

# Fourth International

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

Volume 12 No. 1

January 1982

## POLAND: ON THE ROAD TO POLITICAL REVOLUTION



Build the  
World Party of  
Socialist Revolution!

FROM THE  
TROTSKY  
ARCHIVES

Trotsky's  
Struggle for  
Dialectical Materialism

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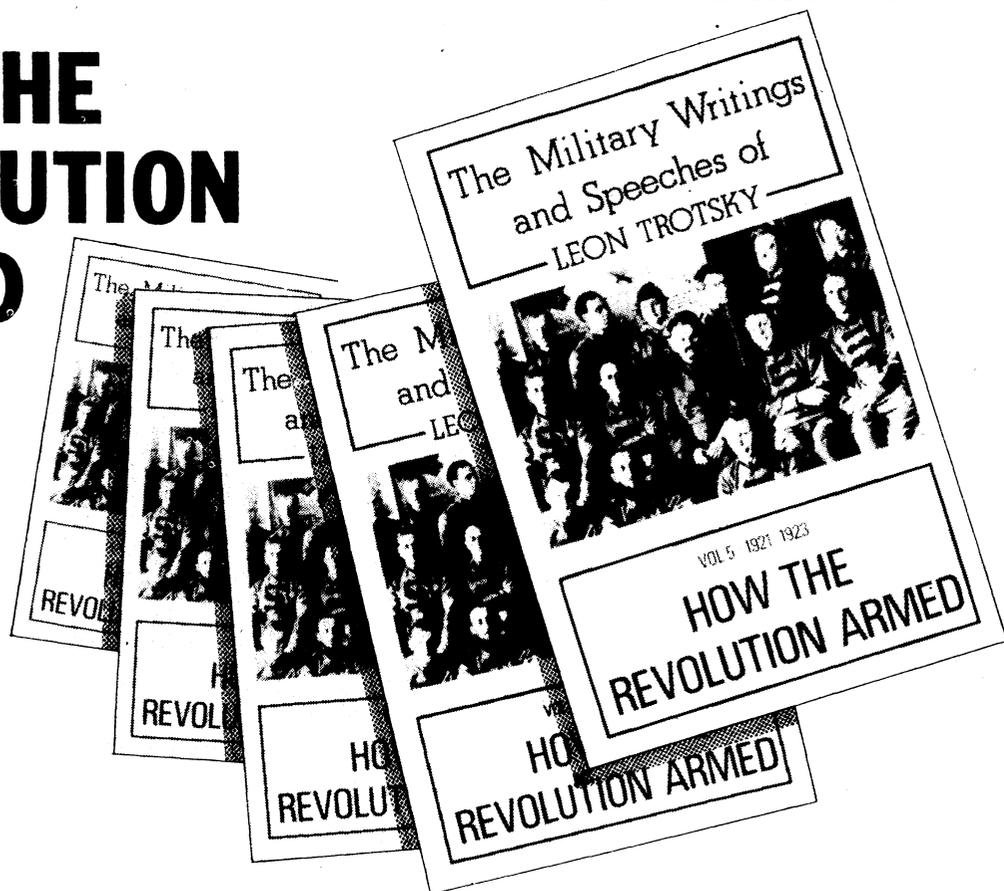
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## FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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**ON OUR COVER:** GDANSK, POLAND— 892 delegates, representing the union's 10 million members, attended the historic First National Congress of Solidarity during September and October. Perhaps the most important decision at the Congress was to send greetings to the workers of the other Eastern bloc countries with a pledge to support the formation of independent trade unions. See editorial page 3.

# Fourth International

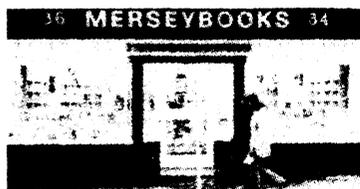
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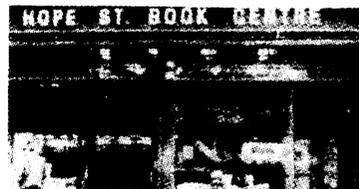
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# Victory to the Political Revolution in Poland

The International Committee of the Fourth International hails the Polish working class in its heroic struggle to build and defend the Solidarity movement. In doing so, we denounce the conspiracies of US imperialism and the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy against the Polish working class and Solidarity. Unable to intimidate the working class with the threat of violence, they are now trying to terrorize the masses with the specter of starvation. Imperialism fears default on the \$27 billion owed to Western banks. Every dollar is threatened by the struggle of the Polish workers to win improved living standards through their union. The Stalinist bureaucracy seeks to eliminate the revolutionary threat to its parasitic social position. Both Stalinism and imperialism are terrified of the revolutionary upheavals expressed in the rebellion of the Polish workers. All the old post-war relations are being torn apart by the independent action of the masses.

Since the Polish bureaucracy announced increases in meat prices on July 1, 1980, a revolutionary movement of unparalleled scope has been unfolding in Poland. Millions of workers in virtually every industry have joined the massive strikes and demonstrations. Following the action of the Polish workers, private farmers have been drawn into the struggle for Rural Solidarity. Students have marched and gone on strike. Beginning with 16,000 shipyard workers in Gdansk, the masses have shown their tremendous organizational ability by uniting in the 10 million-strong independent trade union, Solidarity.

The Communist Party in Poland has been utterly repudiated. It has been discredited in the factories. Membership has fallen drastically. Dozens of top bureaucrats have resigned, been sacked, or committed suicide. Provocations against Solidarity have failed to break the discipline of the Polish workers and have only increased the isolation of the Stalinist bureaucrats. Anger over food shortages led to a one-hour general strike by 10 million in October. Demands have been raised for the trial of Stalinist officials but the masses won't be satisfied with a few scapegoats. The corruption, arrogance and brutality of the Stalinist bureaucracy will be avenged. The movement is driving toward the extermination of the bureaucracy and the Political Revolution.

As we go to press, the movement of the Polish working class is surging forward with enormous power. The appointment of General Jaruzelski as prime minister, replacing the discredited Kania, has not intimidated the leaders of Solidarity and its millions of members. Despite his open threats of violent repression, the strike movement is spreading throughout the country.

At Zielona Gora, 150,000 workers are on strike; at Sosnowiec, coal miners are engaged in a sit-down action; 12,000 striking women at the textile mill at Zyrardow have refused to return to work until their demands are satisfied. The protests over food shortages — caused by the irresponsible management of the economy by the Stalinist bureaucracy — are being translated into open political demands.

The crisis in Poland has been building for 35 years and will not be resolved in Poland alone. Poland is not a capitalist country but a workers' state formed in 1945-46 after the Red Army and Polish partisans drove the Nazis out. The capitalist class was expropriated and basic industry was nationalized. But "socialism in one country" is no more possible in Poland than the Soviet Union or any of the deformed workers' states. Backwardness of the economy has continually driven the Stalinist bureaucrats to turn to the Western banks for massive loans to guarantee their own privileges and temporarily stave off the masses' demands for basic necessities of life. In 1956, 1970, and 1976 the Polish proletariat rose up against the bureaucracy only to be brutally repressed. Since the massacre of hundreds at the Gdansk shipyard in 1970, Polish workers have been reorganizing and preparing for the struggle for better living conditions and democratic rights that began last summer.

The strike wave along the Baltic coast culminated in the general strike in Gdansk for 18 days in August. Not one of the strikers' demands called for the restoration of capitalism in Poland. The 21 points include: free trade unions, independent of management or Communist Party control; the right to strike; freedom of speech and press; release of political prisoners; the end of all privileges for party officials and police, especially the closing of special shops for bureaucrats; increase in wages; and more free Saturdays.

The demand for free trade unions has kept the bureaucracy in a counterrevolutionary frenzy because it challenges the bureaucracy as the sole controller in the distribution of the surplus product of Polish society. For weeks the bureaucracy delayed the registration of Solidarity as an independent trade union. On October 24, the Polish court approved the registration of Solidarity but declared the supremacy of the CP and limited the right to strike.

Stalinist leaders, Jaruzelski and Kania (while he lasted) have only grudgingly granted any of Solidarity's demands while the bureaucracy has repeatedly denounced the union for being under the control of "anti-socialist elements." Warsaw Pact maneuvers in East Germany and the Soviet-Polish

border have maintained the constant threat of a Soviet invasion.

For the bureaucracy, there is no other solution: Solidarity must be crushed. For the Polish working class, the Stalinist bureaucracy must be overthrown in a political revolution which introduces Soviet democracy.

The Soviet Union has not invaded Poland because it has no support for such an invasion among the Soviet working class. There is little doubt that the Polish army, a conscript army, would fight beside the Polish working class. The Soviets would require an occupation force of two million or more, an undertaking that dwarfs the already disastrous invasion of Afghanistan. The political consequences throughout the rest of the Eastern European countries raise the specter of widespread civil war against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Moscow and its privileged servants turn all the more resolutely toward their partners in counterrevolution: world imperialism.

With over \$77 billion owed by Eastern European countries to Western banks, Poland shoulders the largest debt: \$25 billion. West German, British, US and French bankers have eyed nervously the revolutionary upheavals that have shaken the Polish economy. It has been estimated that since last August, Polish industry has been operating at more or less half capacity because of strikes, slow-downs, and work-to-rules. The annual debt service alone consumes about 70 percent of Poland's shrinking export earnings. Imports have virtually dried up because foreign reserves are exhausted. High interest rates make further loans prohibitive.

By April 1981, the Polish regime began to default. The first two victims were Citicorp and Manufacturers Hanover Trust. By June, US and European bankers entered into non-stop negotiations with the Stalinist bureaucrats. A six-month freeze on loan repayments was coupled with demands to meet interest payments on the outstanding principal as they fall due. Meanwhile, the Western bankers are insisting that the Stalinists work out a "comprehensive Polish stabilization plan." Such a "stabilization plan" would include the complete impoverishment of the Polish working class and the rescinding of all gains won by Solidarity. What the US bankers have in mind is the concentration-camp economy which would be required to crush the Polish workers. If the lifting of food subsidies sparked the strike wave last July, the all-out assault on living standards demanded by the Western banks today can only be carried out through armed counter-revolution. The Polish working class must prepare the revolutionary leadership to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy which serves imperialism.

The revolutionary leadership required to lead the Polish workers to victory can only be built by the Trotskyist movement, the International Committee of the Fourth International. Trotsky outlined the fundamental tasks with regard to the Soviet bureaucracy in 1938:

"The chief political task in the USSR still remains the overthrow of this same Thermidorian bureaucracy. Each day added to its domination helps rot the foundations of the socialist elements of economy and increases the chances for capitalist restoration ...

"A fresh upsurge of the revolution in the USSR will undoubtedly begin under the banner of the struggle against social inequality and political oppression. Down with the privileges of the bureaucracy! ...

"The struggle for the freedom of the trade unions and the factory committees, for the right of assembly and freedom of press, will unfold in the struggle for the regeneration and development of Soviet democracy ...

"Only the victorious revolutionary uprising of the oppressed masses can revive the Soviet regime and guarantee its further development toward socialism. There is but one party capable of leading the Soviet masses to insurrection—the party of the Fourth International!"

This clear perspective for political revolution is openly repudiated by Pabloite revisionists of the United Secretariat. Pabloism emerged after World War II as a revisionist tendency within the Fourth International. Michel Pablo, then secretary of the Fourth International, advanced the theory that under conditions of an imminent third world war, the masses would put enormous pressure on the leadership of the Stalinist communist parties. Under this pressure, the Stalinists would lead revolutions to overthrow capitalism; the world would witness "centuries of deformed workers' states." According to Pablo, the task of the Trotskyist movement was therefore to join the Stalinist parties, a move which he described as "entry sui generis," or entry of a special kind.

Had Pablo's policies not been defeated by the formation of the International Committee of the Fourth International in 1953, the Trotskyist movement would have been liquidated into the Stalinist camp of counterrevolution. The world proletariat would be deprived of a revolutionary, Marxist leadership.

Historical events rapidly confirmed the analysis of the International Committee when the Stalinists brutally repressed the East German working class in 1953, and the Polish and Hungarian workers in 1956.

The Pabloites of today, however, as represented by writers from the Socialist Workers Party in the US, reaffirm Pablo's theories of the "de-Stalinization" of the Communist Party in their analysis of Poland. First of all the political revolution called for by Trotsky is falsely presented as a gradualist process of reforms. Secondly, the necessity of a Marxist leadership to lead the revolution is denied. Instead, the Trotskyist position that the Stalinist Communist Parties are beyond reform is replaced by a fervent belief in the capacity of the bureaucratically diseased PUWP to reform itself.

SWP member David Frankel presents these reactionary views in an article in *Intercontinental Press* on April 20, 1981. The authority he turns to is none other than Joseph Hansen, long-time GPU agent who turned to the FBI after Trotsky's assassination and carried out four decades of traitorous activity in an attempt to destroy world Trotskyism. Hansen led the SWP back to Pabloism in 1963 and introduced the FBI agents from Carleton College into the leadership of the SWP in the 1960s. Frankel approvingly quotes this sinister figure on page 379 of his article:

"It is much closer to reality to view the program of political revolution as the total series of reforms, gained through militant struggle, culminating in the transfer of power to the workers."

This is a denial of the political revolution. To claim that a revolution consists of an extended period of reforms is to deny the qualitative leap, the interruption of gradualism, that is the essence of revolution.

But this reduction of revolution into extended reformism was precisely what Hansen had in mind. The quote continues:

"No revolution comes in a single oversized dose like a horse pill. It develops in interlinked stages affecting interlinked fields. If any of the demands of any of the stages is viewed in isolation, or fixed as an end in itself rather than a means to a higher goal, it appears as a reform. If its connection to the demands of other stages be kept in mind, it appears as a transition step. It is only when the process is viewed as a whole — in its origin, its fundamental aims and final results — that it appears for what it really is, a revolution: an organic qualitative change in whatever structure is involved." (*Intercontinental Press*, April 20, 1981, p.379.)

Hansen's (and Frankel's) position repudiates the call for a political revolution as outlined by Trotsky, who insisted that the bureaucracy represented a parasitic caste within which restorationist tendencies were harbored. Today the policies of the Soviet and Polish bureaucracy directly undermine the economic relations of the planned economy by plunging Poland deeply into debt to the bankers of the IMF. This phenomenon is repeated throughout Eastern Europe, reaching a total indebtedness of close to \$80 billion. Such a crushing burden is proof that Stalinism works toward capitalist restoration.

Indeed, US imperialism, the main proponent of the IMF, directly relies on the PUWP to prevent the working class from coming to power. The US banks are hoping that a figure such as General Jaruzelski can become a Stalinist Pilsudski — mouthing socialist phrases while serving as the military dictator over a crushed working class. It is this danger of the restoration of capitalism in Poland which is resisted so fiercely by the Polish working class.

Trotsky pointed out the two possible resolutions: "The political prognosis has an alternative character: either the bureaucracy, becoming ever more the organ of the world bourgeoisie in the workers' state, will overthrow the new forms of property and plunge the country back to capitalism; or the working class will crush the bureaucracy and open the way to socialism." (*Transitional Program*, Labor Publications, p.33.)

As to the nature of this crushing, Trotsky wrote: "There is no peaceful outcome for this crisis. No devil ever yet voluntarily cut off his own claws. The Soviet bureaucracy will not give up its positions without a fight. The development leads obviously to the road of revolution ... In any case, the bureaucracy can be removed only by a revolutionary force." (*Revolution Betrayed*, New Park, pp.287-288.)

In another article, Trotsky described the destruction of the bureaucracy as "measures of a police character."

In other words, the bureaucracy must be driven from their posts, arrested, tried, and punished for their crimes against the working class. Soviets must be established in which the former Stalinist officials have no place.

Frankel, however, continues to blunt Trotsky's analysis in the Hansen manner; describing the struggle of the Polish working class as follows:

"The real thrust of their demands is for a change in the way the entire country is run, from top to bottom." (*Ibid*, p.378)

This formulation is conveniently vague. The following paragraph shows the extremely limited perspective placed upon the Polish struggle by the SWP:

"This is not only a question of democratic rights and the composition of government ministries and local authorities. It includes the educational system, the administration of health care, the character of the newspapers and the electronic media, the administration of the economy — both at the national level and at each factory and farm — and the elimination of the pervasive privilege and inequality that eats away at the foundations of the Polish workers state." (*Ibid*, p. 378)

This reformist program blunts the sharpness of the tasks posed before the working class. Frankel can therefore glibly add statements like the following: "As the workers win their demands, they are changing the face of Polish society." But will this continue indefinitely? Are the changes which have been made been solidified by the political overthrow of the bureaucracy? Doesn't the Polish working class still face the joint counterrevolutionary conspiracies of Stalinism and imperialism?

In Frankel's eyes the leadership which has developed in the course of the drive to form Solidarity is adequate to the tasks facing the Polish proletariat. He adopts a totally uncritical position in regard to the leadership of Solidarity:

"Every revolution raises the question of leadership. The Polish workers have been particularly fortunate in this regard.

"The leadership of Solidarity is a working-class leadership that has arisen in the factories, mines, and shipyards. It has been tempered by the struggles of 1971 and 1976, and it has proven itself to be extremely capable in the face of the most difficult circumstances." (*Ibid*, p.362)

Frankel deliberately obscures the point. It is not a question of whether the Solidarity leadership is "capable" or even if it is heroic. What the Polish masses need is not congratulations on the qualities of the spontaneous leadership at hand, but a Marxist perspective for the building of a revolutionary party from among the masses who have been brought into the struggle against Stalinism through the emergence of Solidarity. Definite historic tasks lie before the Polish masses, and these cannot be carried out short of the construction of a Trotskyist revolutionary party. Lech Walesa, for all his courage and his genuine contact with the masses (which made him an ideal representative of the spontaneous uprising), is not a substitute for a Leninist cadre. That must be developed from out of the most courageous forces brought into action by the mass Solidarity movement.

Frankel denies that the basic task facing the Polish working class is the political revolution against Stalinism; another SWP writer performs a more ominous task by propagating the myth of the self-reform of the Stalinist Communist Party, the PUWP.

The Pabloites have always held the position that under the pressure of the masses, the Stalinist parties can become revolutionary. This view rejects Trotsky's founding of the Fourth International after fighting to reform the Communist Party from 1923-1933. The defeat of the German working class signalled the passing of the Communist International into the camp of counterrevolution. Trotsky recognized that the world socialist revolution required not only the defeat of the Social Democracy, but the smashing up of Stalinism in the world workers' movement.

When 500 rank-and-file PUWP members met in Torun this year and denounced the leadership of the Stalinist party, the SWP embraced this event as the beginning of the self-reform of Stalinism.

The fact that sections of the PUWP should criticize the Politburo and even break with it is an inevitable product of the disintegration of the Stalinist bureaucracy. But while sections of the CP may break with Stalinism, there exists not the slightest possibility of reforming the Polish CP.

Of all the Communist Parties, the PUWP is one of the most bureaucratic, having been created by the Kremlin after World War II. The old Comintern CP in Poland had been disbanded by Stalin to appease Hitler on the eve of the Stalin-Hitler pact, and its cadre was annihilated, first by the Stalinist secret police, and then by the Gestapo during the war.

The present bureaucracy has no history of struggle in the working class and quickly became one of the most corrupt in the Stalinist camp. It must be destroyed, its leaders must be arrested and placed on trial, its vast apparatus must be obliterated, its luxuries, awards and orders must be removed, its lackeys must be denied all access to workers' organizations, etc.

SWP writer Ernest Harsch thinks otherwise, as he exaggerates the role of the rank-and-file opposition within the CP in an article in the April 27 *Intercontinental Press*. He strongly suggests that the PUWP will be reformed under the pressure of the ranks at the upcoming July party congress:

"Under the pressures of this movement, the party leadership has been forced to give ground. It originally tried to postpone the party congress indefinitely, but was compelled to promise that it would be held in July. Even more importantly, the leadership was forced to concede changes in the delegate selection process: under the new rules, there will be an unlimited number of candidates elected through secret balloting.

"If the congress is held under such conditions, the present bureaucratic leadership could be swept out of office. That would open up a new stage in the development of the Polish revolution."

This is the exact opposite of Trotskyism. It is absurd for the SWP to speak of the Stalinist congresses, of the bureaucrats being replaced ... by what? The Polish Communist Party is not so much a party as an instrument of the bureaucratic elite. As a party, it is nothing. A change in its leadership would essentially change nothing. The bureaucracy rules. Its monopoly on political power secures its own interest. The recent provocations where fake KGB "forums" were set up to denounce Solidarity expose the feverish efforts of the

bureaucracy to restore its position and destroy Solidarity.

Harsch, however, holds the view that the Polish Stalinists are well on the road to revolution. In a later article, he waxes quite euphoric over the actions of the rank-and-file:

"Inspired by the enormous gains won by the Polish working class since the strikes of August 1980, they are insisting that the party be completely transformed, that it base itself on the revolutionary changes taking place in Polish society.

"Resolutions, open letters, and proposals drawn up by scores of Party organizations — many of them based in the factories — are calling for punitive action against corrupt party and government officials and for full internal democracy in the PUWP. They are insisting that the party represent the interests of the workers — not the privileged bureaucrats who govern the country — and that it collaborate closely with the ten million-member independent union federation, Solidarity, to which many party members now belong.

"In short, they are demanding that the party live up to its name. They want it to become — in reality, and not just in words — a revolutionary workers' party based on authentic Marxist principles." (*Intercontinental Press*, May 18, 1981, p.522)

To suggest that a Stalinist party become "a revolutionary workers' party based on authentic Marxist principles" is a complete abandonment of Trotskyism. What is left out is the political revolution for which Trotsky fought. At issue in Poland is the revolutionary overthrow of the Polish bureaucracy. This cannot be accomplished through the agency of the PUWP, a diseased Stalinist organization. Harsch denies that the epoch of reform — as far as the Stalinist parties go — ended in 1933, when the IIIrd International endorsed the counterrevolutionary policies that split the German working class and led to the victory of Hitler.

When the emergency Party Congress opened on July 14, then first secretary Stanislaw Kania spoke for three hours to demand that Solidarity accept the dictates of the bureaucracy on economic policy. A government report issued shortly before the congress outlined savage austerity measures that include a 220 percent increase in food prices and a 55 percent increase in the overall cost-of-living. Events have proven that it was ludicrous to propose, as Harsch did, that secret ballot procedures or the expulsion of seven top leaders from the Gierek regime could in any way change the PUWP.

This has been proven by the October developments. Kania, the first Stalinist leader elected by secret ballot, proved incapable of suppressing the Solidarity movement. He was dumped by the Central Committee and replaced by Jaruzelski on the instructions of the Kremlin. Ruling as a would-be Bonapartist dictator, he has ordered troops into villages in an attempt to break strikes. The Stalinist-controlled Parliament has voted a resolution demanding an end to strikes. There can be no reconciliation between the Polish workers, Solidarity and the Stalinist bureaucratic monstrosity.

That Harsch built up illusions in the "progressive" role of the Stalinist PUWP is no accident; Pabloism serves as the left cover of Stalinism as bloody counter-revolution is prepared. There are others who place

high hopes in the Stalinists, too: the imperialist bankers. They now hope that Jaruzelski will impose starvation measures on the Polish workers to drain the national surplus for payments on the massive debts. Sections of the bourgeoisie, including Alexander Haig, favor the prospect of Soviet troops pouring into Poland to serve as the armed bill collectors of the western banks. The ensuing bloodshed would severely weaken the Soviet and Polish working class and further the possibilities of capitalist restoration in Eastern Europe.

Both Harsch and the imperialists agree that the Trotskyist movement must be blocked and prevented in Poland; this is where the counterrevolutionary outlooks of Pabloism and imperialism come together. In arriving at such a position Harsch is undoubtedly guided by the heavy hand of the FBI-socialists who occupy virtually every leading position in the SWP; they have rejected Trotskyism for Castro — why not sponsor the PUWP? They can seize on the leftish demands of sections of disillusioned Stalinists... to liquidate Trotskyism.

The upheaval in Poland inevitably finds a reflection inside the PUWP. In a revolutionary situation, in any country, all political organizations are affected: in Poland some of the Stalinists have taken one small step to the left, while others have evinced openly fascist tendencies (the beatings in Bydgoszcz). Trotsky anticipated the move of small numbers to the left, but never

saw this as a substitute for the Fourth International and a Marxist cadre.

The problems of the revolution can only be resolved by such a cadre, based on an international Trotskyist perspective. Despite the heroism of Solidarity's leaders, they cannot resolve the political tasks that now emerge. For the Pabloite SWP to condone the absence of any independent revolutionary leadership is a deliberate political betrayal.

The Trotskyist movement supports and defends Solidarity. We defend every one of the gains made by the working class against Stalinism. At the same time we advance an independent program to lead the working class to power. The issue is the construction of the revolutionary party to overthrow the bureaucracy.

This revolutionary perspective does not at all denigrate the historic and courageous achievements of Solidarity and its leaders. Rather, it immeasurably strengthens this powerful mass movement, its most determined leaders and heroic fighters. Trotskyism — which stands for war against Stalinism to the death — will show the way forward for the Polish masses.

The International Committee of the Fourth International was founded to fight for this perspective in the bitter struggle against Pabloism. The advanced sections of the Polish proletariat must be won to the Trotskyist movement to guarantee the victory of the political revolution against Stalinism.



TROTSKY ADDRESSES THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

# BUILD THE WORLD PARTY OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

## Draft Resolution on Tasks and Perspectives for the 9th Congress of the International Committee of the Fourth International

1. 1981 will be a year of explosive revolutionary struggle. On every continent, the masses are on the march against imperialism. The key to victory consists in uniting all the forces of world revolution—the working class in the major imperialist centers, the masses in the imperialist-exploited countries, and the insurgent proletariat of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China—under the banner of Trotskyism. This is the task of the International Committee of the Fourth International, nucleus of the World Party of Socialist Revolution.

The post-war period of class compromise in the United States and Europe based on the Keynesian policies of controlled dollar inflation and credit expansion is gone forever. The bourgeoisie in every country is compelled to launch savage attacks against the working class. But the masses are resisting, and it is precisely this resistance that constitutes the main-spring of the world socialist revolution. The conquests of the masses of Vietnam, Iran, Nicaragua and now Poland have been characterized by mass revolutionary action on a gigantic scale. The depth of these movements is an objective manifestation of the magnitude of their historical tasks.

2. Whatever the differences in traditions and social conditions, the masses in all countries enter into battle as interconnected detachments of the army of world revolution. This applies above all to the struggles unfolding in the principal centers of world imperialism: Japan, Europe and North America. The immense social issues confronting the working class in these bastions of capital can be resolved only through the seizure of power, the smashing of the capitalist state, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

All the doctrines of “gradual,” “class compromise,” “peaceful coexistence,” and the “peaceful road to socialism” — whether preached by Stalinism, Social Democracy, or the mafia-ridden trade union bureaucracy in the United States — represent the most criminal deception of the working class. They serve only to disarm the working class and prepare catastrophic defeats.

The economic disintegration of world capitalism has transformed bourgeois democracy into the hollowest

of all shells. The essential content growing within the archaic democratic forms is that of desperate preparations for military-police and fascist dictatorship. The most sophisticated technology has been developed to enhance the techniques of state repression. It is in precisely the oldest democracy — Britain — that these preparations are most advanced. The recent growth of racialism and anti-Semitism in Europe and the United States has as its source, as it did in the 1930s, the insoluble economic contradictions of the capitalist system.

3. The great social questions of this epoch — that of the final period of the death agony of imperialism — will not be decided in bourgeois parliaments or congresses or by formal majorities. They will be decided only through the open clash of the two main classes, in which the working class is politically mobilized in its own organizations under the leadership of the revolutionary party, guided by Marxist dialectical materialist theory.

All the objective conditions are present for the victory of the world revolution.

American imperialism cannot restore world capitalism as it did after 1945. The Reagan Administration is the political embodiment of the insoluble crisis of American imperialism. Its task is the organization of the counterrevolution on a world scale. But the entire world position of the United States has been irreparably undermined by the accumulation of economic contradictions and staggering international defeats. Above all the drastic fall in the living standards of the American working class is driving it into direct struggle against the capitalist state. The most powerful challenge to American imperialism is arising within its own national borders.

During the 1930s and in the aftermath of the Second World War, imperialism was rescued by its agents in the international workers' movement — principally the bureaucracies of Stalinism and Social Democracy. These bureaucracies were nourished by the defeats of the working class.

But now the masses are breaking with bureaucracy. The upsurge of the Polish masses, who repudiated the official bureaucratically-run trade unions and organized the 10 million-strong “Solidarity”

movement in a matter of weeks, is a devastating blow to Stalinism. It is the real beginning of the political revolution that will destroy the parasitic bureaucracies throughout Eastern Europe, in China and the Soviet Union.

4. The movement of the Polish working class, which threatens the fundamental interests of world imperialism no less than it does the privileges of the Stalinist bureaucracy, is the historic climax of a decade in which the political driving force of the class struggle and world revolution has disrupted all efforts by American and world capitalism to resolve its economic crisis.

During the past decade, the Vietnamese Revolution not only inflicted a humiliating defeat on US imperialism. The huge expenditure made by the United States in its efforts to defeat the revolution ultimately shattered the dollar-based equilibrium upon which the post-World War II stabilization of world capitalism had been based.

The cost of maintaining relative class peace within the US with concessions to the trade unions and constantly rising social expenditures, combined with the astronomical costs of the genocidal war against the Vietnamese masses, broke the back of the dollar — the principal source of post-war finance for the expansion of world trade and industrial production.

All the contradictions of world capitalism as manifested in the Great Depression of the 1930s and World War II had been sublated into the inflationary boom that followed the war. The open re-emergence of these contradictions after August 15, 1971, but on a far higher level, fuelled the revolutionary struggles of the masses in the Middle East and Africa. These struggles further undermined capitalist rule in Europe and the United States.

5. The Vietnamese Revolution destroyed the administrations of Johnson and Nixon. The Angolan Revolution destroyed the Ford Administration. The revolutions in Iran and Nicaragua effectively finished off Carter, and marked an historic turning point in the development of the world revolution.

The turning point is this: it is no longer possible for imperialism to wall off the anti-imperialist struggles of the masses in the former and semi-colonial countries from the intensifying class struggle in the United States, Europe and Japan.

The defeat of the Labourites in Britain in May 1979 with the coming to power of Thatcher and the election of Reagan in the United States signify the turn by the ruling class to open class-war governments.

Reagan's victory, representing the enormous economic breakdown of American capitalism, has vast world implications. Far from acting as the guarantor of world capitalist stability as it did after World War II, Reagan's America is the very center of capitalist crisis and instability. Exactly one decade after the collapse of the Bretton Woods system, all the deadly contradictions that had been masked within the appearance of the inflationary boom now have fully matured and express themselves most powerfully in the crisis of US

capitalism.

At the end of World War II, the unchallenged economic supremacy of the United States was the essential foundation for the rebuilding of capitalism in Europe and Japan. The outflow of capital from the US provided the main impetus for the development of German and Japanese industry. But the outcome of this process has been the loss of the traditional markets of US capitalism and the weakening of its major industries. The US share of the world market is just 65 percent of what it was 20 years ago. It is no longer the number one producer of automobiles. Its once impregnable home market has been all but conquered by Japan.

As the real value of industrial profits fell in the wake of repeated dollar devaluations after the collapse of Bretton Woods, investment in basic industry fell rapidly. Through the 1970s, funds flowed into various forms of speculation promising the fastest rate of return. As speculators poured money into commodities, the big banks derived the major portion of their earnings from interest payments on loans to the less developed countries.

The debts of these countries swelled from \$137 billion in 1974 to \$300 billion in 1980. Eastern Europe and the USSR owe an additional \$77 billion. The outbreak of political revolution now directly threatens the American banks with the terrifying prospect of a \$23 billion default. Even before the explosion in Poland, the influential banking journal *International Currency Review*, warned:

A major debt default would trigger off a global debt crisis, because the credit ratings of the whole Third World would be downgraded and international bank lending would dry up ... In addition, there would be a very real possibility of a sudden collapse of confidence in the multinational banking system, as depositors sought to shift funds to those banks with the least Third World debt exposure.

6. These speculative policies were inseparably connected to the inflationary, credit-expansion policies pursued by American imperialism after the Second World War. But these policies have broken down for fundamental historical reasons.

The goal of capitalist production is the creation of surplus value, from which capitalist profits are derived. The sole source of surplus value is the labor-power of the working class, exploited by the bourgeoisie. But the drive for surplus value produces its own opposite in the declining rate of profit. The inflationary policies implemented after the war sought to avoid the revolutionary consequences of the uncontrolled operation of the laws of capitalism. Loans, credit expansion, increases in the money supply, etc., were desperate attempts to push production beyond the actual capacity of the capitalist system.

But the world slump signifies the breakdown of this inflationary policy. The ruling class in every capitalist country now sets out to restore the rate of profit through direct and violent attacks on the working class. During the post-war boom, credit was employed to expand purchasing power — in line with Keynes' in-

sistence that "under-consumption" rather than capitalist overproduction was the main danger to be avoided. But now, the bankers are determined to slash the consumption of the working class.

The policies of Reagan in the United States and Thatcher in Britain, both followers of Milton Friedman, leader of the Chicago school of monetarist economics, call for the destruction of all unprofitable sections of industry. In the United States, economic policy has been placed under the control of the Federal Reserve. Its policy is obvious: interest rates are being set at unprecedented levels to wipe out industry and drive marginal companies into the bankruptcy courts. Consumer spending, long-considered the mainstay of the US economy, is being slashed by subjecting workers and the middle class to severe restrictions on obtaining credit and loans. The auto industry is near collapse in the US. The survival of Chrysler is impossible without the infusion of massive loans which the government is unwilling to make. In Europe, as well as the United States, the steel industry is in desperate crisis, as is shipbuilding.

The bourgeoisie of Europe and the United States are not looking for "austerity." They want mass starvation, because that is the meaning of restoring the rate of profit.

7. The impoverishment of the working class is further required by the imperialist drive towards World War III. The aim of imperialist war preparations is the destruction of the Soviet Union, the dismantling of its nationalized property relations and the reopening of its territory to capitalist exploitation. Within days of his election, Reagan declared that his major goal would be an unprecedented buildup of armaments. In 1981, military spending will increase by \$30 billion and its share of the federal budget will be \$160 billion. In 1982, it will be raised to \$200 billion.

But unlike the period of the Vietnam war, this program of arms spending cannot be undertaken without a drastic reduction in the living standards of the American working class.

As one of Reagan's advisers recently wrote:

When the state of the economy and the structure of the federal budget are reviewed together, the conclusion is drawn that major increases in military and other imperial expenditures in the '80s will produce major economic difficulties for the population — and sooner rather than later ... Disruptions and personal sacrifices seem most likely during the coming decade.

The adviser then considered the political implications of these policies:

Controlling the effects of these disruptions ... will require for the first time in American history a permanent internally sovereign "hard state."

8. While imperialism is driven relentlessly toward nuclear war, this policy deepens its crisis. Within the imperialist camp itself, divisions arise over questions of military strategy (nuclear vs. conventional war),

armaments purchases and costs. Sections of the bourgeoisie fear the huge inflationary effects of the multi-billion dollar weapons programs that accelerate the process of economic deterioration.

Within the NATO alliance itself, a vicious competition is breaking out over lucrative arms contracts, as competing consortiums strive to stake their claims as the leading merchants of death. The whole process of militarization intensifies the crisis of bourgeois democracy. The military grows increasingly restless under civilian rule. The generals and the colonels are anxious to stamp out "internal subversion," by which they mean the working class. The military also wants to get a stronger grip on the state cash box in order to have a bigger say on the disbursement of funds ... especially to the military itself. The appointment of Haig as Reagan's secretary of state is indicative of both trends.

There is only one answer to the menace of militarism and nuclear war: the socialist revolution. No amount of "anti-war" protest on the part of the middle class can prevent a nuclear holocaust, no matter how sincere the conviction of those who participate in them. Only the revolutionary mobilization of the working class for the seizure of power can prevent war. This was the policy of Lenin:

Only after we have overthrown, finally vanquished and expropriated the bourgeoisie of the whole world, and not merely of one country, will wars become impossible. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 79)

9. The Eighth Congress of the International Committee voted to constitute itself as the nucleus of the World Party of Socialist Revolution. This decision was the most important since the founding of the International Committee in 1953 to defend the Fourth International against Pabloite revisionism. The material foundation for this decisive advance in the struggle to resolve the historic crisis of revolutionary leadership in the working class was the Iranian Revolution, the greatest strategic defeat for world imperialism since the 1917 October Revolution.

The correctness of this decision has been further manifested in the outbreak of the political revolution in Poland. Only Trotskyism — the International Committee of the Fourth International — represents the continuity of Bolshevism as the conscious political expression of the interests of world revolution. In the 1930s, the principled character and scientific validity of Trotsky's perspective found their confirmation in the tragic defeats of the working class produced by the betrayals of Stalinism. In that period, the revolutionary vanguard had to fight, as Trotsky explained, "against the stream."

Now, the vindication and verification of Trotskyism is established directly in the revolutionary movement of the masses. Whatever the present political consciousness of the Polish working class, the essence of its struggle is Trotskyism — the theory and practice of the political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Millions of Polish workers have rallied around the demand for free trade unions. This demand was first articulated by the Left Opposition led by Trotsky

in its *Platform* of 1927, and it was reiterated in the *Transitional Program* (1938), founding document of the Fourth International.

10. The objective historical significance of the events in Poland and the advance of the working class on an international scale is that World Trotskyism now emerges from the long domination of the counterrevolution. Nearly 60 years after Trotsky began the struggle against the growth of bureaucracy within the Soviet Union, Stalinism is totally discredited and Trotskyism stands on the threshold of taking the leadership of the world revolution.

It is essential that every cadre grasps the profound historical relationship between the protracted development of world revolution and the political struggles of the Fourth International. The defeats of the working class in the 1920s and 1930s found their sharpest expression in the attacks of the counterrevolutionary forces of imperialism and Stalinism on the revolutionary leadership of the working class. The assassination of the principal leaders of the Fourth International in Europe — Leon Sedov, Rudolf Klement and Erwin Wolf — and, above all, the assassination of Trotsky in 1940 were the crimes of the century. The historical essence of these crimes was the desperate defense by world imperialism of the capitalist property relations of private ownership of the means of production. In the aftermath of the October Revolution, imperialism recognized that its most important defense against the social revolution lay in the ruthless extermination of Marxist leadership in the working class. To carry out this policy, it was not sufficient for imperialism to rely on its own forces. It had to transform the betrayers of the working class into its open executioners. In 1919 it was Social Democracy that carried out the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. Little more than a decade later, the counterrevolutionary degeneration of the Stalinist bureaucracy transformed the GPU, its secret police, into the principal murder weapon of imperialist reaction against the working class.

