

Australasian SPARTACIST



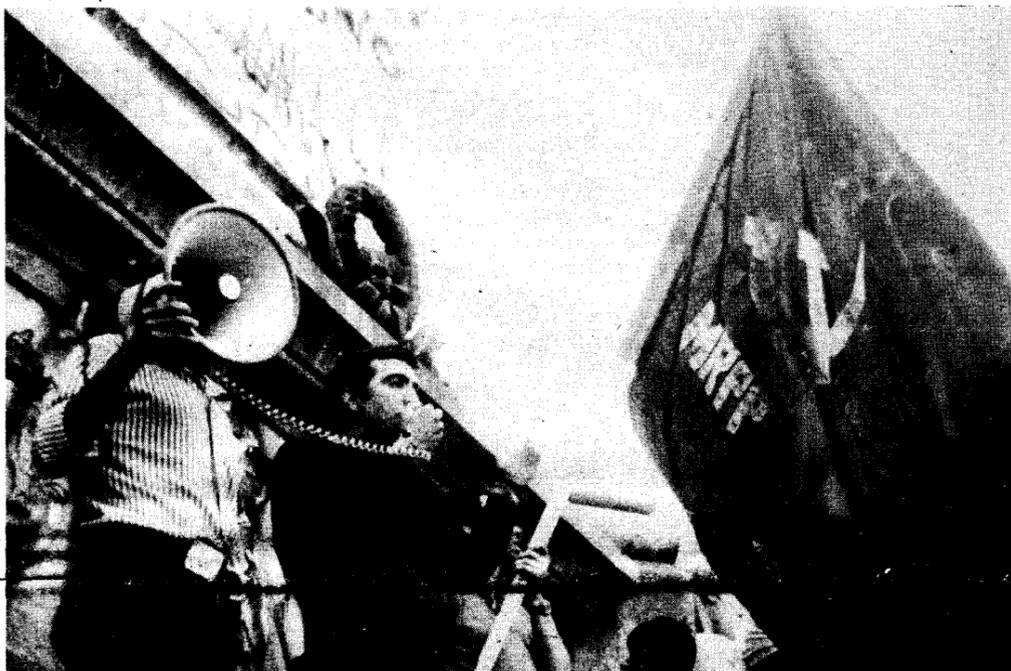
NUMBER TWENTY-ONE

JULY 1975

TEN CENTS

Free the MRPP 500!

Dead end for Portuguese Maoists



Speaker at Maoist MRPP rally in Lisbon's Rossio Square, June 1974.

Workers Vanguard

reprinted from Workers Vanguard No 71, 20 June 1975

JUNE 16 -- Following sham elections for a phony "constituent assembly" on April 25, the first anniversary of the overthrow of the rightist Salazar/Caetano dictatorship, the political situation in Portugal remains chaotic and without direction. The leftist leaders of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) want to play a role "above" the classes, arbitrating between competing political factions while imposing order and discipline. But there is not the slightest consensus among the officers on what policies to impose. The MFA continues to oscillate sharply in its day-to-day conduct, first attacking and then conciliating the Socialists, at one moment nationalizing various important trusts and on the day after guaranteeing private property. In the prevailing atmosphere of confusion, a new right-wing coup attempt from within the armed forces is possible at any moment.

The Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) has banked everything on being the most unconditional supporter of the MFA, yet it is under heavy pressure from its proletarian base to move against the bourgeoisie. Their weak electoral strength clearly shown in the elections (where the PCP received 13.9 percent and its petty-bourgeois satellite, the MDP, won 4.3 percent of the total vote), the Stalinists must repeatedly take to the streets to demonstrate their continued ability to mobilize masses of workers at crucial moments. At the same time, the PCP has sought to use the state against its left opponents, having Maoists arrested and militant unions put under military control. On several occasions it has itself di-

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Statement to the left and working-class press

SLL violence in the workers movement

(Issued on 19 June 1975.)

At approximately 7.30 pm on Monday 16 June members of the Spartacist League (SL) were physically assaulted by members of the Socialist Labour League (SLL) as the SL members were peacefully distributing literature outside the Trades Hall in Sydney, where an ostensibly public meeting featuring Gerry Healy, visiting leader of the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP, British co-thinkers of the SLL) was taking place. Spartacist League members outside Trades Hall carried signs protesting against the political exclusion of all SL members and supporters from attending the talk, any of Healy's previous talks in Australia, or any of the SLL's other so-called "public" events. The slogans on the signs were: "Fake 'open' meetings sponsored by Fake 'Fourth International'"; "For the rebirth of the Fourth International through open political struggle!"; "Healyite exclusion attacks Workers Democracy!"; and "The SLL is afraid of Trotskyism at its 'public' meetings!"

The SL members were distributing their literature *outside* of Trades Hall only because the SLL had on the occasion of a previous "public" lecture by Healy -- 8 June 1975 -- demanded of the Trades Hall caretaker that the SL be refused permission to do so in the corridor outside the meeting room rented by the SLL. At that time, when requested by the Trades Hall caretaker to move outside the building, we did so. There was, however, no justification whatsoever for the SLL's completely arbitrary demand, conveyed to us only when the meeting was ready to begin about twenty minutes after the publicly announced commencement time. SL members had been standing at the sides of the corridor in such a way that people attending the meeting could, and did, walk past three abreast without even brushing leaflets being handed out by SL members, who spoke only in normal conversational tones.

The assault on the night of 16 June began when

representatives of the SLL demanded that members of the Spartacist League completely clear the steps between the pavement and the door to the Trades Hall. Members of the Spartacist League at no time in any way obstructed the entrance to the Hall. Those on the steps stood along the very edges. Only SLL members stood directly in front of the door. The SLL's arbitrary demand was refused by the SL members who said several times that they would move off the steps, where they had a perfect right to be, only if requested by the Trades Hall caretaker. The SLL refused to get the caretaker and on the order of Jim Mulgrew, National Secretary of the SLL, a team of about six goons attempted to physically drag one of the SL members from the steps. Members of the Spartacist League resisted this violation of the right to distribute literature on the steps of Trades Hall by pushing back against the goons, while members of the Socialist Workers League (SWL) and a member of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) also opposed the SLL violence and attempted to stop the fighting. (SWL members had been selling *Direct Action* and distributing a pamphlet outside the building before the attacks began.) More goons emerged from the Trades Hall and one punched Spartacist League member Bill Logan on the face, signalling a full-scale attack. The fighting stopped only when the SL withdrew in a disciplined fashion to the pavement. It is simply by accident that only minor injuries were sustained by SL members. During part of the attack Mulgrew stood inside Trades Hall behind the plate-glass door waving and shouting encouragement to his thugs. Among the SLL thugs were Terry Cook, Tom Hawkins, Phil Sandford and Billy Haggerty.

The entire attack was witnessed by five members of the Socialist Workers League and one member of the New Zealand Socialist Action League who expressed outrage at the SLL's thuggery and

some of whom, including Jamie Doughney, a leading member of the SWL, actively sought to stop the SLL attack. It was also witnessed by at least one unaffiliated independent bystander; three people sympathetic to but not members of the SL; and one CPA member, Steve Haran, who was excluded from the meeting without any explanation. Haran also attempted to defend the SL against attack.

Cops arrived on the scene after the fighting ended. One, after speaking to the SLL leadership inside the Trades Hall, spoke to Bill Logan in a conversation witnessed by Jamie Doughney and Steve Haran. The cop said that the people inside had asked him to clear the people outside away from the door. Comrade Logan replied that we were not blocking the door. The cop then demanded that the members of the Spartacist League on the street side of the pavement move so that they no longer faced the steps to the Trades Hall door. (These steps were, of course, by this time lined with SLL goons.) The cop said that if we refused to comply with his order, everyone on the pavement would be arrested.

The SLL has in the past slanderously charged that the SL, by peacefully picketing against exclusionism in support of workers democracy, attracts the attention of cops to their meetings. This occasion made it crystal clear that the SLL bears the sole responsibility for any unusual police attention. They exclude the SL from their "public" meetings for no reason but their own political cowardice. Then, without cause, they demanded on 8 June that we move outside the building where the cops would be able to see the picket; they then on 16 June provoked a fight which was the best way to attract the attention of the cops. And when the cops did arrive, the evidence indicates that the SLL in effect told them to clear us away, apparently having either lied to the cops that we were blocking the

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A reply to Healyite slanders

Australasian Spartacist supplement 7 June 1975

The foundless charges recently laid by international Healyism that its opponents in the workers movement are decisively influenced by the political police of the bourgeois state usher in a new stage in the degeneration of a tendency which has long deserved to be characterised as one of political bandits. The Healyite "International Committee of the Fourth International" (IC) has spread similar slanders in the past, but we now see the consistent and systematic (rather than merely occasional) use of the vilest kind of smear tactics -- the labelling of political opponents as agents of the police. This development in Healyism has reached Australia with the current visit here of Gerry Healy himself.

The editorial of the current issue of *Workers News* (5 June 1975), organ of the Socialist Labour League (SLL), the Australian section of the IC, headed "The danger of provocation", concerns the Spartacist League:

"This is a stern warning. The Spartacist tendency will use handouts from whatever quarter to satisfy their factional hysteria."

This claim is "proved" thus:

"... more than 3000 documents showing the penetration of the Pabloite Socialist Workers Party by the FBI in the United States, has revealed the role played by the Spartacist League in the COINTELPRO operation which the late Edgar Hoover launched against the SWP from 1961."

Even if it had been fooled by the FBI, this would not necessarily prove that the Spartacist League was politically bankrupt, any more than the fact that a Czarist secret police agent was on its Central Committee proves the Bolshevik Party was bankrupt. It is in fact possible for an honest and healthy revolutionary party, despite its scrupulous care, to be duped by the State. But the SLL fails to supply its readers with details of the "role" the Spartacists are supposed to have played, whether this was conscious, criminally negligent, or merely blamelessly unwitting. The New York office of the Spartacist Tendency, however, yesterday completed an examination of the relevant documents, and has given us the following information by telephone:

THE FACTS ABOUT SPARTACIST AND THE FBI

(1) The SLL's quotation in *Workers News* from an FBI memorandum (to which they attribute the date 14 October 1966) is accurate (although the actual date of the memorandum was 9 April 1965). The quotation, the meaning of which is not altogether clear, from the memorandum reads:

"Prior to the November 1964 general election, the Newark office [of the FBI] was authorised to prepare and send throw aways to selected individuals and to the SWP weekly newspaper 'The Militant', indicating that an independent committee had been formed to elect Lawrence Paul Stewart, Negro SWP candidate for United States Senator from New Jersey."

"These throwaways charged that the SWP had not helped the Negroes and the throwaways were especially designed to set forth arguments known to have been put forward by Stewart. (deleted passage) [It should be noted as a passage was deleted by the FBI, what goes before is not necessarily connected with what follows] --

"Material prepared by the New York office [i.e., presumably, not the material mentioned above which was prepared in Newark] has appeared in 'Spartacist' the publication of the Revolutionary tendency expelled from the SWP."

"It is further known that James Robertson, a former SWP functionary expelled by the SWP, is now the leader of the Revolutionary tendency, believes material mailed to him by the New York office is valid and has accepted this material at its face value and has used it in its efforts to undermine the SWP."

(2) The questionable accuracy of the FBI's comments (relied upon by the Healyites in their attacks on the Spartacist tendency) can be judged by their error in describing James Robertson as "a former SWP functionary".

(3) As far as can be ascertained the Spartacist League was in fact fooled by these FBI dirty tricks on only one occasion. It appears that a four-line extract from a longer letter, published in *Spartacist* number 2 (July-August 1964) under the heading "Letters Received: Some responses to Our First Issue" originated in the FBI. This is a complete copy of what we published from the FBI:

"New York, N.Y."

"I saw 'Spartacist' and it opened my eyes. I'm too much committed to get out and join you, but believe me there are more than a few of us inside supporters. You may be interested to learn... [There followed information internal to the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" which we did not publish]

"Comradely,
"The Insider"

(4) The Spartacist tendency, also in 1964, was sent other material in the COINTELPRO program intended to discredit SWPers involved in the defence of some anti-racist activists in Monroe, North Carolina. (The representatives of Healyism in the United States received exactly the same material.) Our only "use" of this material was to forward photostat copies to the SWP, with the annotation:

"We seem to have landed on somebody's 'hate the SWP' list. You people running the Party have given us good reason to despise you for your expulsions, but we don't go for libel, either, so we thought we should warn you of it."

It would appear that the only success that the FBI has had in the matter is to give the Healyites material with which to manufacture a vile and baseless libel against the Spartacist League. Unproved accusations that sections of the workers movement serve the bourgeois police aid only the bourgeoisie. It is a function of the political police to artificially encourage dissension in the workers movement and vigilance must be exercised to ensure they are not able to cut across the necessary struggle for revolutionary politics. The SLL could stage nothing better to warm the hearts of the FBI, ASIO and other centres of political reaction, than this irresponsible and despicable cop-mongering. It can be well documented that a most valued technique of the cops is to create a climate of mutual suspicion in the left, to create the belief that "there's an agent behind every mail box".

THE BALA TAMPOE CASE -- A QUESTION OF INTEGRITY

Perhaps the aspect of the Healyite smear campaign most damaging to them is that, despite their accusations that the Spartacist League is sufficiently unscrupulous about its sources as to be a conduit for the material of provocateurs, they find it possible to use Spartacist material against their other opponents.

In *Spartacist* number 21 (published in the northern "Fall" of 1972 by the Spartacist League of the United States) we printed some documents revealing serious violations of communist morality on the part of Bala Tampoe, leader of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary), Ceylon section of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (represented in Australia by the Communist League and the Socialist Workers League). What we published were records of the "Ninth World Congress" of the United Secretariat, specifically the report of its commission on Ceylon, the minority report of the Indian delegate who was a member of that commission, and an extract from the minutes of the congress. We received the reports from Edmund Samarakody, leader of the Revolutionary Samasamaja Party (now the Revolutionary Workers Party), which had broken away from the LSSP(R) and was developing a relationship of close fraternity with the Spartacist tendency. As comrade Samarakody said "At the end of the deliberations on the Ceylon ques-

tion the Praesidium collected the copies of the report ... I however had with me my copies ... made by me from the originals." Thus although we knew these damning documents were authentic, we could not prove it, and were forced to rely on the authority of comrade Samarakody's reputation for integrity and our own. Immediately after we published these documents the Healyites used them to attack the United Secretariat, eventually admitting their source. Apparently the Healyites are not above using material which is guaranteed only by the integrity of the source from which it emanates, the SL, whose integrity they now slander claiming it is willing to "use handouts from whatever quarter to satisfy their factional hysteria"!

