

September 29, 1970

REC-51 176-1674-10

EX-103

[Redacted]

Flushing, New York 11358

Dear [Redacted]

b7c

Handwritten notes:
176-15794-
176-15856-
105-191125-

Your letter dated September 19, 1970, addressed to the Attorney General enclosing a recent article which appeared in the New York "Daily News" has been referred to this Bureau.

The interest which prompted you to forward this information is very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-13-87 BY SP-10 SJK/ga

MAILED 24
SEP 29 1970
COMM-FBI

- 1 - Chicago - Enc.
- 1 - New York-Enc.
- 2 1 - Mr. McCarthy *detached*

Handwritten initials: Viper WBS

Handwritten initials: JLS

NOTE: No record in Bureau files identifiable with correspondent who forwarded an article from the New York "Daily News" of 9/19/70 which concerned Diana Oughton who, along with two others, died in a 3/6/70 explosion of a New York townhouse. The field has afforded close coverage to the family and to possible sources of funds of Weatherman subjects which is the substance of correspondent's letter.

- Tolson
- Sullivan
- Mohr
- Bishop
- Brennan C.D.
- Callahan
- Casper
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Tavel
- Walters
- Soyars
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

JBE:cm

(6)

54 OCT 20 1970

OCT 14 1970

Handwritten initials: J.P.

Handwritten initials: JLS

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

September 25, 1970

REC 85 ST 1021

105-177-56-16

67C

[Redacted]

Flushing, New York 11358

Dear [Redacted]:

Your letter of September 18th, with enclosures, which was addressed to the Attorney General has been referred to the FBI. I am appreciative of your thoughtfulness in furnishing the information you did and, in view of your interest, I am enclosing some material you may not have had an opportunity to read relating to some of the organizations involved in fomenting much of the unrest existing in our Nation today.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-11-81 BY SP-10SK/g

MAILED 24
SEP 25 1970
COMM-FBI

Enclosures (5)

- ✓ ROTC--Target of New Left Attack
- Forward to Chaos--Or the New Left in Action
- A Study in Marxist Revolutionary Violence: SDS, 1962-1969
- 3/5/70 Director's Testimony re Extremist Groups
- Modern-Day Campus Attilas or The SDS in Action

- Tolson _____
- Sullivan _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Brennan, C.D. _____
- Callahan _____
- Casper _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Tavel _____
- Walters _____
- Soyars _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

NOTE: There is no record of correspondent in Bufiles. Enclosures to his letter are clippings of a series of articles entitled "The Making of a Terrorist" concerning Diana Oughton, a new left activist killed in an explosion in New York City last spring.

MSR:mis (3)

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

OCT 23 1970

W.C. [Signature]

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten initials]

6
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-11-81 BY SP-1 GSK/ga

67c
[REDACTED]
Scotch Plains, N.J.
07076

Mr. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I believe that Diana Oughton (Recent SDS casualty) should be considered as a prime suspect in the killing of the Percy girl in Chicago. Miss Oughton had excellent knowledge of the Percy home as I understand the two families were well acquainted and old friends.

Motive? Well first of all, the Weatherman faction of the SDS does not need a motive for violence it seems. One only has to read their hysterical and violent teachings from their various meetings. I believe Miss Percy was killed because of her status in the so called "establishment". This was meant to show the power of the SDS or to prove the loyalty of the murderers to the cause. The Weatherman faction is very similar to the Manson Family group in that each one will try to outdo the other for the "Cause".

One other possibility is that Miss Percy was herself a member, secretly, and backed out due to her Fathers advancement in politics. I do not wish to believe this is true but he does not seem to have pushed the investigation to much (to my knowledge).

[REDACTED] I travel and read a lot and it is surprising that in all of the write-ups on the case I have not noticed the connection drawn between the two families. I believe this is significant. I noticed a short note on it on a back page of a New York Paper once id the...

REC-51 / 05-177356-17
If Diana Oughton didnt do it, I believe she helped one of the male members gain entry as any outside intruder would have attacked the girl before she arrived home.

Thank you.

EX-112

18 OCT 8 1970

67c [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
Scotch Plains, N.J.
07076

CORRESPONDENCE

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-124604

1 copy
OCT 12 1970

October 6, 1970

REC-51 *EX-112*
105-177356-17

[Redacted]

Scotch Plains, New Jersey 07076 *b7c*

Dear [Redacted]

o. 1
I received your letter on October 2nd. The interest which prompted you to write and furnish your suggestion and views is very much appreciated. The data you submitted will be furnished to the appropriate local authorities.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-11-81 BY SP-105/gra

- 1 - Chicago - Enclosure
Attention SAC: Furnish the pertinent contents of correspondent's letter to the appropriate local authorities. Bureau files contain no record of correspondent.
- 1 - Newark - Enclosure
- 1 - New York - Enclosure

NOTE: Diana Oughton was one of the three individuals killed in the Greenwich Village, New York, explosion last March 6, 1970. Bureau is not conducting an investigation/ⁱⁿ Percy matter. We cover out-of-state leads on rare occasions and afford the services of our Laboratory.

FMG:ajh (6)

- Tolson _____
- Sullivan _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Brennan, C.D. _____
- Callahan _____
- Casper _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Tavel _____
- Walters _____
- Soyars _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

OCT 12 1970

OCT 23 1970 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 105-132604-

Handwritten signatures and initials: TSK, Gene, etc.

THE MAKING OF A TERRORIST—PART THREE

The Washington Daily News, Wednesday, Sept. 16, 1970

Diana, in despair, takes the revolution road

Diana Oughton, the rich girl who became a revolutionary, moved to Ann Arbor, Mich., in 1966, where she helped set up a controversial experimental school for youngsters. When it closed, she grew more embittered against The Establishment and became an active worker and organizer for radical student causes.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-11-87 BY SP-165/100
2/11/88

BY LUCINDA FRANKS and
THOMAS POWERS

The 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 new air of melancholy. She seemed to have lost some of her sense of humor and her taste for clowning around.

After living in a single room with a dirt floor and no plumbing or electricity, Diana found it hard to adjust to the luxury of the Dwight estate. Her family's way of life made her uneasy.

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

Diana 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 were "just trying to pick up an extra 100 bucks a week."

In the spring of 1969, Diana left Philadelphia and enrolled in the University of Michigan and school to get her master's degree in teaching. She again lived frugally, ate little, and refused to let her father give her money.

Senseless violence

"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."

A variety of influences played on Diana in Ann Arbor. Opposition to the Vietnam war was growing, many young people were feeling despondent about the failure of mass peaceful demonstrations to change American policy. There was a feeling that Bob Dylan's prophecy of "A Hard Rain's Gonna Fall" was coming true; there were riots in the urban ghettos; senseless, freak violence like the murder of eight nurses in Chicago and the massacre of 16 persons by a deranged gunman from a tower at the University of Texas. Mrs.

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

The school's goals were to create an integrated student body and a classroom where the children would choose what they wanted to learn. There were no classes or grades and the kids wandered from room to room, free to choose from among sand tables, clay, blocks and books. A child was taught to read or write only if he wanted to learn.

Diana plunged herself into

- The Washington Post _____
- Times Herald _____
- The Washington Daily News 44
- The Evening Star (Washington) _____
- The Sunday Star (Washington) _____
- Daily News (New York) _____
- Sunday News (New York) _____
- New York Post _____
- The New York Times _____
- The Sun (Baltimore) _____
- The Daily World _____
- The New Leader _____
- The Wall Street Journal _____
- The National Observer _____
- People's World _____
- Examiner (Washington) _____

Date 9-16-70

3-1
105-177356-A
NOT RECORDED

TOP CLIPPING
DATED 10-29-70 F312
FROM Editorial Dept
66 NOV 12 1970

INCT-23

47 NOV 4 1970

make the school a success. She made local brochures and designed a button with the slogan: "Children are only never." Three years later, some of her children put the same button, pinned to the bouquet of flowers, on the site of the bombed-out New York townhouse where she was killed.

Bill and Diana eventually began to live together in an attic room near the university. Like most of the men Diana had liked, 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 constantly. Members of her family felt her ideas, which were becoming steadily more progressive, were a reflection of his.

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

Running wild

The community school had begun to attract considerable attention by the end of 1967, and had expanded to second grade level. Despite its early acclaim, the school began running into severe problems in the spring of 1968. The American Friends Committee complained that the kids were running wild, marking up the walls, and damaging property in their basement.