The assassination of Trotsky was carried out through the decisive preparatory work of GPU agents who penetrated the ranks of the Fourth International. The most important of these agents were Mark Zborowski in the Paris headquarters of the Fourth International; Sylvia Franklin, secretary of James P. Cannon, in the New York headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party; and Joseph Hansen inside Trotsky's villa in Coyoacan. Without their criminal groundwork, the GPU assassin Ramon Mercader could not have succeeded in murdering Trotsky.

Not only did the roles of these agents go undetected for years after the assassination, they were able to advance into the leadership of the Trotskyist movement. By the time the role of agents like Zborowski and Franklin had been exposed, agents were sufficiently powerful inside the Socialist Workers Party to completely suppress any further investigation into their GPU activities. In the case of Franklin, her associates within the SWP who now enjoyed FBI protection — particularly Joseph Hansen — were able to sustain for years the myth of her innocence.

It was through Joseph Hansen, who offered his ser-

vices to the US State Department immediately after the assassination of Trotsky, that the Federal Bureau of Investigation and related intelligence agencies of US imperialism were able to carry out the massive penetration and takeover of the SWP. The highpoint of this subversion was the recruitment of police agents from Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, who were placed in virtually all the leading positions of the SWP. Hansen utilized confusion within the SWP over the significance of Castro's rise to power in Cuba as a cover for the penetration of agents. Agents like the current secretary of the SWP, Jack Barnes, and the current editor of *Intercontinental Press*, Mary-Alice Waters, all entered the SWP from Carleton College via the bogus "Fair Play for Cuba" Committee.

11. The enormous damage inflicted upon the Trotskyist movement by the combined counterrevolutionary agencies of Stalinism and imperialism had its origins in the defeats of the working class in the 1920s and 1930s, and was then sustained by the length of the post-war boom.

But the revolutionary upsurge of the working class and oppressed masses against imperialism has created the conditions for destroying its agencies, and this has found its highest conscious expression in the struggle waged by the International Committee through its investigation and campaign on *Security and the Fourth International*. The whole world development of the class struggle, the conflict of revolution and counterrevolution is concentrated in this historic battle on *Security and the Fourth International*. Its content is the negation of the whole period of the defeats of the working class which began with the growth of bureaucracy in the USSR, the death of Lenin and the defeat of the Left Opposition.

It was the enormous defeat of American imperialism inflicted by the Vietnamese Revolution that provided entirely new objective conditions for the International Committee to undertake the campaign of *Security* in 1975. But this campaign would not have been possible without the founding of the International Committee in 1953 and its unrelenting struggle against Pabloite revisionism and its defense of Trotskyist principles. Long before the International Committee could establish the role of Hansen as an agent of US imperialism, it laid the foundation for his exposure and political destruction in the struggle against his unprincipled reunification with the Pabloites and his attempt to liquidate the International Committee. The exposure of Hansen the pragmatist and opportunist led to the exposure of Hansen the police agent.

12. The self-exposure of SWP leader Ed Heisler in June 1980 as an FBI agent means that the climax of the struggle waged by the International Committee to purge the revolutionary movement of the dregs of the counterrevolution is now approaching. The fact that Heisler functioned inside the SWP for nearly 20 years, advancing from position to position with the assistance and support of Hansen and Barnes, totally vindicates the International Committee's exposure of the agent-ridden SWP as an appendage of the US State Department.

The Heisler case proves that all the charges made by the International Committee are absolutely correct. Barnes is the successor of Hansen as the station chief of the CIA headquarters inside SWP offices at 14 Charles Lane in New York City. It is the center of the imperialist conspiracy against the Trotskyist movement. No effort and no expense will be spared to expose and destroy this conspiracy.

The movement of the masses will create powerful conditions for carrying out this task. *Security and the Fourth International* now becomes an enormous revolutionary factor strengthening the entire working class. As civil war conditions emerge in all capitalist countries, the working class faces continuous provocations and attacks from the organs of state repression. Agents like Heisler work to provide the capitalist state with a continuous flow of information that is used in the preparation of political disruptions and assassinations. In its efforts to destroy revolutionary movements all over the world, the CIA makes use of agents concealed in a "socialist" disguise.

The International Committee has exposed the mechanism of these operations in the activities of SWP-sponsored CIA agents like Fausto Amador in Central America and the agents sent by the SWP in January 1979 to Iran to found a CIA-front "socialist" party. Currently, in line with State Department concern over revolutionary developments in the Caribbean, the SWP agents are concentrating their work in that region. Hence their special interest in Grenada and El Salvador.

The exposure of these agents and the political destruction of all revisionist organizations that harbor them and cover up for them is an urgent political task and an immense historical responsibility. The counter-revolutionary character of revisionism was incontrovertibly established by the unanimous support which all its representatives gave to the late Joseph Hansen. The organizations and individuals who signed the infamous "Verdict" concocted by Hansen in 1976 denouncing *Security and the Fourth International* as a "shameless frameup"; or who either participated in or endorsed the notorious "Platform of Shame" meeting in London in January 1977 to slander and malign Comrade G. Healy of the Workers Revolutionary Party, are accomplices of imperialism. Chief among these accomplices are the leaders of the French OCI, Lambert, Broué and De Massot. In private, they admit Hansen was an agent; in public, they defend him and his co-agents.

The findings of *Security and the Fourth International* must be brought to the attention of the entire workers' movement and to revolutionary fighters all over the world. The agents must be exposed and driven out. The carrying out of this task is at the very heart of establishing the International Committee as the leadership of the world revolution and achieving victory over imperialism and its Stalinist and social-democratic bureaucracies.

**13.** The world slump, the accelerated movement of millions into strikes, general strikes and uprisings and the intensified repression of the capitalist state, opening the door for military dictatorship, forces every sec-

tion of the International Committee to transform its organization and practice in order to take the power. All policies and strategies of the imperialist bourgeoisie, symbolized by the IMF and the World Bank, are predicated on the most savage and rapid destruction of living standards and — with them — the political rights of workers and the dissolution of trade unions and left-wing parties.

No resolution of the crisis of world working-class leadership is possible without the most audacious and ambitious turn to the working class. The struggle for power is impossible without the deepest penetration into all layers of the class, the recruitment of thousands into the sections and the mobilization of millions in establishing soviet power.

The events in Turkey and Bolivia and the continuous mobilization of military forces in NATO countries as well as the arming and strengthening of police forces, reveal the growing threat of civil war and state repression.

In the old "democratic" countries like Britain and France the safety-valve of parliamentary bourgeois democracy can no longer cope with the mighty pressure of the working class. As the slump deepens the masses are increasingly alienated by parliament and those parties most closely identified with it — Stalinism and Social Democracy.

At the same time they come into irreconcilable struggle with the trade union bureaucracy who block every struggle or divert it. The ruling classes counter every wages struggle by closures, redundancies and a huge flight of capital abroad, thus revealing the impotence of trade unions and the bankruptcy of trade union leadership.

In this way the objective conditions are being created in which the masses are forced out of their own desperate position to repudiate their traditional leaders and look elsewhere for policies and leadership. The conditions are now rapidly maturing for a powerful development of all sections of the International Committee into the nucleus of the world party of socialist revolution. This is indubitable.

But this turn cannot be made in a mechanical, fatalist and subjective manner, based on an impressionist and eclectic-idealist method.

A. The upsurge of the world revolution requires that all sections of the International Committee fight for the development of dialectical materialism as the basis for the training of the cadre of the world party. All sections must place at the center of their work the great lesson of Lenin's struggle to build the Bolshevik Party. The 1917 October Revolution would not have triumphed without the struggle waged relentlessly over many years for dialectical materialism against all forms of bourgeois ideology. It was precisely this lesson which Trotsky emphasized in 1940: "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)

B. Trotsky called upon the American SWP to fight for the development of dialectical materialism against pragmatism. His advice was rejected. The results

were the political degeneration of the SWP leaders, the revisionist decay of the SWP, its massive penetration by agents, and its transformation into a counterrevolutionary instrument of imperialism. All sections must draw from this example an unshakable determination to fight the politically-fatal petty-bourgeois attitude of theoretical complacency and indifference to the dialectical materialist method.

C. Materialism and idealism constitute the two warring camps in philosophy. Their irreconcilable conflict is the ideological reflection of the irreconcilable conflict of the working class and the bourgeoisie. With the onrush of the world revolution, the two classes are mustering all their weapons for the decisive struggle. The bourgeoisie utilizes all its resources to maintain its ideological domination of the working class. Lenin and all the great Marxists insisted that there could be no compromise in the struggle against idealism. As he explained in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*:

In his *Ludwig Feuerbach*, Engels declares that the fundamental trends are materialism and idealism. Materialism regards nature as primary and spirit as secondary; it places being first and thought second. Idealism holds the contrary view. This root distinction between the "two great camps" into which the philosophers of the "various shades" of idealism and materialism are divided Engels takes as the cornerstone, and he directly charges with "confusion" those who use the terms idealism and materialism in any other way (Volume 14, p.99).

D. This "root distinction" remains the "cornerstone" of the ideological struggle today, reflecting all the enormous class pressures bearing down on the revolutionary party.

Marxism is a World Scientific Outlook. It is the science of the laws of movement and change in nature, society and consciousness. The philosophical foundation of Marxism, dialectical materialism, proceeds from the primacy of nature over man and consciousness. It takes as its starting point the scientific position that nature existed before man or any other form of life existed or could have existed. The scientific foundations of Marxism were elaborated in a general way by Trotsky when he wrote *In Defense of Marxism*:

We call our dialectic, materialist, since its roots are neither in heaven nor in the depths of our "free will," but in objective reality, in nature. Consciousness grew out of the unconscious, psychology out of physiology, the organic world out of the inorganic, the solar system out of the nebulae. On all the rungs of this ladder of development, the quantitative changes were transformed into the qualitative. Our thought, including dialectical thought, is only one of the forms of expression of changing matter. There is place within this system for neither God nor Devil, nor immortal soul, nor eternal norms of laws and morals. The dialectic of thinking, having grown out of the dialectic of nature, possesses a thoroughly materialist character (p. 66.)

E. Materialism recognizes that eternal nature is the source and provides the impulse for sensation and thought images. It maintains, in agreement with natural science, that objective reality existing independently of man, acts upon human senses and produces sensation. Materialism proceeds from things to sensations and thoughts. Idealism proceeds from thoughts

and sensations to things. This is the denial of an independently existing objective reality, of laws governing the movement of nature, society and consciousness, and of the possibility of knowing objective truth. It is incompatible with a scientific conception of the class struggle, as it opposes the fundamental tenet of historical materialism, derived from dialectical materialism, that social being determines social consciousness. Idealism is the ideological bastion of every reactionary defense of existing capitalist society and the class privileges of the bourgeoisie.

Merely formal adherence to materialism — verbal acceptance that the objective world exists combined with propagandist statements in support of dialectical materialism — is worse than inadequate. It is one of the principal forms in which idealism manifests itself and retains its grip on the cadre in sections of the International Committee.

This emerges as an attempt to eliminate the differences between idealism and materialism, destroying the antithesis of the two. It takes the objective world for granted, and it is precisely this "taking for granted" that removes from thinking the constant conscious recognition that external nature is the material impetus for our sensations and thought images.

Then the two distinct and different moments of the reflection of objective nature, sensation and thought image, are lumped together. Images are made identical with sensation and thus imposed upon objective reality. The actual relation of nature and man and the process of cognition — in which universal nature exists in the individual, and the individual enters incompletely into the universal, reflecting the infinite of nature through finite moments of sensations and thought images, acquiring ever-richer knowledge of the whole through its reflection and abstraction in parts — is repudiated. Idealism makes the parts received in sensation and abstracted as thought images equal to the whole, thus denying the primacy of objective nature.

F. This is the essence of all idealist trends such as positivism and neo-positivism, and of the ideological confusion, i.e. propagandism, within the sections of the International Committee. It manifests itself in the sections as the separation of theory from practice or the liquidation of theory into practice. The struggle to overcome these methods is the greatest task confronting the International Committee. As the nucleus of the World Party of Socialist Revolution, it requires of its sections not only agreement on program, but also, and above all, agreement on method. Only through the development of the dialectical materialist method can cadres be trained to fight under all the changing conditions of revolutionary struggle.

Now on the threshold of the world revolution, the advice of Trotsky must permeate the work of every section:

**Beware of the infiltration of bourgeois scepticism into your ranks. Remember that socialism to this day has not found higher scientific expression than Marxism. Bear in mind that the method of scientific socialism is dialectical materialism. Occupy yourselves with serious study! (*In Defense of Marxism*, p. 98)**

This must be especially emphasized in relation to the training of trade unionists who join the Party. It is the responsibility of the leaders of each section to arm these cadres not only with programmatic demands but above all with a scientific method of cognition.

This method will enable sections to grasp the colossal scope of the opportunities for building mass parties, youth centers and daily papers, and transform the International Committee into the world party of socialist revolution.

This development of Marxism, since it is the main-spring of the turn to the masses, is irreconcilably opposed to the continuance of propagandism which makes a sterile dogma out of theory and leads directly to the betrayal of the working class.

Propagandism has its history which is rooted in the period of the greatest and most catastrophic defeats of the working class—a period which because of the total domination of the working class vanguard by Stalinism effectively cut off the cadres of Trotskyism from the practice of party building, and the development of the dialectical method.

Most of the cadres came out of the Stalinist parties, Social Democracy or centrist movements and few from the working class. Their strength lay in their tenacity and courage in defending the basic principles and the history and tradition of the movement. Their weakness lay in the fact that through no fault of their own they were cut off from the masses because of the unfavorable objective situation. The theoretical development in the movement was inspired by Trotsky, whose vast revolutionary experience in the Russian Revolution counteracted this weakness.

The refusal to heed Trotsky's warning that "the dialectical training of the mind is as essential to a revolutionary as finger exercises to a pianist" (*In Defense of Marxism*, p.70) soon produced a whole new generation of revisionists, in the post-Second World War period.

All revisionist groups which emerged after the Second World War suffered from the same method: the substitution of empiricist "facts," subjective impressions and the dead abstractions of program for a dialectical analysis of reality and the development of theory as a guide to practice. The universal-absolute of the world crisis of imperialism was metaphysically separated from the particular-relative impressions of Cuba, in the case of the SWP, or of the Soviet Bureaucracy, in the case of Pablo — which were then arbitrarily imposed on the crisis, and made into its main determinants. Theory was vulgarized into the worship of accomplished facts.

The other trend— no less pernicious and reactionary — was that represented by the OCI, and later by the Thornett clique, who made a dogma out of program and tried to arbitrarily impose the program on reality instead of seeing the program as being based on the dialectics of the class struggle and being abstracted from it.

Both Thornett and the OCI scorned dialectical materialism and denied its validity as a theory of knowledge of the working class. The OCI rapidly degenerated into a watchdog of the Social Democratic bureaucracy in France while Thornett's group disintegrated into a little syndicalist sect.

14. The growing pressure of bourgeois ideology on the vanguard of the working class cannot be resisted merely by the courage and determination of individual leaders and groups or by a greater activity of the sections. What is called for is a conscious qualitative struggle to elaborate the dialectical development of theory to guide the Party's practice.

In this respect the experiences of the British WRP made in the major class battles of 1978-1979 and the reflection of these struggles in the WRP at the 4th and Pre-5th congresses are of vital importance to the whole International Committee.

The WRP resolutely rejected the subjective idealism of those who objectified theory, liquidated it into practice and bowed to the spontaneity of the class. From a dialectical analysis of this experience on its leading committees, the WRP leadership was able to theoretically strengthen the entire party and organizationally temper it in the struggle for power.

At the basis of this change was the adoption of a new form of branch agenda which would create the conditions for theory to guide the practice of the branch. The object of this was "to train comrades in what is best described as the unconscious use of the dialectical method ..." The sequence of the agenda, starting with the Political Report, Minutes of the last meeting, matters arising (contacts, recruits, *News Line*, Monthly Fund, trade union work, youth work, education), leading to Future Activity and finally to Political Summary, constitutes a dialectically interconnected process involving Living Perception which establishes a flow of information (the Political Report) of the world and national situation, transition of newly perceived undetermined thoughts into abstract knowledge (Minutes) and the activation of the old abstract knowledge by the new perceptions (Future Activity) leading to Notion (Political Summary) and thence to Practice (centralized implementation of branch policy).

In this way the work of the branch is oriented along a dialectical path moving from living perception, through abstraction to practice, and in which the unity and conflict of theory and practice is both preserved and developed.

15. The WRP created the conditions whereby the whole Party could abstract knowledge out of the richness of its experience and grasp the form and content of the growing mass movement against the Tories as well as prepare for the coming attacks of the state. These changes corresponded to the new situation which developed in the aftermath of the steel strike of January 1980 and was signified by the savage assault on social services, local government and the epidemic of closures and layoffs deliberately created by the monetarist policies of Thatcher's Tory government.

The emphasis on theoretical education and branch building was intimately connected to the adoption of a policy calling for Community Councils (Soviets) and a Workers Revolutionary Government, in opposition to another parliamentary Labour government and in preparation for a pre-emptive coup by the forces of the state. Inseparable from this was the building of Revolutionary Youth Centers.

The preparations of the Party were of one piece with

the campaign to let the mass movement against the Tories build up and become conscious of its own strength. This was confirmed by the reluctance of workers to rush pell-mell into wage disputes and the hesitation in Labour-dominated local governments to risk isolated confrontations with the state. The immediate task is to unite the working class through the setting up of Community Councils which would defend industrial and rural communities against the effects of the slump, the attacks of the state and the provocations of the racists and fascists.

Their policy is diametrically opposed to the "State Capitalist" syndicalist revisionists of the British SWP (Cliff group), whose policy of "calling out the minorities" is a manifest provocation and adventure guaranteed to abort the developing mass movement, strengthen the bureaucracy and facilitate the conspiracies of the state. The revisionists are tied to the apron strings of bourgeois democracy. They are prostrate before Parliament and hope for nothing more than another Labour Parliament. Their fake leftism is a cynical anti-Marxist subjectivism and scepticism, which cannot be dealt with by words but only through a scientifically guided practice of the Party.

This experience is adduced not as a model to be mechanically copied in every section but as an example of the dialectical method in practice. It cannot be arbitrarily imposed on different concrete conditions prevailing in other countries but it should be studied to abstract the dialectical method.

**16.** In the USA the massive cuts in public welfare, medical care and education and the tremendous increase in unemployment threaten destitution to millions. These attacks require a comprehensive policy of socialist demands at the center of which must be the Congress of Labour and a campaign to force the trade union leaders to break their ties with the Carter and Reagan administrations and start a campaign for a labor party.

In every section a continuous campaign must be waged against sectarianism in relation to the developing mass movement as well as tail-endism. Continuous analysis of the political situation and regular statements analyzing the crisis and defining the tasks of the section from the Political Committee must be elaborated.

The struggle for Community Councils is the most concrete expression of the tactic of the united front, without which no conquest of power is conceivable. The development of the world slump and the counter-revolutionary attacks of the imperialist states are shaking the traditional parties of the working class to their foundations. Their reformist leaders try desperately to chain them to the bourgeoisie through Parliament, but everywhere the working class is being forced to seek extra-Parliamentary solutions in defense of basic democratic rights. Sectional struggles are merged into the general struggle of the working class and raise the necessity for united action against the capitalist state. This provides the greatest opportunity to win the majority of the working class for Trotskyism.

The necessity for the specific form of the united front arises from the fact that while millions are bitter and dissatisfied with the class collaborationist policies of Social Democracy and Stalinism, they are not yet ready to abandon the old parties for the new. They have to be convinced through the practice of the revolutionary struggle, that there is no road except that of the Soviet Revolution — i.e. Community Councils. This struggle must be based on the masses' experience and requires political irreconcilability towards Stalinism and Social Democracy and revisionism, and a keen sensitivity, patience and resourcefulness towards the masses.

In the 1930s because of the massive defeats of the working class the tactic of the united front was seen primarily as a means of exposing the reformist leaders before their followers to win them to the program of the Fourth International. Today however, the onrush of world revolution and the undefeated nature of the mass movement gives an unprecedented appeal to the program of workers' power, and weakens the grip of the bureaucracy on the workers.

The world slump takes its most frightful toll among immigrant minorities who are subjected not only to attacks from fascists, but as the recent Christmas Eve attack by a commando of Stalinist thugs against an immigrant workers' hostel in Vitry in France shows, by sections of the Stalinists as well. Special campaigns must be launched to unite immigrant and native workers in a common struggle against imperialism and an end to bans on immigration, for workers' defense guards and soviets or Community Councils.

**17.** The real criterion of political development in the ICFI is its ability to publish daily papers in the most important countries outside Britain — Germany, Australia and the United States.

The daily paper is the party organizer. The 11 years of the daily paper in Britain — *Workers Press* and *News Line* — is an enormous historical achievement of Trotskyism and has been the real material weapon for destroying Social Democracy and Stalinism. The crisis of the *Morning Star* — daily paper of British Stalinism — is the outcome of 11 years' publication of the Trotskyist daily press.

In Europe the pretentious efforts of the French revisionists of the *Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire* to rival the *Workers Press* collapsed in political ignominy when the publishers of the daily *Rouge* were forced to abandon its publication in February 1979 only two years and four months after it began.

With the use of color, sport and TV the latest developments in printing technology have been harnessed to the needs of the revolution.

Overcoming the problems of launching, distributing, maintaining and financing a daily paper must become the source of developing the cadre and expanding the party in the mass movement.

The daily press will constitute a powerful lever in the unions enabling the sections to reach wide layers of workers and professional people, publicize their struggles and provide them with a socialist perspective and Marxist analysis of political events.

Through this struggle the International Committee sections must build mass parties to destroy Stalinism and Social Democracy and successfully lead the socialist revolution.

**18.** The crisis of Stalinism — starkly expressed in the collapse of the Gierek regime and the frameup trial of Chiang Ching in Peking — is directly linked to the crisis of world imperialism.

Arising out of the defeats of the working class, and the isolation and bureaucratization of the USSR, Stalinism successfully dominated a majority of the world's working class with its reactionary policies of "Popular Front," "Peaceful coexistence," "National Democracy," and "Peaceful transition through Parliament." The sole aim of these policies, based on the repudiation of revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, was to bridle the working class politically and use it to neutralize the imperialist bourgeoisie and maintain the bureaucratic utopia of "Socialism in One Country."

This theory reflected the conservative caste interests of the bureaucracy and its organic hatred of any disturbance of the status quo by the development of revolution outside the USSR. The adoption of this policy led directly to the greatest betrayals and catastrophes for the world working class, the complete decimation of the cadre of communism, the strangulation of the Third International and the murder of Trotsky, the theoretician of world revolution.

Stalinism is not only a parasitic outgrowth on Soviet economy; it is, above all, the instrument of imperialist counterrevolution against the international working class. It cannot be reformed. It must be overthrown and replaced by a new world leadership based on the program and perspective of Lenin and Trotsky. The political revolution against the bureaucracy, tremors of which can already be felt in Poland, is inseparably tied to the extension of the world revolution into Europe and the United States of America.

Despite its efforts to destroy the world revolution and come to a permanent compromise with world imperialism, Stalinism has failed to do either. Inside the USSR powerful forces in the unions, collective farms and universities are challenging the despotic powers of the bureaucracy. New generations of workers and youth, unafraid of the GPU and inspired by the progress of industry and science, are fighting for a democratization of political life and rationalization of economy in their interest. Outside the USSR the bureaucracy faces not a defeated working class but a resurgent one, and the remnants of its once powerful monolithic apparatus are divided and weakened.

In Eastern Europe — despite the progressive changes of the 1940s — Stalinism has failed to integrate the economies and eliminate national conflicts and rivalries. The impact of the world slump can no longer be cushioned by Comecon. The huge increases in dollar indebtedness and the simultaneous loss of export markets in the West has resulted in monetary depreciation, inflation, cutback in subsidies, increase in norms and big cuts in living standards for East European workers and peasants. The burden of interest

payments is crippling the East European economy while the fear of state bankruptcy is persuading Western banks to reschedule their loans rather than lend any new money. The most dramatic effects of this pressure are seen in Poland where 70 to 80 percent of its export earnings go to service debts and where the working class and peasantry are uniting in Solidarity to fight the crushing burden of imperialist loans and Stalinist treachery. As in Hungary in 1956 the workers' strike in Gdansk in 1980 which set out to secure trade union rights, quickly developed into a political struggle with the strike committee assuming the role of a soviet. The worsening of the crisis is rapidly isolating the Stalinist parties and depriving them of all credibility, driving them into headlong conflict with the masses.

The central aim of this movement is not to restore capitalism, as the Stalinists lyingly assert, or to overthrow so-called state capitalism in Eastern Europe as the "state capitalist" counterrevolutionaries allege. It is aimed principally at the bourgeois norms of distribution, which undermine planned economy, and against the political corruption and repression which accompany it. Solidarity, in one of its first statements, recognized unreservedly the progressive nature of the property relations established by the Red Army, but challenged the supremacy of the Polish United Workers Party.

"State Capitalism" is the doctrine of the imperialist apologists who seek to confuse militant workers in the Stalinist-controlled countries by obscuring the significance of the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe in 1944-1945 and distorting the class nature of the states and property relations set up in Eastern Europe. These movements of the working class and peasantry, on the contrary, confirm the correctness of Trotsky's historic prognosis that a political revolution is inevitable and a social revolution impossible because the bureaucracy has not created social supports for its political domination in the form of special types of property.

The political revolution is aimed at breaking the monopoly of political power exercised by the bureaucracy, ending its privileges, such as the special shops, and redistributing the national income in favor of the toiling masses. In place of the plebiscitary regime of "People's Democracy," the International Committee of the Fourth International calls for a regime based on workers' and peasants' soviets and full freedom for independent trade unions with the right to strike, freedom for factory committees and for the right of assembly and press.

It is not enough to challenge the supremacy of the Stalinist parties with free trade unions, it is imperative that Soviet democracy be based on the legalization of all parties based on the working class. The catastrophe threatening Eastern Europe can be avoided only by a complete revision of the planned economy in the interests of the workers and peasants. Only through the active participation of trade unions, farmers' unions, co-operatives, factory committees and soviets can living standards be raised and bureaucratic parasitism be ended.

The Polish masses face a cunning, resourceful and ruthless enemy in the form of the Soviet bureaucracy.

For its success the political revolution in Poland needs more than a trade union leadership however dynamic and representative. It needs — most of all — a clear and uncompromising revolutionary perspective, program and leadership. The coming political revolution in Poland, Eastern Europe and the USSR is indissolubly bound up with the task of creating sections of the International Committee to provide that leadership.

**19.** The Second International opposed all attempts to grant self-determination to the oppressed colonial peoples. The Third International — under Stalin's domination — betrayed every nationalist aspiration with its cynical diplomacy and its consecration of the post-war division of the colonial world. Only the Fourth International has unconditionally defended the struggles of the colonial peoples, exposed the crimes of imperialism and the betrayals of Stalinism, social democracy and the native bourgeoisies.

The most enduring achievement of the ICFI has been its alliance with the national liberation movements in the Middle East and North Africa. This was made possible only through the struggle to actualize the theory of Lenin and Trotsky on national self-determination and permanent revolution.

Beginning with the 7th Congress in 1977, the International Committee resolutely opposed any tendency towards a platonic internationalism and fought for a practice which made clear to the vanguard of the West European and US workers the intimate interdependence of the socialist revolution in the West and the struggles of the peoples of Palestine, Libya, Iran, Nicaragua, Western Sahara and other nations for the right to national self-determination.

Far from lessening the conflict and contradiction between imperialism and the underdeveloped nations, the world slump has sharpened them to the point of explosion, and generated a new wave of anti-imperialist struggles led by the Iranian and Nicaraguan masses.

The 9th Congress rededicates itself to this struggle and pledges full and continued support to the Palestine Liberation Organization — the sole representative of the Palestinian people — in its struggle against Zionist imperialism, the traitor Sadat and the conspiracies of the Falangists and the reactionary Arab regimes.

The International Committee salutes in particular the heroic resistance of the West Bank Palestinians and their brothers in occupied Palestine against the annexationist policy of Begin — aided by Sadat. Their leaders like Bassam Shaka, mayor of Nablus, have given a powerful impetus to the national liberation struggle and shaken the Zionist establishment by their stoic courage in the face of the Zionists' barbaric terror. The escalating attacks of Zionist imperialism against the PLO in South Lebanon are a constant reminder that Israeli imperialism is incapable of destroying the PLO. The victories of the Vietnamese and Iranian revolutions, in weakening US imperialism have also, consequently, demoralized and undermined the Zionists' military potential. Now the progress of the world slump and the huge inflation created by militarism is tearing the Begin government apart and

creating the conditions for a joint struggle of poor Jews and Palestinians for a Palestinian Socialist Republic and the abolition of the puppet state of Israel. Such a struggle will strike the most powerful blow against imperialism and its client states in the Middle East. It will have the most profound effect on the Egyptian and Sudanese working classes and peasantry and will topple the hated Sadat and Numeiry regimes.

Conscious of this weakness US imperialism has dispatched Kissinger on a tour of the semi-feudal Arab states in the hope of creating a new diplomatic diversion to supplement Camp David. But the creation of the Front of Steadfastness and Confrontation between the PLO, Libya, Algeria, Syria and South Yemen has alerted the Arab masses and strengthened the PLO economically, politically and militarily.

The International Committee welcomes and salutes 11 years of Colonel Gaddafi's Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya — a bastion of revolutionary nationalism and popular democracy in North Africa and the Arab world. Libya's example in nationalizing oil and gas and the remarkable changes in agricultural and industrial policy — and above all the dramatic rise in the freedom as well as the living standards and culture of the working people, made possible by the regime's reforms — stand as a shining inspiration to the peoples of the underdeveloped nations.

These policies have earned Libya the hatred of every reactionary Arab regime in North Africa and the US and French imperialists who have organized a conspiracy to eliminate Colonel Gaddafi and his supporters. The International Committee calls on all Arab workers to defend the Libyan Arab regime. Every IC section must organize campaigns to support the Libyan people against the conspiracy at home and the threat of military attack from Egypt.

The ICFI supports the principled stand of Colonel Gaddafi in calling for an end to the Iran-Iraq war and for the unity of Syria, Chad and Libya against the potential war threat from Israel and Egypt and the provocations of French imperialism.

The International Committee's alliance with the national liberation movements in the Middle East now assumes crucial importance:

- i) The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has completely discredited Stalinism and the Moscow bureaucracy in the eyes of millions in the colonial world. It has also undermined Castro's position amongst the so-called nonaligned powers.
- ii) The extension of the Camp David conspiracy to include military collaboration between Sadat and US imperialism increases the war danger in the Middle East. But the social crisis in Israel, the resistance of the West Bank masses and the repressions of the Begin regime are creating fertile soil for the unity of poor Jews and Palestinian Arabs in the joint struggle for a socialist republic of Palestine.

All these developments combine with the slump in Western Europe and the United States and pose directly the necessity for a socialist planned economy embracing the developed and underdeveloped countries as the only way out of the threatening catastrophe.

At the same time the intensity of world slump and the intrigues of US imperialism bring with them a real danger of sections of the native bourgeoisie, in search for markets, loans and producer goods, abandoning the working class and peasantry and seeking a separate accommodation with its one-time enemies in Westminster and the White House.

The Fourth International knows in advance and openly warns the backward nations that their belated national states can no longer count upon an independent democratic development. Surrounded by decaying capitalism and enmeshed in imperialist conditions, the independence of a backward state inevitably will be semi-fictional and its political regime, under the influence of internal class contradictions and external pressures, will unavoidably fall into dictatorship against the people ...

Just as the only genuinely revolutionary force of our era is the international proletariat, so the only real program to liquidate all oppression, social and national, is the program of the permanent revolution. (*Documents of the Fourth International*, pp.330-331)

Nowhere is this clearer than in the capitulation of the bourgeois-nationalist leadership of Mugabe (ZANU) and Nkomo (ZAPU) to the political and economic interests of the British monopolies in Zimbabwe, and the subsequent disintegration of the national movement into a reactionary tribal conflict between Shona and Ndebele. Despite huge sacrifices by the peasantry and working class not a single problem of the democratic revolution has been carried out, not even a revision of the British-designed judicial code under which ZANU leader Tekere was tried. The problems of mass unemployment and chronic landlessness and rural indebtedness are rapidly creating the conditions of a new civil war — led by the working class in alliance with the peasantry — against the collaborationist regime in Salisbury.

This struggle is indissolubly bound up with the struggle of British and South African workers against the City of London with its allies in South Africa and Zimbabwe.

A similar situation is growing in India where the agrarian, national and caste questions — the most vital problems of the Indian Revolution — are shaking the Gandhi regime and forcing it to adopt increasingly repressive and dictatorial measures against the Indian workers and peasants. The only force powerful enough to definitively solve these outstanding questions and end the chronic poverty and underdevelopment is the working class and its dictatorship.

In both countries the Stalinists and other radical groups have been totally discredited by their subordination to bourgeois nationalism. Only parties of the International Committee of the Fourth International can and will lead these nations out of the blind alley created by the nationalists.

The responsibility of the International Committee to develop this alliance in line with the development of the world party of socialist revolution cannot be underestimated. It has and will continue to provide the most fruitful and most exacting test of the sections and their cadre. Their guiding line will be that of the Founding Conference:

The struggle for the national independence of the colonies, is from the standpoint of the revolutionary proletariat only a transitional stage on the road toward drawing the backward countries into the international socialist revolution. ("Imperialist War and World Revolution," p.331, *Documents of the Fourth International*)

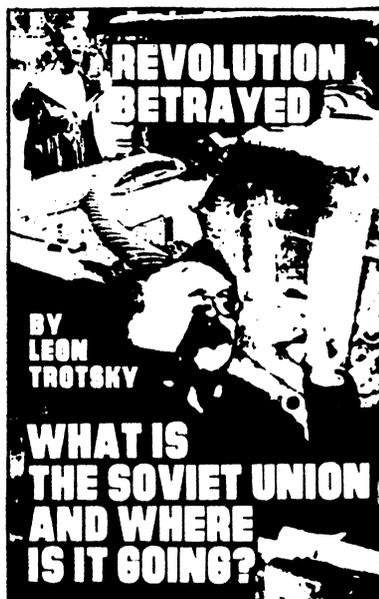
Since its foundation in 1953 the International Committee has grown and developed only out of an unrelenting struggle for theoretical clarity and against every variety of revisionism. Every Congress of the International Committee has marked a step forward in the training of cadre and the struggle to resolve the crisis of working class leadership. Because of the protracted boom this struggle, in the past decades, has been slow and arduous, and in the 8th Congress reached an exceptional intensity.

But at all times and in all the struggles the leadership of the International Committee has never wavered in its belief in the prognosis of Trotsky, and fought to actualize it in theory and practice.

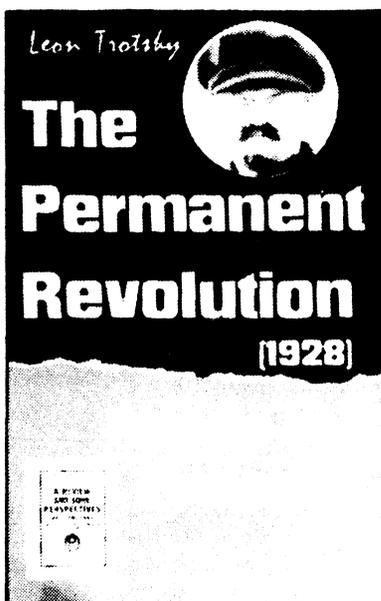
The Fourth International does not search after and does not invent panaceas. It takes its stand completely on Marxism as the only revolutionary doctrine that enables one to understand reality, unearth the cause behind the defeats and consciously prepare for victory. The Fourth International continues the tradition of Bolshevism which first showed the proletariat how to conquer power.

The economic and political context of the 9th Congress of the ICFI give an unmistakable urgency and significance to Trotsky's words. Every section must prepare accordingly and go forward to the construction of the World Party of Socialist Revolution.

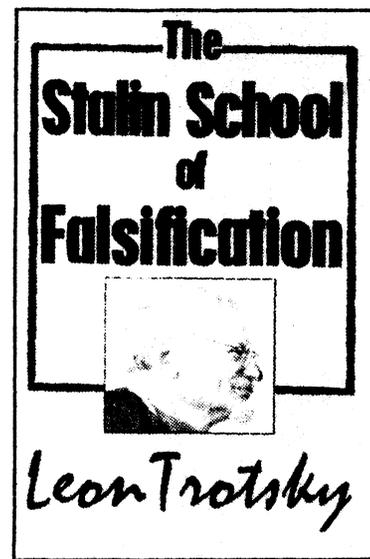
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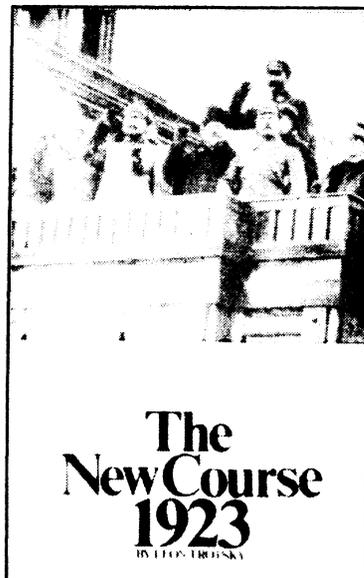
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*Maria Joffe*

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by Leon Trotsky



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# TROTSKY'S STRUGGLE FOR DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

By G. Healy

One year before he was assassinated by Stalin, Trotsky was obliged to wage one of the most important political struggles of his life in defense of the dialectical materialist method.

Looking back now, over those 41 years, it is possible to envisage future historians arriving at the conclusion that Trotsky was the greatest revolutionary specialist on the counterrevolutionary role of the Soviet bureaucracy.

After founding the Fourth International in the autumn of 1938, he became engaged in, literally, a life and death struggle inside the Socialist Workers Party

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*Opposite page: Trotsky in Coyoacan, Mexico, dictating his biography of Stalin.*

of the United States against those who rejected dialectics.

It is impossible, of course, to separate these two major experiences. Taken together, from a background of many others, they were an integral part of Trotsky's contribution to the Marxist-Leninist tradition, which is so proudly embodied in the International Committee of the Fourth International today.

