

W. John W. Wick  
Attorney General  
Washington, D.C.

FED. BU. OF

9/18/70

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-11-81 BY SP-1 CSK/ga  
EXP. PROC.

Dear Sir:

I read your news item re "Bombings in the Midwest Cities" and having read the enclosed clippings carefully, I feel there might be some connections to the terrorists mentioned in these articles.

I would suggest that the enclosed articles be read carefully and this information be turned over to the F.B.I.

Very likely, it might be advisable to contact the authors of this series for any additional information and names that they may have in their files.

I believe the F.B.I. are still looking for the 2 girls that were seen leaving the Greenwood Village Town House, N.Y. City, called the "Weathermen's Bomb Factory". They are probably part of the James Earl Ray mentioned in the articles.

ST 102  
REC 85 105-177-26-16  
15 SEP 1970

ENCLOSURE

CORRESPONDENCE  
(over)

I am an interested citizen, anxious  
to see our appointed officials, tenaciously  
tracking down the Watermen Gang  
regardless of the prominence of some of the  
leaders, such as

Bill Ayers -  
Mark Rudd - etc.

Very truly yours,

[REDACTED]

b7c

Flushing - N.Y. 11358

SEP 22 5 33 PM '70

RECEIVED-DIRECTOR  
F. B. I.

15 DIRECTOR

9/18/70

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Mr. John N. Mitchell  
Attorney General  
Washington, D. C.

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Very truly yours,

[Redacted signature]

Flushing, N. Y. 11358

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 8-11-81 BY SP-1GSK/ga

# Mitchell Moving To Nip Bombings

By JEROME CAHILL

Washington, Sept. 17 (NEWS Bureau)—Attorney General John N. Mitchell, blaming recent bombings in cities and campuses on "a limited number of maniacs," said today that "new and different steps" are needed to halt terrorist attacks.

Mitchell, talking to newsmen after a closed-door meeting with officials of 10 Midwestern cities hit by bomb attacks, admitted that the FBI was encountering difficulty in finding four youths charged with the Aug. 24 blast at the University of Wisconsin that killed one person and injured four. "It's like looking for the proverbial needle in a haystack," he said.

He said the recent rash of bombings was the work of a number of groups "working on a national basis" but rejected the suggestion that the disruption was part of a "single, uniform effort" or conspiracy.

Mitchell urged approval by Congress of Nixon administration bills to shut off the supply of explosives for terrorist bombings, and to provide stiffer penalties for illegal use of explosives.

## Provide the Money

He said the administration is providing funds for the establishment of a national information center on bomb incidents, and noted that the FBI has sponsored more than 250 antibomb conferences for local law enforcement officials.

"We intend to keep the lines of communication open between

our various law enforcement agencies," he said. "Our meeting today was to further this commitment."

Mitchell refused to predict what the future might hold as far as further bombings were concerned, but he said the Wisconsin bombing was "so shocking with its loss of life" that it might act as a deterrent.

He said that such measures as cutting off the supply of explosives to terrorists, and the prompt arrest and jailing of bombers would be effective in ending the bombing trend. He also was indirectly critical of faculty agitators on college campuses, but said he doubted such agitators were numerous.

## Plan an Info Center

Mayor Eugene Leahy of Omaha, spokesman for the cities, announced that the 10 municipalities represented at the session with Mitchell will form a regional information center to exchange intelligence data with one another and the federal government. Leahy said federal financial aid for the center would be requested.

Mayor William Dyke of Madison said the bombing problem was "national in scope" and beyond the resources of any individual city. As for the outlook this fall on the nation's campuses, Dyke added, "there is no reason to be optimistic about the forthcoming semester. There is no reason for any campus to be optimistic about this fall."



John N. Mitchell

She began spending her time with a number of other men.

The passionate intensity with which the Weathermen took their political ideas created a state of mind in Diana which her father later called "a kind of intellectual hysteria." He found her less and less willing to really talk about politics, increasingly heated when she did. She finally refused to discuss the subject at all.

"I've made my decision, Daddy," she said. "There's no sense talking about it."

Diana came home less and less often; when she did, it was usually with a group of friends. Her father attempted to discuss the revolution with her friends but got nowhere. They seemed to talk in a kind of secret language, reducing everything to phrases like, "wow, man" and "outsight" and "get it together," responding to every question with mocking laughter and exaggerated disbelief.

On one occasion Diana's mother was deeply hurt when she and her friends openly made fun of her when she tried to ask them about their political ideas. Fearing she would lose her daughter if she persisted, Mrs. Oughton never asked again.

The pace of events picked up after Diana and a delegation of Weathermen returned from a trip to Cuba in August marked by secret meetings with Cubans and representatives of the Viet Cong. The delegation left feeling even the Cubans were too moderate and losing their early revolutionary fervor.

ON THE MORNING of Saturday, Sept. 6, 1969, only a few hours before Diana's sister Pamela was to be married, Diana called her family and told them she would not be able to come and be a bridesmaid after all. To a family which had always been close, Diana's absence was a painful disappointment.

That weekend Diana was attending the Cleveland SDS Conference where the Weatherman strategy of total commitment to revolutionary violence finally emerged as a comprehensive position.

The Weathermen attempted to literally recreate themselves as street fighters by a brutal process of group criticism which tended to break down their personalities. Diana's experiences in collectives in Detroit and Flint, Mich., where she went to live after returning from Cuba, were an indication of her willingness to sacrifice herself for the movement.

People who knew her during this period say that, put simply, she and other Weathermen went through a hell of their own making.

In the months following the June 1969 convention, Weatherman collectives ranging in size from a dozen to 30 or more people began to barricade themselves inside houses. They put double locks on every door and nailed chicken wire over windows to prevent enemies, real or imagined, from throwing in bombs.

Inside they lived a 24-hour existence of intense political discussion, marked by a complete abandonment of all the bourgeois amenities of their largely middle class childhoods. Clothes were strewn everywhere, food rotted on unwashed plates, milk turned sour in half-empty containers, toilets jammed, flies and cockroaches swarmed in kitchens filled with encrusted spoons and spilled food.

All money went into a common fund; every expenditure, without exception, was a matter for collective decision. When the collectives needed money for bail or for buying guns and, later, explosives, and

sometimes simply as a matter of discipline, the members would go without food for days. On other occasions they would stay awake for two days or even longer to harden themselves for the "Red Army."

In a number of ways the collectives attempted to destroy the "bourgeois morality" they had been taught as children. On at least one occasion they vandalized conventional attitudes of respect for the dead.

On another occasion, partly from a genuine hunger and partly to instill in themselves a kind of savagery, a collective killed, skinned and ate a toad.

The collectives also attempted to destroy all their old attitudes about sexual relationships. At the Cleve-

## THE MAKING OF A TERRORIST



The two faces of Diana—1968 and 1970

land conference the Women's Liberation caucus had proposed that Weathermen attempt to "smash monogamy" on the grounds that it oppressed women and at the same time created love relationships which interfered with revolutionary commitment.

As a result, long-established couples were sometimes ordered to separate and sexual relations became mandatory between all members of a collective. Diana and Bill Ayers were one of the couples forced apart during this period.

Drugs, cigarets and alcohol were usually banned by the collectives for reasons of discipline and economy. On several occasions, however, collectives took LSD, hashish or other drugs and engaged in what amounted to orgies. In some instances homosexuality and lesbianism were involved.

For a relatively brief period the attempt to destroy traditional sexual behavior led to a situation in which any man could simply announce that he wanted to sleep with a particular woman and she would be required to submit. Women quickly came to resent the fact this did not seem to work in the opposite direction, however, and the sexual experimentation began to moderate.

The attempts at self-transformation turned collectives into violent groups with an almost savage emotional atmosphere. The group criticism sessions inevitably led to hurt feelings and smoldering grudges.

The attempt to overcome traditional niceties led to exaggeratedly crude behavior. People became stiff and unnatural. Afraid they would be attacked, and perhaps even purged, if they were found lacking in commitment to the revolution, many became nervous, high-strung and emotionally unstable.

Diana's commitment to the revolution, her loyalty to her friends and her determination to repress all "bourgeois hang-ups" led her to participate fully in everything, but friends say she was deeply upset by much that was happening. A gentle woman who preferred staying with one man at a time, Diana questioned both the sexual excesses and the emphasis on violence and was brutally criticized as a result. Nevertheless, she was often the one who pressed for a rest during the long, highly charged meetings and she tried, largely without success, to prevent the collectives from becoming excessively cold and brutal.

She could not bring herself to shout obscenities at the police and she sometimes even tried to argue the issues with them.

"You're a revolutionary now, not a society bitch," a Weatherman once yelled at her when she was talking to a policeman.

When the four days of rage began in Chicago on Wednesday, Oct. 8, only 300 Weathermen turned out to charge through the Loop and Gold Coast areas, smashing windows and windshields and even charging directly into the ranks of police.