Healy's model of proletarian morality is matched in this matter by his rival imposter-claimants to the mantle of the Fourth International, the "United Secretariat". They simply denied the whole thing. In their definitive treatment of the question, "Ceylon and the Healy School of Falsification" by Jaya Vithana, published in *Intercontinental Press* 19 March 1973, they claim that neither the Ceylon Commission of their "World Congress", nor the reports of that commission ever existed! "In fact the USFI appointed no such commission. Nor is there such a report or reports." Milady doth protest too much. All original copies of the reports may have been destroyed, but the minutes of the Congress were widely circulated in the US Socialist Workers Party (SWP) *International Information Bulletin* No 9 July 1969 "(Published as a fraternal courtesy to the United Secretariat of the Fourth International)". This widely available document, the authenticity of which is beyond question, reports the setting up of the Ceylon Commission, noted a report from it and a discussion, and repeated a five-part motion emanating from it and summarising the conclusions of the majority report. Thus, as we have said before "Vithana stands condemned as a liar by the official minutes of his own organisation!"

THE JOSEPH HANSEN "CASE" -- A QUESTION OF SMEAR

The outrageous and unfounded slanders of Healyism against the Spartacist tendency follow directly upon the publication by the British Healyites of "Security and the Fourth International", which is republished as a pamphlet in Australia by the Socialist Labour League. The purpose of this document is to imply that all the enemies of Healyism more or less directly serve the political police of the bourgeoisie. Central to the pamphlet is Joseph Hansen ("theoretician" of the SWP). By patching together fragments of the history of perils and tragedies suffered in the past by Trotskyism as a result of the activities of the political police, together with deliberately vague suggestions regarding Hansen's role at the time of Trotsky's assassination by the GPU, and a distorted account of the "revelations" of an ASIO hireling (subsequently established to be mentally unstable) who spent some time in the Melbourne Branch of the SWL, the Healyites have produced a document which systematically insinuates that Hansen is a police agent. These brave cowards of the International Committee are far too "principled" to make their charges explicit, but instead infuse their pamphlet with innuendo, and conclude it with the sentence "The International Committee is recommending to the Sixth World Congress [ie, being held by the IC] that a special fund be started to provide resources for a thoroughgoing investigation into security in the Fourth International and the role of individuals such as Hansen."

Now, Hansen must be exposed before the workers movement and condemned for his renegacy from revolutionary politics. He is certainly no paragon of proletarian morality and, indeed shares responsibility as the editor of *Intercontinental Press* for the publication of Jaya Vithana's lies in the Bala Tampoe case. However, no evidence whatever has been presented to support the disgraceful charges of complicity with the bourgeois cops which have been implied against him by the Healyites. Indeed, they serve only to denigrate the importance of a political struggle against Hansen, which it seems is the last thing Healy wants or is able to do. The charges are a cop-out. But they are not charges against Hansen alone, for Healyism has developed the doctrine that all its political opponents are "politically suspect", that is, suspected of being decisively influenced by the bourgeois police and therefore presumably, outside the workers movement.

Under the sub-head "Politically suspect" on page 23 of "Security and the Fourth International" we find:

"Hansen's explicit defence of that international fraternity of Mensheviks -- Tate,

SPARTACIST

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Robertson, Thornett, Wohlforth and Pablo -- and his ingrained and remarkable indifference to police surveillance, combined with his deep hatred for the leadership of the Workers Revolutionary Party, confirms the extremely reactionary and politically [sic] suspect nature of the Socialist Workers Party leadership. Hansen's slanderous attacks on the International Committee in general and Comrade Healy in particular are an expression of the morbid cynicism and class hatred of the reactionary American middle class and the imperialist bourgeoisie against the conscious efforts of the most advanced sections of the international working class to build revolutionary parties to smash capitalist rule and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The essence of this fight today is to defend the democratic centralist structure of the party from its detractors and, in this way, resist the infiltration of police agents and provocateurs and prepare the party and the working class for its historic tasks. This struggle is inseparably interwoven with the political exposure of the slanderous lies, half-truths and deceit of Hansen, not to mention his obscene sneers at the justified and essential security precautions of the movement." (emphasis added)

"Politically suspect"?! The Spartacist League declares that there is nothing suspect about the SWP's politics whatever. It's all out in the open -- their a pack of craven and shameless reformists! The only meaning of the phrase "politically suspect" is to imply that the SWP is an organisation of cops, an accusation which combines a certain stupidity with a contempt for the intelligence of the workers movement and ruthless malice towards its need for principled political struggle.

The development of the doctrine of the "politically suspect" nature of all opponents is a response to the difficulties faced by the shrinking IC, the rupture with Thornett and his supporters in Britain and Tim Wohlforth, former leader of the American representatives of the IC. In these circumstances, as could be expected at some time in any event, the mythology of a fake "dialectic", a crankish leadership cult, appeals to the authority of a fraudulent "Fourth International", petty slanders, exclusion of opponent groupings from their public meetings, and use of violence against rival tendencies in the workers movement have become inadequate as a means of protecting their membership from learning the truth about their politics.

Since January 1973 the Spartacist League has been banned from public meetings of the SLL. We have frequently and vigorously protested against this violation of workers democracy and cynical attempt to avoid exposing their membership to our political views.

The current *Workers News* editorial, "The danger of provocation", deals in part with the situation on the evening of 2 June outside the Teachers Federation Building in Sydney where Gerry Healy was to speak: "At the public [sic] meeting held by the Socialist Labour League in Sydney last Monday members and supporters of the Spartacist League staged a picket and attempted to provoke incidents at the entrance to the hall." With characteristic dishonesty the SLL omits to mention that the Spartacist League picket was a direct and proper response to our exclusion from the so-called public meeting (despite the fact that the Spartacist League had bought the required tickets from the Third World Bookshop), a serious violation of the principle of open political struggle between tendencies in the workers movement. The SLL also omits any details of the supposed attempts to "provoke inci-

dents", because there were none. With blatant hypocrisy the SLL goes on to say "The attempts at disruption outside the meeting [How exactly could we disrupt from outside the meeting anyway?] could have one consequence only; to attract the attention of the police and expose the meeting to the danger of their intervention." The Healyites must learn to accept responsibility for their own actions. Our picket was a result of their violation of workers democracy. If they felt it endangered them, they had at their disposal a fool-proof method of bringing it to an end: make their "public" meetings truly open to the working class public! In fact, for all their hysteria, the unfavourable attention of the police is, of course, not likely to be directed towards the presumably respectable sponsors of a "public" meeting, but towards the protestors outside. The police did not try, on Monday night, to pretend that members of the SLL were blocking the pavement, but members of the Spartacist League. The police did not rip placards of the SLL off their poles, but placards of the Spartacist League. (The disgraceful cynicism of the SLL in this matter can be seen from the fact that the SLL has itself picketed in exactly the same place -- outside a Congress of the Australian Council of Trade Unions on 23 September 1974.)

The SLL has also habitually used threats of violence against the Spartacist League, which cannot be taken lightly in view of the fact that similar threats have actually been carried out by Healyites in the past. The function of such threats is two-fold: to attempt to scare the Spartacist League away, and to create a climate in which, when it suits the Healyites a line of blood can be drawn between their membership and the Spartacist League, in order to further inoculate their membership against Spartacist politics.

We now have occasion to release a letter previously sent to the SLL.

"23 September 1974

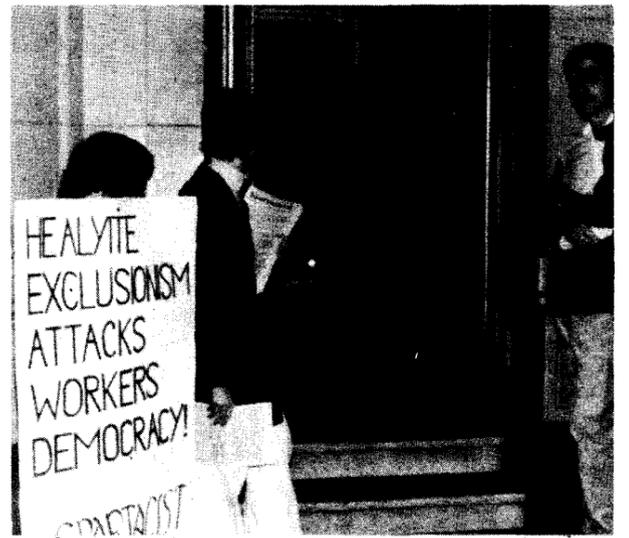
"The Political Committee,
Socialist Labour League,
Sydney.

"Comrades:

"As noted in *Australasian Spartacist* no 6 we have denounced your organisation's use of threats of physical violence as a crude attempt at political intimidation. We repeat that such methods of avoiding political clarification are a rejection of workers' democracy supposedly upheld by you as followers of Trotsky,

"The SLL's fear of political exposure from political debate within the workers movement has led you to exclude the Spartacist League and other working class tendencies from your public meetings and to physical intimidation of SL members who try to engage SLLers in political discussion in public. To date these threats have not amounted to much. However, we are concerned at the viciousness of the two recent incidents of physical threats made by leading members of your organisation.

"The first incident, witnessed by several SL members, occurred on 26 August when Jim Mulgrew, your National Secretary, approached an SL member selling *Australasian Spartacist* outside the SLL public forum on Historical Materialism, accusing him of "accosting my wife" the previous Friday. Comrade Mulgrew then proceeded to inform our comrade that "I will cripple you for life if a similar incident occurs again". Mulgrew was apparently referring to the fact that an SL comrade had approached SLL member Val Murphy at the Central Railway Station the previous Friday and asked her to discuss some of the differences between the two organisations but when she re-



Spartacists on Trades Hall steps after being ordered outside on 8 June. SLers stood in similar non-obstructive positions on 16 June. fused the matter ended there.

"The second incident took place at the Mandel meeting of 12 September, where Terry Cook approached an SL member, asked if he knew of Ernie Tate, and said:

"There were members in our party who think that Tate shouldn't have just got his head bashed in but his intestines ripped out. There are people in our party who think you are worse than Tate and if we gave the word you people wouldn't know what hit you. What happened to Tate would be nothing compared to what you would get You had better be careful, real careful."

"After having denied for years any responsibility of the British SLL (now Workers Revolutionary Party) for the gangster attack on Ernie Tate, Terry Cook has not only admitted approval of gangsterism within the workers movement but has also implied at minimum responsibility for the Tate beating.

"In the tradition of the Bolsheviks the Spartacist League supports the principle of workers' democracy, for the open contest of differing political tendencies within the working class. We remind you in particular that the Trotskyist movement which you claim to stand for has, since its inception, had to uphold this principle against the violence and slander of reformists and Stalinists. Standing in that tradition, we will not be intimidated by your Stalinist tactics.

"We demand that you put a stop to this hooligan intimidation. In the event of further threats the working class will be informed internationally as to the mode of your 'political' struggle.

"Finally, Terry Cook repeated your slander that SLers are 'anti-communist provocateurs'. In *Australasian Spartacist* no 8, May 1974, we challenged the SLL to 'PRODUCE YOUR EVIDENCE' OR PUBLICALLY AND UNEQUIVOCALLY RETRACT YOUR STATEMENT!' To date you have not replied; and your complete silence in response is an admission of slander in the worst tradition of Stalinist calumny.

"Toward the rebirth of the Fourth International,

"Adaire Hannah
for the Spartacist League."

[Carbon copies were sent to representatives of the Spartacist tendency internationally and the IC internationally.]

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DOCUMENTS--What really happened in the SWP

The 1961-1965 documents concerning the origins of the Spartacist League/US and the Workers League (US supporters of the International Committee) are available in the Spartacist League's *Marxist Bulletin* series:

MB number One -- *In Defence of a Revolutionary Perspective. Statement of position by the Revolutionary Tendency to the June 1962 plenum of the SWP National Committee* (23 pages, 25 cents).

MB number Two -- *The Nature of the Socialist Workers Party -- Revolutionary or Centrist? 1961-62 discussion material of the Revolutionary Tendency within the SWP* (73 pages, One dollar).

MB number Three, part One -- *The Split in the Revolutionary Tendency. Documents on the 1962 rupture of the Revolutionary Tendency by Philips, Wohlforth and Healy* (40 pages, 75 cents).

MB number Three, part Two -- *Wohlforth Against the RT. 1963 documents on Wohlforth's conniving with the SWP leadership for the expulsion of the RT* (39 pages, 75 cents).

MB number Three, part Four -- *Conversations with Wohlforth. Minutes of the 1965 unity negotiations between Spartacist and the predecessors of the Workers League* (79 pages, One dollar).

MB number Four, parts One and Two -- *Expulsion from the Socialist Workers Party. 1963-65 documents on the exclusion of supporters of the Revolutionary Tendency* (120 pages total, 50 cents each).

Available from Spartacist Publications,
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Sydney, NSW 2001

Healyites FBI-bait Spartacist

Facts refute SLL smear

With a headline almost big enough for a scandal sheet like Melbourne's *Sunday Observer*, the Socialist Labour League's *Workers News* of 17 June 1975 "reached a new fever pitch" in its attempts to smear the reputation of the Spartacist League. Their conclusion:

"They [the Spartacists] constitute the worst type of subjective idealists, grabbing at FBI handouts, without checking the source and making wild scurrilous and lying accusations about violence in order to play up to the petty bourgeois and anti communist gallery. They constitute the political syphilis of the revolutionary left."

Who lies? Who resorts to violence? Who uses the gutter press techniques of slanderous sensationalism? Who is guilty of gross irresponsibility and malicious distortion, disregarding or doctoring sources? Other articles in this issue prove to the hilt that it is the SLL, that the SLL, to use its own phrase, "constitutes the political syphilis of the revolutionary left". But in the 17 June *Workers News* centrespread, under the heading "THE PROOF", the fabrications and lies of the SLL -- the Australian agency of the "International Committee" run by Gerry Healy of the British "Workers Revolutionary Party" (WRP) -- are so extravagant and transparent in content, so poisonous and filthy in intent, and so potentially dangerous to the workers movement as a "method", that it utterly destroys any pretence of credibility by this tendency, and can help us to show why the SLL's Stalinist tactics must be ruthlessly purged from the labour movement. (The article is reprinted in the 28 June *Workers Press*, organ of the WRP.)

