

Dear Jim, Those two Gray items were, incredibly, published in the confirmation hearings and have been entirely ignored in all the quest for explanations of the 6/20 memory-holing. I have been trying to find some way of exploiting where it does not still again ^{mean} my giving stuff away. I have it in the book, that part written so long ago. (And with the end of the tax season and but two days a week for the rest of the year to take Lil to & from work, I hope to get other things cleared up and to get back to writing again.) Need you know more than what these two copies say to know all necessary about the Cox-Jaworski operation? Or the media?

Patty as Dragon Lady: by coincidence the only thing I have read in Time 4/15, which I clipped early this a.m., is that story. And I also found myself pondering that picture for the same reason, the newspaper version with their coarser screen were not as clear. I did not figure it was a pasted-up job but her face and artificial stance took my eye. Her expression is singularly joyless, except for the eyes, which can be interpreted as signifying what the tape alleges. While I recall no divergence in other pictures, in this one her left eye does seem to cast out, not as severely as mine but like it. Sort of schizo effect. It also seems to be open wider, with each eye making different suggestions.

I don't know enough about this case to form any kind of certain beliefs, but I was taken when pater said all today's kids are "liberals," as I believe I noted at the time.

I don't recall the Patterson case. And it has been a long time since I packed a sub-machine gun. But I don't think anyone ever braced against a kick side to side. Nor is her stance the customary crouch. Weapons kick backward or upward.

Saxbe: maybe he intends pressure on SLA but I think he has no more sense than he displays. With all the charges that can now be laid on SLA, there seems to be no real need for pressure. (Do you really think GL would have appointed him if Saxbe had good sense and was an honest man?) Given what he is, as you say, difficult to tell motive.

Do you agree that what I've sent explains 6/20 mysteries and what has ensued, that it is most basic?

Wonder if any Posters working on good stories during strike. Best,

HW 4/13/74

9 April 1974

Dear Harold:

In a mailing earlier today I was unable to include thanks for sending us the printed reports on the WG breaking (presumably referred to in a covering letter from Gray to Haldeman which you sent earlier) and to ask you to refresh our memory as to where these were published. I assume in the hearings on Gray's confirmation, but cannot recall it clearly and therefore ask you once again instead of starting a long search through the files.

Also I wanted to add a few words on the Hearst case. By now you've seen the April 15 issue of Time, which has a good black-and-white reproduction of the Polaroid color shot of her holding the gun. We picked up this issue because the Time version is much clearer than the one printed here by the Chronicle, which was so badly printed that it gave me much the same impression of phoniness as the one Life used of Oswald whichn turned out to have been a paste-up job, probably by the FBI.. The Time version lessens that feeling, but not entirely. She still looks profoundly unhappy, and there is still something unreal about the body balance or something of that nature. On the whole, I don't think the SLA could have faked it, and it stands to reason that they would have to use Polaroid for color unless one of them has access to a color processing lab where ordinary color film could be developed and printed.

We agree with you that her voice in the last tape does sound flat compared with earlier versions, but she also looks much older in the picture and both these things suggest something which no one seems to have considered -- that she already was doubting when she was captured and that she may actually have come to believe much of what she now says, not through the rather strenuous process of brainwashing, but simply because she's still very young and inexperienced and has less basis for mature judgment than someone reared in a different environment.

There was nothing in the last tape to date it, as you surmise. As you probably know, her parents have gone to Mexico, which brings up something else. From the beginning of the John Patterson case at Hermosillo, there were enough superficial parallels with the Hearst case, plus some quite peculiar features of the Patterson kidnaping itself, to make us wonder if there could be any connection with the Hearst case. The movement of the Hearsts to Mexico strengthens such a possibility, ~~and~~ but both situations are so unclear that there is yet no indication as to where a deal, if one is cooking, could have originated. We've explored some possibilities, but without enough success to feel it worth while noting them. In any case, I thought I'd mention it. The way Saxbe continues to sound off suggests pressure on the SLA, but with that guy it's difficult to tell.

This acknowledges mailings of March 29, Paril 1,2,3 and 6. Many thanks for many interesting enclosures.

Best

jdw

THE NATION

U.M.W. Insurgent Joseph A. ("Jock") Yablonski and his wife and daughter, winning the convictions of three triggermen and four co-conspirators. The State accuses Boyle of instigating the murder in order to stop Yablonski's efforts to take over the union.

During Sprague's opening salvo Boyle slouched in his chair in stony silence; all the bluster and bravado that characterized his nine-year reign at the U.M.W. had vanished. At 71, he is gaunt and pallid, suffering from anemia, heart disease and the effects of an attempted suicide seven months ago. He was flown in from a Missouri prison, where he is serving a three-year sentence for illegally contributing union funds to the 1968 presidential campaign.