Two professors withdrew their children, saying that the black students were dominating the school and terrorizing the white children. Then the Office of Economic Opportunity board in Ann Arbor, which had financed the school, voted not to renew its grant.

When the school ran into still other problems because of state zoning regulations, Bill and Diana, too disappointed to go on, became more active in the Ann Arbor chapter of Students for a Democratic Society.

In June, 1968, they attended an SDA convention in East Lansing where a sharp split was emerging between the progressive labor party

and the cultural revolutionaries like Bill and Diana.

After the convention, Diana and Bill spent part of the summer in Chicago working in the SDS national office where they had intense political discussions with Mike Klonsky, an SDS national officer, and Bernardine Doherty, a later leader of the Weathermen. Diana and Bill became convinced that direct action rather than education and peaceful reform was the way to change society.

Diana was deeply affected by the demonstrations at the Democratic Party convention that August. What she and the SDS and eventually the Walker Commission saw was a "police riot."

They returned to Ann Arbor that fall in an activist mood. At the first meeting of the SDS, a sharp division in the group was apparent. Diana and Bill and about 40 other radicals banded together to form what they called "The Jesse James Gang."

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. They often let it be known that their opponents were risking physical beatings.

Bill Ayers, Diana at his side, spoke against the failure of education to change people. "We are tired of tiptoeing up to society and asking for reform. We're ready to kick it in the balls," he told one opponent. ✓

Intellectual force

The behind-the-scenes leader of the Jesse James Gang was a 35-year-old man named Jim Mellon who appeared out of nowhere. No one knew where he had gone to school, why he had come to the University of Michigan. Although he was the major intellectual force behind the gang, he carefully avoided any position of formal authority. A rumor began circulating that he was an agent provocateur sent by the CIA to destroy the SDS and the radical movement in Michigan.

Two months later, after helping to write the Weathermen manifesto and playing a part in the 1968 SDS convention which destroyed the organization, Jim Mellon faded from the radical scene as mysteriously as he had arrived.

Jim Mellon was James Gang. He had come to Ann Arbor within the SDS chapter at Ann Ar-

bor. Through psychological warfare and vague threats of violence, the gang had captured the single most important SDS chapter in Michigan, which gave them a powerful voice in the national organization.

The gang carried out few actions, but once they held a demonstration while the university's president was giving a speech inside a building. 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."

Bill Ayers rose to a position of strength within the gang because of his ability to dominate groups. Handsome and brash, he was a notorious lady's man who did not hide his promiscuity from Diana. Also hurt by Bill's infidelity, she redoubled her efforts to be a true revolutionary.

Gracious and tactful

In November, 1968, Diana became a regional organizer for the SDS in Michigan, not fully aware that the appointment was an attempt by national SDS to head off criticism by the just-born women's lib movement that SDS was "male chauvinist."

Diana's upbringing made her an asset to the gang. 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. On Dec. 9, 1968, 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 thru a process of conscious choice and that I've thought about it a lot and people I admire agree with me, educationally people I admire agree with me, educationally important, recognized and respected people . . .

3-2

Change to come

"I feel like a moral person. Most people my age or even younger have already sold out to materialism, status, hypocrisy, stepping on other people, etc. I feel like a Vanguard, that we speak of important change to come..."

In October, 1968, Diana and Kathy Boudin, believed to have been one of the two girls who ran from the house after the bomb explosion which killed Diana, went to dinner at the Chicago apartment of an old college friend of Diana's, Maria Rosenberg.

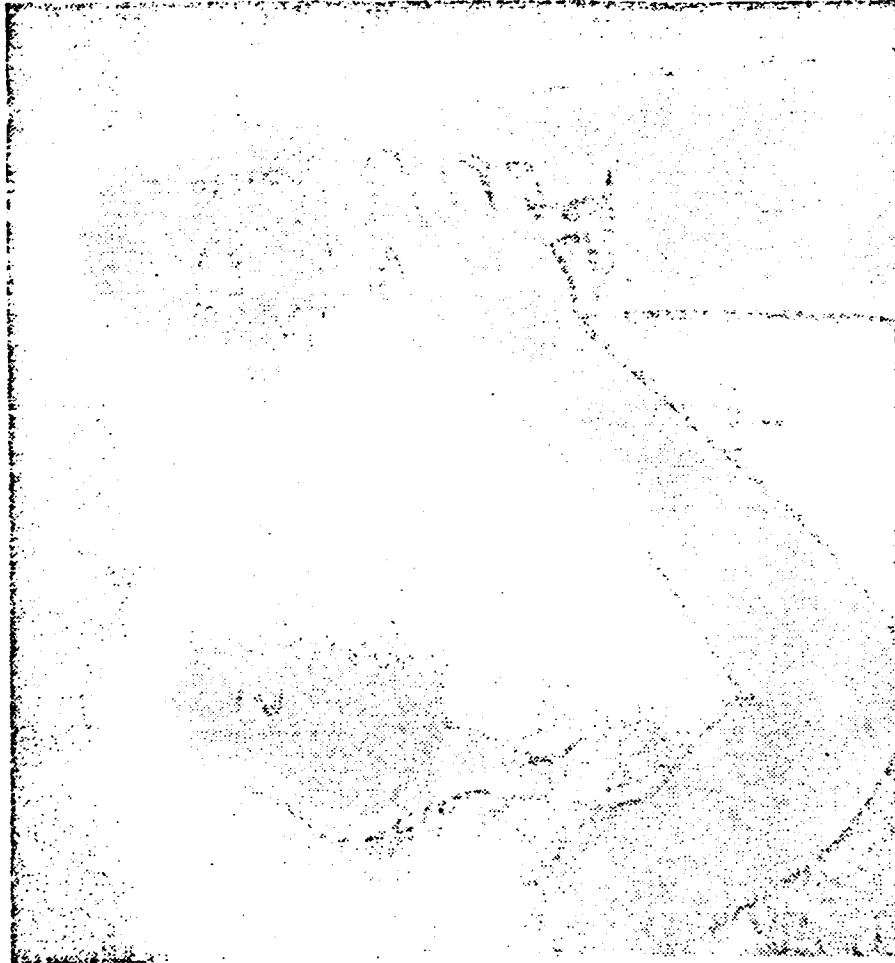
During dinner Diana got into a long, heated argument about politics with Maria's husband Merrill, a liberal who agreed with some of SDS's goals but not with its methods.

"How can you think that way and then do nothing?" Diana asked. Merrill became angry and defensive. "If you're serious about bringing on a revolution," he said, with a strong implication he did not think she was, "then you are going to have to throw bricks."

Next: Weathermen and violence



The three faces of Diana



— PI Photos

Diana surprised and delighted her parents by agreeing to attend a cousin's debutante party in 1967. Dressed in formal clothes for perhaps the last time before her death she toasted her father with champagne. Then it was back to teaching children at Ann Arbor, right. When the Children's Community School finally broke up, Diana donned headband and took up microphone for the cause, change in America.

The making of a terrorist — Part two

Diana helps the Indians

and blows her mind

Diana Gughton, member of one of the first families of Dwight, Ill., wealthy and educated, a conservative Republican at one time, died in an explosion in a revolutionaries' "bomb factory" in New York. This is the second of five articles which explain who Diana was, what she was, and what contributed to the change in her life.

By LUCINDA FRANKS and THOMAS POWERS

Copyright 1970, by United Press International

By the time she graduated from Bryn Mawr in June 1967, Diana Gughton had traveled among the poor in Europe and worked with children in one of Philadelphia's decaying ghettos. But she did not really begin to learn about poverty until she went to Guatemala.

When she filled out a form after being accepted by the Quaker-run, Voluntary International Service Assignments program, she put a single word after the heading marked experience: "None."

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

Diana was struck by the gaudy vitality of the town, the brightly-colored shawls of the Indians, the rambling streets, whitewashed buildings, church bells and surrounding jungle, a dense tangle of vines and undergrowth and towering trees. She was delighted by the market where Indians came to sell cakes of brown sugar, earthenware, hand-woven cloth, firewood, vegetables and freshly-killed goats, pigs and chickens.

Ways to help

Gradually, Diana began to see other things, the Indians' bad health, their short stature, the small, child-sized coffins sold in such numbers.

Diana plunged into work, helping local priests to launch a nutritional program, editing a newspaper for adults who were just learning to read, and helping to care for children.

She went shopping in the market two or three times a week, learning to bargain over carrots and cabbages, and she began to know and respect Father Jose Maria Casas, an energetic middle-aged man who had helped the Indians for many years.