For those unfamiliar with the SLL's record and that of the SL, it may seem strange that the SLL should devote so much space of its "mass" paper to dark insinuations that not only the SL but also the Healyites' other opponents internationally are tools of the class enemy's professional political police. Some of these people the SLL hopes to take in, believing in the old rule of thumb of bureaucrats, sellouts and bourgeois politicians: throw enough mud and some of it sticks.

In the long run, of course, liars of this ilk are doomed by their own methods. Blatant lies can only be put over by bureaucratic suppression. And as much as Jim Mulgrew, National Secretary of the SLL, might dream of it, the SLL does not have the clout. His mimicry of Stalin's big lie merely looks clownish. But in the short run, they hope to obscure matters sufficiently that they will not have to answer revolutionary criticism of their opportunism. In recent months we have exposed the bureaucratic internal regime of the Healyite IC (see *Australasian Spartacist*, no 18, April 1975, "Crisis hits Healyite 'International'"). We have shown how the SLL has abandoned the Trotskyist transitional program and substituted crackpot melodramatics for Marxist theory (*Australasian Spartacist* no 19, May 1975, "SLL's 'answer to crisis'"). We denounced the SLL's arch-revisionist tailing of Stalinism in Vietnam in spite of the SLL's claims to be anti-revisionist. We exposed the enthusiastic build-up as a supposed "militant" it gave a known right-wing shop steward in the metal trades and pointed out the SLL opposes democratic control of the metal trades award campaign and shop-floor unity. (The SLL insists that the bureaucrats must be allowed to sell out strikes!) (*Australasian Spartacist* no 19, "For a continuing national strike!").

Unable to find a revolutionary line when faced with contradictory social phenomena, the Healyites settle for denying reality in the name of Marxist orthodoxy. For example, they refuse to admit -- to this day -- that capitalist property relations have been overthrown in Cuba, because if Healy were to admit that Castro's petty-bourgeois guerrillas could overthrow capitalism, then he would have to tail after Castro, to see that Castro could only create a qualitatively deformed workers state, requiring a political revolution led by a Trotskyist party to overthrow the Castro bureaucracy. Likewise, unable to deal with Marxist criticism of their departures from Trotskyism, the Healyites are driven to consciously falsify reality. That is what Beams really proves with his tirade. That is the SLL's real "method".

The initial barrage of mud from the SLL (*Workers News*, 3 June 1975) was answered in an *Australasian Spartacist* supplement reprinted elsewhere in this issue. Beams starts off by saying that this response was an attempt to "cover up" the fact that *Spartacist*, the journal published by the Spartacist League of the US,

once unknowingly printed material emanating from the FBI in the course of the FBI's attempts to deceive American Trotskyists and thus disrupt their activities. But the "cover-up" charge founders on one small point -- we were honest. As Beams notes, "The Spartacist League stated that in the first issue [actually, as we said in our leaflet, the second] of their American paper 'Spartacist' (July-August 1964) under the heading Letters Received, they did publish material from the FBI."

Beams neglects to note a small difference between the SLL's charges and our admission. The 3 June *Workers News* quote from an FBI document does not say what "material" was "used" in *Spartacist*; but it is quoted in such a way as to suggest that it was the FBI's "throwaways" designed to disrupt the 1964 New Jersey election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) -- US co-thinkers of the Socialist Workers League (SWL) -- candidate, Lawrence Paul Stewart. In fact, the actual FBI document shows that there is no connection between the two paragraphs quoted together by the SLL. The document is an FBI evaluation of its program to disrupt the SWP (Memorandum dated 9 April 1965). As examples of the "value" to the FBI of the program, it gloats over a list of "successful" dirty tricks. The two paragraphs quoted are entirely separate elements in this list.

In fact, the SLUS never received any such throwaways concerning Stewart. The SLL's quotation was a deliberate falsification; as *Workers News*' photocopies show, they must have had the full text of the document. And far from "covering up", it was our leaflet -- NOT the SLL -- which first identified the "material" emanating from the FBI mistakenly published by us.

This does not stop Beams. Who cares if the SLL doctored the evidence? Who cares if the SL was honest? They must be hiding something, whether or not there is evidence of it. "They claim to have only been fooled once," says Beams, "but how are we to know this?" Well, there are several ways of finding out. One way is to check the record. Virtually every single piece of material published by the SLUS is still available today. Where is the evidence? Where is the further material published by the SL even suspect of emanating from the FBI? The SLL cannot find even one possible example of another such case. Furthermore: the publications of the Spartacist tendency show a scrupulous regard for accuracy and documentation. We have often printed corrections of even minor details. The SLL, in contrast, has a history of misquotes, distortions, and simply cynical sloppiness. Another way is to look at the FBI documents available. Those available to us show that Robertson was sent anonymous material by the FBI on four occasions. In fact, there is no evidence in the documents that more than one was ever used in any way.

But what exactly does Beams' question mean? It is deliberately ambiguous, part of the smear technique. Does it mean that despite all precautions, it is possible the SL might have been tricked by the FBI's devious forgeries more than once? The answer is yes, that is possible. Marxists do not believe in infallibility. Lenin was fooled by the Czarist secret police more than once -- in fact a Czarist agent was on the Bolshevik Central Committee for years. To deny that the reactionary bourgeois state, with its vast powers and enormous technical resources, can fool revolutionaries, no matter how careful they are, is to deny materialism. Even the ever-vigilant Healy is fooled -- quite often, by his own account. At his first public meeting during his recent visit to Australia on 2 June, he claimed during the discussion period that the WRP has to throw out two police agents a week.

Taken as a whole, what Beams' piece actually argues is, to formulate it precisely: (1) Robertson, a leader of the SLUS, once eleven years ago accepted as legitimate an anonymous letter which, unknown to him, was an FBI forgery. (2) That proves that Robertson and/or the SL never take any precautions with material received and use unverified information. (3) That is equivalent to "grabbing at FBI handouts, without checking the source". (4) By implication: ie by smear, that the SL is therefore a general conduit for FBI material.

It is easy to see that this logic is a little faulty. There is nothing special about signed material. Signed material can be forged too, just like the anonymous letters which, as the FBI documents show, they took considerable care to give the appearance of legitimacy. How could the Spartacists have known it was a forgery? But in the event, none of the "information" in the

letter as sent to us was used in any way. As published, in fact, its content was downright trivial, and as a whole it contained no false information. Here, for the record, is the full text, including (in brackets) the portion not published in *Spartacist*:

"Dear Jim,

"I saw 'Spartacist' and it opened my eyes. I'm too much committed to get out and join you, but believe me there are more than a few of us inside supporters. You may be interested to learn [of a document I read over the other day. Sorry I don't rate getting a copy, but it was dated 1/6/64, and said in effect, that the Pablo faction in the 'reunited' FI had issued a public organ 'Sous le drapeau du Socialisme', which outlines their views in opposition to the FI majority, principally in regard to the Sino-Soviet conflict. Also, the Australian and Dutch sections support PABLO. Needless to say, DOBBS et al, true to character, are now moving to kick Pablo out of the FI.]

"Comradely,

"The Insider"

Given the witchhunting atmosphere in the SWP, aimed at supporters of the Revolutionary Tendency whose leaders just expelled from the SWP were publishing *Spartacist*, it was possible to believe that passive sympathisers of the RT might hide their identity but still wish to express their support in such a way. Neither Healy nor his supporters in the US, led by Tim Wohlforth and Fred Mazelis, nor anyone else ever brought up the matter of this unsigned letter until they found out from the FBI documents that it was a forgery. If it was so obvious, why didn't the Healyites, who claim to be experts, detect it when it was published in 1964? Finally, the FBI documents show Robertson was sent one further letter from "The Insider" by the FBI a week following the first. As far as we have been able to ascertain Robertson probably never received this second letter, and certainly, if it was received it was not used in any way.

To repeat, this example in short proves nothing except that *Spartacist* was once fooled by a calculated FBI forgery. On the other hand, we can prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that neither Robertson nor the SL "grab at FBI handouts without checking the source". The proof can be seen graphically in the note by Robertson (reproduced on page five) to the SWP warning it of the two anonymous mailings slandering SWP supporters working in a committee to defend black rights in Monroe, North Carolina in 1964. This proves the exemplary vigilance and principle of the SL which in this case, at roughly the same time as the "Insider" letters were sent (April-May 1964), defeated the attempted FBI provocation. The FBI also sent the same material to the Wohlforth-Mazelis group. Did they warn the SWP as well?

Beams however claims "the release of the FBI files has provided evidence to suggest that the Spartacist League were [sic] influenced by the FBI on more than one occasion". By a selective quotation of the FBI documents, *Workers News* tries to "prove" that Robertson was sent another FBI anonymous "letter" urging him to split from the SWP. Then, Beams concocts a story that Robertson provoked his expulsion from the SWP. And there you have it: a classical amalgam of the crude type used by Stalin's murderous henchmen to "prove" Trotsky was an "agent of Hitler". The FBI wanted Robertson to split; Robertson supposedly wanted to split; therefore.... Robertson/the SL was under the "influence" of the FBI.

But what the documents do show is that the FBI's projected anonymous letter to Robertson published by *Workers News* was never sent. We document this fully in "PROOF: FBI dirty tricks and SLL frame-up" and the accompanying photocopies of relevant documents on pages six-seven. In order to select the documents it has published, the IC would have had to have seen the other documents which totally refute the SLL's slanderous insinuations. Yet the Healyites make no mention whatsoever of these other documents. This is nothing but a fully conscious attempt to frame up the SL as "influenced" by the FBI by systematically falsifying the evidence! It reveals the depth of the cynical corruption -- and the pathetic stupidity -- of the IC/SLL leadership.

Even if we did not have access to the FBI material, Beams' fantastic rewrite of history in relation to the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the SWP should prove to every honest militant that everything emanating from the SLL is "sus-

pect" -- as a pack of lies. Not a word can be trusted!

The SWP had supported the International Committee since the split with Pablo in 1953. Its rightward plunge into the camp of Pabloism (leading towards its break from the International Committee and support for "Reunification" with the Pabloist forces of the "International Secretariat" to form the present "United Secretariat" in 1963) had already by 1961 resulted in the formation of the Revolutionary Tendency which stood against this degeneration and was led by Wohlforth, Mage, White and Robertson. The RT recognised the leadership within the International Committee of the British Socialist Labour League (SLL) led by Healy. But in 1962, after Healy had issued to the IC and SWP a document entitled "Trotskyism Betrayed" attacking the SWP leadership's revisionism in the strongest terms, Healy and Wohlforth collaborated to split the RT over secondary issues, insisting that all RT members sign a document saying essentially that the SWP was still revolutionary. When the vast majority of the RT (which, agreeing with Healy's own characterisations, had drawn the conclusion that the SWP had become centrist) refused to recant and sign, Wohlforth "expelled" the majority and split, setting up the "Reorganised Minority Tendency". According to Beams' mythology, however,

"At the point where the struggle for this discussion inside the SWP was going ahead, James Robertson, who at that time led the majority faction of the opposition tendency within the SWP, issued a statement denouncing the SWP as a centrist party. Despite his claims to be in sympathy with the SLL, Robertson took this step on his own initiative and without consultation. Robertson's statements were seized upon by Hansen to completely divert the struggle for the discussion and subsequently expel the Robertson tendency as well.... As it was Hansen was able to proceed with the unprincipled reunification and use the Robertson statement as a means of silencing opposition within the ranks of the SWP."

Thus he "proves" that Robertson was "working for a split".

Who is lying? The documentary record of the RT's struggle in the SWP, published by the Spartacist League, not suprisingly is deliberately ignored by Beams because it shows his story is pure fabrication. But Beams' story does not

even resemble the concoctions previously cooked up by the Healyites. Not even the 64-page pamphlet produced by Wohlforth in 1971, *What is Spartacist?*, to try to obscure and explain away the documentary evidence, makes such a wild assertion as that Robertson issued a document to the SWP claiming it was centrist.

Robertson at no time while in the SWP "issued a statement denouncing the SWP as a centrist party". The truth is that the British SLL's "Trotskyism Betrayed" led to a clarification and hardening of views of a section of the RT leadership. Lynne Harper produced a draft document on the "Orientation of the Party Minority in Youth Work" (8 August 1962) and Robertson, along with Larry Ireland, produced "The Centrism of the SWP and the Tasks of the Minority", 6 September 1962. (Both documents are currently available from the Spartacist League in *Marxist Bulletin* no 2.) These were not issued to the SWP, but as a contribution to discussion internal to the RT. The documents had some hard things to say about the SWP (in the context of stressing the need to make every attempt to remain within the SWP), but these would never have given Hansen "a means of silencing opposition within the ranks of the SWP", as Beams has the gall to say, had it not been for the actions of the Wohlforth/Philips/Mazelis group who, after splitting from the RT, were responsible for issuing selected quotations and purported paraphrases of the Harper and Robertson-Ireland documents to the SWP. (Wohlforth's 12 June 1963 document "Party and Class", reprinted in MB no 3 part II and its appendices, published in MB no 2). So it was not Robertson who precipitated his own expulsion and that of his political associates from the SWP, but the founders of the Workers League.

Wohlforth's role in engineering the expulsion of the RT is made quite clear in the speech in which Farrell Dobbs moved before the National Committee of the SWP for the expulsion of the leaders of the RT:

"The suspensions hinge on the Robertson-Ireland and Harper documents, which were appended to the Control Commission report of October 24 and with which you're all familiar. We first learned of the existence of these documents on the eve of the last party convention. Wohlforth exposed them in an article he submitted to the discussion bulletin (Vol. 24, No. 27). He said of the Robertson-Mage-White faction: Theirs is a split perspective....

"As National Secretary, I at that time, on the

eve of the convention, requested copies of the documents from Robertson. He refused to make them available and said the proper procedure would be to convene a Control Commission inquiry...." (MB no 4 part II, p 72)

According to Mazelis (current leader of American Healyism) in the eighth session of the unity negotiations between Spartacist and Wohlforth's American Committee for the Fourth International (8 October 1965): "Our approach to the 1963 Convention was basically very good, although our submitting material relating to our split in 1962 to the Majority was a blunder, as we have acknowledged." (MB no 3 pt IV, "Conversations with Wohlforth").

