Office Memorandum - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, BOSTON

SUBJECT: GEORGE LINCOLN ROCKWELL
REGISTRATION ACT - UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC
(00: WFO)

DATE: 7/24/59

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-14-51 BY

Re WFO letter to the Bureau dated 5/13/59.

On June 24, 1959, Providence Credit Bureau, 40 Fountain Street, Providence, advised that MARGUERITE ROCKWELL was 42 years old in 1936 and had then been employed as a teacher by the Providence School Department since 1912. These files contained no other information concerning her.

stated her records reflect that [illegible] was about age [illegible] in 1952, and that for some years he has been in the advertising business. She stated her records reflect that as of 1952 he was well regarded by his associates and that he had a satisfactory credit rating.

The files of the Boston Office contain no identifiable information concerning

Business and telephone directories at Providence reflect that JACKSON-1-5432 is listed to BEN H. BAGDIKIAN, 312 Morris Avenue, Providence, a reporter for the Providence Journal-Bulletin newspapers at Providence. Information concerning BAGDIKIAN was furnished the Bureau and WFO in Boston letter to the Bureau dated January 6, 1959, captioned "WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, aka; RACIAL MATTERS," Bufile 100-42537.

RUC. REC-94

cc: 2-Bureau (RM)
2-WFO (RM)
1-Boston
United States Government

Memorandum

TO: Mr. Mohr

FROM: C. D. DeLoach

DATE: January 27, 1960

SUBJECT: UNKNOWN SUBJECTS
"THE PATRIOT"
RACIAL MATTERS

All information contained herein is unclassified.

At 11:35 a.m. today in the office of Senator Eastland called and in my absence talked with Kemper. said that the Senator would like to see Kemper as soon as possible on a matter.

Kemper went to see Senator Eastland and the Senator advised that he had learned through Associated Press that there were a series of articles being carried in the Providence, Rhode Island, "Journal" by Ben H. Bagdikian concerning anti-Semitic matters. He said one of these articles states that the son of a prominent Mississippian has a post office box in Memphis, Tennessee, under the name of and that he is putting out literature that the Jews are to be liquidated; also, that guns are being sent through the mail.

Senator Eastland said that he would like some guidance in the matter, that he didn't think there was any truth in the matter but if it were true, he wanted his Senate Internal Security Subcommittee to start an investigation. He said he would like to have some "leads."

On 1-26-60 a teletype was received from Memphis setting forth information concerning and the alleged post office box in Memphis. It was noted that a summary report was being mailed to the Bureau today.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the Investigative Division get together any information which we can give to Eastland on a confidential basis.

1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Jones

ECK scf
(5) 51 FEB 5 1960

10 FEB 1 1960
Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SAN ANTONIO

SUBJECT: UNKNOWN SUBJECT, aka.
"The Patriot"
RACIAL MATTERS

Rerep SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE dated 1/26/60, Memphis, which sets forth lead for San Antonio at Sherman, Texas.

Sherman located in Dallas Division. Dallas handle.

2 Bureau
2 cc. Memphis
2 cc. Dallas (62-2686)
2 San Antonio (1 cc. SA McWilliams)
LB: JMW
(8)

4 FEB 1 1960

5 7 FEB 4 1960
Respectable' Citizens Core of Subversive Unit

The second in a series which began in yesterday's Sunday Journal on an anti-Semitic fascist movement which plans the overthrow of the U.S. government follows:

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

How does a subversive organization cultivate a community to get across its message and recruit members without revealing itself?


The movement, which has caught the eye of at least one governmental investigating agency, controls its inner core with discipline and tight security, even threatening death to those who betray it or try to infiltrate it.

A memorandum marked "Secret" gives methods of its operations that have found several communities with anti-Semitic signature and have cultivated regional leaders in its long-range revolutionary activities, including some in New England.

The memorandum tells how to prepare a community, a plan evidently suited mostly to smaller communities:

"I. Select a list of names equal to 5 per cent or more of the total population of the community upon which you are working. A. those in a position to influence many others; B. those who can create a background of conversation on our subject; C. strong, intelligent, dissatisfied men who will be good potentials; D. those who might be interested and able to finance our work; E. outspoken and influential members of the lower class.

"The lower class in the final showdown will provide the muscles. DO NOT NEGLECT THEM! All of your top leaders' talent and financiers' money are to provide the means to reach and organize into a secret army the great lower class White Christian Americans!"

II. Send this letter to "Common Sense," along:

Date: 1/25/60
Edition: Evening
Author: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN (Feature Writer)
Editor: SEVELLON BROWN, III
Title: UNSUB, Aka "The Patriot"

PROVIDENCE EVENING BULLETIN

Class, or Character: b3
Page: 3 3
File No.: b7E
Submitting Office: BOSTON
with $1.00 for each subscription. ("Common Sense" is a hate sheet published by Union, N.J.)

"III. Obtain a spirit-
transfer process, address-
ograph and prepare tapes of
addresses for your en-
tire list of names.

"IV. Purchase, in bulk
from the original publish-
er's the literature we re-
commend to be mailed first
class to each name on your
list.

"V. Purchase and send
the secret pamphlets which
constitute our carefully de-
signed program of increas-
ingly frank discussions of
our enemy (Jews). . . . We
must use first-class mail to
preserve secrecy and to
forestall action against us
by the enemy-controlled
government. . . .

"VI. After the emotions
of your potentialities have
been fired, sound out the
most desirable potential
leaders. Those who react
favorably should be loaned
some of the books listed in
The Plan Behind Commu-
nism. When they cry for
action, then, and only then,
breach the subject of join-
ing our organization. After
you have organized five to
ten good, intelligent, en-
ergized, courageous patriots,
work only through them.
They must be dealt with
separately, each kept un-
aware of the identities of
the others.

The instructions call for
tight security.