THE FOLLOWING DAY Diana joined 70 Weatherwomen who marched to Grant Park for an all-women's action. When they got there they found themselves outnumbered by the police, who threatened to arrest them if they tried to leave wearing their helmets and carrying Viet Cong flags on long, heavy poles.

Diana was one of a dozen Weatherwomen who gritted their teeth and plunged into the police lines but were immediately overpowered.

After Diana had been booked she was allowed to call home and her father immediately left for Chicago to post her bail. When Diana was led out by the police she seemed subdued and resigned.

"Why don't you come back to Dwight for a few days?" Mr. Oughton asked.

"No," she said quickly, "I've got an important meeting in Evanston."

When the Chicago and Evanston police raided the meeting place early Saturday morning, Oct. 11, Diana was one of those who escaped by jumping out the windows. Later that afternoon Weathermen began filtering into Haymarket Square for the final action of the days of rage.

That night Diana—scared but elated that the Weathermen had overcome their fear and fought in the streets, and feeling the core of the Red Army had been created—changed her mind and went back to Dwight where she stayed for a few days, resting and eating ravenously.

Diana's mother, distraught at the thought of her daughter fighting with police, tried to talk her into abandoning the Weathermen.

"But, Honey," she said, "You're only going to make things worse, you're only going to get yourself killed."

Diana refused to argue. "It's the only way, Mommy," she said, stalking back and forth in the hall. "It's the only way."

Next: A "bomb factory."

Get a list of names

Get here and they get reports to edit

2 names

# Collective life sours and rage erupts

By LUCINDA FRANKS  
and THOMAS POWERS  
of United Press International  
Fourth of a series

THE FINAL NINE MONTHS of Diana Oughton's life were absorbed almost entirely by the disintegration of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the growth of a new, much smaller organization which turned to terrorism as the Weathermen.

In June 1969, the SDS, long troubled by deep differences on questions of ideology, suddenly burst apart at a chaotic convention in Chicago.

By the end of the convention, the new SDS leadership was committed to action and over the summer of 1969 gradually worked out a plan for turning student radicals into a "Red Army" which would fight the establishment into the streets of America.

During the convention, Diana talked to Alan Howard, whom she had known in Guatemala, about the impending split in SDS and the Weatherman manifesto, which argued that white radicals in the United States could help bring on a worldwide revolution only by fighting in the streets of the "mother country."

Howard, who had first started Diana thinking seriously about revolution in Guatemala, now found himself in the awkward position of trying to restrain her, to convince her that a premature attempt to bring on the revolution would be suicidal.

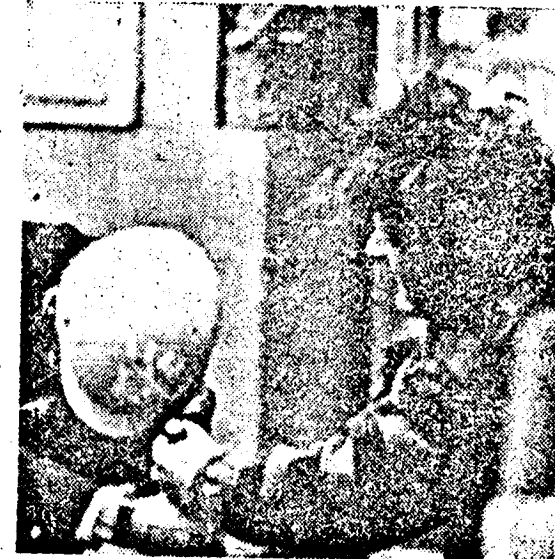
Diana insisted the time had come to fight.

While the SDS was beginning to plan for a four-day series of antiwar demonstrations in October, Diana's relationship with Bill Ayers and her family both came under increasing strain. Ayers had been elected one of the three national officers of the Weathermen, along with Mark Rudd and Bernadine Dorn, and friends of Diana and Ayers say he was increasingly attracted to Bernadine and told Diana he would not allow himself to be tied to one woman. She began spending her time with a number of other men.

The passionate intensity with which the Weathermen took their political ideas created a state of mind in Diana which her father later called "a kind of intellectual hysteria." He found her less and less willing to really talk about politics, increasingly heated when she did. She finally refused to discuss the cause.



Police battle a Weatherwoman.



A Weatherman attacks a policeman.

UPI photos

**"The Weatherman manifesto argued that radicals in the U.S. could help bring on a worldwide revolution only by fighting in the streets."**

sometimes simply as a matter of discipline, the members would go without food for days. On other occasions they would stay awake for two days or even longer to harden themselves for the "Red Army."

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Guatemala in the Fall of 1960 when she was the same young woman who had graduated from Bryn Mawr two years earlier.

Her family was bothered by her seriousness and a new air of melancholy present in everything she did. She seemed to have lost some of her sense of humor and her taste for clowning around.

Her college German professor, whom she visited upon her return, found her deeply distressed at the poverty she had seen in Guatemala. Others said she had become disillusioned with her country's role in Guatemala and increasingly critical of its policies elsewhere, particularly in Vietnam.

Diana moved into the Bohemian Powelton quarter of Philadelphia when she returned from Guatemala and deliberately lived an ascetic life. Her apartment contained a bed and a table and nothing else. Her cupboards were generally empty except for a stock of caviar, smoked oysters and other gourmet food sent by her mother.

She took a job teaching in a federally-financed adult literacy program but soon became disillusioned with the other teachers.

She said they were tired professionals who had little interest in their pupils and were "just trying to pick up an extra 100 bucks a week."

In the Spring of 1966, Diana left Philadelphia for Ann Arbor to enroll in the University of Michigan Graduate School of Education to get her master's degree in teaching. She was adamant about being on her own and at times tried to conceal her family's wealth. When asked what her father did, she often said, "Oh, he's a farmer," and changed the subject.

In Ann Arbor, she again lived frugally, ate little, and refused to let her father give her money.

"I don't want you to give me an allowance," she said in a letter in March 1967. "It is important to me to be on my own and to feel I can support myself and have responsibility for my own life . . . I think by age 25, I have the right to live the way I want without feeling guilty that my way of life upsets you."

After she arrived at the University of Michigan, Diana joined the Children's Community School, a project founded by a group of students and based on the Summerhill method of education. It was there that Diana met Bill Ayers, son of the chairman of Commonwealth Edison Co. of Chicago and one of the Weathermen later indicted on bomb conspiracy charges. Ayers probably exercised the single most powerful influence over Diana until her death.

**D**IANA WAS LOVED by the children and, as she had in Guatemala, plunged herself totally into the effort to make the school a success. She wrote promotional brochures and designed a button with the slogan, "Children are only newer people." Three years later, some of her children were to place that same button, pinned to a bouquet of flowers, on the site of the bombed-out New York townhouse where she died.

Bill and Diana grew closer and eventually began to live together in an attic room near the university. Like most of the men Diana had been attracted to, Bill was charming, manipulative, and a bit cruel. Diana was always at his side and when she went home to Dwight, she talked about him frequently, quoting things he had said and talking about their plans for the school. Her family felt her ideas, which were becoming more progressive, were a reflection of his.

In March 1967, Diana's sister Carol got her an offer to work for the crusading liberal Washington

The Children's Community School had begun to attract considerable attention by the end of 1967, and had expanded, but despite its early acclaim, the school began running into severe problems in the spring of 1968. The owners of the building in which the school was held complained that the kids were running wild, marking up the walls, and damaging property. Two professors withdrew their children, saying the black students were dominating the school and terrorizing the white children and that, in fact, the school was teaching their children to become racists.

In June, the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) board in Ann Arbor turned down a request for funds by the school, which had previously been self-supporting.

The bitterness of the attack on the school, partly centering on the fact that Bill and Diana were living

## THE MAKING OF A TERRORIST



The two faces of Diana—1968 and 1970

together, stunned both of them. They looked elsewhere for involvement and became more active in the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

In June 1968, they attended an SDS convention in East Lansing where a sharp split was emerging between the Progressive Labor Party (PL) and the cultural revolutionaries who naturally attracted Bill and Diana. PL was a dour, highly disciplined but distinctly old-fashioned Marxist-Leninist party which frowned on marijuana, sexual freedom, long hair and anything else which would offend the American working classes.

After the convention, Diana and Bill spent part of the summer in Chicago working in the SDS national office. There they became convinced that direct action rather than education and peaceful reform were the way to change society.

Diana was deeply affected by the demonstrations at the Democratic Party convention that August and at the peak of the violence, she called her sister Carol in Chicago and told her she and Bill were leaving the city because "it's getting too rough."

It was also during that summer that Bill and Diana turned full-scale toward the cultural revolution. They developed a taste for "acid" rock at ear-shattering volume. They cut their hair and began to wear headbands and wire-rimmed glasses. They took LSD.