Now let us proceed to some of the other points raised by the SLL article which throw light on the so-called "security question", the generalised character of the Healyites' FBI/CIA-baiting smears, and the dangers of such rubbish to the workers movement. Beams writes,

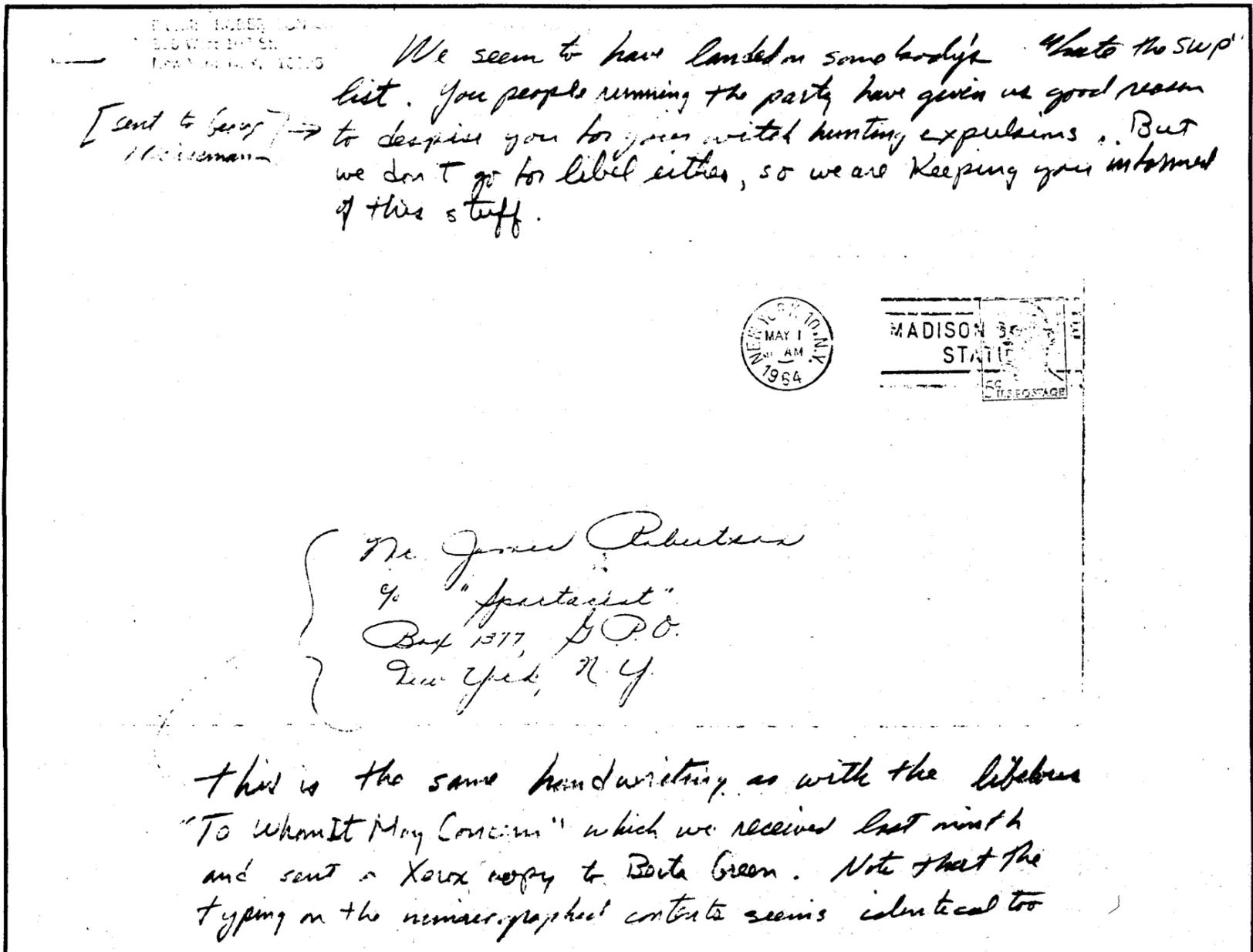
"Certainly the most important political point to be made in relation to their [the SL's] leaflet is the way they defend the role of Joseph Hansen one of the leaders of the revisionist SWP. In their attempt to blur over the vital security questions we have raised, they claim that we have called Hansen a police agent.

"We have not said that Hansen is a police agent. What we have said is that his conduct warrants investigation."

What we said of course in the leaflet (see page two) was that the Healyites "systematically insinuate that Hansen is a police agent. These brave cowards of the International Committee are far too 'principled' to make their charges explicit, but instead infuse their pamphlet with innuendo...." In other words, Beams sets up a straw man....and then confirms what we said.

Accusations that someone in the workers movement is a police agent are *deadly serious*. Cops are despicable, the professional armed thugs of the ruling class. Cops in the workers movement are worse than scabs, a life-or-death question, and are treated accordingly. It is slimy and disgusting for someone in the workers movement to raise the question and then to try and wriggle out of responsibility for its consequences by bleating, "we only called for an investigation". Who does Beams think he is kidding? Such doubts must not be raised unless there is the most

Continued on page eleven



In 1964, the FBI tried to disrupt the defence of civil rights workers in Monroe, North Carolina by spreading slander that SWP leader George Weissman and SWP supporter Berta Green stole defence funds, circulating two spurious leaflets to a list of people including Robertson and Wohlforth. *Spartacist* immediately forwarded copies to Green, Weissman and the SWP, with Robertson's handwritten note of warning (reproduced above): "We seem to have

landed on somebody's 'hate the SWP' list. You people running the party have given us good reason to despise you for your witch hunting expulsions. But we don't go for libel either, so we are keeping you informed of this stuff. This is the same handwriting as with the libelous 'To Whom It May Concern' which we received last month and sent a Xerox copy to Berta Green. Note that the typing on the mimeographed contents seems identical too."

TO: [redacted]
DATE: January 15, 1962
FROM: [redacted]
SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

By airtel 1-11-62 the New York Office requested authority to anonymously call Socialist Workers Party (SWP) headquarters to initiate a Disruption Program operation designed to cast suspicion on Jack Arnold, SWP member and member of the minority faction of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), of being a Bureau informant. The call would charge that Arnold had turned over to the Bureau material pertaining to the YSA Convention held 12/29-31/61 at Chicago, Illinois.

The YSA is the youth group of the SWP which has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. The YSA minority has opposed SWP domination of YSA policy regarding Cuba in that the YSA minority oppose the designation of Cuba as a true worker's state.

On 1-10-62 the New York Office received, following an anonymous telephone call, an envelope bearing the name tag "Jack Arnold - Delegate New York" containing notes, a statement of Arnold in support of the YSA minority faction, mimeographed agenda sheets and discussion bulletins. New York proposes to call SWP headquarters and advise that "Jack Arnold had been in contact with the FBI and had turned over all his material from the YSA convention" and that the caller "thought that the Party might like to know about it." This call would make the SWP leadership cognizant of Arnold "losing" his portfolio and that the FBI possibly has this material.

This action would undoubtedly result in the loss to the Party of a dedicated member (Arnold) and cause considerable disruption as the SWP would think that Arnold has been furnishing all information in his possession to the Bureau. In addition, this accusation could result in the YSA minority rallying around Arnold and cause a split from the YSA of the minority faction, which would cause considerable disruption within the SWP.

Arnold is a logical target as he recently was involved in a fist fight with the New York Local SWP organizer which resulted in an official censure of Arnold. Arnold's minority position also adds to his selection.

It is felt that the above proposal has considerable merit and should be approved as considerable disruption could result from this operation.

RECOMMENDATION:

If approved, the New York Office will be called and advised to immediately proceed with this operation and promptly furnish the Bureau any tangible results achieved.

*N.Y.O. WA
instructed as above recommended - at 8:18
1-16-62.*

FIGURE 1 (above). This document demonstrates the great danger of cop-baiting such as the SLL's. It shows how, in January 1962, the FBI actually tried to frame up a loyal SWP member and RT supporter, Jack Arnold, as an FBI informer, in order to create an atmosphere of distrust in the SWP. The first FBI document dealing with Arnold, an "Airtel" from the FBI's New York Office (NYO) to the Bureau centre dated 11 January 1962, reveals that someone unknown to the FBI had phoned the NYO saying that he "had come across this material" (described in the document above) which "he believed ... was 'Communitistic' in nature, that the FBI would be interested in.... He refused to disclose where he located this material...." The NYO suggested the frame-up, and speculated that Arnold might be expelled on suspicion, and even that he might "avenge himself by cooperating with the FBI"! A further Airtel (NYO to centre, 16 January 1962) reported that on that date "the NYO telephonically contacted ... FARRELL DOBBS.... DOBBS accepted the information concerning ARNOLD and did not further question the unidentified caller; however, thanked the caller very much for calling his office." It appears that Dobbs ignored the FBI's phone call; no action was ever taken against Arnold because of it, which shows how untrustworthy the FBI's evaluations of its deceptions are. The final item concerning Arnold, a Memo (NYO to centre, 26 February 1962), lamented that nothing so far had come of this provocation.

FIGURE 2. (right) This document is part of an FBI Memo (NYO to centre) dated 31 March 1964 which began, "One phase of the NYO SWP disruption program has been to use the factional developments in the Party as a means of demeaning the leadership and demoralising the membership." It then boasts about the FBI's forged letter to Dobbs (see Figure 5), and gloats over the "disruptive effect" the expulsion of the leaders of the RT had on the SWP: "Within the Party, there are rumblings of discontent in several branches of the SWP because of the 'undemocratic' expulsions." After noting that the SWP leadership had threatened expulsion "for anyone who communicated with the ROBERTSON group", the Memo goes on to propose the two "Insider" forgeries to be sent to Robertson (see "Facts refute SLL smear" on page 4). The text of the second appears at right. Not content with these dirty tricks, the FBI planned to use Tim Wohlforth's faction, including current US Healyite leader Fred Mazelis, as an unwitting vehicle for future disruption "tactics": "Consideration has been given to furnishing the SWP leadership information on WOHLFORTH'S secret trip [to see Gerry Healy in Britain], on the assumption that this would be grounds for expulsion. It is felt, however, that WOLFORTH [sic] is of greater value for our purposes at this time, operating as an [sic] fifth column within the SWP."

"PROOF": FBI dirty tricks and SLL frame-up

A lawsuit against the US Government initiated by the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of the US has resulted in the recent release of a mountain of FBI files detailing its harassment and surveillance of left-wing and radical American organisations and individuals over the decades. The bourgeois courts cannot of course be expected to put a stop to activities essential to the bourgeois repressive state apparatus, but the exposure of the FBI resulting from the release of these documents, on a court order obtained in the course of the lawsuit, is valuable both in revealing the fraudulence of capitalist "democracy" and for the information brought to light, particularly about the FBI's Counter-Intelligence Program (Cointelpro) disruption directed against the SWP. The SWP's paper, the *Militant*, reported on 9 May that 3138 pages had already been released, with more coming out all the time. As well as the SWP, the Communist Party USA, Workers World, Progressive Labor, the Fair Play for Cuba Committees, the Freedom Now Party, were among the organisations victimised by the FBI in the early sixties. The scope of the FBI's total campaign of harassment against not only the left but practically all resistance to oppression is only hinted at here.

FBI Cointelpro documents have been made available to the Spartacist League of the US following a letter (29 May 1975) from the SL to the SWP National Office requesting any information in the documents pertaining to the SL, after a defamatory piece appeared in the *Bulletin* (23 May 1975) of the US Healyite Workers League (largely copied in a *Workers News* 3 June 1975 editorial). Prior to the *Bulletin* piece, the SLUS had no knowledge of the documents referring to the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP (the predecessor of the SL) or *Spartacist*.

The Healyites try to give the impression that James Robertson, a leader of the RT and the SL, was singled out for special attention by the FBI. This is entirely false. In fact, Robertson is mentioned in twelve documents, while ten mentioned Tim Wohlforth, leading representative of Healy in the US at the time. Out of the whole mass of available material, there is evidence that only four spurious items of the kind the SLL writes of were ever sent to Robertson (only three appear to have been received); five to Wohlforth; and numerous such FBI fakes to a variety of leftists, including to Farrell Dobbs, at the time the National Secretary of the SWP.

Workers News "establishes" that the SL is under the "influence" of the FBI by printing one of the documents, a Memo from the FBI New York Office (NYO) to the Bureau centre dated 19 April 1963, which spells out a proposed anonymous letter to Robertson pretending to be from an SWP member and urging him to split from the SWP. The whole *Workers News* "Proof" of Spartacist links to the FBI is based on the pretence that Robertson fell for this planned provocation and his expulsion from the SWP was a consequence. But the other FBI documents, which the Healyites have consciously suppressed, establish conclusively that this anonymous letter was never sent. Only a week later, a Bureau centre letter to the NYO (dated 25 April 1963 and referring explicitly to the 19 April letter) vetoed the suggestion: it was to be "held in abeyance". (See Figure 3.) It was less than three months later that the Wohlforth/Mazelis tendency, not Robertson, provided the Party leaders with the information about Robertson's internal RT "statement" which was used as a pretext for Robertson's expulsion. Other forged FBI proposals to provoke a split were also considered to be sent to Wohlforth (and eventually rejected) (eg, letter to the centre from the Detroit FBI office, 14 March 1963. This specific proposal was vetoed in a letter from the NYO to the centre dated 28 March 1963).

Continued on page nine

The document referred to in the above proposed letter was sent to all alternate and regular National Committee members of the SWP in February, 1964. ROBERTSON can be presumed interested in any faction developments on the international Trotskyist scene detrimental to the interests of the SWP.

A second letter to be sent approximately a week later with the same paper and typewriter would read, if approved, as follows:

"Dear Jim,

"Here is a little tidbit which you maybe haven't heard of--BILL and ZITA have rejected Trotskyism and have gone over to the Stalinists. I can't imagine why they should become disillusioned with the Party!

"Comradely
"The Insider"

The above is based on the fact that NY SWP members, BILL WITTEGEBON and ZITA FERRON, have left the Party and reportedly are attending Marxist classes of HERBERT APTEKER.

