

14 Charles Lane
New York, N.Y. 10014
June 10, 1975

TO ORGANIZERS AND NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Dear Comrades,

The enclosed document was submitted to the government as our supplementary response to their interrogatories. The questions that are being answered are the ones that the government asked in their interrogatories of February 15, 1974. They were distributed to the National Committee members and organizers on February 22, 1974.

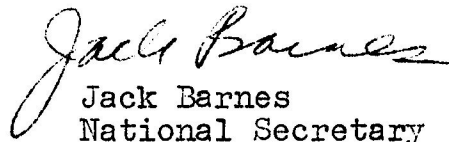
Comrades will note that among other things the government's questions zero in on alleged financial connections with or binding vote in the bodies of the Fourth International, both forbidden by the Voorhis and similar anti-democratic acts. The answers make clear that the SWP has no financial relationship with or binding vote in the Fourth International since we were forced to disaffiliate at the time of the Voorhis Act's passage in 1940. (A copy of the Voorhis Act is also enclosed.)

Now that we have filed this, our attorneys will demand a new layer of materials from the government documenting their interference with our democratic rights.

We will demand the documents relating to their disruption of and provocation in the world Trotskyist movement, none of which were turned over to us in the first group of Cointelpro materials. The government used the excuse that to turn over such material would expose their agents in leading bodies of the Fourth International.

The Militant published June 20 will carry a story on this new stage of the SWP's suit and the answers we have given to the interrogatories.

Comradely,


Jack Barnes
National Secretary

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

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SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, et al.,	:	PLAINTIFFS'
	:	SUPPLEMENTAL ANSWERS
Plaintiffs,	:	<u>TO INTERROGATORIES</u>
- against -	:	73 CIV. 3160 (TPG)
ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, et al.,	:	
	:	
Defendants.	:	
	:	
-----x		

STATE OF NEW YORK)
) ss.:
COUNTY OF NEW YORK)

JACK BARNES, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

I have been designated by the plaintiffs to provide supplementary answers to the federal defendants' interrogatories as set forth below:

No. 2(b): The organizational structures of the SWP and the YSA are described in detail in the organizations' constitutions, which have been supplied previously. See Articles V and VI of the SWP Constitution and Articles IV through IX of the YSA Constitution.

No. 2(c): I am the National Secretary of the SWP. As National Secretary, I am the only individual authorized to speak for the SWP between meetings of the Political Committee. As National Secretary of the SWP I am personally familiar with the activities of all of the SWP committees referred to in Question 2(b). As a former National Chairman of the YSA, I am also familiar with the YSA committees. The National Organization Secretary of the SWP is Barry Sheppard. Among the members of the Political Committee are myself, Frank Lovell, Barry Sheppard, Tony Thomas and Mary-Alice Waters. Other members of the National Committee of the SWP include Fred Halstead, Joseph Hansen, Andrew Pulley, Linda Jenness and Clifton DeBerry. Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid are the SWP's candidates for president and vice-president of the United States for 1976.

The National officers of the YSA are Malik Miah, National Chairperson, Rich Finkel, National Secretary, and Ginny Hildebrand, National Organizational Secretary. Among the members of the National Executive Committee of the YSA are Nan Bailey, Jude Coren, Steve Clark, Rich Finkel, Ginny Hildebrand, Malik Miah and Olga Rodriguez.

The individuals named above are acquainted with the activities of all committees, bodies and positions referred to in

No. 2(b). However, the above is not a complete list of individuals holding offices or committee positions referred to in No. 2(b). A complete list of members of national policy-making committees would contain the names of at least 115 individuals and would identify and focus attention on them as the leaders and more influential and active members of the organizations. Insofar as 2(c) requests such wholesale disclosure of the identities of large numbers of the organizations' leaders, we object on the ground that such disclosure would unnecessarily expose the individuals and the organizations to a risk of harassment or injury.

No. 2(d): The constitutions of the SWP and the YSA cited in response to 2(b) describe the methods by which leaders of the two organizations are selected.

No. 3: No, the YSA is not dominated or controlled by the SWP. There is no disciplinary relationship between the SWP and the YSA, and no organizational affiliation between them. The YSA elects its own officers, determines its own policies and raises and controls its own funds.

No. 4(a): Approximately one-third of the members of the YSA are also members of the SWP.

No. 4(b): A number of members of the SWP hold positions of leadership in the YSA. We do not know precisely who or how many, but we estimate at least 50 and perhaps more than 100. Among them are Olga Rodriguez and Nan Bailey, referred to under 2(c). Insofar as 4(b) requests wholesale identification of leaders and influential and active members, we object for the reasons stated under 2(c).

No. 4(c): Yes, this is not uncommon, but there are no records which contain the information requested. Based on personal recollection the following are provided as examples:

Andrew Pulley	- V.P. of U.S. in 1972
Olga Rodriguez	- Governor of Calif. (1974)
Nora Danielson	- Governor of Colo. (1974)
Charles Mitts	- U.S. Congress, 1st Dist. Ohio (1974)
Harold Schlechtweg	- U.S. Congress, 7th Dist. Ind. (1974)
Nancy Brown	- Governor of Ohio (1974)
Nan Bailey	- Mayor, Washington D.C. (1974)
Christina Adachi	- U.S. Senate, Penn. (1974)

No. 5: Interrogatory No. 5, and certain subsequent interrogatories, request statements of the beliefs and doctrines of the SWP and YSA. We answer many of these questions by referring to past statements of national officers of the SWP. The statements we refer to have not been superseded and we adhere to them today. For convenience, the materials referred to are reproduced in appendices below, and we have bracketed the specific passages relied on. The other, unbracketed passages do not necessarily reflect our

position accurately on the matters discussed in them.

No. 5(a): The methods are described in Cannon, Socialism on Trial, see appendix. All plaintiffs agree with or employ the same methods.

No. 5(b): See Socialism on Trial, see appendix.

No. 5(c): See Socialism on Trial, see appendix.

No. 5(d): See Socialism on Trial, see appendix.

No. 5(e): See material referred to under 5(d).

No. 5(f): See Socialism on Trial, see appendix.

No. 5(g): See material referred to under 5(f).

No. 5(h): See Socialism on Trial, see appendix.

No. 5(i): See material referred to under 5(h).

No. 5(j): See testimony of Farrell Dobbs before Loyalty Review Board, March 31, 1949, see appendix, p. 20, lines 3-13.

No. 5(k): See material referred to under 5(j).

No. 5(l): No. See material referred to under 5(c).

No. 5(m): No. Plaintiffs believe that revolutionary situations are created by capitalism, not by socialists.

No. 5(n): See Socialism on Trial, see appendix.

No. 5(o)
& (p): See Dobbs testimony, see appendix, p. 22,1. 40-p. 23,1.B.

No. 5(q): No such disciplinary policy has ever existed.

No. 5(r): Within the past 20 years, there has been no substantial disagreement within the SWP or the YSA on this issue, and there have been no expulsions or disciplinary actions related to this issue.

No. 5(s): As noted in my statement of March 25, 1974, reported on in full in the April 5, 1974 issue of The Militant:

"there are no tendencies, no 'deviations,' no 'dissidents,' and no members in the SWP that advocate terrorism. In view of the traditions of Leninism and Trotskyism and the program of the SWP, support to terrorism

is incompatible with membership in the party."

This stands today. (The full text of the article reporting the above statements is appended below).

No. 5(t): See Socialism on Trial, see appendix.

No. 5(u): See answer to 5(s).

No. 5(v): All activities of the SWP and YSA are carried out to educate and organize the great majority of the American people, the working class, for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a workers government to achieve socialism.

No. 5(w): Plaintiffs are attempting to build a party organization capable of accomplishing the goals outlined in 5(v), sometimes referred to as a "combat party." As to the character of and need for such a party, see the material referred to under 5(a) and 5(f) respectively.

No. 6(a): Yes.

No. 6(b): See Socialism on Trial, see appendix.

No. 6(c): See Socialism on Trial, see appendix.

No. 7(a): The quotation in question 7(a) is inaccurate. However, among many other provisions, the YSA constitution contains a statement which is substantially identical to the quoted passage.

No. 7(b),
&(c): See material referred to under 6(b) and (c).

No. 8(a),
&(b): See Socialism on Trial, see appendix.

No. 9(a): Yes.

No. 9(b): The organization, aims and purposes of the Fourth International are described in Section I of its statutes, which were supplied previously. Affiliated or sympathizing organizations are listed in the minutes of the 10th World Congress of the Fourth International in the following countries: Antilles, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Britain, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Columbia, Cyprus, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, India, Iran, Ireland, Isreal, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Luxemburg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Peru, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, U.S.A., Uruguay and Venezuela. The Tenth World Congress elected no officers. To my knowledge, the Fourth International has no officers and no central headquarters, although its sections and sympathizing groups often have headquarters in their respective countries.

No. 9(c): SWP and YSA members have attended as observers only.

They were selected on an ad hoc basis by governing bodies of the SWP and YSA.

No. 9(d), &(e): See the list of officers and committee members of the SWP under 2(c).

No. 10(a), (b), (c): See Socialism on Trial, see appendix.

No. 10(d): Yes. The "fraternal relationship" has involved public statements of political agreement with the fundamental principles and program of the Fourth International and attendance as observers at formal gatherings of the Fourth International whenever possible.

No. 10(e): No.

No. 10(f): Yes. SWP members, if voting, cast a consultative, non-binding vote as an expression of opinion in their capacity as observers. The policies of the Fourth International are determined by vote of the representatives of official sections. The SWP representatives have not cast votes in that capacity since 1940.

