

UNFINISHED

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MANUSCRIPT

INTRODUCTION

On December 13, 1962, the Boston Herald published a story purporting to link The John Birch Society with George Lincoln Rockwell's minuscule group of degenerates known as the American Nazi Party. The article in the Boston Herald, the contents of which were widely reprinted in newspapers across the nation, read as follows:

Something new will be added to the South Boston ~~me~~ scene Monday when the doors swing open on the Joe McCarthy Book Store at 327 Broadway.

The store draws its name from the late Wisconsin Senator and will feature a stock of "Americanist" books, periodicals and pamphlets, according to advance information.

According to Philip K. Langan, New England co-ordinator for the John Birch Society, the store will be run by Speros Lagoulis, close friend and financial supporter of George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi Party.

The connection of Lagoulis to a Birch-backed operation marks the first time the two right wing groups have been associated publicly.

Langan said a brochure on the store was presently in the works and would be forwarded to Birch Society members in the near future.

In addition to literature described as "conservative," Langan said the store would also offer government documents from the FBI, the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Committee. He also said the store would feature Cardinal Cushing's book, "Questions and Answers on Communism" as well as pamphlets on Communist techniques written by the prelate.

The store will be open seven days a week from 10 a. m. to 10 p. m., he said. Members of the Birch Society have been urged to volunteer their part time services as clerks in the store on a weekly basis.

Langan said several non-members have already volunteered.

The Joe McCarthy Book Store is the first such operation launched in Massachusetts, according to Langan, but the John Birch Society has sponsored other book stores, stocking similar literature, under different names in other parts of the country.

"One of the most powerful means of effecting a thorough ~~mutual~~ ~~understanding~~ understanding of Communism and our own Constitutional Republic is through organization of "Americanist Book Stores," Langan stated in a letter asking support from Society members.

Iagoulis was fined \$25 in Boston Municipal Court in 1961 for using the name "Nathan Ginsburg" in registering for hotel rooms used by Rockwell and an aide when they came to Boston in January of that year to picket the movie "Exodus."

In the past Rockwell has also used Iagoulis' telephone number as a contact for those interested in attending organizational meetings of

American Nazi Party sympathizers in the area. Rockwell was also arrested in Topsfield while using a car registered to Lagoulis' wife when he was en route to picket an Amesbury lecture by Gordon Hall, Boston authority on extremist movements.

Lagoulis operates the Broadway Costume Co. at 116 Broadway, Boston, and resides at 24 Church St.

In an advertisement announcing the opening of the book store that appeared in the December issue of Monthly Statements, a newsletter published by Birch Society sympathizers, Lagoulis is named as the person to contact for further information. His telephone number, MA 6-3560, is also part of the ad.

The opening of the book store, which Lagoulis will run, marks the first time he has been associated publicly with the operations of the John Birch Society.

To this article, Robert Welch, Founder of The John Birch Society wrote the following answer, which was published in the Boston Herald of

Editor, The Boston Herald

Sir:

With regard to the Lagoulis bookstore, and just for the record:

(1) The John Birch Society does not have, never has had, and does not intend to have any association or contact of any kind with George Lincoln Rockwell or the so-called American Nazi Party.

(2) The policies of the Society are determined by our national COUNCIL and myself. Until your article appeared on Thursday I had never even heard of Mr. Lagoulis, nor—I am sure—had any member of our COUNCIL. To accuse the Society or myself of a deliberate or conscious alliance with the "Razi Party" under the circumstances, is pretty sensational journalism--to put it mildly.

(3) Investigation reveals that Mr. Lagoulis had been carefully cultivating the confidence of our enthusiastic young Coordinator in this area for nearly a year. As a consequence, when Mr. Lagoulis announced his plans to open his "Joe McCarthy Book Store," this Coordinator asked our wholesale book department to sell the store books. One shipment was made--the day before your article appeared. Obviously this was the cue for which the π instigators of this smear were waiting.

(4) We now have about forty-five 'reading rooms that sell books,' known as American Opinion Libraries, throughout the country. They are run, on a volunteer basis, by highly respected members of their local Communities. When our Fort Wayne unit opened about two months ago, for instance, it was given about five thousand dollars worth of free favorable publicity in the local press and over the air during the three-day opening celebration.

