

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
100-436291

embarrassment to the Socialist Workers Party and, in addition, would cause considerable financial embarrassment to the PBSWP.

In view of the above, it is recommended that Philadelphia be granted authority to place this operation in effect through [redacted] with the request that [redacted] bring this situation to the attention of appropriate city officials of Philadelphia.

ACTION:

There is attached a letter to the Philadelphia Office granting authority to carry out the operation as recommended, if Philadelphia can assure that the Bureau will not be revealed as the source.

*Sent B<sub>2</sub>*

*JMC WGS  
+ B<sub>2</sub>*

*V.*

*B<sub>2</sub>*

1 - [redacted]  
1 - [redacted]  
SAC, Newark (100-42359) (100-46426)

March 14, 1962

Director, FBI (100-3-104) (100-436291)

100-436291-

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ReNKairtel dated 3/8/62 which suggested that a letter purportedly signed by [redacted] Socialist Workers Party (SWP) be sent to [redacted] Party State Board. This letter would draw attention to a new youth group which [redacted] organization fully supports and request [redacted] to assist a member of this new group who will contact [redacted] in the near future.

[redacted] is well known as being connected with the SWP and [redacted] is undoubtedly familiar with [redacted] activities and SWP affiliation. Any letter written by [redacted] would be open to suspicion by the very nature of the type of enmity and distrust which exists between the Communist Party (CP) and the SWP. It does not appear logical for [redacted] member for any kind of assistance.

Your suggestion, therefore, is not approved. The Bureau appreciates that it was prompted by your awareness of the importance of a counterintelligence operation to disrupt any attempt to form a new CP youth group. The activities of the Marxist discussion group being conducted by [redacted] Board member should be closely followed and if [redacted] members it may be possible through an informant, an anonymous letter or an anonymous telephone call at an opportune time to alert [redacted] to the fact that [redacted] may be recruiting Trotskyites into the CP.

Submit any counterintelligence plan to the Bureau for approval before initiating any action.

YELLOW  
DUPLICATE  
MAR 13 1962  
MAILED

63 MAR 16 1962

ARW:cjc/bgc (7)

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-3-104-10000

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC.  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 28 1962 AND FILED  
IN 100-18 (SWP MAIN FILE)

Letter to Newark  
RE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

100-3-104  
100-436291

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Newark advised [redacted]  
[redacted] Newark, New Jersey, is a member of  
a Marxist discussion group being conducted by [redacted]  
[redacted] plans to contact [redacted] in the near  
future for [redacted] is known  
to have been in contact with SWP members recently for  
reasons unknown.

3/8/62

**AIRTEL**

**REGISTERED MAIL**

**TO: DIRECTOR, FBI**

**FROM: SAC, NEWARK**

**COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
IS - C  
Bufile: 100-3-104  
Newark: 100-42359**

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM  
IS - C  
Bufile: 100-436291  
Newark: 100-46426**

Enclosed are three copies of a proposed letter composed by Newark which purports to be a letter from [redacted] of the [redacted]

Bureau authority is requested to mail this letter to [redacted] State Board.

For the Bureau's information, it is noted that [redacted] Newark, N. J. is also a member of a Marxist discussion group conducted by [redacted] State Board, contacted [redacted] and informed [redacted] that he belongs to a young progressive organization in Hudson County. [redacted] told [redacted] this group is holding a series of meetings and [redacted]

4-Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL) (Enc. 3)

2-Newark  
EWC:kvv  
(6)

100-436291  
NOT RECORDED  
150 MAR 14 1962

ENCLOSURE

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC.  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED  
IN FILE # [redacted]

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-3-104-2521

NK 100-42359

needed a mailing list of youth to whom a flyer could be sent. [redacted] told [redacted] to turn the flyers over to him and he would mail them.

[redacted] recently in connection with youth activities of an unknown nature.

[redacted] and [redacted] deeply detest and mistrust one another.

Newark requests authorization to prepare and mail enclosed letter to [redacted] in belief it will cause [redacted] as a possible Trotskyite and possibly increase friction between [redacted] and [redacted] as well as between CP and SWP. If authorized, all precautions will be taken to preclude tracing back to FBI. It is believed that for maximum effectiveness this mailing should be completed as soon as possible.

P. O. Box 361  
Newark, New Jersey




Dear Sir:

It is my great pleasure to commend to your attention a new organization of progressive youth in Hudson County.

I and my associates are fully in support of this group of forward looking youth. They are worthy of the sympathetic consideration of all persons dedicated to the advancement of peace and equality. A member of this new organization will contact you in the near future. I hope that you will be able to see your way to render him and his organization all possible assistance.

Very truly yours,



DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC,  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT LETTER  
DATED Feb 26 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE). *gdm/df*

100-436291-  
ENCLOSURE

SAC, Philadelphia (100-2036)

March 15, 1962

REC-123

Director, FBI (100-436291)-34

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - [redacted]

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Reurlet 3-6-62.

Authority granted to advise [redacted]

[redacted] of the situation concerning the Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority acting as landlord for the Philadelphia Branch, Socialist Workers Party, with the request that [redacted] bring this matter to the attention of appropriate city officials of Philadelphia.

This approval is contingent upon your assurance that the Bureau will not be revealed as the source of the information. In the event this assurance cannot be given, approval is denied.

You should promptly advise the Bureau when this operation has been completed and any tangible results should be immediately furnished to the Bureau.

NOTE: See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan dated 3-14-62, same caption, TPR:blw.

TPR:blw  
(7)

MAILED 27  
MAR 15 1962  
COMM-FBI

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Malone \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Ingram \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

53 MAR 20 1962

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

*WGS*  
*878*  
*795/14*

WVB T P 1965

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 3/6/62

FROM : SAC, Philadelphia (100-2036)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReBulet 2/23/62.

This office has considered the possibility of disrupting the activities of the Philadelphia Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (PBSWP) through exposing its true nature to appropriate officials of the Philadelphia Housing Authority. It is felt that the best avenue of approach, which would both protect the Bureau from embarrassment and yet obtain the desired ends, is to work through the

[REDACTED] was in the past worked with the Bureau on discreet matters and has proven himself to be a most competent and trustworthy individual.

It is recommended that the present owner-tenant relationship between the City of Philadelphia and the PBSWP be made known to [REDACTED] with the request that this situation be brought to the attention of appropriate city officials.

- 2 - Bureau (100-436291) (R.M.)
- 1 - Philadelphia (100-2036)

CTA: pag  
(3)

REC-50

100-436291-34

MAR 7 1962

EX 101

INT. SEC.

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC,  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 23 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE). Sem/bs

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC,  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 23 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE). Sem/bs

FAX  
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127



Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 2/28/62

*JHMS*

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-39227)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Due to the lack of any pronounced difference in the Chicago Branch, Socialist Workers Party (CB,SWP), at this time, which would lend itself to the Disruption Program, this case is being placed in a closed status.

The Chicago Division will remain alert for any condition or circumstance whereby a Disruption Program in the CB,SWP may be instituted through live informants and/or anonymous mailings, and this case will be closely followed by administrative tickler.

EX-116

REC-34

100-436291-33

25 MAR 5 1962

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

RDH: cmb  
(3)

*CC 817 RB*

*MAR 1 3 08 PM '62*

301  
5 1 MAR 8 1962

RECEIVED

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# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 2/26/62

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
(DISRUPTION PROGRAM)  
IS - SWP

ReNY airtel, 1/16/62.

To date no positive results have become evident as the result of the disruptive tactic set forth in re airtel.

Activities of [redacted] have been observed since this disruptive tactic. [redacted] has not actively participated in any recent SWP activities, however, has attended a couple of SWP meetings.

If any positive results become evident as a result of above-mentioned disruptive tactic, the Bureau will be immediately advised.

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC,  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE). *JPM*

REC-45

EX 101

100-436291-32

- 2 - Bureau (100-436291) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-146608) (413)

18 FEB 27 1962

AJG:mys

(3)

50 MAR 2 1962

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SAC, Philadelphia (100-2036)

February 23, 1962

Director, FBI (100-436291)

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM**

The Bureau has initiated the above captioned program aimed at disrupting the activities of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) along similar lines that the Communist Party, USA, Counterintelligence Program is operated. One of the purposes of this program is to alert the general public to the fact that the SWP is not just another socialist group but follows the revolutionary principles of Marx, Lenin and Engels as interpreted by Leon Trotsky. It is not desired that this be a "Crash program" and only carefully thought out programs with the widest possible effect will be considered.

In connection with the above you are referred to the report of Special Agent [redacted] in Philadelphia, dated February 9, 1962, concerning the Philadelphia branch of the SWP wherein information is set forth on page two that the building housing the headquarters of the Philadelphia branch SWP, 1303 West Girard Avenue, was under the jurisdiction of the Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority. Rent is being paid to the city of Philadelphia. It is also reported that [redacted]

[redacted] in an effort to have the rent reduced on Philadelphia headquarters as "the Militant Labor Forum was a group interested in the working class and operates to get union workers together for discussion, etc., that it is a national group, and that its funds are practically nil and reduction of rent is needed."

The above appears to be an excellent opportunity for an operation under captioned program. Philadelphia should immediately explore all possible phases of a disruption program operation and submit to the Bureau recommendations regarding the possibility of alerting an official of the city of Philadelphia as to the nature of the SWP.

TPR:sac

MAILED 4  
FEB 23 1962  
COMM-FBI

19 FEB 26 1962

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

(54)

DELETED COPY SENT TO [redacted]  
FOR INSTANT [redacted]  
SWP CIVIL RIGHTS [redacted]  
DATED FEB 23 1962 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE). *gem/le*

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Malone
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Ingram
- Gandy

100-1136291-31

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 1/29/62

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (100-46426) (P)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReBulet, 12/20/61.

The records of the New Jersey Alcoholic Beverage Control Office, Morristown, New Jersey, which contain a listing of all establishments having liquor licenses in Warren County, New Jersey, were reviewed on 1/11/62 by SA [redacted]. No record was located reflecting that Mountain Spring Camp, Washington, New Jersey, has been issued a liquor license. SA [redacted] also ascertained that [redacted]

[redacted]. The Newark Division has furnished information to him on a confidential basis in the past, and he in turn has reciprocated with information which he possessed.

[redacted] on 1/29/62 that it is illegal for a private camp to sell liquor without a liquor license and that he would be the person to be notified of such a violation. He stated that he would be happy to receive such information from the Bureau and would treat the information as strictly confidential. He said he did not know the penalty for such a violation since [redacted] but said he does not think it is very severe.

Upon receipt of information reflecting that a week-end celebration is scheduled to be held at Mountain Spring Camp, after the completion of the Trotsky School, Bureau authority will be requested to advise [redacted] that information has been received that the camp is selling liquor at the bar and that a week-end celebration is planned at the camp.

- 2 - Bureau (RM) cc SWP
  - 1 - New York (100-146608) (RM)
  - 1 - Newark
- DWA:MCR  
(4)

12 JAN 30 1962

EX 102

58 FEB 2 1962

DELETED COPY SENT USA, INC.  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 2 1962 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE).

100-436291

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DWA

NY 100-46426

SWP members have been associating with Labor-Negro Vanguard Party members, and it is possible that friction between these two groups can be instituted or stimulated through the use of disruption tactics. These development are being closely followed and any suggestions in connection therewith will be submitted to the Bureau for approval.

# Memorandum

~~Confidential~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 1/18/62

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

OINKI-2-62  
Let will be sub  
1-30-62  
763

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS-SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Re Bureau letter to Newark, 12/20/61, cc to New York.

Re let authorized Newark to conduct discreet investigation to determine if the operation of Mountain Spring Camp constitutes a violation of New Jersey Liquor laws. ✓



The above is set forth for information of Newark and the Bureau, it being noted that Newark has suggested as a disruptive tactic a raid by the New Jersey State Police at some date in the future, when [redacted] will not have his informant status jeopardized by such an action. It is known that major celebrations, usually advertised openly in "The Militant", are held at the camp on Memorial Day, the 4th of July

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF CLASSIFICATION DATE 1-6-77

- 2-Bureau (100-436291) (RM)
- 1-Chicago A [redacted] (RM)
- 1-Newark (100-46426)
- 1-New York [redacted] (INV) (413)
- 1-New York (100-146608)

Classified by 7225  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~Confidential~~

GPB:jb  
(6) Classified by 387  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

REC-22  
EX-107

100-436291-29

22 JAN 22 1962

57 JAN 26 1962

INT/SEC

COPIES FOR RELEASE TO PARTICIPANTS IN SWP CIVIL SUITS DATED 11-1-77

and praised the efforts of the "freedom riders" in the struggle for civil rights. [redacted] charged that Negroes are the victims of police brutality in the South because the police are in sympathy with the racist elements. During discussions of this report, one of the speakers from the floor charged that the YSA should be very careful about identifying itself with the "freedom riders" because, he said, when the Negro youth becomes aware of the ineffective nature of the "freedom rider" tactic, they would then be prejudiced toward the YSA. The majority were of the opinion that the "freedom riders" were aiding civil rights and voted to accept [redacted]

Saturday, December 30, 1961, was devoted to discussions and arguments pertaining to the YSA's stand on the Cuban situation. A factional split had divided the YSA on this point among others. The majority faction contends that as the youth group of the SWP, the YSA should be subject to SWP discipline and positions taken on various matters should follow that of the SWP. The minority faction disagrees and holds that the YSA should form its own opinions which, in some instances, will deviate from that of the SWP. A majority resolution placing the YSA in support of the Cuban government of FIDEL CASTRO was [redacted]

[redacted] stated that the Cuban revolution resulted in the first pocket of socialism in the Western hemisphere, and that much can be learned from it. He further stated that Cuba is the first country the Trotskyites are able to support since no repressive measures have been taken against the Trotskyites by CASTRO. [redacted] claimed that by arming the peasants, Cuba demonstrated the existence of a true democracy since the peasants when armed could have overthrown the regime were they not in sympathy with it. The minority faction attacked the majority resolution on the basis that the Cuban revolution was petty bourgeois in character and is not a Worker's State. The majority opinion prevailed and the resolution as [redacted] was adopted by a vote of the convention.

On Sunday, December 31, 1961, the factional differences were again demonstrated when resolutions pertaining to "Tasks and Perspectives" were considered. The majority faction submitted a resolution stating that the YSA should continue its policy of working with college youth in pursuit of the primary purpose of assembling a



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Chicago, Illinois  
January 2, 1962

100-36519

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE  
INTERNAL SECURITY -  
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

On January 1, 1962, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information pertaining to a National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) held in Chicago, Illinois, at 777 West Adams Street, on December 29, 30, and 31, 1961:

Average attendance at sessions of the convention was approximately 75 with a peak attendance of 91 persons on Saturday, December 30, 1961. Representatives attended from California, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Washington State, and Wisconsin in the United States as well as the provinces of British Columbia and Ontario, Canada.

Friday, December 29, 1961, was devoted to a series of reports including 16 area reports. These area reports were resumes of occurrences during the past year including an indication of the strengths and weaknesses of the YSA in these various areas. Generally the reports indicated that the YSA has been active on a number of college and university campuses and the main weakness appeared to be the difficulty in recruiting members. It was concluded that in the months ahead efforts should be made to extend activity to those campuses not already populated by YSA members.

The evening of December 29, 1961, was devoted to a civil rights report given by [redacted] Party (SWP) member. [redacted] in discussing the "sit-in" demonstrations and "freedom rider" activities in the southern states, stated that the YSA does not believe in pacifism as a philosophy because pacifism does not recognize a class struggle. He said that the YSA does, however, accept the use of pacifism as a tactic in certain instances

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY SLIP(S)  
DATE 6-5-79

EX-105  
1962

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

100-456771-

*declassified*  
2040  
7/26/77  
1/7/78





NY 100-146608

~~Confidential~~

The NYO will furnish any further pertinent information that may develop in regard to the above. ✓

- 2 -

~~Confidential~~

Via \_\_\_\_\_

**AIRTEL**

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

**TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-427226)**

**FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-36519)**

**CINAL**

**SUBJECT: YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE  
IS - SWP**

Re Bureau airtel to Detroit and Chicago dated 12/11/61 and New York letter to the Bureau dated 12/21/61.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of a letterhead memorandum pertaining to the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) National Convention held in Chicago, Illinois December 29, 30, and 31, 1961.

Copies of this letterhead memorandum are enclosed for New York since that office is office of origin for the YSA.

It is noted that copies of the channelizing memorandum of the information received from the source furnishing the information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum will be disseminated to all pertinent offices upon receipt of the informant's written report.

- 5 - Bureau (encls. 8) (RM)
  - 1 - 100-436291 (SWP DISRUPTION PROGRAM)
  - 1 - 100-16 (SWP)
- 3 - New York (encls. 3) (RM)
  - 1 - 100-133479 (YSA)
  - 1 - 100-4013 (SWP)
  - 1 - 100-146608 (SWP DISRUPTION PROGRAM)
- 4 - Chicago
  - 1 - 65-645 (SWP)
  - 1 - 100-39227 (SWP DISRUPTION PROGRAM)
  - 1 - 100-32207 (CINAL)

NOT RECORDED  
98 MAR 8 1962

JNM:gaa  
(12)

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-427226-384

ENCLOSURE

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M \_\_\_\_\_

Per \_\_\_\_\_

50 MAR 15 1962

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*don't  
classify  
DM*

The information contained in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was furnished by [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past. Characterization of the YSA was provided by [redacted] who also has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified confidential since information received from [redacted] if revealed, could reasonably result in the identification of this confidential informant of continuing value and possibly compromise his future effectiveness.

Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed and T symbols were utilized only in those instances where the identity of the source must be concealed.

GALE

revolutionary youth cadre capable of providing leadership in the struggle against capitalism. The minority faction held that the YSA orientation should be toward the working class youth in the factories and shops, contending that the working youth are more representative of class interests than are the students. Minority faction also contended that the YSA should concentrate on forming a cohesive National Organization. The majority faction stated the feeling that the YSA is unable to form a cohesive National Organization at this time because of a lack of class consciousness on the part of youth and the small numerical strength of the YSA. The majority faction resolution was adopted by a vote of the convention.

As the last item of business of the convention, delegates and seated alternates met on December 21, 1961, to elect National Officers.

Elected to the National Executive Committee of seven members were the following:

[REDACTED]

Of the above, all but [REDACTED] are SWP members. [REDACTED] joined the YSA during the past year.

A 22 member National Committee was also elected. Eighteen of those elected represented the majority faction, and the remaining four the minority faction of the YSA. This ratio is based on the ratio of majority and minority adherents in the membership at large.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled, "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA), was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 3, 1961, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957, in New York City, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised that the YSA is dominated and controlled in its leadership and ranks by members of the SWP. The source added that the SWP considers the YSA as a training field for hard-core SWP leadership activity and as its current and future hope for recruits and the promulgation of the SWP movement throughout the U.S.

The headquarters of the YSA are located at 10 East 23rd Street, New York City.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order #10450.

