



# DEBORAH LAYTON



Affidavit of Deborah Layton Blakey

The threat and possibility of mass suicide

June 15, 1978

By Deborah Layton Blakey

I, DEBORAH LAYTON BLAKEY, declare the following under penalty of perjury:

1. The purpose of this affidavit is to call to the attention of the United States government the existence of a situation which threatens the lives of United States citizens living in Jonestown, Guyana.

2. From August, 1971 until May 13, 1978, I was a member of the People's Temple. For a substantial period of time prior to my departure for Guyana in December, 1977, I held the position of Financial Secretary of the People's Temple.

3. I was 18 years old when I joined the People's Temple. I had grown up in affluent circumstances in the permissive atmosphere of Berkeley, California. By joining the People's Temple, I hoped to help others and in the process to bring structure and self-discipline to my own life.

4. During the years I was a member of the People's Temple, I watched the organization depart with increasing frequency from its professed dedication for social change and participatory democracy. The Rev. Jim Jones gradually assumed a tyrannical hold over the lives of Temple members.

5. Any disagreement with his dictates came to be regarded as "treason". The Rev. Jones labelled any person who left the organization a "traitor" and "fair game". He steadfastly and convincingly maintained that the punishment for defection was death. The fact that severe corporal punishment was frequently administered to Temple members gave the threats a frightening air of reality.

6. The Rev. Jones saw himself as the center of a conspiracy. The identity of the conspirators changed from day to day along with his erratic world vision. He induced the fear in others that, through their contact with him, they had become targets of the conspiracy. He convinced black Temple members that if they did not follow him to Guyana, they would be put into concentration camps and killed. White members were instilled with the belief that their names appeared on a secret list of enemies of the state that was kept by the C.I.A. and that they would be tracked down, tortured, imprisoned, and subsequently killed if they did not flee to Guyana.

7. Frequently, at Temple meetings, Rev. Jones would talk non-stop for hours. At various times, he claimed that he was the reincarnation of either Lenin, Jesus Christ, or one of a variety of other religious or political figures. He claimed that he had divine powers and could heal the sick. He stated that he had extrasensory perception and could tell what everyone was thinking. He said that he had powerful connections the world over, including the Mafia, Idi Amin, and the Soviet government.

8. When I first joined the Temple, Rev. Jones seemed to make clear distinctions between fantasy and reality. I believed that most of the time when he said irrational things, he was aware that they were irrational, but that they served as a tool of his leadership. His theory was that the end justified the means. At other times, he appeared to be deluded by a paranoid vision of the world. He would not sleep for days at a time and talk compulsively about the conspiracies against him. However, as time went on, he appeared to become genuinely irrational.

9. Rev. Jones insisted that Temple members work long hours and completely give up all semblance of a personal life. Proof of loyalty to Jones was confirmed by actions showing that a member had given up everything, even basic necessities. The most loyal were in the worst physical condition. Dark circles under one's eyes or extreme loss

of weight were considered signs of loyalty.

10. The primary emotions I came to experience were exhaustion and fear. I knew that Rev. Jones was in some sense "sick", but that did not make me any less afraid of him.

11. Rev. Jones fled the United States in June, 1977 amidst growing public criticism of the practices of the Temple. He informed members of the Temple that he would be imprisoned for life if he did not leave immediately.

12. Between June, 1977 and December, 1977, when I was ordered to depart from Guyana, I had access to coded radio broadcasts from Rev. Jones in Guyana to the People's Temple headquarters in San Francisco.

13. In September, 1977, an event which Rev. Jones viewed as a major crisis occurred. Through listening to coded radio broadcasts and conversations with other members of the Temple staff, I learned that an attorney for former Temple member Grace Stoen had arrived in Guyana, seeking the return of her son, John Victor Stoen.