It is noted that another leader of an SWP minority faction, TIM WOHLFORTH, remains within the Party. He has openly attacked the leadership in recent months, preferring to maneuver in secret. As an example, WOHLFORTH recently spent a week in England conferring with an ally, JERRY HEALY, a British Trotskyite leader.

Consideration has been given to furnishing the SWP leadership information on WOHLFORTH'S secret trip, on the assumption that this would be grounds for expulsion. It is felt, however, that WOHLFORTH is of greater value for our purposes at this time, operating as an fifth column within the SWP. Especially so since ROBERTSON is already

carrying on an openly acknowledged active fight from the outside.

Bureau approval is requested for the suggested letters to JAMES ROBERTSON, outlined above.

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SAC, New York [redacted] April 25, 1963
 Director, FBI [redacted]

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
 INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP
 DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReNYlet 4/19/63 in captioned matter and Mairtel 4/19/63 concerning the contemplated sale of Mountain Spring Camp.

The suggestion submitted in referenced New York communication to send an anonymous letter to James Robertson, a minority faction leader within the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), is appreciated. It is felt, however, that such an operation would not fulfill the objective of causing widespread disruption within the SWP. Therefore, this suggestion is being held in abeyance pending further exploration of operations aimed at disrupting the SWP on a larger scale.

In connection with the above, New York should explore the possibility of disrupting the obtaining of a site for the forthcoming 7/13-21/63 convention which is now to be held somewhere in New York City. Every effort should be made to determine the location of this convention and, in the event some disruptive operation is possible, suitable recommendations should be submitted for approval.

New York should also make a determination as to which members of the minority factions within the SWP could logically receive an anonymous mailing along the lines suggested in Bulet of 3/22/63. Views of the New York Office should also be furnished concerning the possibility of sending such an anonymous communication to SWP headquarters.

In connection with referenced Newark airtel, Newark should advise whether any public notice whatsoever has been given regarding the sale of Mountain Spring Camp, Washington, New Jersey. In the event this is public information, recommendations under captioned program should be submitted for consideration in preparing an article further exposing the true nature of the camp.

FIGURE 3. A proposed provocation directed at Robertson is rejected by the FBI only a week later: "The suggestion submitted in referenced New York communication [the 19 April 1963 letter published in *Workers News*] to send an anonymous letter to James Robertson, a minority faction leader within the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), is appreciated. It is felt, however, that such an operation would not fulfill the objective of causing widespread disruption within the SWP. Therefore, this suggestion is being held in abeyance pending further exploration of operations aimed at disrupting the SWP on a larger scale." Other documents verify no such letter was ever used by FBI.

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI [redacted] DATE: [redacted]
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)
 SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
 IS - SWP
 DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReBulet to NY, 11/14/62.

The Bureau requested in relet that the NYO anonymously submit copies of the 11/6/62 issue of "The Worker" to selected leaders of the SWP. This was for the purpose of attempting a disrupting tactic based on the fact that the SWP had suggested the CP in its fight against the McCarran Act and the 11/6/62 issue of "The Worker" carried an article critical of the SWP.

On 11/21/62, issues of "The Worker", containing the notation suggested by the Bureau, were mailed in commercially purchased envelopes to the six SWP leaders listed below:

FARRELL DOBBS
 BOB CHRISTEN
 HARRY RING
 GEORGE WELSSMAN
 MURR WEISS
 TIM WOHLFORTH

The Bureau will be promptly advised if any tangible results are obtained from this mailing.

It is the opinion of the NYO that the action by the SWP which led to the appearance of articles in "The Worker" of 11/4 and 6/62, is evidence of a disruptive action which has already taken place within the CP leadership. It has been noted in the past that the CP downgrades the Trotskyists but only on very infrequent occasions appears injured enough by a Trotskyite attack to devote any great amount of space to this issue in its publications.

FIGURE 4. Among FBI material sent to Wohlforth, among others, from early on in the SWP disruption program, was that referred to above, attempting to undermine SWP efforts for a united front against undemocratic laws. It reveals the FBI's crude assumptions about the left in designing its disruptions. The FBI sent copies of an article critical of the SWP from *The Worker* (Communist Party USA) to SWP leaders. On the second page of the above letter, however, the FBI NYO notes its discovery that "it appears that the SWP leadership is well aware of material printed in 'The Worker'." They still hoped that their flopped trick might "refresh the memory" of the SWP leadership about Stalinism and "keep the SWP attacking the CP".

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
 Memorandum

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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI [redacted] DATE: 12/11/62
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK [redacted]
 SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
 IS - SWP
 DISRUPTION PROGRAM
 (OO: NEW YORK)

ReNYlets to Bureau, 5/7/63 and 10/17/63.

Relet dated 10/17/63 set forth that the NYO had sent an anonymous letter to the NY Better Business Bureau which identified the NY School of Social Science as a front of the SWP. This was done because the Party used the "school" as a cover in soliciting contributions from merchants for its annual December bazaar.

[redacted] the SWP was preparing literature to be used in solicitation for its annual bazaar, the date of this event was not announced at any branch meeting. [redacted] this event would not be held this year. [redacted] it had been stated that the bazaar could not be run at a profit and that running it had been decided to be "not worth the effort".

Although not clearly established as a result of disruptive action by the NYO, it can be considered likely that the SWP abandoned its annual bazaar because of resistance from merchants in giving the free donations customary in the past.

Relet dated 5/7/63 described a disruptive tactic involving a letter to the SWP leadership purporting to be from an ex-Party member. He taunted the SWP for being pushed around by a minority faction which did not approach the knowledge and principled activities of a minority which had been purged 10 years earlier.

A review of the SWP file shows that speeches regarding the minority made at the July SWP Convention emphasized the disloyalty of the present minority and, for the first time, they were compared unfavorably with former minorities. JAMES T. CANNON specifically stating at the convention that the "Cochranite" minority of 1953 had been kicked out, implying that the present minority faction was being coddled.

Following the convention, action was instituted against the minority faction which has recently resulted in the suspension from the Party of five minority leaders. Although considerable antagonism naturally existed with the minority faction, it is believed possible that the anonymous mailing of the NYO may have incited the SWP leadership to take more firm action to get rid of its minority leaders.

The NYO will continue to analyze activities of the SWP in an effort to develop fruitful disruptive activities against the Party.

FIGURE 5. Above document shows that the FBI claimed partial credit for the expulsion of the RT because of a forged letter to the SWP leadership which "taunted the SWP for being pushed around" by the left-wing minority tendencies. In fact, their forgery seems to have been aimed primarily at Wohlforth's "Reorganised Minority Tendency". It was first proposed in a Memo (NYO to centre) dated 7 May 1963. In relation to a prior suggestion to send a forged letter urging a split to members of both the RT and Wohlforth's RMT, it rejects this tactic: "Based on past experience, no communication is apt to cause any of these individuals to renounce Trotskyism.... Upon serious consideration the NYO has doubts that much could be said to a minority follower against the SWP majority which would increase his wrath sufficiently to have a major disruptive effect. The NYO considers that an anonymous communication to SWP headquarters ... might be more effective since it would get into the hands of the leadership, those in a position to take serious action." This "communication" was sent to Dobbs on 22 May 1963 (Memo, NYO to centre, 24 May 1963). It read in part: "Dear Farrell: As one who left the Party in the 'big split of 1953', please let me tell you what a laugh I get over the 'uneasy alliance of 1963'. I have recently learned that Tim Wolfurth [sic] is a real buddy with Jerry [sic] Healy and they share a political line that's about stealing the Party out from under you.... You're getting shoved around by a minority group of punks who can't compare with the knowledge, and, yes, principle of Clarke, Cochran and their minority of 1953.... I look forward to 'laughing on the outside' next time I meet my new minority friend and hear more about your troubles. An Old Timer".

[redacted] BERNA GREEN may have to make a public statement in complete support of GIBSON, which statement may also be published.

[redacted] the TIM WOHLFORTH faction in the SWP was pleased and "chuckled" over the letter inasmuch as this faction has opposed the SWP interpretation of the Cuban situation.

UACB, above information will not be submitted in form suitable for dissemination under FPCC caption inasmuch as it concerns a counter-intelligence operation developed by the Bureau. NYO will follow this matter closely and keep the Bureau advised.

FIGURE 6. Another early FBI dirty trick against the SWP involved an anonymous leaflet intended to disrupt the Fair Play for Cuba Committees (FPCC), which the SWP supported, organisations to oppose US harassment and aggression against revolutionary Cuba. The above is the second page of an FBI document (NYO to centre) dated 26 December 1961 advising that the leaflet, "anti-RICHARD GIBSON in essence", had been mailed "to selected FPCC supporters throughout United States". Most of this document has been deleted by the FBI, so the details are not known; but evidently members of the RT were among the recipients. The "TIM WOHLFORTH faction" referred to is the RT, of which Wohlforth was at that time the principal leader. Evidently, the FBI was also convinced that Wohlforth and the RT had accepted this anonymous leaflet as legitimate, "were pleased and 'chuckled' over" it.

Note: To save space in reproduction separate pages have been laid as a single block of copy in Figures 1, 2 and 5. Deletions are by FBI.

... Portuguese Maoists

rectly assumed the role of cop and strikebreaker.

Above all, there is in Portugal today no clear-sighted Marxist leadership capable of exposing the PCP's treacherous role as the guardian of capitalism and of drawing to its banners the most advanced elements of the several tens of thousands of class-conscious militants who place themselves to the left of the PCP. Widespread syndicalist sentiment in the factories is reinforced by workerist groups, while the Maoists wander aimlessly, unable to unite due to bureaucratic organizational squabbles and incapable, because of their Stalinist ideology, of taking a consistent class stand against the bourgeois MFA. While the situation cries out for an aggressive policy of revolutionary regroupment -- through putting forward a sharp programmatic alternative to the treacheries of the present misleaders and the lack of coherent perspective on the part of the many smaller leftist groups -- the main "Trotskyist" organization in Portugal, the Internationalist Communist League (LCI, a sympathizing group of the "United Secretariat"), insists on acting as a totally impotent and inconsequential left cover for the PCP and "progressive officers".

The April 25 elections only demonstrated the existence of a confused "moderate" majority. The largest vote totals were received by the Social-

ist Party (SP), the most right-wing of the workers parties, with 41.5 percent, and the "liberal" capitalist People's Democratic Party (PPD), with 28.8 percent. (Both the SP and PPD refer to themselves as social-democratic and work as a mini-coalition.) Two left-socialist groups, the FSP and MES, together received 2.4 percent; three right-Maoist groups won 88,000 votes, or 2.1 percent, between them; and the LCI got 13,000 votes or about 0.3 percent (*Diário de Notícias*, 28 April).

Ignoring the election results, the MFA is continuing its attempt to institutionalize a bonapartist position for itself. The main content of the "constitution" to be worked out by the "constituent assembly" -- conceding power to the officers for a "transition period" of three to five years -- was already laid down in the so-called MFA/parties pact signed in early April. Some of the more "militant" MFA leaders, however, are now talking of junking the parties altogether and setting up "Cuban-style" committees for the defense of the revolution directly linking the masses to the armed forces.

An important confrontation over the role of the parties and Armed Forces Movement came with the closing of the newspaper *Republica* in late May. A bourgeois paper with an SP editor, *Republica* was originally shut down by its CP-led printers who objected to an article concerning confrontations between the Socialists and Communists on May Day. The MFA then moved in, occupied the premises and officially closed the paper pending court settlement of the "labor dis-

pute". Marxists must oppose such arbitrary restrictions of freedom of the press by the bourgeois state, even if the newspaper in question is a capitalist paper. The same laws used to repress bourgeois opposition (even when it is more rightist than a left-leaning regime), will be used against socialists and the workers movement with infinitely greater ferocity. (As a result of protests by the SP, *Republica* was reopened earlier this month.)

The most dramatic expression of the MFA's determination to preserve capitalist "law and order", however, came with the massive arrests of 500 militants of the left-Maoist Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletarian Party (MRPP), the largest political party in the country to the left of the PCP. In coordinated nationwide raids before dawn on May 29, troops of the Continental Operations Command (COPCON) -- an elite unit of shock troops loyal to the leftist leaders of the MFA -- struck at the central and neighborhood MRPP offices, arresting all present and confiscating files and equipment. The Maoist militants are currently being held at the same Caixas prison where many of them spent time as political prisoners under the Salazarist regime.

The military authorities have given several explanations for their action. One report speaks of MRPP "assassination plans", others speak of "criminal aggression against the public order" and still others raise the need to prevent embarrassing anti-NATO demonstrations planned for May 31 when US president Ford visited Spain. Clearly all of these are pretexts. The immediate cause of the arrests was the discovery, by militants of the MRPP and soldiers sympathetic to it, of evidence that an official in the general staff of the armed forces was involved in the counter-revolutionary attempted coup on March 11. After interrogating a suspect (a marine) for two days, the Movement turned him over to soldiers of the First Light Artillery Regiment (RAL-1), also known as the "red regiment" because of the influence of the MRPP among its soldiers. (RAL-1 was the object of the reactionaries' military action on March 11 and one of its soldiers was killed by the plotters.) The regiment set up a commission of inquiry to try the suspect, but COPCON forces arrived to take him away by force (*Le Monde*, 6 June).

There is in fact considerable unrest among the rank-and-file Portuguese soldiers and sailors, who are without influence in the MFA. Far from representing in any way a body similar to the soldiers' committees in the Russian Revolution, the Armed Forces Movement represents the officer corps of a bourgeois army. No amount of "leftist" or "socialist" rhetoric will change its character as a *bourgeois* formation. One of the principal tasks of revolutionaries in Portugal, as we have insisted for over a year, is the formation of *soldiers committees* as a step toward the destruction of this military arm of the capitalist class. This, in turn, requires a sharp struggle against the MFA which must seek above all to maintain discipline in the ranks -- its only source of power.

The tremendous popularity which this slogan could arouse was indicated by an incident last year when cadets at an infantry school in the town of Mafra saw the Russian film "Battleship Potemkin". Following the film they drew up a list of demands for better food, freedom of assembly and discussion; when eight of the militants were arrested, 400 of the cadets went on strike. The "Mafra revolt" was violently condemned by the MFA as "a veritable crime against the esprit de corps, the cohesion and discipline" of the armed forces (*Rouge*, 10 January). Unfortunately, the MRPP (which reportedly has influence in some army and navy units) has not attempted to organize such soldiers committees, but rather seeks to build only cells of its sympathizers in the military.

