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200 West 79th Street
New York, N.Y. 10024

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June 7, 1979

Political Committee
Socialist Workers party
410 West Street
New York, N.Y. 10014

JUN 12 1979

Dear Comrades:

Enclosed, for your information, is my appeal to USEC for an International Control Commission to investigate my exclusion from the Socialist Workers party.

Sincerely,



Hedda Garza

Hedda Garza
200 West 79th Street
Apt. 12N
New York, N.Y. 10024

May 23, 1979

United Secretariat

Dear Comrades:

I am writing to you to formally request that the International Control Commission investigate the circumstances of my exclusion from membership by the Socialist Workers Party.

After over a year and a half of collaborating with the Chelsea Branch I was unanimously voted into provisional membership. After seven weeks as a provisional member with a different branch (Upper West Side), I was dropped from provisional membership. No one told me about the impending discussion, no one interviewed me, and I was not permitted to make a statement to the branch. All of this is covered thoroughly in the enclosed material.

After more than a dozen letters of protest from branch members themselves, most of which are being mailed by the comrades under separate cover, a control commission was established.


I have taken that report, intact, and interspersed some of my answers between its paragraphs. The Control Commission taped all of the interviews, including six or seven hours with me and possibly the same amount with the organizer of the Chelsea and UWS branches, Mike Maggi. An International Control Commission has a full range of information from which to draw its conclusions.

I believe that this elaborate pile of material contains more than adequate information to substantiate my belief that there was a deliberate effort to keep me out of the SWP--and that effort is now being made against other comrades as well.

I would also like a decision on my status in regard to the Fourth International. After the expulsion of the Internationalist Tendency, it was made clear that all comrades attempting to rejoin the party were still members of the Fourth. I am assuming that my Herculean efforts, although thwarted, have earned me the continuance of that status.

I will await a reply.

Comradely,



Hedda Garza

CC/ International Control Commission members;
Political Committee, SWP; and leading bodies
of several Sections of the Fourth International.

Control Commission Report

At a November 30, 1978, meeting of the Political Bureau, then a subcommittee of the Political Committee, Comrade Doug Jenness reported that the national office had received a number of letters which raised questions regarding the norms of the party's provisional membership category. The letters were prompted by a decision of the Upper West Side branch of the New York Local to terminate the provisional membership of Hedda Garza.

My provisional membership had been established by the unanimous vote of the Chelsea branch after a year and a half of working with that branch. I had been a provisional member of the Upper West Side branch for about 7 weeks when my provisional membership was terminated. Most of the members of that branch had never worked with me before.

The Political Bureau voted that "the Control Commission be asked to review the party's norms in implementing our provisional membership category."

The committee also designated Harry Ring as the fifth member of the Control Commission. The four members elected by the 1977 party convention are Virginia Garza of Los Angeles, Wayne Glover of San Francisco, Helen Scheer of Minneapolis, and Larry Stewart of Newark.

It is the usual norm for Control Commissions to be made up of rank-and-file comrades. A National Committee member is sometimes assigned to the Commissions. However, Harry Ring not only was assigned to the Commission but did almost all of the questioning and wrote the final report. Larry Stewart was present at the interviews and asked a few questions, but the other three CC members met in a telephone conversation after the report was written to discuss it. Considering that the main "charge" against me appears to be "bad attitude toward the leadership," it seems out of order for a member of the leadership to play the key role in the CC.

During the National Committee plenum in December 1978, the Control Commission had a number of meetings. All members were present except Comrade Glover, who was unable to attend the plenum.

Larry Stewart and Harry Ring were assigned by the commission as a subcommittee to interview Hedda Garza; Michael Maggi, the Upper West Side organizer; Linda Jenness, then the New York Local organizer; and other comrades whose views on either or both aspects of the question would help to illuminate the commission's work.

All of the interviews were taped and copies sent to the commission members.

The commission gave extensive consideration to the issue of Comrade Garza's provisional membership being terminated. There had been a significant division in the branch on the question, and other members of the New York Local had voiced concern. More than a dozen letters were written to the national office or Control Commission expressing the view that the branch action had been unjustified and/or improper. They contended Comrade Garza was well qualified for membership, that she had been treated unfairly, and that her democratic rights had not been respected.

There were also many other "contentions" as you will see by the letters being sent under separate cover. Apparently, none of the questions raised by these comrades were discussed by the Control Commission. These will be raised again at later points in this commentary.

The chronology of events immediately preceding the termination of Comrade Garza's provisional membership was as follows. A former member of the party who had been part of the Internationalist Tendency split, she had been accepted into provisional membership by the Chelsea branch of the New York Local on Sept. 11, 1978.

By now most people refer to the Internationalist Tendency "expulsion" --not "split." I can testify from my own experience that I had no knowledge of being "split" from the Party until I was informed on the street that I was no longer a member of the Socialist Workers party and that I could buy a copy of the "charges" against us for \$2.25! The USEC is fully aware of these events. They were investigated by an International Control Commission but the report of that Commission was never published.

That same night, as part of a reorganization of the New York Local, the Chelsea branch was dissolved and its members reassigned to other branches. Comrade Garza was assigned to the Upper West Side branch.

The Chelsea organizer, Michael Maggi was assigned as organizer of the new Upper West Side Branch. He made it clear that he wanted me in the branch where he would be organizer. I was reluctant to go to that branch for two reasons: First, Mike M. had expressed extreme antagonism toward my becoming a member. Secondly, many people who were conscious of the events in the Chelsea branch and had supported me in my fight for membership were not going to the UWS branch. I was worried that I might encounter the same retrograde hostility that I had finally managed to overcome in the Chelsea branch after a year and a half of working with the comrades. As events proved, I should have followed my own judgement and stayed out of the UWS branch, but I decided instead that I was weary of fighting, that perhaps Mike M. had finally accepted the idea that I was going to be a full member, and that I could always transfer later on.

There, seven weeks later, on Oct. 30, the branch voted to terminate her provisional membership. The vote was 24 in favor of termination, 12 opposed, and one abstaining. The branch acted on the basis of a motion brought in by its executive committee. The vote in the executive committee was eight in favor of termination, one opposed, and one abstaining. The branch heard majority and minority reports from the executive committee.

I was not informed by the organizer that such a discussion was taking place. In fact, the day before the Executive Committee met, I was out on the street for several hours selling the Militant and other Party literature and arranging a campaign dinner. If Mike M. had told me of the proposed discussion, I would have requested to be allowed to appear before the Executive Committee to inform them of my experience in Chelsea. No one on the UWS Executive ~~Committee~~ except Jean S. and Mike M., had been a member of the Chelsea Branch. Most of the Exec members had never worked with me. Their judgement was based solely on Mike M.'s say-so and on the one branch meeting that Mike M. used as his rationale for dropping me from provisional membership.

The executive committee motion was sparked by a dispute which had occurred in the branch the previous week relating to Comrade Garza's branch assignment. Several weeks previous Comrade Maggi had proposed to her that she work with Columbia University YSA members in a campus antinuclear organization, an assignment with which Comrade Garza felt greatly pleased.

Shortly after, he asked her to instead take two other assignments. One was to seek support for Leo Harris, the Miami comrade whose frameup case was then about to come up for trial. The second was to handle the emergency campaign initiated on behalf of Héctor Marroquín at the point when the INS was about to rule on his deportation.

Comrade Garza strongly objected to being taken out of the antinuclear assignment. She told Comrade Maggi she was convinced that she was being withdrawn because Jean Savage, the citywide antinuclear director, was opposed to her having the assignment and that Savage's opposition stemmed from purely subjective considerations. She also felt Comrade Maggi was hostile to her and that this was also a factor in the proposed assignment change.

After an apparently heated exchange, she agreed to accept the Marroquín and Harris assignments and Maggi then brought the proposal to the branch meeting. This evoked an extensive discussion, with several comrades arguing that because of her particular qualifications, Comrade Garza should not be removed from the antinuclear assignment. Initially, Comrade Garza did not participate in the discussion. After a period she took the floor to state that she felt she could do all three assignments. After further discussion, a motion was adopted to refer the entire matter to the executive committee.

This account of the events is notable by its omissions. I think comrades will judge for themselves the reasons for the specificity of these "cuts."

The branch had just been reorganized. Mike M. was calling comrades in to discuss their assignments. I had been selling party literature at Columbia University. I have some free time during the day and the YSA comrades had requested help on campus sales. Furthermore, Mike M. had announced to the branch that some party comrades would be assigned to assist the YSA at Columbia in order to strengthen the antinuclear and South Africa work. Mike M. called me to discuss my assignment and asked me to take on Marroquin work. At that time the INS hearing had not been scheduled and there was very little work to be done on the case except some phone calling. I told him that I work alone at home and that I was willing to do telephoning but also wanted to get out and do some selling, contact work, etc. I asked him for the Columbia assignment. He agreed to give it to me. Yes, I was greatly pleased, AND SO WERE THE COMRADES AT COLUMBIA. The report fails to mention that the comrades there felt that I gave them a big boost in their work even on the few occasions when I had gone up there to help staff the literature table. I also felt very useful politically. It was fine to be out talking to potential recruits about socialist politics.

Jean Savage was head of the citywide antinuclear fraction. I did not know Jean and had never worked with her. She had been a member of the Chelsea branch and of the Executive Committee that recommended me for membership. For many months in Chelsea I tried to speak with her, inviting her to have coffee with me, etc. She was unfailingly cold and hostile, refusing each time but expressing to several comrades, including a new provisional member who I had recruited, Eric, that she did not want me in the Party. There was no way that she could have based this feeling on anything we had discussed, since she had never had a discussion with me. I assumed, logically I believe, that her hostility had to be based on the faction fight of 1973.

One week after I was given the antinuclear assignment, I was told that there had been a citywide fraction meeting. I assumed that Jean had not yet been informed that I had been assigned to the Columbia work. I approached her before a branch meeting and told her that I had been given that assignment and that I was assuming she should know about it so that I could be informed of citywide fraction meetings. She mumbled that she thought I was being taken off the assignment and should see Mike M., and hastened away.

At the meeting I set up with Mike M., I decided to attempt to be extremely open with him and to try and improve relations--wipe the slate clean if possible. He confirmed that I was being taken out of the Columbia U. assignment and that instead I should make calls for sponsors for Leon Harris' defense committee; he informed me also that the INS was going to attempt to railroad Hector Marroquin and he wanted me to call sponsors of the Marroquin Defense Committee asking them for emergency support messages. I told him that those were both short-term telephoning assignments and I was willing to do both of them, but I wanted to keep my long-term antinuclear assignment as well. He simply gave me a flat "no." Then I said, "I don't think it is fair to take me off the assignment just because Jean Savage has factional feelings toward me."

His reply was an open admission: "Well, she is the head of the fraction, you know."

A second after he said it, he regretted it. "Jean voted for your

During the IT faction fight in the early 1970s, as Comrade Garza freely concedes, she was among the most virulent of the ITers in her hostility to the party leadership. In addition, many comrades were convinced, she had been an inveterate cliquist who worked incessantly to surround herself with a circle of newer members on an antileadership basis.