14. Rev. Jones has expressed particular bitterness toward Grace Stoen. She had been Chief Counselor, a position of great responsibility within the Temple. Her personal qualities of generosity and compassion made her very popular with the membership. Her departure posed a threat to Rev. Jones absolute control. Rev. Jones delivered a number of public tirades against her. He said that her kindness was faked and that she was a C.I.A. agent. He swore that he would never return her son to her.

15. I am informed that Rev. Jones believed that he would be able to stop Timothy Stoen, husband of Grace Stoen and father of John Victor Stoen, from speaking against the Temple as long as the child was being held in Guyana. Timothy Stoen, a former Assistant District Attorney in Mendocino and San Francisco counties, had been one of Rev. Jones' most trusted advisors. It was rumored that Stoen was critical of the use of physical force and other forms of intimidation against Temple members. I am further informed that Rev. Jones believed that a public statement by Timothy Stoen would increase the tarnish on his public image.

16. When the Temple lost track of Timothy Stoen, I was assigned to track him down and offer him a large sum of money in return for his silence. Initially, I was to offer him \$5,000. I was authorized to pay him up to \$10,000. I was not able to locate him and did not see him again until on or about October 6, 1977. On that date, the Temple received information that he would be joining Grace in a San Francisco Superior Court action to determine the custody of John. I was one of a group of Temple members assigned to meet him outside the court and attempt to intimidate him to prevent him from going inside.

17. The September, 1977 crisis concerning John Stoen reached major proportions. The radio messages from Guyana were frenzied and hysterical. One morning, Terry J. Buford, public relations advisor to Rev. Jones, and myself were instructed to place a telephone call to a high-ranking Guyanese official who was visiting the United States and deliver the following threat: unless the government of Guyana took immediate steps to stall the Guyanese court action regarding John Stoen's custody, the entire population of Jonestown would extinguish itself in a mass suicide by 5:30 P.M. that day. I was later informed that Temple members in Guyana placed similar calls to other Guyanese officials.

18. We later received radio communication to the effect that the court case had been stalled and that the suicide threat was called off.

19. I arrived in Guyana in December, 1977. I spent a week in Georgetown and then, pursuant to orders, traveled to Jonestown.

20. Conditions at Jonestown were even worse than I had



feared they would be. The settlement was swarming with armed guards. No one was permitted to leave unless on a special assignment and these assignments were given only to the most trusted. We were allowed to associate with Guyanese people only while on a "mission".

21. The vast majority of the Temple members were required to work in the fields from 7 A.M. to 6 P.M. six days per week and on Sunday from 7 A.M. to 2 P.M. We were allowed one hour for lunch. Most of this hour was spent walking back to lunch and standing in line for our food. Taking any other breaks during the workday was severely frowned upon.

22. The food was woefully inadequate. There was rice for breakfast, rice water soup for lunch, and rice and beans for dinner. On Sunday, we each received an egg and a cookie. Two or three times a week we had vegetables. Some very weak and elderly members received one egg per day. However, the food did improve markedly on the few occasions when there were outside visitors.

23. In contrast, Rev. Jones, claiming problems with his blood sugar, dined separately and ate meat regularly. He had his own refrigerator which was stocked with food. The two women with whom he resided, Maria Katsaris and Carolyn Layton, and the two small boys who lived with him, Kimo Prokes and John Stoen, dined with the membership. However, they were in much better physical shape than everyone else since they were also allowed to eat the food in Rev. Jones' refrigerator.

24. In February, 1978, conditions had become so bad that half of Jonestown was ill with severe diarrhea and high fevers. I was seriously ill for two weeks. Like most of the other sick people, I was not given any nourishing foods to help recover. I was given water and a tea drink until I was well enough to return to the basic rice and beans diet.

25. As the former financial secretary, I was aware that the Temple received over \$65,000 in Social Security checks per month. It made me angry to see that only a fraction of the income of the senior citizens in the care of the Temple was being used for their benefit. Some of the money was being used to build a settlement that would earn Rev. Jones the place in history with which he was so obsessed. The balance was being held in "reserve". Although I felt terrible about what was happening, I was afraid to say anything because I knew that anyone with a differing opinion gained the wrath of Jones and other members.

