kept their girl friends. These experiences were America to him.

At a party, Jagan met a slim, athletic blonde named Janet Rosenberg and later married her, despite the objections of both their families. Janet was an active radical. She grew up on Chicago’s South Side and in Detroit, and went to Michigan State, Detroit and Wayne universities. When Jagan met her, she was attending the Cook County School of Nursing. Officials still argue over whether she belonged to the Young Communist League. The Anglican archbishop of British Guiana, who respects the Jagans, says flatly that she did. Just as flatly, Mrs. Jagan denies it. “I never held a party card,” she says.

Jagan and his wife bought second-hand dental equipment and sailed to British Guiana in 1943. They believed that capitalism and colonialism were evil. In Georgetown, their beliefs became important. Jagan started a militant labor movement, and in 1947, his wife organized the colony’s first modern election campaign in the villages. Her voting in foreign elections cost Mrs. Jagan her U. S. citizenship.

By 1953, they had organized the People’s Progressive Party and controlled the limited native government. He was the theoretician, the charismatic leader; she, the practical organizer. After Jagan had been in office four months, the British governor, fearing “a Communist take-over,” called for help. The constitution was suspended, troops were brought in, and Jagan was confined to the city. When he defiantly broke that restriction, he was imprisoned for six months; two days before he was to be released, his wife was jailed.

Jagan, a charming, handsome man, was by now the leader of the Indian-descended population, who make up the majority of the colony’s 560,000 people. Mrs. Jagan, as Minister of Health, was widely admired for her work for sanitation and disease prevention.

Last year, when the colony was granted internal self-government, Jagan became its first Premier. In the August 21 election, he was opposed by the People’s National Congress, led by Socialist Negro lawyer Forbes Burnham, once his closest disciple, and the smaller United Force, led...
MARXIST continued

"There is another aspect of communism—Christ communism."

by Portuguese-descended conservative Peter d’Aguia. The loss by popular vote, divided chiefly on racial lines, was close, but Jagan won 20 of the legislature’s 35 seats and the premiership.

Jagan visited President Kennedy last October and asked for loans to help British Guiana develop state-owned industries and open its vast, unused lands for farming. The colony today lives by exporting sugar, controlled by the British-owned Booker Group, and bauxite, which is extracted chiefly by Alumina Limited and Reynolds Metals. Both sugar and bauxite are in oversupply in the world market. About 18 per cent of the colony’s labor force is unemployed, and the government has virtually exhausted its cash reserves.

Jagan left Washington, as he says, without a single penny. The Administration would promise only to send a mission to study his economic plans. This study was finished in June. “I was mad as hell,” he says of his Washington visit. “I have been surveyed to death.”

In February, Jagan’s efforts to raise funds by taxing his own people—and racial tension continually stirred by Negro leaders—erupted into riots. Twenty thousand people demonstrated and destroyed property in Georgetown. The police killed several, and Jagan himself had to call for the British Army. At the same time, trouble broke out in Jagan’s party, threatening his government. In mid-June, he threw Balram Singh Rai, his able, relatively moderate Home Affairs Minister, out of the cabinet and the party, thereby weakening his majority in the legislature.

Behind the U.S. delay in aiding British Guiana was fear that Jagan, once the colony gained its independence, would slip into the Communist bloc. Jagan says candidly that he is a Marxist, but denies vehemently that he is controlled by the international Communist movement. He says, “I am a Socialist. I believe people must own the means of production; I don’t see much sense in foreign investment coming in and making 20 per cent profit.”

He sees British Guiana becoming a Marxist model for the world. He has started a program by which farmers lease land for 25 years at nominal rents, but do not own the land individually. He has arranged to buy the Canadian-owned power company. He has begun to take over the church schools, which until recently have formed the colony’s only educational system. He has twice visited Castro and made a deal to sell Cuba rice. He has arranged for scholarships to Moscow, one of which was turned down by his 17-year-old niece Rita, who wants to be a radiologist. (The U.S. had none to offer her.) He has obtained offers from Poland, East Germany and Czechoslovakia to build factories and from Cuba to build a hydroelectric complex.