Another journalese game! I never "conceded" my "virulence." I was a spokesperson for the Internationalist Tendency and presented its political counter-resolution at the 1973 SWP Convention. I defended the positions strongly. Apparently there is a mistaken notion that strong support for a political position is equal to hostility to the party leadership. Every member of the IT supported those positions. Just as the party chose me to speak for its ideas as a candidate on several occasions, the IT chose me to speak for its political ideas at the Convention. I conceded that any comrade who gives the presentation of a minority position tends to be more identified with those positions and becomes a target for any hostility toward that position. The use of the term "freely concedes" sounds as though I said that I was virulent in my hostility to the leadership. I never said any such thing.

In early 1976, a year and a half after the July 1974 IT split, Comrade Garza applied for readmission to the party. As with all other former members of the IT, it was proposed that she work for a period as a sympathizer and her application would then be considered. But, after a short period, she dropped away.

This is patently false. It will be covered thoroughly when another reference is made to it.

A few months later, in April 1976, she participated in an act of public hostility to the SWP. This was a press conference organized by the Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee. RMOC included people who left with the IT and people who left the party earlier. It is led by Milt Zaslow, a former Cochranite.

Despite the sharpest advance protest from the SWP and opposition from the leadership of the Fourth International, Comrade Garza acted as a spokesperson for the grouping at a New York press conference.

The press conference incident is another good example of the rewriting of history. The Control Commission goes into more detail on it later and I will answer to it at that point.

Shortly after, she joined RMOC. She broke with it in November of 1976 when it openly declared its view that the SWP was a non-Trotskyist, reformist organization.

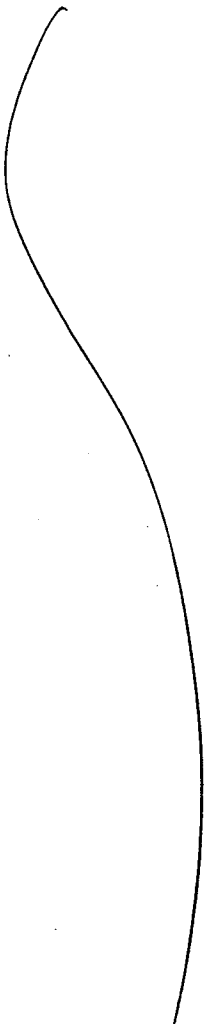
In March of 1977, she applied again for readmission into the SWP.

It was proposed by the New York Local leadership that she work for a period with the Chelsea branch and, if the branch considered the experience positive, it would act on her application for provisional membership.

A year went by, during which the branch leadership was not persuaded that she should be recommended for provisional membership. According to Comrade Maggi who was Chelsea branch organizer during nine of the twelve months, her activity was sporadic and she continued, in informal discussions, to voice cynicism and hostility to the local leadership of the party.

Finally, Maggi said, in March of 1978 in response to Comrade Garza's insistence that her application be acted on, a motion was brought into the Chelsea branch by the executive committee that she *not* be taken into provisional membership, but that the branch should seek continued political collaboration with her.

That motion was carried 35 to 1.



One year...covered in one paragraph! There must have been at least an hour of discussion between the two members of the CC, Harry R. and Larry S., and me on this year. Maggi's characterization of the period is paraphrased in such a way that it appears to be the definitive truth. In actuality the Control Commission report does not see fit to mention the letters from comrades who were in the Chelsea Branch during this period and of course has also ignored my testimony about this key year. "The branch leadership was not persuaded," they say, but the branch leadership had barely spoken to me, they had avoided me, and indeed, as it turned out, spread "corridor gossip" about me. Comrade Gerry, for example, implied to comrades on the EC that I could not possibly be selling all the Militants I turned in money for, but I must be ripping them up. My activity was not in the least "sporadic." I attended every forum and forum committee meeting, cooperated in every way I knew how. I was not permitted by my doctor, because of a sinus tumor, to sell papers in freezing weather, but I ran often for Port Authority sales permits and sold indoors when we had them, did everything asked of me, and in fact asked for another assignment in addition to the forum committee assignment. I was told that the Forum Committee was "enough." Again, a self-fulfilling prophecy. Give me only one assignment, refuse me more assignments, and then say that I'm insufficiently active.

Also, I voiced neither hostility or cynicism about the local leadership. From the moment I entered that branch there was an almost total freezeout. Only one or two comrades made any effort to be friendly. Once in a while a comrade would ask me how I was doing and I would say, "Pretty well, but I am getting very discouraged about the length of time it is taking to get readmitted." Yes, I wanted comrades to realize there was a problem, for indeed there was.

Did the Control Commission ask Mike M. about his behavior toward me? They surely must have, but they did not see fit to comment on it. They talk about my "insistence that her application be acted upon." Obviously, a crime of huge proportions! On a few occasions as the months dragged on I attempted to have discussions with Mike M. It was clear that he felt that he was "convinced I could not be successfully reintegrated into the party." He did not discuss this directly with me, but instead said provocative things or refused to engage in any conversation with me. One outstanding example was when I went in to see him about a year after I was assigned to Chelsea. I asked him how long he thought it would be before my provisional membership would be raised in the branch. He refused to give me any hope or outlook for any date at all. "Why is it taking so much longer than with other ITers," I asked. "You did a very good job of organizing the IT in New York," he answered. "I think I did a good job in the Party for 16 years," I responded. "THAT'S ALL CANCELLED OUT BY THE IT SPLIT," he shot back.

Surely this can only be labelled as provocative behavior. I tried on many occasions to discuss politics, my feelings about the party, etc., but he never did anything but stare at me disbelievingly or make provocative remarks. On one other occasion I commented that John Shafer, another leader of the IT in Houston who was very active in RMOC, had been taken back into the party in a matter of weeks. He commented that if he had been in Houston, he probably would have opposed that.

When I told the Control Commission about these experiences in

Chelsea, Harry R. intervened with the following question: "So you think everyone in the Chelsea Branch hated you?" He sounded like a psychiatrist trying to prove the patient paranoid. I looked distressed at such a line of questioning, and told hem that they could not have hated me since they did not know me. At the worst, some of them had ill feelings left over from the faction fight of five years before and others were swayed by the obviously hostile attitude of these comrades.

Larry S. rephrased the question: "You thought they were cold to you?" To which I answered in the affirmative.

Why such a line of questioning? Just examine the report and it becomes clear, I think, that very little is said about what other comrades or Mike M. himself had to say about the treatment I received in Chelsea. I know that several of the letters comrades wrote to the CC back up my recounting of the events. Did Maggi admit or deny to the CC that he behaved with hostility from the beginning, that he engaged in fierce dialogues with comrades I eventually helped to recruit about my "unfitness" for membership, etc. The charge of corridor gossip can be backed up a hundredfold when it comes to levelling it on Mike M., I had no one to gossip with; I cried a bit on Kurt Hill's shoulder.

Furthermore, Maggi's pernicious smear job on me could have a real effect on what happened to my membership application. My "complaints" didn't have much power. My membership was in the hands of the branch leadership; I could do nothing to seriously harm them. Nevertheless, there were many comrades in the branch who trusted the leadership's attitude toward me for a long period but then began to see for themselves that Mike's subjectivity was a real problem and that I was not being given a fair chance to become a member. I began to visibly influence contacts to join the party. I engaged in street sales visibly in the presence of many comrades. It was clear that I was really selling, really presenting the party line in an effettive way. The comrades saw that I did not make a "big stink" when they voted me out, although it was the first time in the history of the IT reintegration that a branch exec had come in with a negative recommendation. Previously they had waited to make a positive one. Spring came and I could sell more outdoors. My financial situation which I had explained totally to Mike M. improved a bit and I was able to give \$10 instead of \$5. As comrades became more friendly, I responded accordingly, I did not "Moderate my expressions of antileadership views." I had never made any such expressions. I had only expressed dismay at the difficulty of getting back into the party. Why does the control commission insist on labeling this "antileadership views" without specifying what I said that can be characterized as such?

Then, all agree, Comrade Garza intensified her effort to be readmitted to the party. She increased her activity measurably, improved her financial contribution and, in the view of comrades, moderated her expressions of anti-leadership views.

A number of comrades in the Chelsea branch, including several newer ones, became persuaded she had now earned the right to be readmitted and should be accepted into provisional membership. Finally, this past September, Comrade Maggi proposed to the Chelsea executive committee that she be accepted into provisional membership. The executive committee recommended this to the branch, which approved the proposal without discussion or dissent.

Comrade Maggi told the Control Commission that he and other leading comrades were still not persuaded that Comrade Garza could be successfully reintegrated into the party. But, he said, the issue had become increasingly prominent among branch members and there was the reality that a number of comrades including valued new members were convinced she should be in the party. It was for these reasons only, Maggi said, that the proposal to bring her into provisional membership was made. He added that the motion itself was precisely worded, and deliberately minimal. It stated that her application should be accepted because "it would be in the best interest of the party" to do so.

Maggi said that in his view, the majority of the branch would not have voted for the motion on any other basis.

But while the motion was patently less than an endorsement of Comrade Garza, the thinking of the executive committee in making the motion was not explicitly stated to the branch. It has since been argued that it was unprincipled for the branch leadership to recommend someone for provisional membership who they were not persuaded would make a good member.

In our view, what the executive committee did was quite permissible. If, on a question like this, a section of the branch is not persuaded, and is not likely to be without a certain body of experience, then it is legitimate to seek to resolve the problem by going through the necessary experience.

But having decided to do so, in our view, it would have been much better to have fully spelled out the motivation so that all would understand. And then it would be necessary to bend over backwards, so to speak, to assure that comrades could have the fullest possible opportunity to draw conclusions from the experience.

The executive committee should have explained to the

branch why it thought she should not be a member, but that it was ready to open all doors and let the branch's experience determine the outcome.

Yes, the issue had become prominent. I had recruited people to the branch. The Control Commission fails to state why the issue had become prominent. Mike M. had told comrades that after the vote against my membership, he believed I would go off to another country or make a "big stink." When I kept up activity despite that vote, comrades began to have second thoughts about my seriousness and about Mike's corridor gossip about me. It became clear to many comrades that Mike's attitude toward me was totally subjective. I had gone, for example, petitioning with a busload of comrades to Philadelphia. I had done well and comrades were friendly on the trip back and forth. Many contacts of the party had been invited to the branch tasks and perspectives discussion. I was one of the most active people--member or sympathizer--and yet Mike M. opposed my attending that meeting, first on technical grounds and then he let his subjectivity come through at a branch meeting. More and more comrades were becoming aware of this, and it was very clear that if he continued to oppose my membership, he might lose a floor fight in the branch or at least lose considerable credibility. Rather than do this, he finally came in with his half-baked motivation and the branch voted unanimously to take me into provisional membership. Mike M. did not raise his real feelings in front of the branch not in my opinion because he was afraid the branch would vote against me, but he did not want the question of his own subjectivity to become the focus of a branch fight. The question of the entire Executive Committee going along with him will be covered below in the appropriate place.

Similarly, in our opinion, there might have been more clarity and less division in the branch if it had waited the full three months before acting on the application.

The point is made, in response, that the discussion which swirled around the issue and occupied so much of the branch's attention would have escalated further if action had been delayed.

In our view, this could not be avoided and the discussion, in fact, escalated anyway.

Once again, the branch that voted me out, the Upper West Side, had only a few members who had been in Chelsea and gone through the experience there. Again, they knew little about me except the old faction fight question and Maggi's word. I believe that the Chelsea branch would not have dropped me. They were too aware of Mike M's subjectivity over the course of a year and a half and they would have believed that he was capable of taking me off an assignment for the sole purpose of provoking me. Undoubtedly, one of the reasons why Mike M. was anxious to drop me from provisional membership in the UWS branch before the three month period was over was that I was doing good work, getting along well with comrades, and it would have become harder and harder to drop me as time went by. The fact that almost half of the comrades who regularly attended branch meetings voted to keep me as a provisional member lends credence to that assumption.

