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## Data Released

# How FBI Harassed Bay Area Leftists

By John Fogarty  
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Washington

Details of an extensive FBI campaign in the Bay Area to harass the militant left and disrupt anti-war activities during the late 1960s and early 1970s have begun coming to light.

The official files on the program, code-named COINTELPRO, are being released to 15 newspapers and news agencies that last week won a lawsuit filed under the provisions of the federal Freedom of Information Act.

Included in the mass of data the FBI was forced to release are 500 pages of material that provide the outlines of the COINTELPRO effort in the Bay Area. Under the program, the San Francisco office

- Formed a network of informants among students and faculty members to infiltrate radical groups on at least six Northern California university campuses.

- Sent bogus anti-white letters to the Black Panther newspaper in an effort to cause a split between the Panthers and the predominantly white militant left.

- Established anti-left allies at the San Francisco Examiner and the now-defunct Express Times, an underground newspaper.

- Encouraged conservative student groups to do battle with left-wing organizations on Bay Area campuses.

- Tried to discourage a group of leftists from hijacking military munitions trucks by planting a story in an unidentified San Francisco newspaper saying authorities knew the plan was afoot.

- Developed a plan, later vetoed on grounds it was too risky, to print and distribute leaflets to split two anti-war groups that sponsored the massive anti-Vietnam War march to Golden Gate Park in November of 1969 that drew more than 200,000 protesters.

Eight agents devoted full time to COINTELPRO in Northern California, the documents indicate. They maintained 22 informants at the University of California at

Berkeley, seven at San Francisco State, three at Merritt College, three at Stanford University, two at San Jose State and one at California State at Hayward.

In addition to the use of the informants, the agents often visited the campuses to follow and observe radicals the FBI was interested in.

Campus organizations listed as having been successfully infiltrated by the FBI at the six schools were the Campus Draft Organizations, Friends of Movement Against Political Suspensions, Campus Mobilization Committee, Progressive Labor Party, Spartacist Club, Students for a Democratic Society, Young Socialist Alliance and the W.E.B. DuBois Club of America.

The informants were paid up to \$400 for their information, the files show. The amount and frequency of the payments were controlled by Charles Bates, then special agent in charge. It is apparent, however, that the FBI did not always get accurate advice for its money.

Bates, who resigned from the FBI last June and who now works for Burns International Security Services Inc., could not be reached for comment.

The Burns office in Oakland reported last night that Bates was on his way home from Dallas.

A memorandum from San Francisco to Washington described Stanford as a campus of middle and upper income students, noted there had never been any student disturbances at the school and predicted the campus would remain quiet.

A short time later, in May of 1968, Stanford was rocked by two demonstrations, including one where students occupied an administration building. Several Palo Alto policemen were injured in removing the students and the trouble went on for weeks with thousands of dollars of damage done.

The San Francisco office also appeared taken by surprise when a student strike erupted at San Francisco State in November of the same year. Most of the FBI's initial

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reports to Washington on the strike were based on daily newspaper reports of the trouble.

FBI director J. Edgar Hoover himself vetoed a suggestion by the San Francisco office to print and distribute 40,000 leaflets to sow anger and confusion between the New Mobilization Committee to End the War and the Socialist Workers party, sponsors of the huge anti-war rally and march from downtown San Francisco to Golden Gate Park.

In turning down the proposal, Hoover expressed fear that the pamphlets might be traced to the FBI. Washington did not give approval to a scaled-down plan that called for mailing anonymous letters to local activists claiming the Socialist Workers were frozen out of the planning for the rally and march.

Another letter, aimed at dividing white and black activists, was drafted by FBI agents and sent to the Black Panther party newspaper. In part, the letter read:

"What's this bullshit SDS outfit? I'll tell you what they has finally showed there, true color WHITE (sic). They are just like the commies and all the other white radical groups that suck up to the blacks and use us."

A covering note from Bates to Washington said: "This letter contains numerous errors, both grammatical as well as typographical. It is felt the editors of this newspaper will accept this letter as being legitimate and from one of their own kind."

The documents, which cover the period 1968 to 1971, say the FBI fed anti-left material to a source at the Examiner on a regular basis. The name of that person was deleted from the files by the FBI.

"It is recommended that a copy of the enclosed be furnished to

(name deleted) for the San Francisco 'Examiner' who is an established source of the San Francisco Office and has been used on prior occasions under COINTELPRO." Bates wrote in a memo to Hoover on June 15, 1970.

The subject of the memo was the Institute for Policy Studies, a liberal think tank in Washington, and its San Francisco affiliate, the Bay Area Institute, which has offices at 604 Mission street in San Francisco.

Hoover approved providing the material, which linked the institutes to left-wing organizations, but it appears a story was not published. Explained Bates in a later memo:

"They felt that it would be more proper to wait until they engaged in some activity which would make this article newsworthy. It would also make it easier for them to ask more direct and embarrassing questions. They are interested, will retain the material and advise when it is used."