Says Jagan, “It is a revolution—not a bloody revolution. To change the plantation system to a cooperative one is revolutionary.”

He believes that economic socialism can be joined with political democracy. He points out that he gained power legitimately: “Our intentions are very clear. We intend to have elections. We intend to follow the rules prescribed by democracy. But you can be democratic and not a capitalist. Capitalism is not synonymous with democracy.”

Jagan says he will accept help from anyone: “We have said clearly that we will not allow our country to be used as a military base for one side against the other. We want economic assistance, technical assistance from anywhere. If Nehru accepts aid from both sides, no one objects about that. I don’t see that America can have a double standard: one for Nehru and one for me. I don’t want to be dominated by anyone—either bloc—but I have to solve my problems.”
Premier Cheddi Jagan talks with cane cutters on a sugar plantation on the west bank of the Demerara River.

Fowler Hamilton, chief of the U.S. foreign-aid program, who met with Jagan in Washington, says, "The fact that a government is building a Socialist economy does not exclude it from aid. The standard is independence, not acquiescence to our view."

When Jagan is asked if he is a Communist, he always answers with a question: "What do you mean by Communist?" During last year's campaign, Jagan wrote: "The difference between Socialism and Communism is that in Socialism there are still not equal goods produced... Socialists have learned from experience that if they are to pass from the Socialist stage—from each according to his ability, to each according to his work—to the higher stage—from each according to his ability, to each according to his need—then production must be tremendously increased." Jagan concludes, "People talk of Communism and think of guns. But there is another aspect of Communism—sharing with others, real equality."

Washington officials wonder whether Jagan is "a Communist sleeper." Most believe he is primarily an anticolonial nationalist trying to lead his people out of despair and poverty. The British government, Sir Ralph Grey, agrees: "Whether he is a Communist or whatever you call him, Dr. Jagan is a sincere nationalist who believes he is destined to lead his country, to the betterment of his people."

There are three forces that could influence Cheddi Jagan. One is the pragmatic need to solve his economic problems after independence. A second is the Indian population itself, which, since malaria was wiped out in 1930, has been growing rapidly. Increasingly, the Indians are rice farmers and new Water Street businessmen struggling for middle-class status. The third force is the United States and Great Britain. In May, Sir Jock Campbell, chairman of the Booker Group, echoed Jagan's plea that the British give the colony more help.

U.S. efforts to influence Jagan have been marred by a series of blunders. We have vacillated on aid, except for about $1.3 million in technical assistance. While Jagan was climbing to power, the Eisenhower Administration closed our consulate for four years, leaving only a team of chicken-breeding specialists from the University of Maryland. For two years, until last winter, the USIA had no full-time representative in the colony. When Jagan admired Adlai Stevenson's UN speech on Angola last year, his rare desire to praise the U.S. was frustrated because his request for a copy was lost in red tape.

The dilemma Jagan presents to us is one of the toughest questions we face: How do we deal with the leftist, neutralist new nations? If we help Jagan, we help build a Marxist state in South America. If we turn him away, we push him into Moscow's bear hug.

Jagan's tragedy is that he might have found other answers, if he had not become convinced—in Chicago, Washington and New York—that our way was not his. At the heart of our problem today is our willingness to gamble that a leader like Cheddi Jagan can be salvaged.

Says Everett Melby, the top American official in British Guiana, "If you don't accept that, the battle is lost before you begin."
Peoples Temple
Agricultural Mission
WB6 MID/8R3
ALBERT TOUCHETTE • JONESTOWN
Port Kaituma, N.W.R., Guyana, S. A.
Agricultural Mission

WEB MID/8R3/Peoples Temple

For Karina N.W. Guzman S.A.