They returned to Ann Arbor that Fall in an activist mood. At the first meeting of the Ann Arbor SDS on

sters. They held peaceful methods of reform in contempt. They urged direct action instead of talk, individual violent confrontations instead of big peace marches.

The gang disrupted SDS meetings and made vicious personal attacks on their opponents. The meetings frequently degenerated into brawls. The gang shouted and heckled and even threw eggs and tomatoes at speakers. They often let it be known that their opponents were running the risk of physical beatings.

The gang became unpopular on campus and the majority of the left inside and outside SDS called them "action freaks," "crazies" and self-destructive adventurists.

The gang carried out few actions, but when they did the entire University of Michigan campus generally knew about them. On one occasion they held a demonstration outside a campus building while the university's president was giving a speech inside. Armed with a portable public address system, records and loaves of bread they attracted a crowd. Diana spoke during the demonstration while other gang members handed out slices of bread, shouting, "Here's the bread. Get the baloney inside."

**A**YERS ROSE to a position of strength within the gang because of his ability to dominate groups through charm and the volume of his voice. Handsome and brash, he was a notorious lady's man who did not hide his promiscuity from Diana.

Diana told friends that although she was hurt by Bill's infidelity, it made her redouble her efforts to be a true revolutionary. Stung by gibes that she could afford to be one because her daddy was rich, Diana struggled to make her own mark in the movement.

Early in 1969 she organized a "Cuba month" on campus, a series of films and seminars on the Cuban Revolution. Gradually she became known less as Bill's sidekick than as a radical "sister" in her own right.

Diana's upbringing made her an asset to the movement. Naturally gracious and tactful, she was used as a negotiator in disputes with other left groups, and with the university administration. As one non-SDS student put it, "She was the only one in the gang you could talk to without wanting to punch her in the nose."

As Diana deepened in her political commitment her relationship to her father, which had always been close, began to break down. Everything they talked about, from the stock exchange to the weather, came around to one subject—revolution.

During December 1968, Bill and Diana both began to emerge as leaders in the national SDS at a conference held at Ann Arbor. At about the same time, she wrote in one of her last letters home:

"It gets harder and I get more reluctant to justify myself over and over again to you . . . I feel as if I've gone through a process of conscious choice and that I've thought about it a lot and people I admire agree with me, educationally important, recognized and respected people . . ."

"I feel like a moral person, that my life is my values and that most people my age or even younger have already begun to sell out to materialism, status, hypocrisy, stepping on other people, etc. . . I feel like part of a vanguard, that we speak of important change to come . . ."

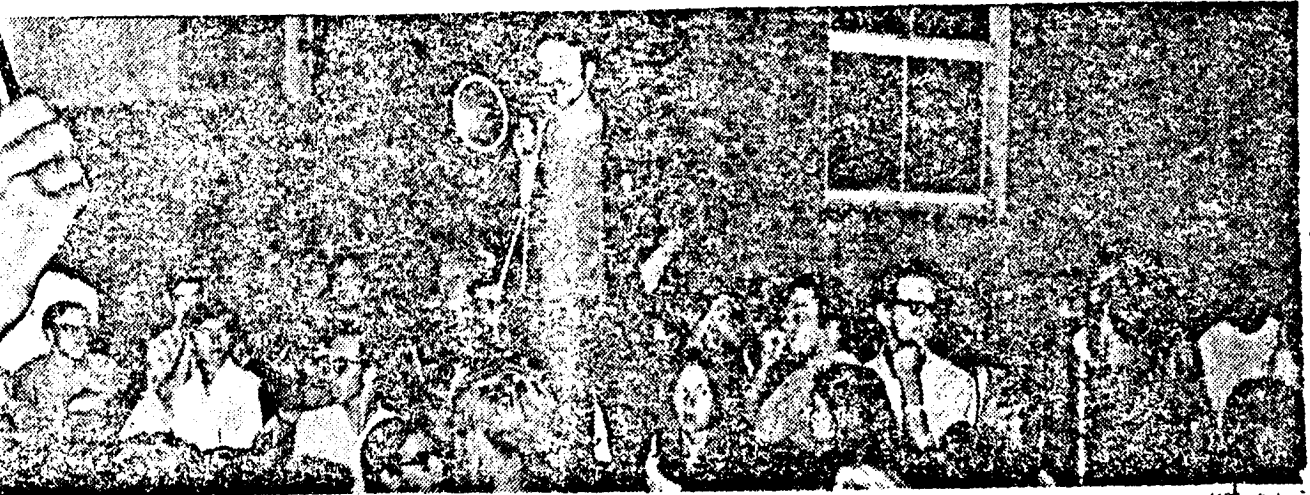
How  
Diana?



# Diana takes a man and pledges herself to revolution

By LUCINDA FRANKS and THOMAS POWERS of United Press International

Third of a series



Armed with public address systems, bull horns and slogans, Diana, Bill Ayers and the Jesse James Gang tried to radicalize Michigan U. UPI photos  
3

**T**HE DIANA OUGHTON who returned from Guatemala in the fall of 1965 was not the same young woman who had graduated from Bryn Mawr two years earlier.

Her family was bothered by her seriousness and a new air of melancholy present in everything she did. She seemed to have lost some of her sense of humor and her taste for clowning around.

Her college German professor, whom she visited upon her return, found her deeply distressed at the

The relationship deepened, and a year later she and Bill tried to have a child but failed.

The Children's Community School had begun to attract considerable attention by the end of 1967, and had expanded, but despite its early acclaim, the school began running into severe problems in the spring of 1968. The owners of the building in which the school was held complained that the kids were running wild, marking up the walls, and damaging property. Two professors withdrew their children, saying the black students were dominating the school and terrorizing the white children and that, in fact, the school was

icals banded together against the moderates and formed the "Jesse James Gang."

The gang declared themselves revolutionary gangsters. They held peaceful methods of reform in contempt. They urged direct action instead of talk, individual violent confrontations instead of big peace marches.

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UPI photo

Despite her doubts about the effect of her efforts, Diana worked hard to improve the lot of the Indians of Chichicastenango, and she built a close and warm rapport with them.

launch a nutritional program, editing a newspaper for adults learning to read, and helping to care for the children who swarmed through the town.

After Diana has been living in Guatemala for several months she met Alan Howard, a young Fulbright scholar in Guatemala City. He was running an experimental adult reading program in the city's federal prison and long conversations with political prisoners had made him cynical about the chances of peaceful change in the country.

When Diana told him about the work she was doing in Chichicastenango, Howard said it would never end the poverty of the Indians.

"You're only delaying the revolution," he told her. He argued that VISA was treating the symptoms of poverty, not the basic causes.

Whenever Diana was in Guatemala City, she would spend the evening with Howard, talking late into the night about the peaceful revolution envisioned by the Quakers and the violent revolution already under way in the mountains to the east. Howard argued that Guatemala's only hope for fundamental change lay with guerrilla leaders like Luis Turcios.

Diana, oldest daughter of the first family of Dwight, Ill., a Midwestern Republican who opposed Social Security until she went to college and who favored Richard Nixon in the 1960 presidential election, found such ideas hard to accept. She was not necessarily against violence in extreme circumstances; but like most Americans, she had always assumed that hard work could achieve the same ends with less suffering.

Throughout her two years in Guatemala Diana struggled with the questions of poverty, social justice and revolution and gradually she began to see that no matter how hard she or anyone else worked, there would always be more people than food or jobs or places to live.

**D**IANA told Mike Kimmel, another VISA worker in Guatemala, that she sometimes doubted she would ever make a difference in the lives of the Indians, but, despite her doubts, she committed herself totally to her work. She deliberately sought out a simple, almost primitive place to live. She carried all her own drinking water, cooked over a wood fire, read by candlelight and washed her clothes in a large wooden tub. Her door was always open and the children in the neighborhood wandered in and out freely.

When she developed asthma in the high mountain climate of Chichicastenango she tried to ignore it. During severe attacks a friend would build a fire to dry out the air and Diana, refusing to leave the town and her work, would simply retreat into bed and wait until the attack had passed.

Once she was bitten by a dog the whole town considered a raid, but refused to leave to get rabies shots, saying she couldn't spare the time. At night she would sometimes walk a dozen miles along the twisting mountain roads, checking on the programs she had established in the tiny villages.

Diana was tireless and hard to discourage. When a problem arose she thought about it until she had decided how to solve it, and then did whatever was necessary without asking anyone for aid.

The volunteers were paid a small subsistence salary which most of them found barely adequate, but Diana spent even less than she received. When her clothes wore out she patched and repatched them.

"Buy yourself a dress," Kimmel told her once. "No one will hold it against you."

As time passed Diana began to feel that...

Before they arrived she made them promise they would stay at the cheapest of Chichicastenango's three hotels. During the visit her parents were always aware of Diana's tenseness. She was impatient with their occasional discomfort and afraid they would anger or insult the people she worked with.

