

FBI Spies in the SWP



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

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

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

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

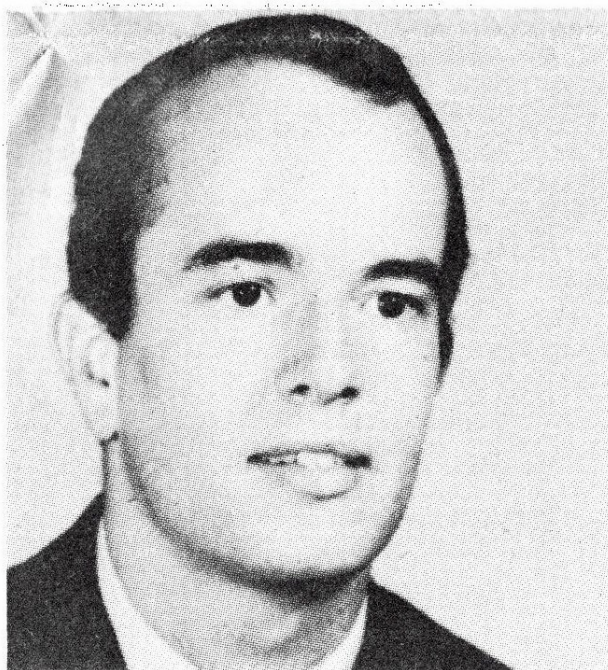
It is the nerve center of an international network of skilled and ruthless police spies such as Fausto Amador, the agent of ex-dictator Somoza, who was billed by 'Intercontinental Press' as "a leading Latin American Trotskyist." (November 27, 1977).

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

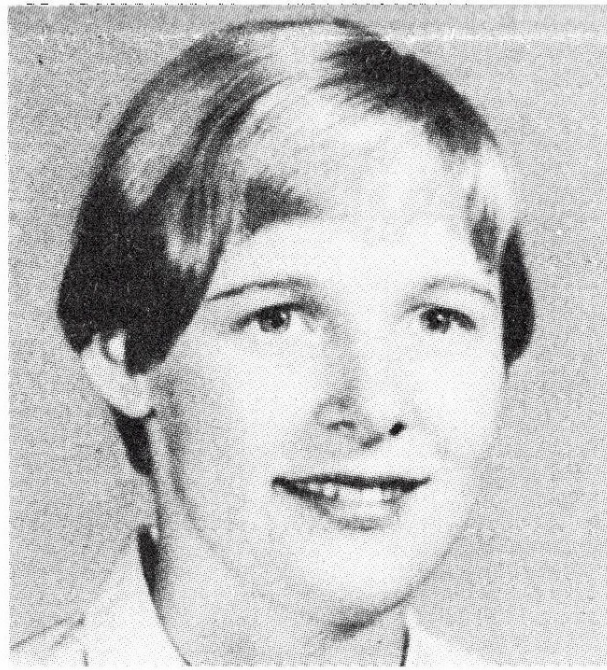
Simultaneously, the SWP has decided to drop its suit to uncover the names of hundreds of agents within its 'top offices' and membership in exchange for a cash settlement with the government.