Bates indicated he had better luck a year earlier, reporting that he provided the information that led to an Examiner story linking former Stanford professor H. Bruce Franklin with a Maoist group at Stanford.

Before the article appeared in March, 1969, the professor's connections with the group had been secret, Bates said, the story "sent shock waves through the group's executive board."

Ed Montgomery, a retired investigative reporter for the Examiner, filed a \$750,000 libel suit against the weekly Bay Guardian in May in connection with an article it published entitled "How the FBI Nailed H. Bruce Franklin."

The suit claimed that the article characterized Montgomery as a "conduit for the FBI to plant stories in the Examiner." Montgomery

denied yesterday that the FBI supplied him with any inside dope about Franklin.

According to FBI records in Washington, the San Francisco FBI office paid \$330 to an employee of the Express Times, who was also a member of SDS, to attend and report on a meeting of the underground press held in Madison, Wis. from Nov. 23 to Dec. 1, 1968.

According to FBI records, the informant chose to fly to the conference because he feared his colleagues planning to drive would be "smoking marijuana" and frequently have accidents or are arrested en route over long distances.

In October, 1968, the FBI became aware of a radical plan to hijack a truck delivering military munitions in the Bay Area, according to the bureau's internal documents.

The agents knew who was behind the plot, but instead of taking action against the conspirators, the FBI suggested to Washington that the Army plant a story in area newspapers to let the radicals know authorities were on to them.

Such a story, the FBI surmised, "would help delay these hijacking plans or possibly convince these individuals that such a hijacking would be foolish."

The San Francisco office heralded the success Young Republicans and the Young Americans for Freedom were having in countering left-wing activity at Stanford and recommended that Washington try to encourage similar activities around the nation. Hoover did so.

Hoover's high regard for COINTELPRO was demonstrated by an incident involving Yippee Jerry Rubin. Rubin was flying from Chicago to San Francisco on a student airline ticket even though he was not a student at the time.

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Use of such a ticket by a non-student is a misdemeanor.

Hoover ordered his agents to arrange with United Airlines to arrest Rubin when he stepped off the airplane in San Francisco. But United refused to cooperate, and

Rubin walked past the waiting FBI men and San Mateo sheriff's deputies without knowing Hoover's trap had malfunctioned.

The director was furious, writing to the San Francisco office:

"Notwithstanding past bureau entreaties regarding the neutralization of these individuals and in the face of a situation pregnant with possibilities for neutralizing one of the most reprehensible of the New Left leaders, it appears your office did nothing more than make a perfunctory effort to net Rubin."

Hoover said the incident showed San Francisco agents "have not yet grasped the significance of the counterintelligence program.

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# FBI Here Feared Leftist Revolution in '60s

By John Fogarty  
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Washington

The San Francisco office of the FBI was convinced in the late 1960s that the nation stood on the threshold of revolution, and was a prolific source of advice to Washington on how the threat should be countered.

It bombarded FBI director J. Edgar Hoover and FBI headquarters with dozens of memoranda, suggesting ways of dealing with the

problems posed by the New Left, recounted its own successes and failures, and offered pep talks on what was at stake.

The material is part of a wealth of internal FBI documents about the bureau's COINTELPRO program made public in connection with Freedom of Information Act suits filed against the bureau by newsgathering agencies.

The special agent in charge of the San Francisco office for most of the period was Charles W. Bates, who yesterday said he had no

recollection of the events covered in the memoranda.

"San Francisco is a pretty big office," he told The Chronicle. "There were probably 10,000 cases pending at the time. The agent in charge doesn't have any direct supervision over any one case," Bates said.

Nonetheless, many of the documents made public had Bates' handwritten initials on them, suggesting at least that he read them before they were sent to the headquarters of the FBI in Washington.

The San Francisco FBI office analysis of the ripeness of American society for revolution was discussed in a memo dated Jan. 27, 1969, which carried Bates' initials. It reads:

"The bureau is now engaged in combating the revolutionary activities of the New Left, anarchists and the like who are constantly attacking the status quo, the Establishment, or whatever name is given to the organized, lawful society which the bureau represents.

"As of now, the bureau and law

enforcement agencies of the country have been bearing the brunt of this New Left attack. The welfare and stability of the United States demands that the government, law enforcement and society as a whole be more widely supported by other units of The Establishment.

"As of now, The Establishment has not begun to use the weapons at its disposal to fight the threat of the revolutionary," the memo said.

"Our principal problem is in developing activities and disseminating information which will turn around the thinking and the non-thinking of influential elements of society so these elements will be aware that revolution can happen here and indeed is ready to happen," it said.

The memo complained that "the courts continue to mete out apologetic sentences" to leftists rather than sending them away "for material lengths of time."

It said, "The news media continues to publicize militant, distorted and inaccurate mouthings and lies of blacks and of the New Left. These news media continue to freely advertise the plans for demonstrations and disruptions so that a maximum number of dissidents and revolutionaries are informed and can travel long distances to participate."