26. Rev. Jones' thoughts were made known to the population of Jonestown by means of broadcasts over the loudspeaker system. He broadcast an average of six hours per day. When the Reverend was particularly agitated, he would broadcast for hours on end. He would talk on and on while we worked in the fields or tried to sleep. In addition to the daily broadcasts, there were marathon meetings six nights per week.

27. The tenor of the broadcasts revealed that Rev. Jones' paranoia had reached an all-time high. He was irate at the light in which he had been portrayed by the media. He felt that as a consequence of having been ridiculed and maligned, he would be denied a place in history. His obsession with his place in history was maniacal. When pondering the loss of what he considered his rightful place in history, he would grow despondent and say that all was lost.

28. Visitors were infrequently permitted access to Jonestown. The entire community was required to put on a performance when a visitor arrived. Before the visitor arrived, Rev. Jones would instruct us on the image we were to project. The workday would be shortened. The food would be better. Sometimes there would be music and dancing. Aside from these performances, there was little joy or hope in any of our lives. An air of despondency prevailed.

29. There was constant talk of death. In the early days of the People's Temple, general rhetoric about dying for principles was sometimes heard. In Jonestown, the concept of mass suicide for socialism arose. Because our lives were so wretched anyway and because we were so afraid to contradict Rev. Jones, the concept was not challenged.

30. An event which transpired shortly after I reached Jonestown convinced me that Rev. Jones had sufficient control over the minds of the residents that it would be possible for him to effect a mass suicide.

31. At least once a week, Rev. Jones would declare a "white night", or state of emergency. The entire population of Jonestown would be awakened by blaring sirens. Designated persons, approximately fifty in number, would arm themselves with rifles, move from cabin to cabin, and make certain that all members were responding. A mass meeting would ensue. Frequently during these crises, we would be told that the jungle was swarming with mercenaries and that death could be expected at any minute.

32. During one "white night", we were informed that our situation had become hopeless and that the only course of action open to us was a mass suicide for the glory of socialism. We were told that we would be tortured by mercenaries if we were taken alive. Everyone, including the children, was told to line up. As we passed through the line, we were given a small glass of red liquid to drink. We were told that the liquid contained poison and that we would die within 45 minutes. We all did as we were told. When the time came when we should have dropped dead, Rev. Jones explained that the poison was not real and that we had just been through a loyalty test. He warned us that the time was not far off when it would become necessary for us to die by our own hands.

33. Life at Jonestown was so miserable and the physical pain of exhaustion was so great that this event was not traumatic for me. I had become indifferent as to whether I lived or died.

34. During another "white night", I watched Carolyn Layton, my former sister-in-law, give sleeping pills to two young children in her care, John Victor Stoen and Kimo Prokes, her own son. Carolyn said to me that Rev. Jones had told her that everyone was going to have to die that night. She said that she would probably have to shoot John and Kimo and that it would be easier for them if she did it while they were asleep.

35. In April, 1978, I was reassigned to Georgetown. I became determined to escape or die trying. I surreptitiously contacted my sister, who wired me a plane ticket. After I received the ticket, I sought the assistance of the United States Embassy in arranging to leave Guyana. Rev. Jones had instructed us that he had a spy working in the United States Embassy and that he would know if anyone went to the embassy for help. For this reason, I was very fearful.

36. I am most grateful to the United States government and Richard McCoy and Daniel Weber; in particular, for the assistance they gave me. However, the efforts made to investigate conditions in Jonestown are inadequate for the following reasons. The infrequent visits are always announced and arranged. Acting in fear for their lives, Temple members respond as they are told. The members appear to speak freely to American representatives, but in fact they are drilled thoroughly prior to each visit on what questions to expect and how to respond. Members are afraid of retaliation if they speak their true feelings in public.