Abner Tucker R. Jonestown
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**Section 552**

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FROM SAN FRANCISCO (0-250) (P) (S&G 10)

TO DIRECTOR (0-4286) PRIORITY
SACRAMENTO

UNCLASSIFIED

RYNUR, 00: SAN FRANCISCO

(PROTECT),

HE DESIRES THIS

670 670

1023/42
10/15/78

10/25/78

1978
HE ADVISED THAT FOLLOWING A SUIT BY THE CHARLES GARRY LAW FIRM (WHICH REPRESENTS THE PT) TO DISSOLVE THE PT CORPORATION, THE CALIFORNIA SECRETARY OF STATE'S (CSS) OFFICE REJECTED THE SUIT AS THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE PT ARE DECEASED. RECENTLY, THE PT ELECTED A NEW BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND WILL INITIATE A NEW SUIT TO DISSOLVE THE CORPORATION. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT CHARLES GARRY IS OUT OF TOWN SOMEWHERE IN THE MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA, AREA AND THIS INFORMATION CANNOT BE VERIFIED. IN FACT, IT IS UNKNOWN IF GARRY IS AWARE OF THESE ELECTIONS OR THE CSS REJECTION.

ADvised there exists a group of members, size unknown, who will take the legal position that the board of directors cannot dissolve the corporation, but that it must be by a vote of the entire membership. This group will also try to stop the dissolution which will have two effects: (1) continue the PT as a viable entity upon which they can
CONTINUE TO RELY AND 2) FREE UP THE MONIES WHICH THE PREVIOUS
SUITE APPARENTLY HAD FROZEN. THE FREEING UP OF THESE MONIES
COULD HAVE AN ADVERSE IMPACT ON THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION ON
SEIZING THE PT'S ASSETS TO RECOVER THE EXPENSES INCURRED. (U)

OUTLINED HIS PERCEPTION OF THE CURRENT
HIERARCHY PHYSICALLY LOCATED WITHIN THE TEMPLE. HE ADVISED
IT IS STILL IN A STATE OF FLUX DUE TO AN ONGOING POWER
STRUGGLE. HE SEES JEAN BROWN AS THE SPOKESMAN BUT AS THE
NUMBER TWO PERSON. SANDY BRADSHAW IS CURRENTLY THE LEADER
AND DUE TO HIS PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS, THE MOST DANGEROUS.
GUY YOUNG, TIM CLANCY AND HUGH FORTSON ARE APPARENTLY CLOSELY
ASSOCIATED WITH BRADSHAW, AND THEREFORE POWERFUL, BUT THEIR
SPECIFIC PLACEMENT IN THE ORGANIZATION IS STILL UNCLEAR.
LAURIE EFREIN IS IN THE NEXT LEVEL AND VALUED FOR HER ABILITY
TO GET THINGS DONE; HOWEVER, NOT VERY POWERFUL. DOXSE SWANEY
IS ON EFREIN'S LEVEL AND DEEPLY INVOLVED IN THE FINANCIAL END
OF THE PT. TOM ADAMS IS IN THE EFREIN/SWANEY LEVEL AND
CONSIDERED THE PROBLEM SOLVER, IN THAT HE COMES UP WITH THE
IDEAS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM. (U)

ROBERT STROUD, A GUYANESE RETURNEE NOW AT THE TEMPLE, IS
THE (PROPERTY) PROCUREMENT MAN WHO IS VERY STREET WISE. LAURA
JOHNSTON, ANOTHER RETURNEE ON STROUD'S LEVEL, IS USED ON
SPECIAL PROJECTS. IN GUYANA SHE WAS IN CHARGE OF A DISCI-
PLINARY COTTAGE.(\n)

JIM RANDOLPH IS STRICTLY AN ADMINISTRATOR AND USES ANDY
SILVER AS AN AIDE.(\n)

DON DAVIS IS CONSIDERED EXTREMELY DANGEROUS WHO
CHARACTERIZED AS THE PERSON MOST LIKELY TO BE GIVEN A GUN AND
INSTRUCTED TO GO DO WHAT HE WAS TOLD; WHICH HE WOULD DO.(\n)

VERA YOUNG, WHOSE POSITION IS UNKNOWN AT THIS TIME, APPEARS
TO BE A POWER ______ AS A
CONTACT POINT DURING JEAN BROWN'S ABSENCE THIS WEEKEND. JEAN
BROWN WILL BE TRAVELLING TO THE MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA, AREA
(WHERE GARRY'S CURRENTLY STAYING) FOR THE WEEKEND.(\n)

