

3/29/71

Dear Js,

Mostly quiet yesterday, light mail and silent phone today, have enabled me to considerably diminish the accumulated stack.

The clippings you want returned are enclosed, with a brief note. The contemporaneous photography was good- but misrepresented and suppressed.

Memo to Paul: I've been using throwaway carbon from the kind that has the tissue attached and was careless. The first line of the fifth page was missing.

If you saw anything on the Carl Vaughn interview with Ray, aired by CBS 3/26 while I was on the train, can be important. Vaughn is close to Hawks, was supposed to phone me and didn't, and Hawks was supposed to avoid publicity for a while. This also followed visit from Jerry Ray, and it has not been exceptional when thereafter Stoner's bidding was done. Nothing in papers here.

There was nothing on my visit on wires for I didn't do anything to attract attention, no backgrounding (save to one reporter), nothing on book (publisher's weird request), and my interview with Ray was as his investigator and therefore confidential. ...Tapes being transcribed.

Panthers: wish I knew answer. I've long felt that only Hoover has given them viability, and I suspect that he has and has had them thoroughly penetrated for some time. My own personal experience last 4/4 was depressing. I had been asked to make a speech and was then threatened by one faction if I did. I know one black in another group who insists Hilliard, despite indictment, is an agent, and claims that even where there have been arrests, large percentages have been. I have no independent knowledge, but this source seems quiet and level-headed.

If I didn't answer the question on tapes, I can use either, but the cassettes are handier and easier for me to store. I have two such machines, one new (and very cheap). I'll have to find some way of getting one of the minirecorders for travelling, but when Hal told me yesterday that our current situation, not counting debt, is that we owe \$400 in pressing things during the period when she is working, I think I'll dream a while. It would have been great to have had one in Memphis, though, believe me!

Except as I have tried to inform you, nothing new. The confrontations were a bash, but with no promos, no followups. Imagine a publisher who doesn't make even the effort to use a Foreman fleeing a studio at the mention of a "chicken farmer"! Not one promo to date comes from the publisher. That is a rather exceptional record...Books haven't reached Calif stations yet. Spoke to Spann's producer today (they'll accept charges). I'll do that by phone after he gets book. Probably same for Mason, but I've not called him, not knowing his hours and not knowing his producer, who has always messed up every phoned interview between us, leaving Jim (who is great) in the dark and misinforming me.

Glad Hal is working. Wish he'd forget Germany. I hate for him to rush to disaster.

Thanks again for everything.

Sincerely,

11 March 1971

Dear Harold:

Enclosed are some things which are self-explanatory, plus a number of carbons you have sent in your last three or four letters. These we have absorbed and return with the idea that they probably should be more useful in your files than in ours. Thank you very much for letting us see them.

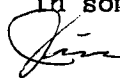
First, one bit of news. Hal called about a week ago and said he had a job in Richmond; he didn't say what it was, and we have heard nothing further from him, so we assume he still has it. He is still trying for a job in Germany, he says. And he is remaining for the time being at the same residence as far as we know. We have expected to hear further from him, but have not, so I might as well bring you up to date on this limited basis.

I regret that I cannot see any way to be of help from here on the problem of the photographs. This bureau would not, of course, have such files, since every bureau has a very serious storage problem with the negatives and pictures it alone originates. Even if you could locate the pictures you want in the Memphis bureau, which is a very small one, you would still have to go to New York -- or Memphis would -- for permission and approval, so New York probably is where you'll wind up with the AP in any case. I suspect, but do not know, that probably the same situation applies with UPI. I would like to be more helpful in this matter, but both agencies are highly centralized in this respect. If any way occurs to me in which I can be of help I shall certainly do my best, but at present there appears to be no way. We can say that neither of us remembers seeing pictures in newspapers at the time which fit the descriptions you give.