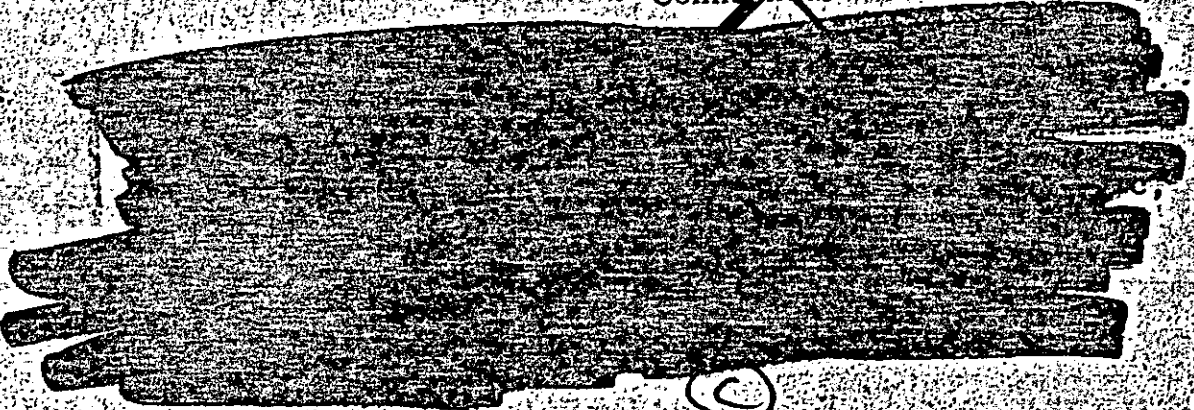
"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" (YS) is a monthly publication self-described in the May, 1961, issue of this newspaper as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The YS maintains headquarters at 10 East 23rd Street, New York City, and the mailing address is Post Office Box 471, Cooper Station, New York 3, New York.



Sources used throughout the above have furnished reliable information in the past.


This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~Confidential~~

For the information of the Bureau and the New York Office, the following is furnished which might be considered as being aligned with the SWP Disruption Program and concerns itself with the unsuccessful efforts of the Conn. Branch of the SWP to form the New Haven Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants (NHCAMD):

Since 10/61 the Conn. Branch of the SWP has attempted to form the NHCAMD as a chapter of the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants (CAMD), New York, New York.

 the Conn. Branch of the SWP sponsored a meeting at New Haven, Conn., under the name of the NHCAMD at which  announced that the NHCAMD was in the process of being formed, that he hoped that from this meeting an organization would be formed, and that he would like to see the organization taken over or sponsored by a responsible Negro group in New Haven, Conn.

At a meeting of the Conn. Branch of the SWP held  said it was important that the NHCAMD not be identified with the SWP and that the control of the NHCAMD should be in the hands of militant Negroes. It was decided at this meeting that members of the Conn. Branch of the SWP should contact a Negro family in New Haven, Conn., to see if they would be interested in heading the NHCAMD.

On 11/21/61 SAs of the New Haven Office interviewed the New Haven Negro family referred to above, at which time they furnished information concerning their interest

~~Confidential~~



~~Confidential~~

the Conn. Branch of the SWP and as a result of the receipt of this information, the New Haven Office contacted this Negro family prior to their being contacted by the Conn. Branch of the SWP.

The New Haven Office will remain alert for any information which could be utilized successfully in an operation under the SWP Disruption Program and will immediately notify the Bureau and the New York Office in the event information of this nature is developed.

~~Confidential~~

~~Confidential~~

in Negro matters, their attendance at the 10/27/61 meeting of the NHCAMD, their opposition to Communism, and their desire to have nothing to do with any organization which could possibly be considered as a subversive organization.

On 11/30/61 a member of the above New Haven Negro family advised the New Haven Office that it had been contacted by an individual by the name of [REDACTED] (believed to be [REDACTED]), who stated the purpose of his contacting them was to determine whether a meeting could be held at their residence to organize the NHCAMD, pointing out that there were several people interested in forming the group but had no place to meet. According to the source, [REDACTED] was informed that the proposed meeting could not be held at the residence of the above Negro family, but to inform this Negro family in the event a meeting place had been located.

[REDACTED] a meeting of the Conn. Branch of the SWP was held at New Haven, Conn., at which [REDACTED] reported that he and [REDACTED] had agreed that no one but members of the Conn. Branch of the SWP would take the responsibility of organizing a chapter of the CAMD in New Haven, Conn., and that a Negro family in New Haven, Conn., who it was felt was interested in heading the NHCAMD, had been contacted and as a result of the contact there was every reason to believe that this Negro family would help all they could; but in all probability, would not take a leadership position in the NHCAMD.

The Conn. Branch of the SWP has not been successful in inducing Negroes in New Haven, Conn. to head and organize the NHCAMD and it is felt that the interview of the above mentioned Negro family in New Haven, Conn., by Agents of the FBI prior to their being contacted by members of the Conn. Branch of the SWP, resulted in their refusing to lend their services to the Conn. Branch of the SWP in organizing the NHCAMD.

It is to be noted that [REDACTED] furnished the information that the Negro family was to be contacted by members of

~~Confidential~~

FBI

Date: 1/11/62

Transmit the following in PLAIN

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

SUBJECT: SWP *Socialist Workers Party*  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

On 1/10/62, the NYO received by mail an expansion envelope bearing the name tag "~~REDACTED~~ - Delegate New York". Contained in this envelope were numerous notes and a statement of "~~REDACTED~~" in support of the Young Socialist Alliance minority position on Cuba, several mimeographed conference agenda sheets and two YSA "Young Socialist Forum" internal discussion bulletins.

~~REDACTED SECTION~~

- 4- Bureau (100-436291) (RM)
- 1- ~~REDACTED~~ (413)
- 1- New York ~~REDACTED~~ (413)
- 1- New York (100-133479) (YSA) (413)
- 1- New York (100-4013) (SWP) (413)
- 1- New York (100-146608)

AJG:lts  
(9)

REC-33 100-436291-28

EX-113

JAN 19 1962

FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER

DATED FEB 23 1975 AND FILED IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE) - *CP/1090*

36  
57 JAN 23 1962

Approved: *[Signature]*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent *X* M

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-436291-1

NY 100-146608

A review of the above disclosed that the material pertains to the recently concluded YSA National Convention held in Chicago, Illinois, 12/29-31/61.

[REDACTED] at this convention. Almost all of the above material has been furnished by [REDACTED]. The remaining material is being recorded and channelized in the NYO.

In connection with the above situation, it is felt that an opportunity exists to exercise a disruption tactic against the SWP.

The NYO feels that a telephone call to "someone in charge" at SWP Headquarters, stating that information had come to the callers attention that "[REDACTED] had been in contact with the FBI and turned over all his material from the YSA Convention" and that the caller "thought that the Party might like to know about it."

It is felt that nothing additional to the above should be mentioned in this call.

It is surmised that the following might result from this tactic:

1. The SWP leadership will become cognizant of [REDACTED] losing his entire portfolio which would reflect adversely on a trusted member.
2. The SWP leadership will know that the FBI is very possibly in possession of these vital documents.

the 19th century, Friedrich Engels recognized us, when he stated, as *alternatives*, facing humanity: "Socialism or barbarism." Today, no one puts it better than C. Wright Mills, in his book *Listen Yankee*. Yankee imperialism is in the process of being defeated. It's in a deadly struggle, and the U.S. imperialists know this very well. They are not going to die without fighting. Maybe it is going to mean an hysterically anti-Communist totalitarian state, the likes of which mankind has not yet known.

## YOUTH IN REVOLT

Young people throughout the world — in Japan, South Korea, France, Turkey, Venezuela — have engaged in violent combat against their own rulers, and consequently against American imperialism. In Cuba they won, but the fight against the imperialists, the fight to take away their terrible and real power to murder us, must be carried on first of all right here, in their stronghold, in the United States. And the Young Socialist Alliance exists because we believe that the experience of mankind has shown that only *organized* action can be effective in changing a social system. We believe that a study of this experience will also show that only the organized workers in a country like ours will have the capacity to do the job, and then only if they choose as leaders people responsible to them, who do not have a stake in the system they are supposed to be fighting against.

That is why we do not waste our time trying to capture the Democratic or Republican parties. These parties, rotten to the core, are anxious to win the votes of the working people but are basically responsible



Picketing Woolworth's in Detroit

both of them, to the American capitalist class. The politicians of both parties know very well that the system they represent is endangered, and if anyone doubts that, a look at their unanimous hostility toward the Cuban Revolution should be convincing.

## FOR A LABOR PARTY

As socialists, we work for the formation of an opposing party based on the working class, the Negro people and the students. But before such a party is formed, the workers will

have to break with their present leaders, such as Walter Reuther, who never tires of proclaiming to the Democrats: "You can have me and Jim Eastland in the same party, and then proceeds to prove that they very well can!"

Because we believe that the essence of socialism is the confidence in the creative, self-conscious activity of the working class, we have only scorn for the social-democratic leaderships throughout the world who, whenever the opportunity presents itself, try to divert the combat of the workers into

"safe" channels, the Belgian general strike being only the latest in a series of such betrayals. When in the government, these same leaders seek earnestly to manage the capitalist economy and meet its imperialist needs as well or better than the capitalists themselves; the French socialist, Guy Mollet's prosecution of the Algerian war is just one striking example.

## WORKERS' DEMOCRACY

We are socialists because we hate inequality, and that is why we oppose the system of rule by a bureaucratic elite that prevails in the Soviet Union and its bloc, and support the efforts of the working class to establish its own democratic rule, as in the Polish and Hungarian revolutions. Because we are for the overthrow of capitalism, we oppose the policies of Stalin and his successor Khrushchev, which tend to disorient the working class and preserve the rule of its enemies. But because we recognize the decisive importance of an economic system, we defend the nationalized and planned economies of the Soviet sphere against any attempts by capitalism to restore itself to power.

As a revolutionary Marxist organization in the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky, we are very aware that to influence the present, we must clearly understand the past. To this end, the YSA chapters in various cities carry on classes and seminars, encouraging our members to explore the pathways of American and world history in directions where the high school and college textbooks rarely lead. Recognizing the importance of the *ory* in understanding human society, we study the great contributions that have been made by Marxist thinkers

NY 100-146608

3. The chance exists that the leadership will at the very least, become suspicious that [redacted] is currently furnishing information to the FBI.

4. This action may result in the loss to the Party of a dedicated SWP member.

It is noted that in recent months [redacted]

It is felt that this incident in the eyes of the Party leadership might be felt to form motivation for JERSAWITZ to avenge himself by cooperating with the FBI.

Telephonic Bureau authority in regard to the above tactic is requested.

1-12-62

Supervisor [redacted] of N.Y.C.

advised that no urgency of line a  
reply by 1-16-62 would be in  
sufficient time

[Signature]

# Memorandum

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS/BR*

DATE: January 15, 1962

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
 DISRUPTION PROGRAM

By airtel 1-11-62 the New York Office requested authority to anonymously call Socialist Workers Party (SWP) headquarters to initiate a Disruption Program operation designed to cast suspicion on Security Index subject [REDACTED]

The call would charge that [REDACTED] had turned over to the Bureau material pertaining to the YSA Convention held 12/29-31/61 at Chicago, Illinois.

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

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

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

1 - 100 [REDACTED]

TPR:blw

(7)

*See Dissemination on Back*

4 JAN 18 1962

EX 113

**INT. SEC.**

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-100000-1000

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

[redacted] is a logical target as he recently was involved in [redacted] position also adds to his selection.

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

RECOMMENDATION:

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

*mir* *JHK* *AM*  
*WJG* *AW* *BJ*

Supervisor - [redacted] of N.Y.O. WAS  
INSTRUCTED AS ABOVE RECOMMENDED - at 8:45 AM  
1-16-62.

*JHK*



FBI

Date: 1/16/62

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)  
SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS-SWP (DISRUPTION PROGRAM)

*Bladed*  
*S. J. [unclear]*

ReNY airtel, 1/11/62 and telephonic Bureau authority this date to utilize disruption tactic set forth in re airtel.

On this date the NYO telephonically contacted SWP Headquarters, NYC, in regard to referenced disruptive tactic. This call was placed to [redacted] SWP.

Information was furnished to [redacted] concerning [redacted] in line with the suggestion set forth in re airtel.

[redacted] accepted the information concerning [redacted] and did not further question the unidentified caller; however, thanked the caller very much for calling his office.

The NYO will remain alert for any results evident from the above tactic and keep the Bureau advised.

- 4 - Bureau (100-436291) (RM)  
(1 - 100-427226)
- 1 - NY [redacted] (413)
- 1 - NY 100-133479 (YSA) (413)
- 1 - NY 100-4013 (SWP) (413)
- 1 - NY 100-146608 (413)

AJG:mml  
(9)

REC-45

100-436291-26

EX 104

12 JAN 17 1962

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

36 50 JAN 23 1962

X

FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1962 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE)

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-436291-26

# Memorandum

Callahan	
Conrad	
DeLoach	
Evans	
Malone	
Rosen	
Sullivan	
Tavel	
Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Ingram	
Gandy	

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: January 8, 1962

FROM: Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

By letter dated 12-26-61 the New York Office furnished the following tangible results obtained based on a Disruption Program article which appeared in the "New York Daily News" 11-7-61 which was furnished through Mr. DeLoach's office.

This article was based on the criminal record of Socialist Workers Party (SWP) [REDACTED]. This article pointed out [REDACTED]'s record and set forth the comment that if [REDACTED] cared to stand on it "here was the record."

The immediate result of this operation was the discontinuance of SWP membership on the part of [REDACTED]. According to SWP informants, the leadership was greatly disturbed by the article and would make every effort to keep it quiet.

[REDACTED] the SWP had been grooming the [REDACTED] was gaining publicity through [REDACTED] had been put through the six-month SWP Trotsky school designed to train potential leaders.

Information has also been received indicating that the SWP's efforts in connection with attempts to recruit Negroes have apparently suffered a setback directly as a result of [REDACTED] expose. The SWP has been attempting to exert considerable influence in the Labor-Negro Vanguard Party (LNVP). Recent meetings of the LNVP have excluded SWP attendance with the charge that the SWP was trying to "run the show." In addition, the SWP's leading Negro contact man in the Brooklyn, New York, area has reported a "certain coolness" on the part of individuals connected with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which he states "extends from the [REDACTED] business." It was also stated that [REDACTED] was pretty well known as being connected with the SWP through street corner meetings. The SWP's Negro contact indicates that the "coolness" may blow over but states, "I think for a time we can't hope to improve our position with the progressive Negro element in Brooklyn."

FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER DATED FEB 28 1975 IN 100 SWP M AND FILED

64 JAN 12 1962  
100-436291  
TPR:dew (6)

EX-113

REC-138

JAN 10 1962

INT. SEC.

Memorandum for Mr. Sullivan  
Re: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
100-436291

These surface manifestations can easily reflect situations and problems equally disruptive to the SWP which have not become known through informant coverage. New York is constantly alert for additional tangible results and will keep the Bureau advised.

The LNVP is made up of expelled members of the Harriet Tubman Section of the New Jersey Communist Party and is being investigated as a splinter group. The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

ACTION:

For information.

*File JHC*

*[Handwritten mark]*

*pc/4*

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 12/26/61

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

~~Confidential~~

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

*all unclassified except where noted*

ReNYlet to Bureau, 11/30/61.

Relet brought the Bureau up to date on developments noted by the NYO which resulted from the disruption tactic of having printed in a NY daily newspaper the criminal background of SWP [redacted]

It is believed in the light of information previously noted and that which will be set forth in instant letter hereinafter that the disruptive tactic has had a definite demoralizing influence on the SWP.

It was previously noted that [redacted] had been chastised by the organizer of the NY Local-SWP, that [redacted] had discontinued membership meetings of the NY Local-SWP, that the [redacted] were observed at social functions drunk and that [redacted] had indicated he would take some action as a result of [redacted] having a criminal record.

In regard to the drunkenness of the [redacted] that the [redacted] had been observed drunk at an open forum held by the SWP in NYC on [redacted]. In this regard, [redacted] commented "In regard to the [redacted] it is apparent that SWP members held them in contempt, apparently stemming from their low moral character." [redacted] volunteered this information; he has not been told of the appearance in the daily press of news regarding [redacted] criminal record.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF DATE

DELETED COPY SENT TO [redacted] FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER DATED FEB 9 1975 AND FILED IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE).

*Memo 1/12/62  
Sullivan  
1-8-62  
RR/leaw*

2 - Bureau (100-436291) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-146608) (413)

GPB: rvs  
(3)

Classified by 7225  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

64 JAN 12 1962

Confidential 12/3/74 TM

Classified 3870  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

REC-9

DEC 28 1961

*[Handwritten signature]*

~~Confidential~~

NY 100-146608

At this time, it appears definite that [redacted] has suffered a great loss of stature in the Party and that indirectly the SWP has suffered because he had been promoted as a suitable [redacted]. An added benefit in this connection which was not originally anticipated is the fact that the status of [redacted] has also undergone a downgrading, presumably as a result of [redacted] failings. This too is a blow to the SWP leadership, inasmuch as [redacted] had been put through the six-month Trotsky school by the SWP. The Trotsky school is known as a training school for potential SWP leadership.

As stated in relet, [redacted] stated on [redacted] was aware of the background on [redacted]. At that time, it was not known that [redacted] had attended the meeting on [redacted] of the Labor-Negro Vanguard Party (LNVP). This is a group of former NJ CP Negro members with whom the SWP has been conducting negotiations with the hope of playing a dominant role in the formation of a new Party designed to capture dissident CP members.

[redacted]

said that a meeting had been scheduled made up of only the NJ members of the LNVP to be held originally 12/10/61, and later postponed to 12/17/61. According to [redacted] the meeting was to be held excluding the SWP delegation because the NJ Negro group felt that the SWP in NY was trying to "run the show."

- 2 -  
~~Confidential~~

NY 100-146608

~~Confidential~~

It is not known whether [redacted], through his contacts in the Negro community, was the one who caused suspicion to be raised of the SWP but this conclusion can easily be inferred with the background previously known.

One final item of information has been developed which represents an even more tangible effect felt by the SWP presumably as a result of the disgrace brought to the Party by the exposure of [redacted]

[redacted]

(C)

"Tuesday"

[redacted]

[redacted]

~~Confidential~~

NY 100-446608

~~Confidential~~

[REDACTED]

The above represents the known results observable thus far to the NYO which can be reasonably construed as resulting from the disruption tactic centering around [REDACTED]. These surface manifestations of course can easily reflect situations and problems equally disruptive to the SWP which have not become known through our informant coverage.

Based on what has been observed so far, however, it is believed that this has been a highly successful tactic resulting in the loss to the SWP leadership of [REDACTED] both apparently previously destined for advancement in the Party. Through the demoralization of these two individuals, the Party membership has felt an undercurrent of hostility and resentment against them. Knowledge of this in the Negro community has resulted in a loss of status by the SWP and a hampering of their influence among Brooklyn Negroes. Also, a road block of suspicion has been developed against their plans to work with a New Jersey group in forming a new Negro-Labor Marxist organization.