**L**ATER, after they had gone, she wrote them and apologized. "I had forgotten how long it took me to adjust to life here," she said.

Shortly before the end of her two years in Guatemala, Diana wrote home and tried to explain what the experience had meant to her. She did not mention the long conversations with Alan Howard about revolution and the disturbing changes taking place in her attitudes toward her upbringing, her country and her own life, but she alluded to her doubts about the Quakers' approach to changing society.

"When you work at such a basic level with people from a different culture, with different values and different ways of thinking you really have to seek a common denominator of understanding," she said.

"Instead of talking about equality of the races, you live with it, get past the hump many people get stuck on and begin to really look at people as people with needs, happiness, tragedy.

"I have to admit grudgingly that I benefited far more than the inhabitants of 'Chichi' from these two years. I've come to a real understanding of that which one might call an ideal, practically gained."

By the time she left, Diana had a totally new view of the problems faced by underdeveloped peoples and of the U.S. role in the struggle to solve those problems. When an Agency for International Development (AID) official, impressed by her fluency in Spanish, offered her a job Diana was flattered but refused to take the offer seriously. By this time she had largely accepted Howard's argument that American and Guatemalan interests were directly opposed. She felt that working for AID would inevitably put her on the side of Guatemalan aristocrats resisting change.

The following year, when Diana returned to Guatemala for a brief visit, she was half embarrassed to tell Donna Dreyer, VISA director in Guatemala City, she was working in a poverty program in Philadelphia.

"What are you doing working for the federal government?" Donna asked.

Diana tried to dismiss the question with a joke, but Mrs. Dreyer felt she was troubled by it.

After leaving Guatemala Diana occasionally wrote the priests of Chichicastenango, Mike Kimmel, Howard and other people she had known there. She carried the letters she received in return from place to place until the week before she died.

If November 1968, Diana wrote Kimmel to say the experimental school she was helping run with a handsome charming radical named Bill Ayers in Ann Arbor, Mich., had folded and that she was thinking of becoming a fulltime organizer for the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). She included a quote from D. H. Lawrence which referred indirectly to a discussion she and Kimmel had on the plane to Guatemala in 1963.

"There is no point in work unless it absorbs you like an interesting game," Lawrence had said. "If it doesn't absorb you, if it's not any fun, don't do it."

"With her money, she can afford to think that way," was Kimmel's first reaction.

Later, remembering the way Diana had worked in Guatemala, he decided his first reaction had been wrong. He felt she had not been telling the truth, that out of embarrassment...

## THE MAKING OF A TERRORIST



The two faces of Diana—1968 and 1970

Second of a series

By LUCINDA FRANKS  
and THOMAS POWERS  
of United Press International



# Two years in Guatemala kindled the flame

*There were undoubtedly other  
Crym Mawr grads, who were members of the weather group*

BY THE TIME she graduated from Bryn Mawr in 1963, Diana Oughton had traveled among the poor in Europe and worked closely with children in one of Philadelphia's ghettos, but she did not really begin to learn about poverty until she went to Guatemala with the Quaker-run, Voluntary International Service Assignments (VISA) program.

Barbara Ann Graves, director of VISA, felt Diana's sheltered upbringing and gentle character would be a handicap and tried to dissuade her from the lonely assignments in back-country areas. Diana refused to be given special consideration, however, and was assigned to the isolated Indian market town of Chichicastenango in Guatemala.

Chichicastenango is a small, still half-primitive place where Catholic priests look the other way when the Indians burn incense to the old gods and beat ceremonial drums on the steps of the church.

When Diana first arrived she was struck by the gaudy vitality and rustic quaintness of the town, but gradually, however, she began to see other things—the Indians' bad health, and the small, child-sized coffins sold in such numbers in the market.

She plunged into work, helping local priests to launch a nutritional program, editing a newspaper for adults learning to read, and helping to care for the children who swarmed through the town.

After Diana has been living in Guatemala for several months she met Alan Howard, a young Fulbright scholar in Guatemala City. He was running an experimental adult reading program in the city's federal prison and long conversations with political prisoners had made him cynical about the chances of peaceful change in the country.

When Diana told him about the work she was doing in Chichicastenango, Howard said it would never end the poverty of the Indians.

"You're only delaying the revolution," he told her.

gence Agency (CIA) had been responsible for a coup against a left-wing Guatemalan regime in 1954, and that the Spanish newspaper she helped edit was run by the Guatemalan army with U.S. military assistance funds.

She and other VISA volunteers made friends with the people who ran CARE in Guatemala City, and she was disturbed when two CARE officials suddenly left after it was reported they were CIA agents.

Diana's growing concern over the American influence in Guatemala was matched by a growing dislike for the American tourists who came to Chichicastenango and stayed at the Mayan Inn, spending enough in a week to support an Indian family for a year.

Diana's distaste for American extravagance was also directed at her friends. When an old college friend and her husband came to Guatemala for a visit Diana was disgusted by their complaints about the food and water and by their extravagant spending. "My God," Diana said to Kimmel after the couple had left, "she used to be my very best friend in the whole wide world."

The attitude she had tolerated in her friend was something she could not abide in her parents. A few weeks before they came to visit her in 1964 Diana worried that they would shatter in a moment the image she had worked a year to create, erecting a barrier between her and the Indians.

Before they arrived she made them promise to would stay at the cheapest of Chichicastenango's three hotels. During the visit her parents were ways aware of Diana's tenseness. She was impatient with their occasional discomfort and afraid they would anger or insult the people she worked with.

LATER, after they had gone, she wrote them and apologized. "I had forgotten how long it took me to adjust to life here," she said.

Shortly before the end of her two years in Guatemala, Diana wrote home and tried to explain to her parents the experience had meant to her. She did not mention the CIA.

violent history of the times, but the full truth was not so simple.

The newspapers provided a skeleton of facts. Diana Oughton and two young men were killed March 6 in a bomb explosion which destroyed a Greenwich Village townhouse. Two young women had run from the crumbling house and disappeared. It had taken police four days to find Diana's body at the bottom of the rubble and another week to identify it.

Diana and the others were members of the violent revolutionary group known as the Weathermen. They had turned the townhouse into what police described as a "bomb factory." Months later, they were all to be cited in an indictment as part of a conspiracy to bomb police, military, and other buildings in their campaign to destroy American society.

The facts were clear but the townspeople of Dwight (pop. 3,086) could not relate them to the Diana they remembered. Her family, too, had its own memories.

Diana had never stopped loving her family, but the bomb which accidentally killed her had been designed ultimately to kill them and their kind. The revolution she died for would have stripped her father of his vast farmlands, blown his bank to pieces, and destroyed in a moment the name and position it had taken a century to build.

The world that Diana Oughton grew up in was a world of spacious, elegant homes, sweeping lawns, the best schools and an ancestry of distinguished and monied men.

One of Diana's great grandfathers had founded the Boy Scouts of America. Another built the Keeley Institute, the first home for alcoholics to treat the condition as a disease. Her father, James Oughton, a graduate of Dartmouth, served in the Illinois Legislature from 1964 to 1966. His holdings, which make him one of the wealthiest men in the state, include 6,000 acres of corn and soybeans, 100 head of cattle, several farmhouses, a restaurant and part ownership of the family bank in Dwight.

**D**IANA WAS BORN Jan. 26, 1942, in a town where her family had been prominent for decades. The Oughtons paved the streets of Dwight, built the waterworks and furnished land for the schools.

Diana grew up as a farm girl, huntress and horse-woman. She was the best shot in the family, drove the tractor at harvest time, was an active member of the local 4-H club and once, as a child, cried for hours when she found a dead bird and was told it could not be brought back to life.

She was close to her three younger sisters—Carol, now 26 and a television writer; Pamela, a 24-year-old housewife; and Deborah, 17, a senior at the Madeira School, a finishing school Diana also attended in Greenway, Va.

Her father, a handsome, well-read gentleman who is nearly blind from a hereditary ailment, and her

for 21 years. "She didn't ask why. She just did what she was told."

Diana's childhood was sheltered and her upbringing strict.

"The Oughtons never let the kids run around," Ruth said. "Diana was not allowed to do a lot of things other children were. If she went someplace it was usually with her mother and father."

Her family's multi million-dollar fortune made Diana feel a bit different from her schoolmates. They used to call her "Miss Moneybags"—a hurt which she remembered, and sometimes mentioned to friends, until her death.

Once, when only 8, she came to her nanny and said: "Ruthie, why do we have to be rich?"

**A** FEW YEARS LATER, a school friend who lived in a poor section of Dwight was sent away by her family to live with a grandmother. Diana came to her father in tears. "Why can't we be ordinary like them?" she asked.