In the autumn of 1939, he was called on to explain why several leading members of his own movement claimed they accepted Marxism, but without the dialectic. Trotsky tossed this impudent claim to one side, by saying that it was in effect accepting a "clock without a spring."

There are presently many such fraudulent groups, which while adhering to Trotskyism, hang on to the



*Trotsky in exile in Buyuk Ada, Turkey*

coattails of that New York group 41 years ago which tried to separate the dialectical method from Marxism.

The reader might well ask how such groups can be so disorientated that they opt for such pitiable existences? The answer is not difficult to understand. We have only to glance at the writings of Lenin to appreciate that he was, and is, the greatest dialectical materialist of the 20th century.

Now that the capitalist world heads for the greatest revolutionary confrontations of all time, embodying some of the revolutionary traditions of the 17th century, they remain firmly trapped in the cobwebs of idealism.

Too cowardly to declare the open rejection of dialectics, as the opposition did in the United States in 1939, they content themselves with keeping silent and concentrating instead upon declaring what a "revolutionary act" it is to join the Labour Party and of course link up with that outstanding and dangerous muddle-head Wedgwood Benn.

A glance at the historical record will show us that from the early 1840s, dialectical materialism was the most powerful weapon scientifically forged by the founders of our movement.

### Lenin and the Dialectic of 1917

Less than two years before he died, Lenin completed one of his most important articles, titled "On the Significance of Militant Materialism." The following quotation should establish without a doubt the validity of our claim:

"In my opinion, the editors and contributors of *Pod Znamenem Marksizma* should be a kind of 'Society of Materialist Friends of the Hegelian Dialectic'." He suggested a systematic study of Hegelian Dialectics from a "materialist standpoint," that is, he went on to explain, "the dialectics which Marx applied practically in his *Capital* and in his historical and political works ..."

"Modern Natural Scientists (if they know how to seek, and if we learn to help them) will find in the Hegelian dialectics, materialistically interpreted, a series of answers to the philosophical problems which are being raised by the revolution in natural science and which make the intellectual admirers of bourgeois fashion 'stumble' into reaction." (Pages 233, 234, Volume 33, *Lenin's Collected Works*)

In a further article in the same volume, he wrote contemptuously of our "petty bourgeois democrats."

"They have completely failed to understand," he wrote, "what is decisive in Marxism, namely its revolutionary dialectics." (My emphasis) (Page 476, "Our Revolution," Volume 33)

Some 12 years earlier in the dark days of his second immigration, he had written about the historical development of Marxism as follows:

"Our Doctrine," said Engels, referring to himself and his famous friend, 'is not a dogma, but a guide to action.' This classical statement stresses with remarkable force and expressiveness that aspect of Marxism which is very often lost sight of.

"And by losing sight of it, we turn Marxism into



Trotsky

something one-sided, distorted and lifeless, we deprive it of its life-blood, we undermine its basic theoretical foundations — dialectics, the doctrine of historical development, all embracing and full of contradictions; we undermine its connection with the definite practical tasks of the epoch, which may change with every new turn of history." (Page 39, "Certain Features of the Historical Development of Marxism," Volume 17)

Some three years earlier, on February 5, 1907, just as the oppressive conditions which forced him into the second immigration were building up, he referred again to "that famous friend [Marx]" as follows:

"The Marxian doctrine [dialectics] has fused the theory and practice of the class struggle into one inseparable whole." (My insertion in brackets) (Page 107, 108, Preface to the Russian Translation of Marx's letters, Volume 12)

This was written at a time when he was working on his book, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* and already engaged in open political warfare against the bourgeois democrats who were busy turning their backs on the significance of the 1905 Revolution.

"Our Russian intellectuals, who vulgarize Marx in a Philistine manner, in the most revolutionary times teach the proletariat a policy of passivity, of submissively 'drifting with the current' of timidly supporting the most unstable elements of the fashionable Liberal Party." (Page 108, *ibid*)

### The Fourth International is based upon Marxism, Leninism

"It is historical experience," Trotsky writes in 1939,



Lenin

“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.” (Page 100, *In Defense of Marxism*)

He recalls in the same book that his “first serious conversation with Comrades Shachtman and Warde” in the train immediately after his arrival in Mexico in January 1937, “was devoted to the necessity of persistently propagating dialectical materialism ...”

“I insisted most strongly on the earliest possible publication of a theoretical organ, having again in mind the need to educate the party, first and foremost its new members, in the spirit of dialectical materialism.” (Page 142, *In Defense of Marxism*)

His concern for the education of his American Party in those critical days was spelt out in a most forthright manner. It was necessary, he said, because “in the United States ... the bourgeoisie systematically instills vulgar empiricism in the workers more than anywhere else ... it is necessary to speed the elevation of the movement to a proper theoretical level.” (ibid)

From his exile in Mexico City, Trotsky had little influence so far as the dialectical education of his American party was concerned.

This was due more than anything else to the unfavorable, predominantly reactionary nature of the objective situation throughout the capitalist world on the eve of World War II.

In periods of reaction, especially in the major capitalist countries, it is difficult to develop dialectical materialism. In such situations bourgeois ideological sources exert a powerful pressure on the intelligentsia and the working class.

Even where attempts are made to revive an interest in the dialectical method, those who do this sometimes reflect elements of philosophical idealism themselves, which constantly undermines even their most sustained efforts.

There is an insidious revisionist method which endeavors to convey agreement by a silent acceptance of dialectics. Seldom will an opponent declare his or her hostility or scepticism towards the dialectic.

On the contrary, they will endeavor to add it on to all the other confusion which they muddle along with. Their silence is usually a smokescreen for obscuring their liquidation of anything to do with theory into blind activism.

This was so, especially in the period of the boom, when an atmosphere of live and let live, kind of “common sense” approach, prevailed amongst normally hard-working campaigners for socialism. Trotsky understood this mood well when he wrote:

“Common sense’s basic capital consists of the elementary conclusions of universal experience, not to put one’s fingers in the fire, whenever possible to proceed along a straight line ... not to tease vicious dogs, and so forth and so on.

“Under a stable social milieu, common sense is adequate for bargaining, healing, writing articles, leading trade unions, voting in parliament, marrying and reproducing the race.” (“Their Morals and Ours”)

But when the objective situation changes rapidly, as it is doing today, all this “common sense” and making-it-up-as-you-go-along point of view is so much worthless baggage that cannot solve a single important problem.

When the class struggle is sharpening under conditions in which the struggle about who will take the power is posed, then we are marching straight into the social revolution, which is the position in Britain today.

Trotsky anticipated times like the present when, on page 8 of his booklet “Their Morals and Ours,” he wrote: “Heaven remains the only fortified position for military operations against dialectical materialism.”

Assuming we have to include the SAS among the heavenly hordes doing the fortifying, let us now get down to the organization of our own dialectical materialist offensive.

## The Marxist Offensive

The world is today sharply and irrevocably divided between the dialectical materialist camp and innumerable forms of idealism running rife in the universities and the big-business media.

These latter forces are aided, abetted and reinforced by dozens of professional purveyors of idealist rubbish, ranging between Pragmatism, empiricism, Positivism and neo-Positivism, within the working class.

They come from renegade Trotskyist groups, Stalinists and opportunists of all kinds. A lot of their time is centered on efforts to create a mystique about the dialectical method as something which resembles a kind of religion of “gobbledegook,” as the young “career boys” from the universities would say.

During the Stalinist era, the dialectical method was presented generally as a set of laws with examples of

how they were to be applied.

This produced very little change so far as the students were concerned. They simply continued as idealists striving to impose the laws artificially upon whatever they were thinking and doing, and constructing their own examples as to what they politically thought was happening — a kind of educated guess-work.

No one could possibly become a dialectical materialist in this way and the source of such confusion was not in the minds of the students but in the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism.

When Stalin murdered the most important leaders of the October Revolution after the infamous Moscow Trials of the late 1930s, this was not just another of his countless brutal, sadistic killings. Stalin beheaded the revolution itself.

Because whatever the strength and shortcomings of the individuals in the old Bolshevik leadership, collectively it was the most powerful social revolutionary force that this planet has ever seen.

It was not just Lenin and Trotsky as outstanding revolutionary leaders — they functioned and were able to function as important and decisive parts of this whole leadership.

The great surge forward that the Party had made in the development of the dialectical method was an integral part of the October revolution itself.

It is of decisive importance to understand how Lenin approached the question of dialectical training. Let us recall that it was Marx before him who set the example of how Hegel should be “stood on his materialist feet.”

For this, it is necessary to make the most careful study of the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* with particular attention to the chapter “Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic and Philosophy as a Whole.”

Lenin made both an exhaustive and thorough-going analysis in his “Conspectus of Hegel’s *Science of Logic*.” There were fundamental reasons why this had to be done, and has to be done today as we shall presently see.

Firstly, we must break once and for all from this old Stalinist and idealist method of training which can be likened to some kind of “do it yourself” kit of “dialectical laws” for **immediate application**, together with suitable examples of how they should work, at least in our heads.

This was the method which Stalin used in his pamphlet “Dialectical and Historical Materialism” (September 1938), reinforced by his protege Adoratsky in a similar pamphlet. Those who still use such an approach today, in one way or another, follow in their footsteps.

## Hegel’s Method

For the key towards an understanding of the method of dialectical training today is still the objective idealist Hegel, and the way in which both Marx and Lenin stood him on his materialist feet.

For Hegel, the universal, including nature, were abstractions. In practice he began from an abstract image of whatever task he was going to carry out.

He then imposed this image upon the act itself, thereby alienating his own image from himself. He ab-

stracted human thought from himself and then proceeded to counterpose it to himself.

He omitted taking into account the self-movement of matter, consequently he started out with objectified images, then proceeded to impose these objectified images upon his physical acts in the external world, thus alienating these self-imposed images.

In this way, he was an uncritical observer of the objective world. It was simply a process of shuttling abstract images forward upon what was to him an equally abstract external world, alienating them there for a moment, and then shuttling them back again into his head.

For Hegel, the negation of the negation was an empty process.

However, unknown to Hegel, this was not the barren process it appeared to be. Despite the objectification and alienation of these images, the moment of his act itself was a positive, finite moment of the real world which was incorporated and returnable apart from his abstract image in his negation of the negation.

Thus, without setting out to acquire real knowledge, Hegel began to accumulate such knowledge in the development of his concepts.

As Marx explains: “Hegel’s positive achievement here, in his speculative logic, is that the definite concepts, the universal fixed **thought forms** in their independence vis-a-vis nature and mind are a necessary result of the general estrangement of the human being and therefore also of human thought, and that Hegel has therefore brought these together and presented them as moments of the abstraction process.” (Page 153 — *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* by Karl Marx)

These scientific concepts denoting “moments of the abstraction process” can be empty and devoid of content under certain conditions, just like the name “John” until it is attached to a human being.

As concepts for the purpose of analysis, they become not only related to different moments, but establish a scientific relation to each other.

Hegel in his own idealist way, unconsciously, in the historical sense created the knowledge of concepts.

He did it, as countless human beings before him have done other things, great and small, as a result of practice.

Within his shuttle service of abstract estranged images, he quite unconsciously made contact with the real external world which he then promptly blocked out with the continued traffic of abstract images through his head.

His quarrel was not with his images, but the real world itself. Fortunately, for all of us he was obliged to indirectly reflect the real world in his concepts, since, for scientific purposes, they could only be developed out of empty abstractions, whereas Marx insisted that a man who thinks does so because that is his “real life activity.”

Hegel’s conception of real life activity was an abstract schema.

## The future of Hegel’s concepts

Looking back now at Lenin’s proposal to the editors



Hegel

of *Pod Znamenem* in 1923, that they launch a "Society of Materialist Friends of the Hegelian Dialectic" one can understand and appreciate more clearly this proposal.

For Lenin, like Marx, really appreciated Hegel's contribution to the dialectical method. They opposed Hegel, but to the end of their lives his main books were kept open right by their side.

To re-read carefully the following comment by Lenin on Hegel is to sense the undertone of critical appreciation which he had for the old philosopher.

"Movement and 'self-movement,'" wrote Lenin (Page 141, Volume 38), "(this arbitrary (independent), spontaneous internally-necessary movement) 'change,' 'movement and vitality,' 'the principle of all self-movement,' 'impulse' (Trieb) to 'movement' and to 'activity' — the opposite to 'dead being' — who would believe that this is the core of 'Hegelianism,' of abstract Hegelianism?"

"This core had to be discovered, understood, rescued, laid bare, refined, which is precisely what

Marx and Engels did."

And on page 278, Volume 38, "Hegel sensuously 'believed'," wrote Lenin, "thought that materialism as a philosophy was impossible, for philosophy is the science of thinking, of the Universal, but the Universal is a thought.

"Here he repeated the error of the same subjective idealism that he always called 'bad' idealism. Objective (and still more, absolute) idealism came very close to materialism by a zig-zag (and a somersault), even partially became transformed into it."

Hegel's scientific concepts have by no means revealed or completed their impressive contribution to Marxist analysis. Indeed, they are becoming more and more indispensable to physicists and those who work in the natural sciences.

There is indeed plenty of room, still, for a "Society of Materialist Friends of the Dialectic" in Britain.

It is quite a long time since Marx and Engels wrote in the *German Ideology* as follows: "... the development of an individual is determined by the development of all others with whom he is directly or indirectly associated and that the different generations of individuals entering into relations with one another are connected with one another, that the physical existence of later generations is determined by their predecessors, and that these later generations inherit the productive forces and forms of intercourse accumulated by their predecessors, their own mutual relations being determined thereby.

"In short it is clear that development takes place and that the history of an individual cannot possibly be separated from the history of preceding or contemporary individuals, but is determined by this history." (Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Volume 5, page 438)

What they are saying is something like this: The collective content of man's knowledge is rising by leaps and bounds. Through the flexible use of Hegelian concepts and the categories that give rise to them, we shall learn how to analyze these enormous sources of new knowledge as it grows and expands.

But this can only be done when we ourselves become familiar with Hegel and learn to "stand him on his materialist feet in the process of using his concepts to cognize the objective world."



*Rally for the announcing of the Gdansk Agreement, being addressed by Lech Walesa*

# POLAND: ON THE ROAD TO POLITICAL REVOLUTION

By Mike Banda

Until his murder 41 years ago, Trotsky passionately believed in and fought for the defense of the conquests of the 1917 October Revolution not only from imperialist attack, but also against the parasitism and excesses of the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy.

The bureaucracy, he noted, did not have any inherent strength. It derived its power and arrogance from the disillusionment of the masses and the lack of a new perspective.

Trotsky never despaired of the capacity of the Soviet masses to rid themselves of this usurping cast of officials, but his analysis of the Stalinist regime and its repressive apparatus led him to conclude that the "Soviet workers' revolutionary upsurge will probably be given by events outside the country." (*Transitional Program*)

The correctness of Trotsky's prognosis and his unconquerable revolutionary optimism could not be more categorically expressed than in the events that have been convulsing Poland for the last year.

Poland has become a synonym for the irreconcilable struggle of two opposing camps: on the one side a corrupt, unrepresentative and aging bureaucracy backed by the Kremlin, Washington and London; on the other an undaunted, young, vigorous and independent trade union movement — the strongest in Eastern Europe — Solidarity.

The struggle from one angle looks hopelessly unequal. It is overshadowed by the menacing presence around Poland of 50 Soviet armored divisions and a powerful armada in the Baltic.

Coincidentally and paradoxically the threat of Soviet military intervention is supplemented by the possibility of hunger and destitution contained in the threat of world bankers to declare a default on the \$20 billion loan and the \$8 billion on interest payments.

Despite the threats from Moscow, warnings from Eastern Europe, slanders from Cuba, secret exhortation from the Catholic hierarchy and intrigues by the "moderates" within Solidarity, the working class has refused to yield one single basic issue since the historic strike in the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk.

Undeterred, the members of Solidarity have refused to make their newly-won rights a basis for a negotiated compromise.

The world bourgeoisie, not so surprisingly, has adopted a tone of restrained anxiety and extreme caution. With one eye on the precarious state of their bank loans and another cocked apprehensively at Solidarity, it hopes fervently for a quick return to the "good old days" of police terror and low wages.

In the food riots of 1970 and the strikes of 1976, the Polish working class merely flexed its muscles and vetoed the measures of the late Wladislaw Gomulka and

Edward Gierek.

Now — like a young giant realizing his strength — the Polish workers are using their industrial muscle to wring concessions from a frightened bureaucracy.

The initial cause of the struggle was the huge increase in meat prices by Gierek's government in July 1980. Until then Poland was the only country in the world which had experienced no price increases in 10 years.

This was not so much a triumph of bureaucratic planning, but rather the legacy of the riots and strikes against price increases which brought down Gomulka.

Wladislaw Gomulka — a veteran Stalinist — who fell foul of Stalin in the frameup trials of the 1950s but refused to recant — was himself co-opted by the Kremlin to prevent the Polish workers from joining the Hungarian workers in the political revolution of October 1956.

Gomulka preserved his Bonapartist regime by decollectivizing the collective farms and befriending the peasantry by drastically reducing compulsory deliveries of meat and produce and increasing agricultural prices while at the same time holding down workers' wages and encouraging inflation.

In 1970, alarmed by the specter of the Hungarian revolution looming over the Baltic ports and the large towns like Lodz, the party leaders dumped Gomulka and brought in Gierek, whose main support came from the Silesian miners and other sections of workers.

In a November 1971 speech, Gierek admitted the extremely serious nature of the crisis and revealed that the protests "took such a violent turn as a result of social discontent which had been accumulating for a long time" ... and pledged to adopt policies which "must always in the future aim at preventing any conflicts with the working class."

What this meant in practice was not only a freeze on prices, but a significant departure from the Stalinist policy of Gomulka, who not only earmarked an inordinate amount of national income for capital accumulation purposes but, more damningly, developed industry without any consideration of industrial and consumer demand.

By the time Gomulka was replaced, inventories in state warehouses accounted for more than half Poland's estimated gross national product!

His quixotic agricultural policy, based on achieving self-sufficiency in grain, led in the end to the alienation of the peasants who were incensed by fodder prices and depressed meat procurement prices.

The bureaucracy's over-ambitious policies, combined with its over-centralized and incompetent management and gravely-flawed planning, made a bad situation into a disaster. Under Gomulka, Poland boasted the lowest rate of increase in real wages in

Eastern Europe.

Gierek's policy only transferred the center of the crisis elsewhere. Where Gomulka's group tried to build "socialism in one country" by socialist accumulation, depressing workers' living standards and encouraging peasants to export foodstuffs abroad to earn hard currencies, Gierek's group based its form of "socialism in one country" principally on lavish loans from the international bankers coupled with economic concessions at home.

The policy of "credit socialism" was actively encouraged by the US bankers— like Rockefeller— who imagined that massive dollar loans would soften up Eastern Europe and enable the West to prize these states away from the USSR.

As one commentator observed, "the bankers felt reassured by the so-called 'umbrella theory' which assumed that the Soviet Union would give its economic support to any East European country in trouble. With the great expansion of the Euro-dollar market in the early 1970s, the banks were becoming even more interested in Eastern Europe.

"And in the United States, Henry Kissinger and others maintained that Western lending could help to distance the Eastern European satellites from their Soviet masters." (Anthony Sampson, *Newsweek*, April 10, 1981)

This novel and dangerous expedient increased consumption levels but also ushered in a period of unprecedented corruption and parasitism within the bureaucracy. The privileges of the Communist Party became more exclusive, its income more swollen, its morals more decadent.

Gierek achieved a cheap popularity, based largely on a greater range and supply of imported consumer goods, and expensive and inefficient industrial projects. But the basic contradiction between low industrial productivity and the nationalized property relations, and the need for economic growth not only remained but widened.

Gierek— with the support of the Soviet bureaucracy— had mortgaged the planned economy for a mess of bankers' pottage.

The problems of farmers' incomes and agricultural productivity remained untouched. The bankers became apprehensive, the workers restive, but since Poland was not a member of the IMF, the real position of the Polish economy was not disclosed and the bureaucracy— under cover of detente— was able to curry billions of dollars more from the US and European banks.

The Gierek bureaucracy was now on a credit treadmill. Its organic failure to elaborate a democratic system of planning and economic management depressed productivity, increased the prices of exports and made Poland even more dependent on foreign loans.

In 1976 food prices went up again after five years and provoked another workers' revolt. In April 1980 the Polish leaders made their last approach to Western bankers for another \$500 million loan. So desperate was Gierek and the USSR that they even promised to allow the banks to monitor the economy— a measure unprecedented in Eastern Europe.

As a gesture to US and world imperialism of its

determination to repay the loans, the Gierek regime repeated history by increasing meat prices on July 1, 1980.

Not since December 17-18, 1970, when the Polish workers revolted over Gomulka's price decrees, had Poland experienced such a traumatic and irreversible change.

The strike movement in the Lenin shipyard against the price increases did not end there. It developed and expanded territorially and politically with a rapidity that amazed its organizers and confounded its enemies.

Unlike December 1970, the bureaucracy, fearing the wrath of the masses and scared about the reaction of its Western creditors, refrained from using repressive force. By the eighth week of the strike not a bullet had been fired and the Soviet tanks did not appear.

The strike movement adopted new and varied demands— free trade unions, an end to censorship and the legal right to strike. Despite unprincipled maneuvers by the party leaders, slanders from the Polish and Soviet press and threats from the managerial bureaucracy, the workers instinctively sensed the weakness of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the impotence of the Gierek government.

The spontaneous dynamism of Solidarity, already numbering, together with its rural counterpart, about 10 million members, was equalled by its discipline and morale.

As the *Economist* reported from Gdansk: "The workers' movement is not only large and impressively disciplined, it is also egalitarian. The wage demands it has put forward are not proportionate to pay, but the same for all. And it is strikingly democratic, with the rank-and-file making the decisions." (*Economist* August 28, 1980) What emerged in those fateful weeks was not just a new trade union movement which would reform the trade union and wage structures of Poland, but an institution of dual power challenging the foundations of bureaucratic rule and the legitimacy of the Stalinist government and party as the sole authority with the exclusive power of distributing the surplus social product.

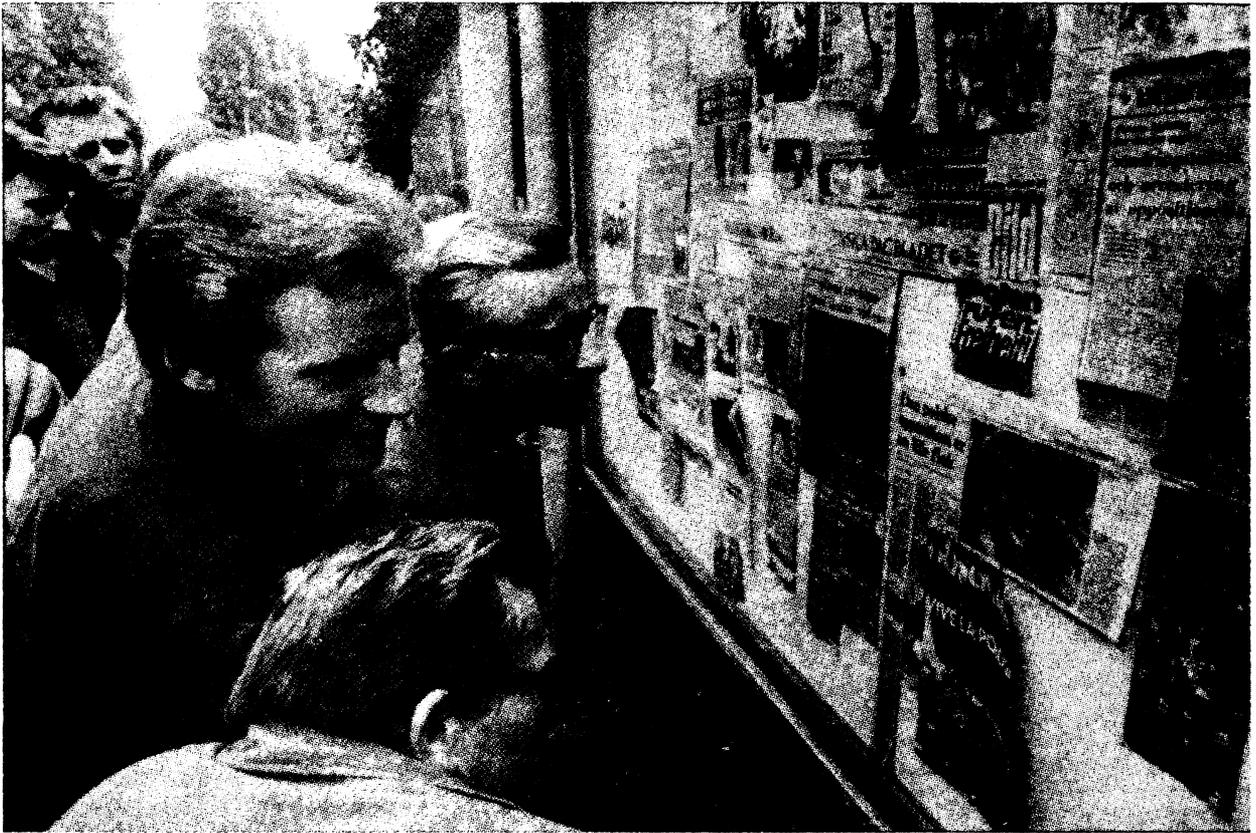
Many observers noted that the Gdansk strike committee had assumed the role of a Soviet for a period.

Despite the dominance of the Catholic church, the essential content of this unbreakable movement lies not in the Virgin Mary and the Immaculate Conception, but in the powerful trends unleashed by the crisis of world imperialism which affects the bureaucratically planned economies of Eastern Europe as well.

To understand the essence of this development, it is necessary to study Trotsky's analysis of the USSR, *The Revolution Betrayed*— the only scientific political economy of a deformed workers' state.

Trotsky predicted that no matter how much the bureaucracy tried, it could not avoid the development of a stable unit of value and that this would impel the working class to develop trade unions and rationalize the economy. The adoption by Gierek of a market-orientated economy with the emphasis on consumer goods also led to a keen interest in money, wages and prices.

Trotsky's succinct elaboration of the problem still re-



Polish workers studying newspaper clippings of the strike

tains its essential concreteness:

“Concern for the restoration of a stable ruble, which means a ruble independent of the “leaders,” is imposed upon the bureaucracy by the fact that its autocratic rule is coming into greater and greater contradiction with the development of the productive forces of the country— just as absolute monarchy became in its time irreconcilable with the development of the bourgeois market. Money accounting, however, cannot fail to give a more open character to the struggle of the different strata for the distribution of the national income.

“The question of the wage-scale, almost a matter of indifference during the epoch of the food-card system, is now decisive for the workers, and with it the question of the trade unions. The designation of the trade union officials from above is destined to meet more and more resistance. More than that, under piecework payment the worker is directly interested in a correct ordering of the factory management ...

“They [workers and farmers] are growing unwilling to endure submissively the naming from above of leaders whose sole merit is frequently their closeness to the local bureaucratic clique. And, finally, the ruble promises to cast a light into that most mysterious region: the legal and illegal incomes of the bureaucracy.

“Thus in a politically strangled country, money circulation becomes an important lever for mobilization of oppositional forces and foretells the beginning of the end of ‘enlightened absolutism.’” (*The Revolution Betrayed*, New Park Publications, p.275)

This is principally why Solidarity has successfully

defied any attempt to curb its role and found itself diametrically opposed to the Polish Communist Party on all major questions, while at the same time correctly defending the nationalized property and planned economy.

The Polish CP — like the defunct official trade unions — is nothing more than a bankrupt apparatus only concerned with self-perpetuation — and routine administration.

It is completely alienated from the masses. That is why one million out of its three million members deserted to Solidarity. Despite strenuous attempts to reform it at its last Congress in July, it remains a vitiated organism eking out its last hours and being artificially resuscitated with Soviet “oxygen.”

Although Gierek, Babuich and Rakowski and numerous other ministers, provincial satraps and Central Committee members have been replaced, nothing basically has changed or will change until the entire structure of Stalinism has been dismantled and a new regime based on workers’ councils and “Solidarity” has been set up.

Trotsky had no illusions in such cosmetic changes. He frankly analyzed the road to bureaucratic power and clearly recognized that “on this road it has attained such a degree of social and moral alienation from the popular masses, that it cannot now permit any control over either its activities or its income.” (*Revolution Betrayed*, p.113)

If we quote this it is precisely to expose the theoretical charlatanry and political opportunism of the revisionists of the International Marxist Group and the

Unified Secretariat of Ernest Mandel which, in its statement on the recent Polish CP Congress, openly advocated the possibility of a self-reform of the Polish bureaucracy. Here is the relevant extract:

“The most important minimum measures to meet the onslaught of the conservative forces would be ... A national discussion on political program to prepare the forthcoming party congress. Left forces should use this debate to map out a concrete program for workers’ control and self-management around which millions of workers and peasants can be mobilized.” (*Socialist Challenge*, February 12, 1981)

Instead of developing the independent struggle of the working class in Solidarity for the construction of a revolutionary party to lead the political revolution and transcend the syndicalist limitations of Lech Walesa and the conservatives, the revisionists propose the exact opposite.

Instead of fighting to completely discredit every section of Stalinist bureaucracy and disintegrate its apparatus, the revisionists cling like limpets to the sinking ship of Stalinism and participate in the betrayal of the working class to the Western bankers.

Their policy is not a whit different from their sycophantic support to Anthony Wedgwood Benn and the *Tribune* centrists in Britain, or, as in the US, their com-

plete subordination to the FBI and the bogus “democracy” of the US rulers.

It is no accident that the Polish CP Congress paved the way — not for moderation and compromise — but for more abrasive policies which threaten to reduce Polish workers and their families to starvation levels and to completely gag Solidarity.

All the events since July 1980 prove incontestably that there is no dialogue possible between Solidarity and the Stalinist bureaucracy and that every agreement is violated by new bureaucratic intrigues and repressions.

The bureaucracy will never concede its exclusive power to distribute the surplus product of society to any one because it remains the basis and guarantee of the massive inequality in income and the arbitrary management of the bureaucracy.

“The question is,” as Trotsky asked, “to aid the demoralized bureaucracy against the people, or the progressive forces of the people against the bureaucracy?” (*I Stake My Life*)

“Only the victorious revolutionary uprising of the oppressed masses can revive the Soviet regime and guarantee its further development toward socialism. There is but one party capable of leading the Soviet masses to insurrection — the party of the Fourth International.” (*Transitional Program*)

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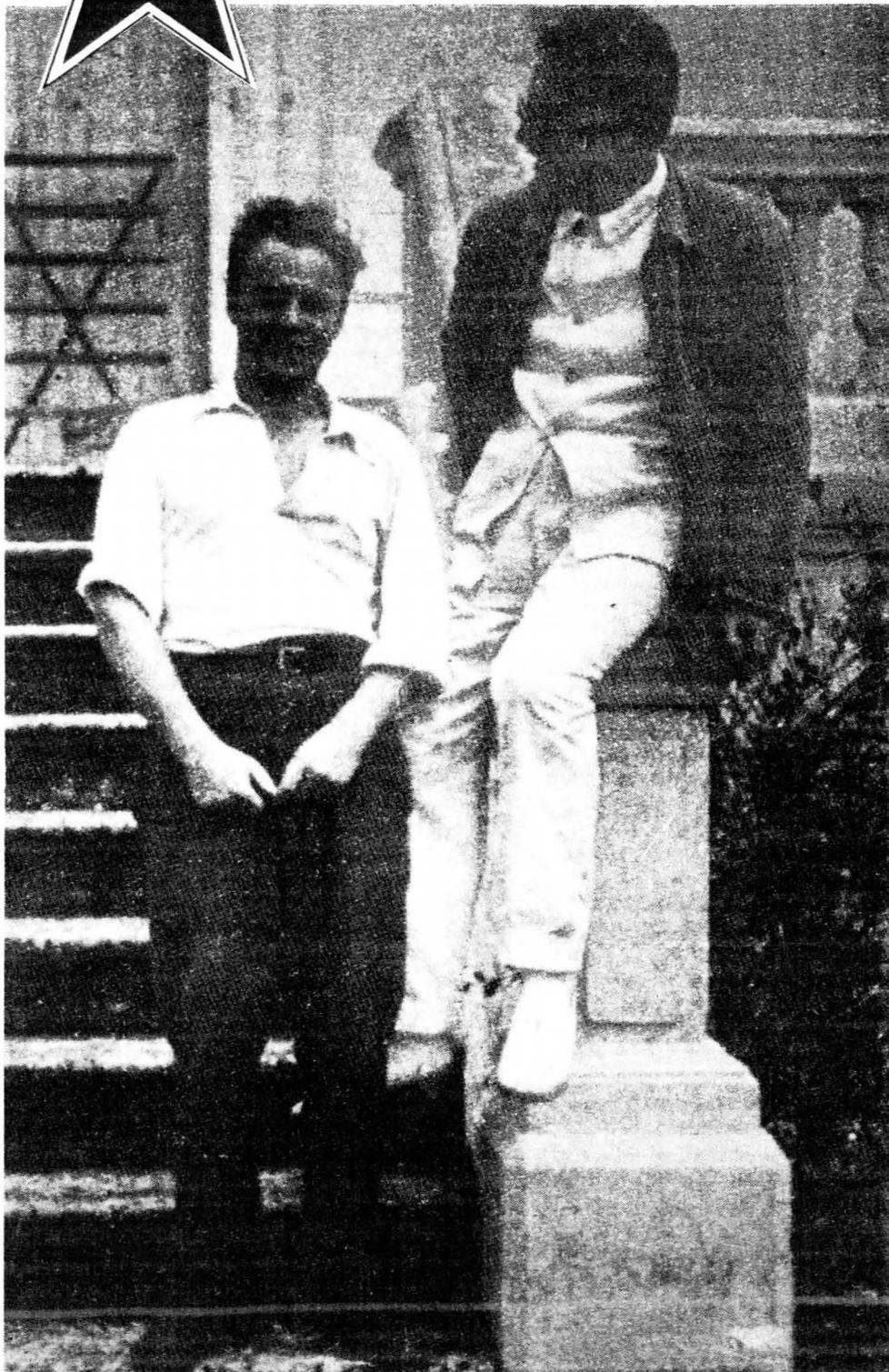
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# FROM THE TROTSKY ARCHIVES



Trotsky with his son, Leon Sedov in Barbizon, 1933

## Priceless Documents Public After Forty Years

On January 2, 1980, the closed section of the Leon Trotsky Archive at the Harvard University Library in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was opened to the public for the first time since Trotsky's assassination in August 1940.

Prior to this January, only about 6,000 items from the 1917-1928 period could be studied, consisting largely of the history of the Russian Left Opposition before Trotsky's exile from the Soviet Union.

With the opening of the remaining "Exile Papers," about 17,500 items became available, covering the last period in Trotsky's life in Turkey, France, Norway and Mexico.

The bulk of the newly-opened material is divided into letters to and from Trotsky, his secretaries, his son Leon Sedov, his wife Natalia Sedova and other correspondents.

In addition, there are miscellaneous household papers and a large section entitled "Other Compositions." Among the last category are the minutes of the International Secretariat, the American, Belgian, French, German and other sections of the Fourth International, articles from members and sympathizers around the world, discussion bulletins, etc.

Some of these items have been published before and some have not; all are invaluable.

As Trotsky pointed out in his obituary of Leon Sedov in 1938: "The collection of Leon's letters will undoubtedly constitute one of the most valuable sources for the study of the inner pre-history of the Fourth International." Yet these precious letters are only a small portion of the newly-opened archive.

Harvard University purchased the Trotsky Archives in 1940 after Trotsky had met with refusals from Stanford University and the University of Chicago. Desperate for funds and fearful that the archives would be destroyed by the Stalinists, Nazis or democratic imperialists during World War II, Trotsky hoped that they would survive in this most prestigious of America's universities.

With the exception of certain documents whose absence is yet to be fully explained, the archives have survived intact.

During the 40-year period after Trotsky's death, Isaac and Tamara Deutscher were ostensibly the only people allowed to study the archives.

From research in the open section which began in 1950, Isaac Deutscher produced the first volumes of his three-volume biography of Trotsky, where he thanks "Professor Wm. A. Jackson and his associates at the Houghton Library, Harvard University, who helped



Leon Sedov

my wife and me to find our way through the dossiers of the Trotsky Archives."

It was not until 1959, however, when he was working on *The Prophet Outcast*, that Deutscher received permission from Trotsky's widow, Natalia Sedova, to examine the nearly 40,000 pages of material in the closed section.

Deutscher explains in the preface to this third volume of the biography that, faced with the uncertainties of World War II, Trotsky "felt obliged to protect his correspondents.

"But there was little or nothing strictly confidential or private in the political content of that correspondence. Indeed, with much of it I had become familiar in the 1930s ... so that rereading it in 1959 I found hardly anything that could startle or surprise me.

"Trotsky's family correspondence, on the other hand, and even his household papers, also contained in the closed section, have revealed to me his most intimate experiences and feelings and have greatly enriched my image of his personality."

While he was enriching his image of Trotsky's personality, Deutscher managed to reject the entire struggle for the Fourth International, denounce Trotsky's political judgment, and typify the Trotskyist movement as: "noble lepers in a political wasteland ..." Besides its revisionist political outlook, Deutscher's *Prophet Outcast* is filled with factual errors which can now be refuted through a careful study of the archives.



**Leon Trotsky**

Well before Deutscher could be “finding his way” through the closed section, Jean Van Heijenoort began working at Harvard to help the professional library staff catalog the Trotsky Archive.

Over at least the next 22 years, he would serve as the authority on Trotsky’s life during the identification and classification of the vast correspondence, and the present state of the archives certainly bears his imprint.

Van Heijenoort was born in Creil, France, in 1912, and left the Sorbonne in 1932 to travel to Turkey where he became one of Trotsky’s secretaries for the next seven years.

He left the Trotsky household in Coyoacan in November 1939, and was teaching French in Baltimore when Ramon Mercader assassinated Trotsky in August 1940.

In 1978, Harvard University Press published his embarrassingly superficial and trivial reminiscences which contained a short synopsis of his subsequent evolution:

“For seven years following Trotsky’s death I remained active in the Trotskyist movement. By 1948 the Marxist-Leninist ideas about the role of the proletariat and its political capacity seemed more and more to me to disagree with reality. This was also the time when the full extent of Stalin’s universe of concentration camps became known, at least to those who did not wish to close their eyes or stop their ears.