A memo sent from the San Francisco FBI to Washington headquarters in June of 1968, which was initiated by Bates, set forth a variety of measures by which a counterattack could be carried to the left. They included:

- Publication of counterfeited versions of New Left Notes, printed in Chicago, which would be aimed at discrediting the widely-circulated underground newsletter.

- Persuading Chicago fire inspectors or building inspectors to harass the publication's printer, finding a way to see to it that the publication's proofs could be lost or destroyed, and asking U.S. postal inspectors to take an unfavorable look at the publication's mailing permits.

The memo noted that while the suggestions were drafted with New Left Notes in mind, the techniques could be used to harass all radical publications.

It also suggested that Hoover urge the attorney general of the United States to order prompt indictment and prosecution of all leftists known to have violated the nation's Selective Service laws.

"At the present time, San Francisco has submitted reports on 86 Selective Service violations where indictments have been returned but none have been prosecuted," the document said. It said there were another 140 cases pending in which indictments had not even been sought.

(OVER)

The San Francisco office recommended that the FBI drop its rule forbidding the hiring of informants with criminal records when it came to the infiltration of radical groups.

"If the objective is disruption, it would not be necessary for informant to have a clean background. It would not necessarily be held against them or the bureau if they have been convicted of morals charges or of using narcotics.

"The so-called hippies that exist in this area who are involved in demonstrations are reportedly deeply involved in drugs and are completely amoral," the memo remarked. It also urged that the payment ceiling for informants be raised from \$200 to \$400 a month.

But while urging Hoover to take it easy when it came to its informants, the San Francisco office recommended that local police be encouraged to bear down heavily on leftists. It said they should be cited for minor violations of the law like defective automobile equipment or improper license plates.

A memo initiated by Bates urged Hoover in February of 1960 to force the State Department to keep the head of the Students for a Democratic Society who was a German citizen out of the country. He was not named in the memo.

"Perhaps some political considerations are not understood by the San Francisco office," it said, "but such a simple matter as refusing these people entry should not be difficult."

"In the past, previous administrations did not seem inclined to take the firm stand suggested. Now that we have a new administration," the memo said, referring to the Nixon administration, "which appears to have a different outlook, they might be more receptive."

The San Francisco office complained that the militant left appeared to be getting a favorable press and speculated that this was because younger reporters were being assigned to cover demonstrations.

It suggested that Hoover find some way of letting editors and news directors know how their facilities are being used to the detriment of the United States and encourage them to "devote more supervisory attention to news dispatches on the New Left."

On another occasion, a memo initiated by Bates said that the FBI's campaign against the left was complicated by the inability of capitalistic institutions to see the threat against them posed by radicals and revolutionaries.

"There are frequent incidents," the memo said, "in which businesses that are now freely flourishing under capitalism actually are fronting groups that are seeking to overthrow the capitalist society."

Specifically named were Life Magazine, which was paying an SDS member \$1500 for a report on Cuba, and Columbia Records, which was contemplating advertising in underground newspapers.

On another occasion, San Francisco asked permission from Washington to "neutralize" a young woman member of the Communist party who also was a heavy drug user. This was to be accomplished by forging a letter to her parents declaring that the party was kicking her out because she was a drug user. Washington refused approval on grounds the dirty trick possibly could be traced back to the FBI.

Another time, the San Francisco office related its use of a magazine article about a SDS member who quit the radical organization, joined the Army and was wounded in Vietnam.

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The office sent copies of the article to every SDS member in the Bay Area along with an anonymous letter asking, "If he can do it, why not you?"

In explaining how he could be unaware of much of the San Francisco office's efforts in the COINTELPRO campaign, Bates said a special agent in charge is like the head of a small company.

"In the day to day work — reports, letters to Washington — I would never see something unless it dealt with something big like the Hearst case," he said. Bates said a squad supervisor deals directly with Washington and has the authority to sign communications with the special agent's name or initials.

Bates, now an executive with a private security agency in Oakland, said, "All of the stuff that went on then has to be looked at in the context of the problems of the time."

"Now the campuses are quiet and people have a tendency to look at them as they are today rather than ten years. It's hard to put yourself back ten years ago — but I remember what was going on. We were having two or three riots a week in this period."

Conspiracy!

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## Death by Suicide Finding Is Upheld

Los Angeles

The official description of death by suicide of a 22-year-old man associated with the Peoples Temple and its controversial leader Rev. Jim Jones was upheld by a coroner's jury in Los Angeles yesterday.

The jury had been called to consider several apparent discrepancies in the original report — by the coroner and police — on the death of John William Head, who leaped to his death on Oct. 19, 1975.

At the inquest, police and coroner's officials testified that a bloody scrap of paper was found in Head's pocket with the words "Peoples Temple," "Jones," and "John." But the officials said they could not decipher the rest of the message and declined to describe it as a suicide note.

In addition coroner's officials clarified the address where the body was found because the first report had listed two locations.

A coroner's spokeswoman also said that a long scar on Head's right leg was not mentioned in the first report because other means of identification were used.

The case of Head had been highlighted in a New West magazine article dealing with the church and its enigmatic leader.

*Our Correspondent*