"Any enemy or traitor dis-
covered in our ranks must be
deal ed with appropriately, even
by death if necessary. This is
war to death! Each com-
mander must have an in-
formant, unknown to his
fellows, who secretly reports
to him anything amiss in
his units, whether it be by
his equals or by his superiors."

It adds;

"Our plans go on from here
to the successful realization
of our goals, but to outline
them further at this time
would be indiscreet."

The Patriot! sends fre-
quent warnings to state lead-
ers not to rush candidates.
"We must first provide
milk for babes before they are
strong enough for solid food.
Do not frighten away par-
tially enlightened converts
with strong talk—this is for
men only."

A later memorandum, pre-
sumably for consumption only
of top echelon leaders, does
describe the next step;

"Community saturation . .
is an intermediate goal . . . it
is not our final goal at all,
but merely a point along our
route. Our goal is the Ameri-
can Counter-Revolution . .
we have not misty illusions con-
cerning the dead-and-buried
Constitution . . ."

At one time the leader told
one regional leader not to
use his movement code name
in communicating with other
rightist groups or with for-
eign fascists.

"If you want to continue
this most interesting sideline
(In Britain, Canada and
Germany), please do it under a
nom-de-guerre at another
address . . . We must con-
stantly remember that we are
counter-revolutionists and as
such are outside the law of
the Jewniated (sic) States.
We must lend two lives. We
must work entirely in secret,
amanously. . . . We are not
trying to win an election . .
We want to restrict the
knowledge of how to commu-
nicate with our center to one
man per state."

Although "The Patriot" en-
courages use of fellow trav-
erers, he warns against over-
zealous operators. Of one op-
erator, he advised caution
because "he believes the
methods of Hitler will work
here."

The movement instructs
members that while Hitler
had the right aims, he was
only a mediocre man and
made the error of announc-
ing his plans to liquidate the
Jews too early and thereby
aroused opposition in other
countries.

The plan of "The Patriot"

is to conceal this plan by
avoiding the use of the word
"Jew," substituting "Phar-see" instead, and not putting
the extermination plan in the
open until 'power has been
seized."

Continued tomorrow in
The Evening Bulletin.
"The Patriot" — No. 1

Anti-Semitic Fascist Movement Plans Government Overthrow

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

A revolutionary anti-Semitic movement involving "respectable" men in their communities has been operating in the United States for at least three years, the Journal-Bulletin has learned.

The group, unlike many crank organizations, operates in skillful secrecy and actually has expelled members who were too open with their opinions.

The movement is headed by a man known to members only as "The Patriot." The ultimate aim — overthrow of the government and establishment of a fascist regime — is kept from recruits until they reach full membership.

The Journal-Bulletin has learned that "The Patriot" is a relatively young Mississippi plan of social and financial standing in his community.

His part in the conspiracy is not known to his fellow townsmen. He travels extensively and has been to Germany, where he claims to have made contact with Nazis there.

The ultimate aim of the movement, as disclosed in intercepted confidential files, is overthrow of the government, establishment of a "White Christian" dictatorship, liquidation of Jews, deportation of all non-whites, trial and punishment of white Christians who have failed to cooperate with the movement, and numerous other changes in the social and economic system of the country based on racial superiority.

Instructions to leaders call for specific attention to infiltrating the National Guard, police forces, and school systems.

There is no evidence that "The Patriot" has been directly involved in recent anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi incidents. But he has been instrumental over the last three years in the anonymous distribution in many communities of some of the most virulent hate literature printed in the country.

Members of the movement have been in touch with Nazi-oriented groups in England, Germany and Canada. One recruit last year attended a secret meeting in Canada of German-Canadians planning to revive publication of "World Service," a pre-war Nazi magazine.

However, it is one of the most virulent hate literature printed in the country.

Continued on Page 10, Col. 1

PROVIDENCE SUNDAY JOURNAL

Date: 1/24/60
Edition: Sunday morning
Author: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN (Feature Writer)
Editor: STEVENS BROWN, III
Title: UNSUB; Aka "The Patriot"
RACIAL MATTERS

Class or Character: b3
Page: 1 and 10
File No.

Submitting Office: BOSTON
Fascists Operating for 3 Years

Continued From Page One

The revolution must come first in the United States.

Main communications depo-
sit for the movement was, at least until recently, a post office box in Memphis, Tenn.

The security procedures of the organization smack of cloak-and-dagger play-acting but the play-acting apparently is being done by grown men with a carefully planned program that has succeeded in finding root in New England, New York, Texas, Illinois, and elsewhere.

Mail to "The Patriot" is sent in fingerprint-free envelopes, the contents wrapped in printed paper to foil special devices for reading through wrappings. It never carries a return address, unless it is parcel post — when state leaders submit books or printed material for screening as indoctrination literature. In such instances a false return address is used.

The communications always were addressed to "J. Smith, Box 2641, DeSoto Station, Memphis, Tenn."

Box 2641 is listed as belonging to "John R. Smith" and "Biological Supply Co., 1435 Clay St., New Orleans, La."

No further identification of "John R. Smith" is given. There is no "Biological Supply Co." in New Orleans.

In addition to this box, "The Patriot" has sent out communications from Texas, where the organization appears to have had wide operations, and Arkansas and New York.

There are other ultra-nationalistic persons writing under the name of "The Patriot," one in Montana. But these have no connection with the revolutionary movement.

Some of the milder tracts of the revolutionary "Patriot" have been reprinted in hate sheets in New Jersey and Illinois, but without further identification of the source, and using only the early stages of the movement's literature.

The literature is carefully graded so that only when a candidate — called a "potential" — is screened and accepted, does he see the specific aims.

Accepted members are instructed to have firearms in good order and at least 40 rounds of ammunition.

Outside the internal communications of the movement, members are supposed to stay out of controversy, not use the word "Jew" in a derogatory way, and to be "charming" with Jews in their communities to allay any rumors about the member's true affiliation.

Members also are instructed not to engage in any illicit sexual connections since this will open them to blackmail and jeopardize security. Members are supposed to report to their superiors any misbehavior by others in the movement.

