

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 5/6/69	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 12/21/68 - 4/24/69
TITLE OF CASE CHANGED HOWARD BRUCE FRANKLIN, aka H. Bruce Franklin, Bruce Franklin, Will B. Outlaw		REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - RU (NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE)	

The title has been marked changed to include the name WILL B. OUTLAW, which is the pen name used by FRANKLIN in an article appearing in the "San Jose Maverick" newspaper.

REFERENCE: San Francisco report of SA , 1/2/69

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ADMINISTRATIVE

The captioned Subject is also a key subject in a Anti-Riot Law investigation being conducted at San Francisco, which investigation also involves other members of the Bay Area Revolutionary Union.

BRUCE FRANKLIN is mentioned as a member of the Corresponding Committee of the Bay Area RU and readers were solicited to send 25¢ to BARU, Post Office Box 291, 1230 Grant Avenue, San Francisco, to receive literature published by the BARU.

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anticipates prosecuting
has advised that BRUCE FRANKLIN under the elements of "criminal syndicalism"
which has a broad scope , if his department can develop
suitable testimony for presenting to the local District
Attorney. advised
who is attempting to gather sufficient evidence
under the criminal syndicalism statutes of that city.

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LEAD

SAN FRANCISCO

Will submit reports on a six-months basis according to instructions concerning security index subjects of Priority I.

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1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the ☒ Security Index or ☐ Agitator Index.
2. ☐ The data appearing on the ☐ Security Index Card ☐ Agitator Index Card are current.
3. ☒ Changes on the ☒ Security Index Card ☐ Agitator Index Card are necessary and ☐ Form FD-122 ☐ FD-397 submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
Date photograph was taken 1963
5. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____

7. ☐ Subject previously interviewed (dates) _____
- ☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)

he is a professor at Stanford University and there is no indication he would be cooperative. It is further felt that if FRANKLIN was contacted by the FBI he would attempt to distort any interview attempt for his own self esteem in a manner which would embarrass this Bureau.

8. ☐ This case no longer meet the ☐ Security Index ☐ Agitator Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation.
9. ☒ This case has been reevaluated in the light of the ☒ Security Index ☐ Agitator Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)

he is reportedly one of the founders of the RU, a Marxist-Leninist organization, that adheres to the policies of MAO Tse-tung. He is also the recognized leader of the Peninsula local of the RU.

10. ☐ Subject's SI card ☐ is ☐ is not tabbed Detcom.
- ☐ Subject's activities warrant Detcom tabbing because (state reasons)

PRIORITY I

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Residence and Employment

The current Faculty-Staff Directory for Stanford University (SU), Stanford, California, lists HOWARD B. FRANKLIN as an Associate Professor of English at that university. His residence address was listed as 1060 Ringwood Avenue, Menlo Park, California.

On [redacted] advised that BRUCE FRANKLIN continues to reside at 1060 Ringwood Avenue, Menlo Park, California, with his wife and [redacted] children, and that he is currently on sabbatical leave but his regular employment continues to be Associate Professor of English at SU.

Background Summary

The attached background summary pertaining to the captioned individual appeared in a program sponsored by the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research at the Madison Hotel, Washington, D.C., where FRANKLIN was in a debate during January, 1969.



H. BRUCE FRANKLIN, Associate Professor of English, Stanford University. Assistant Professor, The Johns Hopkins University, 1964-65; Assistant Professor, Stanford University, 1961-64. Stanford University, Ph.D., 1961; Stanford Wilson Fellow, Stanford University, 1960-61; Amherst College, B.A., magna cum laude, 1955.

