Asian young people.

This goes hand-in-hand with the expansion of the weekly *Young Socialist* newspaper as the mass paper for youth.

Central to the turn outwards of the WRP to the working class and youth is the escalation in sales of the daily *News Line*.

The *News Line* must be sold at factories, on high streets and housing estates with all the energy and determination that our party can muster.

In its presentation and content, the *News Line* will strive to embody all the development of the international working class and the oppressed people and combine them with the struggles of the British working class.

It must become, for party members and thousands of workers hit by the capitalist crisis and the brutal onslaughts of the Tory regime, what workers will call "our paper."

Each day that the world crisis unfolds, the ruling class increases its preparations for counter-revolution; but it also brings forth new recruits for the socialist revolution.

The WRP must turn decisively to these new layers, recruit and train them as Marxist revolutionaries.

The first major campaign for this expansion is the Trotsky Centennial rally which will be held at the Wembley Conference Center in London on Sunday, November 4.

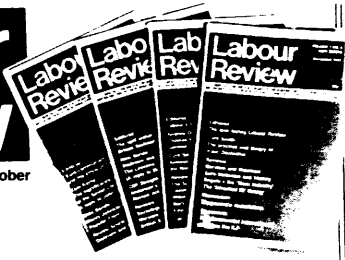
The occasion also marks the 10th anniversary of the launching of the first Trotskyist daily newspaper in the world which is continued today as the *News Line*.

The pre-congress pledged to make this the biggest rally in our party's history, to raise the banner of Lenin and Trotsky for the building of the world party of socialist revolution.

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Arab Unity is the Main Theme of the Celebrations in Libya

From Alex Mitchell in Tripoli

TRIPOLI — The tenth anniversary of the First of September Revolution was celebrated here at the weekend with a massive military parade in Benghazi and huge popular demonstrations in Tripoli.

The outstanding theme of the celebrations was the urgent need to deepen Arab unity in the face of conspiracies against the Arab homeland by American and Zionist imperialism.

There was unanimous and angry condemnation of the US agent Sadat who had split Arab ranks and was now a collaborator with Zionism.

The celebrations were attended by heads of state from the Arab world and official delegations from more than 200 countries.

The major speech at Benghazi on Saturday was heard by President Hafez Assad of Syria, President Chedli Benuedid of Algeria, Sheikh Saad Abdullah Al Sabah, Prime Minister of Kuwait, King Hussein of Jordan, President Abdul Pattah Ismael of the South Yemen Republic, Sheikh Zaid Bin Sultan Al-Hahyan, President of the United Arab Emirates, Amir Abdullah Ibn Abdul Aziz, head of the National Guard of Saudi Arabia, Prince Hamad Ibu Issa Ibn Suliman Al-Khalifa from the ruling family of Bahrain, Palestine Liberation Organization chairman Yassir Arafat and Sheikh Mohammed Monthazari representing the revolutionary authorities in Iran.

The military parade began at midday from the Gar Younis camp and took more than five hours to pass the salute which was taken in the center of Benghazi. Almost the entire population — more than a quarter of a million workers, peasants, youth and children — crowded the square waving green flags, playing drums and shouting slogans in support of the revolution which overthrew the feudal monarchy of King Idris ten years ago.

Overhead fighters, bombers and helicopters flew in formation thrilling the audience with their long, low sweeps along the coast.

Time and again the crowds showed their disregard of protocol and tried to swarm the platform to greet Gaddafi, the leaders of the popular revolution and the visiting heads of state.

Their chanting was so deafening it almost drowned out the speech being delivered by Gaddafi. Whenever he spoke fiercely against the Camp David treaty of shame and called on the Arab nation to unite in struggle, a highly vocal group of Iranians burst into chanting "Thawra Thawra Hattan Nassr" — Revolution Until Victory — the motto of Al Fatah and the Palestine Liberation Organization.



Muammar Gaddafi. Leader of the Revolutionary Council in Libya.

For the first time since the annual celebrations were held, other military units took part, symbolizing the unity of the revolutionary forces. There were wild chants of enthusiasm when units from the Palestinian Fedayeen marched past wearing their mottled commando uniforms and Keffiyahs covering their heads. There was also huge acclaim for the ranks of Zimbabwe freedom fighters from the Patriotic Front who wore jungle green and carried Kalashnikov automatic weapons. Other units came from African states, South Yemen, Kuwait, the UAE, Jordan, Syria and an especially fine group of soldiers, sailors and air force personnel from Algeria.

One of the many highlights of the parade was the parachute demonstration. As the soldiers and weaponry swept past, Libyan parachute squads dropped from the sky with superb accuracy on to a square of ground in front of the main platform.

The most memorable sight was the regiments of women fighters, young girls armed and trained, driving military jeeps and tracked vehicles, some in radio divisions with others in infantry support units.