After Diana had been living in Guatemala for several months she met Alan Howard, a young Fulbright scholar in Guatemala City. He was running an experimental 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 her work, Alan said it would never end the poverty of the Indians.

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

Whenever Diana was in the capital, she would spend the evening with Alan, talking about the peaceful revolution seen by the Quakers and the violent revolution already underway in the mountains to the East. His views were shared by one of Diana's Guatemalan friends who prescribed violence even more bluntly. "What this country needs," he told Diana, "is to line up the 50 first families against the white wall."

Failure and frustration

Diana 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

- The Washington Post _____
- Times Herald _____
- The Washington Daily News 12
- The Evening Star (Washington) _____
- The Sunday Star (Washington) _____
- Daily News (New York) _____
- Sunday News (New York) _____
- New York Post _____
- The New York Times _____
- The Sun (Baltimore) _____
- The Daily World _____
- The New Leader _____
- The Wall Street Journal _____
- The National Observer _____
- People's World _____
- Examiner (Washington) _____

SEP 15 1970

NOT RECORDED

47 NOV 4 1970

66 NOV 12 1970

TOP CLIPPING

DATED

8-29-70

AND INITIALS

2-7

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

Jy

F-32

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. She and Ann Aicman, another VISA volunteer, had been exposed to the country's conservative roots as soon as they arrived; the priests warned them that discussion of birth control or other subjects considered sensitive by the Roman Catholic church was forbidden.

But both girls gradually began to see that no matter how hard they or Father Casas worked, there would always be more people than food or jobs or homes.

"Father Casas is one of the finest men I've ever met, but he's a fool, too," she once said to Mike Kimmell, another VISA volunteer living about 15 miles from Chichicastenango.

Diana told Mike that she sometimes doubted she would ever make a difference in the lives of the Indians. Sometimes she took pride in having taught 50 or more Indian men to read Spanish, but then she would think, so what? The country is still 70 per cent illiterate.

Rare eye disease

Despite her doubts, Diana committed herself totally to her work. When two Indian children contracted a rare eye disease Diana kept prodding the sluggish Guatemalan bureaucracy until operations for the children could be arranged in the capital. When she developed asthma, she tried to ignore it. During severe attacks Diana would simply go to bed and wait until they had passed.

Once she was bitten by a dog the whole town considered rabid, but refused to get rabies shots, saying she couldn't spare the time.

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

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

Her disinterest in clothes was part of a broader dislike for traditional middle class amenities. She said what was on her mind and tended to be brusque with people she didn't like.

Gradually Diana began to feel that American economic aid was consolidating the control

of Guatemala's ruling families without ever reaching the mass of the people.

The American influence seemed to reach everywhere. Diana knew that the American Central Intelligence Agency 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.

Diana was also growing to hate American tourists who came to Chichicastenango and stayed at the Mayan Inn, where they spent enough in a week to support an Indian family for a year. She hated the Americans' gaudy clothes, their broken Spanish, their silly questions, the way they snapped pictures of the Indians.

She began to hate doing the marketing because the Americans would always spot her blond head above the crowd and come over to ask what in the world an American girl was doing in such a Godforsaken spot.

Extravagant spending

Her distaste for American extravagance was also directed at her friends. When an old college friend and her husband, both heirs to large fortunes, visited Guatemala, Diana was disgusted by their complaints about the food and water and by their extravagant spending. "My God," Diana said afterwards, "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. For weeks before they came to visit her during the Easter holidays of 1964, Diana worried that they would shatter in a moment the image she had worked a year to create.

She didn't care what her parents did or how they lived in Guatemala City, where no one knew her, but she couldn't bear to have them behave like visiting aristocrats in Chichicastenango.

Before they arrived she made them promise they would stay at the cheapest of the town's three hotels, not the Mayan Inn. During the visit, her parents were always aware of Diana's tenseness. She was impatient with their occasional discomfort and constantly afraid they would anger or insult the people she worked with.

Later, she wrote them and apologized: "I had forgotten how long it took me to adjust to life here."

Shortly before she left 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

...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 or 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."

Flattering offer

When 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 Aid for International Development official offered her a job, Diana was flattered but refused.

She had largely accepted Alan's argument that American and Guatemalan interests were directly opposed. Working for AID would inevitably put her on the side of Guatemalan aristocrats.

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

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

On New Year's Eve in 1967, Diana met Mike Kimmell for dinner in New York. "I'll drive," Diana said when he started to get on his big BMW motorcycle.

"You're crazy," Mike said, but Diana insisted. He finally agreed and she started him by expertly kicking the machine to life and then maneuvering thru New York traffic until the icy December air began to hurt her gloveless hands. After dinner she flew back to Ann Arbor, Mich., where she was helping to run an experimental school with a handsome, charming radical named Bill Ayers. Mike never saw her again.

An interesting game

In November, 1968, Diana wrote him to say the experimental school had folded and that she was thinking of becoming a fulltime organizer for Students for a Democratic Society. She included a quote from D. H. Lawrence which referred indirectly to a discussion she and Mike 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."

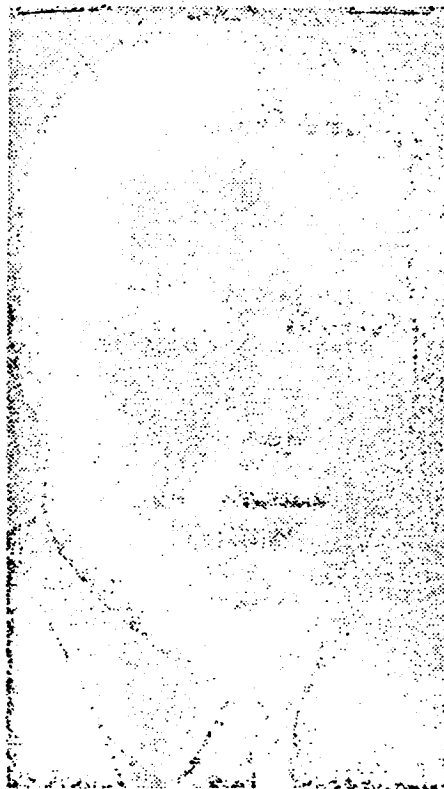
"With her money, she can afford to think that way," was Mike's reaction.

Later, remembering the way Diana had worked in Guatemala, he decided his first reaction had been wrong. She had not been telling the truth, that out of embarrassment she had been trying to disguise her almost pathological seriousness and devotion to hard work, and that in fact Diana always did what she thought was her duty, whether or not she liked it.

NEXT: Ann Arbor and an 'important change . . .



The Oughtons received this picture of Diana working with the children in Chichicastenango in 1966. The picture was sent after Diana died by a friend who had known her in Guatemala.



Diana met Alan Howard, shown in a 1963 picture at Hamilton College, while working in Guatemala.

UPI teed delves into young radicals

The story of Diana Oughton, a 12,000-word report in five parts, will be moved to United Press International client newspapers for publication starting September 11.

UPI editor Roger Tatarian has called the investigative work of two young staff writers "a journalistic enterprise of great importance."

For almost a month, Lucinda Franks and Tom Powers have been at work in three states assembling the report, titled

"The Story of Diana: The Making of a Terrorist."

Diana Oughton was one of three persons killed last March 6 when an explosion destroyed a New York residence that had been turned into a bomb factory by a group calling themselves the Weathermen. Miss Oughton, who was 28 years old, was suspected of being a principal bomb maker.

Both Miss Franks, 24, and Powers, 29, have specialized in
(Continued on page 12)

Young radicals

(continued from page 11)

coverage of youth. Miss Franks, now on the UPI London staff, came to New York specially to team with Powers on this assignment. Powers is a member of the New York staff.

Miss Oughton came from a small town—Dwight, Ill.—and grew up with all the advantages that wealth and a devoted family could provide. She was educated at fashionable schools, including Bryn Mawr.

The UPI reporters set out to find how a girl with this background became a maker of bombs for a movement bent on destroying the system that gave her so much. They interviewed Miss Oughton's family and friends. They traveled thousands of miles visiting cities where she had worked or gone to school or had been especially active as a radical.

The Franks-Powers inquest lead into a probing of the Students for a Democratic Society, the movement that gave rise to the Weathermen.

"It amazed us to find," Powers said, "that the U. S. actually has an underground revolutionary terrorist movement. These young radicals are coldly rational in their hate for 'the system' which they believe has betrayed them. Their actions are a response to an inner rage."