As Diana grew older she took a dislike for frilly clothes, for dressing up and going to parties. She was not a child who often asked for new things and she never made out birthday lists. Sometimes, she gave her allowance to her sisters; although they rll got the same amount, Diana always seemed to have some left at the end of the week.

Diana's parents are Episcopalian but since Dwight had no Episcopal church Ruth Moreheart took Diana to the Congregational church. She was confirmed but later grew away from religion altogether.

At 14, Diana left Dwight for the first time, to finish high school at the Madeira School. There she mixed with daughters of rich and prominent families, and happily did all the things a Madeira girl did. In her senior year, she was accepted by all of the Seven Sister colleges and decided on Bryn Mawr.

When Diana arrived at Bryn Mawr in the fall of 1959 she was a tall, bony girl with short blonde hair and long aristocratic hands. A Midwestern Republican, she was against everything which smacked of "liberalism" or "big government." In 1960, she supported Richard Nixon against John Kennedy. She ardently defended her father's ownership of tenant farms in Alabama, since sold, arguing that he treated his tenants well and fairly.

During her first year, Diana was known as a light-hearted girl, always clowning around, and the kind of person you came to if you wanted to be cheered up. She was never scholarly and studied reluctantly, but still managed to get A's and B's. At examination time, she would entertain with caviar and sour cream and then memorize her notes on the way to the test.

If there was a Princeton or Yale weekend, Diana was always on the bus, sometimes having arranged dates with two different boys.

In 1961, when she was 19, Diana went to Germany to spend her junior year at the University of Munich. Living with a German family, she immersed herself in the culture and picked up the language quickly.

Diana made close friendships with German students and would sometimes remain late into the night

German boy, Peter: "He said something which made sense. He said the trouble with America was it had lost its pioneer spirit . . . it put women in the wrong place and they were becoming neuter. Hurrah for Socialism!"

Politics were still incidental to Diana's life, however. She was still a fun loving college girl—gay and confident. She refused to wear glasses out of admitted vanity and had trouble spotting people more than a few yards away. She was casual and scatterbrained.

Diana's senior year at Bryn Mawr in 1962-63 was a year of change for young people throughout the country. The silence of the fifties had ended and young people began to think about America and found it fell short of what they had always been taught to believe it was.

During the same period, a kind of genteel Bohemianism was becoming fashionable in the colleges. Diana was among the small advanced class of students, inspired by the beatniks of the 1950s, who grew their hair long and traded their shirtwaists and circle pins for sandals and suede jackets.

A book which made a deep impression on thousands of white students was John Howard Griffin's "Black Like Me," an account of a trip the author made through the South disguised as a Negro. Diana was strongly affected by it and joined a project in Philadelphia to tutor black ghetto children.

Although tutors were supposed to be limited to one child each, Diana soon had three. Inevitably, the Philadelphia ghettos began to show Diana that the prosperous tranquility of Dwight was not the rule in America.

On one occasion, she told her sister Carol how amazed she was that seventh grade children could not read.

**L**IKE THOUSANDS of other students touched by the mood in the country, Diana often spent long evenings discussing what was wrong and how to make it right. She began going out with what one friend called "sad-souled men" and showed less interest in the Princeton football players who still came to see her. She shunned college mixers and proms and listened to Joan Baez albums by the hour.

At graduation, she was listless about commencement activities and more embarrassed than pleased by the elaborate party given by her parents in a Philadelphia hotel.

The message beneath Diana's picture in her college yearbook read: "The milkmaid from Dwight who's always on a diet . . . traveler far and wide but never knows where she's been . . . loves Bryn Mawr but has never spent a weekend here."

Those who knew her best saw qualities emerge in Diana during those four years which were not described in the yearbook. Beneath the frothy exterior there was an increasingly serious, somewhat troubled young woman who was gradually growing away from the protected and privileged world of her childhood.

Next: Two years among the Indians in Guatemala.

# The Making of a Terrorist



The two faces of Diana Oughton—1968 and 1970

By LUCINDA FRANKS and THOMAS POWERS of UPI

First of a series

**W**HEN DIANA OUGHTON, dead at 28, was buried in Dwight, Ill., on Tuesday, March 24, 1970, the family and friends gathered at her grave did not really know who she was

mother, Jane, tall and gracious, liked to keep the dinner conversation lively and encouraged their children to discuss at home what they learned in school.

As a child, Diana was easygoing and helpful. "She

at student cafes, discussing over cigarettes and see the social problems in the United States w she later was to feel could be solved only by viol

She wrote to her parents of conversations w

INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
BY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-11-81 BY SP-1 GSK/par



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Detroit, Michigan  
October 10, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Diana Oughton

b2167D

[REDACTED] advised on October 3, 1969, that a meeting was held by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) at the Unitarian Church located on Ballenger Highway, Flint, Michigan, and that Diana Oughton was in attendance at this meeting. During the meeting a discussion was held concerning the planned demonstrations for Chicago on October 8-11, 1969, by SDS. During this meeting, Diana Oughton advised that the purpose for going to Chicago was to cause a confrontation with the police. She stated that they would break out windows in banks and attempt to have students leave the high schools to join them. She also stated that they would bait the "pigs" into committing themselves and when they did, they would resist arrest. [REDACTED] advised that Oughton has been observed passing out literature on the campus of the Flint Community Junior College, promoting the scheduled demonstrations in Chicago.

A characterization of the SDS is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

1482 *SM/AB*  
3/27/78  
CLASSIFIED BY  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
Pg 2 Para 1, 2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

Class. & Ext. By SP-1GSA/9a  
Reason-FCIM 1-2.4.2  
Date of Review 10-10-89  
8-13-81

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Diana Oughton

b1  
b2  
b7D

[REDACTED]

(c)

b1, b2,  
b7D

[REDACTED]

(c)

b7C

On October 6, 1969, [REDACTED], Grand Trunk and Western Railroad, Flint, Michigan, advised that Diana Oughton had telephonically contacted the ticket office of this firm and indicated that she had 20 to 30 individuals interested in purchasing tickets for train 159 to Chicago leaving Flint, October 8, 1969, at 12:58 p.m. She requested rate information for block tickets.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

1

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

A source has advised that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. From an initial ideological posture of "participatory democracy," the current line of the national leadership reveals an adherence to Marxism-Leninism. Michael Klonsky, National Secretary, in March, 1969, called for the building of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement. The program of SDS has moved from involvement in civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam war position and finally to its present advocacy of an anti-imperialist line, linking up the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the black liberation movement in the United States. China, Vietnam and Cuba are regarded as countries which are leading the world-wide struggles against United States imperialism. On the other hand, SDS regards the Soviet Union as an imperialist power and does not support the policies of that country.

SDS maintains a National Office in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. Its official paper "New Left Notes" reflects the line of the national leadership and program adopted at meetings of the National Council and National Interim Committee (NIC). Three national officers and a NIC of eleven members are elected each year during a June National Convention.

SDS Regional Offices and university and college chapters elect delegates to National Council meetings wherein program and ideology are debated, but each Region and chapter is autonomous in nature and is free to carry out independent policy and programs reflective of local conditions.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 2 - USA, Chicago (RM)

Report of: SA [REDACTED] b7c  
Date: 11/18/69

Office: Detroit, Michigan

Field Office File #: 176-161

Bureau File #:

Title: DIANA OUGHTON

Character: ANTIRIOT LAWS

Synopsis: [REDACTED] that on 11/10/69, charges against subject for loitering on school property were dismissed. Subject participated in 11/14/69, moratorium activities at the Federal Building, Detroit. Attempts to interview subject on 11/17/69, unsuccessful.

b7D

- RUC -

DETAILS:

AT FLINT, MICHIGAN

b7D  
C

[REDACTED] advised SA [REDACTED] on November 10, 1969, the charges against DIANA OUGHTON of trespassing on school property were dismissed in Flint Municipal Court. [REDACTED] that OUGHTON had been arrested on these charges on September 22, 1969.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-13-81 BY SP-1 GSK/jpi



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 11/18/691

A group of approximately 125 persons were observed to participate in November 14, 1969, moratorium activities at the Federal Building, Detroit, Michigan. Among those participating in these activities, which consisted of carrying Viet Cong flags and various placards denouncing the Vietnam War was DIANA OUGHTON, who was observed at about 11:45 AM on November 14, 1969, to carry a Viet Cong flag in this demonstration.

- 2 -

On 11/14/69 at Detroit, Michigan File # Detroit 176-161  
by SAs [REDACTED] 67C Date dictated 11/17/69

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 11/18/691

On November 17, 1969, an attempt was made to interview DIANA OUGHTON at 2403 Townsend, Detroit. An unidentified white male came to the door and looked out through a small opening in the door but refused to open it. On being told by the interviewing Agents that they desired to contact DIANA OUGHTON, this individual was heard to converse in the background with unknown individuals, following which he stated that "she" did not desire to be interviewed by the FBI.