We also give wholesaler's service to nearly a hundred independent patriotic bookstores. And in a few instances some of our members help out such stores as volunteer clerks. Our young Coordinator here, acting

entirely on his own initiative, was beguiled into asking some of our members for similar help and patronage for Mr. Lagoulis' store. He should have made a more careful investigation. But the young man did not dream that somebody might be setting a trap for him--or that Mr. Lagoulis had ever even seen Rockwell or any of Rockwell's associates. On learning these facts--the hard way--we have notified Mr. Lagoulis that we shall not sell him any more books; and have notified our members in the five states reached by your newspapers that we do not "sponsor" his bookstore in any way.

(5) The nationwide attacks on the Society come in waves, each one with its own theme and technique. The key to the one now under way was supplied by the Moscow press, describing us as "fascists" and Nazis, in what we believe to be the most extensive smear campaign ever launched by Moscow against non-official opposition, in the forty years of their lying propaganda. The aim of the resulting new attack on us in the United States is, by innuendo, misreporting, slant, and outright falsehoods, to tie us in the public mind with the utterly discredited Rockwell group. How on earth did the Boston Herald-Traveler get beguiled into lending its support to the campaign? You can be sure that the Communist Worker in New York will pick up your article, further increase its distortion, and plant the result far and wide with tremendous glee.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

This, of course, was not the first time that a deliberate attempt had been made to link The John Birch Society with racist and anti-Semitic elements, and we can^{be}/reasonably sure that it won't be the last.

However, because of this incident, The John Birch Society decided to launch its own full-scale investigation of the so-called American Nazi Party and its leader, George Lincoln Rockwell, with the purpose of uncovering, once and for all, the true nature and purpose of Mr. Rockwell's activities. What follows is the results of that investigation, undertaken by the Research Staff of The John Birch Society. It is the first investigation of its kind ever to have been made, and therefore it sheds light for the first time on an area of subversive activity virtually unknown to the American people. It is the hope of The John Birch Society that this investigation will lead to a full Congressional inquiry of this area of subversion uncovered through this initial effort.

Chapter One

AGENT PROVOCATEUR

This book describes an aspect of the conspiracy to destroy our country which demonstrates better than anything else the kind of men who are drawn into that conspiracy, the kind of degenerates, evil and utterly diseased men who spend day in and day out feverishly working for the destruction of their own country. It is an aspect of the conspiracy which many Americans have had at least some peripheral experience, but which, until now, has not been properly exposed to the American public—and that is the work of the agents provocateurs in America, whose purpose it is to disrupt and destroy the anti-Communist, pro-freedom movement and to foment anti-semitic and racist agitation.

Now, it is in the very nature of the Communist conspiracy that the closer it comes to its goal of world domination the more it must reveal of its deceptive techniques. There is no way the Communists can get out of that particular law of gradual disclosure. They can deceive for so long until the deception becomes so obvious to the observer that the true nature of the conspiracy finally reveals itself. That point has been finally reached concerning the operations of the provocative agents in America. Their work

their identity and their techniques are so well known by now that it can be predicted that after the widespread dissemination of the facts in this study, this aspect of the conspiracy will become completely useless to the conspiracy as a whole.

Most Americans, of course, are completely unfamiliar with the term agent provocateur--or, provocative agent in its anglicized form--and haven't the faintest idea what is meant by it. The provocative agent is as alien to America as is Communism itself. But as a special kind of subversive, the agent provocateur is as old as history itself. Classically, the agent provocateur is an agent who infiltrates the enemy's ranks and provokes the enemy into acting in some sort of manner detrimental to his cause. The agent provocateur has been used extensively in many of the world's conflicts going back as far as ancient Greece. But it has never been used as extensively as it is being used today in the struggle between Communism and the free world.