"We are also surprised at the number of young non-activists unwilling to be terrorists themselves but who take pleasure in each bombing."

"The Weathermen's capacity for terrorist acts is still there," Powers said. "The movement is underground, but it is by no means dead."

Powers said that his and Miss Franks' chief obstacle in approaching some young radicals was that they represented "the hated establishment press." Many contacts were on a far-tive basis, with meetings on street corners.

Powers recalled that one day he and Miss Franks talked for six hours with a known close friend of Diana Oughton who confirmed what they had learned from underground sources but would not permit use of his name. This included information about the almost incredible inner life of the young radicals' secret communes.

"The Franks-Powers reportage," Tatarian said, "adds up to a compelling documentary of a disturbing and continuing aspect of the American scene today—how intelligent young people, often, like Diana, from affluent homes, become such dedicated agents of destruction."

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

105-177356
file 5-DR

EDITOR & PUBLISHER
August 29th, 1970
Page 11

105-177246-A
NOT RECORDED

MCT-23

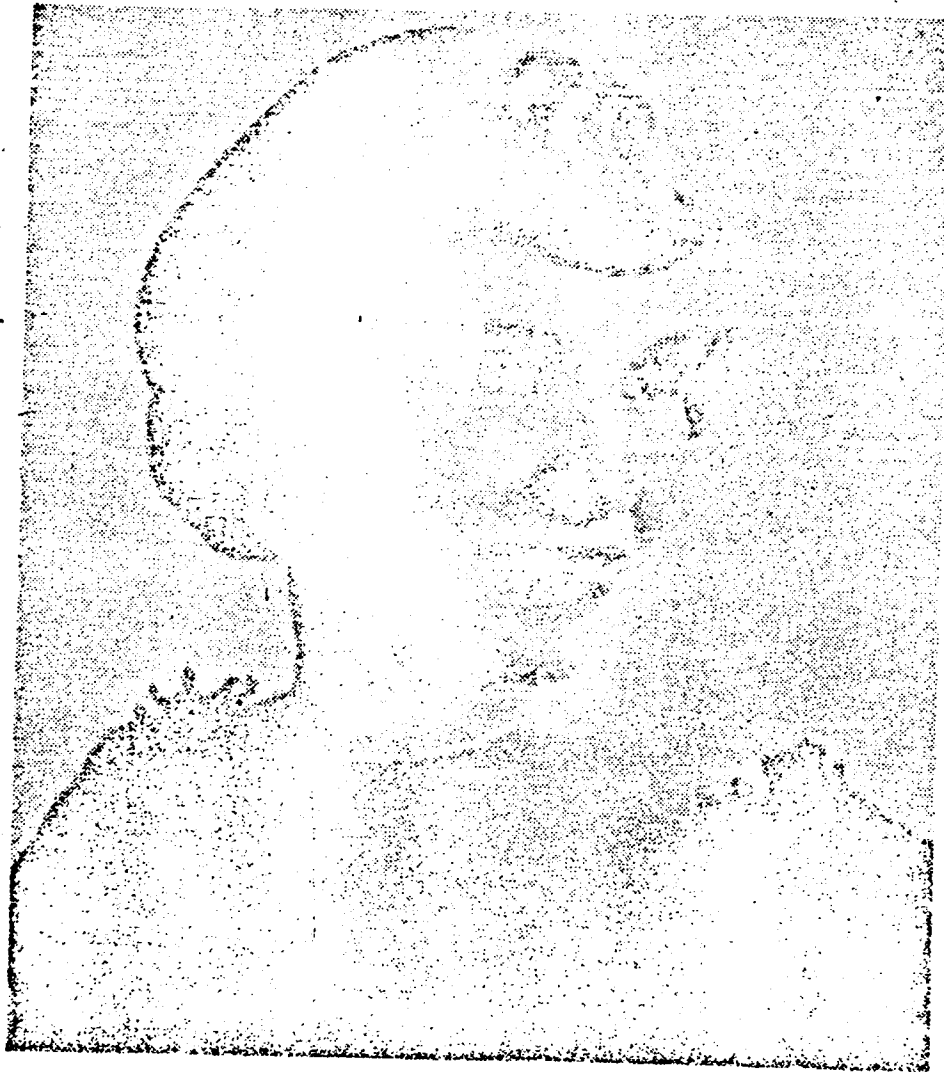
47 NOV 4 1970

66 NOV 12 1970

F-312

THE STORY OF DIANA: THE MAKING OF A TERRORIST

*They buried her, but
they still don't know her*



Diana Oughton, at 14 (above), was brighter and prettier than most. —UPI Photo

*Washington Daily News
9-14-70 p. 12*

*2
1-1*

East March 6, in the wake of an outbreak of bombings of public buildings in New York City, an explosion destroyed a townhouse in Greenwich Village. The townhouse was being used as a "bomb factory" by revolutionaries. Two young women, their clothes blown off, were seen running from the scene and then disappeared. Two young men and a woman were killed in the blast. It took police four days to find the body of the woman. She was Diana Oughton. The story of Diana, carefully and painstakingly sought out by two United Press International reporters over a period of weeks, is told in five articles of which this is the first.

By LUCINDA FRANKS and
THOMAS POWERS

Copyright 1970, United Press International

When Diana Oughton, dead at 23, was buried in Dwight, Ill., on Tuesday, March 24, 1970, the family and friends who gathered at her grave did not really know who she was.

The minister explained Diana's death as part of the violent history of the times. The full truth is not so simple.

The newspapers had provided a skeleton of facts. Diana Oughton and two young men were killed March 6 in a bomb explosion which destroyed a townhouse in New York's Greenwich Village.

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 a grand jury indictment as part of a conspiracy to bomb police, military, and other civic buildings in their determination 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 their own memories. Diana's father, James Oughton, had watched her wrench herself away from a closely knit family.

Her governess, Ruth Morehart, remembered how uneasy Diana felt about the money which set the Oughtons apart and how, when only 6, she had asked: "Ruthie, why do we have to be rich?"

Carol, her sister, recalled the last phone call, days before Diana's death, and the voice that asked: "Will the family stand by me, no matter what?"

Diana's mother, Jane Oughton, wonders whether her daughter had been making the bomb that killed her.

A girl of many faces

There seem to have been many Dianas. There had been the small-town girl who had grown up with an abundance of good things — a luxurious home, superior schooling and people who loved and encouraged her to be anything in the world she wanted to be. There had been the frothy, slightly scatterbrained student at Bryn Mawr College, the self-denying teacher in an impoverished Guatemalan market town, and finally the Diana that no one in Dwight really knew or understood — the serious, closely-shorn woman whose mug shots appeared on police files in at least two cities.

Diana never stopped loving her family, but the bomb which accidentally killed her is thought to have been assigned to her to kill them and their kind. If its stated objectives were achieved, the revolution she allegedly 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.

Now that Diana is dead, now that many memories are being revived, it becomes easier to understand why she became what she did and died as she did. This account of her life is based on long and frank conversations with members of her family, with her friends, associates, teachers and acquaintances over a period of several weeks. Some of the sources were young people involved in the radical movement. Some were clearly fugitives.

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 honored men.

One of Diana's great grandfathers 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 Dartmouth graduate, served in the Illinois legislature from 1964 to 1966. His holdings, which make him one of the wealthiest men in the state, include 4,000 acres of corn and soybeans, 100 head of cattle, several farmhouses, a restaurant, and part ownership of the bank in Dwight.

Diana 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, furnished land for the schools and athletic fields. Townsfolk still talk of the 1860 visit to Dwight by King Edward VIII, then Prince of Wales, who shot wild turkey and planted a tree on the Oughton estate. They remember the Rolls Royces which filled the driveways of the Keeley Institute before it closed a few years ago; the wealthy and famous people who came for the "Keeley cure."

Diana grew up as a farm girl, huntress and horsewoman. She hunted pheasant and was the best shot in the family, drove the tractor thru the cornfields 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 high school senior.

Her father, a handsome, well-read gentleman who is nearly blind from a hereditary ailment, and her tall and gracious mother, Jane, liked to keep the dinner conversations lively and encouraged their children to discuss at home what they learned in school.

The Oughton estate is a landmark in Dwight. On one side sits the huge, brick, tudor-style home with swimming pool, deer park and a small vegetable garden where the family gets the first corn of the season. On the other side there is a lodge full of antiques, a full suit of armor and tapestry, and a restaurant which serves superb prime beef and homemade strawberry shortcake. Behind the lodge and the family home there is a wood studded with trees imported from the Orient and an old windmill which can be seen miles away.