At the time of this attempted interview, a green and white Chevrolet van, bearing 1969 Michigan license plates NA 9850, registered to DIANA OUGHTON, was observed parked directly in front of 2403 Townsend, Detroit, Michigan.

- 3 -

On 11/17/69 at Detroit, Michigan File # Detroit 176-161

by SAs [REDACTED] b7c Date dictated 11/17/69  
WVG/jlg

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 11/18/691

On November 17, 1969, an attempt was made to interview DIANA OUGHTON at 4324 Trumbull, Detroit. An unidentified white female, who refused to furnish her name and who refused to open the door, and merely slightly lifted a covering over the opening in the door, stated that OUGHTON was not present.

- 4\* -

On 11/17/69 at Detroit, Michigan File # Detroit 176-161  
by SAs [REDACTED] /WMG/jlg <sup>57C</sup> Date dictated 11/17/69



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Detroit, Michigan  
November 14, 1969

*1482 DM/AB*  
*3/27/78*  
CLASSIFIED BY  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
*Para marked & otherwise 4*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Diana Oughton

[REDACTED] advised that on that date Diana Oughton, David Chase and John Pilkington, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) members from Detroit, Michigan, were arrested by the Flint, Michigan, Police Department, for loitering on school property. According to this source, they were distributing leaflets at Central High School, Flint, Michigan, which promoted the attendance of persons at the October, 1969, Chicago, Illinois, demonstrations. They were arraigned in Municipal Court, Flint, on September 22, 1969, and bond was set at \$200.00. They are scheduled to appear in court on October 8, 1969, for disposition of these arrests.

*b7D*

A characterization of the SDS appears in the appendix attached hereto.

[REDACTED]

*b1,  
b7D*

*(c)*

CONFIDENTIAL  
GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

Class. & Ext. By *SP-1 GSK/99*  
Reason-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
Date of Review *11-14-89* *6-12-81*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

ENCLOSURE

*176-1674-8*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Diana Oughton

[REDACTED]

b1  
b7D

[REDACTED]

b2  
b7D

[REDACTED], made available an SDS circular which was distributed in Detroit advertising a demonstration at 1:00 PM, on September 27, 1969, at the Detroit Public Library, Woodward and Kirby, Detroit, Michigan. This circular also contained the statement "Bring the War Home! Chicago October 8-11". A copy of this circular is attached.

[REDACTED] advised that approximately 75 persons participated in the demonstration at the Detroit Public Library. There were speeches by four individuals, all of whom supported the North Vietnamese and condemned the United States "Racist Imperialist Society". One of the speakers stated that "we" will be in Chicago on October 8 to further our protests. This source stated that following the speeches, the participants began to march North on Woodward Avenue. At this point a Detroit Police Officer moved in to arrest one of the participants who was carrying a red flag. As a result of this action, nine were arrested on charges ranging from felonious assault of a police officer to anarchy. Several police officers sustained injuries, including one who received a broken wrist. This source stated that Diana Oughton was observed at this demonstration but she was not involved in any direct action against the police.

b2  
b7D

[REDACTED]

b1  
b2  
(C) b7D

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Diana Oughton



b1  
b7D

(c)

b2  
b7D

██████████ advised that Diana Oughton is a leader and regional traveler for the Motor City SDS, Detroit, Michigan, and until recently she resided at 320 Harper, Detroit, Michigan.

On September 26, 1969, through use of a suitable pretext telephone call, a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) ascertained that Diana Oughton resides at 2403 Townsend, Detroit, Michigan.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Diana Oughton

b1  
b2  
b7D



The files of the Passport Office, United States Department of State, disclose that Diana Oughton, born January 26, 1942, at Chicago, Illinois, residing at 320 Harper, Detroit, Michigan, was issued passport number K922761 on June 24, 1969, at Chicago, Illinois. In her application, dated June 24, 1969, at Chicago, she indicated that she planned to leave on July 1, 1969, via air for a one-month tourist trip to Europe. This passport was valid for five years' travel to all countries except Cuba, Mainland China, North Korea and North Vietnam.

Diana Oughton is described as follows:

Name	Diana Oughton
Date of birth	January 26, 1942
Place of birth	Chicago, Illinois
Sex	Female
Height	5'7"
Weight	129 pounds
Hair	Light Brown
Eyes	Green
Social Security Number	329-32-7486
Marital status	Single
Father	J. H. Oughton, Jr. 103 South Dwight, Illinois
Mother	Jane Boyce Oughton, same address

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

1

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



# DEVICTIONS TRATION

SMASH IMPERIALIST

WAR RESEARCH!



SATURDAY, SEPT. 27th → 1 pm

at the North Side of the Detroit Public Library  
Woodward & Kirby

BRING THE  
WAR HOME!



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CHICAGO

OCTOBER 8-11

do: call 833-4323

# WAR RESEARCH !

The war in Vietnam is still going on. Most people don't dig it. Nixon, Rockefeller, Ford and all the American big business rulers do dig it --and use us for cannon fodder. Why? Because they make money off wars, and because they have an economic world empire to protect. But the Vietnamese people are fighting back and winning! All over the world, poor people are organizing armed struggles against U.S. control. Within this country, the gap between the rich and poor is growing faster than the moon program--with the black community getting things the worst every way. Black people are getting together and fighting the Man--remember the riots, remember New Bethel. We got to get together too. We don't dig America having a world empire. We don't dig these jails they call schools. We don't dig the pigs who put the Black and young people down..

The millionaire ruling class needs passive white people to help them maintain the system. So they give us a few priveleges--a few more dollars on the job, a house in white suburbs. But as the American empire is being torn up by revolutions all around the world, it's us, not the rich, who pay the price. We will win our freedom through revolution too! We must fight alongside our Vietnamese and Black brothers to build a new, better society for everybody.

If young people from all the schools and neighborhoods get together and fight, we can build a real power to bring about the changes we need. Like enough thousands of kids tearing up all over the country could force the government out of Vietnam. We must attack the war machine in every city. New expansion planned by Wayne State University and the City of Detroit, which is throwing Black people out of their homes to build new war research buildings, is such a part of the war machine. This is an issue of how the war in Vietnam is fought from Detroit, and a chance to bring the war home to Detroit and help the Vietnamese win.

This is not an issue about university reform or for college students. Universities are a part of the power structure. Wayne State--with its war research and racist expansion--is the enemy of everyone, not just the students there. It can and should be shut down by all young people in Detroit who are willing to act. We must use this demonstration in Detroit, and the National Action in Chicago, October 2-11, to build ourselves into a fighting force of thousands of young people, fighting on the side of the people's liberation struggles throughout the world.

## DEMONSTRATE SAT., SEPT. 27 1 pm

at the North Side of the Detroit Public Library

5: CALL 832-4323 or 923-5312

Woodward & Kirby

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>DETROIT</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>CHICAGO</b>	DATE <b>11/18/69</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>11/14-17/69</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>DIANA DOUGHTON</b>		REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED] b7c</b>	TYPED BY <b>jlg</b>
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF <u>CLASS. FR</u>		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>ARL <del>CONFIDENTIAL</del></b>	
DATE <u>8/26/81</u>			

**REFERENCES:** Chicago airtel, 11/5/69.  
Detroit airtel and LHM, 11/14/69.

- RUC -

ADMINISTRATIVE

*b1, b2, b7C, D*

[REDACTED] (c)

Inasmuch as subject was contacted on 10/17/69 by the Chicago Office and at that time refused to be interviewed, and in view of the results of Detroit's current efforts to interview her, Detroit is taking no additional steps to interview her. The likelihood of her consenting to an interview is extremely remote.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED \_\_\_\_\_ SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:  
 3 - Bureau (RM)  
 4 - Chicago (176-1358) (RM)  
 2 - USA, Chicago  
 1 - Detroit (176-161)  
 Class. & Ext. By SP-10 SK/9a  
 Reason-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 (2)  
 Date of Review 11-18-89

176-1174-9  
 24  
 22 NOV 21 1969  
 REC-1  
 EX-103

Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations
Agency	1 - Bureau	ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE
Request Recd.		
Date Fwd.	11/24/69	
How Fwd.	6-94B	
By	[Signature]	

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100 BCR 64 unit  
 11/19/69

Rout: Slip  
FD-41 (Rev. 4-28-67)

Date: 11/20/69

To:  Director FILE DE 176-161  
 Att.: RICHARD DEILY Title DIANA DOUGHTON  
 SAC ROOM 2266 Title ARL  
 ASAC \_\_\_\_\_  
 Supv. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Agent \_\_\_\_\_  
 SE \_\_\_\_\_  
 IC \_\_\_\_\_  
 CC DATE 5-13-81 BY SP-1 GSK/ga  
 Steno \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clerk \_\_\_\_\_ Rotor #: \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 5-13-81 BY SP-1 GSK/ga

ACTION DESIRED

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Acknowledge   | <input type="checkbox"/> Open Case  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Assign _____ Reassign _____                             | <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare lead cards   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bring file  | <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare tickler  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Call me   | <input type="checkbox"/> Return assignment card   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Correct   | <input type="checkbox"/> Return file  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Deadline _____  | <input type="checkbox"/> Search and return  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Deadline passed   | <input type="checkbox"/> See me   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Delinquent  | <input type="checkbox"/> Serial # _____   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Discontinue   | <input type="checkbox"/> Post <input type="checkbox"/> Recharge <input type="checkbox"/> Return |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Expedite  | <input type="checkbox"/> Send to _____  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> File  | <input type="checkbox"/> Submit new charge out  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> For information   | <input type="checkbox"/> Submit report by _____   |
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| <input type="checkbox"/> Leads need attention                                    |   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Return with explanation or notation as to action taken. |   |

*MARTINDALE*  
*file*

Attached are six copies of LHM and two copies of airtel 10/10/69, as requested by the Bureau.