But, again, having said all this, was it incorrect not to bring Comrade Garza into membership?

There is no question that this is a matter for the branch to decide. The constitution specifies that applications for membership must be acted upon by the branch of which the applicant will become a member. And there is good reason for the constitutional stipulation. It is the branch that will work with the prospective member and it is the branch that is in the best position to determine if the applicant will prove an asset to the party.

In the case of a former member, the branch decision would be subject, constitutionally, to approval by the National Committee. The NC delegates this authority to the PC. The PC may in one or another particular case elect not to approve a former member recommended by the branch.

But it does not have the authority to instruct a branch to accept someone into membership.

If it felt a branch had made a mistake of sufficient magnitude, it could, of course, recommend that it reconsider. And the Control Commission could, where it deemed proper, make such a recommendation to the National Committee. But still, the final decision on accepting someone into membership would rest with the branch. The only exception to this is in cases of groups or organizations which meet the qualifications for membership. There the constitution authorizes the National Committee to accept them en bloc and assign them to branches.

In its initial discussions, the Control Commission was generally of the view that it could not arrive at an opinion on whether or not Comrade Garza should in fact have become a member. We felt we could not go much beyond the questions related to procedures and norms and to determine if there had been any violation of these.

But as part of our investigation, we conducted two interviews with Comrade Garza. These taped interviews totaled six hours and afforded her the opportunity to present her point of view quite extensively.

On the basis of those interviews, we believe we were able to arrive at an opinion on whether or not she should have been taken into membership.

We concluded that regardless of the difference we might have with the branch on the general handling of Comrade Garza's application, the final decision to terminate her provisional membership was politically in the best interest of the party.

We do not base this opinion on what other comrades told us happened, or on what other comrades think of Comrade Garza. We base ourself on *her* account of what happened, *her* description of the events leading up to it, and *her* account of her political evolution over more than a decade.

Like the branch majority, we believe that she is the victim of deep-rooted subjectivity. And, perhaps without even fully realizing, she evinces a rather astonishing degree of political cynicism.

Perhaps the most revealing thing to emerge from the six-hour interview with Comrade Garza was the extent of her subjectivity.

Throughout, she insisted that the main reason she had been dropped from provisional membership was because of an unreasoned vendetta conducted against her by Michael Maggi, the branch organizer. He had, she insisted, a phobic hatred of former IT comrades, he focused this hatred on her, and this was the root of all her problems.

This was not politically persuasive.

To begin with, she volunteered the opinion that apart from his "phobia" about her, Comrade Maggi was in fact an unusually good organizer. (This view was expressed by others, including comrades critical of the branch action.)

Her comments about Comrade Maggi can only be characterized as ugly and vitriolic. And, in many respects, her assertions were patently contradictory.

To bolster her thesis that the problem was Maggi and Maggi alone, she suggested that the leadership of the New York Local, and the national party, were not really aware of what he was doing.

This seemed difficult to accept in light of her assertions about the scope of Comrade Maggi's alleged campaign against her.

For instance, asked why a majority of the branch voted to terminate her provisional membership, she responded, "I think a sort of an hysteria was whipped up. I think Maggi deliberately whipped up an hysteria."

In the above passage, note the fact that nothing is said to dispute the fact that Maggi did indeed conduct a vendetta against me. He was interviewed at length by the CC. Did they ask him about his behavior? They had many letters in front of them testifying to his "vendetta," as well as his actions against comrades who did not back up this behavior. When I commented to the Control Commission that Mike M. was a good organizer, Harry R. asked me if an organizer could be "good" if he conducted subjective campaigns against comrades. The Control Commission says I made "ugly" and "vitriolic" comments about Mike M. But they don't say what those comments were. They also say my assertions were "patently contradictory." My comments on Mike M.'s ability as an organizer came when I told the CC about my attempts to reconcile the problems with him. I told him that I thought he was a good organizer but he was letting subjectivity take over. The use of terms like "patently contradictory" and "ugly and vitriolic" perhaps apply better to Mike M.'s behavior. But the CC report doesn't see fit to transcribe his answers to questions about his behavior.

The Control Commission does not comment on the fact that the UWS branch meeting on the issue of my provisional membership was essentially a replay of the 1973 faction fight. Documents on the IT expulsions on sale, Dave F. who had one conversation with me in the past five years--a friendly one on the street about the new apartment he had found--chose to scream in the branch that everything I had ever touched had "turned to shit"--an objective political comment indeed! The atmosphere was hysterical. A few objections about an assignment being changed led to a five-hour indictment of the IT and FOPO--using me as the whipping post. That is the fact of the matter. Labelling a reality as subjective does not make it subjective. The meeting, furthermore, was never taped. Mike M. told the branch he had "run out of tapes." Amazing! As mentioned earlier, meetings had been taped for some weeks and a motion had been passed to that effect. Just this particular meeting, a meeting Mike M. knew full well might be called into question, and he "runs out of tapes!" Did the CC ask him about that minor memory slip?

The commission queried Linda Jenness, then the local organizer, to determine if the question of Comrade Garza's membership had been left in Comrade Maggi's hands and if, in fact, the local leadership was unaware of what was happening.

Comrade Jenness said that from the outset, Maggi had conferred regularly and frequently with her on the question and that Comrade Garza had come to her several times with her unhappiness about the situation.

On several occasions, Comrade Jenness said, she had given informational reports to the local executive committee.

In sum, she said, Comrade Maggi had proceeded in full consultation with her and that the local leadership was fully informed throughout.

The fact that Linda J. consulted with Maggi does not make the situation any more legitimate. I assumed he consulted with her. I did not know for certain where she stood, how open he was with her, and whether she agreed with his subjective feelings or not. I had reason to believe she did, which I will present below, but when I went before the Control Commission I decided to make as few suppositions as possible and to stick with things that had personally happened to me or had happened to people who could come before the Control Commission themselves.

We checked through about the point in Comrade Maggi's report to the branch regarding Comrade Garza's conversation with Steffi Brooks. If what Maggi had reported was correct, we felt it was a weighty point for the branch to consider in determining if Comrade Garza could be reintegrated into the party.

This was the assertion that when Comrade Brooks suggested a series of central party leaders to discuss her problem with, Comrade Garza responded in each case with why she would find it difficult or impossible to talk with them.

It seemed to us that if a former member feels that alienated from the party leadership, it hardly bodes well for successful reintegration.

When we questioned Comrade Garza about this, she insisted that Maggi had not reported the conversation

correctly. She had merely told Comrade Brooks that she didn't think it advisable to go to the central leadership with what was essentially a dispute over a branch assignment.

We interviewed Comrade Brooks. She said that, excepting details, Comrade Maggi's account of the conversation was correct and Comrade Garza's recollection was not.

(Comrade Brooks's testimony was given added weight by her expression of strong personal sympathy for Comrade Garza and her statement that she had sided with her in the assignment dispute. She also said that while she had voted to terminate Comrade Garza's provisional membership, she felt it was a mistake to act before the three months were up.)

Comrade Garza offered the commission her opinion of why Comrade Brooks had a different recollection of their conversation than she did: "I think Michael broke her spirit and used her."

The big witness against me! How paltry and sad! And it shows the real lack of proof of any subjectivity or "hatred" of the leadership. The comrades mentioned by Steffi numbered four (to repeat again), and I specifically said I would talk to Fred F. if the situation worsened. I had no idea then that the assignment issue would be used as an opening to drop me from provisional membership. I never told the CC that I "merely told Comrade Brooks that I didn't think it advisable to go to the central leadership with what was essentially a dispute over a branch assignment." I also commented on four names. Harry R. chooses to leave that part of my testimony out of the report. Steffi's testimony is made the "weighty point" in my exclusion from membership. I don't believe that any former I.T. was ever asked if they "liked" the leadership. Was Tim Wohlforth asked such questions? I said that I "think Michael broke her spirit and used her" because I know what Mike M. did to Lisa G, and Comrade Ring knows full well that comrades specifically accused Mike M. of using pressure tactics on them. Why didn't the Control Commission report let the Party know what Mike M. had to say about charges comrades made about his subjective behavior?

According to Comrade Garza, Maggi's power went beyond Comrade Brooks.

She told the commission that the night her provisional membership was terminated, Comrade Maggi had packed the branch meeting with party members who work in various departments at the national headquarters.

The Control Commission regarded this as a serious charge.

Certainly every branch member had a full right to be there and participate. Further, while their hours often prevent nationally assigned comrades from attending branch meetings, it is politically entirely correct that they should make a special effort to attend meetings where matters of special importance are coming up. Where necessary, national departments have adjusted their schedules so that comrades could attend, for example, a preconvention discussion, or a meeting where convention resolutions and delegates were being voted on.

Any suggestion that these comrades do not have the fullest right to participate in branch life to the extent that they are able contradicts our conception of what a party staff is.

Needless to say, it's assumed that comrades with sufficient consciousness to qualify for the party staff are not going to pop in on branch meetings to debate and vote on issues they're unfamiliar with.

And it would be an astonishing, grave situation if a branch organizer could simply phone West St. and pack a meeting with uninformed staff workers ready to vote as directed.

The commission was provided a list of West St. comrades who participated in the meeting. We checked with each of them to determine what their attendance record and general level of branch participation had been prior to the night of voting on Comrade Garza's membership.

These were the results: Twenty-three members of the Upper West Side branch work at West St. Of these, 13 attended the meeting where the vote was taken. Five of the 13 comrades said they attended branch meetings regularly. Two said they attended "fairly regularly," five "occasionally," and one, "not at all."

One of the 13 is a member of the branch executive committee. Two are members of the branch finance committee and one of the forum committee. Another was branch recruitment director at the time.

It seemed evident to the commission that these comrades had a full moral right to vote.

And we could not help but feel that Comrade Garza's conviction that an SWP meeting could be packed in this way was a gauge of her cynicism about the party.

No one questioned the moral right of these comrades to vote. The question was who told the two who "attended regularly," the five who "attended occasionally" and the one who "attended not at all" to be sure to attend this particular meeting? This was one of the best attended meetings in months and months. Most of those comrades had not seen me or spoken to me since the 1973 Convention. They knew nothing about my experience in Chelsea. Even following Harry R.'s statistics, probably eight or nine people would not ordinarily have been at that meeting. Furthermore, Mike M. had bragged to Tim B on the night before the meeting that he would get me out of membership by a "ten to one vote." If this is a measure of my cynicism, then there are many similar cynics. Support for me came from comrades who had worked with me for a year and a half and a few who saw through the factional facade. I don't believe that one single West Street comrade had either worked with me, talked to me, or bothered to contact me, but they did attend that meeting and apparently were especially vocal on the IT history. AND OF COURSE THERE IS NO TAPE OF THIS MEETING. I believe that a tape of that night would have exposed to all but the most blatant hypocrite that the meeting was a kangaroo court designed to keep me out of membership. My so-called cynicism about the Party was a cynicism directed at Mike M. Indeed, as a result of the Control Commission report and its deliberate falsification by omission, I am cynical about the party leadership backing up such an abomination.