Diana's childhood was sheltered and her

upbringing strict. Her family's multi-million dollar fortune made Diana 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.

As Diana grew older she took a dislike for frilly clothes, for dressing up and going to parties. Sometimes, she gave her allowance to her sisters; altho they all got the same amount, Diana always seemed to have some left at the end of the week.

At 14, Diana left Dwight for the first time, to finish her high school years at the Madeira school at Greenway, Va., near Washington. There she mixed with the daughters of rich and prominent families, and often spent weekends at the homes of the Rockefeller and the Days of Connecticut. Diane went to football games and 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.

Early Nixon supporter

When Diana, walked onto the suburban, spreading campus of Bryn Mawr just outside Philadelphia in the fall of 1959 she was a tall, bony girl with short blond hair and long aristocratic ears. A midwestern Republican, she was against Social Security, federal banking regulations and everything else which smacked of "liberalism" or "big" government. In 1960, she supported Richard M. Nixon against John F. Kennedy. She ardently defended her father's ownership of tenant farms in Licksillet, Ala. -- 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 not scholarly and studied reluctantly, but still managed to get As and Bs. 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 boys.

"It wasn't that she was particularly beautiful," said one man who knew her. "She had a round face and a funny nose, but she was so sharp and kind of glowing that everyone fell half in love with her."

Back home in Dwight, she was the pride of the family. James Oughton pointed to Diana as an example for her sisters and took keen pleasure in her quick mind and her ability to grasp and understand ideas long after others were still absorbing them.

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

Her letters to her parents were filled with accounts of people she met and their conversations. She spoke of a 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."

While in Germany, the 19-year-old Diana began to develop a new consciousness of her country, its people and its problems. When she met some relatives in Rome toward the end of her stay, she suddenly saw them in a different

"I just sat wide-eyed and listened," she said in a letter to her parents in the spring of 1962, a few months after her 21st birthday. "I didn't know people like this existed. She (the relative) doesn't like anyone who hasn't a proper pedigree . . . Talking about poor me surrounded by all these German peasants, that Nuremberg was the center of world communism. I was amazed."

Politics was still incidental to Diana's life, however. She was still a fun-loving college girl, gay and cocky. She refused to wear glasses out of admitted vanity and had trouble recognizing people more than a few yards away. She was casual and scatterbrained and once made a special trip to Wurttemberg only to blurt out when she got there: "My God, I've seen this castle before."

Diana's senior year at Bryn Mawr in 1962-63 was a year of change for young people thruout the country. John F. Kennedy's promise in 1960 to "get the country moving again" had ended once and for all the silence of the fifties. social justice and racial prejudice and turned away from deb parties and champagne in the back of a fast car.

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.

Tutored ghetto children

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 thru the Deep South disguised as a Negro. Diana was strongly affected by it and joined a project in Philadelphia to tutor black ghetto children.

Altho tutors were supposed to be limited to one child each, Diana soon had three. She took a train from Bryn Mawr into the city two days a week and spent more and more time with the children she was helping. There are few Negroes in Dwight; there was only one in her class at Bryn Mawr. Inevitably, the Philadelphia ghettos began to show Diana that the prosperous tranquility of Dwight was not the rule in America.

Like thousands of other students touched by the new mood in the country, Diana often spent long evenings discussing what was wrong and how to make it right. She began going out with that one friend called "sad-souled men" and showed less interest in the Princeton football players who still came to see her.

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 reads: "The milkmaid from Dwight who's always on a diet . . . Traveled 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.

(NEXT: Two years among the Indians in Guatemala.)

THE MIAO (A TERRORIST—PART 1)

The mistake that ended

Diana's Revolution . . .

Late in 1969, the radical and violent Weathermen began to splinter into small groups and go underground. Among those who chose this route was Diana Oughton. Not long afterwards, Diana and two Weathermen were killed while making crude bombs in a New York townhouse. This final article in the series tells of the last days of Diana.

By LUCINDA FRANKS and THOMAS POWERS

United Press International
(Copyright, 1970)

Diana Oughton, fundamentally gentle, had been exhilarated by the violent days of rage in Chicago in October, 1969. When she came to Washington for the massive Nov. 15 demonstration against the war, she was in an almost buoyant mood.

The night before, Diana's boy friend, Bill Ayers, went to the Moratorium headquarters and tried to shake down the group for \$20,000 to help cover legal expenses. He was asked what the Weathermen program was.

"Kill all the rich people," Bill answered. "Break up their cars and apartments."

"But aren't your parents rich?" he was asked.

"Yeah," he said. "Bring the revolution home, kill your parents, that's where it's really at."

The Moratorium said it didn't have \$20,000 to spare and the following day Bill and Diana, their faces decorated with war paint, joined in a march on the Department of Justice after the main rally.

It was the last time the Weathermen found a kind of fun in politics, before turning to a politics of terror which had no room for the humor that called for war paint.

Diana saw her family in Dwight, Ill., for the first 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. Diana had called to say she would be there but the family, disappointed so often in the past, was not really sure she would come.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-11-81 BY SP-1 GSK/90

A paper sack

She arrived after midnight, hours late, wearing blue jeans and a borrowed sweater and carrying a toothbrush and nightie in a paper sack. Mrs. Oughton was upset by Diana's thinness — her arms were 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.

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, other odds and ends.

The family pressed Diana to stay, but she left immediately after Christmas dinner, as abruptly as she always had. Her father thought she had 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

Washington Daily News
9-18-70 p.

105-171356-A
NOT RECORDED

47 NOV 4 1970

F312
TOP CLIPPINGS
DATED 10-29-70
FROM Editor and Publisher
MARKED FILE AND INITIALED
66 NOV 12 1970

5-1

Weatherman war council which began on Dec. 27, a well-publicized meeting that attracted as much attention from the Flint police and the FBI as from the radical movement.

Mark Rudd, a persuasive, witty speaker, described Weatherman as a kind of political joyride, an explosion of creative energy made possible by total commitment to revolution and an end to the "bourgeois" fear of violence.

A roller coaster

"It's a wonderful feeling to hit a pig," he said with the tone of a boy describing his first trip on a roller coaster. "It must really be a wonderful feeling to kill a pig or blow up a building."

For many of those at the council, however, the talk of violence was oppressive and degrading, not liberating. Much of the argument in favor of violence centered on the killing of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton by Chicago police on Dec. 4, 1969. Weathermen argued that the entire radical movement should have taken to the streets and avenged Hampton's death.

Others found a certain ambivalence in this, since Hampton had denounced the Weathermen as "anarchistic, adventuristic . . . masochistic and Custeristic" during the days of rage.

When Weathermen insisted they were fighting on the side of blacks, their words rang false. Radical black groups had turned against the organization. Despite its efforts to recruit blacks, it was as lily-white as the Mississippi Highway Patrol.

During the four-day council, Weathermen leaders slipped away to meet secretly in a seminary where they debated the fate of the organization. They decided to make a final break with American society and go underground.

Matter of logic

During the following weeks the Weatherman collectives began breaking up into smaller groups. Members severed their relationships with friends and family and one by one began to disappear.

The policy of the Weathermen was that every member would participate, so far as possible, in every illegal act, whether obtaining, making or planting explosives. They knew their chances of a normal life were being irretrievably put behind them. They knew they might have to die. 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.

On Feb. 4, Diana called her friend, Karin Rosenberg, and was invited for dinner. "Is it safe?" she asked, knowing that Karin lived on the edge of a Negro ghetto in Chicago.

Karin said of course, and asked Diana if she were serious.

Quiet and v.

"You don't know how deep the hate of the black man is," Diana said.

When she arrived she looked tired, underfed and somehow "scruffier" than ever before. She was quiet during dinner, vague about what she was doing.

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

Before going back to Detroit, Diana called her parents in Dwight. "You know, Diana," her mother said, "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 Monday, March 2, 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 thru the conversation Diana asked: "Will the family stand by me, no matter what? Will they help me if I need it?"