“Under the impact of this revelation, I began to reexamine the past and I came to ask myself whether the Bolsheviks, by establishing an irreversible police rule and obliterating all public opinion, had not prepared the soil on which the huge and poisonous mushroom of Stalinism had grown.

“I pondered my doubts, and for several years the study of mathematics was all that allowed me to preserve my inner equilibrium. Bolshevik ideology was, for me, in ruins. I had to build another life.”

Among the tasks that this petty philistine undertook as part of building “another life” was his testimony on November 14, 1958, during the trial of the notorious GPU agent Mark Zborowski.

Van Heijenoort testified that he had first met with Zborowski in 1934 and that he saw him often until he left France to join Trotsky in Mexico in December 1936.

Zborowski remained in Paris, ingratiated himself with Leon Sedov, and prepared the assassination of Trotsky’s son in February 1938. Later, while Van Heijenoort was International Correspondence Secretary for the Fourth International in 1942-1943, he met weekly or fortnightly with Zborowski, who by then had been brought to New York by Lola Dallin and George Novack.

Although he was later questioned by the FBI in 1954 and told that Zborowski was a Stalinist agent, Van Heijenoort didn’t speak out publicly until he appeared as an FBI witness at the trial in 1958.

But prior to his willing cooperation with the US Justice Department, Van Heijenoort had already begun work on the Trotsky Archives.

His appointment to this job came as a rude surprise to some, as evidenced by a letter from Max Shachtman to Alfred Rosmer on May 22, 1958. Shachtman had been a founder of the Trotskyist movement in the US in 1928, a valuable journalist and author of *Behind the Moscow Trials*.

Although he broke from Trotskyism in 1940, he remained in correspondence with Trotsky’s widow, Natalia Sedova until her death in 1962.

Rosmer had known Trotsky since the early days of the Comintern when he was a leading member of the



**Isaac Deutscher**

French Communist Party. He was briefly a member of the Left Opposition and stayed with Trotsky at different times in Coyoacan.

In his 1958 letter, Shachtman discusses a dispute with the Harvard authorities over their replacement of his preface to Trotsky's *Diary in Exile* with a preface written by Van Heijenoort, a move which upset both Natalia Sedova and Shachtman.

He writes: "Van's role in this affair remains somewhat obscure but quite unpleasant. He visited Natalia recently with an air of friendship that almost caused me to forget that for the past 18 years he had not shown enough interest to send her so much as a postal card.

"He seems to be the representative of the Harvard Library (not the University Press, however) and he has tried to get her to make changes in the contract for the Trotsky Archives which would give the Library authorities full rights to grant or deny access to the Archives to anybody at all, without leaving any right in the matter to Natalia.

"I do not like this proposal at all, especially since it involves that section of the archives which L.D. insisted in the contract should not be made available (but be kept closed) until 1980, because it contained information and material that might create difficulties for certain of his comrades and correspondents. I am advising Natalia not to permit the contractual changes in her rights for a single moment."

Shachtman sums up his attitude toward Van Heijenoort's behavior: "In any case, Van's entire conduct in this affair appears to me reprehensible and *assez louche* (quite suspicious)."

With the incredible qualification of trying to deprive Natalia Sedova of her rights to her husband's archives, one must wonder about Van Heijenoort's reasons for taking the job of classifying the many documents.

We can be certain that his decision wasn't prompted by any devotion to Trotsky's politics and the principles he fought for. As it turns out, after seven years as one of Trotsky's secretaries and more than 22 years to work over the archives, Van Heijenoort's assessment of the contents of the archives bears a remarkable resemblance to the views of Isaac Deutscher.

In article after article appearing in the bourgeois press, in at least one television interview and in a public reception at Houghton, Van Heijenoort echoed the same basic theme: there is nothing much new to be learned here politically, but you might get an inside look at Trotsky's personal life.

Presumably, this is why Van Heijenoort and Harvard University Press feel so obliged to rush into print with the personal correspondence between Trotsky and Natalia Sedova; perhaps the cloistered scholars who feel bored by such things as the history of the Fourth International will find some salacious reading in the "new" exchange of letters between husband and wife.

While the Socialist Workers Party in the US hasn't been as crude in its brief articles about the archives, Russian translator George Saunders glibly announces: "There were no 'surprises' in the Trotsky Archives." He explains that a "Monad team" made a careful two-month examination of Trotsky's own letters.

"As a revolutionist of great integrity, Trotsky didn't have one set of views for publication, and a different set for private correspondence.

"And, as already pointed out, almost all his public works from this period have been previously accessible. This doesn't mean, however, that the newly available materials made no contribution to the knowledge and education of revolutionists."

In Saunders' view, the little of value that was not previously known can be reduced to the following: "For example, many letters deal with how Trotsky's co-thinkers should relate to the trade unions in their countries. Or how they can deal with problems of cliquism or personality clashes. He discusses the harmful traditions left over from the degenerated Comintern, and the problem of the class composition of the various groups."

One wonders upon reading Saunders' text if he would include the infiltration of the GPU into the Trotskyist movement under "problems of cliquism or personality clashes" or "the harmful traditions left over from the degenerated Comintern."

Otherwise, he remains amazingly silent about the vital questions raised over the past five years by the



Jean van Heijenoort and Max Shachtman

International Committee during the investigation into *Security and the Fourth International*.

He ignores the issues raised in "*The GPU in the Trotskyist Movement*" by Georges Vereeken, who was secretary of the Belgian Trotskyist movement in the 1920s.

He also has nothing to say about the important questions asked in "Security at Coyoacan" by Harold Robins, a founding member of the Communist League of America in 1928 and the SWP in 1938, and captain of the guards at Coyoacan in 1940.

Or did Saunders fail to notice during his two-month study at the Houghton Library that there are no less than 118 items concerning GPU agent R. Sobolevicius (Well), who infiltrated the Trotskyist movement, 42 concerning A. Sobolevicius (Senin), 118 about Mill (Obin) and 54 dealing with Mark Zborowski (Etienne)?

Even stranger is that Saunders has nothing to say about the considerable correspondence of Joseph Hansen, former secretary of Trotsky, long-time leader of the SWP, and double agent for the GPU and the US intelligence services.

Nor does he mention the role of the GPU agent Sylvia Franklin (Callen, Caldwell) in the SWP national office as it emerges in the newly opened archives.



Joseph Hansen

## THE TROTSKY ARCHIVES



# Deeper into Hansen's Contact with the GPU

Far from simply repeating the opinions of Deutscher, Van Heijenoort and Saunders, that there is nothing new in the Trotsky Archives, or at least no surprises, Pierre Broué announces in the weekly newspaper of the revisionist OCI in France that he has found a letter which reduces the *Security and the Fourth International* investigation to "smithereens."

Describing himself as an historian from Grenoble, Broué chooses to leap to the defense of double-agent Joseph Hansen almost two years after his death. The issue which Broué raises is Hansen's contact in 1939 with the GPU, the Stalinist secret police.

In August 1975, the International Committee discovered that 11 days after Trotsky's assassination in 1940, Joseph Hansen visited Robert McGregor, the American Consul in Mexico City.

He told this US government official that he had met with a GPU agent known as "John" in New York for a period of three months in 1938.

In November 1975, Hansen called this information "a geyser of mud" and said that the International Committee was seeking "to utilize this material to cast the foulest suspicion on me and the Socialist Workers Party." But he didn't deny meeting with the GPU.

In July 1976, Hansen finally admitted that he had met with the Stalinist secret police during the period that

they were preparing Trotsky's murder, but changed the date to 1939, a year later than the time reported in McGregor's memorandum.

To escape the criminal implications of this admission, Hansen claimed that he had been instructed to pursue this contact by Trotsky and that he subsequently informed two members of the SWP political committee.

He then published a supporting document allegedly signed by Shachtman, Cannon and himself, which the International Committee denounced as a forgery. The SWP has never produced this memorandum before a commission of inquiry to establish its authenticity.

The International Committee rejected the rest of Hansen's fraudulent defense that we shall review shortly. We insisted that Trotsky never instructed Hansen to meet the GPU.

We were doubly concerned because the American Stalinist agent Thomas L. Black testified in 1956 that he had infiltrated the Trotskyist movement in 1936 and had later been told by his GPU controller to go to Coyoacan.

"There would be other Soviet agents in Trotsky's household" and his job would be to "arrange for the assassination of Trotsky."

Indeed, during the course of its investigation, the In-

ternational Committee has established that Hansen was one of the Soviet agents who were in Trotsky's household arranging Trotsky's murder.

But now, Pierre Broué comes forward and hopes that by misrepresenting material from the Trotsky Archives he can confuse those who are not familiar with either the archives or the five-year investigation into *Security and the Fourth International*.

We will here reproduce the Broué article in its entirety as it is presented in the newspaper of the Thornett clique, the OCI's allies in defending Joseph Hansen. It follows a long article in the OCI newspaper on the opening of the Trotsky Archives:

"I cannot resist the temptation to add a few lines. Readers of 'Informations Ouvrieres' will be aware of the slander campaign which has been conducted on a world scale against Joe Hansen and George Novack, who are accused by the British WRP of being 'agents' of the GPU and of the FBI.

"The charges against Joe Hansen are particularly disgraceful in that they allege he was an agent of the GPU who played a direct role in the murder of Trotsky.

"Faced with this campaign, Joe Hansen was led, two years before his death, to state that he had been contacted in 1939 by the GPU, and, under instructions from Trotsky, had prolonged this 'contact' in order to strengthen the protection of the house at Coyoacan.

"The slanderers howled scandal, certain that Trotsky could never have approved such a 'contact,' that Joe had therefore 'confessed,' etc.

"Their structure is in smithereens. I have in my hands a letter from Joe Hansen to Trotsky where, in 1939, he confides to him his anxiety on the eve of his 'first contact' with the GPU.

"It seems probable to me that this is the only evidence that we will find on this affair, since this letter will have escaped a 'cleaning out' that Trotsky carefully made when there was a question of documents that might, if the archives were stolen, risk the life or the security of anyone (Joe Hansen in this case). But this one letter is decisive evidence.

"At least the slanderers cannot now show that Trotsky was himself an agent of the GPU and that he took part in the preparation of his own murder! If they wish to do that, we can only wish them good luck!"

When one reads this shallow and cynical article by Broué and considers the very real damage done to the Trotskyist movement by agents who have infiltrated its ranks, it becomes clear why not only the misnamed *Socialist Press* of the anti-Trotskyist Thornett, but also such bourgeois papers as *Le Matin* have been all too willing to open their pages to this renegade from Trotskyism.

Besides the usual cynicism of a middle class sceptic, Broué displays a frivolous disregard for serious research into the contents of the Trotsky Archive.

Instead of demonstrating the relationship of the newly-discovered March 30, 1939 letter to the rest of the documents concerned and to Hansen's own desperate explanations in 1976, Broué erroneously declares that this is probably "the only evidence that we will find on this affair."

The new and decisive letter which he advances for

consideration is a typed letter dated March 30, 1939, written by Joseph Hansen, who was then in New York, to Leon Trotsky in Coyoacan. The last third of this one-page document reads as follows:

"The major subject of this letter is (1) to determine if you discovered the real contents of my last three letters [one from Reba] which were all double spaced in accordance with the understanding with Irish [V.T. O'Brien] that he was to inform you of (2) to report on the final occurrences in regard with the manuscript.

"(1) I first wrote you a letter in this manner in the first week of February. I could never discover the real contents. I hinted rather broadly and I tried again in the manner of mailing to imply an importance that was obviously belied by the actual written content of the letter, such as airmail, special delivery, or registering a note that was obviously trivial or personal.

"But no one seemed to understand and I had the mortification of becoming a conspirator with myself ... for instance I thought surely you would send me your reaction to the report on my first contact with the GPU.

"I waited last Friday and Saturday and was thoroughly alarmed by Monday. But by your letter which I received today I see you did get the letters which carried my report. Now it is too late to do anything but complete the report so I go on to (2) and ask you to re-examine my previous letters for the first parts of the report.

(See Irish JH)"

It is important to note that neither Hansen nor V.T. O'Brien remembered or mentioned this letter when they were concocting their account of Hansen's meeting with the GPU which they published on July 10, 1976 in the article "Healy Caught in the Logic of the Big Lie."

We have reason to believe that this lapse in memory resulted from the fact that, far from substantiating Hansen's claim that he was instructed by Trotsky to meet over a three-month period with the GPU agent "John" in New York, this letter helps lead to the conclusion that both Hansen and O'Brien were lying in 1976.

Let us review the chronology of events as presented by Hansen in his own unforgettable article.

Hansen writes that he remained in Mexico through-out 1938 and then left for New York, arriving on February 1, 1939. He then sent a letter to Trotsky in the first week of February about his contact with the GPU. This is how Hansen describes what transpired:

"I kept Trotsky informed of what I was doing in the assignment, having arranged this with V.T. O'Brien, an American secretary-guard, before leaving Coyoacan.

"For security reasons, we followed the rule of keeping the number of persons involved to a minimum. For instance, in communication to O'Brien on this topic, I was to use invisible ink, writing between double-spaced typewritten lines of letters on other subjects.

"The response to my first communication was the March 8, 1939 letter from Trotsky. However, because of an error that O'Brien 'still finds embarrassing' [in a letter by O'Brien to Hansen on June 8, 1976], the response was unusually delayed."



Trotsky relaxing in Coyoacan

Before we turn to O'Brien's account, let us examine a critical passage from this "first response" by Trotsky to Hansen's letter from the first week in February:

"As you can imagine, it is with the greatest impatience that I await your ultimate information about the manuscript. Your procedure is not clear to me, but I am inclined to suppose that it is good. We will see the results."

According to Hansen in 1976: "This is the way we had agreed to write about my contact with a GPU agent in New York. That Trotsky approved the way I was following through is indicated by the words: 'Your procedure is not clear to me, but I am inclined to suppose it is good. We will see the results.'" The scenario would now read that Hansen had already met with the GPU in New York in the first week of February 1939, he had written a report in a pre-arranged code, the report had at first been ignored due to O'Brien's error. O'Brien finally corrected his mistake and Trotsky sent Hansen instructions on March 8, 1939, to make further contact with the GPU.

V.T. O'Brien verifies this scenario in his "letter" to Joseph Hansen on June 8, 1976: "A couple of weeks after your departure, [O'Brien continues] I received a long letter from you, full of news from New York and of our friends there and around the country. I read it gratefully but never thought to give it the heat test.

"I don't remember whether you finally flashed a signal to me or L.D., but I very well recall bringing in the letter with the real message showing plainly.

"L.D., this man with whom I had a most warm and friendly relationship, said quite seriously and without anger, 'Thomas, in time of war you would be shot.'"

Trotsky and O'Brien then read the letter together, as they did with most letters from the United States, O'Brien recalls, "with my 'translation' of difficult or idiomatic phrases. After apologies for the uncon-

scionable delay, I relayed L.D.'s advice to continue the contact."

Remember that all this activity is supposed to have taken place by March 8, 1939. But now we must consider the March 30 letter which Broué trumpets as the decisive vindication of Joseph Hansen.

If this new letter is to be believed,

- 1) Hansen had written three previous double-spaced letters (one from Reba), in accordance with an understanding with Irish O'Brien, i.e. replete with invisible ink;
- 2) He could never discover before March 30 if the contents were understood;
- 3) By the letter he received on March 30, 1939, for the first time he could see that Trotsky did get the letters which carried his report, but since he was still not sure if they were understood he was openly announcing that they concerned his "first contact with the GPU";
- 4) Since now it was too late to do anything but complete the report, Hansen asked Trotsky to reexamine the first letters he had sent.

The evidence contained in this letter alone already refutes the tale by Hansen and O'Brien about the secret message from the first week of February being mistakenly overlooked, discovered and answered by March 8.

For if the March 8 reply does contain instructions to continue contact with a GPU agent then why would Hansen throw caution to the wind and write the letter of March 30 in which he openly declares he is meeting with the Stalinist secret police?

Here the completely irresponsible attitude of Pierre Broué towards the Trotsky Archives emerges most clearly.

Despite his assertion that the March 30, 1939 letter is probably "the only evidence that we will find on this affair," the archives contain no less than seven other documents besides the previously quoted March 8 let-

ter which are directly related to Hansen's assignment in New York.

If we examine these documents carefully, we discover that Hansen and O'Brien not only confused the dates of their 1976 version, they deliberately obscured the fact that Hansen was not sent to New York to meet the real GPU agent "John," but a high-ranking GPU defector named Alexander Orlov.

Although this meeting never did take place, Hansen and O'Brien used the correspondence relating to the Orlov assignment to cover for Hansen's traitorous contact with a real GPU agent in New York.

After Trotsky had been assassinated in August 1940, Hansen would openly describe this three-month liaison to Consul McGregor because he was becoming a double agent.

Yet he would hide this treachery from the Trotskyist movement with the lies and half-truths he brought together in 1976.

In explaining these crucial events, let us first examine the actual documents which Broué has overlooked.

On February 1, 1939, Hansen arrived in New York. On February 14, Trotsky sent him a letter from Coyoacan which reads:

**"Dear Joe;**

**"I received your letter of February 7th and we enjoyed the fact that you and Reba are already 'established' and at work.**

**"Here we follow the development of the twice-weekly 'Appeal' with the greatest interest. Personally, I await with some impatience a systematic campaign against the Stalinist Party.**

**"This perfidious Party cannot but split ... but where? And how? It can be a good split or a bad one. A felled tree might fall in any of several directions — even upon us. We will make acquisitions from the Stalinist Party only in proportion to our systematic efforts to penetrate the minds of the progressive elements now, before the split.**

**"Another point. Some sceptics can find one plan or another fantastic, but sceptics are bad advisors in some cases. 'Isn't it so, Joe?'**

**"Warmest greetings from Natalia and myself to you both.**

Comradely,  
T."

Among other things this letter already shows that Trotsky first responded to Hansen's February 7 letter on February 14 and not March 8 as Hansen and O'Brien contend. The plan he refers to is as yet unclear, so let us proceed.

On March 8, Trotsky writes again to Hansen and discusses the important party task of utilizing the opportunities presented by the impending disintegration in the Stalinist ranks. He then writes the passage we have quoted where he says: "It is with the greatest impatience that I await your ultimate information about the manuscript." He closes with a long postscript which reads:

**"PS: I see no reason for writing to Malamuth. He happened to be a poor translator. I did everything in my power to smooth the matter over and not to offend him. He sent me a very appreciative letter.**

**"Then, against all my warnings, he permitted him-**

**self a condemnable indiscretion with my manuscript. I protested. His elementary duty should have been to apologize for his mistake and everything would have been in order again.**

**"I also find that Comrades Burnham and Shachtman committed an error in entering into a discussion with him about the quality of the manuscript without asking him whether or not he had my authorization to give them the manuscript.**

**"The best thing would be for Comrades Burnham and Shachtman, on their own initiative, to explain that they, together with Malamuth, committed something of an indiscretion and that it was best to recognize it as such and let it go at that.**

**"Malamuth seems to have at least three qualities: he does not know Russian; he does not know English; and he is tremendously pretentious. I doubt that he is the best of translators ..."**

On March 10, Hansen writes to Trotsky and acknowledges his letter of March 8. He discusses at length the SWP's work with regard to the Communist Party and discloses the following:

**"All the comrades agreed that we know too little about the composition and happenings within the CP and agreed that we could do much more. I proposed work on a national scale be instituted of an organizational nature, and one of the higher comrades wondered how I would like to do that kind of work.**

**"Naturally the problem of breaking up this organization and initially of discovering what goes on within it interests me keenly, but there are many comrades far better fitted for this work than I."**

(Yet Hansen claims in 1976 that Trotsky had chosen him to establish contact with the GPU!) Hansen continues:

**"Yes, there is some scepticism among some of the people. When I argue that a split is inevitable in the C.P. and that it cannot help educate to a degree the people who stay even a short time in its ranks — even**



Hansen

the "Daily Worker" uses the socialist background to some degree — they agree that there is a contradiction in their ideology but cannot see gains for us."

The scepticism described here apparently refers to Trotsky's note about sceptics in his February 14 letter.

The last section of Hansen's March 10 letter contains a number of elliptical references not only to the "manuscript" but also to "the stenographer, publishers, papers and bold methods." It reads:

"On the other matter, it is necessary that you write me a letter on the following lines in order to give me more time:

"1. Tell me that while you are anxious to get the ms. typed as soon as possible, most important is that the stenographer be absolutely safe, and you would prefer that I take more time rather than make a hasty decision on any stenographer. The publishers are not pressing you as hard as before, and the ms. having gone this long, a few more weeks more or less won't make any difference in the final publishing date.

"2. Again point out the value of the ms. and your inability to rewrite it.

"Possibly Irish can help you with this.

"My first efforts have led to nothing. It seems completely incredible that they would not even rise to the surface of the water. But they did not even steal important papers when they had the chance.

"How to explain it? Can they have members in the publishers? I have reasons other than this to believe that the publisher has not been too discreet with what ms. he has seen. I am now resolved to utilize more bold methods. A case of Mahomet going to the mountain."

The next letter in this exchange was written by Trotsky to Hansen on March 17, 1939, and apparently fulfills the requests of Hansen's March 10 letter.

"My dear friend,

"You can understand in what a mood I received yesterday your communication about the impossibility, as yet, to find a worthy stenographer. I am almost desperate and I ask myself if the instructions I elaborated for this case were not too severe. Would it not be possible to find a stenographer, even if not fully trustworthy, and put her under your vigilance during her work. I understand that you are very busy and that this proceeding is hardly feasible ... but what to do? In any case the manuscript should not fall into the hands of the rascals ...

"The Russian stenographer is again in the hospital for an undetermined time. I doubt if she will even resume the work. We entertained all necessary measures to find another one, but it is absolutely hopeless. The last chapter I am writing by hand and will send them to you immediately after I receive a copy of the manuscript from you.

"With best greetings for you both,

T."

On Monday, March 20, 1939, at 9 AM, Hansen dashed off a short handwritten note to Trotsky which reads:

"Dear L.D.

"Received your note of March 17 and will try to answer it within the next few days. Possibly I will have good news by then.

Joe"

Clearly something was going on but Hansen as yet

was displaying no particular anxiety. Next comes the March 24 letter from Trotsky to Hansen which provoked the more agitated response from Hansen. The March 24 letter begins:

"My dear Joe:

"I received your 'three story' letter of March 19th, and today we received Reba's kind words. I was almost frightened by the 'dark side' of your past. To be a novelist — terrible, and strongly forbidden by the statutes of the Fourth International!

"Joking aside however, I am not at all sure that the editors of Simon and Schuster do not distinguish between Stalinites and Trotskyites. This publishing house, with which I was connected before, received some privileges from Moscow or from the American Communist Party.

"There is a general rule for Germany (in the past), for France and England, and now I believe for the States. For instance, Simon and Schuster were extremely 'enthusiastic' about my books, but changed their attitude abruptly and refused to accept 'The Revolution Betrayed.'"

Trotsky continues at length and makes proposals to be discussed with Shachtman about the development of the *Socialist Appeal*. The March 19 letter does not exist in the archives, nor does the letter containing "Reba's kind words" which, judging from the usual two to three days the mail took to travel, was probably sent on March 21 or 22.

Finally we come to Hansen's March 30 letter to Trotsky which we discussed earlier. It should be noted that Hansen clearly acknowledges Trotsky's letter of March 24 in the first few lines. By March 30 the "last three letters" which Hansen was concerned Trotsky had not understood, were probably Hansen's letter of March 19, his wife Reba's letter of March 21/22 and a third, unspecified letter perhaps mailed as late as March 23.

Without any doubt he was quite anxious to receive a reply from Trotsky as early as Friday, March 24 and by Monday 27, Hansen "was thoroughly alarmed." Evidently something important had happened which prompted the flurry of three letters and Hansen's growing anxiety. But by March 30 it was already "too late to do anything but complete the report."

Hansen's letter of March 30 is followed by two more items, both dated March 31. The first is a letter from Trotsky which begins:

"My dear Joe,

"I am absolutely, I repeat absolutely, desperate from the absence of communications from you concerning the ms. I cannot and will not support any non-chalance on your part.

"But every day aggravates the danger, without speaking about the hindrances for my last chapters. Imagine that all the quotations and references included in the chapters in your possession are simply cut with scissors from the copies sent to me from Paris and New York, so I cannot base myself on the same quotations for the new chapters.

"I propose to your consideration this project: to make immediately a photostatic copy of the whole ms. and send me this as an insurance.

"I am afraid it would cost a lot of money but if some-

thing happens to the ms. it would signify a catastrophe, and a stupid one: I can't make all our friends in New York and Paris repeat their investigations.

"Please consult comrade Wright about the photostats as he is an expert and if feasible make them immediately."

After discussing the possibility of Hansen's return to Coyoacan, Trotsky closes with the following:

"I continue to wait now for a copy of the ms. or a photostat, with the greatest impatience."

The last item is a short telegram on March 31, 1939 from V.T. O'Brien to Hansen: **BY MISTAKE LETTER READ ONLY TODAY WAIT ANSWER IRISH.**

In all probability, this telegram refers to Hansen's March 19 letter, which is the actual document that V.T. O'Brien overlooked rather than the February 7 letter

Hansen and O'Brien were later to claim in their fraudulent account in 1976.

This short telegram completely demolishes Hansen's tale about the March 8 letter being Trotsky's response after O'Brien's error.

When the International Committee first exposed Hansen's contact with the GPU, he threw up a cloud of confusion — fake documents, invisible ink, charges of "paranoia."

He was sent to meet the GPU defector Alexander Orlov. This meeting did not take place. However, Hansen was meeting the real GPU in New York — the agent "John."

In the next part we will show Hansen's connections with Orlov based on the documents in the newly-opened archives.

## THE TROTSKY ARCHIVES

# ORLOV LETTER TIME-BOMB



From the February-March 1939 correspondence between Trotsky and Hansen, it is clear that Hansen had been instructed to carry out a special assignment in New York and that the word "manuscript" is related to this task. Let us consider what his assignment was.

Trotsky was deeply disturbed about the handling of his manuscript of the Stalin biography which had already been greatly delayed due to the death of Leon Sedov in February 1938.

He was worried about his translator, Malamuth, and he was also concerned about the possible theft of the

manuscript from his publishers in the US. This concern arose from bitter experience, since from 1933 to 1936 Trotsky's literary agent had been Maxim Lieber, a GPU agent in New York.

While he caused untold difficulties in the translation and publication of Trotsky's articles and books, Lieber's role was only discovered during the Dewey Commission in 1937 and not fully confirmed until 1950 during the Chambers-Hiss trial.

Trotsky's caution with regard to his Stalin manuscript is easily documented by material from the ar-



Trotsky with "Stalin" manuscript



**General Alexander Orlov**

chives. On December 19, 1938, Trotsky wrote to his ablest assistant in preparing the book, John G. Wright:

“According to your wish I am sending you the first part of the manuscript simultaneously with this letter, but by regular mail. Please do not show it to anyone. I should be very glad to hear your remarks. You will see from the text that some of your hints were not lost.”

On December 29, 1938, just days before Hansen left Coyoacan for New York, Trotsky wrote another letter to John G. Wright:

“I am absolutely indignant at the fact that in spite of my warnings, Malamuth gave the manuscript of the first chapters to some comrades. The situation with the GPU is such that we must consider the work a conspirative one...”

“I am sure that you will conserve the manuscript for yourself.”

It is entirely plausible that Trotsky commissioned Hansen to find out when he returned to New York if his translator, Malamuth, was reliable, or if the manuscript was being made accessible to the GPU. The publishers were undoubtedly to be checked out as well.

But the value of the manuscript was such that it was used as an integral part of a more important assignment which Hansen and O'Brien tried to pass off in 1976 as a three-month series of meetings with the GPU agent “John” in New York.

Although he never breathed a word of it to the Trotskyist movement, Hansen was sent to establish contact with General Alexander Orlov in New York, but failed to carry out this assignment.

Orlov had been a high-ranking GPU officer in Europe. His last assignment had been to serve as adviser to the Republican government of Spain during the Civil War.

He supervised the arrest and execution of both Erwin Wolf, one of Trotsky's secretaries, and Andres Nin, a former Trotskyist and leader of the POUM.

During the bloody purges ordered by Stalin in the Soviet Union from 1936-1938, many of Orlov's closest colleagues in the GPU were themselves executed.

When he received notice in 1938 to board a ship for the Soviet Union, Orlov decided to defect. He broke from the GPU on June 12, 1938, went to the Canadian embassy in Paris and made his way to the US by August 13, 1938.

While he was serving in Europe, Orlov had discovered “that there was a highly secret agent and highly valued agent in France, who was planted to the Trotskyites and became the closest friend of Trotsky's son, Lev Sedov.

“He was so highly valued that even Stalin knew about him. His value, as I understood then, was that he would become the organizer of the assassination of Trotsky or Trotsky's son any time, because in view of the great trust Trotsky and Trotsky's son had in him, that Mark could always recommend secretaries to Trotsky, guards to Trotsky, and in that way could help to infiltrate an assassin into Trotsky's household in Mexico.

“When I heard about that in Moscow, I didn't inquire about the name of that man, neither his first name nor his last name, because immediately in my mind occurred a decision that the next opportunity I have to go abroad I will notify Trotsky against that spy and I didn't ask his name because if that man is later exposed, a thorough investigation will ensue and only a few people knew about him, so it would be easy to pinpoint the several people who knew and might have exposed him but I made a decision that I would use every effort while in Spain and France, because I used to visit France very often, to find out what that man was.”

It remains unclear why Orlov decided to warn Trotsky, but it is possible he felt strong bonds with the founder of the Red Army since he had served as an officer in guerrilla detachments during the civil war which followed the October Revolution.

In the summer of 1937, Orlov not only found out that the agent's name was Mark and that he went by the name of Etienne, but he gathered enough details to be able to present an unmistakable description to Trotsky.

On December 27, 1938, Orlov sent a registered letter to Trotsky from Philadelphia, exposing the agent whom he later came to know as Mark Zborowski.

Zborowski had arranged the theft of a portion of Trotsky's archives in 1936, and he prepared the assassinations of Erwin Wolf, Ignace Reiss (a GPU defector who declared his loyalty to the Fourth International), Leon Sedov and Rudolf Klement (one of Trotsky's secretaries).

Trotsky's reaction to Orlov's letter when it arrived in Coyoacan can best be judged from the letter he immediately sent on January 1, 1939, to the leadership of the SWP in New York:

**“Extremely confidential, extremely important, and extremely urgent:**

**I have received extremely important information**

from a source that is unidentified but claims to be in contact with senior GPU agents, to the effect that a longstanding collaborator of the "Biulleten Oppozitsii" is allegedly a provocateur: Mark.

"This provocateur was working until 1938 and perhaps is still working in the Nikolaevsky Institute. His is the one who allegedly stole the archives in this institute.

"His age: 32 to 35. Nationality: Jewish, from the Russian part of Poland. Writes well in Russian. Wears glasses. Has a wife and a very small child.

"This provocateur has no revolutionary past. That is why the confidence placed in him is astonishing. Moreover, nearly four years ago he was a member in Paris of the Society for the Repatriation of Russian Emigres. He was already a provocateur in this organization.

"This provocateur meets regularly with representatives of the Soviet embassy in Paris. The informant guarantees that it would be very easy by shadowing this provocateur to establish his relations with the embassy.

"That is the communication. As for its source, two versions are equally possible:

- 1) it's a timid friend;
- 2) it's the GPU which wishes to spread demoralization in our ranks.

"Both hypotheses should be considered and verified.

"It is absolutely necessary to organize the shadowing in a discreet and effective manner. It seems to me that Nikolaevsky should be brought into the affair.

"A commission of three should be created: Rosmer, Gerard, and Nikolaevsky, plus two or three young people separately and in absolute secrecy, for the sake of shadowing.

"If the information is confirmed, the opportunity must be arranged to denounce him to the French police as the robber of the archives under conditions that won't permit his escape.

"Communicate this information to Rosmer immediately. The best way would be through Cannon if he has not already left [for France] or Shachtman if he should be leaving.

"Find the means yourselves. Acknowledge receipt immediately.

"Greetings.

Van. [Trotsky]"

Besides asking his supporters in France to check out Zborowski (this assignment was sabotaged by other GPU agents), Trotsky sent instructions to comrades in New York to contact Orlov.

As Orlov was to testify in secret session before a US Senate Subcommittee on September 28, 1955:

"I signed that letter by the name of Stein and I asked Trotsky to place an ad in his Trotskyite newspaper in New York, called 'Socialist Appeal' and notify me whether he had received that letter.

"And soon enough, indeed, there appeared a frantic call to me — to 'Stein': 'I insist that you go immediately to the editorial offices of the 'Socialist Appeal' and talk about it to Comrade Martin.'"

The way this meeting was set up can be established from two letters sent by Trotsky to John G. Wright in New York.



Mark Zborowski

The first is dated January 3, 1939, and reads as follows:

"Dear Comrade Vanzler [John G. Wright],

"In the next issue of the 'Socialist Appeal' it is absolutely necessary to publish an announcement on the following order (possibly in the Questions and Answers box or Letters from Readers): 'Letter from STEIN received. We insist upon you meeting an absolutely trustworthy comrade. Address the 'Socialist Appeal' ATTENTION MARTIN.'

"If such a letter is received then you personally should meet the man. The issues can become very important."

The second letter is dated January 5, 1939, and contains the following:

"4). . . Now the most important thing. I am enclosing an anonymous letter which was received from the States. It is self-explanatory. I do not have a fixed opinion on the matter.

"Possibly it is honest; but possibly, even probably, it is a provocation of the GPU. The announcement that I sent to the 'Socialist Appeal' through you is in connection with this matter.

"Please act on this matter in collaboration with Glenner [Jan Frankel], who is informed. Also show him the enclosed letter."

Curiously, in his first secret testimony in 1955, Orlov said the following about going to the editorial offices of the *Socialist Appeal*:

"I surely didn't go there, because that Martin might also have been a Soviet provocateur or something like that. I don't know. I didn't go there."

But later in the same testimony Orlov corrects himself:

"I did go to the editorial offices of the Trotsky newspaper, the 'Socialist Appeal,' to take a look who that

Martin was. I went there — I didn't tell you so you wouldn't be afraid for my life [to Mrs. Orlov]."

Mrs. Orlov:

"It was dangerous."

Mr. Orlov:

"I asked who is Comrade Martin? Somebody showed me that man. I saw a swarthy fellow who looked to me more like a Hungarian. I just took a look at him and after I saw him I didn't enter his room. I didn't talk to him. I went away."

In this manner the first attempt to meet Orlov failed.

But as a letter to John G. Wright on January 21, 1939 shows, Trotsky was determined to find out who had sent the anonymous letter. He suspected (incorrectly) that the sender could be Walter Krivitsky, another GPU defector:

"Dear Comrade,

"I propose to publish the answer to 'Anon' in the 'Socialist Appeal' once or twice more.

"At the same time I should like to communicate my hypothesis to you. It is possible that the revelation comes from Walter, who is in the United States, so far as I know. He might give this information for one of two reasons:

"(a) He wishes to help us without compromising himself too much, especially if the person he indicates was connected with him, personally. So far as I know, he avoided making personal revelations to the last, possibly hoping in this way to prevent attempts against him.

"(b) He wishes to disorientate us, provoke confusion, etc. That supposes that he remains in service and that his break with them was a camouflage.

"All this is only a hypothesis without any proof, but it would be very useful to establish where Walter is living and what he is doing. You can surely obtain information about this from Paris."

Far from giving up when the first attempt to meet Orlov failed, Trotsky arranged for a second attempt to be made by Joseph Hansen when he went from Coyoacan to New York.



Walter Krivitsky

Without a doubt, Hansen's chief assignment in New York was not to meet the GPU agent "John," but to meet the GPU defector Orlov.

Hansen and O'Brien deliberately concealed this information in 1976 to justify Hansen's confession to Consul McGregor in 1940. Here is what actually happened based on material from the Trotsky Archive.

Hansen left Coyoacan on January 15, 1939, i.e., two full weeks after the Orlov letter of December 27, 1938, arrived. He was told to establish contact with "Stein" (Orlov) if the arrangements made through the *Socialist Appeal* for Stein to go to the editorial offices and meet with Martin (John G. Wright) failed.

The "bait" that Hansen was to use to attract Orlov's attention was the manuscript of the Stalin biography. This conclusion can even be drawn from Hansen's own comment on the postscript to the March 8 letter in his 1976 article:

"The postscript deals with the manuscript of Trotsky's biography of Stalin. Malamuth had showed parts of his translation to others. Carelessness of this kind could lead to its falling into the hands of the GPU, which would interfere with my assignment."

If, in the course of his assignment, there were any messages that had to be sent to Trotsky in secret, Hansen even arranged to write to V.T. O'Brien in invisible ink between double-spaced typewritten lines.

Unfortunately, no such letters from Hansen are to found in the Trotsky Archives. (There are invisible ink letters from other people to Trotsky.)

Hansen went to the US and began his assignment. On February 7, he sent his first report which was read and understood. Trotsky's February 14 letter acknowledges Hansen's February 7 communication and reassures him about the "fantastic plan" (to contact Orlov), despite the criticism of certain sceptics.

Trotsky wrote again on March 8 that he was unclear of Hansen's procedure and was awaiting further information about the manuscript.

On March 10, Hansen sent his elliptical letter with definite instructions about a letter he wanted Trotsky to send, presumably to show to the publishers to give Hansen more time to set up contact with Orlov.

On March 17, Trotsky complied quite precisely with Hansen's requests. If he was unclear of Hansen's procedure on March 8, by now he must have been been really wondering what was going on.

On March 19, something happened and Hansen wrote the first of three double-spaced letters with a secret message.

It is probable that Orlov had managed to contact Hansen by phone and said that he would only agree to meet with Hansen if he had specific credentials from Trotsky.

As Orlov showed when he walked out of the SWP editorial offices without talking to John G. Wright (Martin), he feared that there were so many GPU agents in the SWP that he would only meet with someone whom Trotsky had unmistakably identified as a legitimate representative.

Otherwise he would face the same kind of GPU execution squad that machine-gunned Ignace Reiss when he broke from the GPU in 1937.

Unfortunately for Hansen, the credentials never

came. Thus he was particularly nervous between March 19 and March 30, because time was flying and he had received no communication from Trotsky enabling him to proceed.

March 30 was a critical day since, for reasons not entirely clear, the opportunity to establish contact with Orlov had passed for the time being.

Probably Orlov was leaving New York under US government protection and heading for his new life in California under an assumed name.

Hence, on March 30, Hansen writes to Trotsky that "it is too late to do anything but complete the report."