More generally, the MRPP has been under attack by the MFA leaders because it is one of the few groups to declare openly that the Armed Forces Movement is a bourgeois enemy of the working masses.

"The neo-revisionist grouplets, with their opportunist policy of 'being on the side of the MFA as long as the MFA sides with the people,' in addition to rejecting...the essence of Marxist theory -- namely the scientific theory of the state and the role of the bourgeois armed forces -- crawl on all fours in front of the 'progressive officers,' imploring them to provide leadership and reject...the Leninist thesis that the working class must exercise hegemony in the revolution." (*Luta Popular*, 23 May)

Compared to groups like the Socialist Left Movement (MES), which is constantly explaining in its press that its slogans really are 100 percent in line with the MFA's program (even when they aren't), or the "Trotskyist" LCI which has called on the "progressive" officers to join the workers, this clear statement is a breath of fresh air. The MRPP is one of the few groups whose militants have not been educated in cowardly grovelling before the MFA's threats. ■

Bob Gould and Jim Mulgrew — strange bedfellows

Lately the collaboration between Third World bookstore owner Bob Gould and the Socialist Labour League (SLL) has been demonstrated by Gould's pledge of a large sum of money to the SLL at one of Gerry Healy's "public" meetings and in a spate of mutual anti-Spartacist League hysteria. Gould and the SLL were not always so matey, and although Gould was sometimes very fawning, in the past the SLL has denounced Gould as a "petty-bourgeois parasite" and for "promiscuity with the capitalist press" (*Labour Press*, 21 August 1972). The denunciation was given a slant which is starting to become more familiar:

"However, a far more sinister customer for Gould's services is none other than ASIO and the Special Branch of the police force, even where no direct relationship exists between the two. The police can make good use of the sort of unprincipled gossip-mongery that individuals like Gould indulge in.... It is from such a serious standpoint that we must condemn those, like Gould, who if permitted would be garrulous informants to the capitalist class." (*Labour Press*, 21 August 1972)

Gould's former unpopularity with the SLL was connected with their puritanism. The SLL's refusal to fight the special oppression of women and reactionary bourgeois sexual mores was, according to reports, highlighted by the blatantly sexist attitudes shown by Gerry Healy at his first public meeting in Sydney, including the patronising reference to a woman questioner as a "little girl" and his admission that homosexuals are explicitly barred from leading bodies of the WRP on the grounds that they are susceptible to police pressure. Gould, whose Goulburn St shop in Sydney contains a wide variety of left-wing literature -- usually "displayed" in a manner which defies finding anything -- has been attacked from this moralising petty-bourgeois standpoint for the prominent display of pornography also to be found in his shops:

"Anything in fact but Marxism! And yet this up and coming entrepreneur has the gall to masquerade himself and his porn palours as being centres of Trotskyism! *Labour Press* challenges Gould to defend himself on charges of cynically using youth to build a petty-bourgeois bookshop empire. The weight of evidence against Gould is overwhelming. *With the introduction of sales of Ribald*, an anti-socialist gutter rag, *Gould passes openly into the camp of the bourgeoisie*. It is for these reasons that the SLL refuses to have our paper sold in his ever expanding chain of shops. If Gould can reply, we challenge him to do so in our columns." ("The 101 Positions of

Third World bookstore boss, Bob Gould (pictured at Healy's 8 June "public" meeting), cements his alliance with the SLL by excluding Spartacist literature from his shops.

Bob Gould", *Labour Press*, 9 May 1972) (emphasis added)

Now however it seems that all is forgiven and the SLL willingly accepts the profits of this "cynical" "bourgeois" exploiter of "youth", purveyor of porn, and "garrulous informant" of the class enemy and its repressive agencies. In return Gould has joined the SLL in its slanders of the Spartacist League, even adding a few embellishments of his own. Though apparently the SLL still finds Gould's "porn parlour" too defiling for their paper sales they were able to stoop far enough to use it as the major outlet in Sydney for tickets to Healy's "public" meetings. Gould and the SLL intended to vet everyone who bought tickets by asking them if they were Spartacists, and some of our members were refused, but there was evidently some break in the chain of command as one member of the Spartacist League, Inga S, was sold six tickets without being questioned beforehand. We obtained further tickets from non-members interested in supporting our right to attend "public" meetings. Gould claims our report that we obtained tickets from the Third World bookstore is a "slander".

As punishment for the SL's truthfulness, Gould has ruled that no more Spartacist literature will be carried in his bookstores. Whether this is a token demanded by Mulgrew or Gould's own initiative, it is an act of cowardly political censorship, fully consonant with the opportunism of both. The whole business shows that the "petty bourgeois parasite" Gould and the "working-class leader" Mulgrew are, after all, well-matched.

[*Australasian Spartacist* can be purchased at the International Bookshop in Melbourne (17 Elizabeth Street) and at the Intervention Bookshop in Sydney (4 Dixon Street).]



ASP



Socialist Party supporters watch troops expel printers from *Repubblica* paper offices after first CP-led printers' occupation in May.

Consequently it is frequently denounced by more "mainstream" Maoists (eg, the *Guardian's* Wilfred Burchett) for sectarianism (*Guardian*, 30 April). To be sure, the MRPP is indeed sectarian (refusing to undertake joint demonstrations with other left groups, even in their own defense) and has engaged in many adventurist actions (such as kidnapping soldiers being sent to Africa last May). But the MRPP draws the ire of the *Guardian* at bottom, not for its mistakes, but for its leftist impulse to oppose the bourgeois MFA. And that is more than one can say of most of the Portuguese "far left".

But while the Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletarian Party is quite left within the Maoist spectrum -- particularly these days, as these erstwhile "left" opponents of the pro-Moscow Stalinists dutifully fall into line behind NATO -- it has nonetheless failed entirely to break with its Stalinist heritage. (The MRPP is, in fact, aggressively pro-Stalin, denying that he ever made *any* mistakes.) It claims that "revolution is on the order of the day" and the "dominant class is now unable to govern", but at the same time "the working class is not yet in a condition to take power".

"In the case of Portugal, the actual phase of the revolution is the Democratic and Popular Revolution and not, as the Trotskyists and other opportunists would have it, already the phase of socialist revolution." (*Luta Popular*, 6 June 1974)

With this line, the MRPP *cannot* provide a clear class opposition to the MFA. It is constrained by the "logic" of its politics to look for an alternative alliance with bourgeois forces for the first stage of the two-stage revolution. And while it is looking in vain, the lash of counterrevolution will fall on it and the class-conscious workers it *refuses* to organize for proletarian revolution. This is the road to abject defeat, comrades.

There are a number of right-Maoist groups in Portugal, among them the Party of Popular Unity (PUP) and the Popular Democratic Union (UDP), an electoral bloc of three smaller groups. Both the PUP and UDP campaign exclusively on "democratic" slogans, favor a broad unity for "Marxist-Leninists" and in general are in no way to the left of the Moscow-line Stalinists. Typical of the attitude of the right-Maoists toward the MFA was that taken by the UDP toward the pact endorsing the bonapartist role of the officers' movement. It was up to the MFA to choose: "... either you defend the interests of the proletariat fighting against the bourgeoisie or you defend the interests of capital fighting against the working masses.... Either you play on one side or another" (*Diario de Noticias*, 7 April).

The largest of the right-Maoist groups is the Portuguese Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (PCP-ML). Like the MRPP, the PCP-ML has run afoul of the MFA on several occasions, notably when several union leaders who are members of its labor front group, the Worker-Peasant Alliance (AOC), were arrested by COPCON troops in early March. The AOC was also thrown off the ballot in the April elections by the officers. Its reaction, however, has been exactly the opposite of the MRPP. In the elections the PCP-ML called for a vote to the social-democratic SP, and shortly afterwards the AOC, in a cravenly class-collaborationist move, announced it would request that the MFA let it sign the pact (*Diario de Noticias*, 28 April)!

Another key issue in Portugal is the question of NATO. All the Maoist groups in one way or another denounce NATO, this being necessary in order to maintain any kind of credibility with the masses. The attitude of the Maoist bureaucracy in Peking is quite different, however. "We support the efforts of West European countries to get united in this struggle" against "superpower control" said Chou En-lai to the Chinese National People's Congress earlier this year (*New York Times*, 8 February).

In Portugal the group which has hewed most closely to this Chinese line of de facto support for NATO is the PCP-ML, which states: "German imperialism is interested in guaranteeing that Portugal does not fall into the social-imperialist camp. And here the working class has interests which coincide with those of German imperialism..." (*Unidade Popular*, 16 January 1975). This is interesting in light of the recent trip to China by leaders of the MRPP and the PCP-ML, to negotiate over who should get the official Maoist franchise for Portugal. Apparently the PCP-ML got the nod, for *Hsinhua Weekly* of 19 May reprints excerpts from *Unidade Popular* which "urges the European countries and people to get prepared against a war powers may unleash". This is the first time that the Chinese have mentioned any Portuguese group in their news agency dispatches.

The Portuguese Maoists are caught in a dead-end. Every move to the left of the PCP must bring them into conflict with the Armed Forces Movement. The MRPP responds with impotent adventurism and sectarianism; the PCP-ML and the rest of the right-Maoist coterie respond by capitulating to the MFA's threats. Neither are able to mobilize the mass of the militant workers around their class interests because this does not fit into the class-collaborationist schema of "popular-democratic revolution".

The Maoists can denounce the MFA as a representative of imperialist interests, but so long

CONTINUED FROM PAGE THREE

... Healyite slanders

We received no reply to this letter whatever, its veracity evidently believed unchallengeable. Since that letter, at least up until the time of Gerry Healy's arrival in Australia a week ago, members of the SLL have been more careful. However, when the SLL had a literature table in front of the Sydney University library on 3 June, the day after the meeting at the Teachers Federation Building, Joel S, a member of the Spartacist League tried to engage Adrian F, a senior member of the SLL, in political debate. Adrian F said "If you don't settle down and get away, we'll job you."

A resurgence of such threats and indeed the

CONTINUED FROM PAGE SIX

... SLL frame-up

Later the FBI abandoned all attempts to provoke the minority factions and concentrated on the majority faction leadership (see Figure 5). The FBI smugly congratulated itself over the resulting "Old Timer" letter to Dobbs in at least four of the documents after the RT was expelled at the end of 1963, claiming partial credit. Yet in none of the documents is any *actual* letter such as the vetoed suggestion of 19 April 1963 ever mentioned. In particular, there is a Memo dated 15 April 1964, evaluating the SWP disruption program, citing its "successes" and recommending its continuance, which does not mention Robertson at all but claims that the expulsions were partially the result of the "Old Timer" letter to Dobbs. At no time did the FBI attribute the expulsion of the RT to any material of any description sent to Robertson.

Of course it would be absurd to agree with the FBI that the "Old Timer" letter had anything to do with the expulsions. There is ample evidence that the SWP leadership was eager to get rid of the RT anyway. The fact that the FBI convinced itself that it had played a decisive role is instructive of the amount of credibility that can be given to similar judgements of their effects on Robertson and Wohlforth: there is a large element of self-aggrandizing distortion and self-praise (an index of the corrupt mentality of cops). Equally distorted is the FBI's view (see Figure 2) that Wohlforth best served their purposes by remaining in the SWP, saying that:

"He has not openly attacked the leadership in recent months, preferring to maneuver in secret. As an example, WOHLFORTH recently spent a week in England conferring with an ally, JERRY [sic] HEALY...."

The SLL prates about upholding "democratic centralism" as a defence against cop penetration and provocation. But this makes its mudslinging charges against other organisations of "harbouring cops" all the more ridiculous. The WRP and

as they are tied to the interests of the parasitic bureaucracy which commands the Chinese deformed workers state, they will be unable to separate themselves from the imperialists. To take a simple case in point: not one Portuguese Maoist organization has demanded independence for the colony of Macao. The reason is simple: when MFA officials visited Peking last month, the Chinese *opposed* the return of this center of the international opium trade to China, just as they have consistently favored the maintenance of the British "crown colony" of Hong Kong. Submitting to the dictates of such narrow, nationalist bureaucracies means to renounce all pretense of proletarian internationalism.

To find a way out of this dead-end, aspiring revolutionists among the Maoist groups must directly confront the Trotskyist bogey they fear so much. Without the Trotskyist perspective for proletarian revolution they cannot hope to prepare class-conscious workers to defeat the attacks by the military.

-- Down with Press Censorship! Down with the Anti-Strike Law! Down with the Trade-Union Regulation Law! Down with the Anti-Democratic Laws of Associations and Parties!

-- Immediate Independence for Angola! Portugal Out of NATO!

-- For the Formation of Democratically Elected Factory Committees! For Soldiers Committees in the Army and Navy! Toward a National Council of Workers Commissions, Factory Committees and Soldiers Committees!

-- Expropriate Industry, Finance and Large Landholdings -- No Compensation!

-- Break with the Bourgeois Parties and the MFA -- For a PCP/SP Government! Toward a Workers Government Based on Democratically Elected Workers Councils (Soviets)!

-- Break with Maoist Class Collaboration! Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

carrying out of such threats would be entirely in accord with the IC's development of an argument that any political difference with the Healyites necessarily emanates from outside the workers movement.

"Not only must we reject but also mercilessly destroy the use of repression, slander, and physical methods in the struggle of the different groups and factions inside the workers' movement. These invidious methods have nothing in common with the arsenal of Communist education. Brought into the workers' movement during the last ten years by the Stalinist bureaucracy, they have poisoned the atmosphere of the proletarian vanguard, particularly among the youth, and isolated the organizations from the broad working masses." (Leon Trotsky, "Blind Obedience, Revolutionary Discipline, and the Youth", 10 April 1933, *Writings [1932-33]*) ■

SLL, whose posturing as mass parties merely makes them look silly, have *lower* standards of recruitment than most left-wing organisations. The SLL/YS in Australia tries to recruit apolitical youth on the basis of Kung Fu films, barbecues and football. The WRP joins people up who attend a single WRP election rally. This opportunism, coupled with their sectarianism, gangsterism, and bureaucratic internal regime, makes it easier for provocateurs not required to exhibit political understanding and not compelled to take part in honest political debate to deceive and victimise the Healyites.