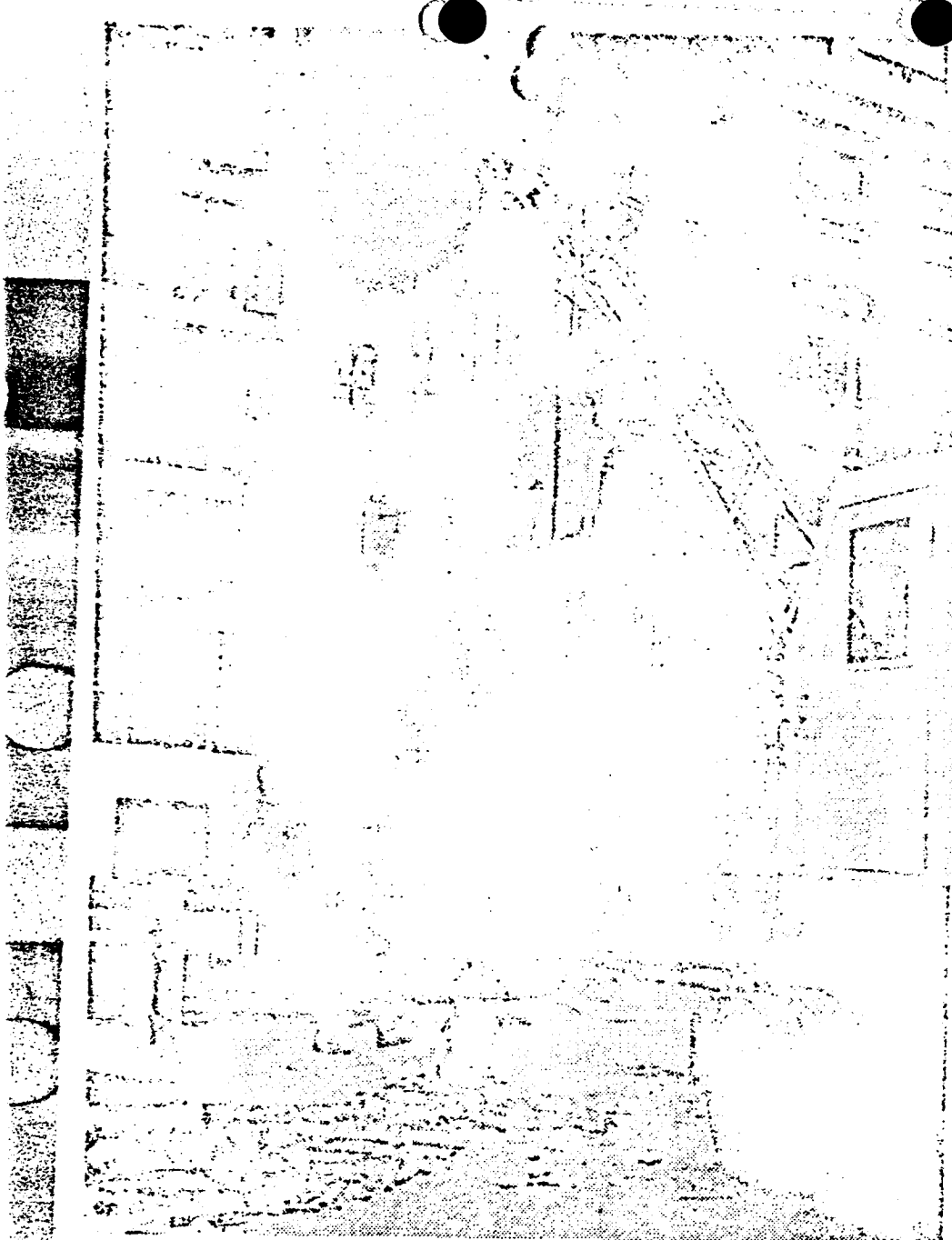
Carol said of course.

Summertime soldiers

It was no accident that the Weathermen were the children of the privileged classes of America. From the very beginning of the student movement, when white students organized to support black sit-in demonstrations in 1960, the strength of their commitment was subject to ridicule and attack. Their defensive parents and teachers, their non-political friends, the public officials who always hoped they would back to their studies, even, most painfully, the blacks they were trying to help, all suggested scornfully that white activists were summertime soldiers who would retreat into the middle-class womb which had created them whenever the going became hard.

There was no way white students could defend themselves against this charge. The police might hit them over the head but the courts treated them indulgently and they would always be welcomed back by the establishment, perhaps even valued more highly for the spunk they had shown before settling down.

It was not until they became criminals that the Weathermen proved their commitment. They could not believe in themselves until they had turned against the middle class world which had made them. It was their country,



The 19th century townhouse where the Weathermen were making bombs was leveled by the explosion and fire which followed. Police, sifting thru the rubble, found 57 sticks of dynamite, four finished bombs, detonators and timing devices.

3 5.3

... class, their families, even their...
... they considered the enemy.

The bomb which exploded a few...
past noon on Friday, March 6, 1970, ki...
Diana and two other Weathermen in the...
house at 18 West 11-st in New York was...
signed to kill. It was made of dynamite...
rounded by heavy metal nails which acted...
shrapnel.

The doctor who examined the remains...
Diana's body said she had been standing w...
in a foot or two of the bomb when it explo...
It may, in fact, have gone off in her hands

Four days after the explosion, detecti...
found Diana's body near a workbench in...
rubble-filled basement of the devastated to...
house. At the end of another week a detect...
discovered the tip of the little finger from...
right hand. A print taken by a police dep...
ment expert was matched later that day w...
a set of Diana's prints in the Washington fi...
of the FBI.

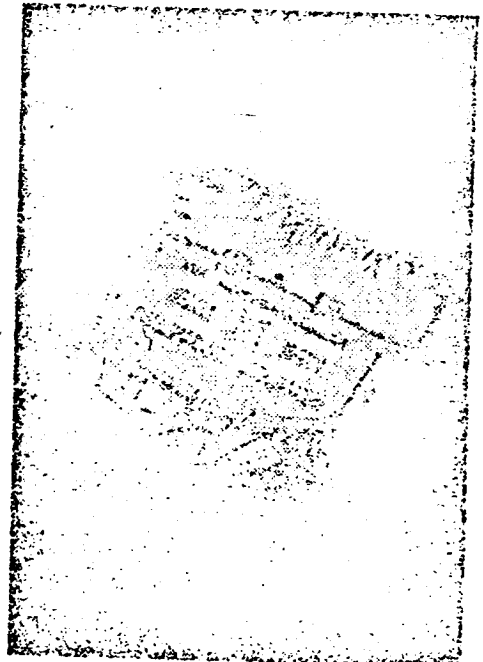
A last meeting

That evening the New York Police Depa...
ment called the tiny police force in Dwight...
member of the Dwight force then went to t...
Oughton's house on South-st and told Mr...
Oughton her daughter was dead.

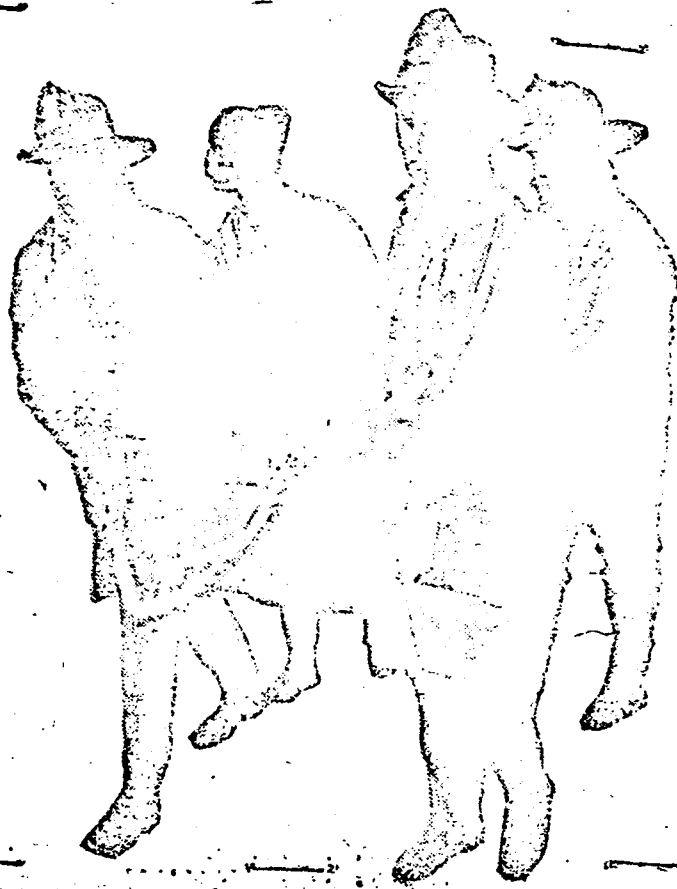
The only friend Diana contacted in Ne...
York before she died was Alan Howard. Som...
time that week, probably on Wednesday, Ho...
ard and Diana met. They talked about th...
Weathermen. Diana insisted that her role w...
to fight physically in any way possible.