And I saw no mention of your visit to Memphis on the wires, but would not necessarily have had the chance, as such items often are shed somewhere along the way -- usually in LA -- which files the California state wire and probably would discard such an item in favor of some barn-burning in rural Fresno County. My guess is, however, that your visit was not picked up, and that if it was, it circulated on a regional southeastern wire which not even LA would see. I should explain that LA is the big control point out here -- has been for the past three years -- as far as the AP is concerned, and if eastern news does not get on the A wire it rarely is relayed by LA unless there is some clear California angle to it. We are allowed to read the A wire here, but not the secondary B wire which carries secondary and regional news.

Your visit to Memphis sounds really great, and your first hand impression of the captive conforms precisely with the one we had formed here -- a totally unlikely candidate for such a role. Congratulations, and we hope it goes better from here on.

In some haste, and with all the best,



jdw

11 March 1971

Dear Harold:

Under separate cover we're sending you a small tape with two commentaries which might be of interest to you.

The first is by Tom Hayden, one of the Chicago 7 defendants, on the Panther situation. He begins with George Sams and explores through Epstein and beyond. Everything he says is of course subject to verification, but I have always found him to be one of the brainiest and incisive on that side of the fence and he may provide a clue or so that may be new to you.

The other side is by someone <sup>named</sup> Michael Rossman (likely a pseudonym) whom we've never heard of before, but from his manner and sophisticated language appears to be someone of considerable education and experience. He deals with the drug scene -- he calls it the drug plague -- and picks up Cleaver's contention that drugs are an instrument of genocide and carries it to a postulated application to the youth community. Even this is hardly new, but he lists a number of interesting coincidences.

We are just as puzzled -- getting back to Cleaver-- as anyone else with the fury with which the Panther leadership is ripping out its own vitals. As noted before, we were favorably impressed with Cleaver's action against Leary, but in the light of subsequent developments are not so sure. Viewed objectively, it appears that the net result of what has been happening is that the Panther leadership has alienated itself not only from each other, but from the black community and also from its white supporters as well. If all this is coincidence, it is indeed fortuitous from the standpoint of those who would bring it about. If something more than coincidence is involved, it has to be regarded as a highly successful operation, very effective at both poles of the internal split that has developed. On this level, it has to be postulated that both factions have been penetrated and effectively derailed.

It is of course normal for factions to develop in the leadership of any revolutionary movement, but it is hardly normal for a man of Cleaver's experience to get on a talk show from Algeria to San Francisco and dump the whole thing in public.

Nor is Newton a dummy, and the fury with which he and Cleaver went at each other suggests each suspected the other was under the influence. Both may have been right. Cleaver after all is much isolated. Newton's occupation of a \$650 per month luxury apartment in Oakland is of course logical from a security standpoint, but the question ~~is~~ of where the money comes from remains altogether unanswered.

This is purely a personal impression, but last Friday, March 5, I covered a Seale-Huggins-Davis-Magee rally at Oakland Auditorium. Security was unprecedented, entirely by blacks, and not a cop or normal guard was in sight. I was frisked three times -- twice by the same boy -- due to having to move in and out of the auditorium to a telephone, and the job was thorough.

Newton appeared half way through and spoke briefly, very nervous and speaking in a rush of words difficult to follow because of an overpowering sound system. His whole theme was unity, and he didn't mention Cleaver. However this was the first time I had actually seen him speak (although I've listened to several tapes of him) and I am told he always appears nervous and speaks in a rush. His chief of staff, David Hilliard, did not appear.

I have another note to write to you on other matters, so will knock this off for now.

Best,



jdw

p.s. -- While we're on the subject of tapes, which do you prefer? Reels or cassettes? If cassettes, can you use the popular mini-cassette? If reels, what size and speed? No point in sending you a tape you can't play.

pp.s. -- Back to the Panthers: Jenifer just happened to catch a fragment of a Jim Eason talk show on KGO. Several callers in succession had seen the David Frost show and without exception were anti-Garry and pro-Epstein. The New Yorker article was not mentioned in the portion she heard. As you may know, Eason in the past has been remarkably openminded and even favorable toward the Panthers. He wound up completely turned around, saying he now finds Garry and the whole Panther bit a complete bore.