One zealous candidate in Worcester was dropped because he became openly involved in lustful fringe activities.

A representative of the Journal-Bulletin, having learned the candidate's code name, visited the man in Worcester and on the basis of the code name, was accepted as an agent of "The Patriot." The man begged for reinstatement and displayed a loaded pistol he said he was willing to use for the movement. He was admonished for his rash behavior.

Much of the information on the plans of the movement came from correspondence between "The Patriot" and an elderly New England man of good social standing. The man joined the movement and served as a clearing house for names of suggested leaders.

The material came partly from Gordon D. Hall of Boston, a specialist in the investigation of hate activities.

Further investigation has shown the interstate nature of the movement and the identity of its chief.
One communication that came into the possession of these newspapers was one warning a member that the FBI was "snooping." It instructed members always to say that the only contact they had with the movement was with an unknown superior named "David." Members also were equipped with printed instructions on how to win over FBI agents to the cause.

According to "The Patriot," lists of four major categories of Americans are being compiled by the movement:

1. Its own members.
2. Jews.
3. "Traitors to White Christian America — must be dealt with eventually."
4. "White Christians who refuse to aid our cause."

The only open hate operator in whom "The Patriot" has displayed printed confidence is the most open one in the country, Conde McGinley of Union, N.J., publisher of "Common Sense," a virulently racist paper that has been condemned by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and by the Rhode Island General Assembly. "Common Sense" goes under plain cover to all members. It also is sent anonymously to selected persons in a community being organized by the movement.

In addition, McGinley has acted as a clearing house for inquiries from men on the verge of joining but wanting assurances that the movement is not a hoax or a cranky operation.

The elderly New Englander who ultimately joined, had received a cryptic invitation of sorts mentioning McGinley and wrote McGinley asking about the movement. McGinley wrote back in his own handwriting:

"Mr. — These people are OK — Sober — patriotic — Protestant — educated — determined — controlled — intelligent."

McGinley added:

"There are two ways to cooperate—one of them is too vigorous for your level. . . ."

Continued tomorrow in The Evening Bulletin.
The Patriot - No. 3

Try to Get Some

FBI Men on Our Side

This is the last in a series of an anti-Semitic fascist movement which plans the overthrow of the U.S. government.

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

"The government snoops are trying to get a line on us," the secret memorandum reads.

"There is only one way to handle this: to get some of them on our side."

These were instructions sent out by the chief of a subversive organization with leaders in various states and which up to now has remained unexposed.

There is reason to believe, however, that government agencies have had cause to be concerned, leading to the printed instructions by leader of the movement, "The Patriot," to try to win over FBI agents.

"Many of them (FBI agents) are sick of doing hatchet-work for those whom they know are our people's worst enemies. ... When news of local investigation reaches your ears, get the name and address of the snoop for us and we shall help you prosecute him. Always bear in mind that one Corporal Adolph Hitler was sent by the German Government to snoop on a little radical political group calling themselves the National German Workers Party. He was so inspired that he resolved to become a political suicide."

Among the secret materials of the movement that has come into the hands of the Journal-Bulletin is a copy of a letter to be sent to FBI agents and any other agents thought to be assigned to watch the subversive group. One such letter starts:

"Dear Fellow White Christian: The FBI is being used to investigate an organization headed by a man calling himself 'The Patriot,' which they allege is 'plotting to overthrow the government by force and kill all the Jews. ... Mr. FBI agent and Mr. Policeman, you should do some serious thinking about your own crucifixion. The time has come to choose sides. This is truly race war to the death. ... WHOSE SIDE ARE YOU ON? God be with you, The Patriot."

The anti-Semitic, fascist movement is insistent that members stay under cover, avoid open anti-Semitism, use the word "Pharisees" instead of "Jew" whenever possible, and even be friendly with Jews in the members' own communities in order to "study them" and to allay any rumors that might arise about the members' secret work.

The ultimate plan for the secret society is to arouse anti-Semitism anonymously, recruit strong-arm groups who know a minimum of the
Many people can aid us by providing a mass background of conversation on the truth, even though these people can never be active members in our organization. Always keep in mind that it is the lower classes who will eventually form the mass base for our organization.

"We have a brutal, dirty operation to perform and our goody-goody are not up to it. The lower classes find hating our rich, non-laboring enemy most easy and natural. You will be amazed at how easy they are to enlighten compared to our brainwashed, (mis)-educated, hypocritical middle and upper classes, which are in general craven cowards.

"You must work hard on the police, Gentile judges, prosecutors, lawyers, National Guard—one day we will need these sources of power on our side. Be sure to include school superintendents, principals, teachers and members of the board of education on your mailing list."

"...as added: One, truth you must realize—a priceless ingredient in our movement is discipline."

Communications frequently concern names of men being watched for possible recruitment, plus surveillance of those who are candidates for leadership. Many names, especially in the New England area, are used in the open. When they have been accepted they are given a code name, with instructions to the state leader to have the real name and code name on a piece of paper in a secure place and never keep the two together any place else.

Among the names on the recruitment and active list are some persons who are largely muscular and others, who have social standing and membership in some of the better clubs.

The meticulous screening of candidates apparently resulted in some leaders satisfactory to the movement. One communication reported:

"We have one organizer, whom the Chief has just appointed to be our first state leader, who has found local leaders all over his rather large state."

Well-known rightist propagandists are discussed in a letter from "The Patriot." Some are eliminated as useless or as menaces to a secret movement or as agents of "the enemy," by which "The Patriot" usually means Jews.

The term "hell-hounds" is usually used to refer to the Anti-Defamation League investigating branch of the B'hai B'rith. Other rightist leaders are approved as fellow travelers but not to be placed inside the movement.

Leadership is a constant concern. Women are discarded since, "The Patriot" believes, they must "lead" on men and thus could be unreliable in a crisis.

