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Date: 12/18/72

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, PORTLAND (RUC)
SUBJECT: HOWARD BRUCE FRANKLIN, aka
SM - VO (EXTREMIST)
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

Re Portland teletype to Seattle and San Francisco,
dated 11/30/72.

Enclosed for the Bureau are seven, and for Seattle
and San Francisco three copies each of a letterhead memoran-
dum (LHM) concerning captioned subject.

The Special Agents of the FBI who observed
FRANKLIN at Portland International Airport on 11/30/72
were and



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Portland, Oregon
December 18, 1972

HOWARD BRUCE FRANKLIN

The "Portland Scribe," a local underground newspaper published weekly in Portland, Oregon, in issue 41, dated November 24-30, 1972, set forth in its "Calendar" section the following information:

"28 Tuesday"

"'Where Do We Go From Here?' -- with Bruce Franklin, the ex-tenured-professor from Stanford. 338 SMC, PSU. Noon. Free."

"29 Wednesday"

"Bruce Franklin -- speaking about how Stanford fired him for political activity. FOB Lounge, Reed College, 8:30 p.m. Free."

A speech was given by Howard Bruce Franklin at Portland State University, Portland, Oregon, at 12:00 noon, November 28, 1972. This speech lasted approximately one hour and fifteen minutes and was attended by 40-50 people. The main thrust of Franklin's speech was that of organizing workers in the United States. Franklin talked about how the United States Government and its programs must be overcome and this is to be brought about by organizing the workers in factories. Franklin further stated that this organizing has already commenced and taken effect in San Jose and Redwood City, California. Franklin stated this organizing of workers must be done in such a manner to make police infiltration impossible. Franklin added he represented the Venceremos Organization and constantly referred to America as "The Empire."

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Formed in December, 1970, the Venceremos Organization (VO), also known as Venceremos, is a militant Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization composed of third world and white revolutionaries operating in the San Francisco Peninsula area. The publicly stated goal of the VO is to build a united front against the imperialist United States Government by force and violence, armed struggle and urban guerrilla warfare. The VO has publicly stated that all members must know how to operate and service weapons and have weapons available.

On the evening of November 29, 1972, Howard Bruce Franklin gave a speech at the FOB Lounge, Reed College, Portland, Oregon. The central topic of this speech was Franklin's fight to restore his teaching status at Stanford University, Palo Alto, California. Franklin emphasized he is currently engaged in a drawn-out legal battle against Stanford's "Code of Tenure." He further expressed his desire to abolish the "Code of Conduct" which he believed restricted his political freedom. He emphasized his desire to get back at the "establishment individuals" that administered Stanford and were responsible for his dismissal. In addition, Franklin discussed at length Stanford's ties with the military industrial complex. He pointed out that both the faculty and student body were being manipulated through research projects for military means. He expressed there were 33 principal firms involved in military research at varying degrees at the University, the largest being Lockheed Aircraft and the U.S. Army. Of special interest to Franklin were anti-personnel weapons being designed at the Stanford Research Center. Franklin's concern about the anti-personnel weapons is their use to kill innocent victims in the Indo-China war.

After the speech, Franklin fielded questions from the audience.

On November 30, 1972, H. Bruce Franklin, who was identified by his photograph which appeared on page 22 of the morning edition of "The Oregonian," a Portland daily newspaper, was observed in the company of _____ and _____ Franklin, who had spent the evening with _____ and _____ at their residence, _____, Portland, Oregon, was in possession of an _____

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attache case, suitcase, and an airline ticket and appeared to be departing for Portland International Airport. No other visitors were observed to come or go to the residence while Franklin was there.

The RU was founded in early 1968 and is a militant, semi-clandestine organization. Its objectives, as set out in its publications, are the development of a united front against imperialism, the fostering of revolutionary working-class unity and leadership in struggle, and the formation of a communist party based on Marxism-Leninism-MAO Tse-tung thought, leading to the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence.

