

F. B. I. Informer Is Linked to Bombings And Protests by Weatherman Groups

By SEYMOUR M. HERSH

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 19 — One of the most militant and outspoken members of the radical Weathermen organization during its peak period of bombing and other violence in late 1969 and early 1970 was an informer and agent provocateur for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, private and Government sources said today.

The sources said that the informer, Larry D. Grantwohl of Cincinnati, has acknowledged participating in bombing and living in various underground Weatherman collectives around the country.

In 1970, the sources said, Mr. Grantwohl was often in direct contact with Guy L. Goodwin, the chief Justice Department official who was prosecuting criminal cases against the Weathermen. Such contact between an informer and a prosecutor is against the department's regulations, Government sources said.

Skilled in Demolitions

Mr. Grantwohl was said to be widely known among the Weathermen for his skill in making bombs and fuses, as well as his penchant for carrying a revolver and straight razor. Sources said Mr. Grantwohl, who is 25 years old, received demolition and munition training while spending four years as an enlisted man in the Army in the mid-nineteen-sixties.

Mr. Grantwohl has reportedly told associates that he participated in antiwar activities.

In testimony yesterday before the Senate Watergate committee, James W. McCord Jr. said that he regularly received intelligence reports in early 1972 on antiwar and radical activities from the Internal Security Division and the F.B.I. for possible political use. McCord was then serving as security chief for the Nixon re-election committee.

It could not be learned whether similar reports on radical activities in 1969 were supplied to officials in the Nixon Administration for possible political use.

Robert Burlingham, a former Weatherman who is now managing editor of Ramparts magazine in Berkeley, Calif., said: "I can remember one meeting in Cincinnati where there was a discussion going on about the question of armed political resistance and the various bombings that had occurred. Grant-

wohl took the initiative as was his wont and began castigating people for talking about the destruction of bombings. 'True revolutionaries,' he said, 'had to be ready and anxious to kill people.'

Mr. Grantwohl and a number of his relatives and associates have confirmed his role as an undercover agent. The young man, whose role became known to the radicals after he set up the arrest of two of his underground associates in New York City, has spent much of the last few years testifying against former Weathermen in grand jury sessions.

Until today, Federal officials had repeatedly denied that they had been able to infiltrate the Weathermen, and Mr. Grantwohl has not been described as a double-agent during any of his court appearances.

In a brief telephone interview two days ago, Robert C. Mardin, who headed the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department until early this year, said that the F.B.I. had "never been able to penetrate the Weathermen." One Congressional source said, however, that he had been privately told of Mr. Grantwohl's activities and added that Federal officials described the young man as a "straight guy who does what he's told."

Heads Prosecutor Team

The Federal Government has convened grand jury investigations of Weathermen-connected activities in Detroit, San Francisco, Cleveland and Madison, Wis. The prosecuting team for the inquiries is headed by Mr. Goodwin.

Mr. Grantwohl has reportedly told a number of his relatives and associates that he began reporting directly to Mr. Goodwin about his undercover activity in February or March, 1970.

John W. Hushen, chief spokesman for the Justice Department, said last night that he had no comment. Mr. Hushen said, however that "it is not the policy of the Justice Department to have informants reporting directly to the prosecutors."

Mr. Goodwin, reached at his suburban home here, said, "I don't know what he's [Mr. Grantwohl] saying and I have no comment to make."

In a Camden, N. J., case involving an attack on draft board files, that went to a Federal jury this week, Judge Clarkson S. Fisher instructed

the jurors that they could acquit the 28 defendants if they found "overreaching Government participation" in setting up the raid.

The weathermen was a group, perhaps numbering no more than a few hundred, of revolutionaries who split off from the Students for a Democratic Society in the late nineteen-sixties with the avowed aim of leading a revolutionary youth movement.

Its most well-known exploit was the "Days of Rage," the three-day siege of street-fighting and violence in Chicago in October, 1969, that resulted in hundreds of injuries to policemen and demonstrators.

By early 1970, those Weathermen who had not been arrested or become disenchanted were forced to go underground to escape Federal prosecution. Since then, according to Mr. Grantwohl, the young radicals have set up an elaborate communications system — using such code names as thorn, rose, bagle and lox—to talk to each other. Many apparently fled the country and are still being sought by Federal authorities on fugitive warrants.

Book Planned

Mr. Grantwohl, who is now living with his wife and child in the San Francisco area under F.B.I. protection, is said to have authorized last year a publishing company in Columbus, Ohio, to prepare a book about his experiences as an informer. The book is tentatively entitled: "The Bombers: I Was a Weatherman for the F.B.I."