"A state commander should have sufficient means and personal freedom to find first-class district commanders throughout his state," a communication says. "We have had men who lacked the wealth but had other qualifications, who lost no time in finding a wealthy patron, often a woman. When you come across a ball-of-fire, you will recognize him. They usually are unknown men."

"Since the fight will be long and strenuous, our com-

manders should be in the age group of 35-50 years... Our most effective Patriots are neither wealthy nor famous (with one exception)...."

For years, the recruitment has gone on quietly and apparently with care.
Personal agents of "The Patriot" have actually traveled to see key people in the movement. One such trip was in late 1957 through New England. The man traveled under the code name of "Richard Thomas." The reason for his trip:

"We, of course, need leaders in the other New England states and New York... Conservative noisemakers are numerous there, but our kind of patriots have been forced to lie very quiet... We have checked on the man from the University of Connecticut, and the report is negative.

Our man reports that Colonel ______ is a most presentable man and very quiet—this is in his favor. Both the two men from Boston decided that they were too job-vulnerable for this work. We have not given up, on the sergeant—we believe he may yet work with us."

One letter accepted a new young man into the movement. Earlier communications had expressed some doubts about him for a variety of reasons, but apparently these had been overcome.

"We are pleased with your IQ and your Teutonic background," the letter of acceptance said. "Your age is both an asset and a handicap."

The letter warned him to be prudent.

Anyone who has been too openly anti-Semitic or profascist is quickly ruled out. "We long ago considered the Vermont couple, but were advised against using them. They are too much in the open and cannot possibly go undercover."

Even small infractions of security are quickly admonished.

"Your letter of Aug. 2 lacked postage, which always complicates matters for us, as this requires security-endangering encounters with postal officials. Please weigh your letters."

Many instructions tell members what to do if ever questioned by official investigators:

"If you are ever questioned concerning your communications with our higher echelons, say that all liaison is through a stranger known to you only as David."

For regular mailed communication:

"Use thin leather gloves in handling all secret papers to be distributed. Handle papers and envelopes in typing and in the postoffice between your fingers, used like a pair of forscors. In sealing secret correspondence, swab off the glue from the flaps of the envelope and seal with ambroid cement. Wrap such correspondence in finely-printed newspaper of non-secret printed matter of interest to the addressee."

"Never mail secret literature with the correct return address. First-class mail need have no return address. Use a 'blind' address for parcels of literature."

"The Patriot," leader of the movement, is a relatively young Mississippian considered in his community to be a little eccentric but otherwise noteworthy. Some of his leaders throughout the country have somewhat the same local reputation, others have the shrewdness to cultivate hatred and race superiority into an organized and secret force in the United States.

The movement, despite its elaborate cloak-and-dagger atmosphere, is deadly serious. It is not possible to be sure, but apparently it is not of major proportions at this time. Since it uses fellow travelers with secrecy and skill, and since its opening technique is to make anonymous mailings of the open hate sheet, "Common Sense," it is possible that the outbreak of that paper in many communities and subsequent anti-Semitic incidents are traceable to "The Patriot" and his clandestine movement.

Unlike many crackpot or obsessive movements, "The Patriot's" is quiet, intelligent, cautious, and planning for the decades instead of flashy demobilization or a quick collection of money.

Its danger is not that it seems on the verge of overtly throwing the government and installing a brutal rule of law. "White Christian superiority," but that if left unexposed it..."
URGENT 2-1-60 11-49 AM PD

TO DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM SAC, BOSTON

UNSUBS, AKA QUOTE THE PATRIOT UNQUOTE, RACIAL MATTERS.

REBOSTEL JANUARY TWENTYEIGHT LAST. ADDITIONAL ARTICLE APPEARED IN THE PROVIDENCE JOURNAL SUNDAY, JANUARY THIRTYONE LAST, CAPTIONED QUOTE THE PATRIOT STRIKES UNQUOTE UNDER BY-LINE OF BEN H. BAGDIKIAN. THE ARTICLE DID NOT PURPORT TO BE PART OF THE SERIES REFERRED TO IN REBUTEL AND BEARS NO NUMBER SEQUENCE. THE NET IMPORT OF THE ARTICLE IS TO EFFECT THAT UNIDENTIFIED MASSACHUSETTS YOUNG MAN JOINED THE ORGANIZATION BUT WAS DISPLEASED WITH THE APPARENT ANTI-CATHOLIC ATTITUDE AND MADE INQUIRIES CONCERNING THE ORGANIZATION, WITH THE RESULT THAT HE WAS EXPELLED. COPY OF ARTICLE TO BUREAU VIA MAIL THIS DATE.

END AND ACK PLS
11-52 AM OK FBI WA RAM
TU DISCO

FEB 10 1960
**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REPORTING OFFICE</th>
<th>OFFICE OF ORIGIN</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Memphis, Tennessee</td>
<td>Memphis</td>
<td>3-9-60</td>
<td>1/20 - 2/26/60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TITLE OF CASE**

UNKNOWN SUBJECT, aka "The Patriot"

**REPORT MADE BY**

WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

**TYPOED BY**

FJ

**CHARACTER OF CASE**

RACIAL MATTERS

**REFERENCE:**

- Memphis letter to Bureau dated 2-4-60.
- Bureau letter to Memphis dated 2-19-60.
- Dallas air-tel to Bureau, Memphis, New York, Washington Field and Houston, dated 2-3-60.
- Dallas letter to Bureau and Memphis dated 2-3-60.
- Dallas air-tel to Bureau, Charlotte and Memphis dated 2-9-60.
- Bureau letter to San Antonio dated 2-18-60.
- Washington Field letter to Bureau, Dallas, Memphis and Houston dated 2-11-60.

**ENCLOSURE:** TO CHARLOTTE

Copy of report of SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE, dated 1-26-60 at Memphis.