We pursued further her assertions about Comrade Maggi. Assuming, we asked, he had this "obsession" about her, how was he able to get away with all the alleged dirty tricks?

Comrade Garza offered further explanations.

The branch executive committee, she asserted, was "hostile" to her.

Why?

There were on the executive committee, she responded, "two comrades who had been in the Workers League. There was a comrade who had left for a whole number of years during the faction fight and felt quite guilty about having left. And there was another comrade in exactly the same category. So my feeling was I had four people on that exec who were sort of trying to prove they were more loyal than the loyalists and who were very resentful of me and were feeling hostile to me during this entire period and who didn't know me at all. . . . So they brought in a negative recommendation to the branch."

Again, the manner in which this is presented is designed to make it appear that the Control Commission was horrified by these allegations about the Chelsea Executive Committee and somehow found out that they were totally false. Notice that Harry R. does not say that this information is false. He only implies it by using the word "subjective." The "allegations" are facts. The members of the Chelsea Exec that brought in the recommendation to the Chelsea Branch that I NOT be taken into membership were the following: Hal A. (who had left the party prior to 1973 and did not return until much later); Dave and Jean Weisman (both former members of the Workers League); Gerry (also out of the Party during the 1973 period and returning later); Cliff C. (who later sent a letter supporting my membership); and Michael M. The Control Commission did not see fit to print any testimony by any of these comrades.

Discussing Comrade Maggi, she displayed the most unrestrained subjectivity.

"I see Michael as being extremely manipulative and disturbed on the question of my membership," she said. "I won't discuss his other psychological problems."

But she went on to volunteer further opinions: "I think he had an obsession on the IT question. And I think—me being who I am and the role I play in the IT, and being aggressive and so forth—here he was, an organizer in New York, and he had no power over an ITer before. And here she is, the bad lady herself. He can decide whether I get back in the party or not."

Everything I say is labelled as "Unrestrained subjectivity" as though saying it makes it so--makes it all a lie. I know that if an international control commission has before it all of the tapes, letters, etc., they will clearly see that the very things labeled as subjectivity were the real facts of the behavior of the Chelsea branch leadership.

Her "psychological" estimate of Comrade Maggi included really odious gossip.

She told the commission, "He told comrades he lost a lover because of the IT fight. . . . The guy has a very strong hostile feeling to the ex-IT."

Which comrade told her this?

"More than one. . . . Maybe the one told some others and then a couple of others mentioned it."

Why is this "odious gossip"? The CC asked me why I thought Maggi had this hostile attitude toward me. I was not anxious to figure out his psychological motives. It was quite sufficient that he had done such things. He did indeed express his hostility to more than one comrade. I had no wish to implicate other comrades by name, but since the CC had so challenged my honesty--Mike M. spent many nights up late talking with Tim B and/or Eric (both new comrades) and told one or both that he hated the IT because he had lost a lover who left the party because of the faction fight. Did the CC ask Maggi if this was true? Assuming he did say this to comrades, is it then odious gossip for me to tell it to the CC when they specifically ask me why I think Maggi treated me so subjectively? Should I have said, "I don't know why" to everything they asked? It seems now that if I had answered in that fashion to everything, the CC Report would say I was "covering up the truth" and "refusing to answer!"

What about the local organizer, Comrade Linda Jenness. Was she oblivious to this campaign of persecution against her?

Initially, she said no. "Linda had no way of knowing what he was doing. . . . It was more a hands off policy, that the branches have a right to decide on a provisional member."

But returning to the subject in the second interview, she said, "I think Linda was aware of it. . . . The few times I went to her, she tried to play her neutral thing. . . . I don't think she was neutral. . . . At best, I think she was remiss. . . . And at worst she was glad there was that attitude because she was enjoying what was happening. . . . That was another possibility. I don't know which was true."

On the subject of Linda J.'s knowledge of the manner in which my efforts to rejoin the SWP were being treated: I wanted to stick to provable facts when I testified before the CC. Linda J. is a member of the Political Committee. I am a revolutionary socialist and in order to function at my best politically, I should be in a section of the 4th International. On the occasions when I spoke with Linda, she made no attempt to hide her hostility, but I had no proof that she was specifically instructing Maggi to behave as he did. She told me that the leadership was keeping "hands off," that the whole matter was up to the branch. She also told me that I had been assigned to the forum committee, not to recruit people when I told her that an indication of my loyalty was that I was recruiting people to the Party. I replied that I thought revolutionaries did not have to be assigned to recruit.

In the summer of 1977, I took a three-week trip to Europe. On the eve of my departure, I had a farewell party at my apartment. Linda J. approached Debbie Notkin, who had attended the party, and told her that she had heard I had thrown a party to celebrate being invited to Oberlin for the 1977 Convention--a party with former ITers.

Debbie was upset, and she set up a meeting with Linda. At this meeting, she told Linda that the party had been a farewell party and also had been held to introduce my friends to my brother, who was in town and who I hadn't seen in many years. Linda asked Debbie if there were ITers in attendance. Debbie replied that there were some, five or six, but that there were about thirty people at the party and no political discussion was going on. Debbie told me about this months later, when I had been rejected by the Chelsea branch and was very upset about the way things were going. It seems to me absolutely outrageous that Linda J. would "corridor gossip" in this manner, and it certainly does make it appear that she was attempting to keep me out of membership.

There were several other minor episodes of this kind, and although I attempted to convince Linda of my desire to build the party, etc., she never gave me any indication of willingness to play at least a neutral role in the proceedings.

How aware was Linda of Mike M.'s subjectivity? I don't know if Mike M. confessed to Linda, but certainly she must have seen the letters sent to the Control Commission and P.C.

When I went to see Linda to discuss the possibility of transferring to another branch after the Chelsea vote, she made it clear that the Citywide

Executive Committee would not approve such a transfer. She told me that it would make it appear as though Chelsea had done something wrong. Then she said, "Do you know how many votes you got in Chelsea?" I told her I didn't. "One vote," she said, "One!" Then she showed some consternation and added, "I wasn't supposed to tell you that!" The effort to demoralize me was clear. Why didn't I tell the Control Commission about this? I believed that if the CC recommended my reinstatement to provisional membership it would be a de facto indictment of Maggi. To add Linda to that list--a member of the PC--would make it even more difficult. I expressed this fear to the CC when they asked me if I thought they could give me a fair hearing.

What about the National Committee? We asked if she thought it too was willing to stand by and permit the victimization of a former IT comrade.

Her view of the NC was, at best, qualified. Initially she said, "In general, I think they [the former IT comrades] feel they've been treated very well. . . . But there's a special thing around me. That I've become the symbolic bad lady of the IT, so to speak, and that I'm taking the

punishment for everybody else."

There were, she said, "A few National Committee members who knew there was something 'rotten in Denmark.'" But for the rest of the NC, "It was almost like a game. Let's see how much we can wear you down."

"There was an almost arithmetic relationship," she added, "between how long somebody had been in the party and how long they hung on trying [to get back in]. I suppose it's a question of how much investment you had put in. . . . How much crap you were willing to take."

Former ITers, we asked, were forced "to take crap"?

"Yes. . . I think they had to prove they were superactivists even if they were 46 years old. . . . I think the proof of the pudding is that there are some 20-odd people, I believe, who are back in. And there were originally 130 in the tendency. And 60, some odd, or 70, had reapplied and reapplied seriously."

It is common knowledge in the International that former IT comrades, especially those who had been in the party the longest, were kept out of the party for inordinately long periods of time. Several gave it up as a hopeless task. In fact, when I asked Maggi for the third or fourth time why it was taking me so long to get into the party when others had gotten in, he told me that "negotiations were going on in the International then. Now they are over." Clearly he was saying that if the negotiations for smoothing out the factional differences in the International were still in process, I also would get back into the Party. Did you ask him about that Comrade Ring? I told you about it. What did he tell you?

Since she believed the NC had not dealt fairly with the former IT comrades, we asked, did she think she could get a fair and objective hearing from the Control Commission?

Here too, she had serious reservations.

To begin with, she challenged the propriety of Virginia Garza, an elected member of the commission, dealing with her case.

Why?

Because, she said, for a number of years Virginia had been her sister-in-law. And, she added, because Virginia is a friend of Michael Maggi's.

"If this were a bourgeois court," she said, "if Virginia were on the jury, I would ask her to disqualify herself because I was her sister-in-law. She was very hurt and upset about her brother when the marriage fell through."

When the Control Commission began its deliberations, the members knew that Virginia Garza had been Comrade Hedda's sister-in-law. But we proceeded on the assumption that if for any personal reason Comrade Virginia felt she could not function objectively in this particular case, she would have been responsible enough to say so and, so to speak, disqualified herself.

To presume otherwise would have meant not only that Virginia should be questioned, but all the other members of the commission as well, to assure that they might not have some subjective consideration that would interfere with their proper functioning. It would mean, in sum, that a convention could not really elect a Control Commission. With each new case it would have to determine, as with a jury, who would qualify to sit on the case and who should be disqualified.

Nor was Comrade Garza particularly confident about the rest of the commission. She did feel that all were comrades of good repute, but did recall that Comrade Wayne Glover "was very upset during the faction fight."

But more than this, she said, the commission was simply under too much pressure to be able to render an objective finding in her case.

She said: "I think there's a danger there would be enormous pressure not to do this [find in her favor] because I'm one person, not particularly important, and because of the problems it would cause. . . . It could cause a big ruckus in the party. . . . I'm sorry, but I'm not going to lie. . . . People are human beings. A Control Commission is made up of comrades who the majority of the people in the party believe are beyond reproach in terms of their ethics, their honesty, and so on. And I believe that's generally true. . . . But they're not saints. They're people.

And they're under pressure too."

The cynicism reflected in these remarks—the suggestion that Marxists really have no higher degree of consciousness and capacity for objectivity than others—by itself raises a serious question as to how successfully Comrade Garza could be reintegrated into the party.

My doubts about a fair and objective hearing from the Control Commission were obviously well-grounded. This report, full of ellipses, minus any of the questions and answers from the interview with Mike M., minus testimony from the comrades in whom Mike M. confided, minus the testimony of comrades on the Chelsea Executive Committee who undoubtedly could have confirmed the real reasons for my being voted out the first time around in Chelsea—all of that certainly should make anyone dubious of the fairness of the proceedings.

On the question of Virginia Garza's presence on the Control Commission for this investigation, Harry R.'s comments here are an open joke. How many times in Party history has someone been heard before a Control Commission where one of the members was a relative for 16 years with intertwining family connections between several children, etc.? I think after the Socialist revolution it would be completely appropriate for relatives, close friends, etc. to continue to be disqualified from juries. Marxists certainly have a higher degree of consciousness and capacity for objectivity than non-Marxists, but to suggest that I should not be in the Party because I dare to suggest that we are not perfect Socialist men and women, that we bear the scars and deformations of capitalist society is laughable self-

But the point goes even deeper.

Consider:

Comrade Garza is convinced she was dropped from membership because the branch organizer had a subjective hostility toward her.

She believes the branch executive committee went along with this because of a variety of "guilt feelings."

The branch majority was "whipped into an hysteria."

A meeting was stacked with nationally assigned comrades who marched in to vote as instructed.

The local organizer turned her back on the situation.

The National Committee stayed out of it.

The Control Commission is too subject to pressure to render an objective consideration.

Doesn't this add up to total contempt—conscious or not—not only for a leadership capable of such offenses but, equally, for a membership that tolerates such a leadership?