Meanwhile, by March 31, Trotsky had become extremely worried about the lack of news about Hansen's activity. As yet, he knew nothing about Hansen's chance to actually establish contact with Orlov. Therefore he sent his March 31 letter saying: "I am absolutely desperate from the absence of communications from you concerning the ms."

Perhaps, after posting this letter, Trotsky even asked V.T. O'Brien to double-check and make sure

there was no news in the "three latest letters" of Hansen.

At this point, O'Brien discovered Hansen's secret message asking for credentials and fired off the March 31 telegram: "BY MISTAKE LETTER READ ONLY TODAY WAIT ANSWER IRISH"

But any instructions from Coyoacan at this point would have arrived too late for Hansen to meet with Orlov. Hansen and O'Brien had bungled the decisive meeting.

The only other item in the correspondence that immediately seems to be related to these events is a postscript to Hansen on April 24, 1939.

He writes: "I received your last communication and I agree that the matter should be considered closed, and in any case, we on our side should take no initiative."

At this point, Trotsky felt the Orlov affair was a closed matter, but the archives show that much more was soon to follow.

## THE TROTSKY ARCHIVES

# SWP Suppresses Two Letters



In early May 1939, a second Orlov letter was sent to Trotsky which the SWP was later to suppress until after Joseph Hansen died in January 1979.

Prior to the publication of a May 10, 1939 letter from Trotsky about this communication, there was no indication that the second Orlov letter existed.

In her testimony before the US Senate Judiciary committee in 1956, Lola Dallin testified about her meeting with Trotsky in Mexico where the first Orlov letter from December 27, 1938 was discussed.

Asked if she placed "a great deal of trust and confidence" in her close friend, the GPU agent Zborowski, Mrs. Dallin replied:

"Absolutely. I trusted him. I never doubted about it. And when once the rumor came out, I defended him, like everybody defends his friend.

"Q: When did the rumor first come out?

"Mrs. Dallin: The first rumor heard about it, was in the summer of 1939, when I visited Mr. Leon Trotsky in Mexico. He had received an unsigned letter from a man who told him that the closest friend of his son, not mentioning his name, saying only 'Mark,' is an agent of the NKVD (the GPU).

"The letter was rather unpleasant because it had too many details, and it was stated in the letter, as far as I remember, that: 'You tell somebody of your friends in



Lola Dallin

Paris to follow the man, and you will see where he reports, with whom he meets, what he is doing.

"And when Mr. Trotsky showed me this letter and asked my opinion about him, I felt a little bit uncomfortable, because the details were unpleasant. Too many of them were in the letter.

"And then I thought it over with him, and I said: 'That is certainly a definitely dirty job of the NKVD,



Natalia, Trotsky and Sieva in Mexico

who want to deprive you of your few collaborators that you have in France.'

"And at the same time, he had another letter from another unnamed agent, telling him that a woman, meaning me is coming to visit him and will poison him.

"So we both decided, 'See how they work? They want that you shall break with the only people that are left over in France, Russians, let us say, in France, in Paris.'

"And we decided that it isn't to be taken seriously, but it was a hoax of the NKVD.

"Q: And you so advised him?

"Mrs. Dallin: And when I came back to Paris, the first thing I did, I told Mr. Zborowski.

"Q: You told Mr. Zborowski?

"Mrs. Dallin: Oh, yes: I told him immediately about it.

"Q: And what did he say about it?

"Mrs. Dallin: Oh, he laughed it off. He said, 'You know how the NKVD works. They are trying to smear you. They are trying to smear you.' And it was very convincing. I trusted him, you see."

Besides warning Zborowski, Mrs. Dallin shows in this 1956 testimony that she had joined Hansen, Orlov and the leaders of the SWP in concealing Hansen's actual 1939 assignment in New York— contacting Orlov.

Until the SWP published the long-suppressed letter of May 10, 1939, there was no indication that "another letter from another unnamed agent" was a second letter from Alexander Orlov after he had defected from the GPU. Orlov himself had testified that he had later tried to phone Trotsky to warn him about the GPU, but remained silent about the second letter.

The leaders of the SWP, however, have known all too well about the second Orlov letter because they have a copy in their possession.

Finally, in 1979, in the Supplement (1934-1940) to the *Writings of Leon Trotsky* the editors of the SWP's Pathfinder Press, headed by George Breitman, attached a note to the previously unpublished May 10, 1939, letter from Trotsky. The note reads:

"805. 'Another Anonymous Letter' From the Cannon Archives, Library of Social History. Dictated in English. A letter to Cannon or Jan Frankel. Accompanying it was a copy of an anonymous, undated letter in Russian which sought to create the impression that it was written by a woman. The author asked Trotsky to keep the letter secret 'since I have to return to the USSR.'

"The author also expressed alarm over a radio report that Trotsky was awaiting the arrival of a thirteen-year-old grandson, presumably from the Soviet Union:

" 'Remember, if your grandson is brought to you, that could not be done without a direct order by the GPU; that the GPU could send a different child in the guise of your grandson with the order to kill you; that even if your real grandson is brought to you, the GPU has had the time and has the means to convince him of the need to do a "heroic" deed, i.e. an act of terrorism.

" 'Therefore, if your grandson arrives, you must search him and check whether he has any poison; don't let him have any access to any weapons; don't let friends and companions of your grandson's age into the house, since they might bring poison or a weapon or commit an act of terrorism directly themselves.

" 'Don't let anyone who brings your grandson come into your house, no matter how much confidence you might have had in them in the past.'

"(At this time Trotsky was awaiting the arrival of his thirteen-year-old grandson, Sieva Volkov, not from the Soviet Union but from France. His companions on the trip, in August 1939, were the Rosmers, Trotsky's friends.)"

To understand the significance of this amazing note from the editors of Pathfinder Press, we must examine Trotsky's letter of May 10, 1939, which is contained in the Trotsky Archives:

"Dear Friend,

"I am sending you an anonymous letter received from San Francisco some days ago. Two or three days before we received a phone call from San Francisco from someone asking for Natalia or for a secretary who spoke Russian.

"We could not answer the call because it was not on our telephone system and it would have been necessary to go outside the house, it was night, and we were doubtful about the whole story.

"Then in two days came this letter in two copies, one addressed to me and the other to Natalia.

"The importance of this letter is clear from the letter itself. I believe the author is the same who previously sent us a letter from New York asking for an answer in the *Socialist Appeal*. I considered the first letter as seventy-five percent a provocation for the purpose of making us suspicious of a certain comrade.

“Also the allusion to Lushkov was too improbable. The enclosed letter seems incomparably more trustworthy. I cannot see what interest the Three Letters [GPU] would have in sending us such a message. I suppose that the author is the same, namely, W. [Walter Krivitsky]. In that case, if both letters came from the same source, the first letter merits more attention (I have never received any communication about the results of the investigation.).

“What interest can W. have in acting in such an enigmatic manner? I believe that he does not trust us. He knows some agents in our milieu. On the other hand, he is more or less inspired by some animosity towards us. He told our common, deceased friend [Leon Sedov] about some attempts against his father. He even communicated some details. I do not know them because at that time it was planned that W. would meet me and tell me everything that he knew. But then, under some mysterious influence, he changed his attitude. Possibly he simply noticed that we were absolutely foreign to him. On his own initiative he broke almost all relations with our young friend. After the death of our friend, he sent me a cable of condolence. That was all.

“The reason for his going to the States and the people who helped him are absolutely unknown to me. I am sure that he knows incomparably more than he says or writes. Many things that he knows are surely compromising for himself; he was not an observer in these affairs ...

“Is he really the author of the enclosed letter? It would be necessary to find out whether he visited the San Francisco Exposition, but first it is necessary to find him. The question is of the greatest importance. Even if he is not the author of this letter, he knows of the preparations for different attempts, as of many other things. **He must speak.** We are interested in averting every difficulty for him and **we can even help him in this respect.** You recall, of course, that his first presentation to public opinion was made in accordance with the plan promised by us after the catastrophe of Ignace [Reiss]. We can be very useful to him in this respect in the future. But he must speak. His letters (if they are really his) show that he feels himself where his duty lies. However, we must underline it. If necessary, I could send you our young friend's letters in which W.'s knowledge of the attempts are mentioned. These letters are documents. We are not interested in using them publicly, but he must speak. It is necessary to find him at any price. The enclosed letter might possibly serve you as a 'credential.'

“I wrote about the matter to Joe [Hansen] (before I received this letter), but I fear that I was not explanatory enough. Please discuss this matter with him and elaborate a plan of action.

“Explain to W. that, in spite of divergences, we can have a very close united front in the fight against the Three-Letters. I am, of course, ready to meet him under conditions that will assure him of full safety. I believe that our discussions could also be of some value in his literary activity. For example, it is very important that he go back to the Moscow trials in the press, and many other questions.

“I shall await your communications on the matter with the greatest of interest.

“Comradely  
“L.D.”

Several points should be made about this letter by Trotsky.

1. It was sent in response to the second letter by Alexander Orlov who had arrived in San Francisco, probably by mid-April 1939. This date explains why Hansen had only until March 30 to meet Orlov in New York. Since his departure date had been set by the US government, he couldn't postpone it to meet with Hansen.

2. Trotsky thought the author was Walter Krivitsky, another GPU defector who was later shot through the head in 1941 by the GPU. As the Pathfinder Press editors admit:

“802. Trotsky was wrong in his assumption that the December 1938 letter had been written by W. or Walter Krivitsky, who made contact with Leon Sedov in France after his break with the GPU at the end of 1937, and later moved to the US.”

George Breitman and Co. then declare, however:

“Who wrote the May 1939 letter is still not known.”

Breitman is lying here because he knows that Trotsky was correct when he wrote that “the author is the same who previously sent us a letter from New York asking for an answer in the ‘Socialist Appeal,’” i.e. Alexander Orlov.

3. Despite Lola Dallin's assurances in 1956 that Trotsky believed the Orlov letters were a GPU hoax, the whole content of the May 10, 1939 letter shows the opposite reaction. As Trotsky writes:



Joseph Hansen

"If both letters came from the same source, the first letter merits more attention (I have never received any communication about the results of the investigation [into Zborowski])."

4. Trotsky felt that "it is necessary to find him at any price." This is hardly the reaction to a hoax.

5. Trotsky writes: "The enclosed letter might possibly serve you as a 'credential,'" because of the bitter experience when O'Brien overlooked Hansen's March 19 secret request for a similar credential and the earlier Orlov meeting fell through.

6. Trotsky openly states: "I wrote about the matter to Joe [Hansen] (before I received this letter), but I feel that I was not explanatory enough. Please discuss the matter with him and elaborate a plan of action."

This statement confirms that Hansen had been commissioned to investigate the first Orlov letter. Now he was being asked to cooperate with Jan Frankel or James P. Cannon in the investigation of the second Orlov letter.

By not publishing the second Orlov letter in its entirety, and by only publishing Trotsky's May 10, 1939 letter a few months before the Trotsky Archives were to open, the SWP was desperately trying to cover up the real nature of Hansen's assignment in New York in

1939. If the SWP had published these two items, Hansen's fabrications about Trotsky's instructions to meet with the GPU agent "John" would have been blown to shreds. Instead, by deliberately suppressing these letters, the SWP tried to maintain there was only one Orlov letter.

We know from a note by Van Heijenoort in the Trotsky Archives that the first Orlov letter was "deposited at the Houghton Library on 22 October 1974" and that it came "from George Weissman [of the SWP] in New York."

Why didn't Weissman deposit the second Orlov letter, which is not to be found in the archives? If it came into his hands after Hansen's death, why hasn't there been a statement from the SWP about how it finally made its way into the Cannon archives? And why hasn't the second Orlov letter been published in its entirety by Pathfinder Press?

Although Hansen was the principal agent of this long coverup, many leaders in the SWP who know about his mission to meet Orlov have remained silent.

It is clear from the suppression of these letters that other SWP leaders knew about the GPU activities of Hansen. Pierre Broué stands exposed as one who defends these criminal motives.

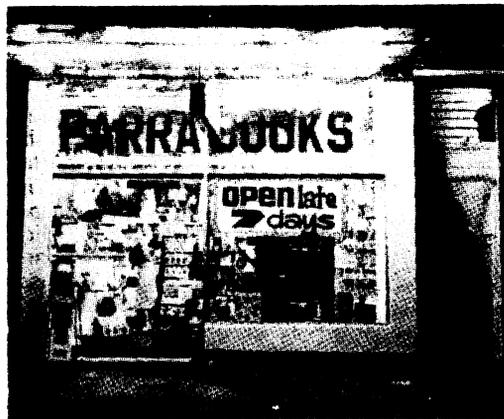
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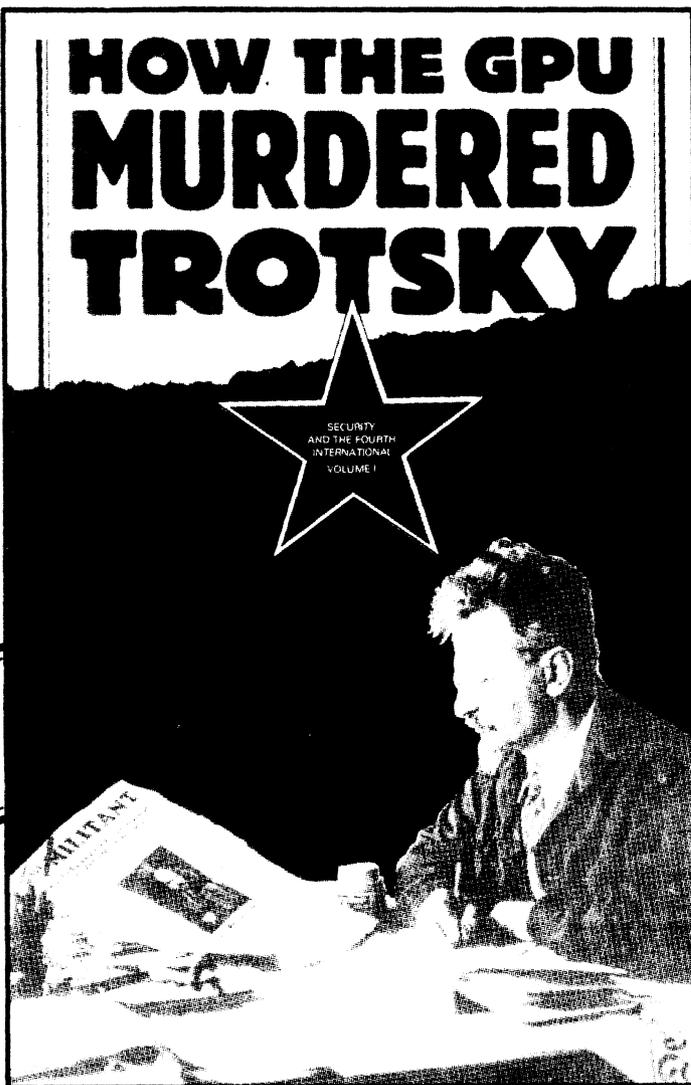
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SECURITY  
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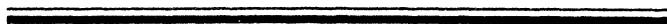
# PROFESSORS OF DISTORTION AND THE MURDER OF LEON TROTSKY

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**Convegno internazionale di studi  
in occasione del 40° anniversario  
della morte di Leon Trockij**

DIREZ. SCIENTIFICA: FONDAZIONE GIANGIACOMO FELTRINELLI



# PROFESSORS OF DISTORTION AND THE MURDER OF LEON TROTSKY

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By the Security and the Fourth  
International Investigating Team

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Follonica is a small seaside tourist town in the Tuscany region of Italy. In October last year it became the venue of a much publicized conference.

The choice of Follonica for the "International Conference on the 40th Anniversary of L. Trotsky's Death" (October 7-11, 1980) was highly puzzling.

The town itself is dominated by the Communist Party of Italy (PCI) whose leadership during Trotsky's lifetime owed unswerving allegiance to the Kremlin, the apparatus responsible for Trotsky's murder in Mexico on August 20, 1940.

The conference was organized by the Feltrinelli Foundation, a Stalinist-controlled organization in memory of the left-wing publisher. It was an open secret that the PCI was the chief instigator of the Follonica seminar working through the Foundation.

And it was not only the local and regional Stalinist authorities who promoted the conference. In the weeks before it took place, PCI members papered the walls of Italian cities, starting with the capital, Rome, with conference posters depicting the vibrant figure of Trotsky.

The media, with the Stalinists' own daily paper *Unita* in the forefront, massaged public opinion and turned the spotlight on small Follonica. By way of an official blessing, the opening speech was delivered by none other than the PCI's "top historian" Giuliano Procacci.

He saluted the opportunity for an extensive discussion on Trotsky "without fear or passion," though it was clear that the founder of the Fourth International charged the conference hall precisely with these two emotions.

"Experts" from all over the world were invited, with the foundation footing the bill for air fares and accommodation. They came from North America and Western Europe as well as from the Zionist state of Israel.

**Big names from the anti-communist institutes of Sovietology, Stalinist "academics," revisionists and even a Soviet delegation. With very few exceptions it was impossible to discern any relationship between those present and the Marxist principles for which Leon Trotsky lived, fought and was assassinated.**

Local pro-Stalinist journalists freely admitted that the PCI leadership had organized the Trotsky seminar to try and gain some respect with the intelligentsia, students and the revolutionary youth. "Trotsky and

Trotskyism is still haunting them," one of the journalists said.

Among the many guests and media representatives, one man was singled out by much publicity. He was presented as the "central figure" and referred to as one of the "conference organizers."

This man was **Professor Pierre Broue**. He likes to designate himself as an "historian" from Grenoble and head of the revisionist front organization called the "Leon Trotsky Institute" of Paris, a self-proclaimed "specialist" in the study of Trotsky's archives at Harvard University, etc.

At Follonica he kept well in the background the fact that he is one of the leaders of the Paris-based International Communist Organization (OCI). This is a revisionist group which is thoroughly hostile to Trotskyism and Marxism and which had become notorious for its unprincipled, shabby and opportunistic maneuvers with all kinds of dubious outfits.

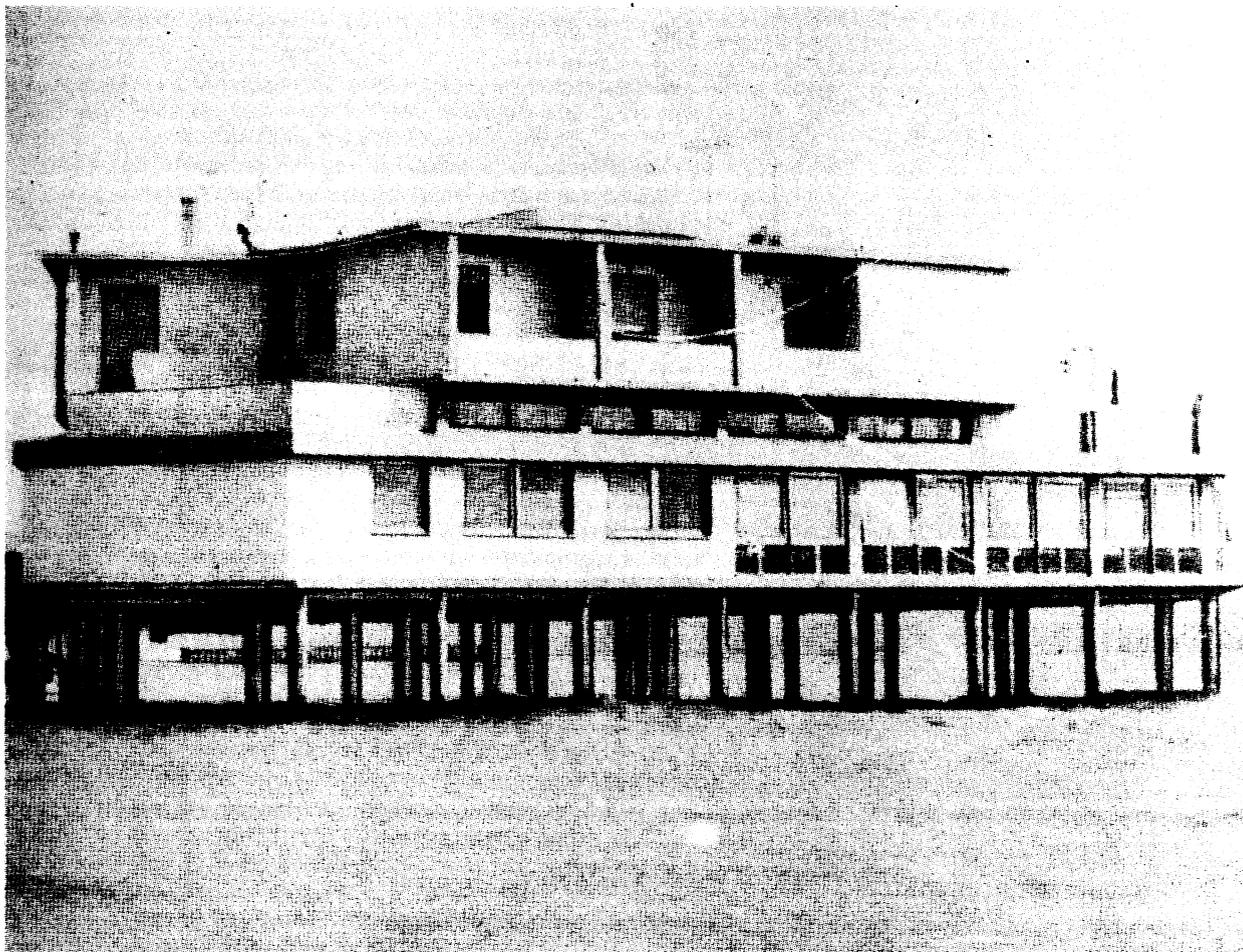
In Britain the OCI's co-thinkers used to be the "Bulletin" group led by the warped anti-communists Robin Blick and Mark Jenkins, the political reprobates Mr. John Archer and Mrs. Betty Hamilton and the dubious Adam Westoby who flits from one political provocation to the next in between visits to the United States.

**In 1974, this group organized a secret clique inside the Workers Revolutionary Party around Alan Thorne, Mrs. Kate Blakeney, Tony Richardson and John Lister. Its purpose was to try and smash the WRP and liquidate it into a swamp of social democracy and syndicalism.**

The plot failed when it was repelled by the WRP leadership and membership at the first congress in December 1974. No sooner had the conspirators been expelled than the "Bulletin" group's Bulletins stopped coming out and the OCI's British agents folded their tent and evaporated.

The OCI's bag-man for the abortive WRP-wrecking operation was Francois de Massot, a long-standing political associate of Professor Broue. De Massot provided the financial and tactical back-up for the Thorne-Blick conspiracy.

There was much comment at Follonica that the discredited leaders of the Pabloite "Unified Secre-



*The Follonica hotel chosen by the Italian Stalinist organizers as the venue for an international seminar on Leon Trotsky*

tariat" like professor Ernest Mandel were pushed aside in favor of Broue. The failure to invite Mandel led Perry Anderson, the prima donna of the "New Left Review," himself a card-holding member of the IMG, to reject his invitation in a fearless show of protest.

But another well-known Pabloite leader, the Italian Livio Maitan, turned a blind eye to the snub to "UniSec." Maitan made his appointment at Follonica and proved to be politically enormously obliging to the Stalinist organizers.

When the subject of his proposed report to the conference, "Trotsky and Europe," was rejected, Maitan quickly accepted the new topic imposed by the organizers, "Trotsky and the struggle of the underdeveloped countries."

Maitan is no prima dona; he would have spoken on any subject so long as his name was included on the program.

The feathers of one other participant were ruffled during the pre-conference maneuvering. Alfonso Leonetti, and old leader of Trotsky's Left Opposition in Italy who has since rejoined the PCI, fell suddenly "ill" and was notably absent.

But the press reported that his "illness" was a diplomatic malady which was a protest against the conference arrangements and the proposed speakers.

It was clear to everyone as the conference opened

that the stage had room for only one "star" — the great Professor Broue.

An atmosphere of excited anticipation had been carefully cultivated. There were rumors over the breakfast table and in the salons that Broue would make "sensational revelations" about the assassination of Trotsky on the basis of new material from the Harvard archives which were opened on January 1 last year.

At a press conference before reaching Follonica, Broue "warned" that he was preparing a "surprise" and that he would deal hammer blows at the PCI leader, Senator Vittorio Vidali (alias Carlos Contreras), the notorious GPU executioner in Spain, Mexico and the United States.

The historic day came. Broue delivered his speech on Trotsky's assassination. It proved to be an exercise in misinformation, not revelation. Its aim was not to expose the network of GPU agents responsible for Trotsky's murder and the subsequent disruption of the world Trotskyist movement, but to cover their tracks and protect them.

Broue made the case of the GPU executioner Vittorio Vidali the center-piece of his speech — a gesture of extremely Quixotic proportions. It was like charging a door . . . that had already been opened.

There are literally reams of documents, letters and

memoirs testifying to the murderous activities of Vidali, not least of all in the writings of Trotsky himself.

**Not surprisingly, three days after Broue's speech Vidali arrogantly spoke to the pro-Stalinist 'Republica' (October 14, 1980) and answered Broue's questions.**

He contemptuously added that he would have been able to answer immediately if the Feltrinelli Foundation had properly invited him to Follonica . . .

Broue convicted himself as an intellectual charlatan when he gave his whole speech without once mentioning *Security and the Fourth International*, the worldwide inquiry into Trotsky's murder which was launched more than five and a half years ago by the International Committee of the Fourth International.

This is the first investigation of Trotsky's assassination undertaken by the Trotskyist movement and it is very wide-ranging. It began in May 1975 when Professor Broue and the OCI were not only disinterested, but positively hostile to the reopening of the Trotsky case.

**The only time that Broue mentioned the historic *Security and the Fourth International* investigation was when he departed from his original text to refer sniffily to "a campaign of the British newspaper, *News Line*."**

What an intellectual midget this man is! He thinks that with a few sneers he can dismiss an investigation which has gathered together tens of thousands of documents, letters, affidavits and photographs from the United States, Mexico, Canada and Western Europe.

The truth is that Broue is an unmitigated plagiarist. If it had not been for the International Committee's investigation, Broue would have been bereft of information on the case and his interest would be zero.

Nevertheless, his conceit is boundless. He began his speech by saying, "This case is today still far from being entirely brought to light.

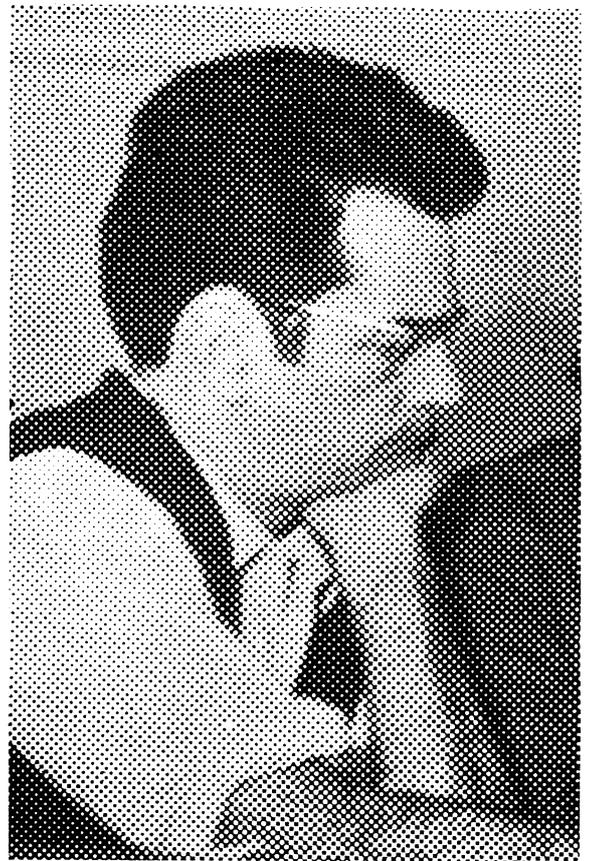
"We have nevertheless learned quite a lot since 40 years ago through two principal periods — that of the end of the forties with the discovery of the real identity of the killer and consequently of his links with Stalinism and what Trotsky called 'the GPU.' The Soviet services, in this case an international murder apparatus, and that of the last three years."

**In other words, the sublimely modest Broue is telling his audience that nothing important happened in the Trotsky murder investigation from 1950 until 1977 — when he, the great Broue, became chairman of the Trotsky institute in Paris!**

By the time Broue began to take an interest, the *Security and the Fourth International* investigation had already been underway for two and a half years. It had brought to light entirely new evidence on the Trotsky murder plot and it had indicted Joseph Hansen, leader of the revisionist Socialist Workers Party of the United States, as a double agent.

This was the moment that Broue's OCI made known its interest. It was not to deepen the investigation nor was it to support the International Committee's call for an international Commission of Inquiry into the murder plot and the network which was responsible.

No, the OCI has the dubious distinction of being one of the very first revisionist groups to publish a full-



*Pierre Broue, the star of the Follonica conference, his "startling revelations" turned out to be more distortions to cover up for Joseph Hansen*

scale testimonial in support of Hansen accompanied by a violent attack on the International Committee and its investigation.

It appeared under the grandiose title of "Declaration by Betty Hamilton and Pierre Lambert" (*Informations Ouvrières*, February 27-March 4, 1976.)

It was written in the style of a low-brow French melodrama. "We have read the unspeakable articles written on G. Healy's orders, which try to prove that Joseph Hansen and George Novack are CIA and NKVD agents.

"We must admit that it was very painful to force ourselves to read these 'articles.' But we thought it was our duty . . . to express our sympathy and solidarity to the SWP.

According to Mrs. Hamilton and M. Lambert, the *Security and the Fourth International* inquiry was nothing more than "false accusations, lies, and slanders" and provided absolutely nothing new as regards evidence.

The following year, 1977, these two "grand militants" mounted the steps to the "Platform of Shame," a notorious meeting held in London's Friends House on January 14, 1977, comprising revisionist notables from every corner of the world.

Mrs. Hamilton, Lambert and M. de Massot sat on the platform which was organized to try and save Hansen's neck and to protect the existing network of agents in the Trotskyist movement.

The meeting collapsed in ruins when Comrade Gerry Healy of the International Committee and the Workers Revolutionary Party attended.

He listened silently to some two hours of slanders and then motioned to speak. In the uproar which followed, the "Platform of Shame" narrowly carried a motion preventing him from addressing the meeting.

As the meeting was fraudulently called in the name of "workers' democracy" it was most eloquent and fitting that it reached its climax by stopping Comrade Healy from speaking. It was a demonstration that the "Platform of Shame" would use every means to stop the Trotsky investigation and to protect the network of agents.

Mrs. Hamilton, Lambert and Broue were the most strident voices in advocating this policy of "hands off Hansen" and "stop the investigation." All three signed the notorious "verdict" which completely cleared Hansen. . . without even considering any of the evidence!

This astonishing "verdict" made the sweeping allegation that the documents and testimony assembled in *Security and the Fourth International* were simply "slander."

At the Follonica conference, however, Broue was far more circumspect than he was three years ago. What was "slander" in 1975, 1976 and 1977 was suddenly produced in Broue's speech as either hard evidence or intelligent speculation about the agents in the Trotskyist movement.

Let us examine some of Broue's "findings" and the conclusions that he draws.

In the first year of *Security and the Fourth Interna-*



Jean van Heijenoort, declared opponent of Trotskyism, could have answered many of Broue's distortions but kept silent

tional, documentary proof was published by the International Committee establishing beyond any shadow of a doubt that Sylvia Franklin, personal secretary to the SWP leader James P. Cannon, had been a GPU agent.

Franklin, alias Caldwell, nee Callen, worked in the New York headquarters of the SWP from 1938 to 1947. She passed literally hundreds of internal documents, letters and party names and addresses to her GPU controller in New York.

**When *Security and the Fourth International* published these facts, the SWP revisionists flew into a violent denunciation of the International Committee for "slandering" a loyal comrade" (Franklin). Broue's OCI enthusiastically joined in.**

This is how Broue handled the Franklin case at Follonica:

"We also know that Louis Budenz, the former director of the American Communist Party, asserted having succeeded in placing another GPU agent, Mrs. Sylvia Franklin, as secretary of the American Trotskyist leader Cannon thus allowing her control of a good portion of Trotsky's correspondence — something the American Trotskyists have always denied."

That is all. Thus the "objective historian" Broue exhausts the Franklin case with a single sentence. He presents on one hand the statement of Budenz and, on the other, the denial by the American "Trotskyists," and finally takes no position himself!

**But Hansen and the other SWP leaders did not simply "deny" that Franklin was a GPU agent and on Beria's payroll, they defended her frantically.**

Hansen announced that an SWP control commission had investigated her case and the "insinuations" against her had been dismissed.

In an article in his intelligence-gathering journal *Intercontinental Press* on November 24, 1975, Hansen referred to Franklin as an "exemplary comrade."

His wife, Reba Hansen, found even more lyrical words for her friend Sylvia — "a close associate and good personal friend." She was, said Reba Hansen, "a warm human being." (See *James P. Cannon As We Knew Him*, Pathfinder Press).

Hansen's accomplice, George Novack, and a last minute ally, Tim Wohlforth, also rushed to defend Franklin's "honor." It was as if the International Committee was brutally crucifying one of the stalwarts of the Trotskyist movement!

Compare what Broue said in October 1980 with what his OCI co-leaders Pierre Lambert and Mrs. Hamilton wrote in their "declaration" in February 1976 — a full 4½ years earlier.

"We do not know if the Sylvia Callen referred to by *Workers Press* is really Sylvia Franklin, but we are convinced that if these new facts prove it, the SWP will carry out its own inquiry, and will if necessary revise the conclusions of the Control Commission (of 1947)." (*Informations Ouvrieres*, February 27-March 4, 1976).

But 4½ years later the SWP has not reopened the Franklin case, it has not revised its earlier Control Commission — and its agent-led leadership has no intention of doing so.

At Follonica Broue carefully selected only the testimony of Louis Budenz, the American Stalinist leader,



*Michel Pablo, said the SWP should admit that Sylvia Franklin was an agent*

in presenting the case against Franklin.

In doing so he is wilfully covering up the mass of evidence which has been compiled by the International Committee to prove that Franklin worked for the GPU.

One item of evidence completely untouched by Broue is the copy of the grand jury indictment of Soviet spy Dr. Robert Soblen which was published by the International Committee four years ago.

The indictment, dated November 29, 1960, charged Soblen with treason (he was subsequently convicted). Included as one of his co-conspirators was none other than Sylvia Franklin, that "exemplary comrade" and "warm human being."

**Just to show the company she kept, the charge sheet also contained the names of Soviet master spy Jack Soble (Soblen's brother) and Lavrenti Beria!**

The FBI did not prosecute Franklin because she cooperated with them as a friendly witness. When Jack Soble got into the witness stand to testify against his brother, the following exchange took place.

**Soble:** There were people— there was a secretary to Cannon, who was a secretary of the Trotskyite organization at that time here in the States who had one of the secretaries worked for the GPU. I never recruited her. I never introduced her. The GPU introduced her to me.

**Judge Herlands:** What is her name?

**Soble:** I knew her under the name of Sophie or Sylvia.

And later when the subject came up again:

**Soble:** I went farther in the Trotskyite field and worked with the secretary of Cannon, Sylvia, whom I knew only under the name Sylvia or Sophie, also introduced to me by the same Russians who worked for them already before.

**Question:** What did she do?



*Tamara Deutscher, heard Broue's coverup but said nothing*

**Soble:** She gathered material at the secretariat of Cannon and gave it to me.

**Question:** The same Trotsky material?

**Soble:** The same Trotsky...

**Question:** Trotsky material?

**Soble:** Yes, it had pure Trotsky material.

In 1977, the International Committee succeeded in discovering Franklin in the midwest of the United States and interviewed her. It emerged, however, that she was suffering from a strange "amnesia" and could remember little of her exploits as a GPU agent.

But **Lucy Booker** who used to type up all of Franklin's reports before they were handed over to the GPU controller, had a fuller memory. She remembered "Sylvia" coming to her Manhattan apartment with documents and letters from Cannon's office, meeting the GPU man there and receiving her "wages" in return.

On March 8, 1977, two former secretaries in the Trotskyist movement — Michel Pablo and Jean van Heijenoort — publicly admitted that they believed Franklin was a GPU agent.

Pablo went so far as to appeal to the SWP leaders to admit Franklin's agent role. "I believe she was an agent, yes," Pablo said. "This is what I believe. And I believe it is right they should admit it. This is my position. The Socialist Workers Party must admit it."

Note the difference in approach of these two revisionists: Pablo said the SWP "must" admit she was an agent, while Broue told his Follonica audience that the SWP "have always denied" it and left it at that, as if some doubt existed.

Van Heijenoort said in Paris at the same public meeting in 1977: "Everything in my mind today goes to the direction of considering Sylvia Franklin a GPU agent."



Tim Wohlforth, renegade from Trotskyism, speaking at the Platform of Shame

Van Heijenoort was in Follonica in 1980. He is the "curator" of Trotsky's archives at Harvard and knows the agent role she played at the SWP headquarters in New York. He heard Broue and his phony "objectivity." But he said nothing.

Mrs. Tamara Deutscher was also at Follonica. She heard Broue's clumsy coverup effort for Franklin too. But she said nothing.

Broue's handling of the Franklin case is all the more loathsome because he has visited the Harvard archives and he should be familiar with the correspondence which Franklin typed on behalf of Cannon and the SWP leadership. He is also very familiar with van Heijenoort's position on Franklin.

The International Committee has been through the Harvard archive and collected every letter which Franklin typed. Copies of all of these letters went straight to the GPU via Lucy Booker's flat a few blocks away.

The letters which bear the typed signature "SC" (Sylvia Caldwell) cover the most intimate workings of the SWP, including highly confidential correspondence with Trotsky before his assassination in August 1940.

As the ears and eyes of the GPU in the SWP headquarters, Franklin was in a position to give direct intelligence information to the GPU's assassination team. As secretary to Cannon, she knew the innermost workings of the party and its secret liaisons with labor leaders and certain writers and intellectuals.

In private, Broue, like many other revisionist leaders, is perfectly prepared to admit that Franklin was a GPU agent. They aren't contest the International Committee's material because they know they do not have a leg to stand on.

**But Broue is so politically corrupt that he will not admit Franklin's GPU role because he does not want to "break faith" with the resident police network at the SWP and he would do anything rather than admit that the *Security and the Fourth International* inquiry is correct!**

For reasons of grotesque opportunism and malicious subjectivism the great professor has decided that he will not publicly concede that Franklin was a GPU agent. So much for his fraudulent institute which has fraudulently usurped Trotsky's name! So much for his claims to "scholarship"!