**APPROVED**

[Signature]

**SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE**

[Signature]

**DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW**

See Next Page

**PROPERTY OF FBI.—This report is loaned to you by the FBI, and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside the agency to which loaned.**

62 MAR 30 1960
INFORMANTS

SYMBOL NUMBER

T-1

T-2

T-3

FILE WHERE LOCATED

Initially reported this report

LEADS

Copies of instant report are submitted for the Atlanta, Chicago and New Haven Divisions inasmuch as they have leads outstanding to consider interviewing possible contacts of "The Patriot" in their territories.

A copy of this report is being sent to the New York, St. Louis, Little Rock, San Francisco and Oklahoma City Divisions inasmuch as "The Patriot" has had past contacts with persons residing in their territories, and since these divisions may be requested to conduct additional investigation in the future.

THE BOSTON DIVISION

AT PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

Will, if no reason to contrary exists, determine from Providence Journal writer, BEN H. BAGDIKIAN, the identity of the young man from Massachusetts who allegedly was former member of a group possibly identical with instant organization, as described in a story in said paper's issue of January 31, 1960, captioned "Bay Stater Expelled by Nazi Like Body." Will thereafter develop sufficient background data regarding this person to determine if he should logically be interviewed.

THE CHARLOTTE DIVISION

AT CHARLOTTE, N. C.
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

COPY TO: OSI, 9th District, Barksdale AFB, La.
OSI, 8th District, Maxwell AFB, Ala.
ONI, 6th Naval District, Charleston, S.C.
G-2, 3rd Army, Fort McPherson, Ga.

Report of: SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE
Office: Memphis
Date: 3-9-60

Field Office File No.: 
Bureau File No.: b3

Title: UNKNOWN SUBJECT, aka
"The Patriot"

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: to be living in , identified as (FNU) in instant investigation. May be connected with instant group. Series of news stories regarding "The Patriot" appeared in Providence, R.I. newspaper in January, 1960 written by newsmaker BEN H. BAGDIKIAN. These stories generally summarized information already reported in this case. interviewed by Bureau Agents 2-26-60. Denied any knowledge regarding "The Patriot" or instant group. Denied that he was "The Patriot."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of any kind. It is the property of the FBI, and is a loan to your agency; it and/or its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.
Eyes
Brown
Hair
Dark brown
Distinguishing marks
Long scar back of neck

NEWSPAPER STORIES REGARDING "THE PATRIOT"

A series of three articles entitled "The Patriot" appeared on successive dates of January 24 through 26, 1960 in the Providence Journal-Bulletin newspaper published at Providence, Rhode Island. The first article was in the Sunday paper, namely the Providence Sunday Journal in the Providence Evening Bulletin published by the Providence Journal Company. The author of the article was BEN BAGDIKIAN, a feature writer. The first article described a revolutionary, anti-Semitic movement involving respectable men and headed by a man known to the members only as "The Patriot" and claimed this group had been operating in the United States for at least three years. The article claimed The Patriot to be a relatively young Mississippian of good social and financial standing. The article refers to "intercepted confidential files" of this group, claiming that they disclose an ultimate aim of the movement is the overthrow of the government and the establishment of a white Christian dictatorship, the liquidation of Jews, deportation of all non-whites, and trials and punishment of white Christians who have failed to cooperate with the movement. The articles claim that the leaders of the movement were to infiltrate the National Guard, police forces and school systems and claim that the group has been instrumental in the anonymous distribution of hate literature.

The articles further claim that members of the group have been in touch with Nazi-oriented groups in England, Germany, Canada and claim certain German-Canadians plan to revive the publication of the pre-war Nazi magazine entitled "World Service." The mailing address of the movement was identified as being one of a biological supply company, 1325 Clay Street, New Orleans, Louisiana; that no such company exists in New Orleans. The articles continued that the movement had found roots in New England, New York, Texas, Illinois and elsewhere. The articles stated that much of the information of the writer came from correspondence between The Patriot and an elderly New England man of good standing, who at one time served as a clearing house for the names of suggested leaders.

A second source of the newspaper articles was identified as one described by the paper as a specialist in investigating hate activities. The articles...
claimed that the person closely relied upon by The Patriot. One of the articles warned that the members of the group should try to convert government investigators and get them to come into their organization. At no time did the articles specifically name as the actual leader of this movement.

The January 31, 1960 edition of the Providence Journal, Sunday edition, in a story captioned "Bay Stater Expelled by Nazi-like Body," written by BEN H. BAGDIKIAN, stated that a young man in Massachusetts confirmed during the previous week the existence of a secret Nazi-like organization in the United States in an affidavit given to the Providence Journal-Bulletin in which he stated that this group had been recruiting leaders throughout the country, and that he was told that it had leaders in every state. This affiant asked the paper to withhold his name in order to protect his parents. He was quoted by the paper as saying the organization was known only as "The Patriot," as was its leader, and that its aim was to cultivate anti-Semitism, recruit an elite corps of leadership, seize the government during some future period of unrest and establish a "white Christian American dictatorship."

The affiant claimed he was never able to learn the identity of The Patriot. The affiant claimed he was recruited in April of 1958 at a meeting held in the home of a school teacher in Eastern Massachusetts, at which place he met an older man, a leader of the movement in New England, who, after several visits, invited the affiant to join. The affiant claimed he later received a letter postmarked Memphis, Tennessee with the return address of a Post Office Box used for all return addresses of instructional mail. He added that the sender used what he assumed to be a false name from a box number in Houston, Texas, Postal District #29. The affiant stated "I was to select a few people in the area to send material to." He added he was to start out with Part T of a fifteen part series of pamphlets and thereafter was to make personal contact with any of his prospects.

The affiant stated he is a devout Roman Catholic and became worried about anti-Catholic manifestation implied in some of the movement's material, and that after making some inquiries about this concern of his leader, he received a nasty letter in October of 1958 from The Patriot postmarked Memphis in which he was told that he had breached security by being too inquisitive and he was no longer a member of the organization. The article concluded that the unidentified affiant had named several persons in and out of New England in the organization and said he still had some friends close to the group.
Unsecretive Report
On the C. I. A.