~~Confidential~~

FBI

Date: 12/26/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (97-4196)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (97-1792)  
SUBJECT: FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE (FPCC)  
RA-CUBA; IS-CUBA; IS-C; IS-SWP  
Re NY airtel to Bureau, 12/19/61.

ReNYairtel advised that an anonymous leaflet, anti-  
in essence, had been prepared by NYO and mailed on 12/18/61  
to selected FPCC supporters throughout United States. Relative  
thereto, orally furnished the following information on

[REDACTED]

Both the SWP leadership and membership at the meeting were  
very much upset inasmuch as it was felt that the friction which

- 5-Bureau (97-4196) RM
- (1 - 100-16) (SWP) (Info)
- (1 - 100-436291) (SWP DISRUPTION PROGRAM) (Info)
- 1-NY 100-4013 (SWP) (Info) (#413)
- 1-NY 100-146608 (SWP DISRUPTION PROGRAM) (Info)
- 1-NY [REDACTED] (Info)
- 1-NY [REDACTED] (Info)
- 1-NY 97-1792

P-100-1136291-  
NOT RECORDED  
183 JAN 4 1962

FIL:EG  
(12)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent ~~DELETED COPY~~ M. Per. ~~SENT USA, info,~~  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-1136291 (SWP MAIN FILE).

51 JAN 10 1962

741  
97-4196-  
97-1792-  
ORIGINAL FILED IN



NY 97-1792

currently exists between the SWP and [redacted] of the FPCC is serious and unfortunate enough as is, and now the SWP leadership fears the letter could cause complete disruption of relations between [redacted] and the SWP. SWP leadership at the meeting stressed that "we must not panic", and that the SWP must take steps to deny any part in the preparation and dissemination of the anonymous letter.

According to the source, it was agreed at the meeting that the anonymous letter should be submitted for consideration and action at a forthcoming meeting of the SWP-FPCC faction. The thinking within the SWP at the present time is that [redacted] may have to make a public statement in complete support of [redacted] which statement may also be published.

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

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

FBI

Date: 12/11/61

**Confidential**

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

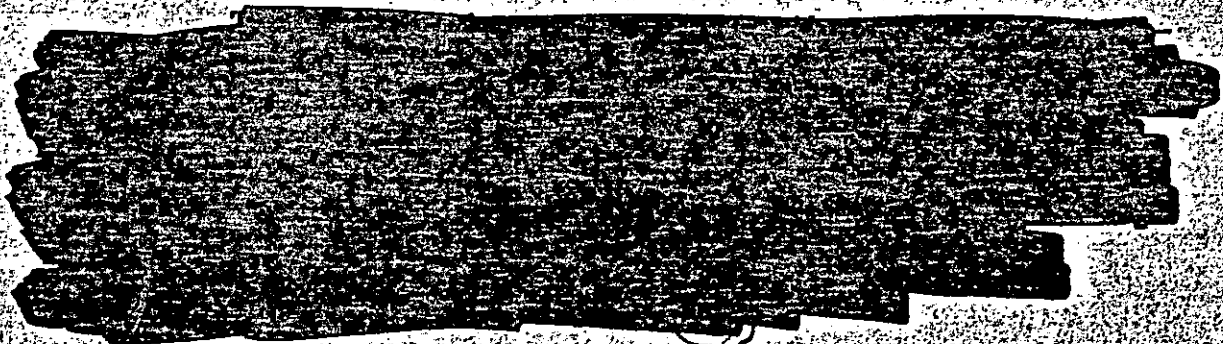
AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-427226)  
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-36519)  
 SUBJECT: YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE  
 IS - SWP

CINAL  
 APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
 AND FIELD OFFICES  
 ADVISED BY ROUTING  
 SLIP(S) OF CLASSIFICATION  
 DATE 8-5-77 [initials]

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and six (6) copies of a letterhead memorandum regarding the above-captioned organization suitable for dissemination. U



The enclosed letterhead memorandum is being classified "Confidential" since data reported by [redacted] could reasonably result in the identification of a confidential informant of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof. U

GALE 100-436291-

- 5 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (RM)
  - U - 100-436291 (SWP, DISRUPTION PROGRAM)
  - 1 - 100-16 (SWP)
- 1 - Detroit (100-37358) (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 3 - New York (Encls. 3) (RM)
  - 1 - 100-133479 (YSA)
  - 1 - 100-4013 (SWP)
  - 1 - 100-146608 (SWP, DISRUPTION PROGRAM)
- 3 - Chicago
  - 1 - 65-645 (SWP)
  - 1 - 100-39227 (SWP, DISRUPTION PROGRAM)

Classified by 3832  
 Exempt from GDS, Category  
 Date of Declassification Indefinite 3/10/77  
 198 DEC 29 1961

RDH:KMD  
 (12)

Classified by 7225  
 Exempt from GDS, Category  
 Date of Declassification Indefinite  
 12/3/74 TAN

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per **Confidential**

62 JAN 3 1962 Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-427226-360



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-36519

Chicago, Illinois

12/12/61

[Redacted]

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SOCIALIST  
WORKERS PARTY

On December 11, 1961, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that at a December 10, 1961, Chicago Branch, Socialist Workers Party (CB, SWP) meeting, [Redacted] CB, SWP, and Young Socialist Alliance - Chicago (YSA - Chicago) member, announced that the YSA national convention will be held on December 29, 30, and 31, 1961, at 777 West Adams Street, third floor, Chicago, Illinois, which is a former location of the CB, SWP.

[Redacted] stated that over one hundred individuals were expected to attend the convention; all sessions would be open to invited visitors except the YSA National Executive Committee (NEC) election and possibly the Cuban discussion, although no decision has been reached to date relative to this discussion.

[Redacted] reported that press releases would be given out in connection with the convention, and other newspaper publicity would be sought.

[Redacted] further advised that [Redacted] SWP [Redacted] would attend the YSA New Year's Eve Party held at 777 West Adams Street, Chicago, Illinois, subsequent to the convention. The dates and location of the YSA national convention were substantiated on December 11, 1961, by a second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP

DATE

100-436291

ENCLOSURE

[Redacted]  
Declassified  
2018  
7/26/77  
IAW

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In regard to the SWP, Chicago Branch; the YSA; and the YSA - Chicago, the following has been furnished by sources who have furnished reliable information in the past.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY,  
CHICAGO BRANCH

A source advised on May 1, 1961, that it was his understanding that the currently active Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was one of the founding branches of the SWP at a 1938 Chicago Trotskyist Convention, and it follows the aims and principles of the SWP which maintains national headquarters in New York City.

Members of the Chicago Branch serve on the SWP National Committee and per capita membership dues and a sustaining fund quota are sent by this branch on a monthly basis to SWP National Headquarters.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled, "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 3, 1961, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957, in New York City, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised that the YSA is dominated and controlled in its leadership and ranks by members of the SWP. The source added that the SWP considers the YSA as a training field for hard-core SWP leadership activity and as its current and future hope for recruits and the promulgation of the SWP movement throughout the U.S.

The headquarters of the YSA are located at 10 East 23rd Street, New York City.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order #10450.

**YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE - CHICAGO,  
Also Known As Young Socialist Supporters,  
University Young Socialists**

A source advised in late November, 1959, that the Young Socialist Alliance - Chicago (YSA - C) had its origin in a series of informal discussions held in Chicago prior to June, 1959, among individuals who were close to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

This group in June, 1959, obtained recognition from the "Young Socialist" Editorial Board of New York as the official Young Socialist Supporters (YSS) group in the Chicago area.

In September, 1959, the YSS group in Chicago formally adopted the name "Young Socialist Alliance - Chicago" in accordance with a 1959 National Youth Socialist Supporters Youth Plenum directive, which directive was designed to give a sense of national unity to the various clubs.

The YSA-C as of November, 1959, proclaimed itself to be a city-wide revolutionary youth organization designed to build Socialism in America and aimed toward youth on college campuses in the Chicago area and as being independent of all adult groupings.

A second source advised in April, 1960, that at the second National Conference of Young Socialist Supporters Club (YSSC) held April 15-17, 1960, at which the Chicago group was represented, a new national socialist youth organization, known as the Young Socialist Alliance, was formed with the Chicago group being an affiliate.

According to a third source in May, 1961, the YSA-C, also known as the University Young Socialists (UYS), was considered the youth group of the Chicago Branch SWP and affiliated with the national organization of the YSA in New York. YSA officers as of May, 1961, were current members or sympathizers of the Chicago SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order #10450.

This document contains neither conclusions nor recommendations of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

SAC, New York (100-146608)

December 26, 1961

REC-6 Director, FBI (100-436291)-23

EX-105

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM**

ReNYairtel 12/14/61 and CGairtel 12/15/61 both captioned as above submitting questions to be asked of individuals attending the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) National Convention to be held at Chicago, Illinois, 12/29/61 to 1/1/62 in connection with an operation designed to disrupt the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

ReNYairtel in addition to the above set forth available information indicating that [redacted], leader of the YSA minority faction was planning to "wreck" the YSA at the forthcoming convention according to the SWP leaders. It was felt that this activity on the part of [redacted] and his followers would cause considerable disruption within the SWP.

ReCGairtel contained information obtained from [redacted] who was of the opinion that questions directed to YSA members from outsiders would unite YSA factions in a common bond in defense of YSA principles and that the current dispute among the YSA factions would have more far-reaching results.

In view of the statements set forth above, no operation under the captioned program designed to disrupt the SWP is being taken. New York and Chicago should promptly advise the Bureau of all pertinent information obtained from informants attending the YSA convention.

2 - Chicago (100-39227)

NOTE ON YELLOW:

YSA is the youth group of the SWP (designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450). The possibility of disrupting SWP activities through a disruption program operation involving the questioning by a friendly reporter of individuals attending the convention was being explored. In view of the fact that the current dispute between the YSA factions will undoubtedly have considerable disruptive effect, no additional steps are being taken at this time to place this operation in effect.

1 - 100-427226

MAILED 30  
DEC 29 1961  
COMM-FBI

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Malone \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Ingram \_\_\_\_\_

TPR:cd

TELETYPE UNIT

3 DEC 29 1961

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-436291-23



Date: 12/1

Transmit the following in

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

AMSD

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-39227)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Re Bureau airtel dated 12/11/61, and  
New York letter dated 11/30/61, both captioned as  
above.

Enclosed herewith are two photostat copies  
of a pamphlet, "Introducing ... The Y.S.A." and two  
copies of specific questions to be asked subjects  
attending the Y.S.A. convention, written on plain  
unwater marked bond paper.

The enclosed pamphlet "Introducing ... The  
Y.S.A." by [redacted] was furnished to the Chicago  
Division only by informants; however, it was distributed  
at a Chicago meeting held on 11/18/61, at which [redacted]  
and [redacted] spoke on the question,  
"Where is America Going."

A discussion has been held with [redacted]  
concerning the advisability of posing theoretical  
questions to YSA members, regarding, e.g., the Cuban  
issue, and he was of the opinion that such questions  
from outsiders would be resented irrespective of the

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
- 2 - New York (Encls. 2) (RM) (100-148893)
- 1 - Chicago

RDH/jjm  
(6)

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

REC-6

436291-23

EX-105

16 DEC 18 1961

ENCLOSURE

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

Per

*debarafel*  
2040 7/26/77 Hjm

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
ADVISED BY SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 8-5-77 11/17/92

12-26-61  
Approved: [Signature]

[REDACTED]

individual feeling inside the YSA and possibly would unite the factions in a common bond in defense of YSA principles. [REDACTED] who bases his opinion on years of Socialist Workers Party (SWP) experience felt that any internal disruption, such as set forth in referenced New York letter regarding the [REDACTED] faction, would have more far reaching results. Chicago has received no information regarding plans of the [REDACTED] faction as set forth in New York letter.

It is noted that the YSA convention will be held on 12/29, 30 and 31, 1961, at 777 West Adams Street, Chicago, Illinois, third floor, which was the former location of the Chicago Branch, Socialist Workers Party (CB SWP). [REDACTED] advised that the visitors allowed to attend would be invited prior to the YSA convention. He stated that on the second floor at 777 West Adams Street was a "flop" house for derelicts and a ramp runs from the second to the third floor where the YSA convention will be held. Informant stated that an unknown man has rented, as an apartment, the room which formerly was the CB, SWP library, and a room was rented as an apartment what was the CB SWP office on the third floor. According to [REDACTED] both of the above mentioned apartment rooms have doors leading into the auditorium in which the YSA convention will be held. The informant was of the opinion that the convention sessions would commence at 10:00 A.M. and end at 1:00 or 2:00 P.M. for lunch. The sessions would reconvene about one hour after the lunch period and would end at 4:00 or 5:00 P.M., at which time the convention would break up into panel discussions.

A review of the pertinent files of the Chicago Division reflect no information concerning public source material which will tie the YSA with the SWP, and all information regarding same is from

CG 100-39227

live sources. In view of the fact no minority faction in the YSA exists at Chicago, no questions are being propounded for individuals from this city.

the 19th century. Friedrich Engels recognized this when he stated as *alternatives* facing humanity: "Socialism or Barbarism." Today, no one puts it better than C. Wright Mills in his book *Listen Yankee*. Yankee imperialism is in the process of being defeated. It's in a deadly struggle, and the U.S. imperialists know this very well. They are not going to die without fighting. Maybe it is going to mean an hysterically anti-Communist totalitarian state, the likes of which mankind has not yet known.

### YOUTH IN REVOLT

Young people throughout the world—in Japan, South Korea, France, Turkey, Venezuela—have engaged in violent combat against their own rulers, and consequently, against American imperialism. In Cuba they won, but the fight against the imperialists, the fight to take away their terrible and real power to murder us, must be carried on first of all right here, in their stronghold, in the United States. And the Young Socialist Alliance exists because we believe that the experience of mankind has shown that only *organized* action can be effective in changing a social system. We believe that a study of this experience will also show that the organized workers in a country like ours will have the capacity to do the job, and then only if they choose as leaders people responsible to them, who do not have a stake in the system they are supposed to be fighting against.

That is why we do not waste our time trying to capture the Democratic or Republican parties. These parties, rotten to the core, are anxious to win the votes of the working people but are basically responsible,



Picketing Woolworth's in Detroit.

both of them, to the American capitalist class. The politicians of both parties know very well that the system they represent is endangered, and if anyone doubts that, a look at their unanimous hostility toward the Cuban Revolution should be convincing.

### FOR A LABOR PARTY

As socialists, we work for the formation of an opposing party, based on the working class, the Negro people, and the students. But before such a party is formed, the workers will

have to break with their present leaders, such as Walter Reuther, who never tires of proclaiming to the Democrats, "You can't have me and Jim Eastland in the same party," and then proceeds to prove that they very well can.

Because we believe that the essence of socialism is the confidence in the creative, self-conscious activity of the working class, we have only scorn for the social-democratic leaderships throughout the world who, whenever the opportunity presents itself, try to divert the combat of the workers into

strike being only the latest in a series of such betrayals. When in the government, these same leaders seek earnestly to manage the capitalist economy, and meet its imperialist needs as well or better than the capitalists themselves; the French socialist, Guy Mollet's prosecution of the Algerian war, is just one striking example.

### WORKERS' DEMOCRACY

We are socialists, because we hate inequality, and that is why we oppose the system of rule by a bureaucratic elite that prevails in the Soviet Union and its bloc, and support the efforts of the working class to establish its own democratic rule, as in the Polish and Hungarian revolutions. Because we are for the overthrow of capitalism, we oppose the policies of Stalin and his successor, Khrushchev, which tend to disorient the working class and preserve the rule of its enemies. But because we recognize the decisive importance of an economic system, we defend the nationalized and planned economies of the Soviet sphere against any attempts by capitalism to restore itself to power.

As a revolutionary Marxist organization in the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky, we are very aware that to influence the present, we must clearly understand the past. To this end, the YSA chapters in various cities carry on classes and seminars, encouraging our members to explore the pathways of American and world history in directions where the high school and college textbooks rarely lead. Recognizing the importance of *theory* in understanding human society, we study the great contributions that have been made by Marxist thinkers.

## POLITICS IN ACTION

But education is not merely study. More and more in this country, there arises opportunity to engage in the fight for civil rights, for civil liberties against authoritarian college administrations, against civil defense, in support of the Cuban Revolution, and YSAers have responded to these occasions. For example, reacting swiftly to the urgent need for Northern student support of the Southern Sit-Ins, the YSA took the lead in New York, Philadelphia and many other cities in forming youth committees for integration, which mobilized young people for large and militant picket lines.

The YSA is intensely involved in actions to mobilize support for the Cuban Revolution. We were the only American organization to send a fraternal delegation to the July, 1960 Latin American Youth Congress in Havana. In our press, in demonstrations and through our support to the

Fair Play for Cuba Committee, we have demanded an end to U.S. military and economic aggression against Cuba.

As an independent and democratic youth organization, the YSA offers guarantees to all its members of the right to freely express their political ideas and to share fully in all political and organizational decisions. As a revolutionary youth organization we are in fraternal solidarity with the only revolutionary American political party, the Socialist Workers Party.

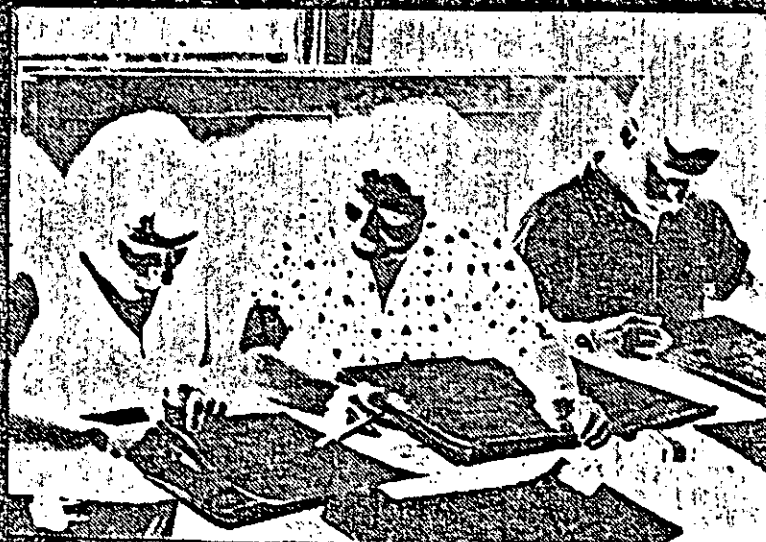
Despite formidable financial problems faced by a radical newspaper in this country, the YSA has as its public journal, *THE YOUNG SOCIALIST*. As the only youth newspaper in the United States expressing revolutionary socialist thought and analysis, *THE YOUNG SOCIALIST* is also capable of performing an invaluable function: to link together

called capitalism, which places enormous political and social power in the hands of the tiny minority who own and control the economy. Our aim is to replace this system with a socialist organization of society, by which we mean the most profound and widespread democracy in all aspects of economic and political and cultural life. If it is not to be a Utopian dream, a democracy can only be based on a nationalized and planned economy, controlled and administered by the working people.