The best way to ferret out provocateurs and fight police penetration is not promiscuous cop-baiting of anyone, but an internal regime of "seething democracy", as Lenin's Bolshevik Party was described, coupled with a rigorously disciplined and *political* external face. A witch-hunting internal atmosphere with everyone who raises differences under suspicion as a cop is not "vigilance" but the best possible climate for police agents. The Cointelpro papers show that the FBI systematically sought to sabotage *open political struggle*, trying to precipitate expulsions and encourage bureaucratic measures by the leadership. If anyone contributed to creating a bureaucratic purge atmosphere in the SWP in 1963, it was Wohlforth and Mazelis, with their false accusations against the RT of a split perspective and handing Dobbs a pretext for expulsions, and not Robertson. The Healyites' current smear campaigns can only have a similar effect. The SLL's dirty little Stalinist frame-up attempt against the Spartacist League is the best condemnation of Healy, Mulgrew, Mazelis and their ilk. ■

corrections

The SLL's report of its debate with the CPA is in the 11 April 1974 *Workers News*, not 1975 as stated in "Pabloists debate Portugal", *ASp* no 20.

In the original roneoed "Reply to Healyite Slanders", p 2 "United Secretariat of the Fourth International (reprinted in Australia by ...)" should read "... (represented ...)". ■

Violence . . .

people going to the meeting were clearly able to walk into the Trades Hall without being obstructed." (*Direct Action*, 26 June 1975)

- (5) "One member admitted they were causing an obstruction by saying that they would move only when asked to do so by the caretaker." (*Workers News*)

The SL comrade's statement was, of course, an attempt to *avoid* the confrontation which by that time the SLL had clearly decided on. If not, why then did Mulgrew *refuse* the offer to have the matter arbitrated by an official who, after all, would be more likely to favour the clients of Trades Hall than the Spartacists on the outside?

- (6) "After at least five requests to move, one Spartacist League member was taken by the arm and led away from the doorway. This was the occasion for a rush against the stewards by Spartacist members during which they engaged in hair pulling and clutching at genitals [!]. This was the reason for the fracas and scuffles outside the hall as stewards took action to clear the door and defend themselves."

Here *Workers News*' lies descend to the cheap sensationalism of the worst gutter bourgeois press (with which after all it is trying to compete). The purpose of such pure inventions is to obscure one essential fact: *that it was the SLL which initiated the violence.* No SL member stood in front of the door at all. Again, let us see what other witnesses say:

"When a break occurred in the flow of people going in to hear the talk, the assault began. Jim Mulgrew, the national secretary of the SLL, was seen to walk up to the inside of the glass door at the top of the Trades Hall steps and point toward the Spartacists standing on the steps. The group of people around Mulgrew immediately went into action and began to muscle the Spartacists off the steps. When the Spartacists resisted, the SLL goons started punching them." (*Direct Action*, 26 June 1975)

"At Healy's June 16 Sydney Trades Hall 'public' meeting SLL members provoked an incident outside the Trades Hall, on the steps leading in from the street, when they forcibly tried to remove two Spartacists leafleting the meeting. When the Spartacists protested that they were not in any way an obstruction and defended their right to remain, they were attacked and a punching brawl erupted as other people went to their defence." (Letter by Steve Haran, *Tribune*, 24 June 1975)

- (7) "We know that this provocation was planned and prepared. During the week prior to the meeting the Spartacist League attempted to book a room in the Trades Hall, not to hold a meeting of their own, which they never do, but for the specific purpose of gaining access to building [sic] so that they could stage a disruption at the entrance of our meeting." (*Workers News*)

The SL did seek permission from the Trades Hall Association to sell and distribute literature in the corridor of Trades Hall. And when refused we did inquire about the possibility of booking a room. One would think, as they are so concerned with preventing police intervention at their meetings, the SLL might be able to work out our motives in this. One would think they would have preferred that the salesmen outside their meetings were *inside* Trades Hall building rather than on the street where police observation is inevitable. But as *Workers News* fails to mention, the SLL's own decision to have the SL removed from Trades Hall at a previous meeting shows quite plainly that their overriding concern was to somehow bureaucratically suppress the political criticism made by the SL and that they couldn't care less about the cops.

As for never holding meetings of our own, this is a *stupid* lie. The last public meeting the SL held in Sydney was on 24 April at Sydney University, and it was attended by none other than Mulgrew and *Workers News* editor Nick Beams! At that meeting Mulgrew expressed a typical contempt for workers' democracy with repeated and noisy interjections, but without succeeding in disrupting the proceedings:

- (8) "During Comrade Healy's visit the police have been attracted to our meetings on two occasions. The first time was as a result of the antics of the Spartacist League at his first meeting. The second was last Monday. We have held numerous meetings both in Sydney and in other cities. The only occasions on which the police have attended is when the Spartacists set out to create disturbances." (*Workers News*)

The SLL must learn to take responsibility for its own political cowardice in keeping the SL out of its "public" meetings. It was not the SLL which

was laid open to police persecution but those, including supporters of the SWL and SL, who were outside on the footpath. The SLL sets its opponents up for state persecution, then has the criminal effrontery to accuse the SL of bringing state intervention against the SLL! (See the SL Statement for details.)

- (9) "Apparently this middle class hysteria is spreading to the Pabloite Socialist Workers League as one of their members joined Spartacist League members in discussions with the police. If the Pabloites, who themselves have had occasion to ban the Spartacists from their meetings because of disruption, now wish to make common cause with them, and join their anti-communism, then that is their right." (*Workers News*)

Certainly the crime cannot have been in simply talking to the cop: after all, *it was the SLL leaders whom the cop spoke to first!* For the record, after emerging from his Trades Hall confab with the SLL, the cop insisted on speaking to the leader of the Spartacist team, who requested representatives of the other tendencies present to witness the discussion (in which the cops made their threat to arrest everyone on the pavement).

The pious words of Allen Myers of the SWL about workers' democracy -- "a party that is really convinced of the superiority of its own strategy ought to be the most firm defender of workers' democracy" (SWL pamphlet, *Healy vs Marxism: The Case History of a Sect*, p 37) -- certainly ring hollow in the light of the SWL's cowardly exclusion of SL members and even SL contacts from their own forums. Recently the SWP (US mentor of the SWL) has resorted to physical assault and sordid slander to defend its political exclusion of the SLUS from its forums. The behaviour of the SWP prompted several of its long-standing supporters to protest its attack on workers' democracy (*Workers Vanguard* no 68, 9 May 1975; no 69, 23 May 1975; no 70, 6 June 1975). The SL has no illusions that the neo-Kautskyst SWL adheres to the principles of workers' democracy, but on the 16 June SLL goon attack the SWL has taken a proper stand. Its account of what happened is a separate independent verification of our press statement precisely because they have a record of hostility to the SL as well as the SLL.

- (10) "We will conduct our meetings in an orderly fashion but we will take whatever action is necessary to defend our members and our activities from Spartacist disruption and provocation." (*Workers News*)

The real, sinister meaning of this declaration is as a threat of further violence if the SL (or anyone else they see as sufficient threat) distributes literature or undertakes any other activity outside SLL/YS meetings.

- (11) "Because they attempt to appeal to the middle classes the Spartacist League tries



Cleveland, USA, 13 December 1973: Tim Wohlforth leads attack on SL supporters.

to drag in red herrings about democracy. We have excluded them from our meetings, that is all [!]. We do not prevent them from arguing their policies in the labour movement, or producing their so called paper. But we do exclude them from our [!] meetings. That is our right." (*Workers News*)

So the question of workers' democracy is a "middle-class" "red herring"! While the SLL's appeal to its bourgeois "rights" is not!

The SLL presumably does not intend to imply, as they do here, that their "public" meetings are outside the labour movement! But this self-contradiction only shows that the logic of their political exclusions is the suppression of SL politics in the labour movement as a whole. If they cannot openly defend their program at their own meetings and must resort to exclusion and violence, then they will necessarily use the same methods elsewhere when they get the chance.

Let's be serious, Mulgrew. The invitation to your "public" meetings in *Workers News* and posted up around Sydney was extended to "all trade unionists, housewives, youth and professional people". In future are you going to add -- "except members and supporters of the Spartacist League, and anyone who protests their exclusion, and in Melbourne all members of opponent organisations"?

- (12) "There is no need for us to create a 'line of blood', political explanation and a view of their [the SL's] antics is quite sufficient 'innoculation' for our members [against SL politics]." (*Workers News*)

Why then, Mulgrew, if Spartacist "antics" are so

Comment

Conversation with Terry Cook (SLW) outside the Mandell meeting

Cook approached me as I was unloading the literature table

He said "you know Ernie Tate"

I replied "yes"

Cook "There are people in our party who think that Tate shouldn't have just got his head bashed in but his intentions appear cut. There are people in our party who think you are worse than Tate and if you were gone the word you people wouldn't know what hit you. What happened to Tate would be nothing compared to what you got"

Comment "Is that what you call political argument"

Comment "What do you mean by saying we are provocateurs"

Cook walked off. When I had finished the lit table I pursued him and we argued about the SL's metal trader, lawyer, the CPA would work with the Mandell

Our 23 September 1974 letter to the SLL/IC protested SLL leaders' violent threats against SL members. The SLL never replied; but now *Workers News* implies the charges are forged: "We can only ask who is writing provocative statements for the Spartacists...?" Above is the original handwritten report of SLer David Grumont on his conversation with Terry Cook quoted in our letter.

useful, do you go to such lengths to prevent your members and periphery from being exposed to Spartacist politics? Why must your "political explanation" always be where there are no Spartacists to explain and defend our politics? Why do you, at events such as May Day, even try to prevent your members from speaking to the SL?

(13) "But their [the SL's] accusations against an SLL member over his alleged remarks over the Tate affair [See "Reply to Healyite Slanders", page two], raise even more questions.... But here we have not just *distortion* but the *manufacture* of five lines of dialogue. We can only ask who is writing provocative statements for the Spartacists which they put into the mouths of our members? This latest outburst is only further confirmation of the warnings that we have made about their role."

Workers News hopes to cover up the hooliganism of its leading members by vile insinuation. *Workers News* itself does not bother to say what specific charges the SL has made, nor does it deny the outbursts of Jim Mulgrew and Adrian F we detailed. Why, if our charges against SLL Central Committee member Terry Cook are complete fabrications, did the SLL not immediately repudiate the charges we made in our letter of 23 September 1974 -- which the Healyites never answered, even though it was sent to representatives of the Spartacist tendency and to the IC *internationally*, and said that the charges would be published to the wider labour movement if such gangsterism continued? For eight months the IC and SLL did not bother to reply at all! A strange silence indeed for people so sensitive to the "security question" and to the danger of "provocations"! The SL in fact acted in a fully responsible manner. The SLL had ample opportunity to repudiate the statements quoted before they were published. As for the source of the quote from Cook, a photocopy of the original statement made by comrade Dave Grumont at the time, from which the 23 September letter quotes, is included in this issue of *Australasian Spartacist* (page ten).

Violence and exclusionism go hand in glove with the rest of the SLL/WRP "method": slander, sectarian posturing and abstentionism, mystical obscurantist appeals to "dialectical" "method" and lately "security" to hide programmatic issues, crisis mongering as an excuse to abandon the Transitional Program, a Stalinist organisational regime, and the resort to the class enemy's courts and cops against opponents in the workers movement. A bolshevik vanguard party cannot be constructed on the foundation of such political banditry. The SLL/WRP's criminal contempt for the principle of workers' democracy and simple truth is a measure of the chasm separating them from Trotskyism. ■

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

... SLL Violence

entrance or deliberately misled the cops to think so, setting up the SL for persecution by the class enemy. That is, the SLL uses the cops against its opponents within the workers movement and yet has the cynical hypocrisy to smear these same opponents as "objectively" agents of the cops!

The SLANZ, part of the international Spartacist tendency, adheres to the revolutionary program and tradition of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. It was Trotsky who wrote:

"Not only must we reject but also mercilessly destroy the use of repression, slander, and physical methods in the struggle of the different groups and factions inside the workers' movement. These invidious methods have nothing in common with the arsenal of Communist education."
(Leon Trotsky, *Writings*, 1932-33).

The Spartacist League calls on the workers movement in Australia and internationally to condemn in the strongest terms the SLL-WRP gangsterism, and to take steps to prevent its continuation. The SL has consistently defended workers' democracy and actively opposed gangsterism against other tendencies (such as the recent assaults on the SWL members in Melbourne by the Maoists of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)) in spite of extreme political differences with the tendencies under attack. Only through such a principled response can the poison of gangsterism and slander be purged from the workers movement. The SLL's thuggery is not only dangerous but futile; we will not be intimidated by the recent attack any more than by the SLL's previous, explicitly violent verbal threats. The SLL/WRP record of thuggery -- beginning in 1966 in London with the brutal beating of Ernie Tate, at the instigation of Healy -- condemns this tendency as the most despicable of political cowards, bereft of principles and utterly bankrupt. Their fraudulent claim to be Trotskyist is nothing but a base insult to the revolutionary heritage of Trotskyism.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE FIVE

Facts . . .

serious, hard concrete evidence. Unless such evidence exists, an "investigation" of someone in the workers movement based on unfounded suspicions can only for no reason impugn the character of the individual concerned, divert the class struggle, and lead to a witchhunting atmosphere that will be utilised by the enemies of the revolution. No matter how repugnant the dishonest and treacherous reformism pushed by Hansen, he *must* be defended against character assassination which prevents his *political* exposure as a reformist fraud and a renegade from Trotskyism, and which would in fact only give him a means of diverting that struggle. And the grounds given by Beams for such charges against Hansen are transparently absurd and even frivolous.

He says Hansen is "suspect" as a police agent for two reasons.

(1) "Although Hansen was head of the guards at Trotsky's headquarters in Mexico he has, apart from material of a brief descriptive nature, published nothing on the events surrounding the assassination. Nor have Hansen or any of the other SWP leaders anything to say about the penetration of the party by the GPU."

That is supposed to be *really* suspicious!

(2) "Despite the fact that Trotsky's widow, Natalia, called for an investigation into the death of her son, Hansen refused to carry this out and when Zbrowski [real name of "Etienne", a GPU agent in the FI] came to the US to work as an academic in Harvard and then Berkeley universities, Hansen made no effort to expose him. Again we ask, why no investigation into the murder of Sedov, why the silence about Zbrowski?"