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

WASHINGTON.

A LAPEL button being sold in
Washington drug stores these
days reads, "My work is so
secret I don't know what I'm doing."
This has been used as an accusation by
some members of Congress and others
who want to turn a permanent flood-
light on the most glamorous citadel
of secrecy in the capital, the Central
Intelligence Agency.

Though the C.I.A. has been under in-
creasing criticism for more than three
years, the present Congressional agi-
tation is considered the most serious.
Some critics would like to keep the
agency under constant Congressional
surveillance. Others want to dismem-
ber it, to separate its three functions
collecting information, evaluating it
and carrying out secret operations.

The immediate provocation is the
furor in South Vietnam, where at
times the President of the United
States and the C.I.A. seem to be at
cross-purposes. Ambassador Henry Ca-
bot Lodge, under the impression, which
is correct, that C.I.A. men in foreign
countries are supposed to do what the
Ambassador tells them, almost openly
challenged the C.I.A. chief in that
area. The Saigon episode is the cul-
mination of a series of C.I.A. crises
in recent times, most notably the crash
of the U-2 plane in Russia just before
the summit conference of 1960 and
the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961. There have been resolutions to put a rein on the agency in the last 10 sessions of Congress, but this year the possibilities of success are greater than ever before.

The C.I.A. finds itself under fire at an uneasy time in its history as a secret agency. Its existence has always been known, of course, from the time it was created by Congress in 1947, and 'since '50, when it assumed its present form, its three chiefs—Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, Allen Dulles and John McCone—have all been public figures. But only recently has the C.I.A. taken on the aura of a conventional Government bureau. It used to live in drab anonymity in barrackslike buildings scattered around Washington's Foggy Bottom, behind the cover, "Government Printing Office." Its headquarters were so unpretentious that President Eisenhower and his chauffeur once got lost trying to find it and had to stop and telephone Allen Dulles for instructions.

Gradually, the C.I.A. has risen to high visibility. Today it occupies one of the most imposing new buildings in the Washington area. Its once awesome initials have entered the language of satire: Cuban refugees in Miami say they stand for "Cuban Invasion Authority," and in 1960 the Soviet Information Bureau used the initials for a book on the C.I.A. called, "Caught in the Act."

Public knowledge about the C.I.A. is a blend of rumor, third-hand information and a few hard facts, which the agency officially never confirms or denies. It has been accused of harboring geniuses, of which it has more than its share, and also an assortment of nuts, dolts and screwballs, and these also are not unknown. The late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy said it was packed with Communists, and liberals have said it is riddled with rightists.

One reason for the wild speculation is lack of certain knowledge. Its basic statistics are not announced. Its budget is not printed where the public can see it; going through Congress in fragments hidden in appropriations for other Government activities. The number and kind of its employees is an official secret. A few of its grievances have been fairly well documented, its successes usually unannounced. There are true heroes and undoubtedly some villains, but you can't tell the players without a scorecard and no scorecard has ever been printed.

Representative John V. Lindsay, of New York, one of the Congressmen proposing a legislative watchdog committee over C.I.A., said in a speech recently that the agency should predict the entry of Red China into the Korean War; that in 1958 a C.I.A. agent told President Nasser to ignore a State Department message, the Egyptian leader was about to receive; that the C.I.A. was deeply involved in the East Berlin, Poznan and Hungarian rebellions in the 1950's; that it was instrumental in overthrowing the Mossadegh regime in Iran in 1953 and the Arbenz regime in Guatemala in 1954.
The C.I.A. has come under fire for fostering the illusion that there was a 3-1 missile gap between the United States and Russia in the nineteen-fifties when in fact there was not. Rafael Trujillo’s former chief of secret police said the Dominican dictator was assassinated in 1961 with C.I.A. weapons and planning. And French newspapers said C.I.A. was behind the revolt of French Army officers against Charles de Gaulle.

On the other hand, the C.I.A. is credited with predicting the launching of Sputnik, the anti-Nixon riots in South America, the rise of Khrushchev to Soviet power, and the Anglo-French invasion of Suez. Harry Howe Ransom, of Harvard University, the leading academic student of C.I.A., says such events are “the top of the iceberg of a vast secret intelligence program.”

According to Professor Ransom, the United States spends $2 billion a year on intelligence operations, of which C.I.A. spends “over half a billion.” It is the only agency of Government whose books are not open to the General Accounting Office or even to Congress. It has about 10,000 employees in Washington and maybe as many more elsewhere. In the past it has been heard on Ivy League circles for leadership but today it employs a wide variety of bright young lawyers, both Ivy and non-Ivy, and acute businessmen, plus some middle-aged foreigners who know how to parachute from airplanes.

American public knows little about the C.I.A., foreign intelligence agencies honor it with unrelenting scrutiny. During the Korean war an important but officially anonymous C.I.A. executive, whom we will call Scattergood, was walking by the door of the Czech Mission in Washington when the doorman bowed and said gravely, “Good morning, Dr. Scattergood.”

It is a truism that 80 per cent of intelligence is pure analysis of conventional documents to provide the basic picture illuminated by shafts of less orthodox light sent in by secret agents. Most of its work is a boring battle of routine words and numbers, but upon it depends the reliability of the world-wide intelligence report the C.I.A. hands the President every morning and its estimates of national power and intentions at critical moments.

The present controversy, though, is not concerned so much with either the secret agents or the war specialists reading foreign budget reports. It is over the more or less secret C.I.A. men abroad who work out of American embassies. At the middle ranks of American diplomats, the political-officer level, about half the men in an embassy may be C.I.A. employees. If there are guerrillas or other paramilitary operations, several hundred of the experts may be from C.I.A.

