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**International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)**



THE LOGAN DOSSIER

Documentary Evidence and Testimony in the
August 1979 Trial and Expulsion of Bill Logan
from the international Spartacist tendency for Crimes Against
Communist Morality and Elementary Human Decency

Volume I

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I. The Logan Dossier

1. Preface

This bulletin documents the facts and findings leading to the expulsion of Bill Logan from the international Spartacist tendency, now International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), at our first delegated International Conference in August 1979. Logan had been national chairman of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (now Spartacist League/Australia) during its formative period, 1972-77, national chairman of the Spartacist League/Britain at the time of its founding in 1978 and a member of the International Executive Committee (IEC), the leading body of the iSt/ICL. Logan was investigated by an International Control Commission, tried and found guilty of crimes against communist morality during his tenure as SL/ANZ national chairman and shown to be a "proven, massive liar and a sexual sociopath who manipulated the private lives of comrades for reasons of power politics and his own aberrant appetites and compulsions in the guise of Marxism" ("Motion and Vote on the Findings of the Trial Body"). By a unanimous vote, the conference delegates resolved that Logan had no place in the iSt and "cannot be and should never have been a member of a working-class organization."

Following Logan's expulsion, we took the unusual step of publicly releasing three internal bulletins titled "On the Logan Regime" (*International Discussion Bulletin* No. 10, Parts I and II, January 1979; Part III [*International Information Bulletin* No. 16], November 1983). The first and second of these deal with the fight against Logan's abusive regime in the SL/B and some initial re-examination of the Logan period in the Australian section. The third contains materials related to the SL/ANZ charges and the trial, including the reports from the trial body to the conference and excerpts of the floor discussion. Some of the material in this bulletin was originally assembled for inclusion in one or more additional bulletins at the time, but has remained unpublished until now. Other materials in this bulletin were retrieved from our party archives or transcribed from the tape recordings of the trial proceedings.

What Logan did to the Australian comrades first emerged at a national gathering of the SL/ANZ in January 1979. A couple of months before that, in October 1978, Logan had been ousted as national chairman of the SL/B, resigning from the post after a sharp political confrontation. During his 18 months in Britain, Logan had shown himself to be unfit to lead the section. He was duplicitous in his dealings with the iSt center, the Interim Secretariat (I.S.—now International Secretariat), and with his peers on the IEC; abusive in his treatment particularly of women comrades, and heavy-handed in his response to criticism or disagreement from SL/B members. At the time, the Logan regime in Britain was seen as a bureaucratic aberration, the result of an insecure, trigger-happy leader who was in over his head. Logan remained on the IEC and, at considerable party expense,

he and his wife and collaborator, Adaire Hannah, were transferred to New York to work in the I.S.

No one could then imagine that a leading member of our communist organization could be the monstrous sociopath Logan was soon proved to be. Logan's abusive practices were constrained in the SL/B by its frequent contact with the international leadership and its core of mature cadre. The SL/ANZ, on the other hand, was a distant section with relatively inexperienced young comrades. But the fight in Britain unlocked and catalyzed a process of re-examination by the SL/ANZ membership. This came to a head at the SL/ANZ national gathering, as comrades began revealing to each other and to the visiting I.S. representative, Reuben Samuels, painful experiences they had long kept to themselves for fear of being "disloyal." The SL/ANZ conference saw an outpouring of traumatic recollections and accusations.

Those accusations were subsequently codified in a resolution of the SL/ANZ Central Committee (see "Charges from the SL/ANZ Central Committee"). An International Control Commission (ICC) was appointed by the IEC. It was charged with amassing and weighing the evidence and was constituted as a trial body to pursue further testimony and reach a verdict in the case. This trial body was made up of comrades from throughout the international who were highly regarded for their integrity and had had no significant previous involvement with Logan. It was chaired by comrade Martha Phillips (Piper) from the SL/U.S., who was murdered in Moscow in 1992 while fighting to cohere a Trotskyist nucleus in the face of the counterrevolutionary tide that destroyed the Soviet Union. The trial body included other comrades from the SL/U.S. and from the Canadian and German sections of the iSt. Also serving on the trial body was the veteran Sri Lankan Trotskyist Edmund Samarakkody, whose organization had until then been engaged in fraternal relations with the iSt for some time. Comrades Toni R. and Rachel W. served as recording secretary and support counsel, respectively, for the Commission. Comrade Dave Reynolds of the SL/ANZ Central Committee acted as prosecutor on behalf of the Australian complainants.

