

File #:

62-HQ-116464

Serial Scope:

EBF 312

November 28, 1975

RE: CONTACTS BETWEEN WEATHERMAN AND THE
INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)

The following is submitted in response to a request of Congressman Dellums for information in the files of the FBI which shows contacts between the IPS and Weatherman, the information to be inserted at line 25, page 4286, of the transcript of the hearings concerning FBI surveillance activities, November 18, 1975.

Information was furnished to the New York Office of the FBI, in May, 1968, showing a contact between Arthur Waskow of IPS and Jeff Jones of the New York Regional Office of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Jones was then a leader of the SDS and is currently a fugitive from justice being sought by the FBI for Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution - Aggravated Battery and Bail Jumping, as a result of his participation in the "Days of Rage" on the part of the Weatherman at Chicago, Illinois, October, 1969. Jones is also a leader of the Weather Underground Organization (WUO) by which name the Weatherman is now known.

On August 13, 1969, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that on the afternoon of August 12, 1969, William Charles Ayers, a leader of the Weatherman operating out of Chicago, Illinois, was in Washington, D. C., for the purpose of soliciting money. The amount of money being sought and the reason for such is not known at this time, nor was it determined at that time. Ayers reportedly obtained money from Arthur Waskow of the IPS, Washington, D. C. This same source advised that after Ayers obtained the money, he left Washington, D. C., on the same night, destined for Chicago, Illinois. This same source also advised that Ayers was scheduled to meet on August 14, 1969, with Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party (BPP). The source advised the purpose of the meeting concerned the relationship between Weatherman and the BPP.

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November 28, 1975

RE: STATEMENT OF PETER CAMEJO BEFORE
THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON
INTELLIGENCE, NOVEMBER 18, 1975

Peter Camejo, as the Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), testified that his organization has been victimized by FBI and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) activities since 1945. He briefly explained the nature of the SWP and its position on election campaigns, advocacy of violence, and foreign influence. Numerous references were made by Camejo and others to 30 years of investigation of the SWP by the FBI. Since the SWP was founded only 37 years ago in 1938, a desire to avoid discussion of the early years of the SWP was apparent and ignored the fact that 18 members of the SWP were convicted 32 years ago for violations of Federal statutes dealing with conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States and to advocate insubordination in its armed forces.

In Dunne v. United States, 138 F 2d 137 (1943), the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals considered statements of the SWP on the same topics that were discussed by Camejo. Of particular significance to the court was the Declaration of Principles and Constitution of the SWP which was adopted at its founding convention in Chicago from December 31, 1937, to January 3, 1938. The 1938 Declaration of Principles sets forth the goals of the SWP to be:

1) "The main specific task of the S.W.P. is the mobilization of the American masses for struggle against American capitalism, and for its overthrow."

2) "...take control of state power through the overthrow of the capitalist state and the transfer of sovereignty from it to their own Workers' State -- the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

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3) "The Workers' State is a temporary political instrument making possible the transition to the class-less, socialist society."
"...The noblest objective of the human race-- communism, the classless socialist society-- inaugurating a new era for all of mankind, will be realized."

4) "...The revolutionary party in this country does not aim merely to lead the working class of the United States in revolution, but to unite with the workers of all other countries in the international revolution and the establishment of world socialism."

The current position of the SWP is contained in evidentiary material in FBI files. Included in this material are official SWP documents such as "The Decline of American Capitalism; Prospects for a Socialist Revolution" which was approved by the 26th National Convention of the SWP and appeared in a special issue dated November 7, 1975, of the "International Socialist Review," monthly supplement of "The Militant," the SWP newspaper. The 1975 Prospects for a Socialist Revolution states, "The Marxist model for constructing a revolutionary program in the imperialist epoch is the founding document of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938." The 1938 Declaration of Principles also includes this program.

