

x: Reba, Jack, Gus, Larry, Novack, M-A, John B., B/c, Doug

EXPOSE HANSEN

STATEMENT BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, FEBRUARY 27, 1979

JOSEPH HANSEN, leader of the revisionist Socialist Workers Party of the United States, is dead.

But his 40-year role as an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) lives on.

Hansen has bequeathed a two-fold legacy to the SWP. First, there is a mountain of unanswered questions about his FBI involvement, and secondly, a nest of handpicked, trained FBI successors.

They have stepped into Hansen's shoes to continue the spying, the provocations, disruptions and murder plots which are the stock-in-trade of the imperialist spy agencies.

Hansen's death has left 17 acknowledged FBI agents all in leading positions controlling the SWP.

Their takeover of the SWP was established in the US courts in a \$40m damages suit brought by the SWP itself. It was confirmed in detail by Mr M. Wesley Swearingen, a 25-year FBI officer who gave a tape-recorded interview to the UPI news agency in November 1978 after his retirement.

Swearingen said that the 'highest offices' in the SWP were held by FBI agents, adding: 'I wouldn't be surprised to find out that everybody controlling the SWP is an FBI agent.'

Speaking about one of the FBI's top SWP informers, Swearingen said: 'People wouldn't believe who he is.'

On January 18, 1979, Hansen died. A monument could be constructed of the official documents uncovered by the International Committee of the Fourth International proving that Hansen consorted first with the Stalinist GPU secret police, and then became an FBI informer.

In one of his final acts, Hansen attempted to suppress forever his role as a double agent. He negotiated an agreement with the US Justice Department never to reveal the identity of the 18 FBI agents in the leadership of the SWP.

Hansen wanted this 'immortality' for himself as well as a cast-iron guarantee that his successors would be protected.

The terms of the deal were agreed at the highest Cabinet level following a meeting at Camp David between President Carter and



his Attorney General Griffin Bell. Protection of the agents' identity was considered so vital that Bell announced he would commit contempt of court and risk going to jail rather than hand over the FBI files. He became the first US Attorney General in history to defy the courts on an issue of this kind.

Deal

Hansen's secret deal with the government became public in November last year when US Federal Attorney Robert Fisk Jr told three judges on the Second US Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington that the names of the FBI agents in the SWP were being suppressed on the grounds of 'national security'.

Disclosure of the files would 'cause incalculable

harm to the nation's ability to protect itself,' Fisk said. And then he made the most astonishing statement of all: 'We would rather lose the case than turn over the files of these informants.'

In other words, the US government is offering \$40m in taxpayers' cash to protect its vital network in the SWP.

Even before Hansen died, the arrangements were completed for the establishment of a Committee for the Protection of Agents.

Ostensibly the purpose of this Joseph Hansen memorial body is to raise \$20,000 to publish his books, but this is chickenfeed beside the \$40m that the US government placed on protecting his head.

With Reba Hansen as treasurer and George Novack as chairman, there can be no doubt that the committee will dedicate it-



Joseph Hansen . . . an indulgence for ice-cream and cigars



self to fighting a rearguard action against the continuing investigations by the International Committee and to financing all kinds of sinister provocations to prevent the truth coming out.

In an irksome tribute, French revisionist Pierre Frank referred to Reba Hansen who 'collaborated with him [Hansen] indefatigably for years' ('Rouge', January 22, 1979, shortly before it collapsed from being a daily and became a weekly.)

Suppress

She undoubtedly 'collaborated' with Hansen and knew what was going on. Evidence of this can be drawn from the fact that she conspired with Hansen to suppress the role of GPU agent Sylvia Franklin, who was secretary to the late James P. Cannon from 1938 until she was unmasked by a GPU defector.

Although Franklin spied on the Trotskyist movement at the centre of its headquarters in New York and belonged to the GPU murder team that executed Trotsky in August 1949, Reba Hansen wrote in 1977 that she was 'a very warm human being' and a loyal and dedicated party member.

The Agents' Protection Committee includes Tariq Ali and Robin Blackburn of the so-called 'International Marxist Group'; Ken Coates of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation; Tamara Deutscher; Quintin Hoare of the 'New Left Review'; proven political provocateur Ernest Tate; and Ireland's most notorious opportunist Bernadette Devlin McAliskey misleadingly described in the sponsors' list as 'Irish revolutionist'!

These individuals are all conversant with the factual, documentary evidence com-

plied by the International Committee of the Fourth International. They have consciously come down for the cover-up of the role of the imperialist and Stalinist agents in the ranks of the Trotskyist movement.

They deliberately committed themselves to a far deeper, counter-revolutionary conspiracy than could have been foreseen when the International Committee started its inquiry in 1975. Its scope goes to the heart of US imperialism's 'national security' and the price for its protection is \$40m.