Yes, I am indeed convinced that the branch organizer had a subjective hostility toward me--and so were many people you didn't choose to interview or interviewed and didn't care to mention their comments to the Party.

The branch executive committee went along with this because they chose to believe the organizer. Nevertheless, there was an abstention and a minority report. Are these comrades' comments available?

The branch majority was by all reports a hysterical trial of the IT. Did you ask for the reasons why there was no tape? Have you reprinted the letters of comrades who were at that meeting?

The local organizer, Linda J., certainly did turn her back on the situation, and said that the national leadership was keeping its hands off.

And, yes, the Control Commission has written a subjective report, filled with ellipses, omissions, minus key interview, minus protest letters written by comrades who were on the scene, etc.

This cynical view of the party membership is not unrelated to Comrade Garza's deepgoing subjectivity.

Recalling something which she said Comrade Maggi had said to her which she found highly objectionable, she said, "Frankly, I considered that a provocation. And I have a very bad temper. I sat opposite him and felt like I wanted to leap and grab his throat . . . And I contained myself."

And now comes the "proof" that I am not only subjective but a bit looney.

What did I say, Comrade Harry, before I commented that I wanted to leap and grab his throat? Had Maggi said one unpleasant thing, or two? I described to Harry R. and Larry S. at great length the taunting, subjective provocation working over Maggi embarked on when I asked him why I was having such a problem with him. "Sixteen years cancelled out by the IT split... negotiations were over..." and on and on, week after week, month after month. The Control Commission prefers to note that I had an emotional response to being tormented by the man who could ultimately deeply influence whether or not I got into the Party. But they didn't care to put down on paper the question of Maggi's behavior.

At one point she recalled the branch meeting at which the fight erupted over her assignment. Several people, she said, spoke about her qualifications for the particular assignment she wanted to do. Others, she said, complained that the time of the branch was being wasted.

Weighing the incident in retrospect, she said, "I should have gotten up and I should have said, 'Forget it, it doesn't matter. I'll take whatever he gives me.' But, you know, you're sitting there and it makes you feel good that people are upset and that they want you to do this work, and your ego's in sad shape. . . . So I didn't get up and say cease and desist."

I should have said, "Forget it," not because it was wrong to fight against Maggi's and Savage's subjectivity, but because they had the power, later thoroughly abused, to keep me out of membership. The comrades who were getting up to protest my sudden assignment shift were unwittingly giving Maggi exactly what he wanted.

Still, the commission had to weigh the possibility that such deeply subjective responses were the product of a conviction—justified or not—that she was in fact the victim of a serious injustice in her effort to win readmission to the party.

The evidence she volunteered strongly suggested otherwise.

To demonstrate this, we think it is worth reviewing some of what Comrade Garza told us about her political evolution. What emerges is a consistent pattern of subordination of political convictions to subjective considerations and organizational grievances.

And now Harry R. announces that he is going to find out if I was indeed the victim of a serious injustice. A perfect time to include Mike M.'s responses to my charges of injustice. When Mike M. went before the Control Commission, he came out shaken. He told comrades that he only wanted to be exonerated and that he was sure I would get back into the Party. But we get scarcely a word about the interview with Maggi on this subject. Instead we get a chopped up, ellipsed, distorted view of my so-called political history. This false history is presented as "a textbook case of subjective politics," indeed, compared with my actual history, which Harry R. knows about quite well, it is a poorly

written piece of science fiction. If the CC wanted to find out if I was the victim of injustice, they needed only to interview the many people who knew the score, and only to print Mike M.'s answers to the real questions that had to be put forward.

I will put forth some of the more glaring omissions in my history and point out some of the worst distortions.

Comrade Garza joined the party in 1958. An effective speaker and energetic campaigner, she was on several occasions a candidate for office. Prior to joining the party she had political experience in the political milieu of the CP. She is not an inexperienced person.

In the party, during the 1960s, she became increasingly critical of the party leadership, although she indicated no significant political difference. Her principal concern, she told the commission, was with what she saw as the

development of a "Barnes clique" in the leadership.

Others were similarly persuaded and the individuals involved ultimately coalesced into the group, For a Proletarian Orientation Tendency (FAPO).

In 1971, FAPO submitted a political resolution to the party during the pre-convention discussion. Comrade Garza told the commission that when she read it she told Bill Massey, one of the FAPO leaders, that she considered it a "piece of workerist shit."

But, she added, some further material was incorporated which improved the document.

And, she explained, Bill Massey called her from the West Coast to urge her to vote for the FAPO documents. She indicated her reservations and, "He said, 'Well, can you vote for *them*?' 'Them' meaning the Barnes clique. And at that point, yes, I was very much caught up in it. And I said, 'Well, I don't know. Maybe I'll have to.' And he was very persuasive and finally in the New York branch I raised my hand for the FAPO thing."

In New York, she said, there was no organized FAPO group. But she had built a group around herself, mainly members of the Long Island YSA, where she lived at the time.

My real record in politics speaks for my objectivity rather than subjectivity. I joined the party in 1958, breaking with almost all of my friends when I became a Trotskyist. I had been involved during the period of the witch hunt with other ex-CP types, National Guardian people, etc. I spoke against the Communist party positions at the Independent Socialist Party Conference in June of 1958, breaking publicly with the CP's position of support to "good" Democratic party candidates and convincing many other people to do the same. That summer I joined the Socialist Workers party. During the 60's I not only campaigned for office as a party candidate (for the U.S. Senate in 1968 on the Halstead-Boutelle ticket), but I was also one of the founders of the USLA Justice Committee, the first editor of the USLA REPORTER, which enjoyed wide circulation during the period of anti-Vietnam war activism. I also was Chairperson of the East Side Fair Play for Cuba Committee, often worked at the Party camp, was a top petition gatherer and Militant salesperson, recruited many people to the party, spoke on radio and TV for the Party--invited even when equal time was not in effect, was active on every level at every party function--and all this while I held a full-time job, raised a family, etc. Apparently, the party had a great deal of confidence in my abilities.

Around 1966-67, I was very active in a community antiwar committee. A Party formation called the Uptown committee was formed, assigning antiwar activists (comrades) from the neighborhood and campus committees of the Upper West Side to participate in this pre-Branch formation. After a while, the committee was dissolved by the local leadership. The reasons

seemed inadequate, and a comrade in the committee informed us that the problem centered around a "Barnes clique," which was in competition with comrades from Bloomington for the leadership of the Party. My stand then and later was that true or false, this was specifically an organizational matter and that fights can only be waged over political question. Accordingly, my activity continued on as high a level as before.

In 1968, I moved to Freeport, Long Island. I was in the middle of the campaign for the U.S. Senate. It was the height of the antiwar movement and I had spoken at many large meetings and rallies. We had the names of 60 or 70 contacts in the Long Island area that we had never really attempted to recruit. Accordingly, in 1969, I wrote a letter (with Party approval) to these contacts, announcing that we were starting a YSA on Long Island and scheduling a Sunday meeting at my home. Eighteen people showed up and we built a large and active Long Island YSA. This, comrades, is the "group around me." This was not a fan club. I am not a movie star. These comrades were recruited politically to the ideas of revolutionary socialism. When the Kent State and Jackson State killings occurred, we had Long Island YSA comrades on several campuses and high schools in the area. We organized one of the largest high school SMC chapters in the country and we even organized feeder marches to New York City abortion demonstrations, our own WONNAC abortion hearing which attracted hundreds of people and was broadcast on television, etc. I WAS OFFICIALLY ASSIGNED BY THE PARTY TO WORK WITH THE LONG ISLAND YSA, and accordingly I taught them classes in basic socialist ideas, etc. Catarino Garza also worked with these comrades, and the membership of the Long Island YSA rose to more than 30 during the height of the campus protests against the war.

During the late sixties and early seventies, however, I did begin to have political disagreements, essentially around the question of lack of cadre in the working class and what I considered to be an empirical approach to the mass movements--womens movement, gay movement, student movement. It appeared to me that there had to be a turn to industry, not implying a neglect of other movements, but that somehow both jobs had to be done. Other comrades were having similar feelings. Some of the comrades who believed that there was a Barnes clique agreed with this position, some did not. The For a Proletarian Orientation Tendency (FAPO) submitted a document for the 1971 convention. I had also been told that Bob and Berta Langston were going to attempt to write a amendment to the Party political resolution. I felt that the FAPO document was overly workerist in that it did not even mention what the Party's approach should be to the other movements. I told Bill Massey how I felt, When I returned from vacation in summer of 1971, I was informed that FAPO had added two documents to their voting package. I had general agreement with those documents. The Amendment had not been written, and so I decided, only a few days before the branch vote, to vote for the FAPO documents. My decision was political. There were two or three votes in my branch for FAPO. The Long Island YSA comrades were not involved in that fight at all.

They were up to their ears in high school work, womens work, Black work, etc. My own involvement was peripheral; I did not speak for FOPO. I had written one document during that period before I decided to vote for FAPO. It was a document criticizing what I believed to be an unanalytical bending over backwards to the emerging movements and a general tendency to water down our line for mass consumption in those movements (Words and Deeds). I was deeply concerned over the treatment received by the FAPO delegates and supporters at the 1971 Convention. There was an excessively subjective and fierce attack on them. They were labelled "cadre killers," denied representation on the National Committee even though they had won 10% of the Party members to their politics. There was deep concern

among FAPO supporters about the way that democratic centralism was operating in the Party. The question of loyalty to the leadership was being equated with total political agreement with the leadership. Most of us felt that the leadership is not the Party, that the preservation of democratic rights for the ranks is an extremely important component of building a revolutionary socialist party.

Between 1971 and 1973, I hoped that the general dying down of the student movement would cause the Party leadership to consider sending some comrades into industry. The leadership had expressed the belief that the student radicalization would go on and on. Obviously, this was not happening. It was relatively easy to get jobs in industry during that period. The political answers to FAPO had predominantly centered around two points: comrades were needed in other movements, and it was impossible to predict which industries were worth colonizing. I hoped that an intelligent, thought-out process of sending some comrades into industry would begin, but no interest was shown in doing this. Furthermore, greater and greater emphasis was being placed on the "combined revolution" theory--which I felt was a considerable departure from previous theories of the coming American revolution wherein the working class was the pivotal arena. Right or wrong, these were POLITICAL opinions. Apparently, my loyalty was still not in question, I remained officially assigned to the Long Island YSA, campaigned for office in 1970 and 1971, taught classes, spoke for the Party in many high schools, etc.

When the Internationalist Tendency, the successor of FAPO, emerged, she joined it. She explained to the commission why and how she did so.

Initially, she said, she did not want to join because she disagreed with the IT's guerrilla warfare line on Latin America. However, she accepted an invitation to go to Canada where, in consultation with leaders of the International Majority Tendency, the IT was formed.

She recalled the situation there: "We had a big fight on whether or not we could have reservations on some of the positions and still be in the tendency. And the decision of the IMT was, no, you couldn't express those reservations. So then you're sort of caught in between. I supported the IT political resolution and I supported the European resolution. But I didn't support the Latin American resolution. So what I should have done, of course, I should have spoken for the political resolution of the IT, and I should have voted for the European document and I should have abstained—I would have abstained on Latin America at that point.

"And I should not have aligned myself with either the LTF or the IMT."