The following is a comparison of specific portions of Camejo's testimony with other material concerning the SWP, most of which is from court decisions and official SWP documents:

AIMS AND PURPOSES

Camejo testified, "I think it is important that I briefly explain exactly who we are and what we stand for." He described the SWP as a "political party based on the working class" or as a "workers movement" and SWP members as "Marxists" or "internationalist."

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The explanation of what they stand for included, "On the question of establishing socialism, however, we are in a minority. Our goal is to win a majority to our point of view." At no point in his statement did Camejo acknowledge the SWP is a revolutionary, Trotskyist-communist organization which has as its purpose, as stated in its Declaration of Principles, the overthrow of the U. S. Government, the institution of a dictatorship of the working class, and the eventual achievement of a communist society.

In Dunne v. U. S., the court considered the Declaration of Principles and said,

"The Declaration sets forth the program of action to effectuate this overthrow of the existing capitalist society and the Government which supports it. The first step is to build the strength of the party so that it can have a majority of the exploited classes back of its leadership. The final step is to overthrow the existing Government by force."

The 1975 Prospects for a Socialist Revolution states, "The world crisis of capitalism does not favor extensive and effective long-term capitalist reform in the United States but the development of the requisites for a revolution."

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

Camejo states, "We think a political party based on the working class is needed. That is why we are offering candidates in the 1976 elections."

The 1938 Declaration of Principles also discusses election campaigns and says,

"While relying primarily on mass actions, propaganda and agitation as the means for furthering its revolutionary aim, the Party will also participate in election campaigns though at all times contending against the fatal illusion that the masses can accomplish their emancipation through the ballot box."

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FOREIGN INFLUENCE

Camejo denies that the SWP is run by a foreign power or organization and states that SWP members are "internationalists" who "maintain a relationship of fraternal solidarity with the Fourth International."

The 1938 Declaration of Principles states,

"The revolutionary party in the United States collaborates in the fullest measure with all groups, organizations and parties in all other countries standing on the same fundamental program as our own; and cooperates with them in the elaboration of a complete world program. The S.W.P., therefore, is affiliated with the Bureau for the Fourth International as its section in United States."

Camejo stated, "And although we strongly disagree with the Voorhis Act, since it was passed in 1940 we have not been affiliated to the Fourth International." In Dunne v. U. S., the court discusses an attempt to suspend and withdraw the Declaration of Principles and quotes defendant James P. Cannon (founder and leader of the SWP until his death in 1974) as follows: "The principal reason, I may say, was the passage by Congress of a bill known as the Voorhis Act, which penalized parties belonging to international organizations." The court then concluded, "Even as to the Voorhis Act, this action was merely a subterfuge and smoke screen." Another quote from Dunne v. U. S. seems particularly appropriate when considering the SWP's denial of membership in an international organization while also following Trotsky's teaching that communism cannot be established with lasting success as an isolated phenomenon in one country alone. The court said,

"When they use words which may or may not mean the forbidden thing, they intend just one thing and that is to squirm through the statute leaving a haze which they hope will make it impossible or difficult to find any fracture by their passage."

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The Fourth International continues to be the worldwide Trotskyist revolutionary organization and is presently headquartered in Brussels, Belgium. Although claiming to have withdrawn from formal affiliation in 1940, the SWP continues to maintain a close association with the FI and participates and votes as a "sympathizing group" in FI meetings.

The 1975 Prospects for a Socialist Revolution states:

"The Marxist model for constructing a revolutionary program in the imperialist epoch is the founding document of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938."

"The Socialist Workers Party is internationalist to its core. Not only are world developments shaping the coming struggles at home, but the American workers' enemies are the exploiters on a world scale. The perspective of the Communist Manifesto--'Workers of the world, unite'--remains our fundamental goal. While reactionary legislation precludes formal affiliation to the Fourth International, the Socialist Workers Party, since its founding, has been an integral political component of the world party of socialist revolution."

ADVOCACY OF VIOLENCE

Camejo stated that the SWP "doesn't advocate or engage in violent or illegal activity. The FBI has never produced any evidence to the contrary." Mr. McClory asked Camejo if the SWP hadn't originally advocated the overthrow of the Government by force of violence. Camejo answered, "Never in its history."