Well, it is just possible he didn't have much to add to the facts which are public knowledge through reports of testimony before the US Congress "House UnAmerican Activities Committee" or through, for example, Isaac Deutscher's biography of Trotsky (which deals with Trotsky's assassination, the role of "Etienne", etc in far more detail than anything Healy has ever written). Healy/Beams have nothing new to add to the facts which have been public knowledge for many years (some of which Healy in fact first learnt from us). And so we ask, why Hansen, why now? Wasn't Healy a Trotskyist when Trotsky was assassinated? *Why has Healy been silent about Hansen's "suspicious silence" for 35 years?*

The answer is not that Healy is "politically suspect". It is that Hansen's "suspicious silence" is absolutely *meaningless*, and Healy knows it. Yet based on this ridiculous nonsense Healy/Beams want to create suspicions that Hansen may be a police agent! The workers movement must thoroughly condemn this scurrilous, cynical, stupid, slanderous and criminally lightminded demagoguery!

"It is not us, but Joseph Hansen who have [sic] been making accusations about policemen and agents provocateurs" -- he did it first, whinges Beams, and the SL "overlooks this crucial point". It is unambiguously clear that these so-called accusations (in *Intercontinental Press*, 7 April 1975) are merely Hansen's lightminded and snide parody of previous charges by the Healyites that the USec group in Britain, the International Marxist Group (IMG), is decisively influenced by cop "manipulation" and that the IMG is *consciously* "covering-up for a police agent" (*Workers Press*, 6 March 1975). (See also *Workers Press*, 15 March 1975. For Hansen's reply to the allegations about his accusations see *Intercontinental Press*, 16 June 1975.) The Healyite allegations relate to the Red Lion Square anti-fascist demonstration in London on 15 June 1975 where a student, Kevin Gately, was killed by the police, and the subsequent Scarman Tribunal report which whitewashed the police role. (For a

Marxist analysis of the Red Lion Square events see "Fascism: How Not to Fight It", *Workers Vanguard* no 70, 6 June 1975.) Whatever else may be said about the case, the WRP's cop-baiting of the IMG (there is no evidence that there are any more police agents in the IMG than in the WRP) is unsubstantiated and inexcusable, designed to obfuscate the *political* questions (both the IMG's substitutionist confrontationism and the WRP's sectarian abstentionism).

Healy has by now established a clear pattern of simply accusing his political opponents of being cops, or of implying that they are. Wohlforth, Thornett, the IMG, Hansen, sometimes the entire SWP leadership, Robertson, have all been "linked" to the CIA or FBI by Healy on the flimsiest of pretexts or by actually fabricating "evidence". Strangely enough, they are all people who have been or are in direct political conflict with Healy, and most (including Pennington of the IMG) have been at one time political collaborators of Healy. The whining about Hansen's sick joke is simply a transparently crude device to obscure this pattern, a pattern which complements and is intrinsically linked to patterns of physical gangsterism and organisational sectarianism. It is evidence of political impotence and internal contradiction, symptomatic of an advanced *centrist* (but not "ultraleftist", as the Pabloists charge) disease.

For Beams, Spartacist complicity with Hansen is demonstrated by our description of Max Wechsler as, to use our original words, "an ASIO hireling (subsequently established to be mentally unstable) who spent some time in the Melbourne branch of the SWL". Spartacist, says Beams, backs up Hansen "by dismissing Wechsler as a mentally unstable agent who merely 'spent some time in the SWL ranks' [again Beams misquotes!]". What are the facts? (1) A variety of evidence and testimony (eg *Nation Review*, 28 February - 6 March 1975; *Tribune*, 4 March 1975) establishes Wechsler's eccentricity, to say the least. (2) Wechsler is now reported to be in a Queensland mental institution (*Tribune*, 6 May 1975). (3) The SLL itself earlier referred to Wechsler as "one rather deranged ASIO agent" (*Workers News*, 13 March 1975)! But shrieks Beams, Wechsler did not merely spend "some time in the SWL ranks" but "had access to information concerning the leadership of the SWL" (most people do who spend twelve months in the SWL). Beams not only accepts at face value some of the wild fantasies included in Wechsler's *Sunday Observer* "revelations" but improves the story by promoting Wechsler from a member of the Melbourne SWL branch executive to the minutes secretary of the SWL *national* executive, a body that does not exist (as the SLL knows)!

What the Wechsler case does demonstrate is not only how dangerous, unscrupulous, and implacably hostile the political police of the bourgeois state are to all those who they see as the slightest threat to the capitalist order, even when they are blundering enough (or cynical enough) to rely on the questionable reports of dubious elements like Wechsler. It is not the first time, and not the last, that such sneaking scum have succeeded in penetrating left-wing, radical and labour organisations. When they are discovered, it is absolutely necessary to expose them and their masters before the working-class public, to expose the hypocrisy of bourgeois-democratic "freedoms", etc. But it is also essential to keep one's head, *not* crying wolf at every shadow, but exercising careful, calm vigilance. Above all, it is the *duty* of everyone in the labour movement to refrain from irresponsible, demagogic, speculative charges and insinuations which set a shoddy and spurious self-aggrandizement above the interests of the working class. Police agents are always among the first to cry "cop". The FBI/CIA and their poor cousin, ASIO, can gain the *maximum* benefit, and the best climate for their sinister machinations, from a situation in which mutual suspicion among leftists and workers prevents true political clarification and honest political debate. It is such a situation which the SLL's contemptible calumnies help ASIO to create. ■

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SLL "answer" to Trotskyist criticism

Violence and wild lies

The Socialist Labour League, desperate to cover up its despicable and cowardly gangsterism (described in the Spartacist League Statement published on page one of this issue of *ASP*), have produced in *Workers News* (17 June 1975) an utterly false report of the events. Like Stalin's lies about Trotsky, the SLL's "explanation" is the smelly product of political bankrupts incapable of politically defending their policies and actions. In the interests of truth, of proving the SLL a pack of inveterate liars, and of upholding the principled reputation of the SL against all possible derogation, we will once and for all refute every point of the SLL's "case".

- (1) "During the visit of Comrade Gerry Healy to Australia, the frenzied hostility of the so called [?] Spartacist League to the revolutionary movement [?] has reached a new fever pitch." (*Workers News*)

The Spartacist League is hostile to the SLL, but there is nothing new about that. Ours is a political hostility based on a Marxist understanding of the SLL as an organisation of centrist political bandits which, if it ever were to attain any real influence in the working class, would carry out betrayals with the most monstrous consequences. But because the SLL is a part (even though small) of the workers movement claiming to be revolutionary and Trotskyist, and is able to fool some subjectively revolutionary militants, as part of the struggle for a Leninist party in Australia and the reforging of the Fourth International the SL seeks every opportunity to argue with members and supporters of the SLL and to expose the SLL's politics before serious militants. It is this that the SLL leadership, headed by Jim

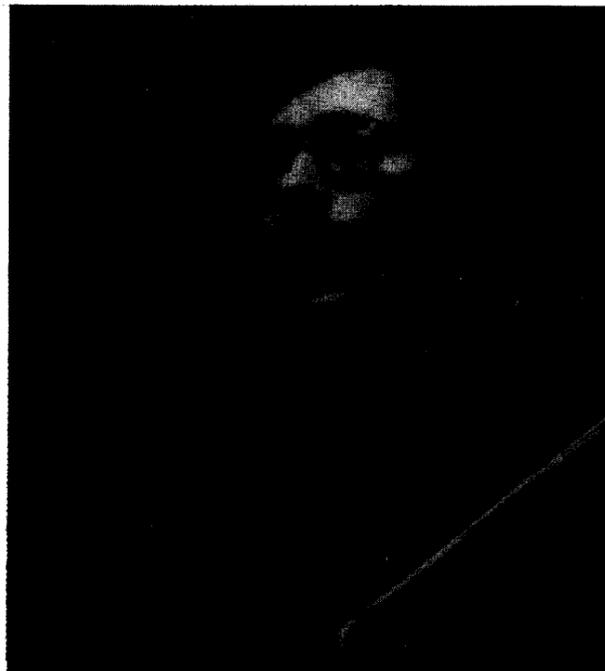
Mulgrew, its National Secretary, fears in the knowledge that their Trotskyist pretensions will not forever withstand Marxist criticism.

- (2) "At Comrade Healy's last public appearance in Sydney, on Monday, this gang of provocateurs succeeded in creating a series of scuffles outside the Trades Hall." (*Workers News*)

Our press statement provides an accurate account of the incident, and other essentially accurate accounts have been published in *Direct Action* and in a letter to *Tribune* (by a comrade whose previous letters to *Tribune* show him to be a left critic of Stalinism). The reference to us as a "gang of provocateurs" (ie, police agents) is a dangerous and insidious charge, thrown around wildly and without evidence.

One test of the SLL's charges is to look at the record of both tendencies. Internationally the Healyites have earned a well-deserved reputation for gangsterism against their opponents on the left, including the notorious beating of Ernie Tate in 1966; the attack led by then Workers League National Secretary Tim Wohlforth on Spartacist supporters in Cleveland on 13 December 1973 (*Workers Vanguard* no 35, 4 January 1974); and recently the British Healyites' (WRP) goon attack on members of the International Marxist Group (see below). In Australia the SWL has reported a previous incident of SLL gangsterism (*Direct Action*, 28 June 1973), not publicly contested in the SLL's paper (then called *Labour Press*).

In contrast stands the international Spartacist tendency's record, as acknowledged even by our opponents. The pamphlet "Spartacist League:



Jim Mulgrew at SWL/CPA Portugal debate, 23 May: tried to disrupt the meeting. ASP

Anatomy of a Sect" published by the Canadian Revolutionary Marxist Group (which supports the majority faction of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International), intended to be a comprehensive political critique of Spartacist politics, concedes that the Spartacist tendency has

"established a generally commendable record of support for other left tendencies under attack from the bourgeois state and have refrained from the use of violence against other left groupings (itself not a minor achievement in light of the record of most other left formations in the US)."

- (3) "The Spartacist League have [sic] been excluded from all our meetings for a period of more than two years because of their consistent campaign of provocation and disruption against our activities." (*Workers News*)

To be precise the SL has been excluded from the SLL's "public" meetings since one held on 26 January 1973, the only one SL supporters in Australia have ever been allowed to attend. And actually the SLL attempted to exclude us even from this meeting -- we were admitted only after members of the Communist League present protested against this totally unjustified bureaucratic political exclusion. Subsequently the SLL has used the myth that at the meeting the two Spartacists present were "disruptive" in order to justify our exclusion. But the disruptions never occurred! (See *Australasian Spartacist* no 6, March 1974 and no 8, May 1974 for details).

The allegation that the SLL's exclusions are based on "disruption" by the SL is proven ridiculous by the fact that on the occasion of Healy's visit it was not just the SL that was excluded. At least two members of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) were excluded without explanation (though it is significant that both had protested the exclusion of the SL at earlier meetings). In Melbourne on 12 June, not only Spartacist members and supporters but also members of the SWL, CL and the Socialist Workers Action Group, as well as one unaffiliated individual leftist, were kept out.

- (4) "Upon arriving at the hall for the meeting last Monday stewards found the entrance blocked by some 15 or so members of the Spartacist League. Not content with distributing their anti-communist literature and waving their banners they were blocking the doorway and preventing people from entering." (*Workers News*)

In fact, as least two SLL "stewards" were stationed at the door of Trades Hall by the time the first Spartacists arrived. It is a complete fabrication to claim that the SL (or anyone else apart from the SLL "stewards") blocked the door or that anyone was hindered from entering the meeting, as independent testimony confirms:

"It was obvious to all who were there that

Continued on page ten

Healyite gangsterism in Britain IMG attacked

Red Weekly (12 June 1975), the paper of the centrist International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International", contains two letters sent to the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP), led by Gerry Healy and fraternal party to the SLL, protesting the physical assault on two IMG members by WRP members, including a WRP leader, Michael Banda.

The IMG letters allege that after a WRP public meeting on the Common Market at Basingstoke on 22 May the two IMGers were attacked while selling *Red Weekly* outside the meeting place, having their newspapers forcibly taken from them and destroyed. According to the IMG letters, the two IMGers had attended the meeting, speaking in the discussion period in favour of organisations like the WRP and the IMG forming a "united front" against the Common Market. Banda is supposed to have unleashed a "flood of slanders against the IMG", and to have "boasted of having ejected IMG members from other WRP meetings and advised our members to leave the hall".

The *Workers Press* (17 June 1975) reply, typically entitled "IMG Provocation Unmasked", while claiming that the "IMG has fabricated another lying attack" on the WRP, does not deny that the violence occurred and indeed tries to justify it. In the WRP's version "some IMG members insinuated [?] themselves into the meeting to stage a provocation, invite police interference and prevent the WRP from holding meetings in the town centre". According to *Workers Press* the IMG "provocation" was staged in the following manner:

"When the meeting was over [!] they produced copies of their rag inside the hall (not outside, as the 'Red Weekly' lyingly says) in order to stage an incident. They were asked to leave repeatedly. They refused to go and were evicted.

"They then charged back into the hall attacking our party members. They were again thrown out."

It is not necessary to choose between the conflicting reports to be quite clear at least that



Gerry Healy at Sydney Trades Hall, 8 June. ASP

the WRP believes simply being in possession of copies of an opponent organisation's paper after a WRP "public" meeting is "a calculated provocation", so grave as to excuse presumably disciplined members of the WRP allowing themselves to actually fall for the "provocation" and resort to violence and the forceable expulsion of the offenders! So much for the WRP's respect for workers' democracy!

Certainly the tendency to which the IMG belongs is not noted for its honesty (witness the Bala Tampoe case coverup, the main document of which was first produced by the IMG). But the parallel between the WRP's claims in Britain and the SLL's foul slanders of the SL in Australia is remarkable. Similar formulations, similar empty rationalisations and slanders, and similar vagueness about the facts. And it does seem unlikely that the IMG would deliberately set about staging a violent incident when it was according to all accounts clearly heavily outnumbered.

In both cases it is clear that the Healyites are guilty of resorting to and justifying flagrant breaches of workers' democracy. Gripped with sectarian cowardice (not unconnected to a touch of panic at challenges to their nearly insane self-exultation), the SLL/WRP can only answer their opponents with violence. We strongly denounce this further example of WRP/SLL thuggery. ■