Identity

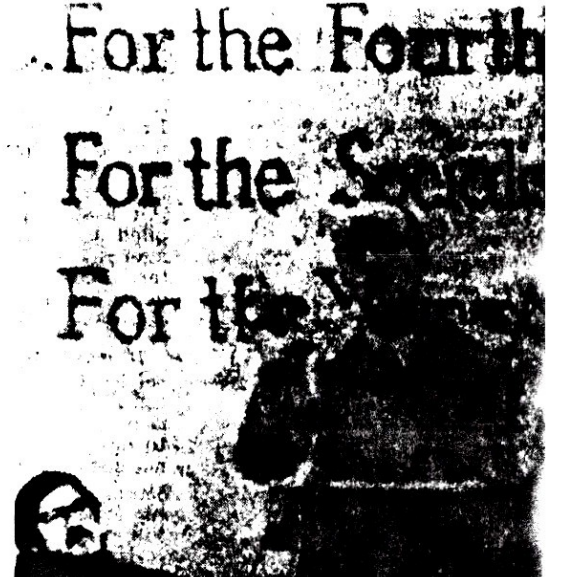
Hansen's henchmen now come into the full glare of the International Committee investigation. Their identities can be established from SWP Political Committee minutes.



George Novack (left), Pierre Lambert and Mrs Betty Hamilton on the 'Platform of Shame' in London on January 14, 1976. The meeting was called to heap vicious slander on the International Committee

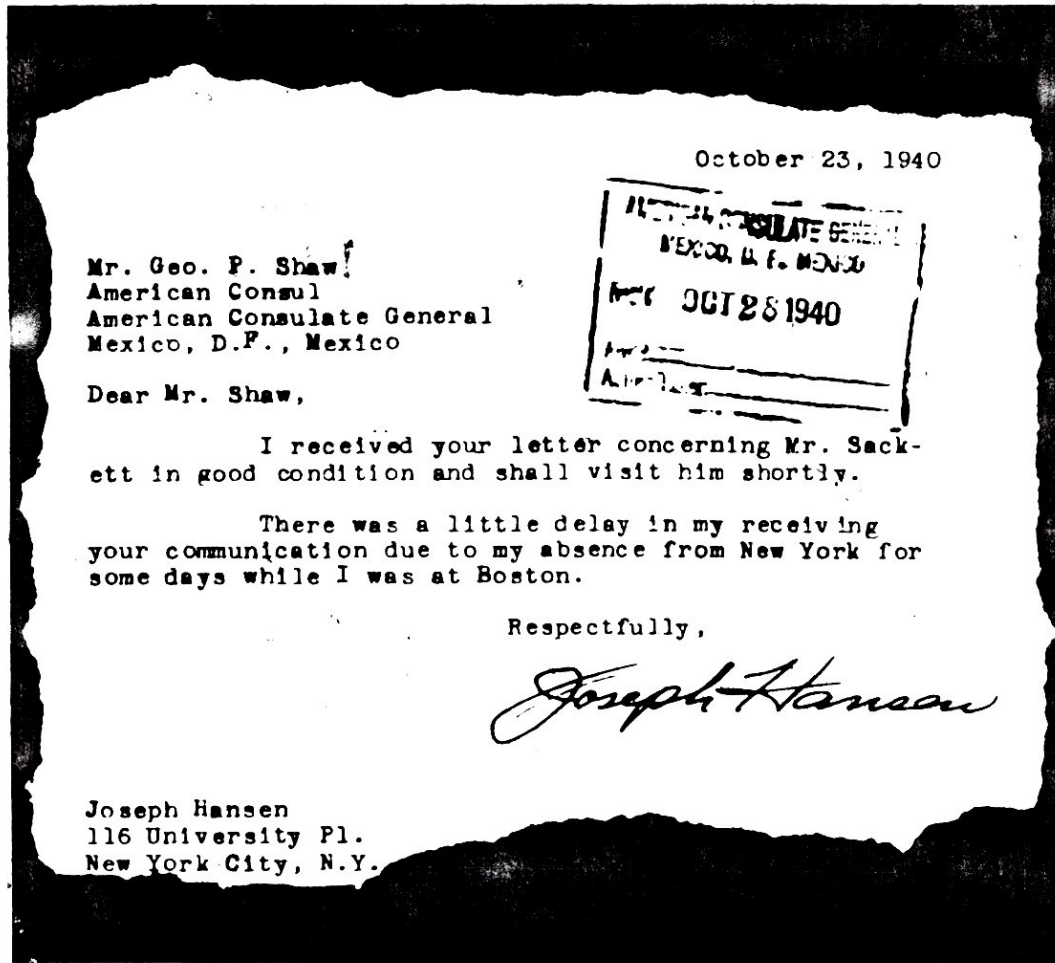


Mary Alice Waters counter campaign against 'Security and the Fourth International'



Jack Barnes, Socialist Workers Party national secretary New York on January 28

S FBI NETWORK



A letter from Hansen to George P. Shaw, the American Consul, thanking him 'respectfully' for being put in touch with the FBI in New York



Joseph Hansen with his wife Reba in the early 1940s. She conspired with Hansen to suppress the role of GPU agent Sylvia Franklin

The first significant entry is in February 1976. At that time the SWP leaders and their mouthpieces in the so-called United Secretariat in Europe were saying that the International Committee's indictment of Hansen had been 'completely answered' in articles written by Hansen in his own house organ, 'Intercontinental Press'.