Career diplomats have a common complaint about C.I.A. reporters abroad. They are, say Foreign Service men, not sufficiently sophisticated but they have money to spend and so have incomparably more freedom and power than regular diplomats. The C.I.A. traditionally pays for information, though not necessarily in cash but through personal friendships that make cars and apartments easy to find, thereby cultivating a sense of obligation and sympathy. The C.I.A. rates its information on a scale from “1” for absolutely reliable to “5” for unreliable and thinks this scale quite stringent (legend has it that a report of Allen Dulles was once rated “2”). But career diplomats think free information is usually a lot better, and that the masses of data collected by free-wheeling C.I.A. men fall mostly in the 2-3-4 categories while the limited cables and professional perceptions of Foreign Service officers are sounder.

Does the C.I.A. make policy? Allen Dulles in his new book, “The Craft of Intelligence,” calls this the most harmful myth about C.I.A. Yet much may hinge on what is meant by “policy.” The C.I.A. certainly does not set national goals or make foreign policy. But such goals and
policy are usually general and
their implementation is left
unspecified, permitting vast
discretion as to how best to
achieve national goals. The
head of C.I.A. sits in the small
and crucial Executive Com-
mittee of the National Secu-
ritv Council; the President has
many advisers but few get as
respected attention as he.

In the field C.I.A. men are
nominally, but not necessarily
in practice, under orders of
the U.S. Ambassador. They
may decide which unions to
back, which opposition par-
ties to subsidize, which news-
papers to strengthen. In one
case, a high State Depart-
ment official wanted a few
thousand dollars to back an
important union in danger of
being taken over by Marxists,
but the source of money, the
C.I.A. demurred. Thus C.I.A.
does not make policy in any
formal way but is a major
influence in the shaping of
national behavior abroad.

Supporters of C.I.A. think
it unfair to accuse the agency
of usurping State Department
functions. They feel, rather,
that it is more accurate to
say it has expanded into areas
unfilled by any other Ameri-
can agency. The post-war
years brought a rude awaken-
ing to the United States. The
world was filled with deadly
serious intrigue and manipula-
tion, in which foreign societ-
est were no longer stable. Dy-
namic change was the by-word
and...many...of these societ-
est were on the verge of becom-
ing part of a global system
hostile to the United States.
Intervention...always a nasty
word in American diplomatic
history, even when it was
practiced, became a major
abroad.

The State Department en-
terred this unpleasant new
world at a serious disad-
antage. Its tradition, more
than that of most powerful for-
the offices, was genuinely in favor
of open and correct foreign rela-
tions. As the official de-
legation to regimes in power,
it had to show extreme delicacy
in making contact with oppo-
sition groups. And it con-
fronted the post-war diplo-
matic revolution during one
of the saddest periods in its
history.

At precisely this time the
State Department was reeling
under a series of shatter-
ing blows. Under President
Truman's Secretary of State,
Dean Acheson, it was attacked
by Republicans and other crit-
ics, and Acheson was held
up as an example of a strip-
pants, pussy-footing, cock-
ieshipping diplomat affluity be-
fore the cynical toughs of Com-
munism. This was, particularly
for Acheson, ridiculous criti-
cism. But charges became pol-
itical issues with a national
cry to "clean out" the State
Department.

After Eisenhower's vic-
tory, Acheson was succeeded
by John Foster Dulles. He
made no secret of his dislike of
most of the State Department
career...apparatus. This was
the era of "massive retali-
ation." There was a feeling
that with the Strategic Air
Command a State Department
was unnecessary. The crowning
catastrophe was the emerg-
e...Wisconsin's Senator
McCarthy...whose attacks on
the department sent its presti-
tage in Congress plummeting,
demoralized its workers and
damaged its influence abroad.

It was during this period
that the C.I.A. was born and
hired its first 10,000 employ-
es. The shift of power and func-
tion was eased by the fact
that after 1953, Allen Dulles
served as head of C.I.A. while
his older brother led the
State Department. In general,
they agreed to the new divi-
sion of labor.

As guerrilla warfare broke
out in a number of areas, the
C.I.A. enlarged its mili-
tary function. This was a novel
and unwelcome activity as far
as the American military
was concerned, particularly
since the Army was already
being reduced to a shadow by
budget cuts and the domi-
nance of the Air Force and
Navy, which had little interest
in petty fights on the ground.
By the time of the Bay of
Pigs, the C.I.A. was in the
paramilitary business on a
fairly large scale, but this fi-
asco cost the C.I.A. some of
its men and functions. They
were turned over to the De-
partment of Defense. There
is now emerging, some ob-
servers think, significant ten-
sion between Defense and
C.I.A., especially with the
creation of the Defense In-
tenelligence Agency, which may
be the beginning of one of
those intelligence rivalries to
which the trade is prone.

The C.I.A. has its own
problems, now that it is under
fire. In the time span of a
bureaucratic lifespan, it is ap-
proaching middle-aged respec-
tability. The most dramatic
sign is the agency's new "Spy
Palace," a sparkling $50,000-
000, seven-story, million-
square-foot edifice of contem-
porary design in Langley, Va.

Even his friends think that
the building is one of Allen
Dulles' few serious errors and
refer to it sadly as "Allen's
Folly." They feel it makes
surveillance by enemy agents
easier. It is also a revelation
of the C.I.A.'s size and power
that will raise the envious
hackle...other agencies —
the State Department and De-
defense Department look drab
by comparison — and it makes
a dazzling target for Con-
geress. Worst of it, all is feared
that C.I.A. employees will be
encouraged to feel pride in
conventional bureaucratic
status rather than in an atle-
The emergence of the C.I.A. as a visible political fixture goes on in small ways and large. A few years ago it was not even listed in the Washington telephone book but now it is, along with the address of its employment office in downtown Washington. (This office, incidentally, is left scrupulously unmarked.) The C.I.A. recruits college graduates (starting salary usually around $5,000) competing with the Peace Corps and General Dynamics. A year ago C.I.A. Chief McCone asked Congress to provide better pensions for spies. And the agency has participated in two of Washington's most authoritative rituals of bureaucracy: it has been picketed (by pacifists) and it has been beaten in a zoning fight (by others, among others, Mrs. Kennedy's stepfather).