No. 10(g): The Tenth World Congress is now concluded. It was attended by all of the officers and political committee members of the SWP referred to under 2(c).

No. 10(h): Not applicable.

No. 10(i): Travel expenses of SWP observers are generally paid by the SWP.

No. 10(j): The SWP receives and disseminates educational or informational material from the Fourth International by means of mail.

No. 10(k): We are unaware of what financial support, if any, is given to Trotskyist groups in countries outside the United States by any bodies of the Fourth International. The SWP does not ask or require its members to give such financial support, and to the best of my knowledge members do not make such contributions voluntarily. In any case, the SWP and YSA do not give financial support to such groups. As to "other support," we make the same request as under 11(b).

No. 10(l): As to financial support, see answer to 10(k). As to support other than financial support, we make the same request as under 11(b).

No. 11(a): No. See answer to 5(m):

No. 11(b): Before answering this question we request written clarification of what is meant by "aid." For example, please state whether "aid" refers to editorial support, organizing peaceful

demonstrations, picketing, leafletting and so forth, which we have utilized in such contexts as our participation in the movement against United States involvement in the war in Vietnam.

No. 12: Mr. Cannon is now deceased. To the best of our knowledge he did not travel abroad for any purpose after 1960.

No. 13: See answer to No. 14.

No. 14: Yes. There are no records of the identities of such travelers or the details of their travels. However, based on personal recollection, the officers and committee members of the SWP, including those named under 2(c) have so traveled since 1969. Among the places visited were France, Brazil, Greece, Spain, Egypt, Israel, Czechoslovakia, Sri Lanka, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Portugal, Paraguay, India, Vietnam, Yugoslavia, Argentina, Chile, Great Britain, Italy, Japan and Martinique. The purpose of all the above travels and meetings was to speak publicly and/or to exchange opinions on the present state of the world labor, socialist, women's liberation and colonial independence movements.

No. 15: Many visitors from other countries have met with leading members of the SWP. Barry Sheppard and I participated in hundreds of such meetings and discussions since 1969, with individuals from dozens of foreign countries, including France, Canada, Great Britain, German Democratic Republic, Sri Lanka, South Africa, Japan, Brazil, Spain, Venezuela, Iran, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Mexico, Peru, Colombia, Sweden and Chile.

We object to providing any names of foreign individuals on the ground that to do so would expose them to a serious risk of injury including torture and death.

The CIA and the FBI collaborate with the police agencies of various other countries. Many of these countries have strongly anti-socialist regimes which do not provide any constitutional protections analogous to the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution. At this moment there are Trotskyists or socialists sympathetic to the views of the Fourth International in prison in China, Vietnam, Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, Uruguay, Chile, Poland, Yugoslavia and the USSR.

Many of these regimes engage in torture, as Amnesty International has confirmed, and in virtually all of them there is no right to a jury trial, to a legal defense, or other such rights generally taken for granted in the United States. In fact, some repressive governments summarily execute their political opponents, as happened to at least one Trotskyist in Chile at the time of the recent military coup. Trotskyists have been killed or tortured in other countries as well, such as Brazil, China, Uruguay, Peru, Bolivia, Mexico, Argentina, USSR and Vietnam.

In some other countries, the police of apparently

democratic regimes work with extra-legal terrorist organizations, including fascist groups in countries like Italy, France, Ireland and Mexico. There are several instances of Trotskyists being murdered by such groups. Among them are Peter Graham in Ireland in 1971, Cesar Robles in Argentina in 1974 (who had visited the United States only six months before his murder), Antonio Maldonado in Tlaxcala, Mexico in 1974, and Eduardo Merlino, Brazil in 1971.

The political character of regimes can undergo a rapid shift, endangering those known to the police of the country as socialists. Recent examples are Greece and Chile where the new regimes jailed, tortured and even executed those known as socialists. However, short of military coups, legal rights may undergo rapid erosion in many countries that appear to protect democratic rights. For example, Canada instituted a "War Measures Act" in October of 1970 which led to the arbitrary arrest of socialists, and the Federal Republic of Germany has barred socialists sympathetic to the Fourth International from government employment.

Aside from the foregoing, we believe that the United States government uses information about foreign travelers' meetings with socialists in this country to target foreigners for discriminatory and arbitrary denial of visa requests. Individuals wishing to travel to the United States to meet members of the SWP have been denied visas. I know of specific such incidents involving people from France, Hong Kong, Belgium, New Zealand, Pakistan and Japan.

- No. 16(a): See Socialism on Trial, see appendix.
- No. 16(b): See Socialism on Trial, see appendix.
- No. 16(c): See material referred to under 16(b).
- No. 57(e): All members of the SWP and the YSA in the Detroit area.
- No. 57(f),
& (g): Numerous friends, visitors and guests of the plaintiffs involved.

/s/
JACK BARNES

Sworn to before me this
15th day of May, 1975.

Notary Public

APPENDIX

Excerpts from

Socialism on Trial

by James P. Cannon

(Pathfinder Press, 5th edition, 1973)

No. 5(a): Q: What function does the party play prior to the transformation of the social order?

A: Well, the only thing it can do, when it is a minority party, is to try to popularize its ideas, its programs, by publishing papers, magazines, books, pamphlets, holding meetings, working in trade unions -- by propaganda and agitation.

No. 5(b): Q: What did the convention, the founding convention of the Socialist Workers Party, adopt as the fundamental aim of the party?

Mr. Schweinhaut (Prosecutor): When?

Q: (By Mr. Goldman): At that time, and subsequent to that time, up until the present, when you are sitting in the stand here.

A: I would say that the fundamental aim of the party then and now is to popularize the doctrines of Marxian socialism and to aid and lead in the work of transforming society from a capitalist to a communist basis.

No. 5(c): Q: What is the Marxian theory as to the social forces making socialism inevitable?

A: Capitalism is a state of society that did not always exist. Like preceding social systems, it went through a period of gestation in the womb of the old feudal society. It grew and developed as against feudal society, eventually overthrew it by revolutionary means, raised the productivity of mankind to undreamed of heights --

Mr. Schweinhaut: Well, now, just a minute, Mr. Cannon. It seems to me this question could be answered much more simply than this. I suspect the gentleman is going to make a speech now, and I don't see that the question calls for it at all.

Q: (By Mr. Goldman): Well, as briefly as you can, describe the social forces --

A: I did not want to make a speech. I wanted to say in a few words what are the social forces that are pushing capitalism to bankruptcy. The laws by which --

Mr. Schweinhaut: That was not the question that was asked you, Mr. Witness. You were asked what were the social forces that would make socialism inevitable, or some such thing. Well, I give up. Go ahead.

The witness: I assure you that I am anxious to compress the explanation as much as possible.

Capitalism operates by certain internal laws which were analyzed and laid bare for the first time by Karl Marx in his great works, first in the Communist Manifesto and then in Capital.

Now, the two internal laws of capitalism which are making inevitable its decline and its replacement by socialism are these:

One, the private ownership of the means of production and the employment of wage labor at wages less than the value of the product produced by the wage laborer. This creates a surplus which the capitalist proprietor has to sell in the market. It is obvious that the wage worker, who receives for his labor less than the total value of his product, can be a customer only for that amount of the value that he receives in the form of wages. The balance is surplus value, as Marx explained it, for which the capitalist must find a market.

The more capitalism expands within a given country, the more productive becomes the labor of the worker, the greater is this surplus, which cannot find a market because the great mass of the people who produce the wealth do not receive enough wages to buy it. And that leads capitalism into periodic crises of what they call overproduction, or as some popular agitators call it underconsumption, but the scientific term is overproduction.

Capitalism, from its very inception, for more than a hundred years, pretty nearly two hundred years, has gone through such crises. Now, in the past, capitalism could solve these crises eventually by finding new markets, new fields of investment, new fields of exploitation, and as long as capitalism could find new areas for the investment of capital and the sale of goods, the capitalist system could extricate itself from this cyclical crisis which occurred about every ten years, and go on to new heights of production. But every time capitalism experienced a new boom, and began to develop some new territory, it narrowed down the world. Because every place that capitalism penetrated, its laws followed it like a shadow, and the new field of exploitation began to become also surfeited with a surplus.

For example, the United States, which was a great reservoir for the assimilation of surplus products of Europe and gave European capitalism a breathing spell, has itself developed in the course of one hundred and fifty years to the point where it produces an enormous surplus and has to fight Europe for a market in which to sell it. So this tremendous contradiction between the private ownership of industry and wage labor presents capitalism more and more with an insoluble crisis. This is one law of capitalism.

The second law is the conflict between the development of the productive forces and the national barriers in which they are confined under capitalism. Every country operating on a capitalist basis produces a surplus which it is unable to sell in its domestic market for the reasons I have given you before.

What, then, is the next step? The capitalists must find a foreign market. They must find a foreign market in which to sell their surplus and a foreign field in which to invest their surplus capital. The difficulty confronting capitalism is that the world doesn't get any bigger. It retained the same size, while every modern capitalist nation was developing its productive forces far beyond its own domestic capacity to consume. Or to sell at a profit. This led to the tremendous explosion of the World War in 1914. The World War of 1914 was, in our theory and our doctrine, the signal that the capitalist world had come to a bankrupt crisis.

Q: What would you say about the law of competition working within the capitalist system?

A: The law of competition between capitalists results inevitably in the bigger capitalists, the ones with the more modern, more efficient, and productive enterprises, crushing out the small ones, either by destroying them or absorbing them until the number of independent proprietors grows continually less and the number of pauperized people increases by leaps and bounds, until the wealth becomes concentrated in the hands of a very few people, and the great mass of the people, especially of the workers, are confronted with ever-increasing difficulties of an economic and social nature.