In the months before the trial, over three dozen statements and documents totaling hundreds of pages were submitted by SL/ANZ members and other comrades offering detailed testimony of Logan's acts, and by Logan and Hannah in his defense. More than 30 witnesses testified in person at the trial, which took place over a period of four days immediately preceding the formal opening of the International Conference. Several hundred pages of documentary evidence from the period of the Logan/Hannah regime—minutes, memoranda, political correspondence and extracts of some personal correspondence—were also available to the Control Commission. Logan had the right to cross-

to a comrade to be the truth. It was Logan who created the "Adaire as Bolshevisev" cult. It was he who created the protection racket which prevented criticism of her. Adaire is certainly guilty of the rather gross abuse of a number of comrades. But I do not believe that she is necessarily irretrievably lost to the revolutionary party.

When Adaire came to the Spartacist League her revolutionary spirit was motivated in part by a sense of guilt, which was not of her own making, but nonetheless quite real. And I believe that she achieved a certain release from its inner tension by throwing her self-guilt and sense of inadequacy onto others (for example, this was the essence of the way that Anna was made to function). The cycle has now come full and her private hell has more than ample justification for existence. But in her sense of suffering there was also something very human and perhaps, just perhaps, this can be the source of a strength which will allow her to recognise and face up to what has happened.

Joel S.
7 April 1979

Appendix:

Letter by Logan to Robertson

Melbourne
6 March 1973

SLUS,
New York.

Dear Jim,

I'm writing this shortly after speaking to you on the phone. Sorry we haven't kept you better informed on the state of play here, but frankly I've been incredibly busy, mostly with personnel problems—and the organisation's only ten strong! Actually Adaire has developed extremely well and Joel is absolutely solid so there has been a tightly knit leadership without which we would not have made the progress we have in Australia—three excellent comrades in three weeks.

One problem to which we have devoted more time than I care to remember is the Dave and Vicky problem.

I had known Dave at University in 1970 as an excellent but completely unpolitical academic. I hardly expected to find him "recruited" to what Gager was pleased to call the Spartacist League when we returned, but there he was, recruited on the basis of his support for Bangla Desh in the latter half of 1971. In last year's debate with Gager he eventually came down on our side and accepted SL politics despite some early difficulties on Bangla Desh and guerrilla warfare etc. He has since become highly political and healthily ambitious.

Vicky (with whom he had established a relationship in 1970 and got married early in 1971) was at this stage not interested in politics and starting to resent the organisation's pulling Dave away from her, but after a period apparently started to become interested. When she was given the task of writing an interventional leaflet for a pabloite abortion pop front the product was pretty good.

(Unfortunately it had somewhat the character of a forgery—we now know that Dave was mostly responsible for it.) Vicky was admitted to candidate membership about last June.

In July they moved to Melbourne in fulfillment of longstanding plans for Dave's doctoral study. They proceeded to drift slowly out of the organisation, without being conscious of the fact, and only some highly competent work from New Zealand while I was in Japan, together with my visit here on the way back saved them.

Shortly after Adaire's arrival Vicky discovered she was pregnant by "mistake". It proved impossible to get her to have an abortion. It became apparent that she had made almost no political development and undertaken no political work independently of David. She went through a period of gross untidiness, disorganisation of her time, lateness for meetings and uncomradeliness of tone, and although she has improved in these regards the improvement is by no means decisive. She sometimes bothers to disguise her attitude of subjective hostility towards Adaire (who had the abortion arguments with her) in the most transparent political clothing. All this has led to difficulties in creating the necessary esprit de corps here, and has prevented Dave (who has shielded and protected her) from fulfilling his potential role as a part of the leadership, drive for which he has demonstrated by liquidating his academic career. He is slated as one of two alternates on a five-member central committee to be elected at an organisational plenum in about six weeks.

Dave and Vicky—I believe that Vicky *does* want to be political in a sense—have agreed that the only solution is for David to spend a period between now and the birth of the child (August) with the SLUS. This will allow both to develop independent of the other—Vicky in the party Barracks, which will shock her languid petty-bourgeois life-style. Most importantly it should give Dave a training which prepares him very well for work here.

Unfortunately we can't afford to pay a penny towards the project, and he hasn't any money himself, although we have arranged a loan of \$Australian 300 for pocket money. Thank you for agreeing to pay the fare.

FINANCIAL DETAILS

(i.) The Melbourne-New York fare is \$Australian 652, and the Melbourne-San Francisco fare is \$A521. I think that it might be better for him to get to San Francisco and then see about a cheaper student fare.

(ii.) It is NOT necessary to have a return ticket in order to get a US visa, and I believe there is no saving.

(iii.) We could cash Joel's San-Francisco-Auckland return ticket (presumably half of \$US1099), but devaluation would probably make that a bad move and Joel *will* want to return some day.

(iv.) It is probably best to pay Pan Am or some such firm in New York and they can telex instructions for it to be issued to *David S* _____ at their Melbourne office.

(iv.) Alternatively you could cable money to WK and RA Logans personal bank account (the SLANZ has not yet got a bank account) at the National Bank of Australasia, [address], Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.