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The 1938 Declaration of Principles states,

"The belief that in such a country as the United States we live in a free, democratic society in which fundamental economic change can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and purely parliamentary methods, is an illusion."

The court in Dunne v. U. S. considered the above and other quotes from the Declaration of Principles and concluded that the SWP believed the "final step is to overthrow the existing Government by force."

The SWP does not publicly espouse violence or terrorism at the present time; however, material obtained by the FBI does dispute Camejo's statement that, "We believe, as Marxists have always believed, that the philosophy and the methods of terrorism are damaging to the workers movement"; and that "Advocacy of terrorism is incompatible with membership in the SWP." In 1974, a minority faction within the SWP, the Internationalist Tendency (IT), supported the majority position of the Fourth International (FI) and was expelled from the SWP. The IT followers were not expelled for their support of the FI position which favors the current use of guerrilla warfare in Latin America and elsewhere if local conditions indicate that such violence would enhance the revolution. Rather, they were expelled for operating in secrecy in violation of SWP directives governing its own operations. In fact, the majority of the SWP did not reject violence per se but refused to support the FI position because they felt the use of violence was then premature. Some of the followers of the IT position have been reaccepted into the SWP by renewing their unconditional acceptance of the leadership bodies of the SWP.

The 1975 Prospects for a Socialist Revolution states,

"While powerful world forces are laying powder kegs under American imperialism, only forces inside the United States can take power away from the American capitalists and disarm them."

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"To protect their struggles and gains against murderous attacks by goons, cops, and fascist bands, the workers will have to organize and train their own forces and use them in the most effective way. Starting with defense of picket lines and the right to strike, the protection of their demonstrations or those of their allies, and proceeding to workers defense guards, workers militias, and the requisite arming of the working class, the working masses will learn from their own experiences what measures to take. The lessons of history, incorporated into the general strategy of the workers movement will prove invaluable on this life-and-death question."

In addition to his statement, Camejo apparently turned over to the Committee a list of some 225 incidents of alleged FBI harassment which have taken place since April, 1971, when Cointelpro was discontinued. The SWP and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance, have filed a lawsuit against the Government. A large number of Bureau documents have been released to the SWP through pretrial discovery proceedings. The bulk of these documents concerned Cointelpro but some have included the files on individual plaintiffs. In the lawsuit, approximately 150 "investigative incidents" have been alleged as examples of harassment by the FBI. These have also included such items as interviews of SWP and YSA members, and their relatives, neighbors, associates and employers. These allegations have been answered in the discovery proceedings in the lawsuit and none has been admitted to be, or should properly be, interpreted as a Cointelpro action. Since the list of 225 items has not been furnished to the FBI and since it apparently concerns a matter in litigation, it would be improper to make further comments at this time.

Courts which have considered the role of the Government with regard to organizations such as the SWP have held that investigation of them is warranted. In Dennis v. United States, 341 U.S. 494 (1951), the court stated,

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"Obviously, the words cannot mean that before the Government may act, it must wait until the putsch is about to be executed, the plans have been laid and the signal is awaited. If Government is aware that a group aiming at its overthrow is attempting to indoctrinate its members and to commit them to a course whereby they will strike when the leaders feel the circumstances permit, action by the Government is required. The argument that there is no need for Government to concern itself, for Government is strong, it possesses ample powers to put down a rebellion, it may defeat the revolution with ease needs no answer. For that is not the question. Certainly an attempt to overthrow the Government by force, even though doomed from the outset because of inadequate numbers or powers of the revolutionists, is a sufficient evil for Congress to prevent. The damage which such attempts create both physically and politically to a nation makes it impossible to measure the validity in terms of the probability of success, or the immediacy of a successful attempt. In the instant case the trial judge charged the jury that they could not convict unless they found that petitioners intended to overthrow the Government 'as speedily as circumstances would permit.' This does not mean, and could not properly mean, that they would not strike until there was certainty of success. What was meant was that the revolutionists would strike when they thought the time was ripe. We must therefore reject the contention that success or probability of success is the criterion."