Phi Beta Kappa, 1954. Scientific writing consultant, Stanford Research Institute, 1962-64; Lecturer, Department of Adult Education, San Jose, California, 1963-64; National Chairman, Conference on the Advanced Placement Program in English, 1963; Chairman, Conference on Science Fiction, Modern Language Association, 1965; American Council of Learned Societies Grant-in-Aid, 1967; Lecturer and Honorary Dean, Free University of Paris, 1967; ACLS Fellowship, 1968-69. Publications include more than 30 articles and books including "The Island Worlds of Darwin and Melville," *The Centennial Review of Arts and Sciences* (summer, 1967); "Lenin, Youth, and Revolution," *Progressive Labor* (fall, 1967); "A Revolutionary Viewpoint," Black Power Program of La Société Africaine de Culture (Présence Africaine), Paris, 1967; "What Is To Be Done?" Vietnamese-American Independence Day Program, Paris, July 4, 1967; "How We Started Our War Against North Vietnam," *Sequoia* (spring, 1966); "Hawthorne and Science Fiction," *The Centennial Review of Arts and Sciences* (winter, 1966); Introduction to Melville's *Mardi*, G. P. Putnam's Capricorn Books (1964).

Disposition of Arrest

FRANKLIN was arrested on a charge of failure to disperse in November, 1968, resulting from his alleged activities on November 5, 1968 in Palo Alto, California, where a demonstration was held on the night of the U.S. presidential election. The complete details of this incident were set forth in a prior report in captioned matter.

When this matter came up for trial on December 30, 1968, FRANKLIN entered a plea of not guilty and requested a jury trial.

After several postponements of trial dates, the trial was finally held during April, 1969.

On , advised that FRANKLIN was acquitted of the charge of failure to disperse after a jury trial on April 8, 1969.

ACTIVITIES IN REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU)

A characterization of the RU is set forth in the appendix pages attached hereto.

The Palo Alto local of the RU (PARU) mentioned frequently in the following paragraphs was renamed the Peninsula local of the RU (PRU) as of March 9, 1969, according to . All reference to this group will be reported as Peninsula local of the RU subsequent to March 9, 1969; however, there is no actual difference as there was no change in membership or activities.

Concerning the United Student Movement (USM) it is more completely described in the following paragraph.

A four-page mimeographed leaflet captioned, "Organizing High Schools" was distributed at the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) National Council meeting, December 27 - 31, 1967, at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

the USM,
a New Left organization in Palo Alto, California, high schools....USM was founded less than a year ago and is now large and effective. Leaders in USM have been working with Stanford SDS.... This paper explained steps in organizing high school students, claiming that the only common

ground among high school students was contempt for the authoritarian structure of the school. It claimed that any organizing should be along New Left lines and not necessarily anti-draft lines. It suggested that an organizer let the students set up the program or issues themselves. It then explained protest projects carried out by the Palo Alto and San Jose chapters of the USM and establishment of a free high school in Palo Alto.

A characterization of the SDS is set forth in the appendix pages attached hereto.

On January 19, 1969, Special Agents of the FBI observed an automobile bearing California license plates BHM 771, parked in the vicinity of 1047 Ramona Street, Palo Alto, California, at approximately 10:00 AM; it being noted that the area meeting of the RU was scheduled at that address on that date commencing at 10:00 AM.

The records of the Department of Motor Vehicles, Sacramento, California, reflects California plate BHH 771 registered to an automobile of which the sole owner is ERUCE FRANKLIN, 1050 Ringwood Avenue, Menlo Park, California.

A characterization of the PRG is set forth in the appendix pages attached hereto.

A characterization of the PLP is contained
in the Appendix.

Public Announcement Reflecting BRUCE
FRANKLIN's Affiliation with the BARU

The May, 1969 issue of "The Movement", a newspaper published monthly in San Francisco, reflected the following notice on Page 7:

RED PAPERS

What has Mao got to do with making the revolution in the US? Do we need a Marxist-Leninist Party? Is the working class the vanguard?

READ the RED PAPERS, a pamphlet published by the Bay Area Revolutionary Union. It includes: "Statement of Principles of the Bay Area R.U.", "Against the Brainwash: A Defense of Marxism-Leninism", and "Serve the People".