I mentioned the World War of 1914 as the signal that capitalism on the world scale wasn't able to solve any of its problems peacefully before. They had to kill eleven million men, and then make a peace and prepare to do it all over again the second time. That, in the view of the Marxian socialists, is the sign that capitalism has outlived its possibility to solve its own problems.

Q: What would you say, then, with reference to the relative importance of the economic factor moving toward socialism, and the agitation for socialism of the various parties, including the Socialist Workers Party?

A: Well, now, if I could just explain here, Marxian socialism is distinct from what is known in our terminology as utopian socialism -- that is, the socialism of people who visualize a better form of society, and think that it is only necessary to see that a better society could exist, and to persuade the people to adopt it and solve the problem. Marxian socialism proceeds from the theory that the very internal laws by which capitalism operates drive society to a socialist solution.

I mentioned the war -- I mentioned the conflict between the various capitalist nations which are always now in either a state of war, or of an armed truce preparing for war. I should mention also the experience of the 1929 depression, as it is called, with its fifteen million able-bodied American workers who were willing to work unable to find employment. That was another sign of a terrible unhealthiness in the social organism called capitalism; and the unemployment scourge operated on a world scale.

Now, these are forces that are driving society to a rational

solution, in our opinion, by the nationalization of industry, the elimination of competition, and the abolition of private ownership. Our agitation could never effect the transformation of one social order to another unless these powerful internal economic laws were pushing it.

The real revolutionary factors, the real powers that are driving for socialism, are the contradictions within the capitalist system itself. All that our agitation can do is to try to foresee theoretically what is possible and what is probable in the line of social revolution, to prepare people's minds for it, to convince them of the desirability of it, to try to organize them to accelerate it and to bring it about in the most economical and effective way. That is all agitation can do.

No. 5(d): Q: Now, what is the opinion of Marxists with reference to the change in the social order, as far as its being accompanied or not accompanied by violence?

A: It is the opinion of all Marxists that it will be accompanied by violence.

Q: Why?

A: That is based, like all Marxist doctrine, on a study of history, the historical experiences of mankind in the numerous changes of society from one form to another, the revolutions which accompanied it, and the resistance which the outlived classes invariably put up against the new order. Their attempt to defend themselves against the new order, or to suppress by violence the movement for the new order, has resulted in every important social transformation up to now being accompanied by violence.

Q: Who, in the opinion of Marxists, initiated that violence?

A: Always the ruling class; always the outlived class that doesn't want to leave the stage when the time has come. They want to hang on to their privileges, to reinforce them by violent measures, against the rising majority and they run up against the mass violence of the new class, which history has ordained shall come to power.

Q: What is the opinion of Marxists, as far as winning a majority of the people to socialist ideas?

A: Yes, that certainly is the aim of the party. That is the aim of the Marxist movement, has been from its inception. Marx said the social revolution of the proletariat -- I think I can quote his exact words from memory -- "is a movement of the immense majority in the interests of the immense majority." He said this in distinguishing it from previous revolutions which had been made in the interest of minorities, as was the case in France in 1789.

Q: What would you say is the opinion of Marxists as far as the desirability of a peaceful transition is concerned?

A: The position of Marxists is that the most economical and preferable, the most desirable method of social transformation, by all means, is to have it done peacefully.

Q: And in the opinion of Marxists, is that absolutely excluded?

A: Well, I wouldn't say absolutely excluded. We say that the lessons of history don't show any important examples in favor of the idea so that you can count upon it.

Q: Can you give us examples in American history of a minority refusing to submit to a majority?

A: I can give you a very important one. The conception of the Marxists is that, even if the transfer of political power from the capitalists to the proletariat is accomplished peacefully -- then the minority, the exploiting capitalist class, will revolt against the new regime, no matter how legally it is established.

I can give you an example in American history. The American Civil War resulted from the fact that the Southern slaveholders couldn't reconcile themselves to the legal parliamentary victory of Northern capitalism, the election of President Lincoln.

Q: Can you give us an example outside of America where a reactionary minority revolted against a majority in office?

A: Yes, in Spain -- the coalition of workers' and liberal parties in Spain got an absolute majority in the elections and established the People's Front government. This government was no sooner installed than it was confronted with an armed rebellion, led by the reactionary capitalists of Spain.

Q: Then the theory of Marxists and the theory of the Socialist Workers Party, as far as violence is concerned, is a prediction based upon a study of history, is that right?

A: Well, that is part of it. It is a prediction that the outlived class, which is put in a minority by the revolutionary growth in the country, will try by violent means to hold on to its privileges against the will of the majority. That is what we predict.

Of course, we don't limit ourselves simply to that prediction. We go further, and advise the workers to bear this in mind and prepare themselves not to permit the reactionary outlived minority to frustrate the will of the majority.

No. 5(f): Q: Enumerate the conditions under which, according to Marxist theory, the social revolution against capitalism will occur.

A: I can give you quite a number.

The first one is that the existing society must have exhausted its possibilities of further development. Marx laid down as a law that no social system can be replaced by another until it has exhausted all its possibilities for development and advancement. That is, you may say, the fundamental prerequisite for a social revolution

Then I can give a number of collateral prerequisites which have been accepted by our movement.

The ruling class must be unable any longer to solve its problems, must have to a large degree lost confidence in itself. The misery and desperation of the masses must have increased to the point where they desire at all costs a radical change. Unemployment, fascism and war become problems of increasing magnitude which are patently insoluble by the existing ruling class. There must be a tremendous sentiment among the masses of the producers for socialist ideas and for a socialist revolution.

And, in addition to these prerequisites I have mentioned, it is necessary to have a workers' party that is capable of leading and organizing the movement of the workers in a resolute fashion for a revolutionary solution of the crisis.

No. 5(h): Q: Well, let's sort of boil the thing down a little bit. You do not expect that you will be able to be elected into office, do you?

A: No, our program says we do not expect that, and for the reasons that I have given you.

Q: But you expect to take power, nevertheless, do you not?

A: Yes, the revolution can't be stopped by suppression, because the revolution is a tremendous social movement of great masses of people.

Q: So your party looks forward to an inevitable civil war brought about by the difference between your views and those of the capitalists?

A: If you will permit me, I would like to say we don't look forward to it in the sense of wanting it.

Q: I understand you, yes.

A: And we don't consider it inevitable. A variation of historical processes is possible.

But we say the overwhelming weight of possibility, based upon historical experience, is that the ruling class of this country will attempt to resolve the conflict with the workers by fascist violence before we gain a majority in Congress. Or if it should come to the point where we gain a majority in a democratic election, the ruling class would stage a slaveholders' rebellion against it. And we will undertake to put down that rebellion as decisively as possible.

No. 5(n): Q: What is the position of the party on the Soviet Union at present?

Mr. Schweinhaut: I object to that, Your Honor.

The Court: He many answer that.

A: The characterization we make of the Soviet Union, as it is today, is of a workers' state, created by the revolution of November 1917, distorted by the bad present regime, and even degenerated, but nevertheless retaining its basic character as a workers' state because it is based on nationalized industry and not on private property.

Q: Now, what is the position of the party towards the defense of the Soviet Union, and why?

A: We are in favor of defending the Soviet Union against imperialist powers for the reason I just gave, because we consider it a progressive development, as a workers' state, that has nationalized industry and has eliminated private capitalism and landlordism. That is the reason we defend it.

Q: That is, you consider the Russian or the Soviet state, a state based on the expropriation of private industry from the capitalists?

A: Yes, the operation of industry as a nationalized industry.

Q: And you are defending that kind of a state?

A: Yes,

Q: Isn't it a fact that Stalin has killed most all of the so-called Trotskyists in Russia?

A: Yes, We are against Stalin, but not against the Soviet form of industrial production.

No. 5(t): Q: Will you tell the court and jury what is meant by "class struggle" as used by Marx?

A: I can't do it in two sentences, of course. Do you refer to the class struggle in present society?

Q: Yes, confine yourself to the class struggle in present society.

A: Marx contended that present day society is divided into two main classes. One is the capitalists, or the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie is a French designation which is used by Marx interchangeably with the expression "the modern capitalist."

The other main class is the working class, the proletariat. These are the two main classes in society. The workers are exploited by the capitalists. There is a constant conflict of interests between them, an unceasing struggle between these classes, which can only culminate in the eventual victory of the proletariat and the establishment of socialism.

Q: Whom would you include under the term "working class"?

A: We use the term working class, or proletariat, to designate the modern wage workers. Frequently it is broadened in its application to include working farmers, sharecroppers, tenant farmers, real dirt farmers, and so on, but that is not a precise, scientific use of the word as Marx defines it.

No. 6(b): Q: Define the term "dictatorship of the proletariat."

A: "Dictatorship of the proletariat" is Marx's definition of the state that will be in operation in the transition period between the overthrow of capitalism and the institution of the socialist society. That is, the workers' and farmers' government will, in the opinion of the Marxists, be a class dictatorship in that it will frankly represent the workers and farmers, and will not even pretend to represent the economic interests of the capitalists.

Q: What form will that dictatorship take with reference to the capitalist class?

A: Well, you mean, what would be the attitude toward the dispossessed capitalists?

Q: Yes, how will it exercise its dictatorship over the capitalist class?

A: That depends on a number of conditions. There is no fixed rule. It depends on a number of conditions, the most important of which is the wealth and resources of the given country where the revolution takes place; and the second is the attitude of the capitalist class, whether the capitalists reconcile themselves

to the new regime or take up an armed struggle against it.

Q: What is the difference between the scientific definition of dictatorship of the proletariat and the ordinary use of the word dictatorship?