There are other wisemen who tell us: "Relax, capitalism and imperialism are on the way out. It's inevitable."

## SHALL WE SURVIVE?

What is inevitable is the *disintegration* of the capitalist economic system and of its offspring, imperialism. What is not at all inevitable or certain is that we - and civilization - shall survive this crisis. Writing in



YSAers help Muriel McAvoy, of the Independent Socialist Party, check nominating petitions. The YSA is instrumental in putting the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot at election time.



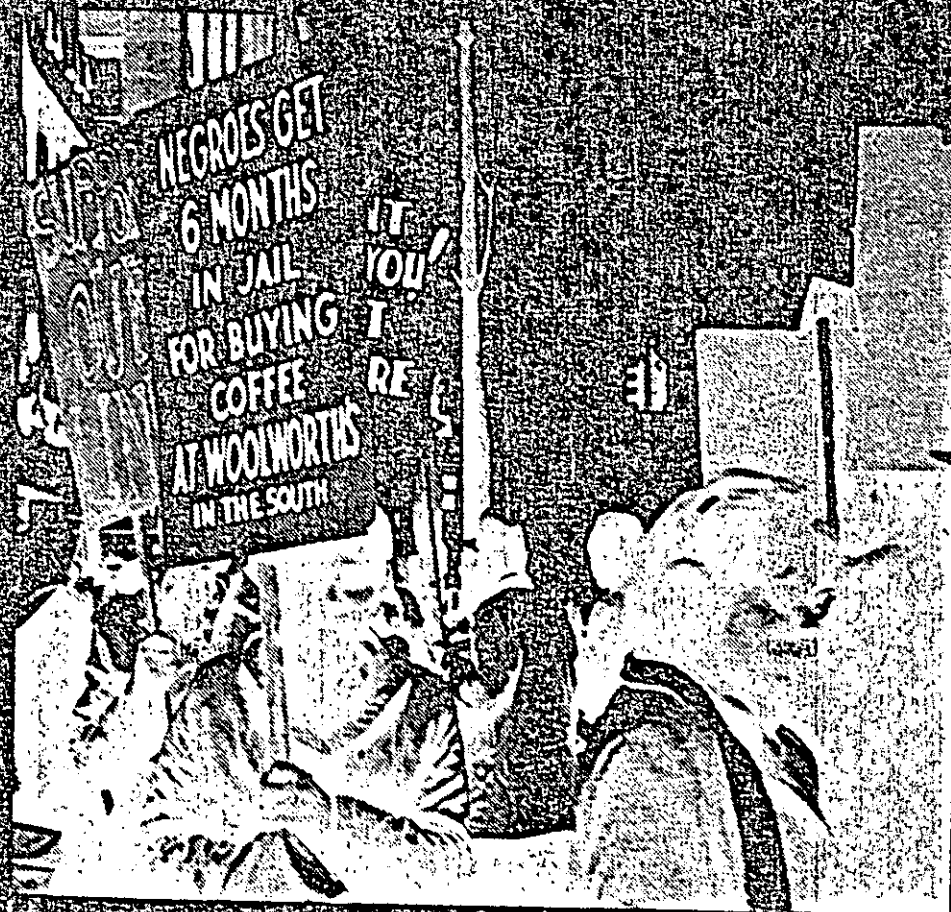
YSAer addresses Fair Play for Cuba rally.

the 19th century, Friedrich Engels recognized this when he stated, as *alternative*, facing humanity. Socialism or Barbarism. Today, no one puts it better than C. Wright Mills in his book *Listen Yankee*. "Yankee imperialism is in the process of being defeated. It's in a deadly struggle, and the U.S. imperialists know this very well. They are not going to die without fighting. Maybe it is going to mean a hysterically anti-Communist totalitarian state, the likes of which mankind has not yet known."

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Picketing Woolworth's in Detroit

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## INTRODUCING... THE YSA

"You have to be maladjusted to be a socialist," the wise men tell us. It's true. We admit it. We are not well-adjusted.

We students and young workers who make up the Young Socialist Alliance admit that we have found it very difficult - in fact, impossible - to adjust to the facts of life in capitalist society.

The sight of poverty and misery angers us; shacks and tenements and families living on surplus cornmeal while our government spends some \$50 billion on still more CBMs with nuclear warheads, CIA invasions and the care and feeding of such pillars of the free world as Franco, Chiang Kai Shek, Salazar, Ngo Dinh Diem, et al. The constant insecurity facing the majority of Americans disgusts us; the fear of being laid-off, of illness, of accident. The hypocrisy of the official "liberals" sickens us; those

who tell people fighting for their equality as human beings to "cool off" (to think of the damage they are causing to the American image abroad).

Above all, we cannot adapt ourselves to the systematic preparation for World War III - the nuclear war which we are reassured, will kill only fifty million of us Americans, providing we cooperate with our civil defense authorities.

## A GUIDE TO ACTION

There are in this country countless numbers of young people who feel the same anger and disgust that we do. But such feelings dissolve into cynicism when they cannot give rise to action; and that is why we in the YSA are concerned with politics. For the YSA, politics is a guide to action.

Participation in politics for us means participation in the struggle to end the system of inequality and insecurity under which we live; that system

the efforts of those youths who have swung into action against many of the most vicious outgrowths of our social system.

If you feel that our actions are important and our goals are an ex-

pression of your own - then we hope you will join us. If you hesitate, out of a sense of futility - then you will only contribute to the defeat of your ideas. Your absence from politics only leaves the way clear for the powers that rule today.

- YOUNG SOCIALIST FORUM: Please send me the following pamphlets, published by the Young Socialist Forum:
- FIGHT AGAINST WAR**, by Shane Mage. Resolution of the Founding Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. The causes of war, the role of the colonial revolution, and the Soviet countries in the prevention of war, from a Marxist viewpoint. 20¢ postpaid.
  - REVOLT ON THE CAMPUS**. The Student Movement in the 1930's, by Tim Wohlforth. The only existing concise account and analysis of the activities of this turbulent student generation. 40¢ postpaid.
  - WHICH ROAD FOR SOCIALIST YOUTH**. Reformism or Revolutionary Socialism? A collection of writings from the left wing of the Young Socialist League (predecessor of the current Young Peoples Socialist League). These articles analyze many of the political differences between right wing Social Democracy and revolutionary socialism. 50¢ postpaid.
  - THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION**, by Shane Mage. An incisive analysis of the Hungarian events of 1956. 50¢ postpaid.
  - HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST YOUTH MOVEMENT**, edited by Tim Wohlforth. An account of the early attempts to organize socialist youth international and the establishment of the Young Communist International, the role of Karl Liebknecht, etc. 50¢ postpaid.
  - CASTRO SPEAKS ON UNEMPLOYMENT**. The only English language speech of Fidel Castro to Cuban workers dealing with measures of Cuban Revolution to combat unemployment. 25¢ postpaid.
  - INTRODUCING THE YSA**, by Judy McGill. This pamphlet may be purchased in bulk (ten) for 25¢ postpaid.
- In addition, limited numbers of pamphlets published by socialist youth in Britain are available on request. Young Socialist Forum pamphlets are being published and reprinted. Please send me further information enclosed in \$1.00 for the above pamphlets. There is a 10% discount on orders of 5 or more pamphlets. Payment must accompany order. Please make check or money order payable to the Young Socialist Forum.



Students gather round to buy copies of the YOUNG SOCIALIST and discuss like this can be found on campuses throughout the country for discussion and debate.

YOUNG SOCIALIST newspaper

READ THE **YOUNG SOCIALIST** 

P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, N.Y. 100

Here's my subscription: 1 yr. \$1.00 \_\_\_\_\_ 6 mos. 50¢ \_\_\_\_\_

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Please make check or money order payable to The Young Socialist Forum.

Questions for [REDACTED]

Is it correct to assume, based on the above statement from the pamphlet, "Introducing ... the Y.S.A.", that the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) follows the principles of Leon Trotsky, rather than the principles of the CP, USA?

Then, is it correct to assume that the YSA is the youth organization of the SWP, the organization that follows the tenets of Trotsky in the U.S.?

If it is true that any youth can join the YSA that believes in the principles of this organization, can a youth be a member of the YSA and at the same time hold membership in the SWP?

[REDACTED], are you a member of the SWP and do you hold any position in the SWP higher than that of rank and file membership?

[REDACTED] does the YSA operate as an autonomous organization or are they guided into decisions by the SWP on theoretical questions?

If [REDACTED] you were to view a theoretical question in the YSA in a different light than was as accepted as the SWP line, would you find yourself in difficulties with the SWP and YSA leadership?

[REDACTED] there have been many schisms in so-called "radical" organizations - do you know of any theoretical questions facing the YSA at this convention which could result in a split in rank?

The YSA has publicly supported Cuba and the Castro regime, would you [REDACTED], care to comment on the governmental set-up in Cuba?

There has been some reports that Trotskyist type writing in Cuba has been suppressed, would you care to comment on this?

In your opinion, [REDACTED] do you think that the recent statements by Fidel Castro concerning one party in Cuba, in addition to the suppression of the Trotskyist press, would indicate that Cuba has turned to international Communism?



The November 27, 1961 issue of "The Militant", page 1, column 5, carried an article captioned, "Warde, Aptheker Speak in Chicago", which was datelined at Chicago.

In summary, this article states that on November 18, 1961, over 400 people attended a meeting at the University of Chicago's International House to hear William F. Warde and Dr. Herbert Aptheker give their answers to the question, "Where is America Going?"

Warde is a contributor to International Socialist Review, a magazine reflecting a viewpoint of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Dr. Aptheker is editor of "Political Affairs", which similarly reflects the views of the Communist Party (CP). The appearance of spokesmen for these two viewpoints on the same platform itself make a meeting sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) a unique event.

On a number of issues, the speakers were in agreement. Both called for the formation of a labor party; both agreed that the U. S. would not escape the world revolution of our times.

In response to a question regarding the CP's refusal to back the defense of the 18 SWP Smith Act Victims in 1941, Warde expressed the hope that this mistake would not be repeated by others in regard to the current persecution of the CP and called for solidarity of all defenders of civil liberties with the CP's fight against the McCarran and Smith Acts.

Both speakers and the audience registered their protests against the persecution of the CP under the McCarran Act. This, plus the healthy, open confrontation of differences by the speakers, made the meeting highly successful.

"The Militant" is a weekly newspaper of the SWP.

A pamphlet, "Introducing . . . the Y.S.A." was distributed at the above mentioned meeting held on November 18, 1961, at Chicago. This leaflet states on page 5, last paragraph, as follows:

"As a revolutionary Marxist organization in the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky, we are very aware that to influence the present, we must clearly understand the past. To this end, the YSA chapters in various cities carry on classes and seminars, encouraging our members to explore the pathways of America and world history in directions where the high school and college textbooks rarely lead. Recognizing the importance of theory in understanding human society, we study the great contributions that have been made by Marxist thinkers".

F B I

Date: 12/14/61

Transmit the following in:

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS-SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReBulet, 11/31/61 and Bureau airtel to  
SACs, New York and Chicago, 12/11/61.

Enclosed herewith are three copies of a set of  
possible questions to be asked of YSA and SWP members  
attending forthcoming YSA Convention.

Concerning information available to the NYO  
regarding [redacted]'s plans at the forthcoming  
National Convention, the following is set forth:

[redacted] plans at this time embrace presenting  
at this Convention amendments to the resolutions on the  
Cuban question and the world question which will be presented  
at this Convention. These amendments embrace an interpretation  
of these questions by the [redacted] faction. [redacted] expects  
that the introduction of these amendments will be defeated  
at this Convention. [redacted] intends at this time to  
carry on the fight in behalf of his position with the  
[redacted] faction members who will, together with [redacted]  
be leaving the YSA because of age. [redacted] has extended  
this fight outside of the YSA and directly into the SWP. If  
the YSA remains as a functional organization following the  
Convention, he intends to also utilize his faction members  
who have remained in the YSA to assist in this fight.

3 - Bureau (100-436291) (Encls. 3) (RM)  
1 - NY (100-146608) (413)

AGG:mml  
(5)

ENCLOSURE  
REC-34

100-436291-22

EX-105

DEC 15 1961

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

M Per [Signature]

62 DEC 22 1961

NY 100-146608

SWP leaders, particularly [redacted] and [redacted] in addition to YSA leaders opposing [redacted] consider at this time that [redacted] is trying to "wreck" the YSA at the forthcoming Convention by his persistent adherence to his interpretations and by enticing many YSA members into his camp.

It is noted also that the SWP has cooled considerably toward the YSA as a result of the internal YSA split created by [redacted]. The SWP at this time appears to definitely desire merely a teen-age adolescent youth group which can be completely dominated and manipulated by the SWP in the future.

It is felt by the NYO that some embarrassment might result to the YSA and SWP if the proposed questioning at the forthcoming Convention is successful. It is felt, however, that exposure is not synonymous with disruption, and that revelation of the YSA as the youth arm of the SWP at most would create the above-mentioned embarrassment. On a national scale the Chicago area is one of the weakest areas in regard to YSA strength and any disruptive results obtained through press coverage in this area would, it is felt, be of minimum disruptive value.

The following individuals from the YSA factions will definitely be attending the forthcoming convention:

[redacted]

[redacted]

NY 100-146608

The set of questions enclosed beginning with the statement, "Your organ or newspaper, the 'Young Socialist' reported...", is designated for the [REDACTED] faction, YSA members.

The set of questions enclosed beginning with the question, "Does the Young Socialist Alliance welcome for membership a non-Trotskyist socialist?", is designated for the SWP-YSA faction.

101

Your organ or newspaper, the "Young Socialist," reported, following the founding convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, that the Young Socialist Alliance declared its political solidarity with the Socialist Workers Party; however, maintains organizational independence. Does this mean that the Socialist Workers Party exercises no influence or control over the policies of the Young Socialist Alliance?

Has any problem ever arisen in the Young Socialist Alliance regarding Socialist Workers Party attempts to control the Young Socialist Alliance?

Are the majority of Young Socialist Alliance members also members of the Socialist Workers Party?

In view of the majority Young Socialist Alliance membership's responsibility to adhere to Socialist Workers Party decisions, how could the Young Socialist Alliance act in any way other than in complete compliance with Socialist Workers Party policies and dictates?

Does the Young Socialist Alliance National Chairman also hold any position of leadership in the Socialist Workers Party?

Do you feel that the Young Socialist Alliance is completely justified in its support of the Cuban Revolution?

Are all Socialist Workers Party youth members also members of the Young Socialist Alliance? If so, then can the conclusion be drawn that the Young Socialist Alliance is the youth affiliate of the Socialist Workers Party?

Are you aware that the Socialist Workers Party has been designated by the Attorney General as a subversive organization?

The Socialist Workers Party, which was founded in 1938, is a militantly revolutionary Marxist party based on the theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin as interpreted by Leon Trotsky. The Socialist Workers Party has unequivocally stated that its main task is the overthrow of "American capitalism." The Socialist Workers Party, through its pronouncements and policies, has exhibited a dedication to the defense of the Soviet Union. With an approximate membership of 500, the Socialist Workers Party is primarily engaged in the recruitment of "class conscious

"militants," the explanation of the advantages of socialism over capitalism, and the dissemination of revolutionary propaganda, while maintaining the major objective of the revolutionary overthrow of "American capitalism."

Does the Young Socialist Alliance welcome for membership a non-Trotskyist socialist?

In view of the Young Socialist Alliance's extensive support of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and its activity in behalf of the creation of Fair Play for Cuba Committee Youth Councils, how does the Young Socialist Alliance now feel towards Castro's lining up with the Communist bloc?

How does the Young Socialist Alliance justify such support of the Castro regime in the light of Castro's seizure and closing of the Cuban Trotskyist organ, "Voz Proletaria"?

Are you in complete solidarity with the Socialist Workers Party on the question of the Cuban Revolution?

The Socialist Workers Party, which was founded in 1938, is a militantly revolutionary Marxist party based on the theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin as interpreted by Leon Trotsky. The Socialist Workers Party has unequivocally stated that its main task is the overthrow of "American capitalism." The Socialist Workers Party, through its pronouncements and policies, has exhibited a dedication to the defense of the Soviet Union. With an approximate membership of 500, the Socialist Workers Party is primarily engaged in the recruitment of "class conscious militants," the explanation of the advantages of socialism over capitalism, and the dissemination of revolutionary propaganda, while maintaining the major objective of the revolutionary overthrow of "American capitalism."

December 11, 1961

Airtel

To: SACs, New York (100-146608)  
Chicago (100-39227)

EX-105 REC-134

From: Director, FBI (100-436291) 2/

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM**

ReBulet 11/20/61, NYlet 11/30/61 and CGairtel 12/6/61 all concerning possible operation designed to disrupt the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) Convention to be held at Chicago, Illinois 12/29/61 through 1/1/62; it being noted that the YSA is the youth group of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

New York and Chicago should immediately submit the information requested in referenced Bureau letter. In addition, New York should also submit for the Bureau's consideration all information concerning the possibility that [redacted] YSA National Chairman, was planning to "wreck" the YSA at the forthcoming Convention and take with him as many YSA members as possible. Upon receiving the above-requested information, a determination will be made regarding a disruption program operation in connection with the YSA Convention.

It is felt that adverse and not favorable publicity could be obtained regarding the YSA and the SWP through coverage by individuals friendly to the Bureau and such an operation continues to be considered pending receipt of complete information regarding [redacted] plans.

1 - 100-427226

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Malone \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Ingram \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TPR: bgc  
(7)

DEC 20 1961

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DEC 11 1961  
COMM-FBI

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

DEC 15 1961

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-427226



Airtel to New York  
Chicago  
RE: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
100-436291

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Referenced Bulet requested New York and Chicago to submit information and questions designed to embarrass the SWP which would be utilized by a friendly newspaper reporter covering the YSA Convention. Embarrassing questions asked by a reporter could have a considerable disruptive effect upon the YSA. New York Office advised that they did not feel additional publicity would cause disruption within the SWP. They also furnished information indicating that [redacted] is planning to wreck the YSA. If this information is true, a disruption program operation would not be necessary. Chicago, by referenced airtel desired a clarification and advice as to whether the suggestion originally submitted would be utilized. A final determination will be made upon receipt of the information requested herein.

FBI

Date: 12/6/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_ REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-39227)  
SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Re Chicago letter 11/6/61; Bulet 11/20/61; and  
New York letter 11/30/61.

Referenced New York letter sets forth that the possibility exists that publicizing the forthcoming Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) Convention would give the YSA leaders an opportunity to expound Trotskyist principles and denounce capitalism in a widely-read public newspaper, as the YSA has always sought newspaper publicity as one of its main aims in all its previous activities and events. Also, that a public attack on the YSA convention at this time might serve to unite the current YSA factions in a common bond in defense of YSA principles. Further, that recent information available to the New York Office discloses that \_\_\_\_\_, YSA National Chairman, whose YSA position and influence was recently reduced by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to one of titular leadership, and his faction is planning to "wreck" the YSA at the forthcoming convention by leaving the YSA, due to age, and aspire to take with them as many of the remaining YSA members as can be recruited to this faction. For these reasons the New York Division did not feel that an attack on the YSA convention at this time would be an effective disruptive tactic.