One encounters the agent provocateur very soon after one becomes an active anti-Communist. In fact, when an American becomes an active and effective anti-Communist he suddenly becomes aware of a species of human vermin who, posing as anti-Communist, does everything possible to either seduce him into some sort of racism or at least associate him with some viciously anti-Semitic group. Now, where do these people come from? Why do they always make a bee-line for the anti-Communist? What is their game and what is their purpose? The answer to this last question is fairly obvious: their purpose

is to destroy the American anti-Communist or discredit him. Their purpose is to give anti-Communism so bad a name, to stigmatize it so completely with every loathsome and revolting characteristic possible so that the average citizen at large will decide that between the loathsome Communists and the even more loathsome anti-Communists, he'd better not choose either. But what it does, in effect, is to simply neutralize or render into a state of paralysis the vast body of Americans who oppose Communism but will ~~thereafter~~ hereafter not take an active part in the struggle against it.

Now there is a general Leninist strategy involved in that kind of an operation, a strategy which provides an excellent over-all picture of what the Communists have been trying to do all these years. In 1903, when Lenin founded the Communist conspiracy as we know it, he understood quite plainly ~~that~~ then that Communism could only achieve victory through highly clever, deceptive and stark criminal techniques. He and his associates had no illusion that his kind of despotism would be voted into power. He knew that the Communist conspiracy would never attract a large number of the kind of degenerates he needed to achieve world conquest, for the very simple reason that the human race didn't produce that many of them. Therefore, he and his associates decided that the only way for them to impose their will was to get as many non-Leninists as possible to do their work for them. The method he chose was to organize

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that the Bolsheviks would be swept away in short order. But as we observed, the Bolsheviks had their conspirators working within the opposition's ranks and through the extensive use of provocative agents were able to survive and consolidate their power. As for the mass of the Russian people at large, they were controlled by the kind of naked use of terror and pitiless suppression which made the Czar look like the most benign libertarian on earth. There were few willing to become martyrs under such circumstances.

Chapter Two

THE PROTOCOLS OF ZION

Thus far, we can establish this much: that the Communist provocative agents did in pre-1917 Russia exactly what the provocative agents are doing in this country today, inciting racial hatred, anti-semitic violence, ~~and~~ creating phony anti-Communist groups in order to destroy the really effective anti-Communist groups. Mr. Rockwell and his colleagues are merely America's version of the Black Hundreds. He is not the first of his kind to be operating in this country nor will he be the last. But before he is examined in detail, let us view the larger canvas so that the over-all Leninist strategy can be more clearly seen.

In order to do this let us focus our attention on a curious document which first appeared in Russia in 1905 and has been haunting the world ever since. We shall see ~~how~~ later how it fits in with the work of the provocative agents. The document we refer to is that curious but quite startling plan for world conquest known as the Protocols of Zion. Now this document has long been a favorite of the provocative agent who would deflect the attention of the anti-Communist from the actual Communist conspiracy to some fictitious Jewish conspiracy. Had this document not been partially responsible for the

rise of Nazism and the persecution and murder of millions of innocent people, and had there not been a genuine despotic conspiracy in existence, it could be dismissed as a bad and evil joke. But it is anything but a joke, for it is one of the most formidable instruments for anti-Semitic agitation ever invented by the Communists, and it is being used today by as many Communist provocative agents and their dupes in the United States as can peddle it.

Now, who wrote this document and what does it say? We shall answer the second part of the question first: The Protocols, of which there are twenty-four, are the summary of a series of meetings during which the leader of a world despotic conspiracy, talking in the first person, describes and outlines in vivid detail how their criminal political conspiracy is going to conquer the world. The Protocols open with a highly cynical and nihilistic statement of political philosophy and a view of man as a depraved beast of prey fit only to be controlled and enslaved by the cleverest and cruelest of despots. Here is one of the opening paragraphs:

It must be noted that men with bad instincts are more in number than the good, and therefore, the best results in governing them are attained by violence and terrorisation, and not by academic discussions.

Several paragraphs later we read:

It is only with a despotic ruler that plans can be elaborated extensively and clearly in such a way as to distribute the whole properly

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In the second rank will be the semi-official organs, whose part it will be to attack the tepid and indifferent.

In the third rank we shall set up our own, to all appearances, opposition, which, in at least one of its organs, will present what looks like the very antipodes to us. Our real opponents at heart will accept this simulated opposition as their own and will show us their cards.

All our newspapers will be of all possible complexions. . . .