We challenge the learned gentleman to make known his views: was Sylvia Franklin a GPU agent — Yes or No? And if the answer is "Yes" can he explain why the SWP still maintains that she is innocent!

One of the many areas of research undertaken by *Security and the Fourth International* was the case of Robert Sheldon Harte, one of Trotsky's guards who was found murdered in June 1940.

Harte was on guard at Trotsky's fortified household at Coyoacan, Mexico, on the night of May 24, 1940, when a group of Stalinist gangsters arrived with machine guns and bombs.

He opened the gate and let them in and then disappeared with the raiding party when they left a short time later.

They shot up the building and Trotsky's bedroom, but miraculously their bullets missed the Bolshevik leader.

One month after the abortive assault, Harte's body was found. He had been shot in the back of the head and his body had been buried in lime.

**Trotsky declared that Harte was a martyr of the Fourth International and led a vigorous campaign to unmask the GPU culprits. Two months later, when Trotsky was deep into his investigation, he was murdered by Ramon Mercader.**

Trotsky had no chance to know the full ramifications of the May raid and the Harte murder. Fresh evidence emerged over the years, but it was systematically suppressed by Joseph Hansen, the double agent who led the revisionist Socialist Workers Party in the United States until his death two years ago.

*Security and the Fourth International* began to work on the Harte case and produced some startlingly incriminating

minating material. At this point, Hansen, fully supported by Broue's OCI, threw up his arms in horror and said the International Committee of the Fourth International was "slandering" a martyr.

Because much of the new evidence came from official US government archives in Washington, DC, Hansen and his collaborators tried to infer that Harte was a "victim" of "FBI slanders."

This is the twisted reasoning which Broue used at the conference in Follonica last October. He invited his audience to decide whether the FBI wanted to create the impression that Harte was an agent of the GPU!

This is what he said: "No new facts allow one to settle the matter. On the one hand, the documents in question seem to us to pose a new question: what exactly were the FBI and its chief J. Edgar Hoover, who seems to have made a great effort to give credit to the idea that Bob Sheldon Harte was a disciple of Stalin, up to?"

"Is there a piece of explanation in the personal relations which existed between the chief of the FBI and the industrialist Jesse Harte, the young man's father? Nothing allows one to content himself with this remark."

Where is Broue's evidence that Hoover made strenuous efforts to prove that his friend's son was a GPU spy? He poses a question which is simply preposterous. The "documents in question" are not part of an FBI black propaganda campaign otherwise they would have been used decades ago.

The documents were found by the International Committee, though Broue is careful not to credit their

discovery to *Security and the Fourth International*. They came from the US National Archives in Washington, DC, and covered official correspondence between the US embassy in Mexico City and the State Department-FBI.

To deepen the investigation, the *Security and the Fourth International* researchers went to Mexico City. It was the first time that the Trotskyist movement had carried out an on-the-spot inquiry into its founder's murder and the surrounding circumstances.

This is what was learned:

- After arriving in Mexico in early 1940 Harte began receiving his correspondence at the offices of the Wells Fargo Co. The office was in the Ermita Building where correspondence was also being received and an office kept by GPU agents David Siqueiros and Luis Arenal (who led the May raid on Trotsky's house) and . . . Jacques Mornard alias Frank Jackson alias Ramon Mercader.
- According to Trotsky's secretary-translator, Fanny Jakovits, Harte was especially nervous on the eve of the May attack and was continuously asking her about the progress of Trotsky's biography of Stalin.
- On the afternoon of the attack, Harte disturbed Trotsky by entering his study without permission to "check the alarm system" though nobody gave him instructions to do this.
- One of the members of the Siqueiros's raiding gang, Nestor Sanchez Hernandez, confessed to the Mexican police that Siqueiros had told him not to be afraid because "one of our people will open the gate" (at Trotsky's house).



*Follonica's Biblioteca Comunale which the Stalinist-controlled council made available for the October 1980 seminar on Trotsky*



Jean van Heijenoort (foreground) declared opponent of Trotskyism and revolution, at the Follonica seminar where he kept silent on GPU network

- In the GPU hideout at Santa Rosa, Harte was left unguarded and roamed around quite freely.
- In Harte's former apartment in New York, police found a photograph of Stalin on the wall.
- Harold Robins, the captain of the guard at Coyoacan, found a Spanish-English dictionary among Harte's belongings. In the front cover he found the signature of Siqueiros, the leader of the Stalinist raiding party!

Although he is very familiar with this material from *Security and the Fourth International*, Broue has chosen to act as attorney for Hansen and the agents. That is why he puts up the bogus "theory" that Hoover is behind some kind of weird plot to discredit Harte as a GPU agent.

Then Broue appears to have "second thoughts." In fact this is recognition that the position which he occupies is thoroughly dishonest. So he adds: **"We do not know the exact role played by the young American Bob Sheldon Harte, nor if his assassination had as its objective to rid the killers of a cumbersome, rather unsafe, accomplice, or, on the contrary, to protect the identity of a GPU man well placed for a new attempt."**

In other words, Broue says that Harte's role is an open question. This is no more or less than the International Committee said four years ago.

But when we drew attention to this, Hansen, the SWP, Broue and the OCI denounced *Security and the Fourth International* as "slander."

How strange it is that when Broue draws the same conclusion some years later, the academics at Follonica stroke their beards and nod their heads in agreement

And Broue has reached this conclusion from material uncovered and published by the International Committee, though he religiously avoids admitting this.

Broue employed the same childish deception when he addressed himself to the case of George Mink, the GPU assassin who arrived in Mexico in 1940 as part of

the GPU murder team.

During press conferences before the Follonica seminar opened, Broue took every opportunity to advertise the significance of the Mink affair and his own "revelations."

When he came to make his speech, Broue mentioned some already well-known facts about Mink's criminal biography in the United States and in the Spanish civil war and then came to the crunch: Mink's trip to Mexico.

Broue said: "A recently published FBI document makes it appear that its chief, J. Edgar Hoover, thought that Mink had been executed in 1940, after Trotsky's assassination, by a group of Trotskyists led by Trotsky's former American secretary, Joe Hansen." (our emphasis)

What is this "recently published FBI document"? Published where? Where did it come from? Broue is so petty-minded that he cannot bring himself to admit that it was discovered by the International Committee of the Fourth International and published as part of the *Security and the Fourth International* investigation.

The FBI document is the letter sent by Hoover on October 1, 1940, 40 days after Trotsky's assassination, to his top officer in New York, Mr. Sackett. This is the letter in which Hoover gives his directions on how the FBI should open its relations with Hansen when he comes back from Mexico. It follows Hansen's request to the US Embassy in Mexico for a "Confidential contact" in the FBI.

The letter is headed "Espionage" and reads in full:

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



*Robert Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's American guard, was found shot in the head in June 1940*

as to whom he can 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 30 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 should, of course, 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.

Now let us compare this full transcript of the Hoover letter and Broue's reference to it. Immediately, the scale of Broue's distortion can be seen.

Hoover wrote that Mink was murdered, according to State Department information, six months before October 1, 1940 (the date of the letter) or "shortly before the first attack on Trotsky in May 1940." The charlatan Broue makes out that Mink was executed "after Trotsky's assassination."

Why had Broue crudely falsified Hoover's letter? Why does he want to place Mink's liquidation after

Trotsky's assassination?

The answer comes later in Broue's speech when he said, "It is obviously certain that there exist in the FBI archives, many clues besides those concerning Joe Hansen and the distrust towards him advised by Mr. J. Edgar Hoover to his agents. Moreover, he was persuaded that Mink had organized the assassination and Hansen had avenged Trotsky by killing Mink."

Broue has changed the date of Mink's alleged murder given by Hoover in order to present Hansen in the most favorable light — as the avenger of Trotsky's murder.

This is the grossest deception and crude charlatanism. Its purpose is to try and rescue Hansen from the case presented by the International Committee that he was a double agent.

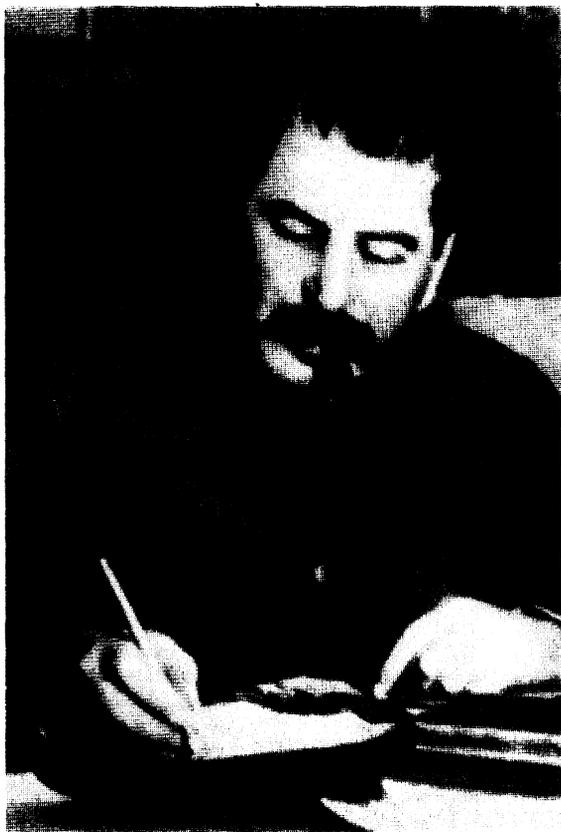
Broue has interpreted Hoover's statement that "Hansen and his associates liquidated George Mink" to mean "a group of Trotskyists led by Hansen."

If Hoover meant a group of Trotskyists in the Socialist Workers Party, why didn't he say so? And if Hoover believed that Hansen and the SWP murdered Mink, is this how the FBI chief would have acted?

Isn't it obvious to anyone that if Hansen had murdered Mink, an American citizen, then the FBI would have pounced on him the moment he returned to New York. They would have raided the SWP offices and picked up the other leaders of the SWP as accomplices in the murder conspiracy.

At that time, October 1940, the FBI were in the midst of preparing a big frame-up trial against the SWP under the Smith Act. It went into operation the following year — but the Mink case was never mentioned and Hansen was never indicted.

When Hoover referred to "Hansen and his asso-



Joseph Stalin, ordered Trotsky's assassination

ciates" he did not mean other comrades in the SWP at all, but Hansen's "associates" in the GPU network responsible for carrying out Trotsky's murder.

Hoover specifically mentioned the Mink murder case in his letter to Sackett. It was to enable Sackett to pressurize Hansen (if pressure was needed) in getting his cooperation to change sides and work with the FBI.

But having presented Mink's murder as an act of revenge carried out by Hansen, Broue, one sentence later opens the door to a deluge of confusion by saying that the GPU agent Vittorio Vidali "mentions him (Mink) with Bela Kun and Piatnitsky among Stalin's victims. In fact, Mink ... disappeared without leaving a trace."

In one breath, Broue has foisted no less than three contradictory "theories" about the Mink case: murdered by Hansen ... liquidated by Stalin ... disappeared without trace.

This played straight into the hands of Vidali who called a press conference to answer Broue's Follonica speech. Broue had challenged Vidali with the following question: "You mention Mink in your book on the 20th Congress (of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), together with Bela Kun and Piatnitsky, as one of the 'victims of Stalin.'

"Now and in what way did you know Mink? Where and how did he die?"

Vidali naturally played the innocent fool when he replied: "I did not know the Mink referred to by Broue. However, I met a certain Mink who was working at the offices of the Communist International and was a Russian.

"He 'disappeared' in early 1935 after Kirov's assassination. I do not know whether this Mink was in the Spanish war. His liquidation, like that of Bela Kun and many others, I learned in the 20th Congress from the comrades I met there." (*Republicas*, October 14, 1980.)

The executioner Vidali is lying through his teeth. Mink, under the alias Herz, was active on behalf of the GPU as an executioner of the POUMists and Trotskyists in Barcelona and was one of Vidali's most sinister henchmen.

The role of Mink-Herz during the civil war has been publicly exposed by many authorities on that period—Carlo Tresca, Max Shachtman and POUM supporters M. Olivier and Katia Landau.

Vidali not only knew Mink but actually had him under his orders in the GPU's assassination squad.

Both arrived in Mexico in early 1940 and were denounced by the Trotskyists as would-be assassins. Vidali has deliberately introduced another Mink who was apparently liquidated by Stalin during the purges to confuse the identity of his old partner in crime.

**And what of the great Professor Broue? Having used the International Committee's document from the FBI (without acknowledgement) to try and protect Hansen, he then appeals to Vidali for information about the whereabouts of Mink.**

The truth is that Mink was not killed by Hansen. This story was fed to the FBI for reasons only known to the late Hansen.

Mink was smuggled out of Mexico during World War II and returned to the Soviet Union. He was last seen at a trade union conference in Eastern Europe 10 years ago.

If Professor Broue wishes to use this information in his next learned dissertation, would he kindly quote the International Committee of the Fourth International. And if he would like to read a full biography of Mink and his activities, would he keep watching these columns.

When he spoke at the Follonica seminar, Professor Pierre Broue, the leading French OCI revisionist, presented himself as an "expert" on the Trotsky archives which were opened at Harvard University at the beginning of 1980.

He repeated the same lie that the OCI had indignantly claimed four years ago — that when Joseph Hansen was in contact with the Soviet secret police, the GPU, in the late 1930s it was with Trotsky's knowledge and encouragement.

This has been thoroughly disproved by the International Committee of the Fourth International in its five-and-a-half year investigation into *Security and the Fourth International*.

And nothing in the newly-opened archives at Harvard can be used to support Hansen. On the contrary, the archives emphasize his guilt.

The discovery that Hansen had a secret liaison with the GPU was first made by the International Committee in 1975.

It was contained in a "highly confidential" letter sent by Robert McGregor, an official at the US Embassy in Mexico City, to his superiors in the State Department, Washington, DC.

**During a secret visit to the US Embassy 11 days af-**

ter Trotsky's assassination Hansen told McGregor that he had contact with a top GPU official in New York named "John."

When the International Committee first published the Embassy letter it caused a sensation. It was the first time that the Trotskyist movement knew that one of its proclaimed "leaders" had formed an intimate relationship with the US Embassy in Mexico and it was the first time anyone heard that Hansen had made connections with the GPU in New York prior to Trotsky's murder.

After a long delay, Hansen admitted that he had made a liaison with the GPU — he could not very well deny the evidence! — but he claimed that he was acting on Trotsky's orders.

Broue's OCI rushed to Hansen's defense saying that the International Committee's evidence was nothing more than a "laborious fabrication." (*Informations Ouvrieres*, February 27-March 4, 1976).

In their notorious "declaration" against *Security and the Fourth International*, Mrs. Betty Hamilton and Mr. Pierre Lambert of the OCI wrote that Hansen was perfectly in order if he was in contact with the GPU.

"At every step, at every moment, Trotskyists have made contact with leaders of Communist Parties, who were often GPU agents," they wrote.

And of the International Committee's charges against Hansen: "Under the guise of this virtuous indignation is hidden a philistine, petty bourgeois philosophy."

Which so-called "Trotskyists" have kept moment-by-moment contact with the leaders of Stalinist parties and GPU agents?

It may be the custom and practice in the OCI (it probably is!), but it has no part in the training of a



Pierre Lambert, leader of the OCI and vigorous defender of Joseph Hansen



J. Edgar Hoover (1895-1972), long-time FBI director and indefatigable watchdog of US imperialism, was a friend of Sheldon Harte's father.

revolutionary cadre in the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Nowhere in Trotsky's writings is there an exhortation to his followers to maintain contact with Stalinist leaders. Nor can we find a statement that those who don't mingle with the GPU are "philistines" and carriers of "petty bourgeois philosophy."

Nevertheless, this is what Mrs. Hamilton and OCI leader Lambert wrote in 1976 and what Broue vigorously supported. However, Broue made no attempt to repeat this line at Follonica probably because the GPU organizers of the conference are already familiar with his obliging attitude.

Since the Harvard archives were opened the International Committee has been able to deepen its study of Hansen's GPU liaison. But Broue went to Harvard, and acting under the guidance of "curator" of the archives, Mr. Jean van Heijenoort, he came up with further alibis for Hansen!

This is not surprising. Van Heijenoort is a declared anti-Trotskyist and a man who has secretly collaborated with the FBI since the early 1950s.

He has a vested interest in protecting Hansen since any International Commission of Inquiry will only cast a searching light on his role as well.

The story of Hansen's collaboration with the GPU begins on December 27, 1938, when Trotsky received an anonymous letter postmarked "Philadelphia." The letter warned him of an impending assassination plot and identified "Mark" as the main GPU agent in the Trotskyist ranks in the Paris headquarters.

There was only one "Mark" in the Paris office — Mark Zborowski, also known as "Etienne." The physical and personal description was so precise that there could be no mistaking that the GPU agent in question was Zborowski.

Trotsky showed the December 27 letter to Lola Estrine or Dallin who was visiting Mexico from Paris. She was a close personal friend of Zborowski's and used her intimacy with him to be a camp follower of the French Trotskyists.

Mrs. Dallin's response to the anonymous letter was to denounce it as a forgery. She tried to persuade Trotsky not to ascribe any importance to it, and has consistently claimed that this was in fact Trotsky's reaction.

Mrs. Dallin, Hansen and the agent-led SWP has always cultivated the belief that the letter was neglected by Trotsky. With this and other slanders they have tried to show that Trotsky had a half-hearted attitude towards security and that he was careless about his own well-being.

**The International Committee has always fought against the obnoxious fiction which they have striven to attach to the reputation of the founder of the Red Army.**

The opening of Trotsky's archives at Harvard has demolished their anti-Trotskyist slanders. The record shows that Trotsky was fiercely aroused by the arrival of the anonymous letter and he immediately put in motion an investigation of "Mark" as well as plans to contact the letter writer.

Now the mealy-mouthed Broue has been obliged to say at Follonica that Trotsky **did** act on the anonymous letter.

**"It was generally considered that Trotsky had refused to take this warning seriously and had interpreted the letter as a GPU plot intended to separate him from one of his rare Russian collaborators.**

**"However, the exile papers contain a letter from him, dated January 1, 1939, dictated to Jean van Heijenoort and addressed to his American comrades, in which he reproduces the essential pieces of information, asks that this anonymous denunciation be taken seriously and carefully verified, and even sets out the names of the members of the commission of inquiry which he would like to constitute in Paris on this subject.**

**"This letter has only just been published, but none of the people surviving who could have or should have been informed has the slightest recollection of it; it is likely that it never reached those for whom Trotsky intended it in France.**

**"The discovery of a new clue thus becomes translated, on this incontestably important point, into an additional mystery."**

But Broue cannot be permitted to skate over this question so nimbly or glibly. He has some questions to answer first!

- First of all, who "generally considered" that Trotsky refused to take the warning letter seriously? Who put this snide smear around? Wasn't it Hansen!
- In whose interest was it that Trotsky be persuaded to drop any investigation into "Mark"? This was the desperate desire of the GPU. They knew that if Zborowski was unmasked, then not only would they lose their top agent in the Trotskyist movement in Europe, but their assassination plan against Trotsky would be in jeopardy.
- What happened when Trotsky rejected the advice of



*George Novack, Joseph Hansen's chief accomplice*

Mrs. Dallin and the other GPU agents in his household and decided to instigate an investigation into "Mark"? Broue said that it never reached France and that the US leaders of the SWP can't remember ever seeing it either.

- How could such a vital piece of correspondence from the leadership of the Fourth International just "go missing"? In whose interest was it that the letter was "lost"? Only the GPU and only a GPU agent who belonged to Trotsky's inner circle could have carried out this act of political sabotage.

After Mrs. Dallin had failed to convince Trotsky to dismiss the letter, Hansen made certain that his orders were killed stone dead.

- Broue concludes wistfully that "an additional mystery" has emerged. Why need this be so? Broue's great friend, Professor van Heijenoort, was responsible for dictation of the vital letter and knows who it was sent to and how. He must be aware how Trotsky followed up the letter and with whom.

Broue has fabricated his "additional mystery." Its purpose is to create confusion in place of focussing attention on one Joseph Hansen!

Trotsky's first reaction on receiving the letter was that its author might be **General Walter Krivitsky**, a top NKVD officer who defected from Stalinism and came to the United States in late 1938 in a much publicized bid for political refuge.

In fact, however, the author was **General Alexander Orlov**, another NKVD defector, who had secretly arrived in the United States seeking asylum.

Trotsky put in motion two different operations to make contact with the letter writer. He carried out the instructions in the letter itself which involved placing a special advertisement in the American Trotskyist weekly paper, *Socialist Appeal*.

This was to be the signal for a meeting at the *Socialist Appeal* editorial office. From testimony which he gave in the 1950s, we know that Orlov went to the office but became nervous when he saw that his contact was an East European (John G. Wright). Orlov was afraid that the go-between might be a GPU agent so he left the building without speaking to him.

Trotsky's second procedure involved Hansen. On January 15, 1939, he sent Hansen to New York to make contact with Krivitsky.

All the evidence points to the fact that Hansen did establish contact — but he created the impression that his attempt had ended in failure.

He formed a liaison with Krivitsky and discovered priceless information from the former NKVD general about the plot to assassinate Trotsky and the international network of assassins. But, instead of passing it on to Trotsky, Hansen fed the information to the GPU itself.

When Broue went to the Harvard archives early last year, he found a letter from Hansen to Trotsky dated



Vittorio Vidali, the GPU killer now in the Italian Senate

March 30, 1939, which mentioned Hansen's "first contact" with the GPU.

Broue seized on this to make the sweeping and howling allegations that this "proved" Trotsky knew about Hansen's liaison with the GPU and therefore the International Committee's charges were wrong.

It did nothing of the kind. Read in context with other letters in the newly-opened archives, it meant that Hansen was sent to New York to contact Krivitsky, that he did so, but that the mission was abortive.

If Hansen's letter is the ultimate proof that he was not a GPU agent, why didn't Hansen himself use it in his notorious "reply" to the *Security and the Fourth International* investigation? Surely a "Trotskyist impugned" as a GPU agent would have rushed to Harvard, gained access to the archives (with Mr. van Heijenoort's generous assistance) and presented this "proof" of his innocence.

But Hansen did not follow this course of action. He never even mentioned the letter. Nor did van Heijenoort, who was highly familiar with the archives and the Orlov letter incident.

When the International Committee first indicted Hansen as a GPU agent for his hitherto secret liaison with a top GPU man in New York, the later revisionist leader said the charges were "a geyser of mud." Significantly, however, he didn't deny meeting the GPU!

Under mounting pressure from the *Security and the Fourth International* investigation, Hansen admitted consorting with a GPU agent. To involve Trotsky's name in his GPU connection and to cover his tracks, Hansen gave a long rigmarole about invisible ink correspondence, between himself and one of his faithful accomplices, V.T. O'Brien.

A complete search of Harvard archives failed to find a single invisible ink letter from Hansen to Mexico. Invisible ink letters have a gruesome history in the Trotskyist movement because they formed part of the giant conspiracy in Stalin's Moscow Trials.

To frame Trotsky as an assassin, Nazi spy, etc. Stalin had to invent a letter sent from Trotsky to one of his so-called "counterrevolutionary agents" in the Soviet Union.

In his immortal *Red Book* on the Moscow Trials, Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov, refers to this fabricated piece of evidence as "a handwritten letter from Trotsky in chemical ink which contained the order to proceed without delay in the preparation and execution of terrorist acts against Stalin and Voroshilov." (*The Red Book* by Leon Sedov, New Park Publications.)

Leon Sedov, first of all, notes that the GPU witness who gave evidence of the non-existent letter gave 100 pages of testimony before he remembered the existence of Trotsky's letter!

He said Trotsky would never have written such a letter in his own handwriting; he would never have entrusted it to a stranger, as the state prosecutor claimed. Sedov adds:

"The letter wasn't written in code. This form of activity is worthy of a student terrorist, but not of an old revolutionary with experience in conspiratorial matters. If the GPU were unable to obtain the letter, it is only because it was never written."



Leon Trotsky signing a statement concerning the May 24, 1940 attempt on his life. He was pursuing his investigation of this attack when he was assassinated on August 20, 1940. Joseph Hansen is standing behind Trotsky on the left.

Although the circumstances are different, the techniques are the same. Instead of Trotsky being the author of an invisible ink letter, Hansen claimed that he was. But no such letter exists in the archives.

If Hansen's mission to New York to meet Krivitsky (referred to as "W" in Trotsky's letters) was irreproachably handled, why didn't Hansen set this out in the years before his death? He had numerous opportunities through the *Intercontinental Press*, *Militant* or by agreeing to an international commission of inquiry.

But Hansen did none of these things. He never once mentioned the Krivitsky assignment! Is this the action of an innocent man? Why would he want to avoid at all costs mention of Krivitsky and his assignment to meet him on Trotsky's behalf?

On February 10, 1941, six months after Trotsky was murdered, Walter Krivitsky was found shot dead in a hotel room in Washington DC. He had been assassinated and then placed in a position to make it look like suicide.

When Broue fails to mention these questions, it is not a simple omission or an oversight. It is quite deliberate, because it forms part of the OCI's attempt to protect Hansen and the police agent network at the SWP in New York.

Broue concluded his Follonica speech, saying, "One must admit that outside the feeble voice of American Trotskyists — even partisans of Cannon and Shachtman combined — there did not exist many people capable of making the analysis that can be made today

by an honest researcher (!), and above all, of finding the tribunal and the audience which would not have allowed the political aspects of the crime to remain for so long unpunished.

"In fact, for the Europeans ... Trotsky's assassination in Mexico seemed like the distant echo, come from another planet, of a period long since completed. This is no doubt one of the reasons why the truth only belatedly, bit by bit, cleared a path for itself.

At this point, Broue sat down to the warm applause of his "academic" audience. But a careful analysis of his remarks shows what a deceitful charlatan he really is.

It begins by paying tribute to "nameless" American "Trotskyists" who tried to raise the question of Trotsky's death. Who can he mean?

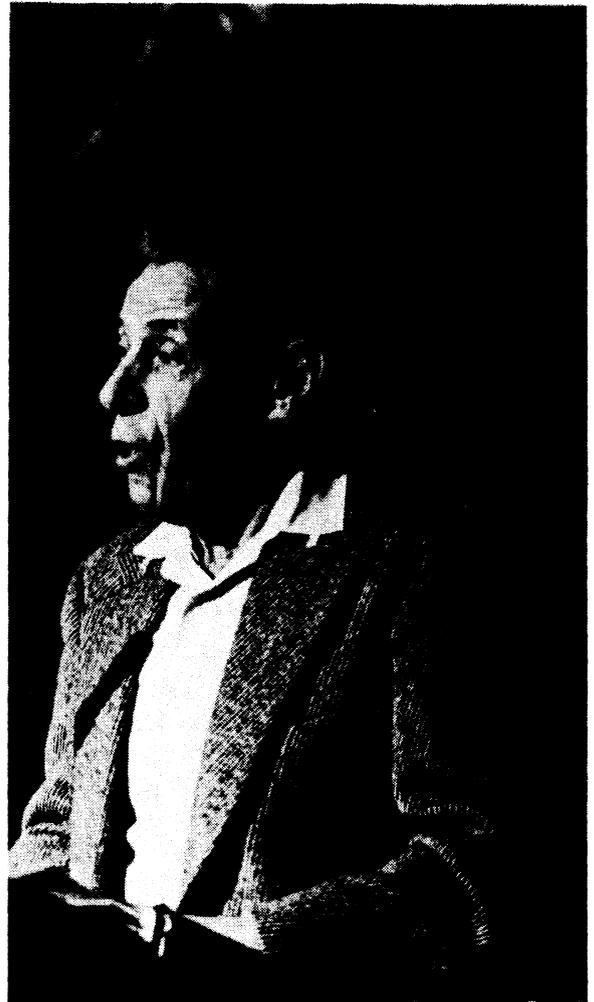
Even Broue could not mean Hansen, since there are literally hundreds of documents disclosed by the International Committee which Hansen kept suppressed for four decades.

Can he mean **George Breitman**, one of the editors of the Pathfinder Press? This man has been guilty of suppressing large quantities of Trotsky's writings, changing the original text of Trotsky's articles, imposing footnotes which are inaccurate and designed to protect GPU agents like Zborowski and Sylvia Franklin.

Although General Alexander Orlov wrote two anonymous letters to Trotsky tipping him off about the agent "Mark" (Zborowski) Breitman excluded the second one from Trotsky's writings until the end of last year when he knew that it would be discovered in the Harvard archives. Does Breitman fall into Broue's category of an "honest researcher"?



*George Breitman, suppressed the second Orlov letter*



*Harold Robins, captain of the guards at Coyoacan, spoke out against distorted report of Trotsky's murder*

Does Broue mean his old friend, the dubious **Jean van Heijenoort**? This man learned from the FBI in 1954 that Zborowski was a GPU agent responsible for the murder of Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov, the NKVD defector Ignace Reiss, and two secretaries of the Trotskyist movement, Rudolf Klement and Erwin Wolf.

But van Heijenoort never told a soul in the Trotskyist movement (he may have told Hansen and Novack, but that is where it stayed — in private!). He never once wrote an article to expose Zborowski and it was not until 1958 in the Jack Soble spy trial that he finally testified against Zborowski.

For four years he kept a secret with the FBI and kept his former comrades in the Fourth International in the dark. Yet Broue and the SWP agents spent 1980 touting this van Heijenoort around as some kind of "revered old Trotskyist."

He is nothing of the sort. He is a self-proclaimed opponent of Trotskyism who renounced revolution 40 years ago and became a "friendly witness" of the FBI-CIA.

So far as the International Committee can discover, one of the old voices raised by American Trotskyists was that of **Harold Robins**, the captain of the guard at Coyoacan. When he spoke out about the inconsistent

and distorted reporting of the circumstances of Trotsky's murder, he became the victim of a subtle smear and whispering campaign.

He was falsely accused of being "a crank," someone who had "a chip on his shoulder," etc., etc. When the International Committee and its fraternal US organization, the Workers League, launched its inquiry in 1974, Robins immediately gave his support.

The SWP "Trotskyists" and "honest researchers" did not support the call for an international commission of inquiry, they poured time, effort and money into trying to stop it.

When Broue says that the "Europeans" felt Trotsky's murder was like something which happened on "another planet," then he is surely talking about the prevalent views of his own petty bourgeois OCI group. This was never the view of the British Trotskyists who fought against Pabloism and to build the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Broue's central conclusion is that disinterest lay behind the long delay in uncovering vital information about Trotsky's murder. This is not only facile, it is to consciously falsify the real reasons.

There were first of all the difficult objective conditions created by the post-war "boom" and the worldwide injection of dollar credit to bolster the capitalist system.

This contributed to the relatively isolated existence of the International Committee of the Fourth Interna-

tional and its sections around the world.

The other factor was the systematic cover-up deliberately carried out by Hansen and his network in the revisionist SWP. They were the keepers of the records. They knew the Zborowskis, the Sylvia Franklins, the Floyd Cleveland Millers and the Dallins.

But search the issues of the SWP publications and there is not a mention of these GPU agents and the havoc and bloody destruction they caused in the movement. On the contrary, there are lively defenses of at least two of them— Franklin and Dallin.

Broue asks what tribunal existed to investigate the Trotsky murder crime which has remained "for so long unpunished"?

He knows full well that there has been a standing call for an international commission of inquiry since 1975.

Broue has creepily shifted ground since the OCI "declaration" of 1977 claimed that the *Security and the Fourth International* investigation was "all slander." Broue now at least admits there is a mystery; that all the facts are not yet out; that the SWP's stories about Franklin and Robert Sheldon Harte are open to question and probably wrong.

Broue modestly regards himself as an "honest researcher" and an "authority" on Trotsky's murder. For this reason his logical next step must be to support the call for an international commission of inquiry. We challenge him to do so!

## ESSENTIAL READING ON STALIN'S FRAMEUP TRIALS

### THE RED BOOK

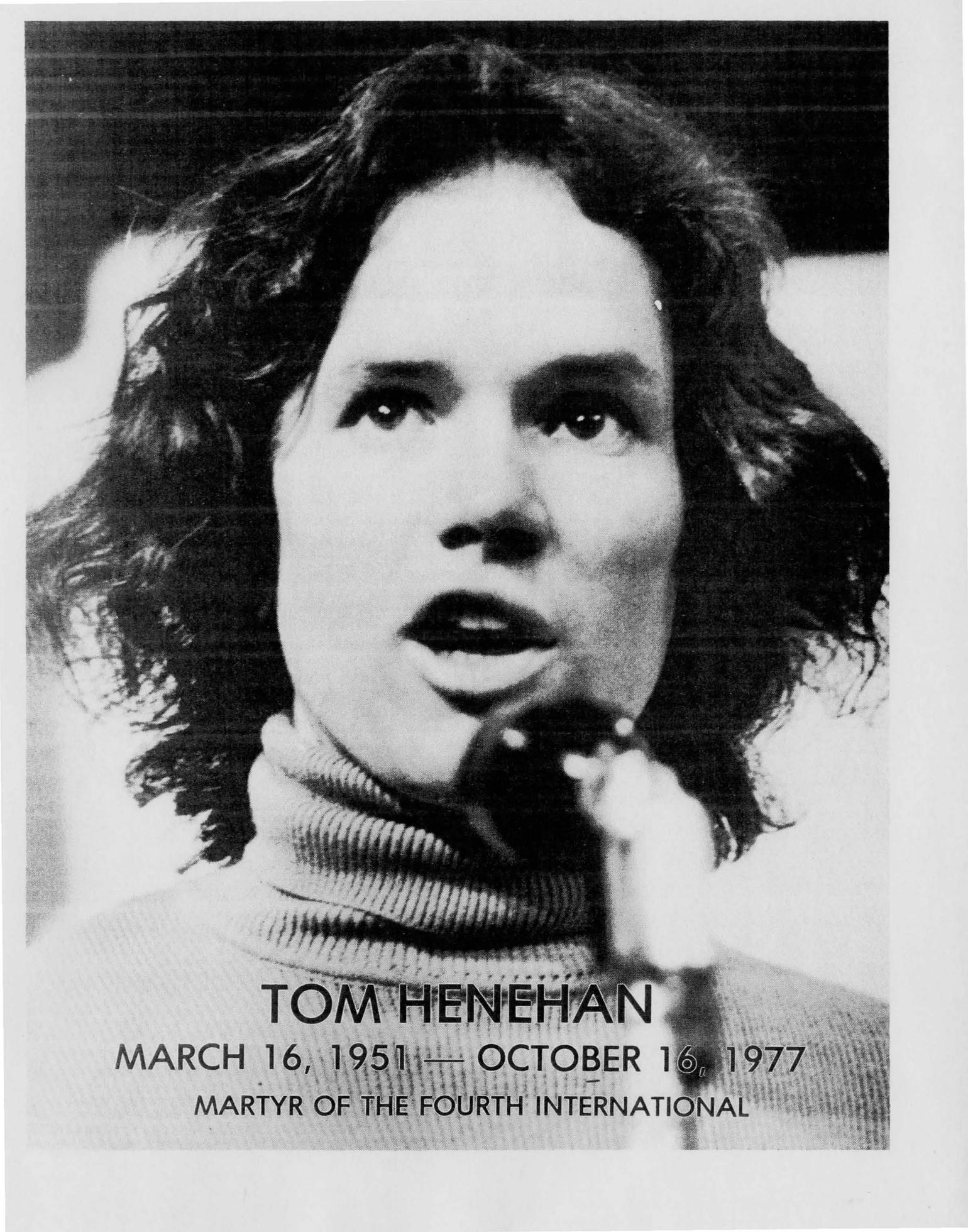
by LEON SEDOV

Trotsky's son exposes  
the Moscow Trials

First time ever published in English, this exposure of the August 1936 frameup trial in Moscow was written and published in the **Bulletin of the Opposition** by Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov, while Trotsky was interned in Norway.

Sedov unmasks the Stalinist lies accusing Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and other Bolshevik leaders of the October Revolution of links with the Gestapo. Analyzing the court transcripts, he demolishes the frameup and explains the origins and political significance of the bloody Stalinist purges of the 1930s. Paperback, \$5.95, £1.75.

Order from: New Park Publications, 21b Old Town, Clapham, London SW4 0JT.  
Distributed in US by Labor Publications, 2212 Springwells, Detroit, MI 48209.

A black and white portrait of Tom Henehan, a young man with dark, wavy hair, looking upwards and to the right. He is wearing a light-colored, ribbed turtleneck sweater. The background is dark and out of focus.

**TOM HENEHAN**

MARCH 16, 1951 — OCTOBER 16, 1977

MARTYR OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

# A VICTORY FOR THE WORKING CLASS

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## Workers League Political Committee Statement

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The conviction of Angelo Torres and Edwin Sequinot, the two men who killed Workers League leader Tom Henehan and shot and wounded Jacques Vielot, another leader of the Workers League, is a victory for the entire working class.

The verdict came three years and nine months after Tom Henehan was assassinated on October 16, 1977 at the Ponce Social Club in Brooklyn, New York, and nine months after the two gunmen were arrested.

The jurors found Torres guilty of second degree murder in the killing of Tom Henehan, attempted second degree murder in the shooting of Jacques Vielot, and criminal possession of a deadly weapon.

They found Sequinot guilty of first degree manslaughter in the murder of Henehan, deciding that his "acting in concert" with Torres led to the killing, in which Torres pulled the trigger. The jurors found Sequinot guilty of attempted second degree murder in the shooting of Vielot and criminal possession of a deadly weapon.

In upholding the eyewitness testimony of Jacques Vielot and Young Socialist leader Paul Scherrer, which was the entire basis of the prosecution's case, the jury at the same time confirmed the facts that the Workers League has been fighting to bring to the attention of the labor movement, professional workers, civil rights and student organizations, and others.

The conviction of Torres and Sequinot is the product of the struggle of the Trotskyist movement to mobilize support in the working class for a full investigation of this political attack.

The Workers League pledged that Tom Henehan would never be forgotten. No issue of the *Bulletin* was published without his photograph on the front page and an appeal for support from the working class for an investigation.

The Workers League and Young Socialists were able to mobilize the support of broad sections of the working class. Tens of thousands of workers and youth signed petitions addressed to Brooklyn District Attorney Eugene Gold demanding that a full investigation into the murder of Tom Henehan be carried out.

Union officials representing millions of workers signed cards addressed to the District Attorney, making the same demand.

These petitions and cards named as suspects Angelo Torres and Edwin Sequinot, who have now been proven guilty in a court of law.