"We have a lot to learn," she told Howar...
"We'll make mistakes.

On Friday of that week one of those mi...
taker ended her life.



Diana Oughton was buried next to...
her grandparents in the cemetery...
at Dwight, Ill. The temporary...
marker will eventually be replaced...
with a stone like the others in the...
family plot.



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.

4

5-4

The making of a terrorist--Part Three

Diana insisted the time had come to fight...

9/17/70

Diana Oughton, rich girl turned revolutionary, became deeply involved in 1965 with the fanatically militant weathermen who vowed to carry their revolution against society into the streets. Her father recalls that she developed an "intellectual hysteria" and grew even more deeply estranged from her prosperous family. This is the fourth in a series of the life of the young woman who was killed in the explosion of a "bomb factory" in Greenwich Village.

INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-11-81 BY SP-16 SA

By LUCINDA FRANK and THOMAS POWERS

(United Press International Copyright 1970)

The final nine months of Diana Oughton's life were absorbed almost entirely by the disintegration of the Students for a Democratic Society 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, slogan-shouting convention in Chicago.

When the SDS was founded in 1962 it was a fluid, open group which emphasized persuasion, community organizing and broad popular participation in all important decisions. By 1969, however, the organization was locked in a power struggle between the Progressive Labor Party, a highly disciplined offshoot of the Communist Party, and a more militant faction which became The Weathermen.

By the end of the Chicago Convention The Weathermen had captured control of the SDS national headquarters in Chicago's West Side ghetto. 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 in the streets of America.

Late one night during the convention Diana called an old friend from Bryn Mawr, asked if she could spend the night and finally arrived with eight exhausted SDS members after 4 in the morning. One of the people with Diana that night was Alan Howard, who had been working for the underground Liberation News Service in New York since leaving Guatemala.

Before returning to the convention the next day, Diana and Alan went for a long walk down Chicago's Lake Shore Drive. They talked about the impending split in SDS and the Weatherman manifesto, partly written by Diana's boy friend, Bill Ayers. The 25,000-word manifesto -- named after a line in a Bob Dylan song, "You don't need a Weatherman to tell which way the wind blows" -- argued that the only way the United States could help bring about world revolution was by fighting in the streets of the "mother country."

How to restrain her

Mr. 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 Diana 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. Mr. Ayers had been elected one of the three national officers of The Weathermen, along with Mark Rudd and Bernardine Dohrn, and was spending most of his time in the national office. Friends of Diana and Mr. Ayers say he was increasingly fascinated by Bernardine's toughness, intelligence and hard beauty, so unlike Diana's warm, almost enveloping softness of spirit.

Mr. Ayers told Diana he would not allow himself to be tied to one woman and she began spending her time with a number of other men.

During the same period Diana's father canceled a gas company credit card she had been using on behalf of SDS and she wrote him a letter explaining why the money was being spent in a good cause.

"You speak of a revolution against capitalism," her father answered from the family home in Dwight. "This can only mean that you are developing forces against me and the rest of your family. The oldest and most reasonable form of capitalism is the ownership of agricultural land and this is what your family has been involved with for a hundred years.

"I will resist any effort to change the basic ideology governing my own life and it should be obvious I do not want to support any movement that would develop the violence against me and my family."

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

TOP CLIPPING
10-27-70
6/1/71
FILED FILE AND INITIALED

Washington Daily News
9-19-70 P. 31

105-177356-A

NOT RECORDED

NOV 4 1970

137

66 NOV 1 1970

she did. She finally refused to discuss the subject altogether.

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

Remnants split

When The Weathermen began planning for a super-militant street battle with police in Chicago, Oct. 8-11, 1969, the remnants of SDS split. During the summer the Black Panthers denounced The Weathermen, a serious blow from their point of view, but with each setback those who remained became more determined than ever.

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 in Chicago, Diana called her family in Dwight and abruptly 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. When the family left Dwight for Chicago, Diana's bridesmaid dress still at home on her bed, a kind of well had begun to emerge between her and her family.

That weekend Diana was attending the Cleveland SDS conference where The Weathermen strategy of total commitment to revolutionary violence finally emerged as a comprehensive position. During the following weeks Weathermen raided a Pittsburgh high school, invaded a community college outside Detroit, took a gun away from a policeman in New York, attacked Harvard University's Center for International Affairs and provoked fights at drive-in restaurants and on beaches in Chicago, Cleveland and other Midwestern cities.

Barricade themselves

In the months following the June, 1969, Convention, Weathermen collectives ranging in size from a dozen to 30 or more people began to barricade themselves inside rented houses. They put double locks on every door and nailed chicken wire over the 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 rusted spoons and spilled food.

The Collectives also attempted to destroy all



—UPI Photo

One of the three national officers elected by The Weatherman faction of the SDS, following a June, 1969 convention, was Diana's boyfriend, Bill Ayers.

their old attitudes about sexual relationships. At the Cleveland 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.

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.

During street actions in Flint, where she was arrested on a minor charge (later dropped) at the end of September, Diana 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.

Before the October action Diana and Bill Ayers returned to Ann Arbor to gain recruits for the October demonstrations. Diana was jeered during a speech in a student center where the audience included people who had been her allies in the Jesse James gang the year before. Bill Ayers, a far more persuasive speaker, was also attacked during the meeting

47

2

for his emphasis on action at the expense of political organizing.

"When I was at Ann Arbor all the talk about revolution was in the abstract," Foughton said. "Since we've moved to Detroit we've made the revolution real. The grease came up to us and say, 'Hey, aren't you the guys who beat up the pigs at McDonald's (a chain of hamburger drive-ins) last night? How come?'"

"You understand the revolution when you make the revolution, not when you talk about it. If I'm going into a new town I don't look for the guy with a comprehensive political analysis. I look for the kids who are fighting the pigs."

Only a few turn out

When the four days of rage began with a rally in Chicago on Wednesday, Oct. 8, only 30 Weathermen in helmets and denim jackets turned out for the battle. The group went ahead anyway, however, charging thru the Loop and Gold Coast areas, smashing windows and windshields and even charging directly into the tanks of police. More than 50 were arrested.

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 the park wearing their helmets and carrying Viet Cong flags at the end of long, heavy poles.

Diana was one of a dozen Weatherwomen who grined their teeth and plunged into the police lines but were immediately overpowered. After a dozen had been hustled into police vans the rest of the women, some of them crying, dropped their clubs, took off their helmets and were escorted by police to the nearest subway station.

After Diana had been booked she was allowed to call home and her father immediately left for Chicago, driven by his lawyer, to post her bail. When Diana was led out by the police she seemed subdued and resigned, saying little as she got into the car.

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

"No," she said quickly, not wanting to argue the question. "I've got an important meeting in Evanston."

When the car pulled up in front of the suburban Evanston church being used by the Weathermen as a temporary headquarters, Diana said, "Goodby, Daddy," and jumped out. Mr. Oughton watched as a group of excited young men and women ran over to greet his daughter. She did not look back as he drove away.

When the Chicago and Evanston police made a surprise raid on the church early Saturday morning, Oct. 11, arresting 43 Weathermen, Diana was one of those who escaped by jumping out the windows. Later that afternoon Weathermen began filtering into Maymarket Square for the final action of the days of rage.

At a signal a small group of young men and women pulled crash helmets from shopping bags and put on denim jackets with Viet Cong flags sewed to the back beneath the legend, "Motor City SDS." Then the remnants of the "Red Army," about 250-strong, started out thru the streets of Chicago on a final rampage. When it was over 103 had been arrested and those who had managed to escape were being hunted throught the city.

That night, still trying to find a way out of Chicago, Diana called a friend. "The pigs are picking everybody up," she said. "Can you give me a ride to the airport? I've got to get back to Detroit."

When Diana's friend said it would be impossible to drive her to the airport, she 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, mummy," she said, stalking back and forth in the hall. "It's the only way."

(Next: A 'bomb' factory in Greenwich Village and death.)