Send 25¢ to: Bay Area R.U.
Box 291
1230 Grant Avenue
San Francisco, Ca. 94133

Bulk Rates Available

Bob Avakian, Steve Hamilton,
Bruce Franklin
--Correspondence Committee of
Bay Area Revolutionary Union.

The April 27, 1969 issue of "The Black Panther", page 12, contained the following ad. "The Black Panther" is the official organ of the Black Panther Party (BPP).

The characterization of the BPP is set forth in the appendix pages attached hereto.

THE RED PAPERS

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN THE MOTHER COUNTRY?

Some of us have followed Huey's advice and are getting together to start building revolutionary organization. Something solid, based on the principles developed by Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. And on the people.

ARE WE FOR REAL? read: THE RED PAPERS, a pamphlet published by the BAY AREA REVOLUTIONARY UNION. An attempt to integrate Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao-Tse-tung, with the concrete struggles against U.S. imperialism.

Includes: "Statement of Principles of the Bay Area R.U.,"



"Against the Brainwash," a defense of Marxist-Leninism,

"Serve the People," an application of the thought of Mao among the working class.

A CALL FOR AN EXCHANGE OF EXPERIENCE BETWEEN REVOLUTIONARY COLLECTIVES.

Send 25¢ to: BAY AREA REVOLUTIONARY UNION
Box 291
1230 Grant Avenue
San Francisco, Cal. 94133

bulk rates available
Bob Avakian, Steve Hamilton, Bruce Franklin,
Correspondence Committee, Bay Area R.U.

Picket Line Demonstration In
Which Subject Participated

On February 10, 1969 approximately 125 militant strike supporters appeared at the Standard Oil Refinery in Richmond, California, apparently seeking to harass the Standard Oil employees belonging to the unions that were not on strike, and who were attempting to go to work. The group was also attempting to prevent any oil trucks from making their refinery pickups. FRANKLIN advised that he observed BRUCE FRANKLIN present at the picketing demonstration.

"San Jose Maverick" Newspaper

On _____ advised that in its initial edition in February, 1969, there was an article on page 6 of the "San Jose Maverick" under the byline of "WILL B. OUTLAW" and which was on the subject matter of firearms. According to _____, the name WILL B. OUTLAW is a pen name used by BRUCE FRANKLIN as he was the person who prepared this article. The following is the article printed in the February, 1969 issue of the "San Jose Maverick," Volume 1, Number 1, page 6:

"The campaign against our right to bear arms keeps on going. Financed by the rich, and supported by the big sporting arms manufacturers, this campaign is clearly aimed at boosting the profits of the arms makers while disarming working people. Politicians, the newspapers, and TV--all owned by the rich--try to whip up public hysteria so they can railroad through their police-state anti-gun legislation. One of the aims of our newspaper is to counter this in San Jose, because we believe that working people need arms to defend themselves. So this will be a regular column, and we hope that you will write your own thoughts on this and send them in for publication.

--"There are two groups that won't be hurt by all these laws. The first is the police, who are buying heavier and heavier weapons every day. (When guns are outlawed, only cops will have guns.) Then the police will have a clearer path than in the 1930's in Detroit and Flint, Michigan, or in San Jose in the CWA strike last year or the oil workers' strike up in Richmond.

"The second group that won't be hurt is the rich, who are never hurt by the laws because they make them. These new gun laws will drive surplus and foreign guns out of the market. Next permits will be required for all guns. Then these permits will gradually get more and more expensive, and the cops will hand them out less and less freely. Eventually only the rich will have the political influence to get a permit, and the money to afford both the permit and the gun. If this all sounds fantastic, check it out in New York and New Jersey, where it's already happened.

"Politicians and the fat cats are now using their favorite tactic--divide and conquer. As usual, they first pick on unpopular minority groups, right now mainly Black militants and so-called right-wing extremists. They try to panic the rest of us into thinking it's fine if these groups are disarmed, figuring that we won't realize that we're next. The only time they like to see working people carrying guns is when we're fighting their war for them. What they really want is for all the guns to be under their control."