A: Well, the popular impression of dictatorship is a one-man rule, an absolutism. I think that is the popular understanding of the word dictatorship. This is not contemplated at all in the Marxian term dictatorship of the proletariat. This means the dictatorship of a class.

Q: And how will the dictatorship of the proletariat operate insofar as democratic rights are concerned?

A: We think it will be the most democratic government from the point of view of the great masses of the people that has ever existed, far more democratic, in the real essence of the matter, than the present bourgeois democracy in the United States.

Q: What about freedom of speech and all the freedoms that we generally associate with democratic government?

A: I think in the United States you can say with absolute certainty that the freedoms of speech, press, assemblage, religion, will be written in the program of the victorious revolution.

No. 6(c): Q: Is there socialism in the Soviet Union?

A: No -- well, I would like to clarify that now. Socialism and communism are more or less interchangeable terms in the Marxist movement. Some make a distinction between them in this respect; for example, Lenin used the expression socialism as the first stage of communism, but I haven't found any other authority for that. I think that is Lenin's own particular idea. I, for example, consider the terms socialism and communism interchangeable, and they relate to the classless society based on planned production for use as distinct from a system of capitalism based on private property and production for profit.

No. 8(a),
&(b):
in effect?

Q: Now, how long was the Declaration of Principles

A: From the first week in January 1938, until the last month in 1940.

Q: And what happened in December 1940?

A: A specially called convention of the party adopted a resolution to suspend the Declaration of Principles and to instruct the National Committee to prepare a new draft for the consideration of the party at a subsequent convention of conference.

Q: What were the reasons for this action of the convention?

A: The principal reason, I may say, was the passage by Congress of a law known as the Voorhis Act, which penalized parties belonging to international organizations. That was the principal reason.

Subsidiary reasons were that in the meantime the party had changed its position on the question of the labor party. Some questions had become outdated by the passage of events, and in

general we felt the necessity of a new draft.

No. 10(a),
(b)&(c):

Q: What is the position of the party on socialism as a world system?

A: We not only stand for an international socialist movement, but we believe that the socialist order will be a world order, not a national autarchy which is carried to its absurd extreme by the fascists, who have tried to set up a theory that Germany could be a completely self-sufficient nation in an economic sense, that Italy can be, and so forth. We believe that the wealth of the world, the raw materials of the world, and the natural resources of the world are so distributed over the earth that every country contributes something and lacks something for a rounded and harmonious development of the productive forces of mankind.

We visualize the future society of mankind as a socialist world order which will have a division of labor between the various countries according to their resources, a comradely collaboration between them, and production eventually of the necessities and luxuries of mankind according to a single universal world plan.

Q: Did the party ever belong to an international organization?

A: The party belonged to the Fourth International. It was designated that way to distinguish it from the three other international organizations which had been known in the history of socialism. The first one, the International Working Men's Association was founded under the leadership of Marx in the 1860's and lasted until about 1871.

The Second International was organized on the initiative of the German, French, and other socialist parties of Europe about 1890, and continues today. It includes those reformist socialist parties and trade unions of Europe, or at least did until they were destroyed by the Hitler scourge.

The Third International was founded under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky after the Russian Revolution. It was founded in 1919, as a rival of the Second International, the main motive being that the Second International had supported the imperialist of 1914 and, in the view of the Bolsheviks, had thereby betrayed the interests of workers.

The Fourth International was organized on the initiative of Trotsky as a rival of the Stalinist Third International. We took part in the initiation of that movement, and we participated in its work until last December.

Q. And what caused you to cease belonging to it?

A. The passage by Congress of the Voorhis Act, which placed penalties upon organizations that have international affiliation, made that necessary. We called a special convention of the party, and formally severed our relation with the Fourth International in compliance with the Voorhis Act.

No. 16(a): Q: Subsequent to the writing of the Communist Manifesto, did Marx ever write anything with reference to the possibility of a peaceful revolution in democratic countries?

A: Yes.

Q: Where was that written, and explain to the jury what was said.

A: Well, the most authoritative place where it is stated and explained is in the introduction to the first volume of Marx's masterwork, called Capital, the introduction by Frederick Engels, who was his co-worker, who was the co-author of the Communist Manifesto, and is recognized universally in the movement as completely identified with all of Marx's ideas and theories. Engels as a matter of fact edited and compiled the second two volumes of Capital, after the death of Marx.

Q: What did he say in that introduction?

A: This was the English translation of Capital and the introduction was presenting the volume to the English public. Engels stated -- I think I can quote almost literally -- that he thinks the work of a man who during his entire life was of the opinion that the social transformation in England, at least, could be effected by purely peaceful and legal means -- he thought such a book should have a hearing from the English public. That is very close to a literal report of what he stated in this introduction.

Q: And why did Marx have that opinion with reference to England?

A: Well, he had that opinion with reference to England as distinct from the autocratic countries, because of its parliamentary system, its democratic processes, and civil libertarian method of political procedure.

No. 16(b): Q: What attitude does the party take toward the ballot?

A: Our party runs candidates wherever it is able to get on the ballot. We conduct very energetic campaigns during the elections, and in general, to the best of our ability, and to the limit of our resources, we participate in election campaigns.

Q: What campaigns do you remember the party having participated in in the last few years?

A: Well, I remember the candidacy of Comrade Grace Carlson for the United States Senate last year. I have been a candidate of the party several times for various offices. In Newark, where we have a good organization, we have had candidates in every election for some time. I cite those three examples. In general, it is the policy of the party to have candidates everywhere possible.

Q: Does the party at times support other candidates?

A: Yes. In cases where we don't have a candidate, it is our policy, as a rule, to support the candidates of another workers' party, or of a labor or a farmer-labor party. We support them critically. That is, we do not endorse their program, but we vote for them and solicit votes for them, with the explanation that we don't agree with their program. We support them as against the candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties.

For example, we have always supported the Farmer-Labor candidates in Minnesota in all cases where we didn't have a candidate of our own party. We supported the candidates of the American Labor Party in New York in similar circumstances.

Q: What is the purpose of the party in

participating in these electoral campaigns?

A: The first purpose, I would say, is to make full use of the democratic possibility afforded to popularize our ideas, to try to get elected wherever possible; and, from a long range view, to test out the uttermost possibility of advancing the socialist cause by democratic means.

APPENDIX: Transcript of testimony of Farrell Dobbs before the Loyalty Review Board, March 31, 1949.

LOYALTY REVIEW BOARD HEARING ON KUTCHER CASE

(Held behind closed doors with only the participants present)

Testimony of Mr. Farrell Dobbs

MR. AMEN: Will you raise your right hand and stand please?
(Whereas the witness was duly sworn.)

MR. AMEN: Will you please state your full name for the record?

MR. DOBBS: Farrell Dobbs.

MR. MYER: You have already stated your name for the record as Mr. Farrell Dobbs and what is your address?

MR. DOBBS: 92 Jane Street, New York City.

BY MR. MYER:

Q. What is your connection or position in the Socialist Workers Party?

A. I am the National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party.

Q. And what, if any, previous connection?

A. Previous to taking that office I was the Editor of "The Militant," the weekly newspaper of the Party.

Q. And you have been a candidate for President in the last election?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you familiar with the program and principles of the Socialist Workers Party?

A. Yes, I am.

MR. CLARK: Did you have a printed platform?

MR. DOBBS: There was a platform printed in the last election campaign.

MR. AMEN: Do you have a copy of it?

MR. MYER: Yes. May we put this in the record?

MR. AMEN: We'll mark that Exhibit I.

MR. MYER: Mr. Dobbs, will you look at appellant's Exhibit I and tell us what that is?

MR. DOBBS: That is the official platform of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1948 presidential election campaign.

MR. MYER: May I offer that as appellant's Exhibit I?

MR. AMEN: Yes, you may.

BY MR. MYER:

Q. Will you state briefly what the basic aim of the Socialist Workers Party is?

A. The basic aim of the Socialist Workers Party is to replace the capitalist economic system with a socialist system.

Q. And does the Party advocate a change in the Government in order to achieve that change from capitalism to socialism?

- A. Yes. We believe it is necessary to replace the capitalist government with a workers and farmers government.
- Q. Does the Socialist Workers Party advocate use of force or violence to effect that change?
- A. No. We do not.
- Q. How does it seek or attempt to effect that change?
- A. We are seeking to convince the majority of the people of the need to make the change in the economic system as I have stated.
- Q. What is the position of the Socialist Workers Party with respect to the use or non-use of unconstitutional means in order to effect that change?
- A. We will work to make this change in accordance with the constitutional procedures of the nation.
- Q. Will you state very briefly what activities the Party carries on?
- A. Our activities are educational in their essence since it is our task to convince people. We seek to do that through the writings in our publications, through speaking at public meetings, participating in debates, speaking on the radio, by participating in the work of the union movement, in the struggles of the Negro people for equality and in the fight generally to preserve the democratic rights of the people.
- Q. What is the attitude of the Party toward the use of elections?
- A. We participate in elections whenever and wherever we can. Our participation is not as extensive as we would like it to be because we are not yet a very large Party and the laws concerning the placing of the Party on the ballot are of such a nature as to make it extremely difficult for us to get on the ballot. We, however, have managed in every election period to run candidates for various offices, local offices, state offices, and, as I said, in 1948 a presidential candidate.
- Q. Does the Socialist Workers Party have any connection of any kind with the Communist Party of the United States?
- A. No. We do not. We are an irreconcilable opponent of the Communist Party.
- Q. Does the Socialist Workers Party have any connection with any Communist Party anywhere in the world?
- A. No. We do not.
- Q. Will you state briefly what the attitude is of the Socialist Workers Party toward the Communist Party? Would you say you are in political opposition?
- A. We are opposed to the program and tactics that have been followed by the Communist Party because we believe it to be detrimental to the interests of the working people.
- Q. How does the Socialist Workers Party consider the Communist Party with respect to its relationship with the Russian Government?
- A. I don't understand that.
- Q. How does the Socialist Workers Party consider the Communist Party, particularly on the question of the relationship of the Communist Party with the Russian Government?
- A. We believe that the policies followed by the Communist Party are dictated primarily by the interests of the Stalinist Government in the Kremlin rather than by the needs of the working people.