The climax of the parade, which threw the vast crowd into ecstatic cheers, was a display of tank power. Four abreast, they stormed past the salute in row after row for more than an hour.

Estimates as to the number involved vary, but there must have been well over 1,000 and some say 1,500. Each tank corps was identified by green lettering written on the gun turret — some named after legendary battles fought by the Arab nation against the invader, some after martyrs of the revolution.

The tanks were interspersed by an awesome variety of rockets, some of them capable of a range of hundreds of miles.

A group of Libyan women dressed in colorful robes and veils forced their way into the front lines of the crowd and cheered the show of weaponry and blessed each one in turn with their hands.

In his 90-minute speech Gaddafi denounced Anwar Sadat of Egypt for signing the capitulation agreement with the Israeli Zionists and American imperialism. He pointed out that Egypt had enormous reserves of strength — the biggest population in the Arab world with 40 million people, the biggest Arab army, huge material resources in the river Nile and the Suez Canal and skilled manpower.

“Unfortunately,” he said, “Egypt has fallen, given in, prostrated itself and signed the treaty of humiliation and shame at ‘Stable David,’ the filthiest place.

“‘Stable David’ is widely open to anybody but it only accommodates donkeys. Those who do not enter stables are men like the leaders of Syria, Jordan and other Arab leaders who rejected the road of capitulation at the Baghdad summit.

“The ‘stable’ is suitable for someone like Sadat who has sold his dignity, his honor, the homeland and distorted the dignity and honor of the homeland.”

He said Sadat was a servant of his American masters who was trying to propagate defeat, weakness and humiliation in the Arab nation.

He stressed however that the Arab nation was determined to resist, fight and repel the enemy. He pointed out that the Arab nation possesses the human power and has no need to surrender and accept the terms of the enemy.

“The Arab nation possesses the military power, which you will see in the symbolic units taking part in today’s military parade,” he added.

Gaddafi said that no matter how long it takes, Palestine will become an Arab land owing to the struggle of the Arab nation just as Algeria became Arab after more than 100 years of French rule.

Just as the Algerian revolution proved the fallacy of the French story that Algeria belonged to foreign settlers, so the Palestinian revolution will prove the fallacy that Palestine belongs to the racist Zionist settlers.

He welcomed PLO chairman Yassir Arafat and said that the Palestinian question “is the core of the Arab nation.” He said it could not be solved through more agreements made under the threat of force.

The fact remains that Palestine is Arab and that the Zionists are invaders. They came like the white racist settlers in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South

Colonel Gaddafi called on all Libyan students studying abroad, as well as Libyans living abroad, to turn the embassies of the Socialist People’s Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah into People’s Bureaus.

He pointed out that this call comes in the wake of the many complaints presented at the people’s congresses as to what actually takes place in those embassies. They revealed the gap existing between the masses and their embassies. The fact is that elements of the deposed regime are still employed in the embassies and there are cases of nepotism and extravagance.

He said: “Although we appointed those ambassadors after establishing the revolution and although the embassies include revolutionary and loyal personnel, all the embassies continue to represent government bodies at a time when the government has disappeared in our country with the establishment and prevalence of the authority of the people.”

Africa, and like the French colonizers to Algeria and the Italians to Libya.

Gaddafi said that the anniversary of the Libyan revolution was not a purely Libyan day but an Arab day and a national occasion. He called on the Libyan masses to raise the banners of Arab nationalism and Arab unity. “We do not want to make this day a national festival, embracing our Arab brothers from the Atlantic to the Gulf, and then we turn our backs on them and start making contradictory attitudes towards them later, which will cause renewed rifts and wasted efforts.

“Our celebrations here today are a form of Arab unity. For we managed to come from places ranging between the Ocean and the Gulf to stand together raising our flags and inspecting the Arab armies while Arab leaders stand on the rostrum and the Jamahiriyah becomes their country on this day.”

Gaddafi said the socio-economic differences which exist among the regimes were only formal and did not stand in the way of the unity witnessed today.

He pointed out that the Arab leaders took a united stand in Baghdad at the summit. They had one single goal and therefore their ranks were united because they had the same goal. He told the official visitors and huge crowd: “We affirm to our Arab brothers from today we pledge on the tenth anniversary of the First of September Revolution to join you from the Ocean to the Gulf and work for Arab unity. We will not betray you, let you down or deceive you. I promise that any disagreement between you and us which might take place at any level will be solved in a closed room in a spirit of Arab members of one family as we are now present on this rostrum.

“We will not deceive you by saying we remain by your side if you betray Arab unity and the Arab cause by capitulating to the enemy and selling out the rights of the Arab nation. We are with you to achieve the aspirations of the Arab nation.”

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