Public Speeches and Statements

On January 23, 1969, Special Agents of the FBI were present in the audience when BRUCE FRANKLIN delivered a lecture before the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (AEI) at the Madison Hotel, Washington, D.C., when FRANKLIN participated in a series entitled, "Who should run the universities?". During this lecture, FRANKLIN severely

criticized the American university system and stated that the working class must run the universities. In this lecture, FRANKLIN stated that the Cultural Revolution in China, like all revolutions, started with a small group but rapidly became a movement of masses which forced out the bureaucrats and enabled a student peasant alliance to obtain control of the universities commenting that the society controls the university and the university develops the society, and in the final analysis, there can be only one radical position, the overwhelming majority of people, that is, the working class must run the universities.

He stated very few students have reached the realization that only by struggling for workers control of the university can they form a valid worker-student alliance. But they are getting there, as San Francisco State dramatically shows. The American course of development to the people's university will probably happen in this way:

"The interpenetration of the university and the state will increase, rather than decrease. The present supposedly radical, but objectively reactionary, demand for university autonomy will be dropped by students and retained, if at all, only by liberal arts professors. The present supposedly conservative, but objectively progressive, demand for more control over the university by the political apparatus of the state now being made by the ruling-class politicians and press will soon become a middle-class demand, and it will then be implemented. The revolutionaries will gradually realize that this university-state synthesis contains the potential to meet all human material needs, and they will fight for a new form of this giant, to be under the control of the working people and poor people. Meanwhile the class composition of student bodies and faculties will continue to shift. This will be most noticeable in the form of an influx of racial minorities, who will increasingly identify themselves, as they have just started to do, as Third World people. The ruling class will escalate its present attempts to get white working class support against the students. Present examples of this in California are Reagan's overt appeals

to the workers, and the administration of the College of San Mateo, which is forced to use an offer of increased admission of poor whites as a weapon against the Third World Liberation Front. But this ruling-class tactic will be self-defeating, for any substantial increase in working-class participation in the universities will weaken ruling-class dominance in the society as a whole. And the Third World people will increasingly recognize the fact that they are the vanguard of the entire working class and they will build a growing alliance with white workers. If all this sounds far-fetched, go to San Francisco State and watch the white truck drivers pull up to the picket line, raise a clenched fist, and turn their trucks around."

THIRD WORLD LIBERATION FRONT

The Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) is a coalition of non-white student groups, namely Black, Chicano (Mexican-American), Filipino, Chinese, and Japanese.

A member of the TWLF was quoted as saying, "The first world is the capitalist world, the second world is the Communist white world, and the third world is the non-white world composed of people from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The first two worlds suppress the non-white people whether in or out of their own countries. We do not distinguish on national lines. We do not relate to countries because by and large they do not represent people."

TWLF self-described itself as "It opposed the oppressive enslavery and colonialist system in the United States and it was dedicated to preparing for a prolonged struggle for freedom in Asia, Africa, and Latin America as well as the United States."

TWLF stated its purpose is to initiate discussion and develop programs pertinent to the needs of third world (non-white) students; to aid further in developing politically, economically, and culturally the revolutionary "Third World" consciousness of racist-oppressed people; we recognize the struggles for freedom of non-white peoples around the world as a positive part of our educational processes.

After FRANKLIN delivered the above lecture on January 23, 1969, there was a question and answer period held in which the audience participated. The audience was generally critical of FRANKLIN and openly characterized his lecture as "Marxist-Leninist" and "communist." During this question and answer period, FRANKLIN made no effort to deny his Marxist-Leninist philosophy, and he admitted he was a "radial and revolutionary" while openly expressing his sympathy and support for MAO Tse-tung and the Cultural Revolution in Communist China.