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

THE STRANGE GROUP FROM CARLETON COLLEGE, MINNESOTA



JACK BARNES '61



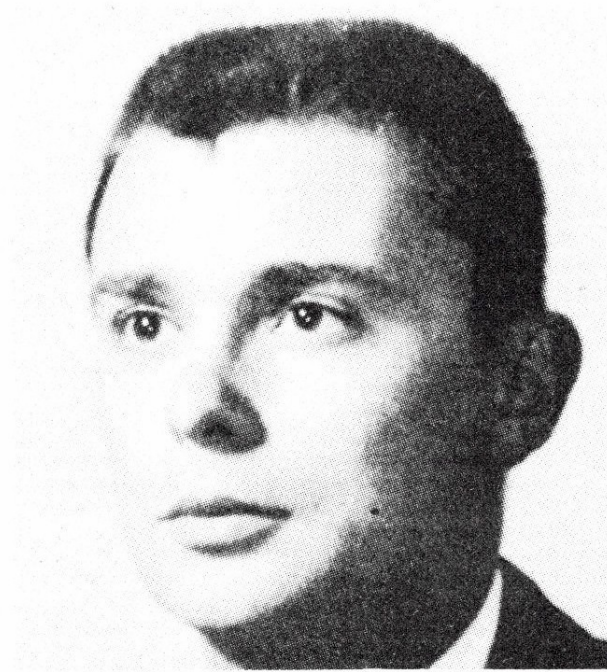
BETSY STONE '61



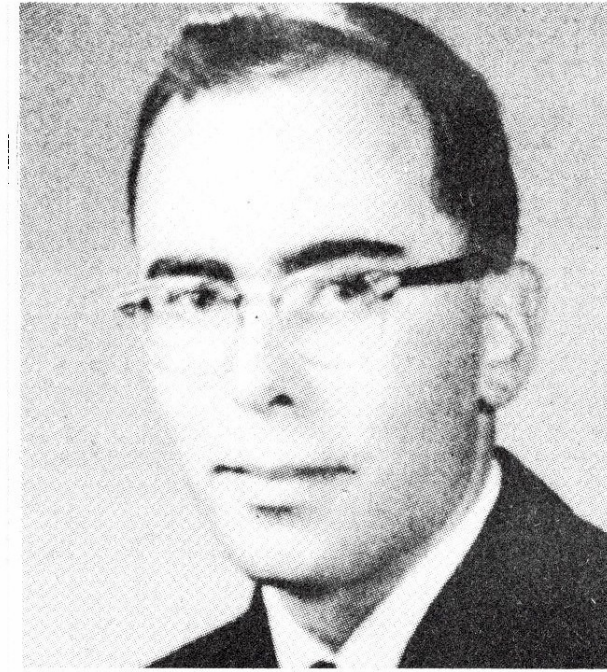
MARY - ALICE WATERS '63



DAN STYRON '63



JOHN BENSON '63



DOUG JENNESS '64

The Strange Group from C

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

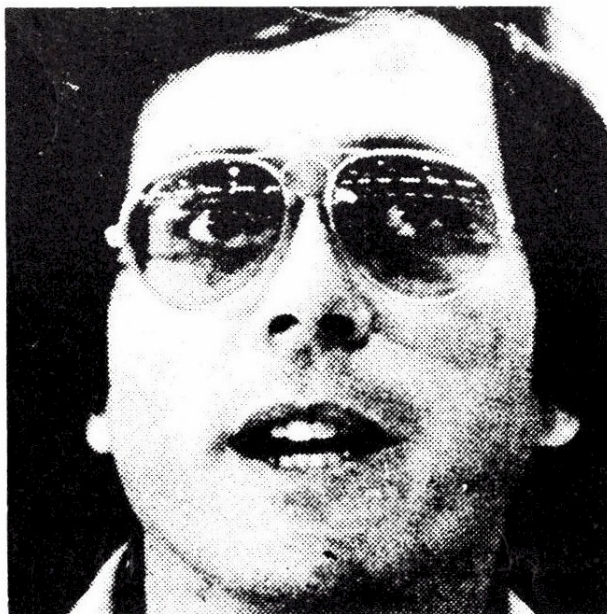


Cindy Jaquith, now associate editor of the *Militant*, from Carleton's class of '69.



Lawrence Gould, President of Carleton College, is from the school of world federalists along with Cord Meyer, Jr., the dean of CIA agents.

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



Larry Seigle — class of '66.

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

Applicants are primarily from bourgeois and well-off families who want their sons and daughters to 'get on in life' and to make the right connections. Each potential student is obliged to submit an autobiographical essay with his or her application form. These are studied by a staff of admissions officers who are skilled at spotting those who can be trusted to uphold 'the American way' and weeding out the 'undesirables'.

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

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

totalitarian collectivism'.

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

Our attention is now concentrated on a group of eleven people in the leadership of the SWP: Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters, Elizabeth Stone, John Benson, Doug Jenness, Caroline Lund, Larry Seigle, Barbara Matson, Cindy Jaquith, Dan Styron and Paul Eidsvik.

Leadership

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

Barnes is National Secretary of the SWP. Waters is editor of *Intercontinental Press* (replacing Hansen) and Jaquith is associate editor of the weekly *Militant*. In addition to being leaders of the

SWP, this group is the most hardline defender of the double agent Hansen and the architect of the sordid deal to accept US government money and halt all claims to the identity of the FBI agents in the SWP.

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

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

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

Jenness and Eidsvik belonged to the class of 1964.

Seigle, Matson and Lund belonged to the class of 1966.

Jaquith belonged to the class of 1969.

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

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

Who are these eleven people?