"But," she added, "there was a sort of a question that people, everybody was looking for a side and for a family. . . . It was a mistake. Of course, it was a mistake. But I resisted for a very long time."

Then, she said, a document by Ernest Mandel arrived. She read it, "And it was exactly what I needed to give me the excuse, the possibility of joining the IMT."

Joining the IMT despite her differences with the key plank of its platform, Latin America, she found that having "a side," a "family" was not all that happy a situation.

She was persuaded, she told the commission, that the IT in general and herself in particular, had been "used" and "deceived" by the IMT.

Asked how she felt she had been "used" by the IMT, she offered as a principal example that she had been pressured into giving the report on the IMT Latin America resolution at the December 1973 SWP special convention even though she disagreed with the resolution.

"They wanted me to do the Latin America thing," she said. "And I said, 'This is too much. I don't want to do it. You know I have disagreements with it.' . . . And they pressured me and they pressured me. And I finally gave it and it was terrible."

The Internationalist Tendency was formed around these American questions. I agreed with the IT document, BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN CAPITALIST AMERICA, and in fact I helped with the final critiques and editing of it. The IT had not taken any position on the international issues. The first international document I saw after the Latin American documents was the draft resolution on Europe. I thought it was an excellent document and then I learned that the SWP representative on the IEC had voted against it. I visited Joseph Hansen and asked him why. His answers did not satisfy me. Then I read Mary Alice Waters' document on the European document and found myself in total disagreement with it. I could see no reason for extending the fault found with the Latin American position to Europe.

The Internationalist Tendency was not formed in Canada. The decision of the Internationalist Tendency comrades to join the International Majority Tendency (IMT) was made there. I agreed with the IT on the American question. I agreed with the IMT on Europe, and I had major differences with both sides on Latin America. I was opposed to the overall prediction of continental civil war in Latin America, but I also did not believe that the SWP model of party-building applied to Latin American countries under the heel of dictators. I joined the IMT with some reservations on Latin America, just as many other comrades did who later criticized the Latin American position, and just as many comrades joined the LTF although they did not totally agree with every dotted i or crossed T of its positions.

I hold the SWP leadership and its attitude toward all political differences directly responsible for the factionalism in 1973. If a more comradely approach had been taken toward FAPO, if they had not rushed to factionalize the differences within the International, if... if...if...if... But the truth of the matter is that subjectivity toward political differences is a major problem in the Party.

A number of comrades have recently attempted to rejoin the party other than myself. Steve Beren was denied readmission because he still has differences on the party's approach to the Gay movement. Ronnie Earnest, a former IT member, was specifically denied readmission because he believes that the IT was essentially correct on the American question in 1973. He is sending a separate appeal to the International. This factional attitude toward any and all major and minor differences tends to create hardened tendencies and factions.

My anger at the IMT leadership went far beyond the question of being pressured to give the presentation on Latin America. It had to do with the slowness of their response after the IT expulsion, and their inability to do anything for over 130 comrades who had been expelled without a trial. In the course of delay after delay and indecision after indecision, most of our cadres were lost, perhaps forever, to the revolutionary movement.

When the IT split from the party occurred in 1974, Comrade Garza again subordinated a political concern to an organizational one.

When the IT found itself outside the SWP, she explained, it immediately divided into three groups. One, called the IT New Faction, was led by John Barzman. This grouping argued that the SWP remained a Trotskyist party and that the IT members should do whatever was necessary to get back into the party. There was another group, mainly in Los Angeles, led by Milt Zaslow, who had left the party in 1953 and was hostile to Barzman's position.

And a third group was formed, led principally by Comrade Garza and Bill Massey. This group, she said, agreed with Barzman's estimate of the SWP and the importance of being back in.

But, she said, they formed an opposing group for two reasons. One, she said, was that the Barzman position represented an about-face for the faction and time was needed to convince the membership it was correct. Equally important, she stressed, was that she and Massey strongly felt that the IT should not settle for less than "collective reintegration" back into the SWP.

Why was this important enough to form a separate grouping on?

"The comrades were afraid that if we applied separately, some people would not be taken in . . . specifically, me and Massey. . . .

"So," she continued, "the IT was split, essentially by Barzman. . . . And then we drifted apart."

The split inside of the IT after it was expelled from the Party in 1974 was not an organizational issue. First of all, the Control Commission should get its facts straight. Bill Massey was in Barzman's New Faction and left to join Workers World when he became thoroughly demoralized and convinced that he did not want to spend the rest of his political life fighting to return to the SWP. Rich Mitten and I formed the PC minority. We firmly believed (and it has come true all the way) that if Barzman agreed to individual reintegration rather than collective reintegration, we would lose comrades in two ways: (1) The character of the SWP had not been discussed at length with the ranks of the IT. There should have been a period of several weeks during which comrades could thoroughly discuss the new position. In this way, as many ex-ITers as possible could be convinced to reapply; (2) The SWP would indeed be able to behead from membership anyone who had played a leading role in the IT. Their choices would have little to do with capability, loyalty, or activity. There could be selective punishment. This is also exactly what happened!

These were political considerations. I urged the comrades not to submit the New Faction reapplication list to the SWP until a few more weeks of discussion had taken place. Comrades Massey, and the IMT representatives agreed that we should have more time. Barzman threatened to resign if the names weren't submitted instantly. I firmly believed that we were forcing comrades to make a political decision without time to think and discuss.

Barzman and a number of others applied and were readmitted to the SWP. Massey, Garza said, was so convinced that he wouldn't be taken back in that he instead joined the Workers World Party. She maintained her Long Island group and the people around Zaslow formed the RMOC.

Then, she said, Zaslow came to New York for a discussion and won her group away from her. They set up an RMOC chapter which she did not join because she felt it was "nonsense" and that they all belonged back in the SWP even though she had "very strong reservations" about her chances of being readmitted.

Barzman and a number of others applied and were stalled for a year and more. Some gave up. The use of words is extremely interesting throughout this report. "Her group" instead of "the Long Island YSA" for example. In 1974, when the IT was expelled, the entire Long Island YSA local was expelled. Only three or four members of that local had actually been in the IT, at IT meetings, etc. The vast majority were high school students who had voted for the IMT positions but never were involved organizationally in the IT. Several were expelled who had not been around for a year or two. I did not "maintain my Long Island group." The expelled comrades on Long Island met together to discuss how to get back into the Party, the nature of the Party, what to do politically, etc. I moved to New York City in early 1975. The prospects seemed dim for reintegration. The reports from the New Faction comrades indicated that they were being given a giant runaround. That was when Zaslow visited the East Coast and convinced many ex-IT comrades that there was no way back into the Party and that a Trotskyist committee that eventually could apply for fusion with the SWP should be formed.

Instead, she applied for readmittance to the SWP. But, as mentioned earlier, after a short time she dropped away.

"I could not make it psychologically," she told the commission, "the stone wall I felt I was faced with. Partly my own guilt feelings, partly the response I got . . . I was very demoralized and felt I would never get back in."

She began to collaborate with her former group, now in RMOC.

Here again, partial quotes that completely distort reality. I reapplied to the SWP. I was not assigned to a branch. I was told by Linda J. that I would be given an assignment to work with a fraction of the Party. No assignment was given to me for many weeks. I nagged and nagged and was finally assigned to the ERA fraction with Debbie N. as the person I would work with. I attended one fraction meeting and then the independent movement fell apart and the assignment fell through with it. I called up and asked for another assignment and again was stalled. It was clear that I was facing a stone wall. My "guilt feelings" centered around my loss of contact with the other comrades from the ex-IT, who were floundering in a political abyss--moving toward the idea of building a party to compete with the SWP when there were no principled programmatic differences. This was not subjective, but objective political demoralization. I began then to collaborate with the New York RMOC comrades, in the hopes of convincing them that they belonged in the SWP. I did this despite my own frustration at what appeared to be the impossibility of my getting back into the party. The comrades were annoyed with me for my insistence that the SWP was where they had to be. In other words, I conducted a political fight with my friends, just as I had when I broke with the CP millieu, just as I had when I insisted that the original FAPO document was workerist "shit," just as I had when I refused to join Barzman's New Faction because I felt the political job of convincing the comrades had not been done and a strong fight for collective reintegration had not been waged. None of this was exactly subjective behavior.

In April 1976, they asked her to participate in a public press conference which would "defend" the IT from charges of terrorism by a hireling of right-wing Rep. Larry McDonald. The charge of IT "terrorism" had been leveled against the SWP to prove that it was not telling the truth when it asserted that it opposed individual terror.

The issue is a key one in the SWP suit against the government. For another group to unilaterally hold a press conference on a charge directed against the SWP constitutes a grave interference with the right of the party to

determine its own strategy in the case and could prove damaging in court.

But, Comrade Garza said, "Zaslow called me up and convinced me it was correct to do it. That we had to defend ourselves and the International. . . . And the party wasn't going to defend us."

She agreed and called Jack Barnes to invite the SWP to participate in the press conference. Barnes, she said, called back and told her our attorneys advised us not to join in. And, she said, Barnes added, "I strongly advise that you not do it either."

She said John Barzman and Berta Langston both called and urged her not to do it. Someone who she thought was from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International called and, she said, told her, "I just want to know the facts. I'm not going to come to any judgment now."

"An hour or two later, from London," she said, "Tariq Ali calls up. . . . He said, 'OK, good. Have the press conference and I want to give you some advice on it. Tape it . . . so there's no question of what you said. . . .' He gave me all kinds of advice and he said, 'Good luck' and he hung up."

"So far as I was concerned," she added, "I wasn't in the party. I was very bitter against the party because we had been thrown out. I wasn't trying to get back in the party at that point . . . so we went ahead and had the press conference."

(Later, she said, Comrade Ali told her he had not favored holding the press conference but felt she was going to do it (and offered some advice on how to go about it.)

The book printed by the Government Printing Office for the Committee on the Judiciary was entitled "Trotskyite Terrorist International." It contained internal Party documents from the 1973 Convention and clearly labelled both the International and the Internationalist Tendency of the SWP as "terrorist." The charge of "terrorism" against the IT was also raised by the judge (Griesa, I believe) when he interviewed Jack Barnes. The comrades were very alarmed because Comrade Barnes told the judge that there were no terrorists in the Party--AND THAT THE INTERNATIONALIST TENDENCY WAS NO LONGER IN THE PARTY. The comrades in RMOC felt as though they had been left out on a limb--not too indirectly labeled as terrorists by the Party as well. Then two of them were visited on their jobs by the FBI (to their bosses, of course.) RMOC voted to hold a press conference. They would have done it no matter what my opinion because they were not "a group around me" but independent-thinking comrades. I urged them to allow me to invite the SWP to collaborate. I called Jack Barnes and he told me he would have to consult with the Party's lawyers. Later, he told me the lawyer had advised against sending an SWP representative and also advised us not to hold the press conference. I reported back to the comrades, but they felt isolated and unprotected. Jack B. had given no indication of the Party's willingness to defend the International or the expelled comrades. We were advised by several people in several different ways, but ultimately the comrades made the decision to go ahead. The press conference simply included a denial of terrorism statement. The SWP case was not mentioned. Tariq certainly did call and give me advice. At no time did he advise me not to have the conference. He said that there were various opinions in Europe on the subject. The comrades were upset and tired of "various opinions" and felt that it was time to make their own decisions. We had been left floundering outside the Party; most of the New Faction comrades had given up in despair or were still trying to get back into the Party. The press conference was never, to my knowledge, used to keep ex-RMOC comrades out of the Party. A number are now members of the SWP. Was Tim Wohlforth held accountable for his actions while he was a leader in the Workers League?