At approximately 12:55 p.m., November 30, 1972, Special Agents of the FBI observed Howard Bruce Franklin to board Continental Airlines Flight 443 at Portland International Airport, Portland, Oregon, destined for Seattle, Washington.

Howard Franklin arrived at Portland, Oregon, from San Jose, California, November 28, 1972, via Western Airlines Flight 162. Franklin departed Portland November 30, 1972, via Continental Airlines Flight 443 destined for Seattle, Washington. Franklin was further scheduled to depart Seattle at 6:10 p.m., November 30, 1972, for San Jose, California, via Continental Airlines Flight 307.

The November 30, 1972, edition of "The Oregonian" carried the following article on page 22:

HOWARD BRUCE FRANKLIN

"Fired Prof Confident Court Can Return Job"

"What the Stanford University board of trustees has done the courts can undo, according to former Stanford professor H. Bruce Franklin.

"Franklin, touring Northwest college campuses, and the American Civil Liberties Union are suing Stanford to regain the tenured faculty position Franklin was separated from last January.

"Franklin's firing came after a lengthy campus controversy and series of faculty hearings on his role in campus demonstrations and disruptions during early 1971.

"Franklin, an avowed Marxist and political radical, was accused of inciting crowds to unlawful activities.

"I'd really like to go back to Stanford," Franklin said Wednesday between speeches at Reed College. "I thought I was doing useful work there." Franklin was an associate professor of literature.

"Franklin declined to speculate on what Stanford would do if the courts ordered it to rehire him. Although he predicted the case could drag on for years, Franklin and the ACLU are confident that he can win.

"Who knows, I may be in jail by then," Franklin commented. Franklin and his political group, Venceremos, are active in Bay Area radical political activities.

"Those commentators who say the age of mass campus demonstrations is over are misled, Franklin said, noting the political activities of black students at southern universities.

"Franklin, who is known for his belief that radical intellectuals and the working class can work together, said the 'Archie Bunker' image of the American worker is misleading.

"The majority of working class people are members of oppressed groups -- minorities, women and young men -- Franklin claims, and he said they are anything but reactionary.

"Franklin said the 'labor aristocracy' of union leaders has little relationship to working people.

"In his two talks at Reed, Franklin discussed his interpretation of literature and his firing from Stanford. He visited Portland State University Tuesday, and was scheduled to speak in Seattle Thursday."

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The December 1, 1972, edition of the "Vanguard," Portland State University student newspaper, carried the following article on page 8:

"Franklin Gives 'Non-Capitalist' View"

"Bruce Franklin, ex-Stanford University English professor and self-proclaimed communist revolutionary, offered PSU students a 'non-capitalist' view of the capitalist system and his perception of its gradual collapse in a talk Tuesday at noon.

"Before he began giving talks at universities, he was fired from his job as a tenured English professor at Stanford for contributing to and participating in the disruption of a speech by Henry Cabot Lodge at Stanford in January, 1971, and for inciting students to force the closure of the Stanford Computation Center. Other charges were levelled against him, dealing primarily with inciting students to perform disruptive acts on the Stanford campus.

Franklin's opinions of American foreign and economic policy caused the Stanford Advisory Board to include the following passage in their Jan. 5, 1972 report: 'The outcome of this (Franklin's) perception of reality is a conviction that this situation must be radically changed -- by persuasion if that is possible and by violence if persuasion is unavailing. 'The university becomes the most immediate and obvious target for such action.'

"Franklin is also active in Venceramos, a revolutionary organization of native Americans, blacks, chicanos, and poor white workers who have joined forces to advance their status in what they feel is an oppressive society. This may well have been at least partially responsible for his dismissal.

"Referring to the report, Franklin said, 'Basically, I was fired for giving speeches -- it said things that the speeches didn't say.'

"The clean-cut revolutionary sought to explain how capitalist governments attempt to fragment groups involved in a 'progressive revolutionary movement.' He cited the US government as having the 'ability to create an image very different from the real world we're living in.'