Our campaign for a full investigation into the murder of Tom Henehan had to overcome the refusal of the police and the Brooklyn District Attorney's office to mount any serious effort to apprehend the killers or determine what was behind the killing.

Essentially the same facts which the Brooklyn Su-

preme Court jury found sufficient to convict Torres of murder and attempted murder and Sequinot of manslaughter and attempted murder, were presented to the police and the Brooklyn District Attorney's office within a few days of the killing on October 16, 1977.

The police refused to put out a warrant for Angelo Torres for more than five months. No warrant was issued for Edwin Sequinot until he was arrested more than three years after the killing.

Two letters sent by the Workers League to the Brooklyn District Attorney's office on the lack of any serious effort to apprehend the killers were answered by defense of the police inaction.

The position of the police and the District Attorney was backed up by the complete blackout in the capitalist press, which refused to report the assassination of Tom Henehan and continued this coverup for three years in an attempt to prevent the information of this political killing from reaching a mass audience.

The police and the press were aided by the criminal silence of the Stalinist Communist Party and the FBI-controlled revisionist Socialist Workers Party. It is an historical fact in the labor movement that neither the Stalinists nor the revisionists ever printed a word about the murder of Tom Henehan in their press or took any position condemning it.

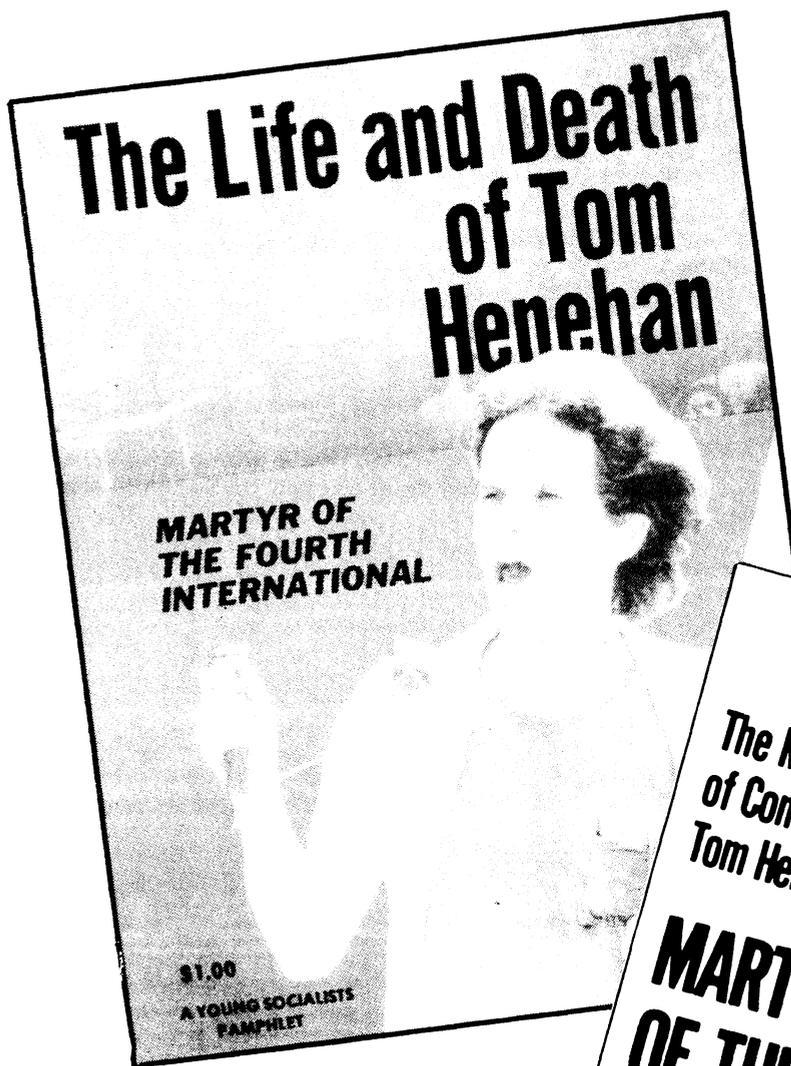
The outcome of the trial has vindicated, not only the testimony of the Workers League members who testified as eyewitnesses, but the political perspective upon which the entire struggle for an investigation has been based.

This struggle was based on the firm conviction that the assassination of Tom Henehan expressed not the strength of the capitalist class but its weakness. This murder revealed the desperation of imperialism in face of the growing movement of the working class internationally and in the United States, and the struggle of the Trotskyist movement to build the revolutionary leadership.

It is the forward movement of the working class that forced the arrest and now the conviction of the killers of Tom Henehan.

The gunmen Torres and Sequinot have been convicted. But unanswered questions remain, above all the role of the capitalist state. The record of silence of the Socialist Workers Party is especially ominous, in view of the presence of a self-confessed FBI agent, Edward Heisler, within the central leadership of the SWP at the time of the planning and carrying out of the murder of Tom Henehan, and the decision by the SWP to maintain complete silence. We will carry forward the struggle for revolutionary leadership to which Tom Henehan gave his life by uncovering all those forces responsible for his murder.

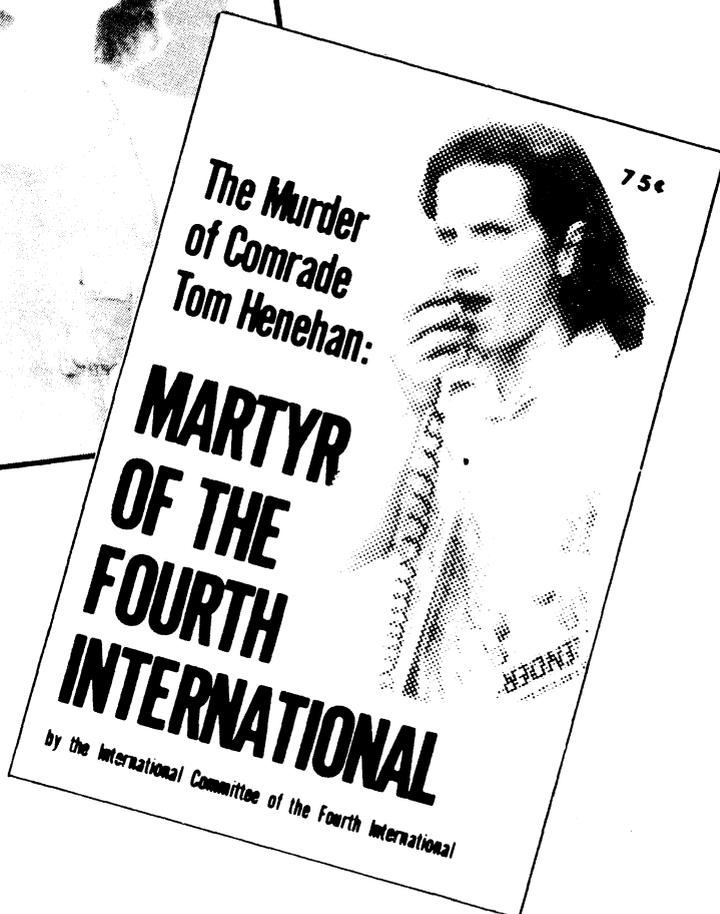
# Reading on Tom Henehan



**The Life and Death of Tom Henehan** contains material on the assassination of Tom Henehan, and the powerful contribution that he made to the building of the revolutionary party.

The pamphlet also features speeches made to the Workers League memorial meeting in New York, held on October 22, 1977, six days after Comrade Henehan's assassination.

\$1.00, 50p



**The Murder of Comrade Tom Henehan: Martyr of the Fourth International**, consists of two historic documents: the "Inquiry Conducted by the International Committee of the Fourth International" and the "Open Letter to the World Trotskyist Movement," which makes clear the political issues posed in the murder of Tom and the implications of the continuing silence of the Socialist Workers Party.

\$.75, 40p

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# NEXT STAGE OF THE CAMPAIGN!



The conviction and sentencing of the hitmen who carried out the murder of Tom Henehan was only possible through the support mobilized in the labor movement.

This completes only the first stage of the Workers League's investigation into the assassination. The task ahead is the exposure of the conspirators who hired Torres and Sequinot to murder Henehan.

*The Investigation Must Continue* raises five questions which emerge out of the trial of the assassins. The evidence shatters the explanation of the "senseless killing" to which the Office of the Brooklyn District Attorney still holds.

The Workers League Political Committee statement "The SWP, Edward Heisler and the Assassination of Tom Henehan" is included in the pamphlet. \$ .75, 40p

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# The SWP, Edward Heisler and the Assassination of Tom Henehan

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## Statement of the Political Committee of the Workers League

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Former Socialist Workers Party leader Edward Heisler took the stand in the SWP's \$40 million lawsuit against the FBI on June 17.

Heisler voluntarily exposed himself as an FBI agent in a letter sent to the Socialist Workers Party's headquarters in June 1980. At that time he had been a member of the SWP for 20 years, rising to become one of its most prominent public spokesmen and a member of the National Committee.

In a report to the SWP's New York City membership shortly after Heisler's self-exposure, Political Committee member Larry Seigle claimed that the Heisler confession would play a major role in the trial of the SWP's lawsuit against the FBI, and in particular would be used to show that the government was withholding evidence.

Seigle said the government "withheld information on Heisler, illegally suppressing vital material, conspiring to prevent us and Judge Griesa from having access to crucially important documents about the crimes the

FBI has committed. We are absolutely convinced that there is similarly explosive material contained in other documents that they have been refusing to turn over. We intend to press as hard as we can, and to mobilize all the pressure we can, to get this information produced quickly, and without further delay. This is essential so that we can proceed as rapidly as possible to the trial." (*Party Organizer*, July 1980, p.10)

Seigle added, "The plans we are developing for the trial are quite exciting."

But when the trial came around, 10 months later, Heisler was not even on the list of witnesses called by the SWP, which numbered 70. Witnesses were called to describe such instances of FBI harassment as visiting the landlords of SWP members, informing their employers and sending anonymous letters. But the penetration of a 20-year veteran informant into the highest leadership bodies of the SWP went unmentioned.

SWP members were told that Heisler could not be forced to testify because he lived outside a 100-mile radius of New York City. They were not told he had privately agreed in a letter to SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes and SWP attorney Margaret Winter to cooperate with the lawsuit.

But then Heisler was called to the stand anyway by the government attorneys. He showed no reluctance to testify and in fact gave new information about his role in the SWP leadership. He said that he had been elected to the Political Committee in August 1977 and served on the Administrative Secretariat, a key sub-committee of the Political Committee unknown to most members of the SWP.

Heisler testified, "The Administrative Secretariat prepared the agendas for Political Committee meetings, frequently would prepare reports for presentation to members of the Political Committee, would discuss possible assignments or reassignments of personnel in various departments or branches of the SWP."

This devastating admission was ignored by SWP attorney Margaret Winter in her cross-examination and was deliberately suppressed in the account of Heisler's testimony in *The Militant*.

The failure to call Heisler as a witness and then the refusal to seriously cross-examine him once he appeared on the stand provide further confirmation of the findings of the investigation of the International Committee of the Fourth International into *Security and the Fourth International*. This investigation has uncovered



Heisler

indisputable evidence that the SWP is controlled by a network of FBI agents in the leadership, centered on the 12 graduates of the elite Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota.

The Carleton SWP-FBI agents include Jack Barnes, national secretary of the SWP, Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *Intercontinental Press*, Cindy Jaquith, editor of *The Militant*, Larry Seigle, PC member in charge of the FBI suit, and other top leaders.

But there may be another and even more sinister reason — which demands the most serious investigation — why Heisler was not called to testify and was not seriously cross-examined.

It is now possible to trace the role of the FBI, through the confessed agent Edward Heisler, in the actions of the SWP during the period when Tom Henehan's murder was prepared, executed, and then covered up by the revisionists, Stalinists the capitalist press, and the New York City Police Department.

In 1977, Heisler was the SWP's most prominent public spokesman. He had served as the trade union chairman of the 1976 presidential election campaign, and was one of three SWP leaders, the other two being the candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, to tour the country publicizing their campaign.

From the fall of 1976, Heisler is referred to in the pages of *The Militant* as the party's national trade union chairperson. On December 10, 1976, he was the subject of a full-page interview in *The Militant*, written by Doug Jenness (Carleton '64).

He wrote major statements for *The Militant* on the United Steelworkers election challenge of opposition leader Ed Sadlowski, on a United Parcel Service strike, on the coal miners' union election and on the railway workers.

His pamphlet, "A Struggle for Union Democracy," was published in February 1977.

His contribution at the SWP's National Committee meeting in February was prominently featured in *The Militant*, and he later topped the list of 11 SWP leaders sent on speaking tours coast-to-coast on "Prospects of Socialism in America."

In the summer he headed a five-man subscription team sent to West Virginia to circulate the revisionist newspaper among the coal miners.

This culminated at the SWP's National Convention in Oberlin, Ohio where Heisler was elected to the Political Committee, the party's highest body.

The SWP convention took place under conditions of unprecedented crisis. In May of 1977, the International Committee of the Fourth International succeeded in locating and interviewing Sylvia Franklin, the Stalinist GPU agent who infiltrated the SWP and served as the personal secretary for party leader James P. Cannon from 1938 to 1947. The interview and the testimony of other witnesses demolished the coverup by SWP leader Joseph Hansen, who declared Franklin to be "an exemplary comrade."

Hansen replied in an article in which he warned that the International Committee faced "deadly consequences" because of its campaign on *Security and the Fourth International*. A series of articles appeared in *The Militant* fabricating incidents of violence against SWP members by the Workers League.

On July 29, 1977 the International Committee published indisputable evidence that Hansen had passed over from service to the GPU in the assassination of Leon Trotsky to recruitment to the FBI as their most important agent inside the Trotskyist movement.

Included in the evidence was a letter from Hansen on



Jack Barnes



Larry Seigle

October 23, 1940, to George P. Shaw, the American Consul in Mexico City, "respectfully" thanking him for setting up a confidential contact with the agent-in-charge of the FBI's New York City office, B.E. Sackett.

The noose was tightening around the FBI-controlled SWP leadership, since the exposure of Hansen as an FBI man would cast suspicion on the network of agents he recruited and trained and advanced into their top positions.

In behind-the-scenes meetings at Oberlin, in August 1977, the FBI agents made their decisions. **One of them involved a major change in the assignment for agent Edward Heisler.**

As soon as the Oberlin convention adjourned, SWP members began to move from all over the United States into jobs at the Brooklyn Navy Yard in New York City.

This was the workplace for which Tom Henehan held political responsibility, and where he was well-known to the workers for selling the *Bulletin* there for the previous three years, visiting them in their homes, fighting to recruit them to the party, issuing leaflets over questions that arose in their union, and bringing to them all the campaigns of the party. As campaign manager for the Workers League's election campaign in the local congressional district, Tom had organized a highly successful rally at the Navy Yard in the fall of 1976.

SWP members quickly found numerous jobs at the Navy Yard, despite the fact that the yard was in continual financial crisis with frequent layoffs. This has been the case throughout the FBI-SWP's "turn to industry," as SWP members have found an open door in key plants throughout the country, regardless of economic conditions, layoffs, or waiting lists of other applicants for jobs.

One SWP member moved all the way from Tacoma, Washington to become a leader of the new SWP faction in the Navy Yard.

The man in charge of this operation was Heisler, both in his capacity as national trade union chairman, where he led all SWP work in the unions, and his powerful new position on the Administrative Secretariat of the Political Committee.

As he testified June 18, the Administrative Secretariat "**would discuss possible assignments or reassignments of personnel in various departments or branches of the SWP.**"

This would have included this massive transfer of SWP members into the Brooklyn Navy Yard. One of those moved into the Navy Yard was Paul Eidsvik, a class of '64 member of the Carleton Twelve.

The SWP had never previously evinced any interest in the Brooklyn Navy Yard or conducted any regular campaign among the workers there. In view of the massive FBI infiltration of the SWP and the particular role of Heisler in its leadership, the following question must be answered: Was the purpose of the SWP's penetration of the Navy Yard to gather information on the political work of the Workers League, follow the movements of Tom Henehan, and to prepare his assassination? Tom Henehan was murdered only six weeks after the SWP began infiltrating the major area of his

political work at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. At a dance organized by the Young Socialists as a benefit for the case of Gary Tyler, which was advertised at the Navy Yard through leaflets passed out to workers there, Tom was shot five times at point blank range. A second leading member of the Workers League, Jacques Vielot, was shot and critically wounded when he came to Tom's assistance.

The Socialist Workers Party responded to this political murder with complete silence. Such a policy would have required a decision at the highest level of the SWP, its Political Committee. **Sitting on the Administrative Secretariat of the SWP which controlled the agenda for the Political Committee was the confessed FBI agent Edward Heisler.**

Can there be any doubt about the role this FBI agent played in the decision to keep silent on the murder of a leading member of the Workers League, the party which was fighting to expose the infiltration of the FBI into the SWP?

FBI agents and informers are trained as cold-blooded killers. We have only to recall the case of Gary Thomas Rowe, the FBI agent inside the Ku Klux Klan. He was given full authority to beat, shoot and kill as needed to fulfill his role in the KKK. As an FBI agent, he participated in the murder of civil rights worker Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, the beating of Freedom Riders at the Birmingham bus depot, and other crimes.

It is an incontrovertible fact that at least one such trained FBI agent, Edward Heisler, was among those responsible for the SWP's flooding the Brooklyn Navy Yard with its members in the weeks before the murder of Tom Henehan, on October 16, 1977, and then played a leading role in the decision to keep silent on the killing.

**This alone is enough to warrant a full-scale investigation of the entire SWP leadership for complicity in the murder of Tom Henehan.**

But there are further pieces of evidence that require investigation of Heisler and the SWP leadership.

The first is that during the period the Henehan murder was prepared and carried out, Heisler was relieved of all his previous duties as the SWP's main public spokesman and main writer on trade union questions. He was assigned entirely to behind-the-scenes work, beginning with his selection on the secret Administrative Secretariat.

After July 29, 1977, the last issue of *The Militant* before the Oberlin convention, Heisler's name disappears from *The Militant* abruptly. He writes no more articles, he addresses no more public meetings.

The period from August to December 1977 was one of enormous trade union struggles. The iron miners walked out August 1 and stayed out over five months, dealing a powerful blow against the no-strike policy of the USWA bureaucracy. On October 1, the East Coast longshoremen struck ports from Maine to Texas. On December 6, the United Mine Workers launched their historic 111-day strike in which they defied the Taft-Hartley Law and their own union bureaucracy.

Any politically-serious movement in the working class would have called on its most experienced leaders to organize the intervention in these great struggles.

Expenses Incurred July 4-6, 1969 in connection with National Anti-War Conference and Student Mobilization Committee Conference in Cleveland, Ohio.

Rooming, Three nights @ \$10.00	\$30.00
Food, Three days @ \$8.00	24.00
Transportation, Chicago to Cleveland and return via United Airlines, coach,	50.40
Telephone and transportation in Cleveland	4.50
Registration at Anti War conference	5.00
Registration at SMC Conference	2.00
Literature	2.25
Total	\$118.15

Edward C. Heisler

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One of Heisler's expense sheets which he sent regularly to his FBI controller for payment. The FBI even paid his party dues and his pledges.

But Heisler, the national trade union chairman of the SWP, who covered the 1973 United Mine Workers convention for *The Militant* and addressed UMW locals in Illinois as an SWP candidate, was not heard from.

This is politically inexplicable, unless he was assigned to something which in the eyes of the SWP's FBI leadership took precedence over "normal" political considerations. Was it organizing the "deadly consequences" which Joseph Hansen had threatened as the answer to the investigation of the International Committee, supported by the Workers League?

Just as damning is the fact that within two months of the assassination of Tom Henehan, Heisler left New York City and moved to Los Angeles, a city where he had never resided before.

In Los Angeles, he continued to play a behind-the-scenes role. He is mentioned only twice more in *The Militant*, as a speaker at an SWP rally in San Diego July 7, 1979, where he was described as a member of the SWP National Committee, and as a participant in a labor party discussion organized by the California

State AFL-CIO in Los Angeles in December 1979, where he is described as a member of USWA Local 6700 at Martin-Marietta corporation's aluminum factory.

But he was by no means a "political dead fish," as SWP Political Committee member Larry Seigle claimed. He served on the Nominations Committee at the SWP's 1978 Convention, and was reelected to the National Committee at the 1979 convention.

This characterization of Heisler as politically "dead" is contradicted by another extraordinary fact: FBI agent Heisler received large loans from the SWP National Office in 1978 and 1979, long after he had left New York City and while he was working at a high-paying union job at Martin-Marietta aluminum.

According to Heisler's testimony June 17-18 in the SWP suit — which was accepted as fact by SWP attorney Margaret Winter — he still owed the SWP more than \$2,500! What's more the FBI agent said he intended to pay!

The court transcript reads in part:

**Q:** (From Edward Williams, government attorney questioning Heisler) Now, Mr. Heisler, while you were working in New York City on the National Office staff, were you paid volunteer expense money?

**A:** Are you referring to the Presidential campaign committee, or 1977, when I worked on the Trade Union Steering Committee?

**Q:** Let's take the Presidential Committee first.

**A:** Yes, I received volunteer expense money.

**Q:** Did you also receive volunteer expense money when you worked with the Trade Committee, Trade Union Committee?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** It is true that you received volunteer expense money from approximately October 1976 through January 1978?

**A:** That is correct.

...

**Q:** Do you recall when you received loans from the SWP, approximately when?

**A:** In 1978 and I believe early 1979.

**Q:** Do you recall how much you received by way of loans?

**A:** Yes ... If you were to include loans made by individual members of the SWP in addition to national office loans, about \$2,500.

**Q:** I am talking now about the national office loans.

**A:** I think that would be approximately \$1,700 or \$1,800. I don't recall the exact amount ...

**A:** Has that money been repaid?

**A:** It has not yet been repaid.

**Q:** Have you repaid any?

**A:** I haven't been able to repay any of it right now.

**Q:** Do you intend to repay it?

**A:** After I have paid my attorney's fees, yes.

Under cross-examination by SWP attorney Margaret Winter, Heisler repeated the story.

**Q:** What were the circumstances of your receiving the loans, sir?

**A:** I had first moved to Chicago, and I needed money to live on until I was able to obtain employment. Later when I moved from Chicago to Los Angeles, it took me a while to find employment again, and I needed some income to survive on until I was able to find a job.

**An extraordinary picture emerges of the work of FBI agent and SWP leader Edward Heisler, which underwent a drastic change in the last five months of 1977.**

★ He was brought onto the Political Committee of the SWP and its highly-secret Administrative Secretariat just after the ties of SWP leader Joseph Hansen to the FBI were exposed by the International Committee.

★ He was given responsibility for infiltrating SWP members into the Brooklyn Navy Yard, where Tom Henehan carried out important political work, two months before Tom's assassination.

★ He abruptly abandoned all public writing and speaking for the SWP after a seven-year buildup as their leading national spokesman on the trade unions.

★ He sat on the subcommittee of the Political Committee which determines its agenda during the period when the decision was made to say nothing about the murder of Tom Henehan.

★ Within two months of the murder, he was shipped 2,500 miles away to Los Angeles.

★ He continued to receive large amounts of money from the SWP national office in the form of loans which he never repaid, long after he had left the SWP staff.

These movements cannot be explained on the basis of legitimate political considerations. They cannot be explained either as the activities of an individual agent. Rather they strongly suggest a carefully prepared conspiracy involving Heisler and other top agents in the SWP leadership. The existing evidence warrants the conclusion that a full exposure of Heisler's role in the SWP might directly implicate him and other leaders of the SWP in the assassination of Tom Henehan.

The Workers League therefore demands that all evidence of this possible involvement of FBI agents inside the SWP in the assassination of Tom Henehan be probed in the current trial of the two men accused of being the triggermen in the murder, Angelo Torres and Edwin Sequinot.

The questions that must be answered are: Who proposed Heisler's nomination to the SWP Political Committee and Administrative Secretariat in August 1977? Who served with Heisler on the secret Administrative Secretariat that controlled the movements of SWP members and the agenda of the Political Committee? Who was responsible for the decision of the SWP Political Committee that nothing would be said about the murder of Tom Henehan? Who decided that Heisler should be sent to Los Angeles only two months after the murder of Henehan and only four months after Heisler's elevation to the Political Committee? Who authorized the payment of large sums to Heisler for two years after he left New York City? Who decided that there would be no questioning of Heisler in the SWP's lawsuit?

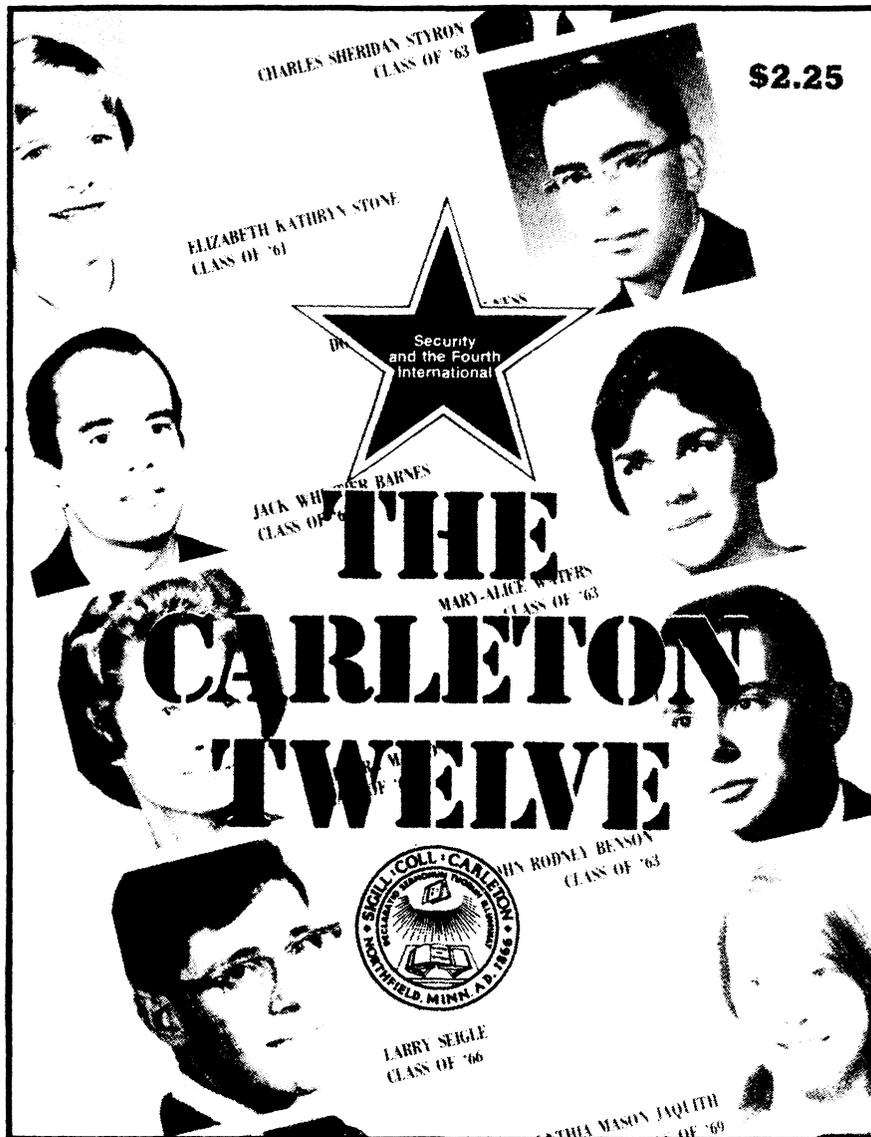
At the same time, we urge the entire workers' movement to be on guard against the activities of the FBI-controlled SWP. In particular, the influx of SWP members into any factory or industry should be taken as a warning that there is imminent danger of provocations, frameups and the assassination of leading trade union militants.

The SWP's so-called "turn to industry" was the exact opposite of the struggle of Lenin and Trotsky to build revolutionary leadership recruiting workers to the revolutionary party. The fictitious creation of "worker-Bolsheviks," ex-students from middle-class backgrounds who disguise themselves as factory workers, provides mountains of information to the FBI.

Edward Heisler alone, in only five years (1966-1971), filed 6,000 pages of reports on trade unionists, civil rights leaders, and student activists as an FBI agent under SWP cover. The SWP's "turn to industry" is a gigantic exercise in building up the data banks of the secret police.

A full exposure of all the activities of Heisler and all the police agents in the SWP leadership is urgently necessary to fight the capitalist police conspiracy against the working class.

# JUST PUBLISHED!



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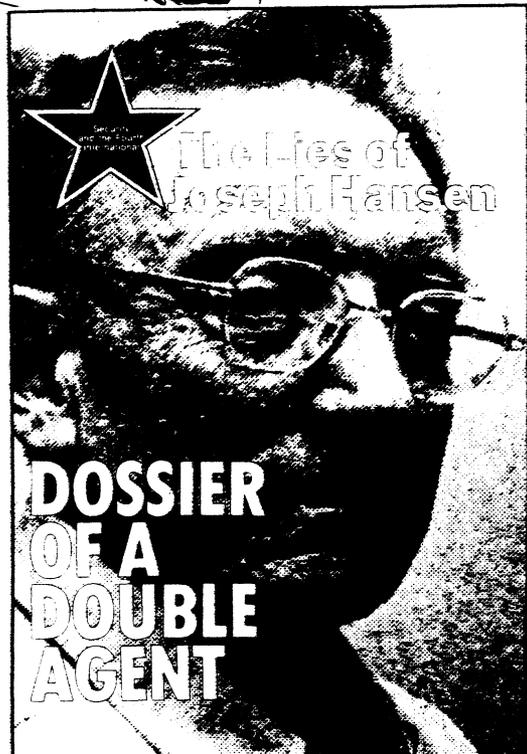
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# DEFEAT US IMPERIALISM IN EL SALVADOR!

Statement of the Political Committee of the Workers League



# DEFEAT US IMPERIALISM IN EL SALVADOR!

## Statement of the Political Committee of the Workers League

The Workers League pledges full support to the struggle of the Salvadorean workers and peasants to liberate El Salvador from US imperialism and its murderous puppet dictatorship.

We denounce the Reagan Administration's dispatching of military advisers to El Salvador and lavishing of arms and economic aid on a military junta which has carried out the systematic slaughter of the Salvadorean people. In one year this dictatorship has massacred over 13,000 workers and peasants — in their vast majority non-combatants.

The slaughter in El Salvador is now the bloody cutting edge of Reagan's policy of international counter-revolution.

In a desperate bid to save their bankrupt capitalist system, the Reagan Administration has rushed to prop up the most despotic regimes on the face of the earth—the Chilean junta, the Zionist imperialist gangster regime in Israel, the racist dictatorship of South Africa and the butcher Chun in South Korea.

Now American imperialism is mobilizing its resources to defend the hated dictatorship against the just struggle of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the Democratic Revolutionary Front, the military and political organizations representing the vast majority of the Salvadorean people.

The Salvadorean Revolution is born of the grinding poverty and brutal oppression in which US imperialism and the native oligarchy have held the masses for decades.

It is a system under which two percent of the population controls 60 percent of the land. Malnutrition is endemic and one out of every four children dies before the age of five. The average income is \$450 a year and only 16 percent of the people are employed the entire year.

The only way in which such a system can be maintained is through a war of extermination. This is what the Reagan Administration is carrying out and what is being applauded in every section of the capitalist press.

The State Department has announced that the number of US military personnel in El Salvador will be doubled to 54. These advisers will train the junta's troops in intelligence (i.e. torture and interrogation), counterinsurgency methods, the use of communications and radar and the maintenance of helicopters, according to administration officials.

An additional \$25 million in military equipment will be shipped to the dictatorship. This is to consist of four Huey helicopters, large amounts of machine-guns,

mortars, rifles and ammunition, heavy trucks and communications and surveillance equipment.

As well, the administration is discussing the tripling of economic aid to the junta to between \$200 million and \$225 million.

The buildup announced by Washington is only the tip of the iceberg. For months, opposition forces in El Salvador have reported sighting US military personnel leading "search and destroy" missions against Salvadorean villages and flying bombing runs over rebel-held territory.

The present regime, which the Reagan Administration claims is "democratic" and "reformist," follows in a long line of brutal military dictatorships dating back to 1931.

In that year, under conditions of mounting strikes and mass protests against unemployment, General Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez overthrew the elected government and provoked a massive peasant rebellion. The uprising lasted only a few days. The landlords and the army drowned it in blood. Thirty thousand were massacred as the US Navy stood off the coast ready to lend its assistance.

Reagan is arming the present junta to carry out the same genocidal policies on a more vast scale.

The administration is claiming that the Salvadorean Revolution represents not a popular uprising, but rather, in the words of Reagan, "the export into the Western Hemisphere of terrorism, of disruption ..." by the Soviet Union and Cuba.

This charge is a cynical invention by American imperialism, which has intervened violently in the affairs of El Salvador and virtually every other country of the hemisphere since the turn of the century.

If ever there was a popular revolution, involving every section of the population against an isolated and hated regime, it is in El Salvador. Even church leaders of the Catholic Church have opposed the ruling junta. This was answered by the assassination one year ago of the Archbishop Oscar Romero, and the more recent slaying of three American nuns and a Catholic missionary. Even the majority of the bourgeois politicians who joined the junta 18 months ago have quit, announcing their support for the Democratic Revolutionary Front.

The lie that the revolutionary upheaval in El Salvador is the result of Soviet-Cuban intervention is clearly exposed through an examination of the country's recent history.

The present government was installed in a CIA-backed coup carried out by younger officers against



Liberation fighters of the FMLN

the previous dictator, General Carlos Humberto Romero.

The installation of the new junta was the direct response of US imperialism to the humiliating defeat it had suffered barely three months earlier with the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship by the Nicaraguan masses.

The Sandinistas' march into Managua marked the entry of the Latin American masses onto the stage of the World Revolution. The defeats for US imperialism, which began in Vietnam in 1975, continued in Angola in 1976 and culminated in the overthrow of the Shah of Iran and Somoza in 1979.

With Nicaragua, these defeats had now come home to the Caribbean, long considered by the imperialists as a "US lake."

From the Monroe Doctrine to the "big stick" of Teddy Roosevelt, to FDR's "Good Neighbor" policy and JFK's "Alliance for Progress" the unquestioned right of US imperialism to repress and exploit the masses of Latin America has been the absolute bottom line for both Democratic and Republican administrations.

With the Nicaraguan Revolution, this policy was dealt a stunning blow.

The overthrow of Somoza was an inspiration to the Salvadorean masses who were themselves already in deep revolutionary ferment.

Industrialization of the country in the 1950s and 1960s by US-based multinationals had created a small, young but extremely militant working class.

In the countryside, the oligarchy introduced more modern capitalist methods of agriculture, driving large sections of the peasantry off the land and into the cities, and tying the economy even closer to the US market.

The impact of the deepening economic crisis in the US was felt in the growing hunger of the Salvadorean masses as prices for oil and manufactured goods soared and the price of coffee fell.

The Carter Administration feared that the dictatorship of General Humberto Romero and the "14 Families" it defended would face the same fate as Somoza unless there were a shift in policy.

Therefore, a new CIA-backed junta was set up on the premise that American imperialist interests in El Salvador could only be defended at that point behind a fig-leaf of "human rights" and minimal reforms.

"Agricultural experts," veterans of the "pacifica-

tion" program in South Vietnam, were brought into El Salvador to draft a land reform program which the US claimed was the most "radical since the Mexican Revolution."

The junta took control of the export of coffee, sugar and cotton, the country's three main crops. Banks were also placed under government control.

Finally, the Stalinist Communist Party joined with Social Democrats and Christian Democrats in taking government posts, hailing the junta with claims it would "open the possibility of democratizing the country."

But the effect of the American-sponsored reforms was to deepen the class confrontation and to intensify the repression against the masses.

The diluted reform measures were designed by the State Department to forestall a revolution. Nonetheless, they were bitterly opposed by large sections of the ruling oligarchy. Many members of the "14 Families" had already fled the country for Miami or Guatemala. They left behind them the army and such government-sponsored paramilitary groups as ORDEN to serve as the caretakers of their wealth.

Left in the hands of the military, the land reform program became the vehicle for the greatest repression in 50 years. The military, loyal to the oligarchs, used the program to systematically destroy the peasant organizations and assassinate their leaders. Those soldiers who were in charge of enforcing the program by day would by night massacre the peasants who had sought to participate.

All the while, of course, the economic base of the oligarchy's power, coffee production, remained untouched.

The government official who headed the land reform program quit his post and fled the country. Agricultural technicians assigned to develop the program were assassinated by security forces in the countryside.

Thousands of peasants fled the fierce repression, forming refugee camps in the cities or across the border in Honduras.

Those who could fight swelled the ranks of the guerrilla movement and armed clashes with the military increased.

Under the enormous pressure of the movement of the masses, the Stalinists and Social Democrats were forced to resign from the junta, declaring their support for the Revolution. The majority of the Christian Democrats soon followed. All became hunted men or fled into exile.

It should be pointed out that these are the same forces which the Reagan Administration now claims are part of the "outside intervention" and Soviet-controlled "subversion." They were themselves part of the government from the October 15, 1979 coup until January, 1980 when they were forced out by the junta's savage repression.

The sole remaining civilian in the junta is Jose Napoleon Duarte, the corrupt anticommunist politician.

As the upheaval in the country intensified, the Carter Administration began to shift its policy. Claiming that the junta was a "centrist" government caught between the violence of the extreme right and the extreme left,

Washington moved to strengthen the junta with first "non-lethal" military aid and then with a \$10 million arms package last year.

Both Washington and the junta blamed the staggering death toll on right-wing death squads. What they neglected to mention, however, was that these squads were formed by the US-armed security forces themselves.

The shift begun by Carter has now been qualitatively deepened by the Reagan Administration. This Administration has come into office determined to reverse imperialism's devastating defeats through a policy of militarism abroad and war against the working class at home.

The lesson that men like Alexander Haig and Reagan, and the most powerful sections of the ruling class now draw from Nicaragua and Iran is not that more reforms are needed—quite the contrary. What they conclude is the necessity to exterminate the opposition.

This policy clashes even with that of Duarte who had sought negotiations with the moderate opposition. Reagan will have none of it and the threat of a new military coup is American imperialism's and the oligarchy's insurance against any accommodation with the masses of El Salvador.

To back up its policy, the Reagan Administration has developed the myth of "outside intervention."

As the Pentagon was preparing its weapons stockpiles for shipment to the junta, the CIA forgers in Langley, Virginia were put to work on what is called a State Department "White Paper."