Shortly after the press conference, Comrade Garza said she joined RMOC.

At the time, she said, she still felt the SWP was a Trotskyist party and that all the former ITers should be back in. And, she emphasized, she was convinced from the outset that RMOC did not share this view, even though it then declined to state its position.

I never said that I was convinced that RMOC did not share my view of the SWP. I was convinced that Milt Zaslow did not share that view, but he had not stated so openly. Most of the comrades were for building an organization that could apply for fusion with the SWP (as the RMC did). By insisting that a document be written characterizing the SWP as revolutionary, and by comrades pressing that point, Comrade Zaslow finally wrote his definitions down on paper--labelling the SWP as nonTrotskyist and nonrevolutionary. At that point, I wrote a letter resigning from RMOC, convinced nine other comrades to sign that letter, sent it to the United Secretariat. The United Secretariat then unanimously passed the motion for our "speedy reintegration."

Finally, some six months later, when RMOC finally stated its position openly that the SWP was non-Trotskyist and reformist, she broke with it and persuaded the remaining members of her New York group to do likewise. She and a few others applied for admission to the SWP.

Comrade Garza summed up her political experience since the time she first became critical of the party leadership.

"I really think," she said, "that the differences I held then, legitimately—if I had not believed there was a Barnes clique and if I had not had the organizational differences that I had—could have taken the form of a contribution to the discussion, with certain tactical differences at that point."

"The whole thing got blown up," she added. "By that time the whole factional situation was so heated up. . . . There are a whole lot of psychological factors. . . . The whole Barnes clique business which went on from three, four years before. You're convinced there's this Barnes clique. . . . And then political differences come up and you tend to exaggerate the differences. And then there's an international faction fight and you tend to line up, because it's easier to have a big brother and because everybody else in the goddamn world is lining up. And sometimes I think maybe I wanted to get out of my marriage and there was no way I was going to break up that marriage unless I did

the one unholy thing—something naughty to the party, right?"

As to "my" summary of my political experience, again it is only remotely "mine." The "tactical differences" referred to the FAPO positions of 1971, which I have already covered, not my ENTIRE political experience. I was discussing my leadership role in the IT when the question of my marriage came up. A relationship between political people gets seriously frayed and war-torn when they have political differences. But relationships of long duration, especially when there are children, don't rupture easily. By the time the IT was organized those differences were very fundamental. There was no way that I could have watered them down short of self-deception. But, obviously, if I had played a low-profile role in the IT the marriage might have dragged on. I was commenting on my leadership role. Relationships should not "drag on." It was in that context--the reasons why I allowed myself to become a spokesperson for the Tendency, that the question of my marriage came up. This is used, as so many other comments are used, to attempt to characterize my whole "political experience."

Comrades may enquire why we have dwelt so extensively on Comrade Garza's political biography and her views of the past, including the obviously personal thoughts she volunteered.

We believe that consideration of her political evolution helps substantially in clarifying the problem. It's not a matter of "raking up" someone's past political errors, or penalizing them for their past. If the party had such an approach, obvious it would not have accepted back into membership other former IT comrades.

But a person's political evolution can and does shed light on their present. From what she told us, we are persuaded that Comrade Garza's present difficulties with the party stem from the same kind of mistakes she made earlier. Her present conduct is *consistent* with her previous role. It could only muddy, not clarify, the issue to "put aside" the past.

Comrade Garza fully persuaded the commission that politically, she wanted to be back in the party. Yet her own account of her effort to do so shows that at each step of the way, she was unable to subordinate organizational and personal grievances, real or assumed, to that overriding political objective.

The CC claims I am not being penalized for my past. They keep mentioning the difficulties I had in the branch. Perhaps this could hold water if the CC had actually investigated those "difficulties." They chose not to do so. They chose not to print more than a dozen letters--not letters supporting my application for membership, but letters describing what took place in two branches. They chose not to report on Mike M's several hours of testimony in front of them...testimony that shook him, that made him tell Comrade Tim B. that he felt sure I would get back into the Party and hoped that he was "exonerated." If his testimony had been released, I am sure that comrades would fully realize that my political objective of getting back into the party was deliverately undermined by a steady campaign by Mike M. to discredit and demoralize me.

And, from her account, this was totally consistent with an entire pattern of political behavior over the years.

Because of organizational concerns (the "Barnes clique") she found herself in FAPO, a group she had significant political disagreements with. Similarly, she joined the IT with which she had even bigger differences. And after the split, she broke with the Barzman group, with whom she says she agreed that the IT had to find its way back to the party.

Then she joined RMOC, which she says she knew was anti-SWP, again subordinating politics to organization.

Her story is almost like a textbook case of the sorry results of this approach to politics.

It would be politically wrong for a branch to ignore such salient political facts.

This summary of "salient" political "facts" has already been discussed, but let me also summarize by paraphrasing the CC sum-up with the truth. Because I was concerned about the party's lack of intervention into industry and its unanalytical approach to the various social protest movements, I joined FAPO. I felt that the positions had not been sufficiently codified but I had basic agreement with the final documents of the tendency. I joined the

IT with no basic differences. I joined in the IT support for the IMT with some differences but my differences with the LTF were far greater. The faction fight was of such intensity that very few people stayed in the middle. I agreed with the Barzman group on their analysis of the SWP but disagreed on the best way to implement it in order to keep as many ex-ITers in politics as possible. I joined RMCC in order to play a real role in keeping comrades in politics and steering the group back to the SWP-- which I succeeded in doing in New York.

Similarly, a branch has the right--and responsibility--to weigh an applicant's capacity for the kind of objectivity necessary to function as a member of the party team.

With new, previously apolitical applicants, this often cannot be adequately judged. Provisional membership can help determine this. But even then, it can be inconclusive and the benefit of any reasonable doubt should certainly go to the applicant.

The branch that voted me out did so after seven weeks on the basis of an assignment fight, not on the CCs "salient" misfacts. The branch that voted me in did so without discussion and after a year and a half of seeing me speak on the street, sell papers, organize and aid in forums, etc. If the CC thinks that "salient political facts" were discussed by the UWS branch, they should have printed the letters comrades wrote who attended that meeting. Leading comrades screaming that everything I touched turned to shit, documents on the IT "split" have little to do with a careful discussion of my "objectivity or subjectivity."

But in the case of former members and people coming to us from other tendencies, the party is in a better position to weigh and judge. For the benefit of the party it should do so. This in no way casts any reflection on people in these categories. It is, simply, a political approach to a supremely political question. That is, who shall be a member of our party.

The new method of deciding on membership for former members has now been in effect for a few months. I know of two people who have reapplied, Ronnie Earnest and Steve Beren. Both were interviewed rather than work with a branch that decides--**BOTH HAVE BEEN KEPT OUT OF THE PARTY!** Ronnie Earnest is submitting his own report. Steve was kept out for his differences on the party's handling of the Gay movement (a position held by many people inside the party). It is obvious that if I had first reapplied after this new method went into effect, I would have been kept out for the same reasons used to exclude Ronnie--**POLITICAL DIFFERENCES**.

In the particular case of Comrade Garza, it is not a matter of someone with political differences that would be incompatible with membership. But on the basis of its extensive discussion with her, the Control Commission is persuaded that the Upper West Side branch displayed correct political judgment in deciding that Comrade Garza should not become a member. Membership could only exacerbate the difficulties that became so acute even while she was a provisional member.

And so a political lynching has been investigated and reported on by an honorable Control Commission, with honorable men and women. And somewhere in a closet are stored, letters, tapes, etc. Again, an urgent appeal for the truth to be aired.

membership in Chelsea," he added. I told him that I knew very well that the Chelsea leadership had finally decided that there was no real reason for keeping me out of the party and that to attempt to continue to do so would cause a fight in the branch that they might lose. He simply shrugged. I asked him to please try to change the situation, drop the factionalism, and start off on a new basis. I told him I thought he was a good organizer and I was ready to help build the branch. All I asked was a little less hostility and subjectivity. It was the closest I ever came to begging him for fairness, for objectivity. He kept repeating, "This conversation is getting us no where." I felt completely helpless to change the situation. His whole demeanor and behavior told me that he had an unpenetrable hostility toward my membership and was going to make every effort to make my political life as difficult as possible.

"I'll take the assignments," I said, "but I just don't know what to do about this. I'll discuss it with my friends."

"What do you mean by that?" he asked. Apparently he assumed that I was "taking it to the corridors." What I meant, of course, is just what I said. I meant that it seemed impossible to continue to work with an organizer who adamantly held a hostile position toward me, that perhaps I should request a transfer to another branch or wait until I was a full member and then do so. And I would seek the advice of one or two close friends in the branch on that decision.

In his report to the branch the following week, proposing that Comrade Garza's provisional membership be terminated, Maggi said that the assignment dispute culminated a body of experience which persuaded the executive committee majority that Comrade Garza was so hostile to the party leadership, and so deeply distrustful of it, that she could not be effectively reintegrated into membership.

He asserted she had repeatedly engaged in corridor discussion attempting to persuade comrades that she was the target of subjective treatment by branch and local leaders and that she had been particularly unrestrained in her accusations regarding the alleged ulterior motivation for the proposed change in her branch assignment.

I did not simply feel that Maggi was hostile to me. He openly expressed that hostility to me and to others about me on many occasions. I know that many comrades sent letters describing those incidents. The Control Commission apparently did not see fit to raise the question of Maggis hostility except as some type of abnormal thinking on my part. I am sure that the letters from comrades and the interview with Maggi would demonstrate the fact that Mike M. had strongly subjective factional feelings that he was incapable of controlling.

After my meeting with Mike M., Comrade Peter E. who is a student at Columbia and in the YSA fraction there, called to inform me of an antinuclear meeting at the college. I told him that I was no longer assigned to the work. He was upset and angry and said he was going to raise the question in the branch meeting and ask that I be reinstated to the assignment. (An interesting aside here which contradicts Mike M's constant accusation of "corridor gossip" is that I had not called Peter E. after the assignment was taken away from me; yet, he was a friend of mine and several days had gone by before he called me to inform me of the meeting coming up at Columbia.)

At the branch meeting, Peter raised his protest after Mike M. announced the assignment change during the organizer's report. Obviously, it was perfectly appropriate for him to do so; he was deeply involved in the Columbia U. work and had been promised branch help. After he spoke, two or three comrades who I had recruited or helped to recruit in Chelsea took the floor and said that they thought I was ideal for that assignment and had a special talent for winning new recruits to the party. Then several other comrades took the floor at length to protest branch meeting time being taken up by a discussion of "one comrade's assignment." I did not want the comrades to think that I was refusing to help Comrades Harris and Marroquin, so I got up to say that I could make the calls and also keep up the Columbia work, explaining my time situation. Another comrade made a motion that I be assigned to the Marroquin and Harris work and that the question of my continuing with the antinuclear assignment be referred back to the Executive Committee. Mike M. got up in obvious anger and said that we was making a countermotion that ALL Hedda's assignments be referred back to the EC. A few weeks before this branch meeting, a motion had been passed to tape all branch meetings so that comrades on night shifts in industry could keep up with branch events. This meeting was taped.