_______'S ANALYSES AS TO WHERE PEOPLE FIT
MATCHES THAT INFORMATION WHICH SAN FRANCISCO HAS. SECRET
SERVICE ATTENDED THE DEBRIEFING.(\n)

IN CONTINUING TO IDENTIFY PEOPLE IN THE TEMPLE,
SAN FRANCISCO IS USING ITS RESOURCES TO OBTAIN PHOTOS WHICH ARE AVAILABLE BUT WILL EARLY NEXT WEEK REQUEST SACRAMENTO AT DMV AND WFO AT USDS PASSPORT OFFICE TO OBTAIN THOSE NOT AVAILABLE TO THIS OFFICE. [R]

ADvised a Denita or Lanita Lane, San Francisco Council of Churches, is attempting to make arrangements for the burial of 600 Guyana Victims in a single ceremony in two cemeteries in Richmond, California, which is located in the northeast San Francisco Bay area. [R]

 Advised back that the numbers are 200 for Richmond and 400 overall for California. However, Lane is running into two problems: (U)

1) obtaining a loan or donation for the money and 2) getting the bodies released. [R]

Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, a California Assemblywoman, and the Governor of Maryland (believed to actually be the Governor of Delaware) are pressuring President Carter to make military transportation available to transport the victims to California. [U]

Leads: Sacramento. At Sacramento, California. Contact CSS and determine status of the Pt Litigation to dissolve the
CORPORATION AND ADVISE SAN FRANCISCO AND FBIHQ.\(W\)

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU: \(W\)

UPON RECEIPT OF ABOVE REQUESTED CORPORATION INFORMATION,
ADVISE CIVIL DIVISION, DOJ. \(W\)

ARMED AND DANGEROUS. SUICIDAL TENDENCIES. \(W\)

ST
RE PITTSBURGH AIRTAC TO BUREAU AND SPRINGFIELD, DATED 12/4/78,(U)

WAS INTERVIEWED REGARDING TAPE RECORDINGS OF THE PEOPLES TEMPLE BROADCASTS. PROVIDED TWO CASSETTE TAPES OF BROADCASTS MADE IN MARCH, 1978. TAPES AND 302 TO FOLLOW.(U)

REC-111

89-4286-1243

5 DEC 18 1978
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HQ 89-4286 - 1244, 1245 + 1246
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DEPT 013 3522331
RR HI SF
DE DE
R 182331Z DEC 78
FM DETROIT (89-247) (P)
TO DIRECTOR (89-4286) ROUTINE
SAN FRANCISCO (89-250) ROUTINE
ST
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE TWO DE 89-247 UNCLASSIFIED

THE DETROIT NEWS. [REDACTED] STATED HE HAD SOME INFORMATION OF A "DELICATE NATURE" CONCERNING THE JONESTOWN INCIDENT AND STATED IT WOULD BE WORTH [REDACTED]'S EFFORT TO TRAVEL TO GUYANA AND DISCUSS THE SPECIFICS. [REDACTED] INDICATED HE DID NOT WISH TO DISCUSS THE SPECIFICS OVER THE AIR. [REDACTED] FURNISHED HIS TELEPHONE NUMBER TO [REDACTED]


[REDACTED] STATED THAT GUYANA HAD SIX (6) HAND RADIO OPERATORS PRIOR TO THE JONESTOWN INCIDENT, ALL OF WHICH ARE FAMILIAR TO [REDACTED] STATED THERE WERE (2) HAM OPERATORS IN JONESTOWN, ONE BEING [REDACTED]
ALBERT TOUCHETTE, WHO IS NOW DECEASED, ALSO TOLD THAT THERE WAS ANOTHER INDIVIDUAL BY THE NAME OF IN GUYANA. INDICATED TO THAT HE TRAVELLED FREQUENTLY TO THE UNITED STATES AND PERHAPS THEY COULD MEET IN THE STATES TO DISCUSS, IN DETAIL, THE INFORMATION KNOWN TO (