Sprague assembled some 100 witnesses, including two convicted triggermen: a house painter named Paul Gilly, 42, and a Cleveland drifter, Claude Vealey, 30. Their fee for the murder was \$15,000. Gilly told the jury that he was hired for the job by his father-in-law, Silous Huddleston, who in turn, testified Gilly, was hired by union officials. Gilly was told that an official involved was Boyle. The murder plan was simple: "Kill 'em and leave no witnesses."

All Asleep. On Dec. 30, 1969, testified Vealey, the killers sat restlessly in their car near the Yablonski home in Clarksville, Pa., and waited for the lights to go out. The gunmen slugged whisky and beer, then tossed the empties—covered with fingerprints—into the snow. After midnight, said Vealey, he and the two others broke into the house and crept into the bedrooms. "They were all asleep," he testified. "Martin had the .38 revolver, and I had the rifle. I heard Joseph Yablonski making a gurgling sound after Martin shot him. I shot two or three times more to make sure he was dead."

Boyle's attorney, Charles F. Moses, contends that the murder conspiracy stopped at the local union level. Yablonski, Moses told the jury, threatened to expose misuse of union funds in U.M.W. district 19 in eastern Kentucky and Tennessee. To quiet him, district leaders ordered the execution. Moses promised to produce an audit that will show approximately \$907,000 unaccounted for by local U.M.W. officials between 1967 and 1969. "Sprague's paths," says Moses, "lead not to Tony Boyle but to others convicted in this case."

The high point of the trial is expected to be the testimony of Tony Boyle, who will take the stand in his own defense. He will have to defend himself mightily against the prosecution's prize witness: William J. Turnblazer, 52, former president of the U.M.W. district where the plotting of the murder took place. Turnblazer has signed an affidavit linking Boyle directly to the case. Promised Sprague: "You are going to hear it right here on this stand from Mr. Turnblazer himself, who will tell you that it was Boyle who gave the order to kill Jock Yablonski."

TIME, APRIL 15, 1974

KIDNAPING

Strange Message from Patty

The Polaroid color photograph might have been the cover of a paperback thriller—or a recruiting poster for the revolutionary left. But the comely, wholesome-looking girl holding a sub-machine gun was Patricia Hearst, and an accompanying tape recording of her voice carried a bizarre message: Patty, 20, had decided to forsake her millionaire parents and join the fanatics who kidnaped her two months ago.

"I have been given the choice of being released in a safe area, or joining the forces of the Symbionese Liberation Army and fighting for my freedom and the freedom of all oppressed people," Patty announced. "I have chosen to stay and fight."

Patty's statement came just when the bewildering series of events surrounding her abduction in Berkeley, Calif., seemed to be moving toward a happy conclusion. At the direction of the S.L.A., the Hearst family and the Hearst Foundation (which supports medical charities) had given \$2 million worth of food to the needy in the San Francisco Bay area. To demonstrate his seriousness, Hearst early last week persuaded the Hearst Corp., which controls eight newspapers and eleven magazines, to put an additional \$4 million into an escrow account, where it was to be held for the S.L.A. until his daughter's release.

Within hours, there was encouraging news: the S.L.A. announced that the time and place of Patty's release would be disclosed in the next three days. The Hearsts were elated. "We believe that the communication is genuine," said

Hearst. The blow came the next day: the release to a radio station of Patty's picture and her belligerent tape recording.

Stunned Parents. There was a hard edge to Patty's voice as she declared: "Dad, you said that you were concerned with my life, and you also said you were concerned with the life and interests of all oppressed people in this country. But you are a liar in both areas, and I know for sure that your and Mom's interests are never the interests of the people." Attacking white society, she said that she had learned how "vicious the pig really is." She added: "Our comrades are teaching me to attack with even greater viciousness, in the knowledge that the people will win."

Though Patty insisted on the tape that she had not been "brainwashed, drugged, tortured, hypnotized or in any way confused," her stunned parents refused to believe that she had not been coerced into siding with the S.L.A. Nor would they believe that their daughter, who had been genuinely close to them both, could intentionally cause them such grief. Said Mrs. Hearst: "Only Patty in person can convince me that the



PATRICIA HEARST POSING BEFORE S.L.A. EMBLEM
"I have chosen to stay and fight."

terrible, weary words that she uttered came from her heart and were delivered by her own free will."

Hearst added that he had assumed that the S.L.A. had been going to release his daughter, as promised. Said he: "I've guessed wrong on the S.L.A. all along. I think they're just cruel people."

Why did Patty make the tape? The most pessimistic view was bluntly voiced by Vincent Hallinan, a 77-year-old San Francisco lawyer for the Hearsts, who said that he feared the kidnapers had forced the girl to deliver the statement, then killed her and fled, releasing the tape as a diversion. On the other hand, the girl could conceivably have spoken out because of fear, or to buy time, or to



S.L.A. SUSPECT NANCY PERRY
Calling the shots?

convince the terrorists that she had joined them so that she could later break free.