The original Bulet regarding this program indicated that one of the purposes of this program would be to alert the public to the fact that the SWP was not just another socialist group but follows the revolutionary principles of Marx, Lenin and Engels, as interpreted by LEON TROTSKY. In

3 - Bureau (REGISTERED) EX-105 REC-134 100-436291-21  
2 - New York (100-146608) (REGISTERED)  
- Chicago

RDH:mks

(6)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Wick Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

16 DEC 13 1961

PP:lye  
11/10  
11/10

CG 100-39227

the event that the YSA leaders used this opportunity to expound Trotskyist principles and denounce capitalism, it is felt that astute questioning on the part of a reporter could establish for the public the revolutionary tenets of the SWP, and disclose the YSA as being the youth arm of this organization.

In regard to [REDACTED] the Chicago Division has received no information to the effect that he and his faction contemplate "wrecking" this convention. Should this information received at the New York Office be true, it would obviate any planned disruption program and, being endogenous, could have more far reaching disruption results. Further, a disruption by [REDACTED] would not afford the YSA the opportunity, such as newspaper reporter interviews, to unite in a common bond in defense of YSA principles.

The Chicago Division is fully cognizant that any disruption program employed cannot be a "crash" program; it must be carefully planned, and all facets considered in order to achieve the widest possible effect. Bearing this in mind, the Chicago Division respectfully requests the Bureau, in light of the foregoing and the suggestions in referenced Chicago letter, to consider and advise whether or not the suggestion submitted by Chicago be utilized at the YSA convention. A review of public source material, as requested in referenced Bulet, is being held in abeyance awaiting the Bureau decision in this matter.

For the information of the Bureau and New York Division, informants have advised that the University of Chicago has denied the YSA a hall for the convention; attempts are being made to obtain a hall at Roosevelt University; however, no definite site has been obtained to date. On receipt of information regarding the YSA convention site, the Bureau and New York will be immediately advised.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-16)

12/11/61

SAC, NEW YORK (100-4013)

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP

ReBulet to NY, 11/24/61.

The NYO has noted the Bureau instructions re increasing the number of copies of SWP National Organization report when it contains information pertaining to the International Trotskyist Movement and in the future seven copies will be submitted of the report in these instances.

The Bureau noted in relet the report that an individual had donated a sum of \$3,000.00 to subsidize the SWP leadership. This was taken from New Haven teletype to NY, dated 10/25/61, which set forth information obtained from [redacted]. According to the [redacted] stated in NYC, on 10/14/61, that the SWP was making a special plea on a confidential basis to influential people in the SWP for substantial donations to subsidize the SWP leadership. [redacted] asked [redacted] Connecticut SWP member for \$3,000.00 as a contribution and [redacted] claimed he gave the money to [redacted].

For information of New Haven, Bulet to NY and other offices, dated 10/12/61, and captioned "SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, IS - SWP, DISRUPTION PROGRAM" initiated a disruptive program against the SWP along the lines of the Bureau's CP, USA Counterintelligence Program. The Bureau requested carefully thought out operations with the widest possible effect and benefit to the nation. Five of the offices with major SWP activity were requested to evaluate this program and submit their views. In relet, the Bureau suggested that it may be desired to determine all pertinent information concerning the \$3,000.00 donation because of the possibility that it might lend itself to a successful operation under the SWP Disruption Program. The thought was expressed that this might lead to the discontinuance of such sizeable donations.

- 3-Bureau (100-16) (RM)
- 1-New Haven (100-1191) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-146608) (SWP Disruption Program)
- 1-New York (100-4013)

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87 DEC 12 1961

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(7)

62 DEC 19 1961

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF [redacted]  
DATE 8-5-77

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7/23/77  
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NY 100-4013

[REDACTED]

The only information in possession of NYO regarding the SWP's special appeal for donations from influential people and the results therefrom are contained in the above-mentioned New Haven teletype. The New Haven Office is therefore requested to consider any additional background information it may have in this regard and advise the NYO and the Bureau if it appears <sup>possible</sup> to utilize this information as a disruptive tactic against the SWP.

The Bureau further noted in relet that NATALIA TROTSKY, the widow of LEON TROTSKY, was attempting to have the standing of LEON TROTSKY reevaluated following recent actions in Russia downgrading STALIN. The NYO has reviewed available material in this regard and it is not felt that there is a potential for embarrassment to the SWP in this development. The SWP openly avows its theoretical dependence on the views of LEON TROTSKY and has publicly printed information regarding efforts to have the name of TROTSKY rehabilitated. It further appears that the theme of indirectly criticizing the present Russian leadership by implying its participation in the crimes of STALIN will be a major propaganda campaign of the SWP in the future. A corollary of this will be the demand to vindicate the name of TROTSKY and the other "old Bolsheviks" and restore the standing of NATALIA TROTSKY. It is felt that this program holds a far greater potential for embarrassment and disruption of the CP than the SWP and it is believed that any disruptive tactics would be more effectually launched from this direction. In this regard, it is noted that the information regarding NATALIA TROTSKY is being considered and acted on in the NYO under the CP, USA and Counterintelligence Program.

1

SAC, Newark (100-46426)

December 20, 1961

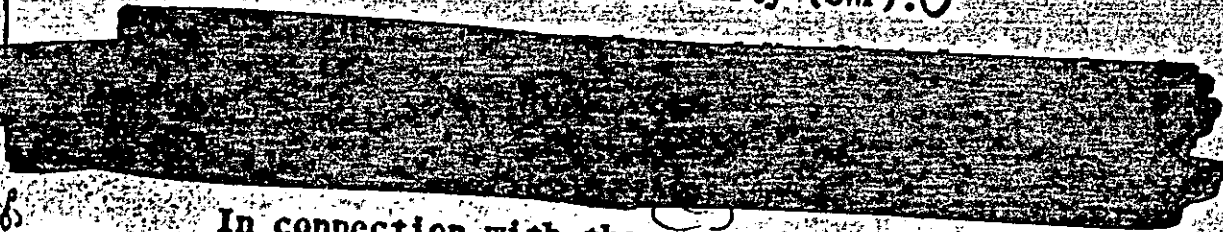
EX 100

Director, FBI (100-436291) - 20

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

~~Confidential~~

Reurlet 12/12/61, captioned as above, concerning a possible disruption program operation concerning Mountain Spring Camp, Washington, New Jersey, which is owned and operated by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). U



In connection with the operation outlined in reNKlet, Newark should discreetly determine what penalties could be imposed upon Mountain Spring Camp and the SWP due to the apparent violation of the state liquor laws. Newark should, of course, be certain that no liquor license is in the possession of the individuals operating Mountain Spring Camp prior to making any such inquiries. U

Newark also should determine the manner in which such an operation can be successfully carried out without any possibility of exposing the Bureau's interests in this matter. In this connection, you should advise the identity of the individual through whom this operation will be handled along with any information contained in your files concerning this individual. U

The above information should be furnished to the Bureau as soon as possible along with any pertinent additional information bearing upon the final results of this Disruption Program operation. U

New York (100-146608)

TPR: bgc  
(5)

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DEC 19 1961  
COMM-FBI

Classified by 3830  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

Classified by 7235  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~Confidential~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC, FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER DATED FEB 20 1975 AND FILED IN 100-16 (SUB MAIN FILE)

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Malone
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Ingram
- Gandy

4 DEC 26 1961

MAIL ROOM

DEC 20 1961

Letter to Newark  
RE: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
100-436291

Confidential

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Newark informants have reported that a bar known as "Smokey Joe's" is operating at Mountain Spring Camp, apparently without a liquor license. Inquiry will be made and if no license has been issued to operate this bar this information will be furnished to the proper New Jersey authorities. U

Confidential

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 12/12/61

FROM : SAC, Newark (100-46426) (P)

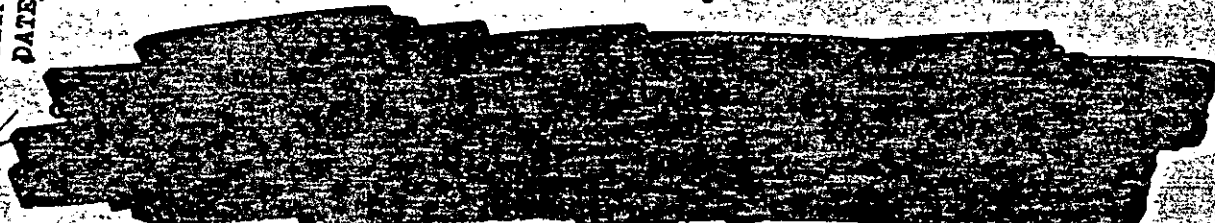
~~Confidential~~

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS-SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Re Bureau letter 11/8/61 and 11/29/61; New York letter to Director dated 11/21/61.

Newark files have been reviewed and no available public source information regarding Mountain Spring Camp or the Trotsky School was located. Advertisements have appeared in "The Militant" in the past, usually in the summer months or just prior to a holiday weekend, giving publicity to Mountain Spring and quoting rates for meals and lodging. These advertisements do not disclose the true nature of the camp and have not appeared in the local press. U

Newark informants have reported in the past that there is a bar at the camp known as "Smoky Joe's" where alcoholic beverages are sold, apparently without a liquor license. Inquiry will be made to determine if the camp has a liquor license and if no such license has been issued, Bureau authority will be requested to furnish this information to state authorities. U



If Mountain Spring Camp is in violation of state liquor laws, it is believed that the best possible results can be achieved by proper timing in notifying state authorities of the violation. The most opportune time for such notification would seem to be a week or two prior to a weekend celebration at the camp when large numbers of people will be present and violations will be readily apparent to raiding officers. U

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF DATE

*McC. Newark*  
*TPR: 12/12/61*  
*1-10/12/61*

REC-36 / 100 11-36291-20

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-146608) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Newark

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(4)  
Classified by 7225  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Classified by 383  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

12/12/61 AM Confidential

*INT. SEC.*  
*3/10/77*



NK 100-46426

~~Confidential~~

Newark SWP members are planning to contact former members of the Harriet Tubman Section of the New Jersey COMMUNIST PARTY to invite them to a social gathering sponsored by the SWP at which time attempts will be made to get them interested in SWP work. These developments are being closely followed and the Bureau will be promptly advised if there are any developments which might lend themselves to this program. U

~~Confidential~~

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-43629)

DATE: 11/30/61

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS-SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Re Chicago letter to Director, 11/6/61;  
 NY letter to Director, 11/8/61, captioned, "YSA; IS-SWP";  
 Bureau letter to Chicago, 11/20/61.

To date information available to the NYO has not disclosed the exact location of the forthcoming YSA National Convention. It is noted that on 11/27/61, the National Chairman of the YSA remarked that he did not know at this time the exact location of the forthcoming convention. However, as set forth in re NY letter, the University of Chicago is being considered as a site for this convention which in all probability will be held in Chicago. The YSA feels that one of the halls at this University could be obtained during the Christmas vacation period, during which time this convention will be held.

Concerning suggestions set forth in re Chicago letter, the NYO feels that the definite location of this convention should be verified prior to proceeding with any disruptive tactic plans.

The history of the YSA, to date, has disclosed that this organization, unlike the CP youth, is extremely desirous of publicity in almost any form. The YSA has always sought newspaper publicity as one of its main aims in all its previous activities and events. Alongside the SWP, the YSA seeks to attract individuals from any sphere, particularly liberals and radicals, with the aim of recruiting to Trotskyist principles.

- 2 - Bureau (100-43629) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (65-645) (RM)
- 1 - NY 100-146608 (413)

REC-54

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EX-115

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NY 100-146608

It is felt that publicizing the forthcoming convention would not have a similar effect resulting from the previous publication of the Conference of National Marxist Youth referred to in re Chicago letter. The possibility exists that the YSA leaders would relish any opportunity to expound Trotskyist principles and denounce capitalism in a widely-read public newspaper.

In addition it is felt that any public attack on the YSA convention at this time might well serve to unite the current YSA factions in a common bond in defense of YSA principles. In view of the decisiveness of the current YSA internal split any action which might tend to heal or alleviate this split would definitely not be advantageous to the disruption program.

It is to be noted that the SWP recently ran candidates in State and local elections in various sections of the United States. Public appearances by these candidates, including television, and newspaper coverage, wherein they identified themselves with the SWP, did not cause any appreciable amount of adverse public reaction or indignation. It is therefore felt that the public disclosure of the YSA as the youth arm of the SWP at this time would not be tantamount to exposing a Communist Party youth organization.

Recent information available to the NYO discloses that [redacted] YSA National Chairman, whose YSA position and influence was recently reduced by the SWP to one of titular leadership, is planning to "wreck" the YSA at the forthcoming convention. [redacted] his wife, and several other national leading YSA members within the [redacted] faction, will automatically be leaving the YSA due to age at this convention and aspire to take with them as many of the remaining YSA members as can be recruited to this faction.

For the reasons set forth above the NYO does not feel that an attack of the YSA convention at this time would be an effective disruptive tactic.

NY 100-146608

Any information or ideas in the possession of the Chicago Office which would overcome or negate the above objections will be welcomed by the NYO.

Chicago is requested to advise if any approach has been made at the University of Chicago by YSA representatives concerning the above convention.

The NYO is currently considering possible SWP disruptive tactics, aside from the above, through its youth, the YSA.

The Bureau will immediately be afforded any observations and suggestions which might concretely effect the SWP in this regard.

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 12/1/61

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

~~Confidential~~

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Re Chicago letter to Bureau, 11/24/61, copies to New York.

Relet requested the NYO to ascertain from [redacted] information regarding the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) convention. ✓

Information available to [redacted] has been previously set forth in NY let to Bureau, 11/24/61, copy to Chicago; captioned "[redacted]"



AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S)

- ② - BUREAU (100-436291) (RM)
- 2 - CHICAGO (100- [redacted]) (RM)
- 1 - [redacted] (INV) (413)
- 1 - NY 100-146608 (413)

REC-123 Classification Indefinite  
100-1136291-103/1077

DEC 5 1961

EX 100

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(6)

Classified by 7325  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~Confidential~~

64 DEC 8 1961

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

NY 100-146608

~~Confidential~~

It is not expected that contact will be possible with [redacted] again until the week end of December 15-17, 1961. Any information he may have concerning the coming YSA convention will be furnished to the Chicago Office as received. U

- 2 -

~~Confidential~~

# Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: 11/30/61

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

~~Confidential~~

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *Classification*  
DATE *8-6-77* *10/27/92*

ReNYlet to Bureau, 11/8/61.

Relet set forth further information obtained from [redacted] in regard to results of the disruption tactic initiated by the NYO centering around exposure of Socialist Workers Party (SWP) member [redacted] as having a criminal record. U

On 11/27/61, this matter was taken up again with [redacted] in regard to any results he may have noted resultant from the program. U

[Large redacted block]

FBI agents on surveillance outside of SWP headquarters on the night of 11/16/61 noted FRANKLIN leave headquarters along during the course of the evening. U

2 - BUREAU (100-436291) (RM)  
1 - [redacted] (INV) (413)  
1 - NY 100-146608 (413)

GP :msb  
(4)

Classified by *7225*  
Exempt from GDS, Category *2*  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
Classified by *383970-436291-17*  
Exempt from GDS, Category *2*  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
Confidential

63 DEC 11 1961

NOT SENT USA, NYC.  
FOR RELEASE TO PRATTIERS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY  
DATED FF  
IN 100-1

*Waffle*

*DMC*

~~Confidential~~

Although, as stated above, [REDACTED] has ceased attending meetings of the New York Local, SWP, he has been noted by [REDACTED] at one function. This was a social held by the SWP youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the night of 11/18/61. [REDACTED] stated that [REDACTED] showed up late at this function in a drunken condition. The above information has been corroborated by [REDACTED] who was at this function. U

[REDACTED] ventured the opinion that the resentment regarding [REDACTED] might be slow to develop and take the form of any overt action, but that undoubtedly harm has been and would be done to the SWP as a result of the public disclosure of [REDACTED] background. U

The Bureau will be kept advised if any further developments are noted in this regard. U

~~Confidential~~

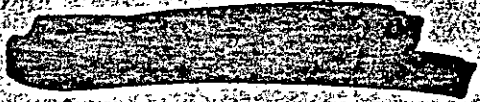


SAC, New York (100-146608)

November 29, 1961

Director, FBI (100-436291)

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM**



ReBulet 10-12-61 requesting that offices receiving copies of this letter carefully evaluate the initiation of a program designed to disrupt the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and submit their views regarding such a program to the Bureau.

Favorable replies have been received by the Bureau regarding the initiation of a SWP Disruption Program with each office indicating that such a Program was desirable and could have the desired disruptive effect on the SWP. In this connection several operations have been initiated which will afford interested offices an idea of the type of operation desired by the Bureau under this Program.

It was determined that [redacted], SWP candidate for Manhattan Borough President, New York City, had a lengthy criminal record ranging from petty larceny to first degree murder. This information was made available through Bureau contacts to a friendly newspaper and the information concerning [redacted] record was published. After the information appeared in the public press the Bureau authorized New York to clip and anonymously mail copies of the article to individuals and organizations where further disruptive effects could be obtained such as "The Worker," the Workers World Party, SWP splinter group and to [redacted], leader of the SWP Minority Faction. The final effect of this combined operation is not as yet known. However, there is no doubt that the publicity afforded [redacted] will cause the SWP leadership to take a second look at any of its future potential candidates.

DELETED COPY SENT USA  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE) JRM/djs

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Malone \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Ingram \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

- 2 - Chicago
- 1 - Detroit
- 1 - Los Angeles
- 2 - Newark

MAILED 20  
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100-436291-16

19 NOV 29 1961

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50 DEC 4 1961

Letter to New York  
RE: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM  
100-436291

The Newark Office is currently considering an operation aimed at disrupting the SWP's Mountain Spring, Camp, Washington, New Jersey. This Camp is a primary target under this Program since it is used as a training site for future leaders of the SWP.

In addition, New York and Chicago are currently considering an operation designed to disrupt activities at the forthcoming Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) Convention which is to be held at Chicago, Illinois. This operation is highly desirable so that the dispute between the Minority Faction and the SWP leadership may be widened and possibly produce a complete split within the SWP. This operation may, in addition, definitely establish the YSA as the SWP youth group.

It has been suggested that the New York Office may desire to initiate an operation which could lead to the discontinuance of sizable donations from individuals to subsidize the SWP leadership. It may also be possible to utilize in this Program the current attempts of Natalia Trotsky to have the Soviet Union under Premier Khrushchev re-evaluate the standing of Leon Trotsky in connection with the downgrading of Stalin.