- Q. Does the Socialist Workers Party favor that?
- A. We are firmly opposed to that.
- Q. What is the attitude of the Socialist Workers Party toward the Russian Government itself?
- A. We are opposed to the present government in Russia.
- Q. For what reason?
- A. The present government under Stalin in Russia, in our view, has usurped the democratic rights of the Russian people and imposed a police-state dictatorship over the people.
- Q. Can you tell us briefly, Mr. Dobbs, giving examples of what has actually happened in the life of the Socialist Workers Party that would demonstrate the opposition of the Socialist Workers Party toward the Communist Party and toward the Russian Government?
- A. Our Party -- our movement, which is known as the Trotskyist movement, grew originally out of a conflict in the American Communist Party in the early days over the road that Stalin was taking in Russia. The founder of our Party, James P. Cannon, was at one time a leader of the early American Communist Party and was expelled in 1928 because of his opposition to Stalin's policies.
- Q. What is the attitude of the Communist Party toward the Socialist Workers Party and how has it demonstrated itself?
- A. Their attitude toward us is one of hate which has been demonstrated in many forms, including cases of violence against our members.
- Q. What was the position of the Socialist Workers Party -- its attitude toward the last war?
- A. We were politically opposed to the last war.
- Q. In what way was that political opposition manifested?
- A. We manifested our opposition by speaking, where we had an opportunity, at public meetings and by writing in our press, stating that the war was not in the interest of the American people.
- Q. What was the basis for that political opposition to the war?
- A. The basis is our belief that wars conducted by the capitalist government, representing the capitalist class, are imperialist wars that are fought essentially for the conquest of foreign markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence and are not in the interest of the American people.
- Q. Now, what did the members of the Socialist Workers Party do about the draft in the last war?
- A. Our members registered for the draft and, when ordered to report for induction, reported and served in the armed forces until discharged.
- Q. Did the Party have any position with respect to how its members should conduct themselves in the armed forces?
- A. Our members were expected to and they did conduct themselves just like any other citizen while they were in the armed forces. I believe that's most graphically illustrated by the example of Mr. Kutcher's case.
- Q. Did the Party advise its members to commit any acts of sabotage during the war or at any time before or after the war?

- A. No. We did not. We believe that the problems of the people can-
be solved in that way.
- Q. Now, in the event that there should be another war, would the
attitude and the position of the Socialist Workers Party be
the same as you described it with respect to the last war?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Would that also be true of the attitude of the Party on how its
members should conduct themselves during the war?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Would it advise sabotage or espionage?
- A. No.
- Q. Would that be a matter of principle with the Party or a matter
of whim?
- A. It is a matter of principle. As I stated, the problems of the
people cannot be solved by such methods because anyone who is
seeking to bring about a social change and who tries by indivi-
dual acts of violence to effect that change only isolates him-
self from the people. You can change a social system only when
you have convinced the majority of a need for that change.
- Q. Is the Socialist Workers Party connected with any foreign
government?
- A. No. We are not.
- Q. Is the Socialist Workers Party connected with any foreign
organization?
- A. No.
- Q. Is the Socialist Workers Party affiliated with the Fourth
International?
- A. No.
- Q. The Socialist Workers Party, I take it, has been designated by
the Attorney General as an organization which is subversive,
Communist, or seeks to alter the form of government by
unconstitutional means.
- A. Yes. We were included.
- Q. Do you know of your own knowledge whether a hearing was had?
- A. There was no hearing before it was done.

MR. AMEN: I think this is already in the record.

MR. MYER: Mr. Dobbs, does the Socialist Workers Party
consider itself as a subversive organization or an organization
which advocates the overthrow of the government by force and violence?

MR. AMEN: I think we can assume that it does not.

BY MR. MYER:

- Q. Now, as National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party can you
state, Mr. Dobbs, whether membership in that Party would cause
a person to commit acts of sabotage, espionage, or knowingly to
associate with spies or saboteurs?
- A. No. It would not.
- Q. Would membership in the Party cause a person to commit treason or
sedition or advocate treason or sedition?
- A. No.
- Q. Would membership in the Party cause a person to advocate revol-
ution by force or violence or to alter by unconstitutional
means the form of the United States Government?
- A. No.

Q. Would membership in the Socialist Workers Party cause a member to intentionally and without authorization disclose to another person under circumstances which might indicate disloyalty to the United States any document or information of a confidential or non-public character which that person might obtain as a result of his employment by the Government of the United States?

A. No.

Q. Would membership in the Socialist Workers Party cause a person to perform or attempt to perform his duties as an employee of the United States Government or in any way act so as to serve the interests of another government in preference to the interests of the United States?

A. No.

MR. AMEN: Aren't those all the same questions you have asked Mr. Kutcher?

MR. MYER: You mean the entire line of testimony?

MR. AMEN: Yes.

MR. MYER: They touch the same subjects. Since the decision bases itself on membership rather than basing itself primarily on Mr. Kutcher's views, I thought we ought to have something in the record to show what membership in the Party meant. That concludes my questioning of Mr. Dobbs.

MR. PARKMAN: I have one question, Mr. Dobbs, you stated you were Editor of "The Militant," is that correct?

MR. DOBBS: I was. I am not now.

MR. PARKMAN: Over what period was that?

MR. DOBBS: I first became editor in 1943 and remained in that capacity until I was made National Chairman about the first of this year.

MR. PARKMAN: I want to read to you a short passage from "The Militant." The date of the issue, I don't have. It reads like this:

"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."

Do you recall that passage?

MR. DOBBS: No. I do not. Does it indicate who was the author?

MR. PARKMAN: No.

MR. DOBBS: I don't recall the passage but I am ready to comment on it. Our aim is, as I have stated, to convince the majority of the people that it is necessary to replace the capitalist system with a socialist system, and we know that we cannot possibly achieve our goal until we have so convinced a majority. I think what the author of that quotation had reference to was this -- in any event, this is part of our interpretation of the meaning of history: Throughout the whole history of mankind, at every stage where a majority of people have become convinced of the need to effect a change in the social system, the minority ruling class, seeking to retain its privileged position, has

attempted by force and violence to prevent the change. Let me cite briefly two examples. In our own history, the Civil War is a case where a minority ruling class, the slave owners, tried to prevent by force and violence the carrying out of the will of the majority of American people, who were determined to abolish the system of slavery. A second case, is the revolt in 1936 of the Franco Fascist forces in Spain against the constitutionally elected Parliament. Franco led reactionary elements from the Spanish army, and received aid from Hitler and Mussolini, to prevent, by force and violence the carrying out of the wishes of the majority of the Spanish people as manifested in the election. We say that these experiences of history demonstrate that, although a majority has been convinced of the need for a social change, it does not automatically follow that the social change can be peacefully carried out. If the minority ruling class should seek by force and violence to prevent a majority of the American people from carrying out their wish to change from a capitalist to a socialist society, we would say to the majority, you must defend yourself against that force and violence. We say that a reading of the pages of history has shown this to be the course of human struggle in the efforts of man to raise his standard of living.

MR. PARKMAN: Let me continue the quotation:

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

Do you make the same comments on that?

MR. DOBBS: I don't know who wrote it, or what the date is, but I would state in essence what I have stated before. While seeking through the ballot box to make the change from capitalism to socialism, we nevertheless say that it would be foolish, for the reasons I have already given, to just automatically assume that a peaceful change can be made.

MR. PARKMAN: I think you go further than that. You say that you don't believe that this change that you advocate can be accomplished through peaceful means.

MR. DOBBS: I personally believe that, when a majority of the American people have become convinced of the need to abolish the capitalist form of social organization and replace it with a socialist form of society, the capitalist class in this country will seek by force and violence through the organization of a Fascist movement to prevent that change. Our Party has never formally taken the position that events will transpire in precisely that way, but that is the general belief shared by the leadership of the Party. In evaluating the probable course of history, we state frankly that while we seek to win a majority, we must always bear in mind that the mere fact of winning a majority will not solve the problem entirely.

MR. PARKMAN: You believe that it's a fatal illusion that this change can be brought about by legal methods?

MR. DOBBS: That's a bit of a play on words. If I say there is a danger of a certain thing and you say there is not, I would say you were under an illusion that there is not a danger and you would say that I am under an illusion that there is a danger.

MR. CLARK: Who would determine in the test you have outlined when a majority of the people desire the change which you seek?

MR. DOBBS: When the elected representatives of the people are elected on such a program.

MR. CLARK: Well, if the majority elected representatives to control the government, what would be the danger of force?

MR. DOBBS: There would be no danger of force by the majority, but there is the danger of force by the minority. That's precisely what happened in Spain as I have stated. The minority led by Franco carried out by force and violence the overthrow of the constitutionally elected government and subverted the will of the majority.

MR. AMEN: I would like to read you a couple of questions and answers and ask you whether or not they reflect the views of your Party accurately?

Q. "Do you believe that the aims and policies of Leon Trotsky, which you said the Socialist Workers Party is in general agreement with, that that form of government could be brought about within the framework of the Constitution of the United States?"