"The 'Nixon landslide,' the end of the war in Vietnam, the death of the revolutionary movement and the triumph of capitalism were Franklin's examples of how the present administration has been able to sow feelings of apathy and resignation among activists.

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"Franklin maintained that this propagandization is generated consciously and is far from accurate. His view of the recent election was, 'The Nixon election was not a landslide. The winning candidate was, instead, nobody.' According to his figures, President Nixon got 33 percent of the vote, while abstentions won by 45 percent. He felt that this was 'a clear statement' of the electorate's priorities.

"The war," he ascertained, is 'in fact, just at the end of a particularly vicious stage.' The recent troop withdrawal came about, in his eyes, because, 'We were being beaten on the battlefield and because the army was turning the guns around' -- threatening open rebellion. The number for fragging and sabotage incidents were sufficient, he said, to indicate that members of the armed forces were not 100 percent behind the Indo-China war effort.

"Franklin believes, however, that the media has effectively made these efforts to thwart the war effort seem isolated, infrequent and therefore insignificant. 'When the news gets out,' he said, 'it's in a very piecemeal form and we don't see the connection among them because of isolation.'

"Franklin felt the anti-war movement is far from dying, as he says, the media would have us believe.

"Another case of government deception, Franklin feels, is the replacement of the army in SE Asia with 10,000 'civilian advisors,' who are, he said, the same people in a different guise. 'The Indo-Chinese war,' he concluded, 'is going to continue for a long time.'"

The December 1-7, 1972, edition of the "Portland Scribe" carried the following article on page 5:

"A Radical Look at Now and -- When?"

"Dr. H. Bruce Franklin, as the advertisements call him, made his reputation as a brilliant young scholar with a book, a few years back, called 'Wake of the Gods: Melville's Mythology.' This year he was fired from his tenured professorship at Stanford -- not for legitimate reasons, he believes, but because, as he puts it, he was 'spreading Communist, revolutionary ideas.'

"Franklin spoke twice at Portland State on Tuesday, again at Reed on Wednesday night -- pressed by my deadline, I made the first two but skipped the third. It struck me, myself a sometime student of Melville, that he is still working at

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myths -- exposing American Establishment myths, and making his own.

"Establishment Myth #1: Nixon won in a landslide. Franklin's corrective: 'since only 55% of the registered voters actually voted for President, Nixon got only 33% of the registered voters, whereas Abstention got 45%. The real story is about the 45% abstention, not to mention the 20% of the total voting age population who didn't even get to be registered.

"Establishment Myth #2: the war in Indo-China is almost over. In fact, according to Franklin, the war is merely entering a particularly vicious stage, as indicated among other signs, by the plans, revealed on Tuesday by the New York Times, to have 10,000 civilian 'advisers' remain in Vietnam even after a so-called cease-fire, to administer the war machine.

"Establishment Myth #3: the movement is dead, capitalism is triumphant. In fact, the movement is alive and well -- in universities, jails, and the armed forces, and increasingly among young white workers. It is only that one small part of the movement, the white student movement, is temporarily quiescent.

"The uprising at Southern University in Louisiana is of blacks at the largest black university in the country, in the deep South at that, where black colleges have a long tradition of Tom-ism. To say that the student movement is dead, given that uprising, is to be racist, blind to the significance of black students.

"Four carriers based off the shores of Vietnam -- the Ranger, the Forestal, the Kitty Hawk, and the Constellation -- all have been the scenes of either sabotage or mutiny. Thus, even when ground troops have been withdrawn to head off an open rebellion in the Army, the fleet which is the basic support of Vietnamization is itself under attack from within.

"These 'myths,' Franklin believes, have been perpetrated by the government upon the people. The media, by ignoring incidents of the rebellion or by reporting each incident as a single case, unconnected to any pattern, have contributed to this deception.

"This far Franklin takes me with him. He has exposed the Establishment 'myths' as lies. But when he starts to weave his own myth, a true story that he can live by and that he wants us to live by, it is harder going, harder because he makes it seem too easy.