*1cc of Airtel + 1cc*  
 REGISTERED *OF LHM - Run 2266*  
 ENCLOSURE *PHS/W*

ENCLOSURE *See reverse* ATTACHED BY SAC PAUL H. STODDARD  
 Office DETROIT

*176-1674-*

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 NOV 24 1969

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# A FATHER REMEMBERS DEAD DAUGHTER

## From Riches, to Revolution — to Death

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

BY GEORGE CANTOR  
Free Press Staff Writer

DWIGHT, III. — The Lodge was built 85 years ago by Diana Oughton's great-grandfather.

He fled Ireland to escape the famine, and near the heart of the new country he became a wealthy man. His graceful Victorian mansion, trimmed in bright yellow, still is the showplace of this farming town — the first stoplight out of Chicago on Route 66.

Diana Oughton's father, James, operates The Lodge now as a restaurant. He also is vice-president of the bank, a former Illinois state legislator and the largest landowner in the county.

Last week he picked up a phone in London and was told his daughter's remains had been identified in a bombed Greenwich Village townhouse. She was a revolutionary terrorist and the bomb, intended for an adjunct of the Establishment in New York, had killed her by mistake.

Now it was left for James Oughton to sit in his dimly lit, second-floor office in The Lodge and try to understand why.

"I can't sit here and say that she was wrong and I am right," he said, fumbling to light a stubborn pipe.

"I won't say she lived her life in vain. That's such a trite statement. But still I can't help feel that it was such a waste.

"I admired Diana's intellectual attainments and the way she gave of herself. She was a remarkable daughter to have because she never seemed to do anything wrong.

"I don't mean to say she was wrong just as the others were. But I didn't have the urge to upset you."

OUGHTON had watched the eldest of his four daughters change from wealthy small town girl to revolutionary and was helpless to explain how it happened.

At the end communication had broken down between them and the family had only a vague idea of Diana's whereabouts. They were unaware she was in New York at the time of her death.

She went away to school in Virginia when she was 15 and entered college at Bryn Mawr as a German language major.

She spent a year studying in Munich and worked with ghetto kids in Philadelphia as a tutor. Then she went to Guatemala with the American Friends Service Committee for two years.

When she returned to the United States in 1966 she joined the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). After an attempt at running an experimental school in Ann Arbor, Miss Oughton began traveling throughout the country for SDS, and the radicalization process accelerated.

HER EXPERIENCES at the 1968 Democratic convention led her to join the formation of the violence-oriented Weatherman and she was arrested with them during the Four Days of Rage in Chicago in 1969.

She helped organize the Weatherman convention in Flint a few months later and then spent Christmas with her family, the last time the Oughtons would be together.

After that reunion she wound up in New York with other young radicals who saw terrorism as the only answer to what they felt was growing government repression in this country.

"AT THE ENH we could only talk about extraneous things," Oughton recalled. "When we began discussing politics we could agree on the problems but on methodology we were poles apart. So we just steered clear of subjects that would cause controversy.

"I actually had more communication with her friends when she brought them here. I seriously, earnestly tried to establish some kind of reason out of their philosophy. I never pounded the table and yelled.

"I'm a Republican — probably because I was born a Republican. But there are brilliant Democrats I admire and reactionary Republicans that I detest. I regard myself as a progressive in politics. Diana never found anything but complete agreement at home in her view of social problems.

"But this idea of complete destruction, violence . . . I only can think there must have been something in this that I could never see or she wouldn't have been involved so wholeheartedly."

THERE ARE no simple answers. Miss Oughton did not just outgrow her family intellectually. The Oughtons are far more complex than an Illinois farm family.

Diana's maternal grandfather, W. D. Boyce, founded the Boy Scouts of America. James Oughton attended Phillips-Exeter Academy and majored in psychology at Dartmouth while his wife, Jane, was educated in France.

Their 15-room home adjacent to The Lodge combines Midwestern simplicity and hospitality with the settled, established air of the East.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)  
1 A  
Detroit Free Press  
Detroit, Michigan

*RD Boston*

*WTP*

*Shuttleford*  
*APB*

Date: 3/22/70  
Edition:  
Author: George Cantor  
Editor: Mark Ethridge

Title:  
Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: Detroit

Being Investigated

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46 APR 7 1970

And even in grief the Oughtons will remember to ask a visitor about his trip to Dwight and politely offer him a drink.

Revolution and bombs are as foreign to this place as a platoon of Cossacks or an Aztec temple.

WILLIAM DREYER, who knew Miss Oughton in the mid-'60s, believes you must look thousands of miles south for the seeds of her radicalization—to the Guatemalan village of Chichicastenango.

Dreyer was her supervisor there in the two years she spent in the Friends' overseas program.

"There's no question in my mind that her experiences there shaped the rest of her life," he said from the Friends' headquarters in Philadelphia.

"I won't say that it was a cultural shock. She had her feet on the ground too firmly for that. But here was a kid from a family of wealth who always had everything, learning that life is damned difficult and that there is no way to break the cycle of poverty.

"She had a firmly developed sense of morality. I wouldn't call her a religious person but a moral person. She became increasingly depressed and concerned about the whole process of subjugation in Guatemala and the role that American influence played in keeping things that way.

"She saw the Indian villagers she was with living outside the economic system—60 percent of the people in subjugation.

"I'd be surprised if a person didn't get radicalized under those conditions," Dreyer said. "She was very intelligent and strong-willed and under the weight of her convictions, she acted.

"When I saw Diana the year after she left Guatemala she had joined SDS."

IT WAS after this experience that her trips home to Dwight became more strained and less frequent.

"The last thing we would have wanted was for her to settle back in Dwight," Oughton said. "We didn't want to hold her to our apron strings.

"I knew she had friends in radical politics and that she was traveling around the country organizing teach-ins. But even as late as the (1968) Democratic convention she refused to take part in violence.

"One of her sisters saw her in Chicago and Diana told her she was avoiding places where violence might break out. But Chicago seemed to crystallize people's political thoughts. Each side saw its own position vindicated by what happened," he said.

"She was always a quiet girl but after that she seemed to be even more withdrawn. I had to search around to find her from time to time and I'd go through SDS headquarters.

"I knew she was in Cuba for a while and she might have gone to North Vietnam, too. I'm really not sure, but I think she did.

"I think I started realizing then that her life was in danger. To take a position against your own government is a dangerous thing to do.

"She became close to Bill Ayers in the Weatherman. A nice guy, although more radical than Diana. His father is board chairman of Consolidated Edison in Chicago, you know."

ALTHOUGH it was just two days since he had received the 3 a.m. call about his daughter's death, Oughton spoke about her easily and undramatically. At times he slipped into the present tense when referring to her. But for the most part he almost seemed to be discussing someone who had died a long time ago.

"She played the piano and flute when she was a little girl and loved the opera," he said. "We'd go into Chicago to see plays and she always had a large circle of friends at the club here.

"The connection with violence was so odd to us. It was so out of character. She always seemed attracted to people of intellect and character who were accomplishing something. She was always more interested in co-operating instead of destroying."

When he got the news, Oughton called his daughter's death "a culmination."

"I'm sure she did this with a crystal clear conscience. There was nothing egocentric or self-centered about it.

"I know there will be a lot of discussion about my daughter's death and I want to make sure the facts about her are brought forth as quickly and clearly as possible. I don't want any misconceptions about her or her motivations.

"Maybe this is all a footnote to history. I know my social philosophy is unchanged. But in 50 years we might look back at it and see it from an entirely different angle. I won't be here to see it, but who can say."

Oughton put down his pipe and walked to the window of his office. Through a bitter, early spring rain he could see the lights burning in the living room of his home across the broad lawn of The Lodge.

His wife and three daughters would be there receiving the visitors who came by to offer condolences. There had even been a camera crew out of CBS in Chicago that filmed the house for the Walter Cronkite Evening News earlier that day.