The above are examples of the type of operations desired by the Bureau. They are designed to disrupt the SWP on a broad national basis. It is not desired that individual SWP members be the targets of operations at this time. If it is felt that action against a prominent SWP member will have the desired wide-range disruptive effect upon the SWP and not the individual alone, such an operation may be submitted for consideration.

Letter to New York

RE: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

100-436291

It is pointed out that no operation under this Program may be initiated without specific prior Bureau authority. Each operation should be carefully planned and prepared so that there will be no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau. As has been previously stated it is not intended that this should be a "crash program." Each office should carefully evaluate all phases of possible suggestions and submit only those which will have a broad disruptive effect.

CG 100-

Confidential



Live informants, conversant with Socialist Workers Party activities in the Chicago area, have been alerted regarding the above requested information. U

GALE

Confidential

SAC, New York (100-4013)

November 24, 1961

Director, FBI (100-16)

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP

Rerep of SA [redacted], dated 11-9-61,  
in captioned matter.

Rerep contains considerable information regarding contact, communication and travel between the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the international Trotskyist movement. Although this information has been previously furnished to the Bureau in form suitable for dissemination, it is felt that additional copies of all future reports containing such information should be submitted to the Bureau so that copies may be disseminated to governmental agencies having an interest in the international Trotskyite movement. Seven copies of the report should be submitted in such instances.

It is also noted that rerep contains information which could very possibly lend itself to successful operations under the SWP Disruption Program. In this regard, you may desire to determine all pertinent information concerning the individual who donated the sum of \$3,000 to subsidize the SWP leadership, which information is contained on page eight of the report. It may be possible to initiate a Disruption Program operation which would lead to the discontinuance of such sizeable donations and thereby cause considerable disruption of SWP activities.

It is also noted that Natalia Trotsky, widow of Leon Trotsky, is currently making attempts to have the Soviet Union under Premier Khrushchev re-evaluate the standing of Leon Trotsky based on additional actions by the Soviet Union to downgrade Stalin. Available material should be reviewed in this regard to determine the possibility of a desirable operation in connection with the Disruption Program.

It is indicated in the report that a characterization of the New York Local, SWP, was included in the appendix pages of the report. This characterization, however, was not attached to the copies received at the Bureau. You should insure that all pertinent characterizations are included in the future.

①- 100-436291 (SWP Disruption Program)  
TPR:eab (5)

100-436291  
NOT RECORDED  
180 NOV 27 1961

58 DEC 4 1961

YELLOW  
DUPLICATE  
NOV 24 1961  
MAILED

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-16

FBI

Date: 11/24/61

Mr. Conrad
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Mr. Ingram
Miss Gandy

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

~~Confidential~~

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-  
 SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

BALMIGARINER

*Handwritten signatures and initials*

ReBulet dated 11/20/61 and Chicago letter dated 11/6/61 both captioned as above and New York letter dated 10/30/61 captioned, [REDACTED]

Referenced New York letter set forth that if after a three week period it was impossible for [REDACTED] to visit New York City under ordinary circumstances, he should use the pretext of urgent dental work as an excuse to come to New York City <sup>and make contact</sup> with the New York Office. The Chicago Division has no information to date indicating that [REDACTED] has made contact with the New York Office since referenced letter.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ROUTING SLIP(S)

*Handwritten routing slip*

[REDACTED]

- 4 - Bureau (RM)
- 3 - New York (RM) (2 - 100-146608)
- 2 - Chicago

REC-40 100-436291-13  
 100-16-10-418  
 3732  
 Classified by [REDACTED]  
 Exempt from GDS, Category [REDACTED]  
 Date of Declassification Indefinite NOV 27 1961  
 EX 1043(9)(7)

RDH:bjc 185  
 (9)  
 C. C. Wick 66 DEC 1 1961

Classified by 7225  
 Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
 Date of Declassification Indefinite

Approved: *[Signature]*  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

~~Confidential~~

UNRECORDED COPY FILED 100-134-9371

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-16)

DATE: 11/14/61

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-61697) <sup>P\*</sup> (RBC)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Rebulet to New York dated 10/12/61.

After carefully evaluating the overall aspects of the Los Angeles Local-Socialist Workers Party (LAL-SWP) program, it is believed that a disruptive influence can be brought to bear in this program in the following manner:

The LAL-SWP currently gives every evidence of shifting its major emphasis from the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC) to the recently organized Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants (CAMD).

One problem the SWP has had to wrestle with in their efforts to enter this particular propaganda arena has been the thinking of some that any committee or group formed for the defense of ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~, et al, should be exclusively Negro inspired and directed.

Preliminary efforts of the LAL-SWP to exploit the Monroe, North Carolina incident have met with only moderate success, which failures have been attributed by the LAL-SWP leadership to opposition they have encountered from ultra nationalists in the Negro community and from individuals whom the LAL-SWP considers to be members of the Nation of Islam (NOI) movement.

It is therefore believed that the Bureau can capitalize on this situation by directing carefully worded letters to the editors of Negro newspapers circulated in cities having SWP Branches (particularly newspapers which have come under the influence of the NOI) criticizing the SWP's self serving attempt to capitalize on the misfortunes of the Negro and charge that the SWP's motives are more red than black in character.

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 2 - Los Angeles (100-61697)
- (100-17375) (SWP)

REC-125 100-436291-14  
11-15-61

LRI:tgr  
(4)

NOV 20 1961

64 DEC 1 1961

INT. SEC.

*Rafferty*

*[Handwritten signature]*

X

LA 100-61697

As these letters begin to appear in the Negro press the Bureau may then desire to direct informants active in the SWP and NOI to voice criticisms against the motives of the other organization and encourage their respective organizations to institute an attack of the other group in either "The Militant" or one of the NOI organs.

It is conceivable that such a program could hamper the efforts of the SWP in the CAMD and also result in a considerable amount of adverse publicity for both the SWP and the NOI.

The above is being submitted for the consideration of the Bureau and no action is being taken by the Los Angeles Office regarding this matter pending specific instructions from the Bureau.



SAC, New York (100-146608)

November 27, 1961

Director, FBI (100-436291)

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReBuairtel 11-13-61 granting authority to anonymously mail to various recipients the article which appeared in the 11-7-61 issue of the "New York Daily News" concerning [redacted]

If you have not already done so, you should advise the Bureau by return mail whether this mailing has been completed.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

This anonymous mailing was authorized by memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan 11-13-61 and was based on a successful Disruption Program operation whereby information contained in the article was handled through Mr. DeLoach's office with the press media involved.

TPR:dew  
(4)

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC,  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE). gom/1/50

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Malone \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Ingram \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 20  
NOV 27 1961  
COMM-FBI

EX-105  
REC-124

*Handwritten:* 7951-  
100-436291-13  
TMC

NOV 28 1961

62 DEC 4 1961

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: NOV 24 1961

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

*7 WSP*  
*1/3*

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS-SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Re NY airtel 11/8/61 and Bureau airtel 11/13/61.

The disruption suggestion set forth in referenced New York airtel in the nature of anonymous mailings, approved in referenced Bureau airtel, has been carried out.

Commercially purchased stationery was utilized and addressing utilized as available in telephone directories. Two letters were mailed on 11/15/61 and two on 11/16/61, all from different areas of New York City.

The Bureau will be promptly advised if any tangible results follow from the above action.

*cc 817RB*

2-Bureau (100-436291) RM  
1-New York (100-146608)

GPB:dsg  
(3)

REC-25

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC,  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-18 (SWP MAIN FILE). *gem/bo*

NOV 27 1961

EX 113

57 NOV 30 1961

*Ex 113*

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)

DATE: NOV 21 1961

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

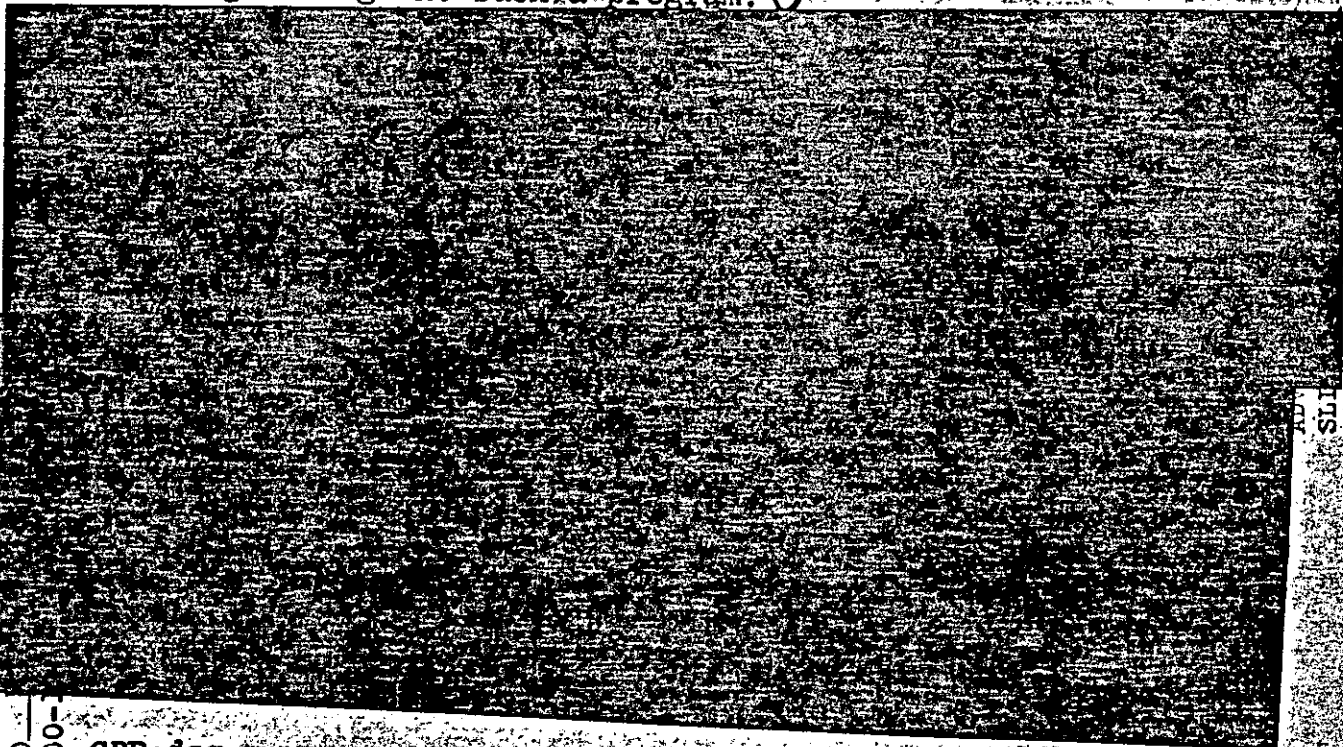
*FAD*  
*WPA*

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS-SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

~~Confidential~~

ReBulet to Newark, 11/8/61, copy to New York.

Consideration has been given by the NYO to the suggestion outlined in relet concerning the possibility of exposing the Trotsky School for revolutionaries. They NYO at this time has no particular suggestions or pertinent information tending to augment such a program.



DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC

FOR RELEASE  
SWP CIVIL  
DATED  
IN 100-

GPB:dsg  
(4)

EX-105

100-1136211

12 NOV 24 1961

Classified by 7225  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

12/3/74 TAM

~~Confidential~~

62 NOV 30 1961

Classified by 3832  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

3/10/77

SLIP  
DATE

11/8/61

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-427226)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-133479)

SUBJECT: YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE  
IS-SWP  
(OO: NY)

On 11/6/61, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that it has been disclosed in NYC that the forthcoming National Convention of the YSA will, in all probability, be held at the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Source advised that the exact location on campus of this convention has not been determined at this time and noted that this convention will be held at this location during the Christmas vacation period of this University.

Chicago is requested to attempt to ascertain exact location of the forthcoming National Convention of the YSA. It is noted that the Chicago Office, by letter to Director, dated 11/6/61, captioned, "SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, IS-SWP, DISRUPTION PROGRAM" set out suggestions relating to possible avenues of disruption in relation to the forthcoming YSA National Convention.

- 4 - Bureau (100-427226) (RM)
- 1 - (100-15) (SWP)
- 3 - Chicago (100-36519) (RM)
- 1 - (68-645) (SWP)
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-4013 (SWP) (413)
- 1 - NY 100-133479 (413)

file 100-436291  
me

100-436291  
NOT RECORDED  
141 NOV 14 1961

AJG:mal  
(1)

58 NOV 16 1961

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-427226-345

NY 100-133479

The NYO is holding in abeyance the submission of any recommendations concerning suggestions set forth in the above Chicago letter. Upon receipt of information verifying the location of the forthcoming YSA National Convention at the University of Chicago, the NYO will submit comments concerning possible disruptive tactics in relation to this Convention.

SAC, Chicago (65-645)

November 20, 1961

REC-10  
Director, FBI (100-436291-10)

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM**

ReCGlet 11-6-61 captioned as above concerning the possibility of utilizing interviews, the taking of photographs and press coverage of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) Convention by a newspaper reporter in order to highlight the fact that the YSA is the youth group of the SWP and to cause further disruption of the SWP through this operation.

It is felt that this approach to causing disruption of the YSA Convention and thereby the SWP is sound and could be successfully carried out if well planned.

In connection therewith, New York and Chicago should review public source material, including SWP and YSA documents available to the general membership, for possible questions to be asked of YSA and SWP members attending the Convention designed to cause embarrassment and disruption. Each office should include specific questions to be asked of subjects who will definitely attend the Convention from both factions of the YSA. This information should be submitted on plain, unwatermarked bond paper. There should be included a brief, concise statement showing the subversive nature and character of the SWP and that it desires the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism.

Upon receipt of the above-requested information, this operation will be initiated through Bureau contacts. It will, of course, be necessary to have complete information regarding the exact location of the Convention, the times during which sessions will be held and information regarding possible security measures to prevent outsiders from gaining entrance.

New York (100-146608)

TPR:bgc (6)

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Malone
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Ingram

MAILED 19  
NOV 20 1961  
COMM-FBI

NOV 24 1961

TELETYPE UNIT

IMCOM2 NOV 21 1961

*Handwritten signatures and initials, including 'gmr' and 'J.P. ...'*

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-16)

DATE: 11/6/61

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (65-645)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Rebulet to New York dated 10/12/61, and Chicago letter dated 10/30/61, both captioned as above; and Chicago airtel (Cinal) dated 10/27/61, captioned "YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, IS - SWP," Bufile 100-427226.

Chicago airtel dated October 27, 1961, set forth that a National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) will be held at Chicago, Illinois, from December 29, 1961, through January 1, 1962, although a site has not been secured to date.

It is possible the Chicago Branch SWP Headquarters may be utilized for the YSA Convention.

It is felt that this YSA Convention, through newspaper publicity, could serve as a disruption program in the SWP, and serve as a vehicle in enlightening the public to the fact that the SWP follows the revolutionary principles of MARX, LENIN and ENGELS, as interpreted by LEON TROTSKY.

It may be recalled that an excellent counterintelligence measure was accomplished when the Attorney General, quoting the Director, announced a December 30, 1960 - January 3, 1961 Conference to form a National Marxist Youth organization at Chicago.

It is felt that the public source material (May, 1960 issue "Young Socialist"), see first two paragraphs of characterization of National YSA, would be sufficient to establish the YSA as a SWP youth organization. However, it is possible that the Bureau or the New York Division would have better public source material to cement this relationship. It is requested that the Bureau and the New York Division furnish any suggestions held in this respect.

- 4 - Bureau (REGISTERED) X-116
  - (2 - 100-427226) (YSA)
- 3 - New York (REGISTERED)
  - (2 - 100-4013) (SWP)
  - (1 - 100-133479) (YSA)
- 2 - Chicago
  - (1 - 100-36519) (YSA)

RDH:mks (9)

REC-33

100-436291-10

NOV 8 1961

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-427226

7/13  
2d  
Chicago  
11/13/61  
NY

CO 65-645

The current factional situation in the SWP centering upon the Cuban issue and, in the main, involving the SWP youth, is axiomatic. It is felt that a reporter, such as was accomplished in September, 1960, when a "Chicago Tribune" reporter broke up a meeting of Communist Party (CP) Midwest National Committee members at Chicago by attempting to interview and photograph the persons in attendance, could cause a disruption of the YSA Convention and possibly widen the differences in this group by attempting to interview members of both factions. Moreover, such an interview could be used to definitely establish the YSA as a SWP youth organization. To achieve the best effect, it is felt that newspaper coverage should be given to the first full scale meeting of this Convention. Such coverage could have a decided effect on the zeal of the YSA members attending this Convention who are not members of the SWP. With the tie-in of the YSA to the SWP, it is felt, the stage would be set to utilize public source material to show the true nature of the SWP: Example - the conviction of 18 SWP members for violation of the Smith Act of 1940 in 1941. (12/1/41)

The foregoing suggestions have been treated in general terms inasmuch as at the present time the plans of the December YSA Conference have not been solidified. If the Bureau concurs with the above approach, detailed recommendations will be submitted in the immediate future. It is requested that the New York Division submit comments regarding the above approach and available public source material re YSA connection with the SWP.



YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled, "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA), was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 3, 1961, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957, in New York City, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised that the YSA is dominated and controlled in its leadership and ranks by members of the SWP. The source added that the SWP considers the YSA as a training field for hard-core SWP leadership activity and as its current and future hope for recruits and the promulgation of the SWP movement throughout the U.S.

The headquarters of the YSA are located at 10 East 23rd Street, New York City.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order #10450.

# Memorandum

- Belmont
- Mohr
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Malone
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Ingram
- Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 11-13-61

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

[REDACTED]

New York suggests the following Socialist Workers Party Disruption Program (SWP-DP) operation based upon an operation authorized 10-27-61 making information regarding a criminal record of Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate for Manhattan Borough President, New York City, [REDACTED] available to a friendly newspaper contact in the New York City area through Mr. DeLoach's office.

By airtel 11-8-61 New York made available an article appearing in [REDACTED] "On the Town" column which appeared in the 11-7-61 issue of "New York Daily News" setting out the criminal record of [REDACTED] with the comment that the following was [REDACTED] record [REDACTED] he cared to stand on it. New York advises according to [REDACTED] that this type of information was dynamite and that he believed the SWP was ignorant of [REDACTED] record. According to informant a membership meeting of the New York local SWP was held 11-7-61 with no mention being made of the article and adding [REDACTED] and his two brothers were all conspicuously absent from the meeting. Informant felt SWP leaders were aware of the article but would attempt to keep it from becoming a topic of general conversation.

To insure that the article receives general dissemination New York suggests it be anonymously mailed to "The Worker", [REDACTED] of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC), pro-Castro organization with headquarters in New York; the Workers World Party, which split from the SWP in 1959; and to [REDACTED] of the SWP minority faction which opposes SWP policy of favoring present government of Cuba. The article would be mailed to the above with suitable comments designed to cause further embarrassment and internal friction within the SWP. It is noted that the Workers World Party and the FPCC have publications which may reprint the article, and in addition "The Worker" may give further publicity to the information. Publication of the article by these groups would give wide circulation to the information among left-wing groups in New York City and possibly throughout the country.

FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED IN 100-13 (S...)

REC-17

16 NOV 15 1961

Enclosure  
100-436291  
1 - 100-433975  
TPR:dew (8)

62 NOV 20 1961

*Rosen*

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
100-436291

This capitalization on the criminal record of [redacted] is highly desirable as a possibility exists that considerable damage can be done to the operations of the SWP based on this Disruption Program operation. It is felt that the suggestions of New York should be approved.

RECOMMENDATION:

There is attached an airtel authorizing the New York Office to carry out the above SWP-DP operation. Precautionary statements are included. Airtel being utilized as this operation should be carried out as soon as possible to have widest possible effect.

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
- "Sent" with a checkmark above the recommendation section.  
- "JMS" with a checkmark on the left side.  
- "GCS" with a checkmark below "JMS".  
- "EJS" with a checkmark below "GCS".  
- A large circular signature or mark in the center.  
- A checkmark on the right side.  
- "GCU" on the far right.

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-16)

DATE: November 2, 1961

FD-217 to DE *bw-11-14-61*

FROM : SAC, DETROIT (100-1334)

SUBJECT: *DSH*  
*WRS*  
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAMRe Bureau letter to New York, October 12, 1961,  
captioned as above.

The following are suggestions regarding initiating a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) Disruption Program on a limited basis:

1. Referenced Bureau letter states the SWP has, over the past several years, been openly espousing its line on a local and national basis through running candidates for public office. Letters to newspaper editors and other various columns in newspapers publishing letters from subscribers could be mailed to newspapers, signed by fictitious names, and pointing out that at the same time these individuals are candidates for political office in the United States they are members of the SWP, an organization dedicated to the revolutionary overthrow of the United States Government. The fact that they are SWP candidates indicates that they are SWP members. Information from public sources could be pooled from all offices indicating the anarchist and revolutionary <sup>BASES</sup> of the SWP. The fact that the SWP has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States as a subversive organization could be fully outlined. This fact is probably not as generally known as it should be. This procedure would alert the public to the fact that in voting for a SWP candidate they are not voting for an innocuous "Socialist" candidate or a "labor" candidate but for a candidate dedicated to the overthrow of the United States Government.

The above idea of labeling the SWP as a subversive organization ~~which is to~~ could be expanded upon and other means of adequately publishing this fact utilized. Leaflets outlining the above could be mimeographed and surreptitiously

*g*  
- 2 - Bureau (RM)  
- 1 - Detroit

JED:AMG  
(3)

REC-12

100-436291-8

NOV 6 1961

58 NOV 16 1961

left at polling places. The information could be forwarded to newspaper reporters, radio and television stations, always taking necessary precautions so that the identity of the FBI as the source would not be disclosed.

2. With regard to the SWP supporting causes such as CASTRO'S Cuba and groups concerned with integration problems in the south, it is known that the SWP to a certain extent dominates the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, is attempting to dominate and control the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants and is seeking sponsors for this latter organization. The following ideas used successfully in the CP, USA Counter-Intelligence Program could be utilized:

a. Letters could be mailed to the sponsors of such organizations outlining the subversive connections of the officers of the organizations and advising them as to the nature of the organization that they are sponsoring. This might cause sponsors to publicly withdraw their support.

b. When organizations such as above rent halls for meetings and so forth, information regarding the real nature of the organization and the subversive connections of its leaders could by various means be channeled to the management of the halls so that they will refuse to rent the hall to the organization. This could be repeated causing the disruption of proposed meetings.

c. Reporters, newspapers and other media could be informed regarding the subversive affiliations of the leaders of these organizations with the hope that they will publicize this information (for example [REDACTED] of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee is a SWP member).

Locally the Detroit Office will use the ideas and methods used successfully in the CP, USA Counter-Intelligence Program fitted to and implemented by ideas and methods appropriate for the limited SWP membership. However, prior Bureau approval will be obtained by any new counter-intelligence operations.

FOR

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
11-13-61

Airtel

To: SAC, New York (100-146608)

From: Director, FBI (100-436291) - 7

REC-53

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Reurairtel 11-8-61.

Bureau authority is granted to carry out the Disruption Program operation as outlined in referenced airtel. Commercially purchased stationery should be utilized, and the envelopes should be addressed in the usual manner in which the individuals involved ordinarily receive mail. The envelopes should be addressed by various methods so that this anonymous mailing cannot be traced to the Bureau.

Promptly advise the Bureau when this mailing has been completed and advise the Bureau of any tangible results received.

1 - 100-433975

NOTE ON YELLOW:

See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan dated 11-13-61, same caption, TPR:dew.

MAILED 20  
NOV 13 1961  
COMM-FBI

TPR:dew  
(10)

*Handwritten signatures and initials*

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Malone
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Ingram
- Gandy

NOV 17 1961

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NAC, NAC  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE). JPM/ldc

FBI

Date: 11/8/61

Transmit the following in (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-436291)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)  
SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS-SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReBulet, 10/30/61.

There is enclosed copy of the column "On The Town" by CHARLES MC HARRY, which appeared on page 40 of the "New York Daily News" 11/7/61. It is noted this includes the information re [redacted] suggested by the NYO as a disruptive tactic against the SWP. Copies of the clipping are also attached in NY subject file and 100-138384 [redacted]

The attention of [redacted] was directed to this item on 11/7/61, without, of course, revealing the Bureau as being the source. [redacted] characterized this type of information as being in his opinion "dynamite," and said he believed everyone in the SWP was as ignorant as he was of [redacted]

A membership meeting of the New York Local, SWP, was held the evening of 11/7/61, which was attended by [redacted]. He stated on 11/8/61, that he had heard no mention of the newspaper story, but had noticed that [redacted] and his brothers, [redacted] and [redacted] also SWP members, were conspicuous by their absence. [redacted] said he could not recall a meeting when one or more of the [redacted] were not in attendance. REC-53

3-Bureau (100-436291) (Encl. 1) (RM) 100-436291-7  
(INV.) (413)  
1-NY 100-138384 [redacted] (413)  
1-100-146608 [redacted]

GPB:ume  
(7)

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

NOV 9 11 61

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC.  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT  
DATED FEB 23 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-18 (SWP MAIN FILE). JPM/DR

11-13-61  
FBI  
11-13-61  
FBI

[Handwritten signature]

NY 100-146608

[redacted] ventured the opinion on 11/7/61, that the SWP leaders would certainly be aware of the [redacted] article but would sit on it and attempt to keep it from becoming a topic of general discussion. To insure that the full effect of this information receives general dissemination, the NYO suggests the following:

Purchase 4 additional copies of the "Daily News" of 11/7/61, clip the MC HARRY column and send to the below listed, with brief note attached on non-Bureau paper:

To

Editor, "The Worker"

[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
c/o "Workers World"

[redacted]  
Leader of SWP minority faction

Comment

"These are the same damn Trotskyists that said we were unprincipled for not running candidates."

"Isn't this crook with the crew that moved in on us in the early days?"

"Just want to say, [redacted] I didn't agree with you when you left the Party, but must say we didn't have this crap when you were organizer in New York."

[redacted] if this is an example of your new pals, I bet you wish you could come back to the YPSL."

The first three listed above have publications at their disposal which are distributed in the SWP milieu, as well as an organization to spread the news by word of mouth. [redacted] is, of course, already a thorn in the side of the SWP leadership because of his minority position and could



NY 100-146608

well use the [redacted] information in his battle with the SWP leadership.

It can reasonably be expected that one or more of the above will give further publicity to the [redacted] matter if it has not heretofore been brought to their attention.

Action re the above will be initiated immediately following Bureau approval.

the indictment, to commit certain acts prohibited by Sections 9 and 10 of Title 18, United States Code, with the intent to interfere with and impair the loyalty, morale and discipline of the military and naval forces of the United States, by counseling, advising, urging and causing insubordination and mutiny and refusal of duty by members of the military and naval forces, contrary to Section 11 of Title 18, United States Code. The count also charged that with the intent to so interfere they distributed written and printed matter; and further, that they agreed to organize and help to organize groups and assemblies and joined such groups, whose purpose they knew was to teach, advocate and encourage overthrow of the government of the United States.

*Introducing . . .*

# The Y. S. A.



A YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE STREET MEETING

Questions for [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] are you the daughter of [REDACTED] who ran for [REDACTED] on the SWP ticket, in the last presidential election?

Are you, [REDACTED] a member of the SWP as well as the YSA?

Do you hold any office in the YSA?

Does the SWP have any adult representatives present at YSA meetings?

[REDACTED] in your opinion, what percentage of the YSA members also hold membership in the SWP?

In discussing revolution in the YSA, has there been, to your knowledge, any advocacy of the overthrow of the U. S. Government, the bastille of capitalism, by force and violence?

Does the YSA believe that Socialism can be achieved in the U. S. through peaceful means?

Would you comment concerning your ideas on how the workers and Socialism can replace our present form of government?

Eighteen SWP leaders, who were indicted under the Smith Act of 1940 on July 15, 1941, were sentenced on December 8, 1941. Twelve received 16-month and six received 12-month prison terms. On September 20, 1943, the Circuit Court of Appeals, 8th Circuit, upheld the conviction, as noted in "Dunne, Etal v. United States:", 138 Federal Reporter 2nd Series 137. On November 22, 1943, the United States Supreme Court refused to review the case.

The first count charged unlawful conspiracy from and before July 18, 1938, to the date of the indictment; in Minneapolis, Minnesota; St. Paul, Minnesota; Chicago, Illinois, and New York City, to destroy by force the Government of the United States, contrary to Section 6, Title 18, United States Code.

The second count, on which conviction was obtained charged unlawful conspiracy from June 28, 1940 to the date of

By CHARLES McHARRY  
**His Record Speaks**

Civic Improvement Society's Victor Dallaire writes: "Charlie, how are you going to vote today?" Vic, being an independent thinker, I think I'm going to jump all over the voting machine. Bob or Looie—



I'm not sure which one at this point—will get my vote for mayor. I would love to vote for La Guardia again, but he isn't running. The one guy I have made up my mind on is John Clarence Franklin, candidate for borough president of Manhattan on



Anna Maria Alberghetti the ticket of the Socialist Harold Minsky

Workers Party. John has accused his rivals of shameless dishonesty and general crookedness and has pictured himself as a public servant of utter probity. Here, if he cares to stand on it, is his record: Arrested for petty larceny in Albany in 1949; bagged for burglary and grand larceny in 1951; pulled in twice for drunkenness in 1954, and hit with a first degree murder rap, although the charge was reduced to manslaughter, in 1956. Seems he robbed a man and pushed him into the Hudson River, where his victim drowned. John was paroled from Clinton Prison in January, 1959. Although it would be interesting to see what Mr. Franklin would do as Manhattan's borough president, I think I'll vote for Mrs. Lawrence.

Harold Minsky, currently operating in Las Vegas, will bring burlesque back to Broadway this winter. . . . George Abbott, frowning on the Twist, told Roseland's Lou Brecker, who has banned the dance from his ballroom, that he'll never use it in any of his shows. . . . Hollywood-by-the-Sea, Florida, unveils a \$3-million health spa on Dec. 19. It will feature weight-reducing, rejuvenation and Roman baths, all under medical supervision. . . . Claudio Guzman is winging here from the Coast to continue his pursuit of Anna Maria Alberghetti. They were supposed to be engaged at one time. . . . Arch Oboler, whose movie "1+1" opens tonight at the Palace, is at work on a science-fiction flick set "far in the future." Obviously, Mr. O believes there will be a future. . . . The Charles V crowd figures Casey Stengel should do well with the Mets. For the first time he'll have players his own age.

Nick Schenck is in understanding in-law. The day after his daughter Joanne's divorce become final from Perry Frank, Nick went nightclubbing with Perry and his new girl friend, a curvy redhead. . . . Now that Jerry Lewis has dropped his option to do George Jessel's life, Jessel has approached Dean Martin to make the film. . . . Three off-Broadway theatres are competing to get "The Hostage" as a tenant. The tentative opening date is set for Dec. 12. . . . Ed Sullivan will be honored for his many charities at the Advertising and Allied Industries' annual award dinner Nov. 21 at the Waldorf. . . . Following John Huston's example, Alec Guinness is hunting for a home on the west coast of Ireland. The star's present place of abode is Berkshire, 60 miles south of London. . . . Basin Street now has five doormen to handle the swarm of customers attracted by Peggy Lee.

Some of the biggest names in jazz will appear at the Jazz Gallery Monday night to take part in a memorial benefit for the late Booker Little Jr. Among those scheduled to be on hand are Sonny Rollins, Coleman Hawkins, Teddy Wilson, Art Blakey, Thelonious Monk, Billy Taylor, Ray Bryant, Quincy Jones, Bobby Timmons, Cecil Taylor and the Jazztet Combo starring Art Farmer and Benny Golson. . . . The first three days of shooting on the Sophia Loren episode in "Boccaccio 70" had to be scrapped and done over. Seems Sophia's bright red dress had an X-ray effect on the color film and her curves were too startlingly revealed. . . . A coded message from my Havana Source states: "Fidel Castro vanishes for days at a time from his headquarters here. Some think he is ailing." Thanks, Havana Source but Fidel isn't only ailing. He's nuts.

**SCOTLAND'S BEST**  
 Distilleries produce  
**CUTTY SARK**  
 SCOTCH WHISKY  
 IMPORTED BY THE BUCKINGHAM CORPORATION, NEW YORK, N.Y. BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY 50 PROOF

# On the Town

By CHARLES McHARRY

## His Record Speaks . . .

Civic improvement expert Victor Dallaire writes: "Charlie, how are you going to vote today?" Vic, being an independent thinker, I think I'm going to jump all over the voting machine. Bob or Looie—



Anna Maria Alberghetti

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Harold Minsky

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SAC, Chicago (65-645)

November 8, 1961

REC

Director, FBI (100-436291)-6



SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReChicago letter 10-30-61 captioned as above indicating that there were no pronounced differences existing in the Chicago Branch Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and, therefore, no suggestions under the captioned Program were being submitted at this time.

Chicago Office advised it would remain alert for any conditions and/or circumstances whereby the Disruption Program operation could be instituted through live informants or anonymous mailings.

The comments of the Chicago Office regarding the difficulty of initiating a Disruption Program operation at this time due to the nature of the current SWP organization in Chicago are appreciated and indicative that the Bureau's desires are clearly understood in connection with this Program.

For the information of Chicago Office, New York has submitted a suggestion which was approved concerning the possible embarrassment to the SWP candidate for Borough President of Manhattan, New York City. It is felt that this operation, if successful, would have considerable disruptive effect upon the SWP on a national and local level. In addition, the Newark Office with the assistance of the New York Office has been instructed to consider a Disruption Program operation designed to embarrass the SWP concerning the operation of Mountain Spring Camp as a training ground for revolutionary socialism. Chicago should constantly bear in mind this Program in connection with public functions of the SWP and any participation by the SWP in local or state elections. If Disruption Program operations are deemed feasible, suggestions should be submitted to the Bureau for consideration. As has been previously pointed out, the Bureau does not intend that this be a "crash" Program and only carefully planned operations having the widest possible effect will be considered.

MAILED 19  
NOV - 7 1961  
COMM-FBI

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Malone \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Ingram \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

New York (100-146608)  
Newark (100-1984)

TPR:blw(6)

MAIL ROOM

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

# Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-16)

DATE: 10/30/61

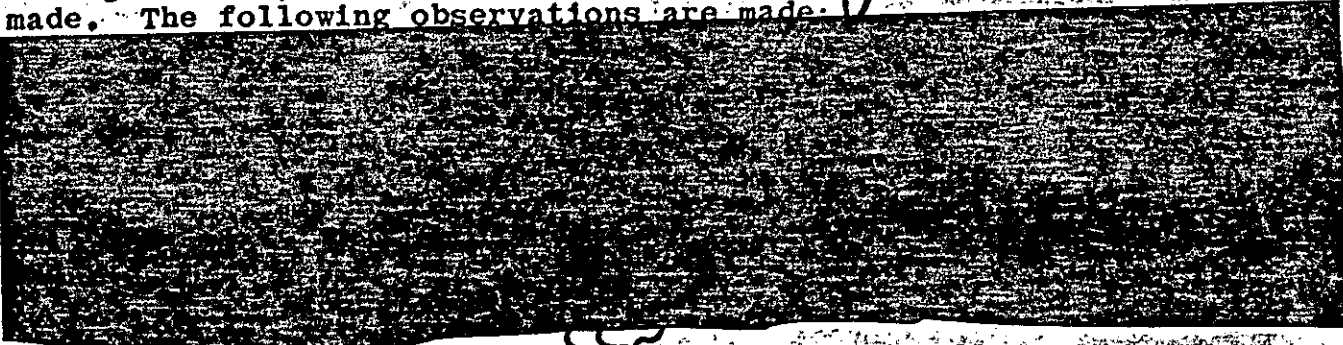
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (65-645)

Confidential

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY -  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Rebulet to New York dated October 12, 1961, captioned as above; report of SA G [redacted], Jr., dated August 3, 1961, at New York, captioned "SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY - NATIONAL, IS - SWP"; report of SA [redacted] dated July 28, 1961, at Chicago, captioned "SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY - CHICAGO DIVISION, IS - SWP." ✓

In connection with rebulet of October 12, 1961, a careful study and analysis of the Chicago situation in the Chicago Branch, Socialist Workers Party (CBSWP) has been made. The following observations are made: ✓



[redacted] who has been used in the past in the Bureau's CP, USA, counterintelligence program, is available to participate in a SWP Disruption Program, but, at present there are no pronounced differences existing in the CBSWP that could be utilized in connection with the Program. It is noted that the SWP at Chicago is a tight-knit organization comprised of 22 active members at this time who meet as one club and its activities are covered by four live informants. ✓

It is felt that [redacted] and [redacted] have the intelligence and background to participate to some degree in particular phases of this type of program. As noted above, however, [redacted] is not available for a six month period. ✓

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED) X-116
- 1 - New York (100-4013) (REGISTERED) 7EC-74
- 1 - Chicago

RDH:mks  
(4)

Classified by 7225  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
12/3/74 TSM

Classified by 3832  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite 2-1961

Confidential

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY SLIP(S) OF CLASSIFICATION DATE 8-2-74 RCL

11-8-61  
11-8-61  
11-8-61

100-436291-6

1534



Confidential

Due to the lack of pronounced differences in the SWP at Chicago and the size of this organization, it is felt that [redacted] could be compromised by constantly agitating petty differences and should refrain from this activity until the issue is of such importance that the desired results may be achieved. Considering the successes achieved in the CP counterintelligence program, Chicago certainly would desire to be a part of a similar program aimed at disruption within the SWP. ✓

Should the New York Office have any suggestions relative to a disruptive action on a national level, same will certainly be considered in line with the informant situation in Chicago. The Chicago Division will remain alert for any conditions and/or circumstances whereby a Disruption Program in the CBSWP may be instituted, through live informants and/or anonymous mailings. In the event such a situation should arise, it will be promptly called to the attention of the Bureau along with the suggestions and recommendations of this division. ✓

Confidential

SAC, Newark (100-1984)

November 8, 1961

Director, FBI (100-436291)

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM**

ReBulet October 12, 1961, captioned as above regarding suggestions designed to cause wide disruption of the operations of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

In connection with the SWP Disruption Program, it is felt that careful consideration should be given to exposing the activities taking place at the SWP's Mountain Spring Camp, Washington, New Jersey. It is noted that classes are currently being held at this Camp of the Trotsky School. Possible publicity aimed at exposing this Camp as a training school for Trotskyite revolutionaries could have wide disruptive effects upon the SWP throughout the country. It would also cause embarrassment of the SWP on an international scale in view of the current dispute existing between certain factions of the IV International, the Young Socialist Alliance and the SWP.