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"Franklin belongs to a Bay Area revolutionary organization named Venceremos -- a coalition of blacks, Chicanos, and whites, with a third-world leadership. 'Venceremos' means 'we will win:' the inevitability of victory is part of the myth that Franklin makes. The other face of that myth is that the capitalist order is in collapse: the future will be messy, but the central truth, he says, is that we are living in the era of the death of capitalism.

It is nice to hear, but some of Franklin's listeners remark that he 'paints a rosy picture,' and I mutter to Millie, 'He's still with Melville -- he's a myth-maker.' He says, for instance, that the peoples of Asia won't allow the United States to build an Asian Empire. How does he know? 'Because oppression always breeds resistance.' Well, maybe so, but does resistance always win?

"Japan deals with the U.S., China deals with the U.S., the USSR deals with the U.S., Japan and China deal with one another. Who is co-opting whom? It's hard to know. And meanwhile the North Vietnamese are once again fucked over, as in 1954, all but abandoned by China and the USSR, big boys protecting their own interests by playing ball with the Biggest Baddest Boy on the Whole Block.

"Here is a dilemma for you, a gift for Chanukah, a season of resistance. It is hard to do anything large without belief, but if you know enough to want to work and live for revolution, you also know enough to doubt, to doubt even the Revolutionary Truths. Or if you don't know that much, you should if only to protect the revolution from itself.

"What we need in this country, Franklin says, is an alliance between the oppressed nations (black, red, and Chicano) and the white working class.

"That alliance must be based on recognition by the white workers that the oppressed nations have the right to self-determination, and on recognition by all that class unity is necessary. And it must be an alliance led by the third-world people, whose 'objective reality,' in this society, that they are more oppressed, makes them the natural leaders, to be accepted by the whites as such.

"Oh, is that all we need, I groan. Venceremos, Franklin says, is built according to that model. Perhaps I do not know enough about it to say one way or another. But the model itself seems, to me, both narrow and unworkable.

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"For the model insists that third-world peoples define themselves according to their national identities, but at the same time denies to whites the identities they too have been working out: the identities of women or gays or young or Poles or poor or Italians or radical Jews or dropped-out middle-class. For whites, in this model, the only identity that counts is 'working class,' and 'work' really means 'work with the hands.' On top of that the model then demands that these whites accept not just the equality of third-world peoples but their leadership. How does one bring that off? Should one want to bring that off?

"Better, instead, I think, to build a coalition out of all those liberation movements, third-worlds and white, including the movement nascent among white working people. What would bind the movements together into one Movement would be a common recognition that the Established System, not each other, but the political and economic System, is what keeps them powerless and alienated from their work, and a common recognition that only by working together could they overthrow it. Leadership would emerge according to necessity and personality.

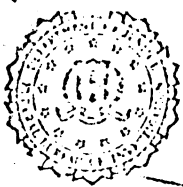
How does one bring that off? Who knows? That is for the working out. But at least by doing everything we can. By using and challenging and breaking the institutions everywhere we can -- schools, prisons, churches, courts. By creating alternative structures, in which we live and work now the way we would like to in the future. By harassment and, when necessary, sabotage. By learning how to love and work at once. By trying to connect to one another -- all our movements, all our selves.

"A doubt hangs heavy over all of this: Are we strong enough? And something else unmentioned by Franklin: the threat of nuclear destruction.

"I can believe that this society will somehow work out a way to keep from polluting itself to death more easily than I can believe that its Establishment will allow a revolution when it could instead just blow up everything, itself included. The model is of Hitler suiciding himself in Berlin, trying to take his nation with him because it had proved unworthy of his dream.

"But, as Paul Sweezy said when I put that picture to him, one must act as if that will not happen, even if one suspects it would. One must act 'as if.' Not the easiest way to make a revolution, but an honest one.

"Howard Waskow"



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File No.*

Portland, Oregon
December 18, 1972

Title HOWARD BRUCE FRANKLIN

Character

Reference

Memorandum dated and captioned
as above at Portland, Oregon

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed
in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.