In order to direct our newspaper militia in this sense we must take especial and minute care in organizing this matter. Under the title of central department of the press we shall institute literary gatherings at which our agent will without attracting attention issue the orders and watchwords of the day.

We are sure that the reader by now, simply by reading these excerpts, suspects who might be their author. But just to clinch things, here is one last short passage which anyone who has ever lived in a Communist state will recognize, be it Russia or Cuba:

In our program one third of our subjects will keep the rest under observation from a sense of duty, on the principle of volunteer service to the State. It will then be no disgrace to be a spy and informer, but a merit.

Anyone, of course, who reads the entire document for himself, will recognize it as the Leninist program itself. This

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and we shall have to limit the scope of this study to one subject only, the Protocols of Zion, which from this moment on we propose to call by its rightful title, the Protocols of Lenin.

Chapter Three

THE PROTOCOLS OF LENIN

Why did the Leninists decide to disguise their program for world conquest in the form of a Jewish plot? Did they do it as a joke or did it have a particular place in their plan? It is easy to see that the last part of the question answers itself quite plainly—the Leninists used the idea of a Jewish plot for several reasons, the principle one of which is quite obvious: the Leninists knew that as their program progressed, its general conspiratorial nature would become more and more evident to a greater number of people, and therefore what better idea could they have than to blame the Jews for the plot and to deflect attention away from themselves. The Jews, again, were being groomed for their traditional role as scapegoat.

Another important reason was Jewish susceptibility to the fear of anti-Semitism. Now Lenin was a master of the psychology of fear or else he would not have been Lenin. Like any despot bent on reducing men to abject and blind submission, he knew what a powerful weapon fear was and how fear could be used to paralyze otherwise rational men into complete inaction. Fear is powerful only inasmuch as it is capable of rendering one's victim impotent, and this is the condition the tyrant wants to produce in his victim. Now Lenin was familiar with the Dreyfus case and all its ramifications. He had studied anti-Semitism and saw how it could be used to reduce an intelligent and influential people into abject political impotence. And because he knew to what degree of influence the Jews, through their energy and enterprise

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This is a rather complicated but ingenious means of controlling a small but important group of people — for the great dread of the Communists is that the Jews may get wind of this pretty despicable scheme, wake up in time and join the anti-Communists in the struggle against them.

However, ~~and~~ so far the Jews have given little indication that they will wake up in time. Their leaders are far less aware of the Communist threat to their physical existence today than they were of the Nazi danger in the thirties, and their awareness then was never translated into practical political action. The question is often asked how did the Jews of Eastern Europe permit themselves to be so decimated in World War II? Why did they walk into the gas chambers like sheep? The answer is that the forces that were to victimize the Jews had simply neutralized them to the point where they had neither the influence nor the will to alter the course of events or were enlisted in a manner so as to promote their own destruction. When one thinks of the countless men, women and children who went to their deaths without the slightest understanding of why they were dying or what circumstances had led them to their extermination, one begins to understand the efficiency with which Leninism victimizes its victims.

Now the John Birch Society is the one American organization dedicated unambiguously to the idea that the Leninist world despotic conspiracy must be destroyed. Therefore, automatically, the Society has become the one organization actually dedicated to fighting anti-Semitism in its most virulent and dangerous form. The very proof of this is the fact that it is the John Birch Society which has undertaken to expose Rockwell for what he is, and not the

Anti-Defamation League, the directors of which are in the forefront of the fight against the John Birch Society. Indeed, it is the greatest irony and tragedy for the Jewish community that their leaders and communal organizations should wage so constant a battle against the Society when it is the Society which is actually fighting their battle for them. But this is the kind of confusing and tragic situation the Communists have wanted to produce, and as long as this situation exists, the Communist conspiracy will reap the obvious benefits of it.