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

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

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

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

Report

In a recent report to the SWP National Committee, entitled "Forging the Leadership of the Proletarian Party" Mary-Alice Waters stated: "The membership of the SWP is roughly 42 percent female, but 33 percent of the National Committee is women. On the other hand, six or seven percent of party members are black but 26 percent of our National Committee is black. The Latino members make up about five percent of the party and about seven percent of the National Committee."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Joseph Hansen — FBI agent since 1940. His death made reorganization necessary.

Carleton College, Minnesota



Jack Barnes, the man who was to become the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, spent his senior year at Carleton College serving as a proctor.

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

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

'Organize'

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

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

The SWP Political Committee also established an international subcommittee which directs the activities of the SWP in the United Secretariat (which it, however, cannot join because of the reactionary Voorhis Act). This subcommittee which directs all of the international work of the SWP has five members.

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

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

And another crucial assignment — the handling of the SWP contacts with the Justice Department in negotiations over the settlement of the Political Rights Defense suit — was placed in the hands of Seigle. Under his guidance, the SWP has dropped its demand for the exposure of

the agents' files in return for money and has virtually abandoned the entire lawsuit.

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

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

Suspects

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

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

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

As every Marxist knows, the development of revolutionary leadership is bound up with the question of 'generations' and the historical and social experiences through which these generations pass. The impulse for the development of revolutionary fighters and Marxists is provided by the class struggle. Reflected in each individual leader are

problems associated with different periods in the class struggle and various layers within the working class and sections of the middle class. Leaders come forward in their development not as individuals but as an expression of social forces in the class struggle.

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

The next generation of Trotskyist leadership in the United States who participated with Cannon in the building of the SWP emerged out of the great movement of the working class provoked by the Depression. The highest expression of this development was the cadre of Minneapolis workers who either participated in or were influenced by the 1934 General Strike.

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

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

Weakened

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

So great was the impact of the isolation imposed by the boom on the SWP that its old



Paul Eidsvik, class of '64, belonged to the Jazz Club as a freshman. He can be seen in the center with his face partially hidden.

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

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

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

Radicalized

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

In fact, the whole story of the shock impact of the Cuban Revolution on the minds of young Carletonians is thoroughly dubious. Despite the importance of this struggle, there is absolutely no evidence to support the claim that the events in Cuba were accompanied by a wave of radicalization on the American campuses. There is not another campus in the United States where the

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

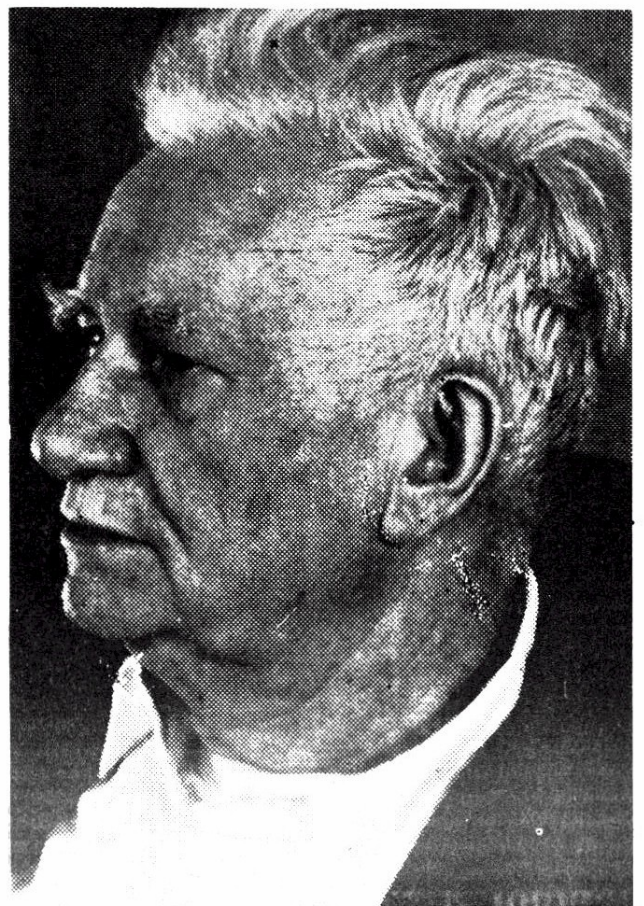
It was Joseph Hansen who first made Cuba a major issue in the Trotskyist movement in 1961, and that was for the purpose of engineering on behalf of the FBI-CIA a split by the SWP from the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Barnes and the Carleton College group came into prominence as handraisers for Hansen against the minority within the SWP who opposed the split from the International Committee. Barnes and his Carleton associates entered the milieu of the SWP via the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. While serving as a

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

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

Continued on page 4



James P. Cannon, founder of the SWP.