DISPLAYED A COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS INTERVIEWING AGENTS AT DETROIT, BUT EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT GUYANESE OFFICIALS IDENTIFYING AND CONTACTING HIM REGARDING HIS KNOWLEDGE OF THE INCIDENT. (n)

ON DECEMBER 18, 1978, ADVISED HE HAD SOUGHT APPROVAL OF HIS EMPLOYER, THE DETROIT NEWS, TO TRAVEL TO GUYANA TO INTERVIEW FOR THE PURPOSE OF DEVELOPING A NEWS STORY. THE DETROIT NEWS WOULD NOT AUTHORIZE AFTER WEIGHING THE PROBABLE NEWS VALUE OF'S INFORMATION. (n)

WAS ADVISED THAT THE FBI WOULD NOT BECOME INVOLVED IN HIS EFFORTS TO GAIN INFORMATION KNOWN TO INDICATED A DESIRE TO OBTAIN (n)
THE INFORMATION AND STATED HE WOULD GLADLY FURNISH
ANY INFORMATION OBTAINED IN THE FBI. AGAIN, WAS ADVISED THAT THE FBI WOULD NOT CONDUCT ANY
INVESTIGATION INVOLVING, OTHER THAN THAT CONDUCTED
THROUGH PRESCRIBED GOVERNMENTAL CHANNELS.

STATED HE WOULD CONTACT FBI, DETROIT
IN APPROXIMATELY ONE WEEK.

SAN FRANCISCO AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. WILL FURNISH DETROIT WITH SPECIFIC QUESTIONS
OF INVESTIGATIVE INTEREST REGARDING HAM RADIO
OPERATIONS IN GUYANA.

DETROIT AT DETROIT, MICHIGAN. WILL, IF NOT RECONTACTED BY INITIATE
CONTACT AND ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE
NUMBER FOR ARMED AND DANGEROUS - SUICIDAL TENDENCIES.
RE MIAMI TELETYPE TO BUREAU, DECEMBER 12, 1978


[REDACTED]
"PATCHED" through telephone calls for people all over the world, and in this connection recalled having radio contact with the country Guyana. He stated his last contact with this country was approximately six months ago and that he knew nothing concerning the activities surrounding the mission that he talked to in the country of Guyana and had never heard of "the peoples temple". He stated that the last contact he had with Guyana was, as indicated, approximately six months previous to the date of this interview, at which time he was asked concerning medical advice concerning a child who had been injured by a baseball bat during a game in that country. He stated that he then contacted a person known to him as [redacted] whose residence was unknown to him, but whom he believed resided in the state of New York and that this individual gave him what he believed to be medical advice so that the child could be treated and he relayed this information to the people in the country of Guyana. [redacted] stated that he possessed no additional information whatsoever concerning the activities in Guyana and was not in anyway familiar with Rev. James Jones. [redacted] armed and dangerous; suicidal tendencies.
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (89-4286)

FROM: SAC, BROOKLYN QUEENS (BQ 89-495) (P)

SUBJECT: RYJUR

Enclosed for San Francisco are the United States Passports of the below listed individuals who arrived at John F. Kennedy International Airport on the dates indicated. These passports were seized upon order of the United States Department of State in return for the signing of promisory notes to repay the cost of airfare.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<td>EDITH PARKS</td>
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<td>JULIUS EVANS</td>
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<td>DAWN GARDFREY</td>
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<td>VERSE LEE PERKINS</td>
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<td>BEATRICE ALETHIA MORTON</td>
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<td>LA FLORA TOWNES</td>
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<td>TIMOTHY GLEN JONES</td>
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<td>JAMES W. JONES, JR.</td>
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<td>JOHN RAPHAEL COBB</td>
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<td>MARK CORDELL</td>
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2 - Bureau
3 - San Francisco (89-250) (Encls. 30) (1 - Package Copy)
1 - New York (BQ 89-495)

CJR:crf

REC-III 89-42-86 - 1249

Approved: 1978

Transmitted (Number) (Time)

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ARMED AND DANGEROUS; SUICIDAL TENDENCIES.