Now, concerning the genetic connection between Leninism and Nazism, the reader's next question might probably be this: weren't there such people as the Nazis independent of the Communists or were they simply the creation of the Communists? The answer is as follows: the Nazi movement was basically the creation of Communist provocative agents who entered Germany in 1919 posing as White Russian exiles carrying the Protocols of Zion with them, in alliance with Germany's members of the world despotic conspiracy. Hitler's entire program of anti-Semitic persecution was predicated on the belief in the existence of a Jewish plot to dominate the world, the very fiction the Leninists had invented and were propagating. Now, there is no question that some innocent people did believe the story of the Jewish plot, but they were few indeed. By 1921 enough had already been published in newspapers about the Protocols to leave no doubt in any rational observer's mind that the Protocols

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were the provocative-agent Nazis. But there is good reason to believe that the network of Communist provocative agents controlling Nazi Germany were centered around Ernst Kaltenbrunner, head of the S.S. and usually regarded as the man most responsible for the wholesale extermination of the Jews. It should be noted that immediately after the war many of the provocative agent Nazis became members of the East German Communist regime, while some stayed on in West Germany to plan a future phony Nazi revival to discredit the West German Republic. The non-Communist Nazis, like the Eichmanns, scattered to the four corners of the globe, changed their names, lived obscurely, stayed out of politics and tried to avoid capture. Others went to Egypt to work for the crypto-Communist Nasser, whose anti-Semitic agitation has become the most important instrument whereby the Arab world is kept under Communist control.

Now this study cannot go too deeply into the Nazi movement and its relationship to Leninism for the simple reason that it is a subject worthy of much fuller treatment than can be given here. What it is necessary to demonstrate, however, is how Leninist strategy through the propagation of the Protocols of Zion achieved its greatest success in the inevitable creation of Nazism, which is the only possible political answer which the fiction of a Jewish conspiracy can produce, and that this success therefore depended on the merciless and brutal destruction of the Jews. One thing is certain and beyond dispute -- without Leninism there could not and there would not have ever been Nazism.

Chapter Four

THE PROTOCOLS IN AMERICA

While the Leninists in Germany eventually achieved a fantastic political success with the Protocols of Zion, their success in the United States was of a different kind. No sooner had the First World War ended than Lenin's agents, posing as White Russian emigres, reached these shores with their own copies of the Protocols. They made a bee-line for our Military Intelligence where the Protocols were translated by a Col. Broughton under circumstances which should have called for a full Congressional investigation at the time, but which never did. Then these same agents went to Detroit and sold the Protocols to Henry Ford, who for the next seven years propagated the idea of the Jewish conspiracy through his newspaper the Dearborn Independent, much to the consternation of the Jewish community. Mr. Ford was finally sued and had to recant.

Now, what is interesting to note is this: that the Leninist agents who had come to America to lay the groundwork for a country-wide network of provocative agents found their most willing dupe in America's most legendary conservative industrialist. And therefore it is hard to blame the Jewish community for harboring a vestigial suspicion concerning the latent anti-Semitism of American conservatives and anti-Communists. The anti-Communist atmosphere has been corrupted so long by provocative agents and their dupes that this suspicion on the part of American Jews, it must be admitted, is understandable and not unjustified. However, the anti-Communist movement in America is no longer

longer what it once was -- that is, the happy hunting ground of the Communist provocative agent. The provocative agent has at last been identified and is being eliminated from anti-Communist ranks. This had to happen before any genuine, effective anti-Communist movement, such as The John Birch Society, could come into existence. Those who have read the Blue Book know that the Founder of the Society was particularly aware of the problem of the provocative agent when he was organizing the Society, and that was one of the reasons why the Society took on the form it did, to prevent its destruction by such infiltrators. But let it be said quite bluntly: the reason why there has never been a really effective anti-Communist movement in the United States or anywhere else for that matter is because, heretofore, Communist provocative agents had virtual control of the entire anti-Communist movement. This control has been finally broken. The Communists had to be thrown out of the anti-Communist movement before it could become genuinely anti-Communist. This has finally ~~now~~ been done.

Now the two principle agents who came to this country immediately after the First World War and began spreading the Protocols and laying the groundwork for racist and anti-Semitic agitation were Boris Brasol and Mrs. Leslie Fry-Shishmareff. If one studies the movements and writings of these two individuals from 1919 to the present, one will have a pretty good picture of how the network of provocative agents grew and developed into what it is today. ^{An} ~~the~~ estimate of the number of Communist provocative agents, posing as fanatic anti-Semitic and anti-Negro "patriots", now operating in the United States runs from about five hundred to a thousand. The number of dupes they have been able to enroll in their various organizations is not more than about three or four thousands.