But the minutes show that Hansen's public bravado was only to conceal his private panic. Mary Alice Waters said the campaign on 'Security and the Fourth International' had reached such force 'that we have no choice but to initiate a counter-campaign in defence of the truth'. (PC minutes February 6, 1976.)

After a discussion, it was decided to set up a special committee 'to implement this and empower them to co-opt other SWP leaders as necessary'.

It was clear from the beginning that Hansen was not going to take the course of a revolutionist and participate in an International Commission of Inquiry to establish the truth.

On the contrary, he became the chairman of the special committee to wage the 'counter-campaign' against the International Committee. In this way Hansen established himself as judge and jury of the International Committee's case against him and meant that he could effectively block any questioning from the rank and file.

His partners on the tightly-knit committee were Jack Barnes, the party's national secretary, and one Gus Horowitz.

Compiled

At the SWP Political Committee meeting just over a month later, March 12, 1976, Mary Alice Waters reported that Pierre Lambert and Mrs Betty Hamilton of the liquidationist, anti-Marxist French group, the OCI, had written pro-Hansen testimonials. This was the meeting that decided on the circulation of a round robin, compiled and controlled by the agents, condemning the International Committee's evidence and its irrefutable indictment of Hansen.

It was the agents themselves who rushed to sign this notorious document, and they naturally urged others to do likewise since it was nothing less than a freedom charter for them to remain in control of the organisation.

But the SWP's voluminous output of slander could not bury the findings of 'Security and the Fourth International', nor could it stop the in-

vestigation being carried forward.

The minutes reveal that as the International Committee rigorously pursued its investigation making exposure after exposure of Hansen's sinister connections, it was Hansen who deliberately set out to create an atmosphere of 'violence'.

At a Political Committee meeting on June 3, 1977, the second item on the agenda was the International Committee's most recent findings on Hansen. The minutes record that Hansen was invited to attend for this discussion, and gave a report.

After discussion the minutes give this ominous notice: 'Agreed to alert comrades to the final paragraph of Healyite article and threat of new physical provocations from Workers League members.'

This meeting was in reality a council of war. It set the SWP on a course of fantastic denunciations of the Workers League, the Trotskyist party in the US which is in political solidarity with the International Committee.

Role

The paragraph referred to in the SWP minutes appeared in the International Committee statement which shattered the 30-year cover-up by Mr and Mrs Hansen of the GPU spy role of Sylvia Franklin. The International Committee located her, interviewed her and proved that she had been a GPU agent and an accomplice in Trotsky's murder.

The statement 'Sylvia Franklin - GPU agent unmasked' concluded with these sentences: 'The completion of the Sylvia Franklin case is a milestone in the two-year inquiry, but there is much more to come.'

'We have reason to believe that this could well produce provocations against our movement all over the world.'

'This places the greatest urgency on the International Committee's demand for a Commission of Inquiry to hear all the testimony and examine all the evidence.' (May 24, 1966).

Hansen used the next few months to make shouts of 'violence' against the Workers League and to make reprehensible accusations against its leadership.

Then, on the night of October 16, 1977, Hansen's fabrications of 'violence' took on

not even accord the revolutionary commiserations which are customary after such tragedies in the workers' movement.

But the silence spoke volumes. It showed the doubters and waverers exactly where Hansen stood - in the dark at the side of the assassin. And this silence left no doubt that the paymasters of the assassin are the still unnamed FBI agents in the leadership of the SWP.

Hansen's death has not blotted out his sinister record in the Trotskyist movement, but begged the question - Who was Joseph Hansen after all?



Tom Henahan . . . SWP kept silent on his murder

tragic significance. Workers League Political Committee member Tom Henahan, who was also a print worker on the party's press, was gunned down by a hired professional killer while supervising a party social in Brooklyn.

Although the identity of the killer was known to the police and the FBI within an hour of the murder, no arrest was made then or since!

Hansen's SWP showed precisely where it stood on this political murder by keeping strictly silent; it did

look, Barnes said: 'Joe was a student of Freud. He understood a lot about himself, about us, about our conscious thought, and about our unconscious processes. I think Freud shaped his life more than anyone except Trotsky.'

'He despised Stalinism partly because of its reactionary falsification and rejection of scientists, such as Freud.'

His objection to Stalinism is reduced to its lack of appreciation for Freud, and not its counter-revolutionary impact on the international working class, the Bolshevik Party and its sadistic murder of Trotsky and all his friends and relatives.

If this is a summation of Hansen's philosophy then he was little more than a reactionary mystic which would have made him capable of anything.

Collaborator

With Hansen's death, the full weight of responsibility for the continued existence of an FBI faction in the SWP leadership falls on an easily recognisable group.

These are the remainder of the 'committee of counter-measures', Barnes and Horowitz; the old-time accomplice George Novack; the life-long collaborator Reba Hansen; the feverish defenders of the agents like Mary Alice Waters, John Benson, Larry Slagle and Barry Shepherd.

The International Committee signifies Hansen's death by pledging to raise a fund of \$30,000, much more than the \$20,000 for Hansen's protection, to pursue the investigation into 'Security and the Fourth International' to the very end.

February 27, 1979



ing at Hansen's memorial meeting in