The fraudulent document purported to be a detailed itinerary of a trip by the head of the Salvadorean Communist Party gathering weapons from Cuba, the Soviet Union, Vietnam and several eastern European countries.

Reagan sent his emissary, Lawrence Eagleburger, to Europe with the "document" to win support for the dictatorship. He succeeded in blocking the shipment of \$1.5 million worth of powdered milk to private charities in El Salvador on the grounds that it might fall into the hands of the Salvadorean "terrorists."

So palpably false is the Reagan Administration's claim of outside intervention, that even the German Christian Democrats, one of the most reactionary parties in all of Europe, called for a mediated settlement to the conflict following the Eagleburger visit.

By the logic of imperialism, the US has the right to supply unlimited weapons, "advisers" and money to the dictatorship to carry out its massacre of the people—but the Salvadorean workers have no right to get the weapons they need to defend themselves.

The arms the masses have procured are presented as evidence of "outside interference." But where are they supposed to get their weapons? Since when has Washington supplied guns to those fighting against imperialist oppression?

The fighters of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front have a right to get weapons and aid from whatever quarter they can. They are fighting to free their country from a dictatorship which is armed and supported by the most powerful imperialist power. That fact is, if that support were withdrawn, the junta would not last a month.

The Reagan Administration's intervention in El Salvador is aimed against the revolution throughout Latin America. It lives in fear that the revolutionary spark ignited in Central America will turn into a conflagration which will sweep through the oppressed masses of the entire hemisphere.

Military intervention cannot halt this development. Behind the crisis of Washington's puppet dictators stands the relentless crisis of the world capitalist system which is centered in the United States itself.

The collapse of the post-war economic boom in the United States, and the attacks made by the Reagan Administration on the living standards and basic rights of the American working class, mean that decisive class battles with the United States are now unavoidable.

These conditions lay the foundations for the powerful unification of the North American proletariat with the proletariat and peasantry of Latin America.

The American working class must mobilize to

defend the Salvadorean Revolution from imperialist intervention.

The unions must use their full industrial strength to block the shipment of any arms, materiel or troops to the dictatorship. Resolutions must be passed in every local demanding the cutoff of all ties to the junta.

Above all, this struggle is inseparable from the political mobilization of the working class independently of the twin parties of imperialism, the Democrats and Republicans.

A labor party must be built, based on the trade unions, to unite the entire working class in the struggle for a workers' government pledged to socialist policies.

This would include a socialist foreign policy of full support to the liberation struggles of the peoples of Latin America, Africa and Asia, a cutoff of all aid, military and economic, to the fascist-military dictatorships and the withdrawal of all US troops stationed abroad and the disbanding of the Pentagon and army.

# VICTORY TO THE SALVADOREAN REVOLUTION!

**The following statement  
was distributed at the  
demonstration against  
U.S. intervention in  
El Salvador, in  
Washington D.C. on May 3.**

The Workers League hails the struggle of the Salvadorean masses against the brutal tyranny of the US-backed military dictatorship. We unconditionally support the victory of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and its political arm, the Revolutionary Democratic Front.

We call on the labor movement to mobilize the full strength of the working class against the Reagan Administration's program of military intervention in El Salvador and the extermination of hundreds of thousands of the Salvadorean people.

The struggle led by the FMLN and the FDR is a genuinely popular revolution uniting the broad masses — workers, peasants, youth, and the urban middle class — against the oligarchy of 14 families, the military, and US imperialism.

More than 18,000 people have been murdered by the death squads of the junta in the last 18 months. The military advisers sent in by the Pentagon are training the junta's troops in all the genocidal techniques of the Vietnam War — counterinsurgency, search and destroy missions, concentration camps (resettlement), and massacres of all those suspected of sympathy with the liberation fighters.

The greatest crime of this civil war was committed one month ago — and blacked out in the American capitalist press — when Salvadorean troops directed by US advisers trapped 1,500 women, children and old people fleeing the repression, drove them into a cave, gassed and shot them and sealed the cave with bombs.

The junta was installed in a CIA-backed coup in October 1979, following the victory of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in neighboring Nicaragua. The CIA sponsored the coup fearing that the incumbent military dictator Humberto Romero was not strong enough to prevent the spread of revolution to El Salvador. Since then, first the Carter Administration and now the Reagan Administration have poured in arms, financial aid, "advisers," and experts in espionage and torture.

Under the standards of the State Department, Yankee imperialism can trample on the Salvadorean people and replace governments at will, but any attempt by the masses to obtain weapons or aid for their struggle for liberation is "outside intervention."

**The brutal crimes of US imperialism in El Salvador are part of a deliberate policy of global counterrevolution. The Reagan Administration is seeking to exterminate every national liberation movement and overthrow all the progressive nationalist regimes established in the great revolutionary struggles since the end of the Second World War.**

General Haig's recent mission to Israel was to encourage the Zionist regime to launch new attacks in Lebanon threatening genocide against the Palestinian and Lebanese people and provoking a new Mideast war that would bring massive US intervention.

High-level meetings with South African officials have endorsed the apartheid regime's war against the

the SWAPO liberation fighters in Namibia. Reagan is stepping up aid to the South African backed UNITA forces against Angola.

Haig has made a top priority undermining the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The Rapid Deployment Force is being built up for conventional warfare against Libya, Iran and Syria, and for the seizure of the Persian Gulf oilfields.

Ultimately, the drive to war and the unprecedented trillion dollar military buildup threaten a nuclear holocaust.

This policy of militarism is dictated by the insoluble economic crisis of world capitalism. This crisis has developed far beyond the stage of the 1960s, when the Johnson Administration was able to combine counter-revolution in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic with increased spending on social programs at home.

In order to pursue its policies of war, the Reagan Administration — with the full support of the Democratic Congress — is forced to drastically cut the budget for social programs required by millions and attack all the rights won by the working class through the struggles to build the unions.

**The attack on the Salvadorean masses goes hand in hand with the declaration of war on the working class in the United States.**

**The fight against US intervention in El Salvador therefore is inseparable from the whole struggle of the working class against the Reagan Administration.**

The working class is already engaged in massive struggles against the government, as shown by the coal miners' strike and the rally of 20,000 railway workers at the Capitol Wednesday against the budget cuts.

The Reagan administration is a desperately weak government, despite the fantastic buildup in the capitalist press. Thousands of workers have demonstrated in Washington against the budget cuts, and representatives of broadly based popular organizations have condemned Reagan's reactionary economic policies. Surveys show that there is enormous opposition to the government's plans for massive intervention in El Salvador.

Reagan's policies advance in a political vacuum, cheered on by the most powerful sections of the capitalist class and their mouthpieces in the press, a vacuum because the so-called opposition, the Democratic Party, represents the same class interests.

This is why the key issue facing millions of workers and all those people, above all young people, who want to fight Reagan, is the building of a labor party to spearhead the fight for a workers' government.

The fight against Reaganism, whether in El Salvador or in the United States, must be through the poli-

tical mobilization of the working class independently of the capitalist class.

It is not a matter of protesting to Reagan and the Democrats, but of uniting the American working class and the Salvadorean masses in a common struggle against imperialism.

All those who have come to Washington to register their deeply-felt protest against Reagan's policies should carry that forward by turning to the working class.

This is a perspective diametrically opposed to those who have organized and politically dominate the platform at the rally. The Communist Party and other Stalinist groups such as Youth Against War and Fascism, as well as the professional radicals, indulge in protest politics as an appeal to the existing parties, particularly the Democrats. They protest over different isolated aspects of imperialist policy while endorsing the capitalist parties and building up their authority and credibility.

The first 100 days of Reaganism have been most notable for the complete exposure of the Democratic Party as being no alternative. What has driven all the liberals so far to the right is the crisis of capitalism and the fact that all these politicians are engaged in a last-ditch defense of imperialism and the profit system.

What Democrat who professes sympathy to the Salvadorean people votes against the military buildup, opposes US intervention in the Middle East or opposes Zionist terrorism?

A labor party must be built in order to spearhead the struggle by the working class against the two capitalist parties and their imperialist policies overseas and ruthless defense of profit at home. The labor party must be the weapon of a gigantic movement of millions against the capitalist system.

The immediate question facing the working class and all those who want to fight Reagan is the calling of a Congress of Labor. This Congress must build up the mass movement and unite under the leadership of the working class all those opposed to this class-war government.

The task of such a Congress must be the building of a labor party as the political weapon for fighting for a workers' government committed to socialist policies, including a socialist foreign policy.

**Victory to the Salvadorean Revolution! Cut off all aid to the right-wing junta. Recognize the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front.**

We call on those who agree with these policies to fight for them by joining the Workers League and building the revolutionary leadership of the working class.

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# COUP ATTEMPT IN SPAIN

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REPRINTED FROM *PRENSA OBRERA*,  
Weekly Organ of the  
Liga Obrera Comunista, Spain



# COUP ATTEMPT IN SPAIN

MADRID — At 6:20 PM on February 23, Lt. Col. Tejero, at the head of a force of some 150 to 200 Civil Guards, stormed into the Congress of Deputies (the Spanish parliament) with the cry: "Everybody calm — orders of the Captain General of the 3rd Military Region."

Now, after the coup, a lot of information has come out about what happened in the critical hours from 6:20 PM to 10 PM, when after three hours and 40 minutes of suspicious silence, the monarchy and the Council of Chiefs of Staff announced the "safeguarding" of the Constitution.

But the news which has now come out is obviously sifted to suit bourgeois propaganda, which endeavors to present the King and the Armed Forces as the "saviors" of democracy. This preliminary analysis aims to establish the facts which, as we shall see, speak for themselves.

AT ABOUT 6:30 PM the radio announces that Civil Guard and National Police forces are surrounding the Congress in two rings, one close to the Congress and the other stretching wider.

AT ABOUT 7:30 PM the radio announces that at 7 PM Lt. General Milans del Bosch has proclaimed a "state of emergency" in Valencia. This information is denied (7:50 PM) by the Council of Chiefs of Staff — but it is known that at 8 PM armored divisions were beginning to occupy Valencia.

MEANWHILE, in Madrid, between 7:45 PM and 8:30 PM, RTVE (the national broadcasting network) is occupied by an armored unit of the Brunete No. 1 armored division.

BETWEEN 9 and 10 PM it is learned that a "permanent session" has begun of Secretaries, meeting at the Ministry of the Interior. They issue a communique saying that they are constituting themselves into a "civilian and military government" of the nation at the King's command.

AT THE same time it is learned that the Council of Chiefs of Staff have convened at their headquarters in Vitrubio.

AT 10 PM the Council of Chiefs of Staff announce that they have taken the necessary measures to "restore the order which it (the Constitution) determines."



Colonel Tejero capturing parliament

AT THE same time it is announced that the King will address the nation and that in the Palace Hotel, a few yards away from the Congress, a meeting is taking place of General Armada, second-in-command of the Army Chiefs of Staff since February 4, General Aramburu Topete, head of the Civil Guard, and General Saez de Santamaria, inspector of the Armored Police, and that they, together with the civil governor of Madrid, Mariano Nicolas, are in charge of "negotiations with Lt. Col. Tejero and, eventually, of the liberation of Congress.

AT ONLY 10:15 PM an official spokesman, the President of the Catalonia Generalidad, comes on the radio to say that the King has told him the situation is under control and that he calls on the Catalan people to "stay calm" and not move.

WHEN AFTER 1 AM the King addressed the nation to announce the maintenance of the Constitution and the orders given the captains-general, it becomes clear that the military fascist coup will not work out as the fascist "proclamation" of General Milans del Bosch gave it to be understood.

This account of the events, in which the exact time of some can still not be established, raises various unanswered questions.

The first question has now been answered, that of the role of General Armada, the second-in-command of the Army Chiefs of Staff. The fact is that the chief negotiator of the King and the Council of Chiefs of Staff, turns out to be the main fascist conspirator, the "military authority" whom Tejero announced would speak to the Congress and also the "President" of the military junta which the coup leaders apparently intended to install.

The second question has not been cleared up, but rather, it has been completely confused in the news ever since the 24th, and this is the role of the Civil Guard and National Police forces who surrounded the Congress in two rings. These forces, at first for the coup, have been transformed by later news broadcasts into "constitutional" forces.

The third question is the role of the captains-general of the different regions. According to "El Pais" (02/25/81), at 4:30 PM, regions such as Valladolid and Zaragoza "had still not decided," indicating widespread knowledge of the operation hours beforehand.

The fourth question is the role of some of the civilian figures who were in the Congress or its surroundings during the night. What were ex-Commissioner Ballesteros and Commissioner Dopicq doing there? And ex-General Prieto? And what was Sanchez Covisa doing there?

A fifth question is now added to these four. The announcement of the coup d'etat in the tourist magazine *Spick*, in an article signed Otis, who turns out to be Herranz, the editor of the magazine, is all the more surprising when it is realized that Herranz is a close friend of the Director General of State Security, Francisco Laina, spokesman of the "permanent session of Secretaries and under Secretaries of State," and the man who apparently directed the activities of the civilian "government" and its liaison with the Council of Chiefs of Staff.

From the facts known so far a hypothesis can be ven-

tured as to how the coup was planned.

The coup was to consist of an attack on the Congress of Deputies, the military occupation of the 3rd Region (Valencia) under the command of Lt. General Milans del Bosch, and, what was apparently the decisive factor which failed — the military occupation of Madrid by the Brunete No. 1 Armored Division. This, it seems, could only send a military police detachment to help in the occupation of the Congress and one armored unit to occupy RTVE, while the plan to occupy Madrid at the outset failed for reasons unknown.

Apparently General Juste, at the head of the Brunete Armored Division, did not join in the coup, while Col. Sanmartin (Carrero Blanco's head of intelligence in the early 1960s) and commander Ricardo Pardo (head of intelligence at Brunete Division HQ) tried to get the Division to take to the streets with the help of General Torres Rojas, ex-head of the Division and now in the Military Government of Coruna.

According to various sources it was hoped that the occupation of Madrid would swing the rest of the captains-general over to supporting the coup.

What comes out clearly from the information we have is that both Suarez and his "acting" government, and Calvo Sotelo and all the institutions of the capitalist state, including the King, knew of the imminence of some kind of coup attempt.

This is confirmed by the "strange" conversations of the Armed Police related by the journal *Cambio 16* on the basis of overhearing police radio messages in Madrid two hours before the coup.

It is also confirmed by the curious information that at 4:30 PM the captains-general of Valladolid and Zaragoza had still not decided ("El Pais," 2/25/81).

The way the National Police acted is at the least highly suspicious. Apart from knowing something beforehand, there was, at the time of the attack on the Congress, a conversation with "Victor Zero," code name of a Madrid police chief, who said, according to *Cambio 16*: "They want to know what side I am on." This was at about 6:30 PM.

According to the same paper, "J-3" — apparently the name for the team of Manuel Ballesteros (now resigned) — came on the radio at 7 PM and said: "I have made contact with the command from Lt. General Milans del Bosch and from the King. That within ... at H plus two (within two hours in military language) the armored Division will arrive. Here the Civil Guard are also spread out in collaboration with us, around the vicinity too."

Evidently, before deciding "what side they were on," they were collaborating and "also spreading out."

Outside, the immediate militant reaction of all workers parties and trade unions, to go underground and try to mobilize the masses against the coup, was correct.

But what they did not and could not know is that at some point, so far unknown but certainly after 9 or 10 at night, when the "permanent meeting of the Secretaries and under Secretaries of State" was convened, representatives of the political parties and trade unions (CP /Workers Commissions and SP /UGT) agreed with a spokesman for this Francisco Laina that there would be no mobilization of the masses. ("El Pais," 02/28/81).

The confusion created in the working class and the masses by the contradictory calls of the trade union and political leaders was part of this agreement, by which the representatives of the CP /Workers Commissions and SP /UGT placed their confidence in the King, the Council of Chiefs of Staff and the meeting of Secretaries of State to abort the conspiracy.

The agreements "not to mobilize the masses" must be made known: who made them, at what time, with what guarantees, etc.?

In Catalonia, where it is known that, while the members were going underground, Paco Frutos and Jose Luis Lopez Bulla were chatting in the Generalidad with Jordi Pujol, these leaders of the PSUC and Workers Commissions must be instructed to tell the working class about these "discussions" and, in their case, "agreements."

As is obvious, the line separating the "constitutional" generals and forces from the "coupists" is so thin that they are completely confused one with another.

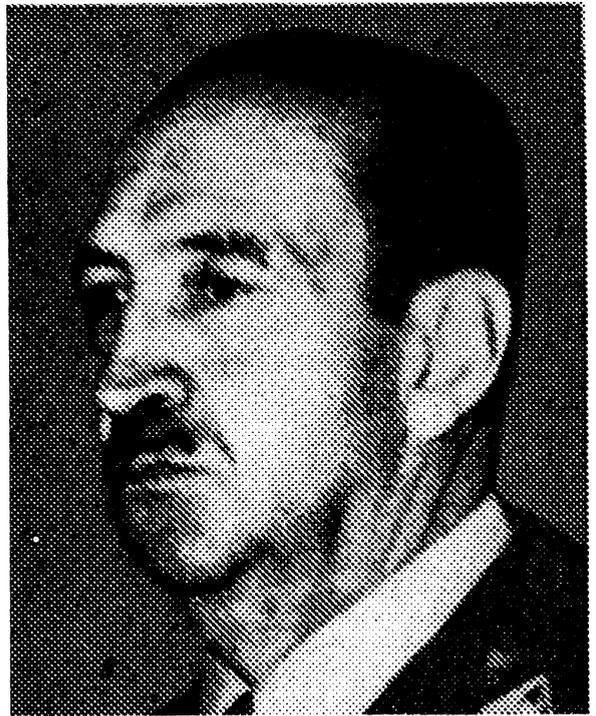
The reason is of course that the state apparatus is a unity and that the coup was prepared and organized from and under the cover of the state apparatus. The only difference between the "constitutionalists" and the "coupists" is on the question of the right moment to carry out the coup. This division reflects their fear of the mobilization of the working class against the coup.

This is expressed with blinding clarity by Lt. Col. Pascual Galmes on taking over the captaincy-general of the 3rd Military Region:

"I regret and we all regret the painful acts of recent days, but they will only recur when the fatherland requires it, and it is natural that the fatherland should no longer require this of us except in truly exceptional



General Milans del Bosch



General Armada

situations and in complete agreement with the authorities who exercise this important peacetime function."

It is almost a "law" of preparing and organizing military coups in recent times that there should first be a "dress rehearsal" to test out the forces.

For example in Chile in 1973 there was first the "Tancazo" in June 1973, when the "Second Armored Regiment" tried to take the Palacio del al Moneda. Then it appeared that the "chiefs of staff of the armed forces" had defeated the coup. But the commander of the army chiefs of staff was none other than General Pinochet.

Insofar as the military found out the cowardice of Allende and Corvalan (the CP secretary), they proceeded to prepare the definitive coup.

In Bolivia Col. Natush attempted a coup. Facing a generalized opposition by the working class, he tried the parliamentary parties, but without success. A few months afterwards, General Garcia Meza took the power by arresting thousands of leaders of the workers' movement on lists provided by the information services, working in collaboration with those of the Argentinian and Brazilian dictatorships. Popular resistance was savagely put down, especially in the mining areas.

Some provisional lessons which can be drawn:

1. If the aim of the coup was to provoke the intervention of the King and the armed forces, as "El Alcazar" claimed on the 22nd, then in large measure the coup achieved its objective, although not in the complete form of establishing a military junta.

The shift of power towards the monarchy and the armed forces is now evident. If the government and parliament previously were nothing but a parliamentary facade to cover over the preparations of the capitalist state, this is now more evident than ever.

2. The cowardice of the Stalinists and social democratic leaders, who were not satisfied with the agreement "not to mobilize the masses," but then began praising the King and the armed forces and proposing a USC-SP government coalition, opening the doors to a coup in the near future: this faces the masses with an odious alternative of either not showing their opposition to the coup or doing so behind the fascists Fraga and Rodriguez Sahagun.

3. The vigilance and preparation of the masses and the members of the CP and SP themselves, who, distrusting the King, the military and bourgeois government, went into clandestinity to organize resistance to the coup. But it must be obvious that this is not sufficient. If the leaders sell us out at the moment of truth ... how do we organize resistance?

4. The ruling class will draw the lessons of this coup. It has been shown that fascism has no mass base. The "fascists bands" which emerged during 1980 are basically creations of the police and the state apparatus themselves and are based on small layers of beneficiaries of Francoism in the middle class. Although the state and the ruling class will try to build a mass base for fascism, it cannot be done overnight.

We are inclined to conclude that one lesson the ruling class and the capitalist state will draw is that, as in Bolivia, it is necessary to take the preventive measure of eliminating the vanguard of the working class.

Although, of course, a coup in the near future would not respect either Carrillo, Gonzalez, Camacho or Redondo, who through their cowardice are digging their own graves.

5. Therefore the organization of resistance by the masses to any new attempt must begin now. The first question is the political clarification of the working class and the masses of workers and peasants about the definitive collapse of bourgeois democracy in Spain and the inevitability of new coup attempts which are already being organized in the state apparatus of the regime, mostly in the hands of Francoites.

The working class and the working masses must organize areas and communities to defend their basic rights, trade unions and parties against fascist counterrevolution.

This mass organization, grouping factory committees, local trade unions, left-wing councils, tenants' associations and all other organizations of the masses in each area, must prepare to take on organizing all aspects of life in the area.

But above all, it is necessary to draw the lessons of the new treacherous position of the Stalinists and Social Democratic leaders and proceed urgently to build the revolutionary leadership of the working class—the Liga Obrera Comunista — to organize the struggle against fascism through the struggle to establish a revolutionary workers' and peasants' government.

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# THE RED ARMY



Erich Wollenberg



**BOB SHAW**  
**1917-1980**

# BOB SHAW

## 1917-1980

An Appreciation by the  
News Line Editorial Board

Reprinted from the News Line, March 24, 1980

Bob Shaw, a member of the Trotskyist movement for the past 40 years, died on Saturday — seven days before his 63rd birthday.

He was a victim of asbestosis. For the past year he had been fighting a courageous battle against a rapidly developing cancer. He was determined to stay alive as long as possible to warn of the death sentence imposed on anyone working with asbestos and expose the capitalist system that indiscriminately uses it in numerous trades.

*News Line* readers will remember Bob's article on February 29 this year explaining his fight. It was in response to the news that a chimney destroyed at the derelict Morgan Crucible factory in Battersea, south London, was lined with asbestos. A huge crowd turned out for the spectacle of the controlled collapse by demolition experts and they applauded as a huge dust cloud was created, later to settle on a wide area including Battersea, Wandsworth and Chelsea.

Bob told of other experiences of his own in Birkenhead and Glasgow. Then there was his own case:

"I myself was given notification six months ago when I was discharged from hospital that I had asbestos fiber in the lung tissue, the presence of which was revealed following an illness of shingles. Subsequent X-rays and examinations showed the presence of a malignant tumor. The source of this illness was 40 years ago in Liverpool and Merseyside shipyards where I worked on the repairing and refitting of old scrap ships during the war and in particular on some of the 50 old scrap destroyers donated by America to Britain's war effort ..."

For the majority of his political life in the Trotskyist movement, Bob Shaw was walking around unknowingly with a virtual time-bomb in his chest.

Many comrades and friends remembered those years and took the opportunity to write to Bob in the last month, in particular, recalling their acquaintance and experiences with him during that time.

They paid tribute to the contribution he made as one of the older cadres and full-time organizers of the movement. Many of the nearly 100 letters he received latterly recognized the link with the past and the continuity that he, with very few others, represented; his insistence on education and discussion; his drive always to instil the method of dialectical materialism

Bob Shaw was a member of the Central Committee of the Trotskyist organization in Britain. From 1956 to 1978 he was Scottish organizer of the Socialist Labor League and its successor, the Workers Revolutionary Party. He was a regular contributor to the party's press and more recently wrote for both the daily *News Line* and monthly theoretical journal "*Labour Review*".

in the cadres he worked with, whether in the Midlands, Scotland, London or the north west.

Many pointed out that without this untiring drive, in both theory and practice, many of the advances of the Trotskyist movement today, both nationally and internationally would not have been possible.

It is vital to understand Bob's own early development in this respect. He was attempting, with the help of his wife, comrade Mickie Shaw, to collate and assess the period when he died.

He was born into an upper middle-class family in Leeds the year of the Russian Revolution. The initial influence on his life was his family's Methodism, and he became a lay preacher as a very young man.

In 1934, he had joined the Peace Pledge Union and was an ardent pacifist. This fitted in with his middle-class upbringing, Methodism and a questioning of religion.

He finally broke with religion in 1938-1939 after contact with a man called Sidney Mortimer in the Independent Labour Party (ILP). Once he broke, he was an avowed atheist and died an atheist.

He had joined the ILP in the latter half of the 1930s and was influenced by the Spanish Civil War "unity" campaign called by Stafford Cripps and supported by both the ILP and the Stalinists of the Communist Party of Great Britain.



Bob Shaw working at the Leeds Telephone Exchange in 1937

Bob remembered it as a very opportunist development, with the Communist Party calling for "selective security." He was not attracted by their policies and gravitated around the ILP and its Guild of Youth.

Again, because of its opportunism, he was not really attracted to the ILP. There was no cohesive program, and its leaders proceeded as individuals with their own policies and coexisted with these varying policies.

Bob's first connections with the working class were when he began work at the Automatic Telephone Company in Liverpool in 1935.

He had finished as a full-time student in electrical engineering and went to Liverpool as a trainee. He continued his studies, attained his higher National Certificate and became an Associate Member of the Institute of Electrical Engineers.

He was all set for a middle-class career.

The first public political meeting was at the Liverpool Stadium called by Stafford Cripps as part of the Socialist League, ILP-CP unity campaign in 1937.

This had developed out of the Spanish Civil War and the general talk of the wider war the imperialists were preparing, arising out of the slump and the drive for new markets.

The middle class, meanwhile, had not thought about politics. They knew about the poverty of the 1930s, but didn't do anything about it. Spain had an impact on large numbers of them.

Bob recalled how a vicar's son in the Dewsbury Road area of Leeds, where Bob was brought up, approached airmen stationed locally to fly their planes to Spain to help the Republicans. He was summoned, appeared in court and was fined.

As a pacifist youth, Bob remained affected by the Civil War, but didn't find any satisfaction from the existing movements. Youth were the first to recover from the depression and fight back. But there was no leadership and many were in non-organized or poorly organized factories.

The youth movement was dominated by the Stalinists. At the time, there were two Trotskyist organizations, but they were disunited and had differences within the sections. The Stalinists as a result controlled sections of the Labour League of Youth, set up by the Labour Party.

Bob left Liverpool to find a job in Leeds. In 1937 he joined a protest against a military tattoo at Roundhay Park, Leeds. Before taking a job as a tester with the local post office, he had to go to the Leeds labor exchange.

He never forgot the 50-yard queue of unemployed — although the number of jobless had begun to drop. There was a wire mesh between the queue and the clerk. As each man approached the counter, all that was said was "No Work."

In Leeds, he said he "fell among thieves — old ILP dilettantes who were cool to youth. But he was not with them long enough for them to inflict any lasting political damage. Up to that point, he had still been pursuing a "career," but by 1938 he was beginning to reconsider the whole question.

In the ILP, he was considered a left and the branch he belonged to as left wing. In the autumn of 1938 they had sent a letter to ILP leader James Maxton deploring the fact that he had shaken hands with Neville Chamberlain on his return from Munich. Maxton did not reply personally. John McNair wrote back saying that Maxton was "sad" that Bob's branch had taken the attitude they did.

In the latter part of 1938, he obtained copies of *New International*, the US magazine run by Max Shachtman. He had considered it as being generally interesting.

He was becoming more and more disillusioned with the insincerity and demagoguery of the ILP leaders and maintained that every one of them held a rotten political position.

The period was dominated by war talk, the invasion of Czechoslovakia and Austria. The ILP members of parliament all operated as individuals, made no decisions as a party and put forward their own declarations.

C. A. Smith became the editor of *Forum*, a new ILP paper. Bob became an agent for one or two issues, but considered it a fraudulent paper. By this time he had read a number of issues of *New International* and been able to make a comparison.

In 1939 he had attended a Socialist Unity War Front

# ASBESTOS: The horror and the suffering

By BOB SHAW\*

WHEN I read the article in Tuesday's News Line, it filled me with horror and anger that thousands of people in south London will be in danger of cancer of the chest as a result of the demolition of the Battersea firm of Morgan Crucible's chimney

There are similar examples immediately to my knowledge of such exposure to asbestos dust

## Similar

Last year on Merseyside a 20-year-old block of flats in Birkenhead was brought down by similar methods — asbestos was almost certainly bound to be dispersed in the huge explosive method

\*Bob Shaw, a member of the Trotskyist movement since before World War II, is dying of cancer caused by working with asbestos in the shipyards during the war. His courage and determination to face up to his extremely painful illness and expose the system that created it is amply expressed in this article. The Editorial Board of News Line is sure that many of Bob's comrades and friends would like to write to him. Letters are very welcome and can be sent to: Bob Shaw, c/o The News Line, 21b Old Town, Clapham, London SW4 0JT. We will be very pleased to pass them on.

Article by Bob Shaw appearing in the February 29, 1980 issue of "News Line"

demonstration, which the Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Socialist League had also joined. The RSL group he knew around Leeds was largely a middle-class milieu, to which Bob was not attracted.

At the same time he began to make contact with the other Trotskyist group, the Workers International League (WIL). He had left the post office and gone to work at Ericssons in Beeston, near Nottingham. He was sent out on engineering work to Nuneaton.

He had travelled to London for May Day 1939, met the then leader of the WIL, Jock Haston, and obtained the WIL's address in Harrow Road.

He wrote in inquiring about membership but had not received a reply.

He was still working in Nuneaton and travelled to Northampton to meet Haston, who was addressing a meeting. Haston told Bob his membership had been accepted, but that there was no local branch.

He was not active in a branch until he moved to Liverpool in 1940, where he worked on an automatic exchange for Ericssons.

He had registered as a conscientious objector in 1939-40 and came up before the board in Nottingham. He was turned down because he had said he was opposed to the war on pacifist grounds, but would take up arms in defence of a workers' war.

Very soon after that he obtained a copy of "War and the Fourth International, produced by the WIL, which laid out the whole question of military strategy.

Even though he had been turned down by the Nottingham board, he wrote to them and withdrew his application for registration as a conscientious objector.

He felt this was necessary as a principled stand against imperialist war — a necessary gesture to put his position on record clean and clear.

As well as turning his back on a career, when he joined the Trotskyist movement, Bob consciously took a decision to reject a career in music.

He recognized that the move through centrism and pacifism to a revolutionary position was quite a rapid development for a youth of that period and with his background.

He was almost 23 when he met his future wife in February 1940. She was 17. He was in Nottingham for two or three months. He attended some National Council of Labour Colleges lectures also being attended by Mickie, her brother and Raymond Fletcher (presently MP for Ilkeston, Derbyshire). Independently they had been in discussion with the RCL and WIL. After meeting with Gerry Healy, who travelled from London for discussions, they set up a WIL branch of five members in Nottingham in 1940.

Bob almost immediately moved on to Liverpool where he subsequently went to work in the shipyards under the Essential Works Order, where he came into contact with asbestos.

Forty years later, he wrote: "As a shop steward in those years, I fought to reveal the complete disregard of workers' health and safety in the ship repair industry.

"For raising the question of a joint trades committee to fight on these issues, I was chased out of the yard with the connivance of the employers, the state and the ETU under the local leadership at that time of Frank

Foulkes, who was a member of the Communist Party.

"The pain of such an illness and certain death results in untold suffering.

"It is time the working class brought out all the details of this crime, which is not a question of one or two workers being killed, or even hundreds, as in mining disasters, but of hundreds of thousands who will die from the releasing of this material and its continued industrial use with complete disregard of workers' safety.

"The firms which are responsible and governments which permit such actions without interfering should be exposed and there should be a fight against this completely uncontrolled devastation of people's lives.

"But only *News Line* has brought the question out and only *News Line* is concerned about such matters, whether in war or in 'peace.'

"In my case, instead of wiping out the source of the disease, I am handed a meager compensation which is normal for miners with pneumoconiosis and other workers suffering from asbestosis.

"Workers should write to *News Line* and state the facts about these killer diseases. The firms concerned should be closed down and alternative work provided for workers thrown out of a job by such closures.

"This can be done only by the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism under the leadership of the Workers Revolutionary Party."

Those of us who survive Bob pledge ourselves to this task in revolutionary honor and respect to his contribution to our party, the Workers Revolutionary Party, and our movement, the International Committee of the Fourth International.

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# Three Fighters for Trotskyism

The Editors of Fourth International wish to pay tribute to fighters for Trotskyism who have died since the publication of the last issue:



JACK GALE  
1930-1980

Jack Gale, born in 1930, fought for the construction of the Trotskyist movement in Britain and for the International Committee of the Fourth International for 27 years. A founding member of both the Socialist Labour League (in 1959) and its successor, the Workers Revolutionary Party (in 1973), British section of the International Committee, Comrade Gale played a major role in the development and production of the first Trotskyist daily newspaper in the world. He joined the Trotskyist movement in 1953, when it was engaged in a life-and-death battle against the Pabloite conspiracy to liquidate the Fourth International. Comrade Gale stood up for Trotskyist principles against revisionism, and fought thereafter for the building of the independent revolutionary party of the working class. Comrade Gale's major contribution was as a revolutionary Marxist journalist writing for the *Newsletter*, the daily *Workers Press* and, from 1976 until his final illness and death, the *News Line*.

Trotskyists around the world followed Comrade Gale's lively articles on the history of the British and international working class movement, his coverage of the struggles in Ireland, Portugal and Lebanon, and his political exposures of the revisionist liquidators and Stalinists.

Comrade Gale has been on assignment in Australia when doctors, in the course of an operation, discovered cancer of the pancreas. His condition worsened rapidly, and he returned to Britain where he died on July 1, 1980.



GEORGE MYERS  
1945-1980

George Myers, member of the Central Committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party, was killed on July 18, 1980 in a tragic accident while riding his motorcycle. He was only 34 years old. Born in 1945, he had joined the Trotskyist movement in 1964 and was a founding member of the WRP. George had been won to Trotskyism through the struggle waged by the Socialist Labour League against the reformist Labour Party leadership. At a memorial meeting held in Hull one week after this young comrade's death, WRP General Secretary Mike Banda stated:

"Comrade Myers made this decision — he placed himself uncompromisingly on the side of Marxism against all brands of revisionism. He did this, not only in Oxford, but also in Hull and Yorkshire, where he fought to build the Party after leaving university."

While working as a teacher in Hull, Cde. Myers established close connections with broad sections of the working class, including Hull dockers, Yorkshire miners, steelworkers and engineers.



WILFRED PEREIRA  
1903-1980

Wilfred Pereira, known throughout the Trotskyist movement as Spike, was a founding member of the Revolutionary Communist League, the Sri Lankan section of the International Committee of the Fourth International. He died of cancer December 18, 1980, in Melbourne, Australia, where he lived the last five years of his life after moving to Australia for reasons of health.

Comrade Spike, born in 1903, joined the Lanka Sama Samaja Party in the 1940s, coming to the principles of Trotskyism in the midst of the independence struggles against British imperialism and the revolutionary upheavals which gripped Sri Lanka in the early 1950s. He lived by these principles for the rest of his life.

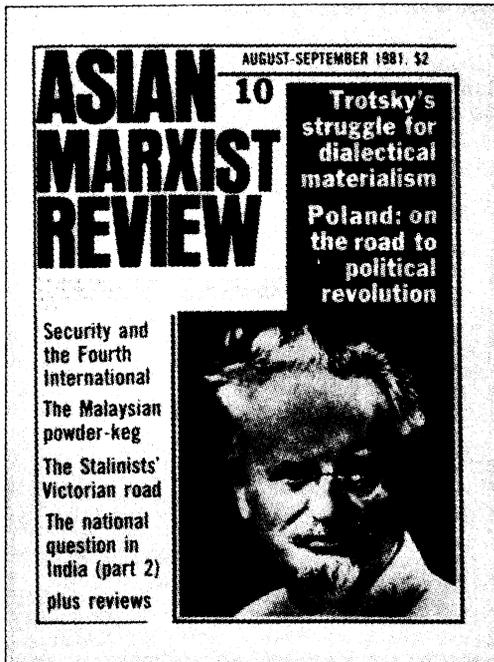
When the LSSP joined Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party in a coalition government in 1964, Spike was in the leadership of those who opposed this great betrayal. He was the only one of his generation who rejected the bogus LSSP (R) of the revisionist Bala Tampoe and turned to the International Committee of the Fourth International.

In 1966 the Revolutionary Communist League was founded, ensuring the continuity of Trotskyism in Sri Lanka, with Spike on its central committee.

In 1971 during the brutal crushing of the JVP uprising, Spike was jailed and he and his family were under police surveillance.

After he came to Australia in 1975, Spike played a powerful role in the development of the Socialist Labour League, the Australian section of the International Committee. He stressed at all times attention to theoretical principles. Even when completely bedridden by his illness, he continued working by writing, translating and criticizing articles, living the last days of his life as he had the previous 35 years, as a revolutionary fighter for Trotskyism.

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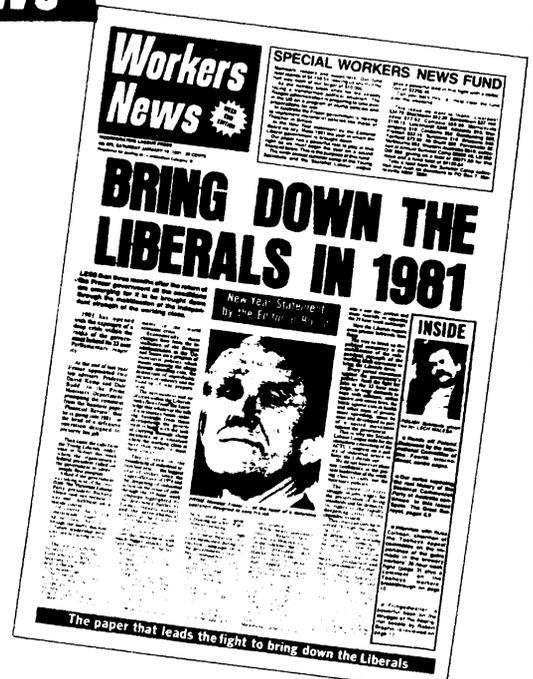
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