New York should submit to the Bureau and Newark its views and any suggestions concerning this operation.

Newark should review its files for available public source information regarding Mountain Spring Camp and information concerning the operations of the SWP at this Camp in connection with the Trotsky School and other SWP encampments. Upon receiving the views of the New York Office, Newark should submit to the Bureau all pertinent information and its recommendation concerning a Disruption Program operation concerning Mountain Spring Camp. Newark should carefully consider all possible phases of this operation, and in the event it is felt that such an operation cannot be successfully carried out the Bureau should be so advised.

2 - New York (100-146608)

DELETED COPY SENT USA, N.Y.  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 20 1973 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE). *Jem/ldg*

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Malone
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Tele. Room
- Ingram
- Gandy

TPP:dew  
(6) MAILED 8  
NOV 8 1961  
COMM-FBI

REC-34  
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FBI - NEW YORK  
NOV 29 1961  
COMM-FBI

*100-436291-5*  
*an*  
*JTC*  
*708*

NOV 16 1961

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

# Memorandum

- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Malone
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Ingram
- Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: October 27, 1961

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach *DeLoach*
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan *Sullivan*
- 1 - Mr. Gregg
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

In response to a Bureau-initiated suggestion, the New York Office by letter dated 10/20/61 submitted for the Bureau's consideration a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) Disruption Program operation designed to cause embarrassment to the SWP and to the SWP candidate for Manhattan Borough President, New York City [redacted]

The SWP (designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450) is running candidates for election to municipal offices of New York City. A review of the background of the candidates disclosed that [redacted] was particularly vulnerable in causing embarrassment to the SWP in view of his criminal record which includes such offenses as larceny, burglary, drunkenness and a murder charge which was reduced to manslaughter. These offenses took place during the years 1949 through 1956 at Albany, New York, prior to [redacted]s move to New York City and his association with the SWP. His criminal record is quite possibly unknown to the SWP rank-and-file members as well as the SWP leadership.

The SWP newspaper, "The Militant," in introducing [redacted] as a candidate, described [redacted] as accusing the major political parties of dipping their hands into graft and offering himself [redacted] as an alternative. "The Militant" also set forth that SWP candidates were on the side of honest and productive people and against those who insisted on enjoying privileges at other people's expense.

The SWP is receiving some attention through the press, television and radio due to its success in placing its candidates on the ballot for office in the New York City elections.

New York suggests that an article be disseminated to a friendly newspaper pointing out [redacted] criminal background. New York also suggests that if the above article is not desirable that a friendly newspaper in the New York area be contacted with the suggestion that a reporter interview [redacted] to make a self-determination regarding [redacted] extensive criminal record.

It is felt that the suggested article would have considerable disruptive effect upon the SWP leadership and membership as well as upon any sympathizers who may be thinking of offering support through the elections.

See Reverse Side for  
Dissemination.

100-436291-112  
Enclosures - 2  
1 - 100-433957  
TPR: cdb (10)

10 NOV 1 1961

60 NOV 31 1961

*[Handwritten signature]*

RECEIVED TELETYPE UNIT

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

100-436291

The SWP has met with little or no opposition in carrying forth its aims and purposes and in securing positions on the ballot for its candidates. It is felt that some disruptive action should be taken so that innocent citizens will become aware that the SWP favors revolutionary socialism and not socialism which may be brought about through democratic processes. This Disruption Program operation should prove highly beneficial in disrupting the activities of the SWP on a national as well as local level.

RECOMMENDATION:

1. There is attached a suggested article to be furnished to a friendly newspaper contact in the New York City area through Mr. DeLoach's office.

2. There is attached for your approval a letter to the New York Office commenting on the excellent manner in which this suggestion was prepared and advising that this matter will be handled through Bureau sources.

Handled  
10/30/61  
D

TMR  
JMP  
WLD  
JMD

WJ  
D  
EAB  
V  
G.H.  
D.

1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Grogan  
1 - Mr. Black  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner

October 27, 1961

### CANDIDATE FAILS TO GIVE COMPLETE BACKGROUND

One of the minor entries in the New York City municipal elections is [redacted], the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for Manhattan Borough President. He was introduced in the Party's newspaper "The Militant," issues of July 24 and 31, 1961, as being "On the side of the honest productive people of the City." [redacted] accused the Democrats and Republicans of dipping their hands in graft and offered himself as an alternative.

In giving his background and qualifications, [redacted] omitted some facts in regard to honesty and productivity which are a matter of record with the Albany Police Department. Under his full name of [redacted], he accumulated an arrest record beginning with petit larceny in 1949, burglary and grand larceny in 1951, drunkenness in 1954 and murder in 1956, which charge was reduced to manslaughter. He was paroled from Clinton Prison on January 27, 1959.

In especially considering its small size, it would appear the SWP takes all honors in fielding the candidate least qualified for the office to which he aspires.

The Trotskyites, by which name the Socialist Workers Party is more commonly known, are a militantly revolutionary group which follows the lines of Marx, Engels and Lenin as interpreted by Leon Trotsky rather than by Joseph Stalin. Like the communists, however, the Trotskyites call for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of world-wide socialism. The Socialist Workers Party, which was founded in 1938 and is the largest of the Trotskyite groups, is cited on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

1 - 100-433957 [redacted]

#### NOTE ON YELLOW:

See cover memo Baumgardner to Sullivan captioned, "Socialist Workers Party, Internal Security - SWP, Disruption Program," [same date, TPR:cdb.]

FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE) - gpm/ldso

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
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- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Ingram \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TPR:cdb  
(12)

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

ENCLOSURE

100-43629-44

*[Handwritten signatures and initials: T, W, J, etc.]*

SAC, New York (100-146608)

October 30, 1961

Director, FBI (100-436291)-3

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Gregg
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Reurlet 10/20/61 captioned as above and submitting for Bureau consideration a Disruption Program operation aimed at causing embarrassment to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), its leaders and its membership.

This suggestion is an excellent example of the type desired by the Bureau under the Disruption Program. The Bureau is pleased to note that the suggestion was well thought out and it is felt that if future suggestions are submitted with the same amount of preparation and planning, this program will be exceedingly successful.

The necessary action has been taken at the Bureau to carry out your suggestion. No steps should be taken by you concerning this operation. Should any tangible results come to your attention as a result of Bureau-initiated action in this matter, the Bureau should be advised promptly.

1 - 100-433957 [redacted]

TPR:cdb  
(12)

NOTE ON YELLOW:

See cover memo Baumgardner to Sullivan, same caption, dated 10/27/61c, TPR:cdb.

FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED  
IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE). *Jan 1980*

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-433957

MAILED 8  
OCT 30 1961  
COMM-FBI

NOV 3 1961

TELETYPE UNIT

NOV 5 1961

OCT 21 1961

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 Rosen  
 Sullivan  
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 Trotter  
 Tele. Room  
 Holmes  
 Gandy

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-16)

DATE: 10/20/61

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146608)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP) —  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReBulet to NY and other offices, dated 10/12/61.

Relet instructed NY and other offices having major SWP activity to evaluate a program aimed at disruption of the SWP and to submit views to the Bureau regarding this matter.

The NYO has given careful thought to this matter and it is felt that on a carefully selective basis, issues could be exploited which may well serve to disrupt the SWP and render it more impotent as a functioning organization.

Careful consideration has been given to the fact that the SWP in New York City is now getting some propaganda attention through the press, television and radio because it has succeeded in placing on the ballot four candidates for office in the New York City fall elections. With this background in mind, a review has been made of the candidates chosen by the SWP to represent it on the ballot and it has been found that one of them, [redacted] appears to be particularly [redacted] (vulnerable in causing embarrassment to the SWP. [redacted])

[redacted] has a criminal record which includes such offenses as larceny, burglary, drunkenness and a murder charge which was later reduced to manslaughter.

Address: 1351 Fulton St.  
Brooklyn, N.Y.

- 2 - Bureau (100-16) (Encls. 4) (RM)
- 1 - NY 100-138384
- 1 - NY 100-146608 (413)

GPB:rvs  
(4)

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

REC-9

100-436291-3  
~~100-16-1577~~

10 OCT 23 1961

[Handwritten initials]

X

CELESTINE... SENT USA; NYC.  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED FEB 28 1961 AND FILED  
IN 100 (SEE MAIN FILE) gpm/ldg

add...  
10-20-61  
11/1/61  
C...  
1/2/61  
P...  
(inc.)

NY 100-146608

These offenses took place during the years 1949-1956 in Albany, NY, prior to the time [REDACTED] moved to NY and became connected with the SWP. As a result, his prior criminal record is not known to the rank and file of the SWP and quite possibly is also unknown to the Party leadership.

When the SWP newspaper, "The Militant", introduced [REDACTED] as a candidate, he was described as accusing the Democrats and Republicans of dipping their hands into graft and of offering himself as an alternative to this. "The Militant" further set forth that the SWP candidates were on the side of the honest and productive people of the City and against those who insisted on enjoying privileges at other people's expense.

The SWP has consistently printed that it consistently maintained a high principled position over the years and was, contrary to other radical groups, a Party of consistent integrity.

It is felt that it is quite possible a considerable disruptive effect would result if it should become public knowledge that [REDACTED] the candidate chosen by the SWP to represent it on the ballot, was a convicted thief and murderer. It is not believed that it would be necessary to give any large display to information of this sort, there is no doubt that a short item in the back pages of a metropolitan NY newspaper would quickly become well known within the SWP and related groups. It is believed that the effect of such a public revelation could possibly result in the following:

1. Among the SWP membership, there could well be a feeling of disillusionment with the leadership of the Party for running such an individual as a candidate as well as distrust of [REDACTED] himself because of his past record.



NY 100-146608

2. Among the SWP's opponents in the radical field, there has always been an undercurrent of vindictive feeling and it is quite likely that the Communist Party (CP) or a rival Trotskyist group would seize upon an issue such as the [redacted] case to attack the principles of the SWP.
3. From the point of view from the public at large, it would seem that anyone reading an item regarding the [redacted] candidacy could hardly help but have a lower opinion of the SWP.

There is submitted for consideration by the Bureau a sample of the type of story which might be submitted to a friendly newspaper in this regard:

"One of the minor entries in the New York City municipal elections is the candidate of the

[redacted] he was introduced in the Party's newspaper 'The Militant' in the issue of [redacted], as being 'On the side of the honest productive people of the City'. [redacted] accused the Democrats and Republicans of dipping their hands in graft and he offered himself as an alternative.

"In giving his background and qualifications, [redacted] omitted some facts in regard to honesty and productivity which are a matter of record to the Albany Police Department. Under his full name of [redacted], he accumulated an arrest record beginning with petit larceny in 1949, burglary and grand larceny in 1951, drunkenness in 1954 and murder in 1956.

NY 100-146608

"In especially considering its small size, it would appear the SWP takes all honors in fielding the candidate least well qualified for the office to which he aspires."

There are enclosed for the Bureau a copy of the FD 9 setting forth [redacted] FBI fingerprint record and pertinent articles printed in "The Militant" of [redacted] regarding [redacted]

It is recommended that the Bureau furnish the above information to one of its contacts in the newspaper field. However, if this course of action is not considered favorably in this instance, it is suggested that the Bureau consider allowing NY to furnish the information to a friendly newspaper in the NY area. Should this procedure be agreeable to the Bureau, a copy of the photograph of [redacted] taken by the Albany, NY Police Department, 7/23/52, would be furnished the newspaper contact with the suggestion that [redacted] be interviewed by a reporter of the newspaper in order that he may make his own determination that the individual running for public office on the SWP ticket is identical with the individual on whom the extensive criminal record exists.

For the information of the Bureau, a new file has been opened by the NYO on captioned case and this office will continue to give well thought out attention to develop all possibilities in the future which might serve to have a disruptive effect on the SWP.

INSTRUCTIONS

1. This form may be submitted in legible hand-printing.
2. Use separate form for each individual on whom record is requested.
3. Make effort to furnish FBI Identification Number or Law Enforcement Identification Number.
4. Furnish descriptive data and fingerprint classification only when FBI Number not available.
5. Indicate office for reply in lower-left corner only. Also list in lower-left corner all offices which should receive copies of available records. Include carbon of revised FD-9 for each office receiving copies and forward with original to Bureau.
6. Do not fill in block in lower-right corner.
7. Where available furnish Law Enforcement Identification Number and Military Service Number.

To: DIRECTOR, FBI      Attention: Identification Division      Date: 10/29/65

Re: [REDACTED]

Furnish the Known Information Record of the Following:

Name: [REDACTED]      FBI No.: [REDACTED]      Other: [REDACTED]

Aliases: [REDACTED]

Sex: [REDACTED]      Birth Date: [REDACTED]      Birthplace: [REDACTED]      Residence: [REDACTED]

Height: 5'11"      Weight: 165      Build: Medium      Hair: Black      Eyes: Blue      Age: 28

Fingerprint Classification: [REDACTED]      Scars, marks and tattoos: [REDACTED]

Also Furnish:

Photo      # 288-449-A

Fingerprints

Handwriting Specimens

Return Reply to: SAC, New York

Send Copies To: [REDACTED]

100-138384-10

SEARCHED [REDACTED] INDEXED [REDACTED]

OCT 30 1965

FBI - NEW YORK

[REDACTED]

Identification Division's Reply: 10-29-65

On basis of information furnished, unable to identify:

Criminal Files       Civil Files       All Files

Record Attached

Photo Attached

Photo Not Available

Fingerprints Attached

Handwriting Specimen Attached

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC, FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER DATED FEB 26 1975 AND FILED IN 100-16 (SWP MAIN FILE). J.P.M./a

SAC, Newark (100-1984)

November 6, 1961

Director, FBI (100-436291) - 2

EX-113

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Reurlet 10-27-61, captioned as above, suggesting that the Bureau furnish to the Attorney General a list of television stations, radio stations and newspapers affording publicity to Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidates in the current election and requesting the Attorney General to send a list of organizations designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450 to these facilities pointing out that the SWP is contained on the list so that these outlets could announce the SWP's designation immediately following statements made by the SWP candidates.

The Bureau does not feel that this suggestion is practical and, therefore, no action is being taken regarding your suggestion. It is desired that only those disruption operations which may be carried out by the Bureau or through established Bureau sources be used. You should consider this matter in submitting future recommendations.

For your information, a Disruption Program operation submitted by the New York Office has been initiated by the Bureau which will afford publicity concerning the true nature of the SWP and the fact that it has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. This operation is in connection with the candidacy of [redacted] SWP candidate for Manhattan Borough [redacted] New York City. As the present media originating in New York City will undoubtedly reach individuals residing in your territory, it is felt that this operation will have considerable effect upon the SWP election campaign in New Jersey.

Should pertinent developments come to your attention regarding the above-mentioned disruption program, you should advise the Bureau and the New York Office.

TPR: bgc  
(4)

MAILED 10  
NOV 3 - 1961  
COMM-FBI

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Tele. Room

8 NOV 7 1961

NOV 8 1961

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-16)

DATE: 10/27/61

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (100-1984)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Re Bureau letter to New York dated 10/12/61.

[redacted] is the SWP candidate for [redacted] of New Jersey, and SWP candidates are also seeking public office in New York and elsewhere. In connection with her campaign [redacted] has appeared on television in New York and she regularly issues press releases which appear in Newark newspapers.

It is suggested that the Bureau furnish to the Attorney General a list of television stations, radio stations, and newspapers which are affording publicity to the SWP candidates and request that he send a list of the organizations designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450 to the officials of these companies, pointing out the fact that the SWP is contained in the list. The Attorney General could suggest that the announcers and editors could perform a public service by reporting to the public that the SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450 immediately following the statements made by SWP candidates.

The Newark SWP is distributing a campaign leaflet on behalf of [redacted]. The last page of this leaflet has a form to be filled out with the name and address of anyone who desires to (1) donate money to the campaign, (2) participate in campaign activities, and (3) get more information about the SWP. This form is to be sent to Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 361, Newark 1, New Jersey. It is anticipated that copies of this leaflet will be obtained and a letter will be directed to the Bureau under the caption of CP, USA, Counter-intelligence Program requesting authority to mail these forms to the SWP with the names of selected CP members written thereon.

Newark will continue to be alert to situations which will afford an opportunity to disrupt the SWP and the CP, USA, and the Bureau will be advised of any contemplated action.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
  - 1 - Newark
- DWA/jtm  
(3)

EX-113

REC-36

OCT 30 1961

100-430211-2

[Handwritten initials]

SAC, New York (100-4013)

October 12, 1961

Director, FBI

*declassified*  
2640  
7/26/77  
Hjm

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM**

SLIP(S) OF THE  
DATE

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has, over the past several years, been openly espousing its line on a local and national basis through running candidates for public office and strongly directing and/or supporting such causes as Castro's Cuba and integration problems arising in the South. The SWP has also been in frequent contact with international Trotskyite groups stopping short of open and direct contact with these groups. The youth group of the SWP has also been operating on this basis in connection with SWP policies.

Offices receiving copies of this letter are participating in the Bureau's Communist Party, USA Counterintelligence Program. It is felt that a disruption program along similar lines could be initiated against the SWP on a very selective basis. One of the purposes of this program would be to alert the public to the fact that the SWP is not just another socialist group but follows the revolutionary principles of Marx, Lenin and Engels as interpreted by Leon Trotsky.

It is pointed out, however, that this program is not intended to be a "crash" program. Only carefully thought-out operations with the widest possible effect and benefit to the nation should be submitted. It may be desirable to expand the program after the effects have been evaluated.

Each office is, therefore, requested to carefully evaluate such a program and submit their views on a limited basis regarding initiating a SWP disruption program on a limited basis.

- 2 - Chicago
- 2 - Detroit
- 2 - Los Angeles
- 2 - Newark

19 OCT 12 1961

OCT 16 1961  
100-4013-29

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

**CONFIDENTIAL**

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

DELETED COPY SENT USA, NYC  
FOR RELEASE TO PLAINTIFFS IN  
SWP CIVIL SUIT BY LETTER  
DATED 3-29-78  
100-4013-29 AND FILED