37. On behalf of the population of Jonestown, I urge that the United States Government take adequate steps to safeguard their rights. I believe that their lives are in danger.



*The story of your recruitment into, survival of, and predictions about the eventual fate of Jonestown is remarkable. You are a startling testimony to a capacity for overcoming the effects of powerful and oppressive cults and maintaining your integrity throughout your exposure to them. But your story is also a remarkably rare one, especially as we know 913 others did not make it out of the mass suicide/genocide that hit Jonestown six months after your escape. To what do you attribute your exceptional escape from Jonestown, the influence of Jim Jones and the mind of the cult of which you were a part?*

I start *Seductive Poison* with a quote from Victor Frankl's book, "Man's Search for Meaning":

"We who have come back by the aid of many lucky chances or miracles—whatever one may choose to call them—we know the best of us did not return."

I was struck by the psychological similarities in Dr. Frankl's telling of his surviving Auschwitz (including losing his father inside the camp and the relief he felt when he no longer had to care) and mine, including leaving my mother behind when I fled Jonestown.

I believe that to escape a life-threatening situation, one sinks into survival mode—a state much like shock—wherein one makes enormous decisions from a place deep inside one's core. It is there, in that very dark corner, that one fights with love, empathy, and honesty—then silences them to embolden and gather the will to flee.

I did many things that I am not proud of during my seven years under Jim Jones' influence – not least the poor way that I treated my father who stood by me and told me always to ask questions—even of Jim Jones. Or the way in which I viewed my mother once we were in Jonestown—I was terrified that my concern for her would affect my decision to escape. I knew that I was being closely monitored—my facial expressions were continually studied and evaluated (was I crying, anxious, nervous?)—after each visit with my mother. Jim was concerned that I was "too connected" to her (it was reported to him that I had cried upon learning that my mother had cancer.)

Thus, I had to act "unconcerned" in order to be trusted. My survival depended on Jones believing that I loved him more than I loved my mother, that my devotion was solely to him. Once his belief in me was cemented, he felt confident enough to send me

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to the capitol, Georgetown, 250 miles away from our armed encampment, knowing absolutely that I would never betray him nor desert my ailing mother. It was my deceit, in the end, that created the crack in the wall through which I barely crawled.

With regard to shame, I initially struggled with the fear that I would not get my mother and friends out. Six months after my escape, speaking to skeptical reporters, a questioning Congressman, and a disbelieving U.S. State Department, I began to see myself through their eyes and felt embarrassment and shame for being duped. It was not until I worked on the trading floor of an investment banking firm in San Francisco that the years of indoctrination began to crumble. As the "evil capitalists" working there—"outsiders" I had been taught to distrust—took me under their wing, I gradually realized how deeply Jim's propaganda had been ingrained into my thought process.

*You reportedly stated at the recent APA convention: "If I could tell this story and explain it to the world, then maybe I could take myself out of the muck of shame." While one can understand this shame, writers in the field of mind control talk about the helplessness of the victims of mind control techniques, suggesting shame is inappropriate, since the techniques of mind control are so overwhelming. Based on your experience of Jonestown, how helpless do you believe people are in the grips of a cult using mind control and how overpowering are these techniques?*

I do not believe it is a question of helplessness, it is more an internal moral struggle: "How could I be right and all of my comrades be so wrong?"

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In any group, whether there are 5, 100, or 1000 members, there is always dissent. One's inner voice asks: "Can this be right?" If we bring up our children to honor that "first voice," if we teach them that this is their conscience, their innate ability to reason, and an innate warning system, fewer people would find themselves entrapped in religious cults, abusive relationships and frightening work situations.