Their publications reach several thousands more. But these are not the dangerous ones. The dangerous ones are the few highly skilled professional agitators who have been able to obtain press notoriety and widespread fame. Among these would be included Gerald L. K. Smith, James Madole, John Kasper, George Lincoln Rockwell, Edwards R. Fielda and a host of behind-the-scenes agitators unknown to the public at large.

It should be noted that Lenin constantly stressed the need of continued, relentless political agitation as a means of conditioning the masses into a desired frame of mind. Now Mr. Rockwell has been agitating steadily for the last six years. For six years anti-Semitic agitation has been his full-time work, plus the writing, printing and distribution of thousands upon thousands of pamphlets and leaflets, which are mailed to people all over the country. To help him in this work he uses a directory of right-wing organizations compiled and published by the provocative agents themselves. He has traveled across the country many times and has always had the assistance of a small body of highly dependable followers. Anti-Communists who have been engaged in organizational activities, and who know the eternally heavy cost of maintaining such activities, have asked a most obvious question over and over again. Where does Mr. Rockwell get his money from? How does a totally discredited movement like Nazism manage to keep going for six years in a country where the number of Nazi sympathizers could probably be counted on one hand. Who is in back of Mr. Rockwell? Well, because the John Birch Society was tired of waiting for the Attorney General to provide the answers to these questions, it has looked for the answers itself. But before we proceed to give the answers, we want to give the reader an idea of the price that has been paid to get them.

On March 30, 1962, a young active anti-Communist by the name of Newton Armstrong, Jr., of San Diego, California, whose father was an active member of The John Birch Society, was found dead, hung by the neck, in his parents' bedroom. The boy's hands were tied behind his head leaving no

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George Lincoln Rockwell has come and gone. He has divided and conquered. Let us not be deceived again.

Newton Armstrong, Jr, for having inadvertently revealed one of the best-kept secrets of the Communist conspiracy, was deliberately murdered for daring to speak the truth. Obviously, the Communists have maintained a strict policy of liquidating anyone who indicates that he knows or suspects what is actually going on. It is no surprise that the ^{nation's} press deliberately ignored this cold-blooded Communist murder; or that the Justice Department showed no interest whatever in the case; or that Mack Cvetic, one of the investigators privately engaged to pursue the case, was subsequently found dead in his automobile, prematurely killed by a "heart attack." What is a surprise is that the vast majority of Americans still are not convinced that there is a conspiracy.

Chapter Five

WHO IS GEORGE LINCOLN ROCKWELL?

George Lincoln Rockwell was born in Bloomington, Illinois, in March, 1918. His father, George "Doc" Rockwell, who is still alive at this writing, is the famous vaudeville comedian who also a sidekick of the celebrated radio comedian Fred Allen. Rockwell was therefore brought up in a fairly family of some distinction. He seems to have had a perfectly happy boyhood, having spent many of his boyhood summers at his family's home near Boothbay Harbor, Maine. Complications arose after his parents were divorced. He spent time with each of them separately and attended a number of high schools in different localities. However, he was finally graduated from Hebron Academy at Hebron, Maine, in 1938.

In the fall of 1938 Rockwell entered Brown University, where he majored in philosophy. During that first year he also worked on the college humor magazine in collaboration with two sophomores, Vic Hillary and Bob Grabb. As art editor he drew a number of cartoons which revealed a peculiar preoccupation with crematoriums and mass death. This is of particular interest, since the drawings of these cartoons--which had no political implications--~~xxxx~~ preceded by several years the actual physical realization of these fantasies in Nazi-occupied Europe.

In 1941 Rockwell left Brown University to enlist in the United States Navy. He became a carrier pilot and by the end of the war had risen in rank

of lieutenant commander. His record, thus far, would indicate a basic competence and skill. It was also during the war, on April 24, 1943, that Rockwell married his first wife, Judy.