A. "It would depend on the willingness of the minority of the capitalists to accede to the change. We have no example in history of the minority group in power consenting to a change that was necessitated by the development of social conditions. We told the working classes that although we don't advocate violence, it is not wrong to protect yourself against violence if it is used by the minority to prevent the carrying out of the majority decision."

Does that more or less conform to your ideas and those of the Party?

MR. DOBBS: That's essentially what I have just said in response to this gentleman's question.

MR. AMEN: Well then the answer is yes?

MR. DOBBS: Yes.

MR. AMEN: And how about this:

Q. "Do you believe then that unless the commissions, so to speak, of this minority who now holds control through a conspiracy does not adhere

to the doctrines that you espouse, that force will then be necessary and justifiable?

A. "Yes sir."

MR. DOBBS: Is the essence of the question this -- Would it be necessary for the majority to defend itself with force if the minority uses force?

MR. AMEN: I'll read it again. "Do you believe then that unless the commissions --

MR. MYER: I think the word was wishes. It was taken over a transcriber.

MR. AMEN: "Do you believe then that unless the wishes, so to speak, of this minority who now holds control through a conspiracy does not adhere to the doctrines that you espouse, that force will then be necessary and justifiable?"

MR. DOBBS: It's hard to answer when I don't know the context in which the question was asked. We believe that if the minority did not conform to the decision of the majority, therefore implying that they were seeking by force and violence not to conform, we would have to use force and violence to prevent their non-conformance.

MR. PARKMAN: In other words, you would add to the if clause, if the minority does not conform to the wishes or if the wishes of the minority didn't conform to those doctrines and the minority used force to prevent that, then force would be necessary.

MR. DOBBS: Yes. I said that before. We would say, do what Lincoln did against the slave owners.

BY MR. AMEN:

Q. Pursuing Mr. Clark's question, who is going to make that decision in your mind?

A. That decision will be made by the will of the majority.

Q. Suppose you believe that the point has arrived where the majority of people share your views, then what?

A. When we believe that, we will, of course, be running candidates for public office, seeking election, and as elected officers of the Government, proceed to the carrying out of our platform.

Q. Suppose you are actually in the minority but you think you are in the majority? Who is going to make that determination and when?

A. Well, how would we think we are in the majority if we are in the minority?

Q. I don't know -- that's what I am asking you. Because if the majority of the people agree with you, there really aren't any problems except future conservative developments such as you described in Spain, is that right?

A. Yes.

BY MR. PARKMAN:

Q. Is your test as to the existence of the majority the election of a majority of representatives at the ballot box?

A. That's right.

Q. And that only -- is that right?

A. There's no other way.

MR. CLARK: Oh yes there is. Suppose in a campaign your candidate had a popular vote constituting a majority of those that were cast, but through our electoral system they did not succeed in electing a president. In that situation if the capitalists elected a president under our constitution representing what you deemed to be as a result of a minority vote and continued to hold power, you would feel that the time had come to use force and violence?

MR. DOBBS: No. I don't say that.

MR. CLARK: You are stating that if a majority of the people were favorable to your point of view and yet the elected representation did not conform to what you deemed to be the desires of the majority --

MR. DOBBS: No. I didn't say that.

MR. CLARK: Well what is your answer?

MR. DOBBS: We'll know when we have a majority when those who adhere to our program are elected by the people.

MR. CLARK: You might readily concede a situation, and we have had it in this country, where a president, because of our electoral system, was elected by minority vote. In other words, the majority voted the other way in the popular ballot. As a result, you get an administration, which, according to your standards, doesn't represent the popular will. The popular will in your case, as you say, wants a socialist government. They still have a capitalist government. Now, in that situation, as I understand it, force would be necessary.

MR. DOBBS: I made no such statement and I meant to imply no such thing.

MR. AMEN: Let's put it this way. You apprehend that there might be a set of circumstance which would warrant the use of force and violence?

MR. DOBBS: In self-defense.

MR. AMEN: Will you explain to us exactly what circumstances those would be?

MR. DOBBS: Circumstances in which, either a majority had already been elected to the offices of government on the basis of our program to establish a socialist society, and the minority then sought by force and violence to prevent the carrying out of that decision, or we were coming close to winning such a majority, and the capitalist minority, through the organization of a Fascist movement, should seek by force and violence to prevent its consumation.

MR. AMEN: That really comes down to saying that you are going to do everything you can to get this majority representation, and after you have succeeded, or if you are pretty close to it and other people do not agree with your point of view, then you think it would be alright to use force and violence against them.

MR. DOBBS: No. I don't think I said that if other people don't agree with our point of view it would be alright to use force

and violence against them. I said I assume that as of the time we were a majority that it wouldn't be unanimous, and so long as the capitalist minority seeks by force and violence to subvert the will of the majority, we will say to the majority, use force and violence to defend yourself.

BY MR. CLARK:

Q. Suppose you elect by popular vote a majority of the members of both Houses of Congress on your platform, and the President is not a member of your party or committed to your principles, and through the power of veto, the bill which your representatives have passed in Congress, which you regard as majority will, is not enacted, and instead the President insists through the use of the power that is given to the President that the law shall be carried out as it stands, although it is not the will of your majority. In that case you would use force to overthrow the government?

A. No. I don't say that.

Q. How can we understand what you say if that is not the case? There is a man representing the minority, he is using force. That's a perfectly possible thing.

A. You have, first of all, a false pivot for your example, I believe. You pivot your example on the inconsistencies of the checks and balance system of the government. I assume that you are implying that as of the time we succeed in electing a majority to Congress, if the President isn't our President and he vetoes one of our bills, we would remove him by force and violence -- not at all. Q. On the test you might have to.

A. Not at all.

Q. You would have the majority with you and a minority representing the capitalist system would be interfering with your carrying out what you deemed was what the majority would want.

A. The veto is a constitutional power, not an act of force and violence. Suppose I carry your hypothesis a step further and take the two alternatives of the relationship between Congress and the President. In the first case, the President can veto a bill and there is not a sufficient majority to override the veto, and in the other case there is a sufficient majority. I assume you refer to a case where our Party would be able to pass a bill by a simple majority in Congress but unable to muster the necessary two-thirds majority to override a veto. In that case we would seek to elect a President who agrees with us. However, if the President sought by force and violence to subvert a decision of a Congress which we controlled, and which had a majority sufficient to override a veto, that would be an act of force and violence on his part and we would defend ourselves against that. We would not, as the controlling Party in Congress, precipitate an armed revolt because the President vetoed a measure and we didn't have a sufficient majority to override the veto. I might add this: You could cast up dozens of hypothetical examples of this kind, but the fact remains that we seek by peaceful means to effect the transition from capitalism to socialism, and we know we must win a majority of the people to do that. We are fully aware, however, that throughout history the ruling minority has

always sought by force and violence to prevent such a fundamental social change, and the majority, when it has decided to establish socialism in America, must be prepared to defend itself against the violence of the capitalist minority.

MR. AMEN: That will be all. Thank you.

Dredge up 'terrorist international' slanders

Rightists seize on SLA kidnap, attempt to revive witch-hunt

ANDY ROSE

Following politicians and yellow journalists in the United States have seized on the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst by the Symbionese Liberation Army in an effort to revive public support for discredited and widely opposed police-state measures.

Some targets in the "terrorist" scare are prisoners groups, Black militants, a variety of radical organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party. The witch-hunters of the House Un-American Activities Committee (now called the "Internal Security" Committee) and the Subversive Activities Control Board, and the FBI have been in reverse since the late 1950s when the McCarthyite hysteria began to ebb.

Every day millions of people have been misled by the revelations of White House "plumbers," wiretaps, break-ins, "enemies lists." Exposure of Nixon's 1970 secret spy plan for illegal attacks on the Black and antiwar movements provoked a significant outcry.

Recent court actions have begun to curtail the secrecy around such government plots. The FBI has been forced to release directives by J. Edgar Hoover, which, although heavily censored, constitute damning admissions of the government's efforts to "discredit" and "neutralize" the Black Panther Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and other groups.

The evidence appears almost everywhere, pointing to government complicity in the murders of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and numerous Black Panther leaders.

Rightists' suit

The Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Alliance have won substantial backing for their suit demanding a halt to harassment, spying, and armed attacks on the party and its supporters.

In the present political climate of opposition for democratic rights and discrediting of the government, the witch-hunters are obviously fighting a rearguard action. They hope the SLA kidnapping, however, will provide ammunition for a renewed reactionary offen-

Nixon immediately sensed an opportunity to drum up support for the death penalty. He directed Attorney General William French Saxbe to add killing of a kidnapping victim to the list of crimes for which capital punishment should be reinstated.

California senate report

The California Senate Subcommittee on Civil Disorder issued a report on March 13 urging "constant surveillance" of radical groups and establishment of networks of neighborhood informers under the guise of preventing political kidnappings.

The committee singled out for attack radicalized Black and Chicano prisoners and groups such as the United Prisoners Union, which includes inmates and former inmates. But the report itself provides ample evidence that "violence" is not the committee's real target: One of the activities for which it denounces the UPU, for example, is sending free newspaper subscriptions to prisoners.

The report devotes an entire section to the National Lawyers Guild, which it labels a "Communist front," apparently because of the role of NLG members in defending prisoners' rights.

The committee says it plans hearings on radical groups "in an effort to determine the extent of their influence, the reasons for their apparent growth, and what may be done to curtail or eliminate them as threats to our society's well-being and safety." (Emphasis added.)