"You know," Oughton said, facing the window, "if she had been bad, hard to manage, unpleasant in any way, it would have been easier.

"But there was never anything she did that didn't make us love her more."



**JAMES OUGHTON:** ". . . I can't help feel that it was such a waste."



*Diana at 11*



*Diana at 27*

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Brennan	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Walters	✓
Mr. Soyars	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

9/19/70

Hon. John N. Mitchell  
 Attorney General  
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

In connection with recent article in the N. Y. Daily News re hunting down members of the radical group responsible for past bombings across the country, I am enclosing the final news story re Diana Oughton, one of the main leaders of the Weathermen gang.

I am sure the F. B. I. would have no trouble in locating - Bill Ayers, Mark Rudd and the 2 girls who were seen leaving the Town House - Bomb Factory N. Y. City. It seems to me all the F. B. I. would have to do, would be to contact the various parents and ascertain what banks are forwarding dividends and monthly allowances from the tax dodging trust funds etc to the radicals listed above.

Very truly yours,



Flushing, N. Y. 11358

P.S. The authors of these articles Lucinda Franks and Thomas Powers seem to be well informed. It might be well to ascertain the source of their information.

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EX-103

*Handwritten signatures and initials:*  
 N. Mitchell  
 W. J. ...

OCT 14 1970

COPY:hcv



John W. McCall  
Attorney General  
Washington, D.C.

9/19/70

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The authors of these articles Very truly yours...

Lucinda Frankel and Thomas  
seems to be well informed.  
It might be well to ascertain  
the source of their information

[Redacted]  
Fleeting, N.Y. 11358

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THE MAKING OF A TERRORIST



The two faces of Diana—1968 and 1970

# A final family Christmas, a lull and then the blast

By LUCINDA FRANKS and THOMAS POWERS of United Press International

Last of a series

**D**URING THE LATE FALL of 1969 the Weathermen had few illusions about their ability to spark a revolution in the United States, but their fanaticism only seemed to increase as a result.

Diana Oughton, fundamentally gentle, had nevertheless been exhilarated by the violent days of rage in Chicago in October. In spite of their fear, their feyness and the hopelessness of their cause, the Weathermen had fought police and had not found their courage wanting. When Diana went to Washington for the Nov. 15 demonstration against the war, it was in an almost buoyant mood.

On the day of the march, Diana and her boyfriend, Bill Avers, their faces decorated with war paint, joined in an attack on the Department of Justice after the main rally.

That night Diana drove across Washington to visit her sister Pam and to meet Pam's husband for the only time. Diana was breathless and keyed up by the day's battle with police and said she felt the revolution was near.

Diana saw her family in Dwight, Ill., for the last time on Christmas Day, 1969. It was a special holiday for the Oughtons with caviar, aunts and uncles, lots of presents and a fir tree that reached the ceiling.

group's leaders—that she was no longer sure the young, the poor and the black would ever support the kind of revolution Weathermen were committed to making. Despite her doubts, however, Diana prepared to go underground with a small group of friends.

On Feb. 4, Diana appeared in court in Chicago and was fined \$150 for her part in the women's action the previous Oct. 9. Later that day she called a friend, and was invited for dinner.

When she arrived she looked tired, underfed and somehow "scruffier" than ever before. She was quiet during dinner, vague about what she was doing. In the past she always answered that question by saying, "high school organizing," now she did not even mention that.

The old liveliness and the sense of humor had disappeared completely. She seemed somber, sardonic, at moments almost heavy-hearted.

She told her friend that the 16 people in her collective had decided to break up into groups of four and five because of harassment by police, and when Diana left, she gave her friend a kiss, something she had not done for a long time, and urged her to keep in touch. She made a point of giving her the SDS address in Detroit, and a few days later, did something else uncharacteristic: she sent her friend a copy of the Weatherman manifesto with a note across the top:

"Karin—I'd love to talk to you about this—Love, Diana."

Carol said of course. Later Diana asked if she could send Carol some papers and personal items. "The pigs have been rifling our house," she said. "They aren't anything important but I just don't want anybody to find them."

A couple of days later a large envelope arrived. Carol did not open the envelope until after Diana's death. It contained letters from old friends, an address book, some pages from an appointment calendar, scraps of paper with names and addresses on them, papers about the family farm corporation, every document, in fact, which conceivably could have been used to identify her. *and friends*

The bomb which exploded a few minutes past noon on Friday, March 6, 1970, killing Diana and two other Weathermen in the townhouse at 18 West 11th Street, was a bomb designed to kill. It was made of dynamite surrounded by heavy metal nails which acted as shrapnel. The doctor who examined the remains of her body said she had been standing within a foot or two of the bomb when it exploded. It may, in fact, have gone off in her hands.

Four days after the explosion, bomb squad detectives found Diana's body. At the end of another week a detective discovered the tip of the little finger from a right hand. A print was matched later that day with a set of Diana's prints taken in Chicago following her arrest in October, 1969.

That evening the New York Police Department

Diana finally arrived after midnight, hours late, wearing blue jeans, a sweater and carrying a toothbrush and nightie in a paper sack. Mrs. Oughton was upset by Diana's thinness, her arms not much thicker than her wrists, but the family avoided talking about 'politics and other touchy subjects. Diana seemed happy to be home and asked all kinds of questions about the family, wanting to know what everybody was doing and what had been going on in Dwight.

Diana had not brought any presents for anyone but she seemed pleased, for the first time in years, by the presents she received—a shirt and slacks from her mother, a heavy fisherman's sweater from her sister Carol, other odds and ends.

The family pressed Diana to stay but she left immediately after dinner. Her father thought Diana felt threatened by the warmth of her family, as if her commitment to a life of denial and privation might be weakened if she remained at home too long.

That afternoon Diana returned to Flint, Mich., to help with final preparations for the Weatherman war council which began on Dec. 27.

During the four-day council in Flint, Weathermen leaders slipped away to meet secretly and debate the fate of the organization. The enormous legal difficulties which sapped their energies and finances following the days of rage, and the hostility of much of the radical movement, made it clear that "wild in the streets" was not a strategy that could be sustained. Before the council ended on Dec. 30, Weathermen leaders decided they should make a final break with American society and go underground.

**D**URING the following weeks the Weathermen collectives began breaking up into smaller groups. Members severed their relationships with friends and family and one by one began to disappear. It was not an easy decision to make. Breaking windows and making bombs were far different things, and Weathermen knew there would be no turning back.

Of the 400 people who attended the Flint council, fewer than 100 went underground. For those few, committed to the revolution above all else, it was a matter of logic. Community organizing had failed. Mass demonstrations had failed. Fighting in the streets had failed. Only terror was left.

The activities of Diana and the other Weathermen between the end of the Flint council and the bomb explosion in New York on March 6 are extremely difficult to reconstruct. People who knew what they were doing are naturally reluctant to talk and even the federal indictment handed up in Detroit in July gives only the barest outline of the alleged activities of the group's leaders.

Diana is connected with only three of the 21 overt acts cited in the indictment and those fall on two dates: Dec. 27, when the Flint council opened, and March 6, the date of her death.

A Weatherman who dropped out of the organization when it decided to go underground said that Diana had begun to question the policies of the

**B**EFORE going back to Detroit, Diana called her parents in Dwight and told them she had paid her fine with part of the bail money put up by her father and that she intended to keep the rest.

"You know, Diana," her mother said, hurt by her cold tone, "you're killing us both off."

"I'm sorry, Mummy," Diana said.  
"Not long afterwards Mrs. Oughton told a friend, "We have lost our daughter."

During her last weeks of life Diana was torn by conflict, determined not to falter and yet reluctant to make a final break with her friends and family.

On March 2, just four days before she died, Diana called her sister Carol in Washington. She asked lots of little questions about the family. Carol felt that perhaps Diana was beginning to move away from the violent politics of the Weathermen. About halfway through the conversation Diana asked: "Will the family stand by me, no matter what? Will they help me if I need it?"



Four days after the explosion that killed her, firemen carried the headless torso of Diana's body out of the wreckage of the townhouse where she had been living with other Weathermen.

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Dwight force then went to the Oughtons' house and told Mrs. Oughton her daughter was dead.

The only friend Diana contacted in Flint before she died was Alan Howard, whom she had known in Guatemala. Sometime that week, probably on Wednesday, Howard and Diana met. They talked about the Weathermen. Diana told him she still believed the only course open to American radicals was the building of a "Red Army" in the United States which would be part of the international army fighting for a world-wide revolution.

She admitted that the days of rage had been at least partly a failure, that the Flint war council had weakened the Weathermen even further, that the revolution was impossible without a mass base.

"Nevertheless, she insisted that her role was to physically fight in any way possible.  
"We have a lot to learn," she told Howard. "We'll make mistakes."

On Friday of that week one of those mistakes ended her life.