The retirement of Allen Dulles and the appointment of John McCone symbolized for many the passage of C.I.A. into a new era. Dulles grew up in the middle of its history, took an active part in international drama, loved intelligence case work and was fascinated by the men who were in the field. He was succeeded by McCone, a businessman, believed to be far more rigid and doctrinaire, and valued for his unsentimental talents as an organizer rather than for his stimulation of creative individuals.

THE REA TLEMENT, silence, unorthodoxy and anonymity. The American ethic calls for self-determination by people abroad, with no outside interference, and it calls for an enlightened electorate at home. It is against secrecy in government, its own and others.

Needless to say, this ethic has always been a goal rather than a perfect achievement, but it puts secrecy and inter-

The CIA, more than any other single agency, represents the dilemma modern America faces in a world where it pro-

claims, the 'Democratic' ethic but where the consequences of nuclear miscalculation and surprise are intolerable.

It is into this scene of confusion and anxiety that Congress is now moving, to exercise its instinct to watch and control the spending of money. A joint committee of both chambers has been proposed, to act as a select set of supervisors in the manner of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Nothing remotely like the surveillance of atomic-energy matters now exists for intelligence operations. Secret operations of C.I.A. are under the jurisdiction of a special committee of the National Security Council, but this is a highly secure Presidential unit, hardly a public overseer. There is also a Presidentially appointed board of consultants, consisting of distinguished citizens, but in its first six years it has had a staff of only one plus a secretary, and its members have been both deferential and inquisitive.

SUBCOMMITTEES of the House and Senate Armed Services and Appropriations Committees have nominal jurisdiction over C.I.A. but they, too, have acted gingerly. The attitude was epitomized by Senator Leverett Saltonstall, of Massachusetts, a member of two of the subcommittees, who said, after the U-2 affair, that he hesitated to probe too far because "we might obtain information which I personally would rather not have."

The House C.I.A. subcommittee meets about five times a year and each session lasts less than three hours. The Senate subcommittee has had about the same schedule for the last ten years. It is not likely that there is a thorough review in fifteen hours a year of an agency that spends more than $500,000,000 in over 70 countries.

But intelligence executives are appalled at the idea of Congressional surveillance. The heaviest specter that hangs over them is that of the late Senator McCarthy. But their fear is even deeper. No intelligence network in the world operates in public. In its operations, lives are at stake, policies are in balance and crucial relations with both friendly and hostile nations depend on discretion. The agency must move quickly in crisis, and report to the President in utter candor no matter how unpopular its message.

"I wouldn't mind a man like Mike Mansfield," one experienced C.I.A. man said, "but when I think of a wrecked pilot or blather it turns my blood cold."

Intelligence operatives re-
member "Tawny Pipit," code name for a C.I.A. operation which McCarthy and his ally, Senator Pat McCarran, both ruthless witch hunters, helped to break up. John Paton Davies, in 1949 a leading State Department expert on the Far East, devised the plan. It would have created an American study group on China made up of distinguished scholars, including some pro-Communists (as well as an unannounced C.I.A. man). The group would inevitably make contact with Red China; the pro-Communists would become the Red Chinese-Russian contacts inside the study group. Then the C.I.A. would introduce phony intelligence about Russia to help sow dissension between the two Communist allies.

McCarthy, to publicize his attacks on Davies, used this as "evidence" of Davies' "pro-Communist" sympathies. When General Smith of the C.I.A. told McCarran's Internal Security Subcommittee the truth, it was too late to save either Davies or "Tawny Pipit."

One alternative to Congressional surveillance is more explicit responsibility by the President and the Secretary of State. But this, too, presents a problem. The C.I.A. is a "dirty" operation and the President and the Secretary of State have to stay "clean." Unpleasant things done in a cynical world are rarely admitted by heads of state. And two exceptions, the U-2 affair and the Bay of Pigs, both harmed the position of the President of the United States.

As the glamour of the black arts decreases, the boldness of Congress will grow. Yet the dilemma has no completely satisfactory solution: secret intelligence is defeated by publicity; democracy is defeated by not enough.
“The Congress has its own will and its own judgment,” President Kenne said, “so it is quite natural that they will have a perspective than I have.” Other President Harry S. Truman with his denunications

HUSH-HUSH HEADQUARTERS—The C.I.A. of offices kept so secret that former President.
HUSH-HUSH HEADQUARTERS—The C.I.A. used to operate out of offices kept so secret that former President Eisenhower once got lost trying to find them. Now, under businessman John McCon (left), it is quartered in this new $50-million building in Langley, Va.
"SUPERSPIES"—Under its last two chiefs, General Walter Bedell Smith (left) and Allen W. Dulles, the C.I.A. attained great power.

CRITIC—Disturbed by C.I.A. activities in Vietnam, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge challenged the agency's authority there.
July 2, 1968

BY LIAISON

The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear [Name]

Reference is made to your name check request concerning Ben Haig Bagdikian and three other individuals.

The central files of the FBI reveal no pertinent derogatory information identifiable with [Name 1] and [Name 2].

The results of a name check concerning Ben Haig Bagdikian were furnished to you by communication dated July 20, 1967. Our files reveal no additional pertinent data concerning Mr. Bagdikian.

The fingerprint files of the Identification Division of the FBI contain no arrest data identifiable with the above individuals based upon background information submitted in connection with this name check request.

A copy of this communication has not been sent to the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

[Serial Number: REC-28 62-5 31406]

ENCLOSURE

1 - Mr. DeLoach (sent direct)
1 - Mr. Gale (sent direct)

[Enclosure Date: 51 JUL 1968]

MAIL ROOM □ - TELETYPE UNIT □
MEMORANDUM

TO: Deke DeLoach

FROM:

Could we please have name checks on the following:

Ben Haig Bagdikian
Rand Corporation
1700 Main Street
Santa Monica, California
DOB: January 30, 1920
POB: Marash, Turkey

ENCLOSURE