Ichord speech

Richard Ichord (D-Mo.), head of the House Internal Security Committee, in a speech in Congress Feb. 20, sought to use the Hearst kidnapping in arguing for continuation of his committee, which even some of his colleagues see as an embarrassing relic of McCarthyism.

Ichord said that his staff had compiled information on the SLA and turned it over to the FBI. He read into the record a letter of thanks from FBI director Clarence Kelley.

Ichord concluded by quoting approvingly from a Feb. 14 editorial in the *Wall Street Journal*:

"... the SLA certainly shows how easy it is for groups spewing out violent rhetoric to turn their fantasies into reality. Yet we have heard it suggested, have we not, that concern of such 'dissenters' is somehow not a legitimate concern of the FBI and other law enforcement agencies, such concern is evidence of official 'paranoia,' if not indeed a plot to change the U.S. into a police state. How many of those who have made these suggestions, we wonder, would be willing to make them in front of the Hearst family?"

Defenders of civil liberties have an immediate obligation to expose the hypocritical claims of concern over "violence" for what they really are: last ditch attempts to justify unconstitutional and antidemocratic assaults against anyone who voices disagreement with the government.

Riesel defends COINTELPRO

Now the notorious labor-baiting syndicated columnist Victor Riesel has published a slanderous article, printed in the March 22 *Chicago Today* and other papers, attempting to link the Socialist Workers Party to terrorism. The full text of Riesel's column will appear in the April 8 issue of the *Intercontinental Press*.

Riesel's purpose is clearly spelled out in the last paragraph of the column, in which he complains, "In the past few years we have listened. Many have made it impossible for the FBI and other authorities to infiltrate and keep files. Even now the FBI is being forced to disgorge its dossiers."

Riesel's fears were even more explicitly stated in a February column bemoaning condemnation of the use of agents provocateurs as "illegal espionage and invasion of civil rights."

In that column Riesel said: "The undercover persons are mocked, ridiculed and hounded. And when the late FBI director J. Edgar Hoover tried counterintelligence infiltration with his 'COINTELPRO'—New Left he was forced to kill it. And the FBI was sued successfully to make it public."

ire of documents on COIN- (FBI jargon for "counter- program") was forced a lawsuit by NBC-TV cor- at Carl Stern. Texts of CO- IO materials released to date inted in *The Militant* on Dec. and Feb. 1, March 1, and 1974.

February column Riesel fore more harm is done, be- intelligence hands are tied, e must learn this new terror d's play."

ve avowed aim of Riesel's smears is to begin a coun- against all those, like the s of the SWP and YSA's suit, d force disclosure and elim- secret FBI plans for politi- ge.

is impossible for Riesel to shred of evidence that the orts terrorism, he stoops to contemptible methods of ers: unproved allegations, falsifications, and smears. March 22 column, Riesel have discovered "a new now dly wealthy terrorist inter- swiftly raising its minions ns from ransoms and bank . . .

amilitary self-styled Robin a killer, Mario Roberto San- sophisticated Argentinian in s.

lite, leading intellectual ex- world terror as a tactic of vil war is Ernest Mandel, est Germain, one of the remost Marxists. . . .

asy to trace the terrorist ind- l. Basically it is the revived of followers of the late Leon (who quixotically enough a Bronx tailor shop worker m Stalin's Russia). this is the United Secretariat outh International run by Mandel in Brussels."

the source for all this sen- information"? It seems rea- assume that Riesel's ma- elated to the FBI COINTEL- er that the left "must be ex- public scrutiny through the on of reliable news media

arges that Riesel mouths are lar—with a few lurid em- ts—to slanders about a "ter- rnational" published in Sep- 1972 by *Newsweek* magazine ondon *Economist*.

answers smears

the ground rules for "public as conducted by these witch- a that the victim is not al- answer the smear charges. *osweek* refused to print a n Ernest Mandel in 1972 heir distortions of his views. was printed in full in the 1972, issue of *Interconti- ss* and the October 13, 1972,

stated that the Fourth Inter- the world Trotskyist organi- not a terrorist organization ways rejected the philosophy ods of terrorism, [which are] to the Marxist principles it ."

d that a sentence *Newsweek* quotation marks and at-

tributed to him, calling for "active partic- ipation of our comrades in armed insurrections designed to destroy the established order," was a complete fabrication.

Mandel continued: "Today, especially since May 1968, the Fourth Interna- tional enjoys growing influence among revolutionary youth and workers in many countries. It tries to turn their idealistic efforts at social change towards concrete and realizable political goals. This is seen by the rulers as a threat against their rule. So they attempt to organize a growing repres- sion against us. For that purpose, a frame-up on the occasion of some terrorist incident is a welcome oppor- tunity.

"Police informers and other profes- sionals in the noble art of curtailing freedom of thought, speech, organiza- tion, and travel the world over are experts in this type of frame-up. They cannot understand this simple truth: that society can only be chahged through the efforts of millions, of broad social forces, and that it is ri- dulous to attribute to Marxists the wish to 'conspire' and to build so- cialism without the conscious resolu- tion of the majority of the toilers. This is typical of the police or James Bond-type mind."

Factual blunders

For someone who professes to be exposing the inside dope on a "ter- rorist international," Riesel displays a sovereign disregard for the most ele- mentary facts.

Surely the FBI could have told him that Trotsky's only period of exile in the U.S. was in January and February 1917—seven years before Stalin's rise to power. After Trotsky was exiled from the Soviet Union by Stalin in 1929, the U.S. government refused him admission to this country.

Nor was Trotsky ever a tailor. More to the point, Trotsky was never a terrorist. He was an eloquent and con- sistent opponent of individual terror- ism from the time he embraced Marx- ism in 1897 until his assassination in 1940, as even a cursory examination of his writings shows.

Particularly garbled is Riesel's ac- count of Washington's refusal to ad- mit Ernest Mandel into the U.S. for a lecture tour. Riesel writes:

"When Germain-Mandel attempted to enter the U.S. in 1972 his visa ap- plication was rejected. University lead- ers of Harvard, MIT and elsewhere fought for him. The Supreme Court turned him back. It was the so-often undervalued House Committee on In- ternal Security which identified Ernest Mandel for what he is—Ernest Ger- main, world terrorism's most influen- tial philosophical proponent."

To start with, Riesel gets the dates wrong. Mandel was invited to speak in the U.S. in 1969, not 1972. The State Department had previously granted him entry in 1962 and 1968, but this time the Justice Department, under Attorney General John Mitchell, stubbornly refused.

Nor does the vaunted detective work by HISC bear close scrutiny. Mandel himself is the source of the informa- tion that he uses the pen name of Er- nest Germain from time to time. The fact was published in the widely read German newsweekly *Der Spiegel* in

1972 for instance.

Riesel is right on only one poin- Academic leaders from more than 5 universities condemned the ban o- Mandel, as did the *New York Time*, *New York Post*, and three Suprem- Court justices. Even Secretary of Sta- William Rogers dissociated himse- from the attorney general's actio- saying, "Why should we be afraid- this man and his ideas?"

But who knows—Rogers may- the next to be unmasked by Riesel- a secret agent of the "terrorist int- ernational."

The chief instigator of the ban o- Mandel was none other than Joh- "Law 'n' Order" Mitchell, now und- indictment for conspiracy, perjur- and obstruction of justice.

It should especially be noted th- the government, in arguing for Ma- del's exclusion, never even attempt- to make a case about "terrorism." They knew that was impossible. In- stead they asserted that the govern- ment has a right to ban from th- "land of the free" anyone it ma- choose, for any reason it may choos- and without disclosing the reason.

Riesel devotes most of his colum- to the ERP (Ejército Revolucionari- del Pueblo—Revolutionary Army o- the People) of Argentina. Here he ca- not even manage to keep his slan- ders straight.

At one point he says that Santuch- central leader of the ERP, "has to- the Argentine Trotskyite party to g- to hell. And he has told Mandel's secretariat to join the party in h- special brand of political purgatory . . .

But just three paragraphs lat- Riesel contradicts himself. He alleg- that "they [the ERP and other Lat- American guerrillas] are knit by a- information network streaming fro- the Trotskyite United Secretariat o- the Fourth International in Brussels . . .

ERP not Trotskyist

The fact is that the example of th- ERP demonstrates just the opposit- of what Riesel sets out to prove. Th- ERP is one of the various guerrilla- organizations that have carried ou- kidnappings and other isolated ac- tions in Latin America.

It is true that Santucho original- came to prominence in Argentine poli- tics as a member of the Fourth Ir- ternational. However, he develop- deep differences with the program o- Trotskyism that eventually led him- split from the movement, to disavo- the Fourth International, and to pub- licly protest the press describing hi- or his organization as "Trotskyist" - as having anything to do with Tro- skyism. The full text of Santucho's statement will appear in the April- issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

As for the position of the Social- Workers Party on individual ter- rorism, this is clear and publicly we- known. For instance, on April 1- 1972, the Political Committee of th- SWP issued a statement on the ERP- kidnapping of Oberdán Sallustro- manager of the Argentine branch o- Fiat Concord.

The SWP statement ascribed the ris- in such guerrilla actions to the vic- lent repression imposed by the Argen-

military dictatorship: arbitrary
arrest, torture, secret killings,
use of troops against the workers
leaders.

Let us say: "In place of power
grabs by the masses themselves,
the SWP is attempting to substitute
actions by a tiny group. Their
actions are placed on these actions
as examples to the people
in the slums. They hope that
the dramatic nature of the 'exemplary
actions' will inspire the masses to
moving toward toppling the old
regime and establishing a government
of their own.