No one who knew Patty well thought she had become a dedicated revolutionary of her own free will in just 60 days of captivity. She was hardly a radical. Only a few weeks before the kidnaping, she had been happily picking out china in anticipation of her marriage to Steven Weed, 26, a graduate student at the University of California at Berkeley. But Dr. Frederick J. Hacker, a psychiatrist and expert on terrorism consulted by the Hearsts, does not discount the possibility that she made the tape voluntarily. He theorizes that the enormous psychological pressures of liv-

ing in danger for such a length of time could have induced Patty to change her opinions, at least temporarily. "Until we have full disclosure of what happened," Dr. Hacker said, "I would urge that the community look at this thing with a great deal of caution and charity."

Both the police and the FBI were proceeding on the assumption that Patty was still alive and being held against her will. One aspect of the case that they were looking into was whether there was any connection between the S.L.A. and the random street killings of twelve whites in San Francisco during the past five months. So far they have apparently found no link, though the FBI has identified most of the S.L.A. members who took part in the kidnaping. In one of their periodic taped messages, the abductors complained that the FBI was so close to them that they "couldn't breathe." That is true. At one time or other, the agents have been just hours behind the kidnapers.

FBI agents think that the S.L.A. spokesman who calls himself "General Field Marshal Cinque" may be only a front man used to divert attention from the cadre's real leaders, who may include Mrs. Nancy Ling Perry, 26, and other radical white women. Mrs. Perry is the daughter of a Santa Rosa, Calif., furniture dealer and a graduate of Berkeley—the same school that Patty was attending when she was seized. Until last fall, Mrs. Perry was living with Joseph Remiro, 27, and Russell Jack Little, 24, two white S.L.A. members who have been charged with the killing last November of Dr. Marcus A. Foster, a black who was Oakland's superintendent of schools.

Shot on Sight. Cinque is believed to be an escaped black convict named Donald D. DeFreeze. The theory that DeFreeze is not the true leader of the S.L.A. is supported by a man with a rare personal knowledge of the man and the organization. Colston Westbrook, 36, a black instructor in linguistics at Berkeley, met DeFreeze while visiting California's Vacaville prison to take part in the activities of the Black Cultural Association. The S.L.A. partly evolved from the group. Westbrook recalls DeFreeze as "a cat submerged in divine blackness and interested in black problems." But now, Westbrook says, "I think the honkies are calling the shots. He'd better wake up."

Westbrook made his comments to TIME Correspondent Joseph N. Boyce, who found the linguist living in a small apartment house near the Berkeley campus. The drapes were drawn, the door was double-latched, and on the kitchen table was an electronic device that Westbrook said could be used to alert the police.

Westbrook had good reason to be holed up. On the same tape with Patty Hearst's latest message was a warning from Cinque that the S.L.A. had named three persons "to be shot on sight" as "enemies of the people." One of the three

was Westbrook. The other two: Robyn Steiner, a white girl who used to live with the S.L.A.'s Russell Little; and Chris Thompson, a black resident of Berkeley, who knew several members of the S.L.A. but denies ever having joined.

Westbrook felt that he was marked for execution "because I'm a threat in general to the S.L.A. I know quite a bit about them. I can analyze their moods and see through them." He admitted that he had detailed information about the S.L.A. and that he had talked about the organization to the Oakland police and the FBI.

As the tense week drew to a close, the Hearsts were left to ponder the implications of some final words from Cinque's taped message. "There is no further need," Cinque said, "to discuss the release of the prisoner since the prisoner is now a comrade and fighter for the people's freedom. Therefore there is no further basis for negotiation since the subject may leave whenever she feels that she wishes to do so. This operation is hereby terminated."

INVESTIGATIONS

Defending the Guard

Though his daughter Allison was shot to death by Ohio National Guardsmen in the 1970 tragedy at Kent State, Arthur Krause announced last week that he was contributing to a legal defense fund to aid the eight former Guardsmen indicted for the shootings. Said Krause: "They are innocent until proven guilty, and I will not deprive them of that right, even though my daughter was deprived of her right—the right to live." He argued that it was not just the Guardsmen but also their superiors who were responsible: "Who allowed live ammunition to be given to a tired and frightened National Guard?"

The indicted Guardsmen were getting support from others too. At least three Ohio organizations have set up defense funds; one fund alone has already received \$10,000. At the Cleveland Trust, the state's largest bank, a special account has been opened for contributions. In an editorial, the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* urged the state of Ohio to cover the Guardsmen's legal expenses because "these men were sent to Kent State by the state on a police mission . . . higher employees of the state were responsible for their arming and deploying."

Some sympathizers are offering manpower as well. A group of 22 lawyers in the Cleveland area, including four professors at Cleveland State University Law School, have promised free legal aid. Says one of the group, Kevin Sheard: "We're trying to equalize the scale a little bit. They've got the entire U.S. Government on one side, with all its resources, against eight workingmen who were called into service to assist the state."



S.L.A. "ENEMY" WESTBROOK