There is but a fine line between appropriate loyalty to

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the firm and its CEO and blind loyalty. Feelings of dedication and idealism can be distorted and misused. Cultic leaders are able to convince their followers that to question their authority or directives or to think as an individual is selfish and lacking in enlightenment: "Just this once, doesn't the end justify the means? Think of the good of the company... Think of your friends and family who have worked so hard and are depending on you... Do it for your country..." We saw this with Richard Nixon's attorneys and close staffers, and more recently at Enron and Arthur Andersen. These people broke the law and acted unethically because they were convinced that it was the right thing to do.

*In your book **Seductive Poison**, you make reference to the Branch Davidians and the standoff they had with the CIA. You talk about your misgivings about the "harsh, combative language" the CIA used to encourage members of the cult to leave their compound. And you seem to be suggesting that the manner in which authorities deal with cult-like organizations tends to entrench the loyalty of those members to the cult, rather than providing them with an option to exit it. Based on these reflections, what do you believe is the most appropriate way in which the authorities should approach people who are part of a suspicious organization which relies for its loyalty on a highly persuasive leader or doctrine?*

The authorities must understand and accept that there are always people who want out. From within, however, it is far too dangerous to dissent. I wanted out but saw how other dissenters were grabbed and silenced in the Jonestown medical unit, maintained on coma-inducing drugs. Many, if not most, people, if given a real chance or a safe option to escape, would run.

If negotiators let people know that those who take the risk to defect will be given a second chance, more would do so. Some "followers," as was my experience, are afraid they have committed an illegal act during their membership, and suspect that to escape to the authorities would mean imprisonment or worse. Cult leaders, militia commanders, Bosnian warlords, and Al Qaeda chiefs, I wager they all force people into participating in or witnessing crimes or heinous acts (such as my experience with the rubber hose beating) to convince us that to flee will mean harm to our loved ones, arrest, or torture.

*There is some controversy in the field of psychology over the concept of mind control. Many claim it is based in extremely flimsy premises and scientific analysis, while others assert that the absence of scientific evidence doesn't detract from the fact that it is a very real threat in the 21st century. What is your position on this matter?*

Even though I knew that I wanted out and had to escape to be free, I did not believe that I was brainwashed. It took years for the realization to sink in. People don't believe that they are or can be brainwashed. I realized it in a flash of *deja vu* when I was working with a very mercurial CEO who paid me incredibly well. At that instant, I realized that one can be entrapped anywhere, even in a corporation. When I first thought of writing my book, I considered the title, "The Culting of America." Although my experience in Jonestown was extreme, we read or hear about parallel situations almost every day (e.g. Enron, rogue energy traders, etc.)

Correspondingly, virtually all of us have had the experience of failing to stand up for some person or principle when we thought it might negatively affect our career. "Hitler's willing executioners", who murdered countless innocents, are an extreme example.

The point is that when we are convinced that our principles may endanger our family, our livelihood, our lives, we may all become silent accomplices.

*Following your escape from Jonestown, did you undergo any counseling and, if so, what was this?*

After my escape from the Guyanese jungle, I was adamant that I was not going to be anyone's guinea pig. I was angrily defiant and I did not believe that I needed anyone's help. Looking back, had I known of someone I could trust or knew that they were not researching and practising on me, I might have been more amenable to counselling. But given my conditioning, this was probably not possible at the time.

Few know the depths to which they must sink to survive. Unless one has experienced such intense fear, it is impossible to fathom or believe how ruthless one must be to choose – at the risk of the lives of family and friends—to live. It was difficult, from my position, to accept that anyone who had not been through the same type of experience could help me.

*After your escape from Jonestown, do you think you would have benefited from what is now referred to as "deprogramming"? If not, why and, if yes, what kind of process do you think would have been most beneficial and lasting for yourself?*

Of the deprogrammers I have met, I do not think that I would have wanted to be subjected to one. Some deprogrammers are as devout and intense as the leaders from which we escaped. The transition back to "normalcy" needs to be a slow and honest "re-indoctrination" from those people in your past that you once loved and respected.

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