In reality, the work of bringing
the masses into the political arena
is their invincible power differs
radically from such notions. It re-
quires deep involvement in the daily
life of the masses. It requires patient
struggle, under the guidance of a
revolutionary-socialist party, to pro-
mote demands directly linked to the eco-
nomic, social, and political needs of
the masses, and to organize support
for these demands in such a way as
to raise the self-confidence of the
masses and take them through transi-
ent steps onto the road of a so-
cialist revolution.

The primary task at present is to
bring a revolutionary-socialist party
into being, capable of providing effective political
leadership to this process. Guerrilla ac-
tions like the kidnapping of Sallustro
to divert the revolutionists from the
party, divert attention and energy
from party building, and lead to un-
necessary defeats."

In face of the difficulty of smearing
the SWP as a "terrorist" organization,
Hoover tries a different tack. He writes:
[the Fourth International's]
"The only party which can affiliate is the Socialist
Workers Party, still nonviolent though
it is a deviation called the Interna-
tional Tendency which believes in ter-
rorism and its grim variations. It has
branches in New York and the Oakland-
Berkeley area and points in between
as Bloomington, Ind.; Houston,
Texas, and in eight other cities."

In a statement issued March 25 by
James P. Barnes, national secretary of the
Socialist Workers Party, takes up these
charges:

"Hoover and his FBI mentors know
well that the Socialist Workers
Party is not the 'American affiliate'
of the Fourth International and has
never been since the passage of the Voor-
hees Act in 1940. This reactionary le-
gislation, which we are fighting to
abolish, prohibits the SWP from for-
mal affiliation to the Fourth Interna-

"The witch-hunters also know that
there are no tendencies, no 'devia-
tions,' no 'dissidents,' and no mem-
bers in the SWP that advocate ter-
rorism. In view of the traditions of
socialism and Trotskyism and the pro-
gram of the SWP, support to terrorism
is incompatible with membership in
the party."

Agents provocateurs

In an interview with *The Militant*,
Barnes added, "It is not excluded, of
course, that the FBI might 'discover'

a 'member' who would echo slanders
such as those made by Riesel. We
know the FBI carried out an 'SWP
Disruption Program'; we know cops
try to infiltrate our ranks, as the
Houston police were recently forced to
admit.

"Moreover, we also know that in-
stigating violence is a time-honored
tactic of agents provocateurs. From
the assassinations by the Social Revo-
lutionaries in tsarist Russia to the
bombings by the Weatherpeople, it has
been found time and again that the
real terrorist ringleaders prove to be
police agents assigned to sabotage,
discredit, disorient, and victimize the
revolutionary movement.

"All this is well known to Riesel
and the more significant forces for
whom he speaks," Barnes said. "Their
real motivation in attacking the SWP
has nothing to do with 'terrorism.'

"Just a few weeks ago the Justice
Department was forced to release a
1961 letter by J. Edgar Hoover setting
in motion the 'SWP Disruption Pro-
gram.' Hoover wrote: 'The Socialist
Workers Party (SWP) has, over the
past several years, been openly es-
pousing its line on a local and na-
tional basis through running candi-
dates for public office and strongly
directing and/or supporting such
causes as Castro's Cuba and integra-
tion problems arising in the South.'

"What a contrast between this secret
document, which Hoover never in-
tended the public to see, and the phony
'terrorism' stories planted in the mass
media! What the rulers really fear
about us is not 'violence,' but the
power of our ideas—that we support
the struggle of Black people for lib-
eration; that we oppose U. S. aggres-
sion from Cuba to Vietnam; and that
we tell the truth about their system
of violence and minority rule.

"These are the real 'crimes' for which
Roosevelt imprisoned the leaders of
the SWP and the Minneapolis Team-
sters during World War II, for which
the McCarthyites tried to fire James
Kutcher and other socialists during
the 1950s, and for which the state of
Indiana tried to railroad the Bloom-
ington YSAers to jail in 1963.

"The revolutionary socialists were
not silenced then and we will not be
silenced now. We will continue to
present our ideas to the American work-
ers, and we will fight unyieldingly for
our democratic right to do so."

THE MILITANT/APRIL 5, 1974



Ernest Mandel (left) during interview with 'Der Spiegel.' Supersnoopers could have discovered Mandel used pen name Germain just by reading the German magazine.



HOOVER: Engineered SWP Disruption Program because of socialist election campaigns, not 'terrorism.'



Chicago SWP headquarters after attacked by right-wing goons in 1970. Such terrorist assaults, like government harassment, are attempts to halt presentation of socialist ideas.

VOORHIS ACT

2386. Registration of certain organizations

(A) For the purposes of this section:

"Attorney General" means the Attorney General of the United States;

"Organization" means any group, club, league, society, committee, association, political party, or combination of individuals, whether incorporated or otherwise, but such term shall not include any corporation, association, community chest, fund, or foundation, organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes;

"Political activity" means any activity the purpose or aim of which, or one of the purposes or aims of which, is the control by force or overthrow of the Government of the United States or a political subdivision thereof, or any State or political subdivision thereof;

An organization is engaged in "civilian military activity" if:

- (1) it gives instruction to, or prescribes instruction for, its members in the use of firearms or other weapons or any substitute therefor, or military or naval science; or
- (2) it receives from any other organization or from any individual instruction in military or naval science; or
- (3) it engages in any military or naval maneuvers or activities; or
- (4) it engages, either with or without arms, in drills or parades of a military or naval character; or
- (5) it engages in any other form of organized activity which in the opinion of the Attorney General constitutes preparation for military action;

An organization is "subject to foreign control" if:

- (a) it solicits or accepts financial contributions, loans, or support of any kind, directly or indirectly, from, or is affiliated directly or indirectly with, a foreign government or a political subdivision thereof, or an agent, agency, or instrumentality of a foreign government or political subdivision thereof, or a political party in a foreign country, or an international political organization; or
- (b) its policies, or any of them, are determined by or at the suggestion of, or in collaboration with, a foreign government or political subdivision thereof, or an agent, agency, or instrumentality of a foreign government or a political subdivision thereof, or a political party in a foreign country, or an international political organization.

Voorhis Act/2

(B)(1) The following organizations shall be required to register with the Attorney General:

Every organization subject to foreign control which engages in political activity;

Every organization which engages both in civilian military activity and in political activity;

Every organization subject to foreign control which engages in civilian military activity; and

Every organization, the purpose or aim of which, or one of the purposes or aims of which, is the establishment, control, conduct, seizure, or overthrow of a government or subdivision thereof by the use of force, violence, military measures, or threats of any one or more of the foregoing.

Every such organization shall register by filing with the Attorney General, on such forms and in such detail as the Attorney General may by rules and regulations prescribe, a registration statement containing the information and documents prescribed in subsection (B)(3) and shall within thirty days after the expiration of each period of six months succeeding the filing of such registration statement, file with the Attorney General, on such forms and in such detail as the Attorney General may by rules and regulations prescribe, a supplemental statement containing such information and documents as may be necessary to make the information and documents previously filed under this section accurate and current with respect to such preceding six months' period. Every statement required to be filed by this section shall be subscribed, under oath, by all of the officers of the organization.

(2) This section shall not require registration or the filing of any statement with the Attorney General by:

(a) The armed forces of the United States; or

(b) The organized militia or National Guard of any State, Territory, District, or possession of the United States; or

(c) Any law-enforcement agency of the United States or of any Territory, District or possession thereof, or of any State or political subdivision of a State, or of any agency or instrumentality of one or more States; or

(d) Any duly established diplomatic mission or consular office of a foreign government which is so recognized by the Department of State; or

(e) Any nationally recognized organization of persons who are veterans of the armed forces of the United States, or affiliates of such organizations.

(3) Every registration statement required to be filed by any organization shall contain the following information and documents:

- (a) The name and post-office address of the organization in the United States, and the names and addresses of all branches, chapters, and affiliates of such organization;
- (b) The name, address, and nationality of each officer, and of each person who performs the functions of an officer, of the organization, and of each branch, chapter, and affiliate of the organization;
- (c) The qualifications for membership in the organization;
- (d) The existing and proposed aims and purposes of the organization, and all the means by which these aims or purposes are being attained or are to be attained;
- (e) The address or addresses of meeting places of the organization, and of each branch, chapter, or affiliate of the organization, and the times of meetings;
- (f) The name and address of each person who has contributed any money, dues, property, or other thing of value to the organization or to any branch, chapter, or affiliate of the organization;
- (g) A detailed statement of the assets of the organization, and of each branch, chapter, and affiliate of the organization, the manner in which such assets were acquired, and a detailed statement of the liabilities and income of the organization and of each branch, chapter, and affiliate of the organization;
- (h) A detailed description of the activities of the organization, and of each chapter, branch, and affiliate of the organization;
- (i) A description of the uniforms, badges, insignia, or other means of identification prescribed by the organization, and worn or carried by its officers or members, or any of such officers or members;
- (j) A copy of each book, pamphlet, leaflet, or other publication or item of written, printed, or graphic matter issued or distributed directly or indirectly by the organization, or by any chapter, branch, or affiliate of the organization, or by any of the members of the organization under its authority or within its knowledge, together with the name of its author or authors and the name and address of the publisher;
- (k) A description of all firearms or other weapons owned by the organization, or by any chapter, branch, or affiliate of the organization, identified by the manufacturer's number thereon;
- (l) In case the organization is subject to foreign control, the manner in which it is so subject;
- (m) A copy of the charter, articles of association, constitution, bylaws, rules, regulations, agreements, resolutions, and all other instruments relating to the organization, powers, and purposes of the organization and to the powers of the officers of the organization and of each chapter, branch, and affiliate of the organization; and
- (n) Such other information and documents pertinent to the purposes of this section as the Attorney General may from time to time require.