The Strange Group from Carleton College, Minnesota



An aerial view of the Carleton College campus.

Continued from page 3

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

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

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

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

"Hundreds of companies come to the university to interview students for possible employment. I hadn't signed up for any interviews but I'd just had my first, and probably only, job interview. To my surprise a man from the CIA came out from Washington to see me about going into a secret junior

executive training program. Virginia Pilgrim must have recommended me. I'd forgotten she mentioned a program like this when she stayed with us in Tampa last year — said she would dearly love to see the son of her oldest friends come into the CIA. ..." (*Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, Bantam, p.1).

What did the CIA like about Agee?

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

Mirrored

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Those who see the total destruction of mankind as a possible alternative to the 'Red Menace' also make the mistake of attributing to the

dictatorship in the USSR undeserved power. They also show a complete lack of faith in the power of free institutions to overcome this totalitarian regime."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

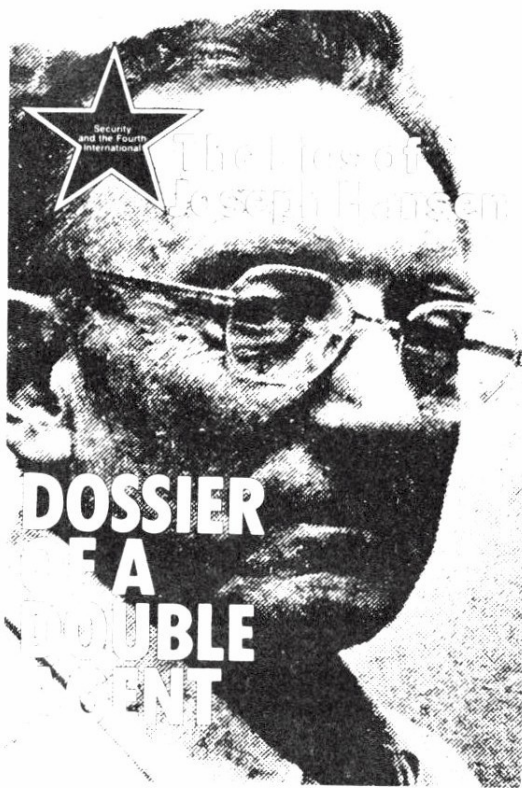
Danger

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

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

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

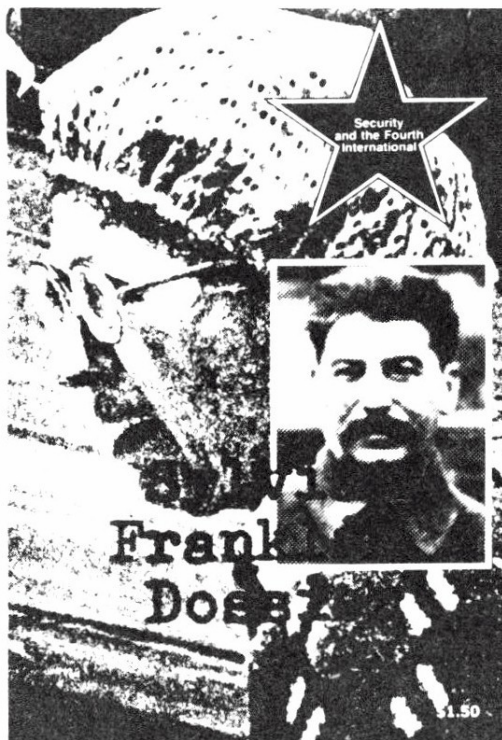
The International Committee is now gathering further evidence on this Carleton group that it will submit to a proper and duly constituted Commission of Inquiry, as has already been set forth in *Security and the Fourth International*.



SYLVIA FRANKLIN DOSSIER, compiled by the International Committee of the Fourth International.

This book brings together all the devastating documentary evidence compiled by the International Committee proving that Sylvia Franklin (party name Sylvia Caldwell), from 1938 to 1947 the private secretary of Socialist Workers Party founder James P. Cannon, was an agent of the Stalinist secret police, the GPU. \$1.50

The Lies of Joseph Hansen: DOSSIER OF A DOUBLE AGENT, compiled by the International Committee of the Fourth International. This dossier proves that the late Joseph Hansen, longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party, was operating inside the Trotskyist movement as a double agent. \$1.50



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