Upon his discharge, Rockwell decided to pursue a career in commercial art. For training in this field, he decided to enroll in Pratt Institute in New York. However, he had not been discharged in time to make the 1945-46 term, and therefore set up a small commercial art studio in Boothbay Harbor where he painted signs and did photography. In the fall of 1946, he closed the studio and headed to New York with his wife. During the first days in New York, Rockwell and his wife stayed with his aunt Helen and her husband, Roscoe Smythe, in Mount Vernon. It was during this period that his wife gave birth to their first child.

As yet, Rockwell's life was non-political. He was absorbed in his commercial art studies. At the end of the first year at Pratt, he decided to return to Boothbay Harbor to open his shop for the summer. He took with him a fellow student, Jack Myers, and his wife Miki, who had agreed to work with him during the summer in the shop. Most of the work that summer consisted of developing vacationers' films.

In the fall of 1947 Rockwell returned to Pratt for another year of studies. His work must have been of good quality, for in 1948 he won \$1,000 for the best commercial illustration of 1948 awarded by the National Society of Illustrators.

After his two years at Pratt, Rockwell returned to Maine. He and two partners formed an advertising company in Portland, of which Rockwell became

president. Apparently, because of under-capitalization, this company did not last very long. According to a story in the Portland Sunday Telegram of July 3, 1960, Rockwell then set up his own publishing company which put out "The Old Maine Guide" and a radio program preview.

"He used to come in and try to sell me space in that guide," says one Portland businessman. "He was a promoter, but very personable--and he always seemed to be very jovial, too, not bitter about anything."

"I recall Linc as a happy-go-lucky fellow, a real good egg," says one Portlander who frequently was Rockwell's luncheon companion in an Exchange Street restaurant.

"He was an extrovert all right, but I don't believe he ever expressed any political ideas or was bigoted ~~at~~ in any way."

Then, in 1950, just when his publishing business was beginning to succeed, the Korean War broke out and Rockwell was recalled to active duty. With the rank of lieutenant commander he was ordered to report to San Diego. Although his marriage by that time was beginning to deteriorate, his wife later joined him in San Diego with their two small daughters.

In his abortive autobiography, This Time the World, Rockwell relates at great length how it was during this period that he became a Nazi. This momentous political conversion supposedly came about after some little old lady whose name he can't remember introduced him to the world of Mein Kampf, the Protocols of Zion and other literary wonders.

Concerning Mein Kampf, Rockwell tells us on page 152 of his autobiography:

"I was transfixed, hypnotized. I could not lay the book down without agonies of impatience to get back to it. I read it walking to the squadron, I took it into the air and read it lying on the chart-board while I automatically gave the instructions to the other planes circling over the desert. I read it crossing the Coronado Ferry. I read it into the night and the next morning. When I had finished, I started again, and reread every word, underlining and marking especially magnificent passages. I studied it, I thought about it, I wondered at the utter, indescribable genius of it."

But curiously, the world would have to wait a full seven years before Rockwell would get around to telling anybody that he was a Nazi.

Why? Our guess is that he did not become a "Nazi" until much later and that the story of his San Diego conversion is something of a fabrication to obscure the actual facts concerning his real "conversion" much later.

In 1952 Rockwell was ordered to report to Norfolk, Virginia, for further assignment. He was assigned to the Keflavik Air Base in Iceland, which meant that his family would not be going with him. This new separation from his wife contributed to the further deterioration of their marriage.

Iceland seems to have been the turning point in Rockwell's life, for it was there that he met his second wife to be, Thora Hallgrimsson, the niece of the Icelandic Ambassador to the United States and a member of a

a very prominent Icelandic family.

He had met her at a diplomatic party and it had been virtually love at first sight. A few weeks later he wrote his wife Judith and asked her for a divorce. She agreed to the divorce, provided that Rockwell assured her and the three children (a third child had been born in San Diego) of a monthly income of \$400. To get this divorce, Rockwell agreed to the terms.

As for his love for Thora, Rockwell writes: "Nothing could quench the blazing fire between us, and after a passionate and wonderful courtship of only five months, we were married in Iceland in the National Cathedral in Reykjavik, where her uncle is the Bishop of Iceland, on October 3, 1953."

