

The Truth Behind The Bell Contempt Order

SWP case is a set-up for terrorism and a prelude to Cartergate

On July 7, a Federal Appeals Court stayed the contempt of court order which was delivered against Attorney General Griffin Bell on July 6. The unprecedented contempt citation against the Attorney General was handed down in the civil suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) against the FBI and other federal law enforcement agencies.

Bell was cited for contempt by Federal Judge Thomas Griesa after he had refused to comply with Griesa's earlier order directing him to release 18 FBI informant files. Bell has stated that the confidentiality of informants is vital to law enforcement and counter-intelligence, and has therefore declined to produce the informant files pending review by a higher court.

The long-range significance of the SWP case is that it is an integral part of an operation run by the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) and other British-connected networks in the U.S. which involves weakening U.S. intelligence agencies and destroying their ability to take effective preventive action against terrorism and organized riot scenarios. The SWP case involves both the "left-wing" IPS networks and right-wing Buckleyite networks, the same circles that are showing up in the contrived attacks on the New York FBI office and the so-called defense of recently fired New York FBI head Wallace LaPrade.

Griffin Bell becomes the man caught in the middle—whose basic responsibility is to defend the operating and counterintelligence capabilities of the FBI, while responding to the cynical exploitation by IPS networks of the record of past FBI abuses and misdirection of FBI operations.

Prelude to a New Watergate

A secondary feature of the present contempt proceedings against Attorney General Bell is that they have become a potentially significant factor in a second British-directed scenario—the hoped-for dumping of President Carter and his replacement by Walter Mondale. As the Nixon episode shows, the first step in getting rid of a President is to get rid of his Attorney General. The possibility of a Bell resignation has already been mooted by New York Times columnist Tom Wicker; this would leave Carter totally vulnerable to being shoved out in favor of the Mondale-Kennedy option.

The SWP case poses the type of issue over which Bell might feel compelled to resign rather than compromise on what he considers a matter of principle—the government's pledge of confidentiality to informants—even though were Bell to take this

"honorable" way out, he would be opening up the nation to a far greater threat.

The SWP Case

The SWP lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, and other agencies was filed five years ago, in the wake of the first disclosures of the so-called Cointelpro activities of the FBI. Enormous amounts of money have been raised for the suit by Kennedy sidekick Ramsey Clark, who heads a defense committee composed of similar IPS race-riot organizers and terrorist-supporting lawyers such as Leonard Boudin of the National Lawyers Guild.

Judge Griesa has given the SWP unprecedented amounts of pretrial discovery, to the point where the SWP claims to have obtained over 100,000 pages of FBI documents. Griesa has declared a virtual open house at the New York FBI offices, where dozens of extra agents were assigned just to process FBI files for release to SWP lawyers. Griesa has also done everything possible to force Attorney General Bell into a corner — including refusing to certify his discovery order against Bell so that it could be appealed to a higher court, and refusing to allow Bell and the Justice Department to work out any compromise on the disclosure of files and the contempt order.

Who is Judge Griesa? He was previously handling antitrust and SEC securities cases at the Wall Street law firm of Davis, Polk, and Wardwell. More interesting, he was appointed to the federal bench at the personal recommendation of Senator James Buckley of the "conservative Fabian" Buckley family. (The lavish treatment accorded to the SWP by Judge Griesa is fruitfully contrasted with the contrary treatment accorded to civil rights suits brought by the U.S. Labor Party, where only a few hundred pages of FBI documents have been parsimoniously produced as the result of pretrial discovery in half a dozen suits, and that generally resisted every step of the way by the government.)

What is the SWP?

The position of the SWP as the principal "left" organization to be used to destroy the FBI is not accidental. The present-day SWP is a Fabian liberal's delight: its entire activity is organized around support for gay rights, women's rights, environmentalism, affirmative action, Chicano rights, black nationalism and community control, etc., etc., etc. In fact, the only difference between an SWP "socialist" and a Kennedy liberal is that the SWPer will be slightly more militant in defense of gay rights (and probably also more active in

the practice of gay rites).

But on the other hand, the SWP has access to a historical tradition as a pro-working class organization which is lacking in the newer IPS creations. Thus it can point to a history of FBI surveillance and penetration going back to 1938. In fact, the FBI had officially admitted to having 1,331 informants in the SWP from 1960 to 1976; 300 of these were dues-paying members of the SWP. Many of these informants are still "in place" as the FBI considers it would be too obvious to pull them out. Observers suspect that many of these "ex"-informants are high within the SWP leadership.