It was at the very next Executive Committee meeting, with no discussion with me or other comrades, that the EC voted to drop me from membership. What was happening here was a self-fulfilling prophecy. I had been feeling better about party work after being given my first external assignment. Mike M. was convinced that I was unfit for membership. Treat me with hostility and subjectivity and then accuse me of believing that the leadership is hostile and subjective!

He cited, additionally, a conversation between Comrade Garza and another branch member, Steffi Brooks. The conversation, he argued, indicated the extent of Comrade Garza's alienation from the party leadership generally.

Comrade Brooks, he said, had told him that she had had a conversation with Comrade Garza about the issue of her assignment change. Comrade Brooks said she had advised Comrade Garza that if she felt she was being treated unfairly by the branch leadership, she should discuss the problem with Linda Jenness, the local organizer.

When Comrade Garza responded that she felt this would not be fruitful, Comrade Brooks suggested various na-

tional party leaders she might talk to. In each case, she said, Comrade Garza gave one or another reason why she would not be able, or wish to, discuss with the particular comrade.

Comrade Maggi said that if there were not a single party leader that Comrade Garza felt she could discuss a problem with, this indicated the extent of her hostility to the leadership.

The Control Commission repeats Maggi's opinion verbatim but gives no evidence to establish it as fact. The truth is that I didn't engage in corridor gossip and comrades who approached to express their feeling that I was being victimized were specifically asked by me to express this officially rather than give me sympathetic support behind the scenes. The conversation with Steffi Brooks is a classic example of the use of half-stories by the Control Commission reporter.

I was at a Saturday Party sales table on Broadway just a day or two before the Executive Committee meeting that dropped me. I had been selling for a few hours when a new team, including Steffi B. arrived. Steffi had gone out of her way to be friendly to me. She is a comrade who works at West Street and was in charge of branch contact work. She had approached me before a branch meeting and commented that she had heard I was a good recruiter and she wanted to meet with me to find out about any contacts I had and whether I could have a campaign dinner at my home where those contacts could meet Diane Feeley (the candidate). I was happy to be approached in a friendly way after the year and a half of icing out in Chelsea, and I was friendly in response and discussed the questions she raised briefly. We agreed to meet at another time soon.

After I greeted Steffi, I started to walk away to have coffee with another comrade and then go home. Steffi asked if she could accompany us and I told her we were having a personal talk (which was true) but that I would be glad to sell a while longer after our talk and help her get the table back to the headquarters and then keep her company while she had her lunch. We did this, and during lunch, Steffi raised the subject of my assignment problem and told me she had heard that Maggi had given me a hard time in Chelsea. She asked me why I had come to his branch. I told her that I had fought for provisional membership for so long that I had little stomach left for a fight over going to another branch, and that I had hoped Maggi would accept me as a comrade and cease and desist from the faction fighting, but apparently there was little hope of that. She then told me that whenever she had a problem she went and spoke with comrades in the leadership. She suggested I speak with the citywide organizer, Linda Jenness. I told her that I had talked with Linda about my problems in Chelsea on several occasions and did not feel it was fruitful. She then specifically suggested three more comrades--Joel Britton, Doug Jenness, and Fred Feldman. My specific answers were that I did not know Joel at all and the only knowledge he had about me was the 1973 fight; that the IT had treated Doug J. badly during that fight and I would be embarrassed to come to him for help; and that, yes, Fred had expressed support for my getting back in the party and if things got worse I might go to him, but I really thought it was trivial to bother national office comrades over an assignment issue. Steffi did not name other comrades. I did not comment on a long list of comrades in the leadership as the Commission report implies,

and it is a total falsehood that "there wasn't a single party leader that I felt I could discuss a problem with." There were several, but I felt that the worst problem (getting into provisional membership) was over, and that my best bet was to get transferred to another branch once I was a full member. Steffi and I continued to make friends (I thought). I will take up my opinion of the reasons for Steffi's testimony when it is raised in this report.

He proposed that her provisional membership be terminated, but that the branch seek political collaboration with her.

In a minority report from the executive committee, Comrade Diane Phillips argued that the termination motion was hasty and ill-advised. She felt there had been subjectivity on both sides and that Comrade Garza was a talented and valuable revolutionary who should not be dropped.

In a letter to the branch, Comrade Garza asked that she be permitted to participate in the discussion before the branch acted. Such a motion was made on the branch floor but defeated. After some four hours of discussion, the branch voted to terminate Comrade Garza's provisional membership.

I did not ask to participate in the discussion. Since the Executive Committee had not met with me, I wanted to make a statement to the branch appealing to the members to vote against the EC motion to drop me. I called up Linda J. and she refused me permission to do this, saying that I could make a formal request, short, in writing, which Mike M. could read to the branch, asking to be heard. I did so and waited in a nearby restaurant for an hour. Finally, I was told that the request was denied but that I should go home and a motion had been passed that if the branch wanted to ask me anything, they would call me to come back. The branch members and the Executive Committee had never heard a word from me on the accusations. I can understand that discussion about membership should not take place in the presence of the provisional member, but it seems clear that a provisional member should be able to present their appeal to the EC, at the very least. I did not even know that Mike M. was proposing that I be dropped from provisional membership until after the fact. When he informed me, I did not take to the corridors. I called two close friends and told them that I was going to appeal to the branch to be heard by them.

Once again, this branch, which I had been in for only a few weeks, a branch where most of the members had never spoken to me or seen me before--except during the faction fight when I was an official IT spokesperson FIVE YEARS EARLIER, made a judgement on my membership without one word from me, without the right to question me, etc.

The branch action posed a number of questions, including the following:

- Did it have the right to terminate before the three-month provisional membership period was up?
- Did the branch violate Comrade Garza's democratic rights in not permitting her to be present to respond to the accusations against her?
- Even assuming the branch had the full right to terminate her provisional membership before the three months were up, did it exercise poor judgment in doing so?
- Was the branch in fact mistaken in its judgment that Comrade Garza should not be a member?

The Control Commission considered these questions and more in seeking to arrive at a judgment regarding the branch action and, also, in thinking through more adequately the meaning of provisional membership.

The formally approved proposal establishing the category of provisional membership is sketchy.

The motion to establish the category was adopted by a plenary meeting of the National Committee January 3, 1976. It simply stated that each applicant for membership, on majority vote of a branch, would be accepted into provisional membership for a period of three months and then the branch would decide, in accordance with constitutional provisions, if the applicant should become a member. It stipulated that provisional members would have the right to attend branch meetings with voice, and to receive internal bulletins. That was all.

A brief political motivation and a few more specifications were offered in a January 16, 1976, report to the Political Committee by Doug Jenness. (See attached text of plenum motion and PC report.)

The purpose of provisional membership, the report said, "is to provide a *bridge* to draw people closer who are

considering joining, but aren't necessarily willing to make that final commitment. It will help ease people into party membership . . . and give people an opportunity to learn from the inside the full meaning of membership."

The report specified that it apply to *all* applicants for party membership.

It further specified that branches shall vote on applications for provisional membership "in the absence of the applicant."

I have no quarrel with this formulation, except this was not a typical case of a new provisional member. Furthermore, Mike M. had placed on a table on sale at that meeting documents on the IT "split" and on the Abern clique. A great deal of the discussion centered around how horrible FOPO and the IT had been. According to comrades who were present at the meeting and have since left the party, the meeting was a factional revival meeting.

To return to the case of Comrade Garza.

The first issue that the Control Commission had to address itself to was whether or not the branch action violated any of the party's norms and if Comrade Garza's democratic rights had been transgressed. The commission finds no evidence that the branch acted improperly on either count.

A member of the party cannot have their membership terminated without charges, trial, the opportunity to be heard, and, if judged guilty, the right to appeal.

But a provisional member is not a member of the party and cannot be extended the same rights. We believe that in applying the provisional membership concept, the fundamental distinction between a member and an *applicant* for membership has become blurred. Yet the distinction is decisive. If a provisional member—who does not pay dues, cannot vote, cannot hold party office—had the same rights as a member, the concept of membership obviously would be negated.

In Comrade Garza's case, three issues were posed in terms of procedure.

The first is whether the branch had the right to terminate her membership before the three-month period expired. While neither the National Committee motion nor the PC-approved Jenness report deal explicitly with this question, it seems apparent that the branch does and should have such a right.

Example: A branch accepts someone into provisional membership and then finds the applicant is violating our antidrug policy. Clearly the branch has the right to terminate the provisional membership at the next meeting. A branch cannot vote a provisional member into full membership before the three months are up. But if it feels there is good and sufficient reason to terminate a provisional membership before the three months, it can and should have the right to do so.

Was the Upper West Side branch executive committee obligated to notify Comrade Garza of the specific reasons it was proposing to terminate her membership? Was it a violation of her rights, or that of the branch, that she was not present when the discussion on the executive committee proposal was acted on?

In a situation where an executive committee is recommending not to accept someone into provisional membership, it is a matter of concrete judgment if the person should be informed of the reasons. But, again, it is not a trial to remove someone from membership, where it is

obligatory that a written copy of charges be given the person.

Should Comrade Garza have been invited to the meeting where her provisional membership was discussed? In such a situation, it is a matter for the branch to determine whether or not it wishes to hear from the person involved before discussing and acting on the motion to terminate provisional membership. But the PC-approved report by Comrade Jenness specifies that applications for provisional membership shall be acted on in the absence of the applicant. The reason, of course, is to ensure that there be no inhibition of the right of the membership to discuss so important a matter.

Certainly, if this policy applies in acting on a motion to approve an applicant, it is equally necessary with a motion to terminate an application.

I believe that the Executive Committee was morally if not legally obligated to call me in and try to gauge for themselves my attitude toward the leadership, etc. This was never done collectively or individually. One member of the Exec., Diane, had bothered to discuss politically with me. She is the comrade who submitted the minority report on the EC.

The entire argument about provisional members being present when their membership is being discussed rings false. First of all, this is not what I requested. I requested a hearing from the exec--the branch, some body of comrades. The report addresses the issue as if there was no prior history, although the rest of the report makes my so-called history the key reason for keeping me out. USEC had passed a motion almost two years prior to this to rapidly reintegrate Hedda Garza and the other New York comrades who had broken with RMOC; the SWP leadership had voted for this motion. There had been no effort on the part of the party leadership, on any level, to discuss with me or aid in my reintegration into the Party. In fact, Linda J. specifically told me that the leadership had a "hands-off" policy.

Having considered the procedural questions involved, what then about the substantial issue? Did the branch make a political mistake in terminating Comrade Garza's provisional membership?

Before considering that question, the Control Commission wishes to express an opinion on a related question--an opinion admittedly not based on direct involvement with the issue.

That question is whether the branch acted wisely in terminating Comrade Garza's membership before the three-month period was up.

In considering this, a brief review is necessary.

From the outset, a number of comrades in the New York Local were convinced Comrade Garza could not be successfully reintegrated into the party.

"From the outset," the report states, *de facto*, without any discussion with me, a number of comrades "were convinced Comrade Garza could not be successfully reintegrated into the party." In other words total pre-prejudice. Yet I am accused of thinking that the party leadership opposed my becoming a member! Again, a self-fulfilling prophecy. They are convinced of my disloyalty, and so they behave discouragingly and with hostility. I respond defensively. This gives them "proof" of my hostility. "See...she doesn't trust the leadership," and so on and so on. A neat circular package. Suppose they had behaved instead in a comradely fashion, then would I have been distrustful or complained?