FRANKLIN was asked by someone in the audience how an individual with his background became involved, and supported such a radical revolutionary philosophy. He answered that his philosophy evolved from his experience. He stated that as a youth he had worked with blue-collar workers in factories and on a tugboat and became aware of different class values and contradictions between classes. He advised that he later entered the Air Force where he claimed he served in the Strategic Air Command as an intelligence officer with a philosophy he characterized as "Stevensonian Democrat." He claimed that he soon came to believe the military in support of monopoly capitalism was falsely propagandizing the American people regarding the eminence of a Soviet attack. He further stated that as he continued his academic studies, he became active in the civil rights and anti-war movements and gradually adopted a revolutionary philosophy.

To another question, he stated that the ruling elite made the decision of committing the United States to the Vietnam war to the detriment of the racial minorities and the working class.

During this session, he was asked to support his contention that the working class should run the universities, to which he cited the China communist experience as an example. He described the Chinese people as now enjoying the freedom of the university as a result of Red Guard denunciation of their administrators who were supporting the institution in defiance of the people. He claimed that prior to the communist revolution, fewer than ten per cent of the Chinese population

could read or write while now almost all the Chinese people are literate and all the young Chinese are literate.

FRANKLIN commented that MAO was directly responsible for the success of the Chinese Cultural Revolution which was necessitated by the deep contradictions within the power structure in China. He indicated that the Chinese Communist Party bureaucracy was ruling as a bureaucracy. He indicated that the revolution was launched when MAO announced in a wall poster "Bombard Party Headquarters." He stated that the Cultural Revolution, like all revolutions, started with a small group but rapidly became a movement of masses which forced out the bureaucrats and enabled a student-peasant alliance to obtain control of the universities. He commented that the society controls the university and the university develops the society in China.

FRANKLIN further commented during this session that the control of the university structure by monopoly capitalism (in the United States) is being increasingly contested, and it is inevitable the working class will soon obtain full control of the university structure. He indicated that this has been realized by one quarter of the world's population, and the world movement is having its impact in the United States.

On January 30, 1969, BRUCE FRANKLIN again appeared at a session sponsored by the AEI in Washington, D.C. to present a rebuttal to his initial presentation and to answer additional questions from the audience.

During the question and answer period following the rebuttal talks, FRANKLIN was asked a direct question as to what his organizational affiliation was, to which he replied he was a "communist, a revolutionary and a Marxist-Leninist." He indicated that he had once been a member of one of the two major political parties in the United States and more recently had been affiliated with the Peace and Freedom Party. He denied that he had ever been affiliated with the Communist Party, which he characterized as not a revolutionary group in his estimation.

The Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) was an anti-Vietnam war party which obtained enough signatures to be entered on the 1968 California ballot.

A questioner in the audience persisted and asked him if he was affiliated with any organization on the campus, naturally, meaning Stanford University campus. FRANKLIN responded affirmatively, stating, "We have the Peninsula Red Guard but this is not a political party yet." Another question presented to FRANKLIN was whether his students subscribed to his revolutionary thoughts and ideas. To this question, FRANKLIN admitted that he was in a minority position but claimed the present philosophy of his students was more in line with his own philosophy of a year ago. He stated that he was working with student activists and stated that these students who were associated with the radical left were better able to analyze and define ideological problems than those present in the audience. He claimed that an increasing number of students are making the decision to be professional revolutionaries and rejecting the role they were supposed to portray.

In his summation, FRANKLIN contended that Marxists do not believe capitalism is bad, only that it is good up to a point. Capitalism has released the resources that enabled man to meet his needs. He stated that the time has come when the contradictions in capitalism make them irrational and in need of replacement. He described this revolutionary process as increasing and typified by student participation.