John Castle, vice president of Grid, Inc., the publishing company, confirmed that he was preparing a book in collaboration with Mr. Grantwohl, but said that no date for its publication had been set.

Mr. Castle also quoted Mr. Grantwohl as saying that he had "cleared" the book proposal with Mr. Goodwin for publication.

Mr. Grantwohl's father-in-law, Donald Riestenberg of Cincinnati, said in a telephone interview, Larry knows almost everybody [living underground in the Weatherman movement], what they did, where and when."

"He went to those communes, he went underground," Mr. Riestenberg added. "He was even in New York when that house blew up there."

Bomb Factory Blas

Mr. Riestenberg was referring to the destruction of a

townhouse on West 11th Street in Greenwich Village on March 6, 1970, when two Weathermen—Diane Oughton and Theodore Gold—were killed. The building was said to be a Weatherman bomb factory.

The precise details about Mr. Grantwohl's initial involvement with the Weathermen could not be learned, but Mr. Riestenberg said his son-in-law "got involved in this stuff" while enrolled at the University of Cincinnati. The city was then a focal point for Weathermen activity.

"He started listening to some kids over there—listening, listening, listening," said Mr. Riestenberg, who has worked as a bail bondsman. "I told him I thought they were Commies and said we ought to talk about it, and I introduced him to a couple of police sergeants."

A few weeks later, he said, his son-in-law was passed on to the local F.B.I. office for more sophisticated handling.

Life in Danger

No photographs of Mr. Grantwohl were available—he is convinced, friends said, that he is in mortal danger from his former underground associates—but he has been described as being more than 5 feet tall, well-built and handsome.

In an underground press article that warned of his double-agent role, Mr. Grantwohl has depicted this way:

"He came on as a 'greaser'—a poor Cincinnati working-class street kid. He said he was an ex-G.I. who had served his time in Vietnam and had come out of that experience toally disgusted. He said he further said that he had told the collective he was attracted to the Weathermen because it was really active.

Sources said Mr. Grantwohl immediately began giving lessons in bomb-making and the use of delayed fuses to his Weathermen associates, and—utilizing a special munition he manufactured—participated in the bombing of a public school in a suburb of Cincinnati in the fall of 1969. "They didn't think it would work, and it did," one source said. "They were kind of scared of him."

Traveled Around Country

Over the next few months, the sources said, Mr. Grantwohl began traveling around the country on Weathermen activities. The sources also said he participated in the planning for the bombing of a police facility in Detroit, took

lessons in strategic sabotage in Madison, traveled to Cleveland with Mark Rudd and Linda Evans, two Weathermen leaders, and eventually appeared in Buffalo, Washington and New Haven.

"In whatever city he would hit, he would be assigned an agent," an associate said. "And whenever he couldn't get anywhere with the local agent, he would go to Goodwin. Within five minutes after Larry placed a call, there was a return from Goodwin."

In April, 1970, the sources said, Mr. Grantwohl supplied a tip that led to the arrests in New York of two undercover members of the Weathermen, Linda Evans and Dianne Donghi. It was after that incident that Mr. Grantwohl, who was arraigned but released on low bail, was suspected by the Weathermen of being an informer.

At the time, Mr. Goodwin told newsmen he had no knowledge that Mr. Grantwohl was an informer. Mr. Grantwohl's connection to the F.B.I. and the Justice Department subsequently could not be established.

Charged in Bombing Plot

In June, 1970, Mr. Grantwohl and 14 others—including Mr. Burlingham, the magazine editor—were charged in Detroit with conspiring to bomb police and military installations in Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee and Los Angeles.

Most of the Government's information about those conspiracies, the sources said, was supplied by Mr. Grantwohl during his secret appearances before the Detroit grand jury. The Government later dropped its charges against Mr. Grantwohl.

Since last fall, sources said, Mr. Grantwohl—apparently still on the F.B.I. payroll—has been aiding Federal prosecutors in connection with a San Francisco grand jury investigation into what Justice Department sources called the "Weatherman underground"—those people who have provided funds or other material benefits to the radical group in the last few years.

Mr. Grantwohl's friends said they were unsure whether he had been placed on a regular payroll by the F.B.I. or whether he received occasional cash payments.

"That kid was always trying to get money out of the F.B.I.," said John Castle, "but they had him strung out on a line."