4-3



The Weathermen attack a Chicago policeman during the last four days of rage in October, 1969. Diana managed to avoid arrest in this battle.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
Memorandum

Tolson	_____
Sullivan	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Brennan, C.D.	_____
Callahan	_____
Casper	_____
Conrad	_____
Dalbey	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Tavel	_____
Walters	_____
Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

CBK

Fi

[Handwritten signatures]

TO : Mr. Gale

DATE: March 11, 1971

FROM : L. H. Martin *LM*

SUBJECT:

[REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

BY SP-1 GSK/gaj

[REDACTED]

b7c

[REDACTED] Diana Oughton, former Security Index subject, whose decapitated body was found in wreckage of "bomb factory" of radicals in March, 1970, at 18 Eleventh Street, New York City, habitants of which were members of the Weathermen Faction of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). According to news stories, Diana called her sister, Carol, March 2, 1970 (four days before Diana's death) asking questions about family and whether she could send personal items which she did not want police to find to Carol for safe keeping.

[REDACTED]

BACKGROUND: In news stories, Diam Oughton was listed as sister of Carol Oughton and daughter of prominent Illinois businessman and politician, James H. Oughton, Jr., of Dwight, Illinois, who is a bank executive and successful Republican candidate in 1964 when persuaded to run for State Legislature by U. S. Senator Charles H. Percy (R. Ill.). Diana Oughton received considerable publicity following her death as a revolutionary and close associate of such revolutionaries as Mark Rudd and William Ayers. Carol Oughton **[REDACTED]** was quoted by press as saying Ayers was more militant than Diana and that she, Carol, could not believe that Diana could make bombs.

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Gale
- 1 - Mr. Martin
- 1 - Mr. Warren

(CONTINUED - OVER)

105-177356 -

NOT RECORDED

46 MAR 17 1971

13 MAR 16 1971

REC.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

Deleted under exemption(s) b7C with no segregable material available for release to you.

Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to ~~██████~~ the subject of your request.

Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

For your information: _____

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
105-177356-17A

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION/PRIVACY ACTS SECTION
COVER SHEET

SUBJECT: DIANA OUGHTON

FILE NUMBER: 176-1674

October 8, 1969

PLAINTEXT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

URGENT

TO SAC, DETROIT
FROM DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE 8-13-81 BY SP-10SK/ga
1 - Mr. Deily
1 - Mr. Sullivan

DIANA OUGHTON; ARL; OO: CHICAGO

RE DETROIT AIRTEL OCTOBER ONE, LAST, UNDER INSTANT

CAPTION, ENCLOSING LHM, AND DETROIT TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR AND CHICAGO OCTOBER SEVEN, LAST, CAPTIONED "DEMTRI; DIANA OUGHTON, ARL." ALL AVAILABLE INFORMATION REGARDING EXACT STATEMENTS MADE BY SUBJECT REGARDING PLANNED ACTIVITIES IN CHICAGO MUST BE OBTAINED, ALONG WITH WITNESSES CAPABLE OF AND AVAILABLE TO TESTIFY TO SUCH STATEMENTS. INSURE ALL LOGICAL INVESTIGATION CONDUCTED BY YOUR OFFICE IN THAT REGARD. YOUR COMMUNICATION FURNISHING RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION SHOULD INDICATE WHETHER OR NOT SOURCES WHOSE IDENTITIES HAVE BEEN CONCEALED WILL BE AVAILABLE TO TESTIFY.

1 - CHICAGO (AIRMAIL)

RJD:ssc
(5)

RAC
PP

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

51 OCT 15 1969

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

REC-57

MCT-18

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

1674 - 1

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

19 OCT 8 1969

OCT 8 1969

12:48 PM
RADIO

NOTE:

ARL investigation being conducted regarding subject, and SDS activist who has been engaged in promoting, in Michigan, SDS demonstrations scheduled for Chicago this week.

Retel states that subject, at SDS meeting on 10/3/69, stated that SDS is going to Chicago ~~to~~ confrontation with the police and to "fight". Also, on 10/6/69, subject reportedly indicated SDS plans to cause confrontation with police by breaking out windows in banks and business establishments, and said, "We're going to do as much damage as we can."

FBI WASH DC

FBI DETROIT

11:34 AM URGENT 10-7-69 KMG

TO DIRECTOR AND CHICAGO
FROM DETROIT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFIED BY 1482 JRM/DB
EXEMPT FROM GDS 3/27/78
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
Pg 1 para last

DETROIT (BUREAU FILE ONE HUNDRED DASH FOUR FIVE FOUR SIX
SIX TWO; DETROIT FILE ONE HUNDRED FIVE DASH ONE SIX TWO SIX
NINE), DIANA CUGHTON; ARL (DETROIT FILE ONE SEVENTYSIX
DASH ONE SIX ONE).

SOURCES, WHO HAVE FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN
THE PAST, ADVISED AS FOLLOWS:

b2, b7D [REDACTED] ADVISED THAT AT A MEETING HELD BY
THE STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) AT FLINT,
MICH., ON OCTOBER THREE, LAST, DIANA CUGHTON STATED DURING
THIS MEETING THAT THEY (SDS) WERE GOING TO CHICAGO TO HAVE
A CONFRONTATION WITH THE POLICE AND THAT THEY WERE GOING TO
"FIGHT". [REDACTED]

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) BY CL/SS/FR
DATE 8/18/81

(c) b1, b2, b7D

END PAGE ONE

Class. & Ext. By SP-1 GSK/ga
Reason-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2(a) NOT RECORDED
Date of Review 10-7-89 176-1674-
8-13-89 170 OCT 13 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

56 OCT 17 1969

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-459612-312

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE TWO

[REDACTED]

b1, b2,
b7D

LOCAL AUTHORITIES, CMI, CSI, AND HIS ADVICE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

[REDACTED]

b2, b7D

(c) b1, b2, b7D

NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED.

END.

DCW

FBI WASH DC

cc AN [unclear]
1D1D

P

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI

Date: 10/1/69

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (176-161) (RUC)

DIANA OUGHTON
ARL
(OO: CHICAGO)

Class. & Ext. By SP-1 GSN/gab By RTJ/ew
Reason-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 (2)
Date of Review 10-1-89 I-Bombing - CIA of 1964 Unit
8-13-81 1. destroyed 2266

1 cc Crim. Div. 10/1/69
Date Forw. 10/14/69
How Forw. 69-1-B

Re Detroit airtel, 9/24/69, captioned "DEMTRI" advising that ARL investigation would be initiated concerning subject.

Enclosed for the Bureau are six copies and for Chicago three copies of a LHM containing pertinent information relating to subject. Inasmuch as almost all of this information was obtained from security sources, it has been incorporated in LHM form and no investigative report is being submitted.

This LHM is classified "secret" as the information from CIA was so classified.

The sources utilized are as follows:

b2b7c, D

[Redacted]

b1b2b7c, D

[Redacted] (c)

b2b7c, D

[Redacted]

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 6) (RM)
- 3 - Chicago (Enc. 3) (RM)
- 2 - Detroit (1-100-35486) (OUGHTON)

WMG/jlg
(7)

REC-33 176-1674-2

ST-110 8 OCT 7 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

ADVISE AGENCIES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP BY 8/18/81

57 Approved: 317
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DE 175-161

The other US government agency is CIA. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C SA [REDACTED] made the pretext telephone call - a no-name type.

b7C SE [REDACTED] reviewed subject's Passport file, US State Department.

For information of Chicago, subject is on the Security Index.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Detroit, Michigan
October 1, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~SECRET~~

Re: Diana Oughton

ADVISE AGENCIES
AND
ADVISE REPORTING
SLIP(S) BY CROSS, FR
DATE 8/18/81

62167D

[REDACTED]

[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.

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

[REDACTED]

61,62,
67D

CLASSIFIED BY 1782 SSM/AL
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE
Para marked C + S otherwise 4

~~SECRET~~

~~GROUP 1~~

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Class. & Ext. By SP-1 GSK
Reason-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 (2)
Date of Review 10-1-89
8-13-89

176-1674-2

~~SECRET~~

Re: Diana Oughton

[REDACTED]

b1,
b7D
11

(C) [REDACTED], who has furnished reliable information in the past, 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.

b2,
b7D

[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,
b7D

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Re: Diana Oughton

[REDACTED]

b1
b7D

(c)

[REDACTED] 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.

b2,
b7D

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.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Re: Diana Oughton

[REDACTED]

b1, b2
b7D

(c)

[REDACTED]

b1 -
CIA info

(S)

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	MRS. M. J. H. Oughton, Jr. 103 South Dwight, Illinois
Mother	Jane Boyce Oughton, same address

~~SECRET~~