The February 26, 1969 issue of the "San Mateo Times" newspaper, page 25, Section II, carried an article captioned, "Canada College has Debate on Violence." This article reflected that BRUCE FRANKLIN participated in a debate at Canada College, San Mateo County, California, on the previous day and that during his talk, FRANKLIN contended that violence is the only successful antidote to violence. He stated that an employer firing an employee or ownership of vast stretches of arable land in Venezuela by the ROCKEFELLER family could be termed violent deeds. He claimed that deprivation of rights of life are acts of violence, and you cannot expect the ROCKEFELLERS, even though they are nice people, to give up land holdings without violence. The article reflected that FRANKLIN declared that nonviolent responses by the Jews to oppressions by Nazi Germany infuriated the Nazis, leading to more and more oppression. He claimed they certainly would not have been any worse off if they had responded with violence.

During his speech, he praised those who take "nonviolent action against oppression." But, he suggested you do not just sit there saying you agree in principle but not in method. He indicated that too often nonviolence simply means inaction and noninvolvement.

The "San Francisco Examiner" newspaper, issue of March 6, 1969, contained an article captioned, "29 Refuse Fines at Stanford." This article reflected that as a result of a January 14, 1969, disruption of a Board of Trustees meeting at Stanford University, 29 Stanford students were fined a total of \$1,900 by the university's Judicial Council. On March 5, 1969, the students held a rally in White Memorial Plaza to announce they would refuse the fines. They call their trials a travesty of justice and announced they would contribute \$500 to the BPP but not a penny to the fines. The article indicated that the January 14, 1969 disruption was actually started by the SDS at Stanford. At the rally on March 5, 1969, Associate Professor H. BRUCE FRANKLIN of the English Department, spoke and claimed that the fines levied on the students were "an assertion of absolute power of control (by the Trustees) to use the university resources and deny them to the overwhelming majority of people in this country."

when FRANKLIN commented on the fines given the student offenders he told the students "your whole damn life is suspended suspension. From the time you went to grade school, your whole life has been a series of obedience tests, a fundamental conditioning to slave consciousness."

indicated that FRANKLIN urged students to attack "the essence of elitism" in admissions by demanding a "completely open admission policy, even if it means much larger classes with students doing a lot of the teaching." indicated that FRANKLIN stated that students should demand that the university is the property of the people and, particularly, of those who are most exploited. FRANKLIN said rapid expansion

of college enrollment caused by the needs of a capitalist economy has resulted in a rapid widening of the class background of students...bringing in students who do not share the elite's values and are a disruptive force within college. He said that despite the fact that many Stanford students come from wealthy families, he did not consider them members of the ruling class and claimed their position is closer to that of the proletariat. He claimed that students are parasites living off others, stating that they had to finagle to get things from their families and that this is why students identify with the culture of the most oppressed. He stated that students, as a group, have more individual freedom of choice than any group in society and that the students are going to have to choose sides between the oppressors and the oppressed.

On [redacted] advised that a rally sponsored by SDS was held March 5, 1969 on the Stanford University campus where BRUCE FRANKLIN was the main speaker. At the onset of the speech, FRANKLIN told the audience of about 250 students and faculty members that some of the things he had to say would not be popular with some, in particular, some of his colleagues. He commented that he felt the Trustees at Stanford University were actually the perpetrators of violence since the Trustees are the front men for big business and set the rules and that anyone attempting to change those rules, even in a nonviolent manner, is guilty of an act of violence against their rule. He commented that when students take over an office or building with the intention of having their petition heard and the students are ejected, their ejection is an act of violence on the part of the authorities. Still, it is the students that are charged with violence. FRANKLIN warned that the SDS cannot achieve its goals until they have the numbers to make their presence felt. The way to swell our ranks is to insist on more admissions at Stanford going to members of minority groups.

FRANKLIN described students as "lumpen proletariats" since they are mainly from the middle class but as students they do not produce work in society. FRANKLIN indicated he is in

According to information furnished by the meeting of April 3, 1969 was advertised in a flyer circulated on the campus on April 2, 1969 by SRI Coalition which is supported by SDS, the Peninsula Red Guard, United Student Movement and several other organizations in the Bay Area.

Stanford University Demonstration

On
stated that the demonstrators at Stanford appeared to be under the leadership of SDS.

MISCELLANEOUS