The Supreme Court additionally noted that, "If the ingredients of the reaction are present, we cannot bind the Government to wait until the catalyst is added." The Court of Appeals which has considered a portion of the current SWP lawsuit has stated, "The FBI has a right indeed a duty, to keep itself informed with respect to the possible commission of crime; it is not obliged to wear blinders until it may be too late for prevention." (Socialist Workers Party, et. al. v. Attorney General of the United States of America, et. al.; 510 F 2d 253 (1974).)

November 28, 1975

RE: TESTIMONY OF ROBERT GEORGE SILVERMAN
BEFORE THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON
INTELLIGENCE, NOVEMBER 18, 1975

Mr. Robert George Silverman, President of Peer Enterprises, Ltd, testified on November 18, 1975, that during the Fall of 1972, two men who identified themselves as Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) contacted him and his father at the office of Peer Enterprises, inquiring about Bruce Bloy and one other employee. Mr. Silverman stated that in response to his question as to the purpose of their inquiry he was told that Bruce Bloy and this other employee were members of a political party in which the FBI had an interest. He also stated that as an employer, he had no interest in the political beliefs of his employees and he felt the FBI had no right to inquire at an individual's place of employment. He characterized the approach of the Agents as presumptive, mysterious and aggressive.

Regarding statements made before this Committee by Mr. Silverman, a review was made of files of FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C., and the Chicago Office of the FBI, concerning this matter. It was determined that Robert George Silverman was never contacted or interviewed by any Agent of the FBI concerning Bruce Bloy. Mr. Silverman was interviewed on April 28, 1975, concerning an ongoing criminal investigation.

Records of the Chicago Office also revealed that Bruce Bloy and another individual, both of whom were members of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth group of the Socialist Workers Party, were reported by a source to be employed by Peer Enterprises, Chicago, Illinois.

Records of the Chicago Office of the FBI also contain a memorandum dated October 30, 1972, which states that an investigator for a committee of the U. S. House of Representatives reported on that date that he had interviewed J. M. Silverman (father of Robert George Silverman), Owner, Peer Enterprises, regarding the other YSA member who was employed at that company.

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RE: TESTIMONY OF MARCUS G. RASKIN BEFORE
THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE,
NOVEMBER 18, 1975

The FBI's observations concerning allegations made by Mr. Raskin in his testimony are set forth below.

Mr. Raskin alleges the Bureau rifled the trash and garbage thrown out each day by the Institute of Policy Studies (IPS).

On August 23, 1972, a Special Agent of the FBI's Washington Field Office retrieved some of the contents of IPS trash abandoned by a trash truck at a Washington, D. C. sanitary dump. This was the only occasion where IPS trash was retrieved by FBI personnel.

Mr. Raskin also alleged IPS Fellows were targets of the Boston grand jury investigation of the Pentagon Papers, an investigation which never resulted in indictments. By letter dated August 31, 1971, the then Assistant Attorney General of the Department of Justice, requested the FBI conduct additional investigation of IPS pointing out a possible connection between IPS and the unauthorized disclosure of the "McNamara Papers," a possible violation of Title 18 of the U.S. Code, Sections 792-98, (Espionage).

Mr. Raskin stated, it was clear that IPS Fellows had their conversations intercepted by many warrantless wiretaps, although it is not yet known on whom the taps were placed. Although conversations of individuals previously identified by the IPS as associated with the Institute have been overheard through national security electronic surveillances conducted by the FBI directed at other persons, a review of FBI records of the IPS investigation fails to reveal that the IPS organization or any known IPS Fellow was ever the subject of electronic surveillance conducted by the FBI. The FBI has, however, received information relating to such individuals as a result of electronic surveillance conducted by another Federal agency, which information did not mention the IPS.

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