However, despite this extraordinarily high level of FBI penetration into the SWP, it should not be assumed that the FBI actually *ran* the SWP. The FBI's role was primarily a secondary, disruptive role. The actual political direction of the SWP came not from the FBI but from the Institute for Policy Studies and related institutions such as the Ford Foundation. It has been from these London-connected, Kennedy-IPS networks that the actual subversive character of the SWP and its relationship to terrorism and organized race-riot scenarios has emanated.

However, there is no reason to believe that the FBI was not totally blind as to the real subversive threat of the SWP and its role in the "non-violent support" layers within which actual terrorist deployments take place. FBI investigative efforts toward the SWP and similar groups has historically been directed to seeking out the "international communist" connections to such organizations. Failing to find or substantiate any such connections, the FBI terminated its investigation in 1976 — just at the point where there existed real cause for such an investigation to take place under proper direction. But for the FBI and the Justice Department to have understood this would have required a political intelligence capability which is unfortunately lacking in these agencies today.

The SWP Today

Terrorist deployments operate on a number of "levels" simultaneously. At the top level sits the Black Guelph oligarchy which plans and directs terrorist deployments through the British Secret Intelligence Service principally. On subsequent levels one finds the direct terrorist controllers and deployers; and at the lowest levels one finds the hard-core terrorist dupes, surrounded by a milieu of "conditioning" organizations which both prepare the general psychological climate in which terrorism and organized riot scenarios take place, and which also function as a "screening" agency for future hard-core terrorists.

It is from this standpoint that the SWP today must be evaluated.

Up until the early 1960s, the SWP—at least in terms of its membership—retained a nominally pro-labor, pro-socialist outlook. Its "militant trade unionist" orientation took the classical "Trotskyist" form of maintaining an abstract commitment to technological and industrial progress "come the revolution" —while simultaneously refusing to do anything to contribute to the realization of industrial progress and development under capitalism. Nonetheless, the typical SWP cadre of the 1940s and 1950s

is completely distinguishable from the SWPer of the 1960s and 1970s. (The ideal type of SWPer today would be a black-Chicana-Indian-lesbian-environmentalist; however, since such combinations are hard to come by, the SWP will settle for white counterculture victims who pledge to simultaneously support affirmative action, the ERA, the anti-nuclear movement, the "Chicano movement," "Indian rights," etc.)

The shift in the SWP away from a formal trade unionist orientation came in 1963 with its adoption of a perspective for support of black nationalism. (This was "coincidentally" the year when the IPS thinktank was established.) By 1965 the SWP was totally taking its marching orders from IPS and the Ford Foundation; in 1968 SWPers were in the front ranks of the fascist "community control" operation aimed at busting the New York City teachers' union.

Today, the SWP still maintains a "non-violent" profile, while functioning as part of the conditioning network and the infrastructure on which terrorism and race riots depend. The typical SWP member today is fascist in his psychology, representing an extreme counterculture, local control, environmentalist and anti-capitalist outlook.

Internationally, the terrorist connections are even more direct. The titular leader of the so-called Fourth International, with which the SWP is affiliated, is Ernest Mandel. Mandel has been an active and significant member of British-linked intelligence networks throughout the entire postwar period. He was a key figure in the formation of the "New Left" in Western Europe, and played a significant role in creating the Maoist groupings in West Berlin in the mid-1960s.

All of this would in fact be within the proper domain of FBI surveillance and counterintelligence activity aimed at effective *preventive* action against terrorism and race-riot scenarios. Indeed, the SWP's Fourth International links provided a proper subject for FBI surveillance in terms of investigating foreign intelligence-agency control even during the pre-1963 period.

The misdirection of FBI surveillance capabilities, and the sometimes improper use and abuse of those capabilities, must not now be used to destroy the ability of the FBI to function as a counterintelligence and counter-terrorist agency. Judge Griesa apparently has no qualms about undermining the effectiveness of the Justice Department and the FBI while building the credibility of the SWP and the proterrorist infrastructure it represents.

The Second Circuit Court of Appeals has now taken the ball, and will review the contempt order and the FBI files disclosure order over the next few months. Ultimately, the issue will undoubtedly reach the U.S. Supreme Court.

It is highly unlikely — in fact, virtually inconceivable—that either the Court of Appeals or the Supreme Court would uphold sanctions such as imprisonment against the United States Attorney General, but meanwhile, the Justice Department and the FBI remain totally preoccupied with the flap over past abuses so that they are seriously diverted from carrying out their legitimate mission, and the cloud over Attorney General Bell's head extends over the White House as well.

—Edward Spannaus