Iceland seems, indeed, to have been the turning point in Rockwell's life. Not only did he change wives, but he also tells us that it was in Iceland that he first began writing anti-Jewish tracts, convinced as he was that Communism was a Jewish plot to dominate the world. This is a rather strange idea to have in Iceland where there are no Jews, but where there exists one of the largest and most active Communist parties in the free world. In fact, were the American Communist Party proportionately equal in size to that of the Icelandic Communist Party, we would have 14 million Communist Party members in the United States.

Chapter Six

U. S. LADY

In 1954, Rockwell returned to the United States with his new wife and their two children. One child was Thora's of a previous marriage; the second had been born in Iceland eight months after their marriage. For their first few weeks, the family lived with Thora's uncle at the Icelandic Embassy in Washington.

While still in Iceland, Rockwell, anticipating his return to civilian life, had conceived the idea of publishing a magazine for servicemen's wives, to be called U. S. Lady. The financing of U. S. Lady would be through a sale of stock to servicemen's wives, and while still in Iceland he had managed to obtain pledges for the sale of about \$8,000 worth of stock. On reaching Washington, Rockwell presented his idea to the armed forces at a meeting in the Pentagon, and the Department of Defense assured him of its cooperation.

Now, there were a number of things that were peculiar about U. S. Lady. First, its conception. Rockwell describes it in his autobiography as follows:

I had observed that the wives of service men were being shipped all over the world and being constantly moved and transferred into wild

and strange surroundings with no advance knowledge of conditions.

Their problems were totally different from ordinary housewives, especially as America began, unofficially to police the world. . . . Here appeared to be a market unserved

But in addition to that, I realized that such a magazine would have powerful political force. I had carefully observed the technique of sly propaganda--always in the form of entertainment and information,--in all the Jewish dominated papers, magazines, books, etc.,--and believed that I could reverse the process with my magazine for service wives.

I would have to be very subtle, of course, but I could, as months went by, begin to drive out the filthy ideas of Marxism, 'mass democracy' and ~~and~~ racial defilement,--and replace them with ideas of authoritarian constitutional government and racial self-respect.

In other words, Rockwell, writing in his autobiography in 1961, would have us believe that in 1954 he was some kind of a secret Nazi. Well, the first issue of U. S. Lady appeared in September, 1955, with Rockwell's name on the masthead as publisher. On page 66 of that issue appeared the following biographical sketch about Rockwell with a photograph of him and his family:

Captain G. Lincoln Rockwell pleads guilty to being a character but he also has more than a flash of genius and he is a deeply rewarding person to work with. The son of Doc Rockwell of vaudeville and radio fame, he was a student at Brown University until the war, when he entered the Navy. He was a Navy pilot in World War II and the Korean conflict, is an artist

and designer of some standing (First Prize, National Illustration Competition, 1948), loves children and is the father of three daughters by his first wife, and has two and two-thirds children as we go to press by his second wife. The Navy is one of his consuming interests but only one. His deep interest in people is the prime reason for the magazine you now have in your hand. He's not easy to know--when you hold the phone six inches from your ear while talking to him you'd swear he was a rank extrovert--but when you see him with his two young sons you suddenly discover that he is also a person of deep sensitivity.

The lovely Thora, Comdr. Rockwell's Icelandic wife, is the niece of Iceland's minister to this country and of Iceland's Prime Minister. Mrs. Rockwell has shown remarkable patience, understanding and fortitude throughout the struggle to make U. S. Lady an actuality. And a struggle it has been -- with many days when it was necessary to raid the stamp fund for lunch money and carfare. We've even been accused by the building management of setting up housekeeping in the offices and such a step was actually contemplated. But Mrs. Rockwell has remained serene through all the strife and, in addition to caring for two young sons, Ricky 4, and Lincoln Hallgrimur 1, has worked on the subscription and circulation records.

The above hardly seems to have been written by a secret Nazi. In fact, as one goes through the pages of that first issue of U. S. Lady, one discovers that the "Legislation Editor" of the magazine was none other than Fred Lardner, described in the magazine as "a Washington correspondent, member of the

Congressional Periodical Press Gallery and the White House Correspondents Association and none of several Lardners now in editorial work who were relatives of the late Ring Lardner." The Lardner family has long been associated with pro-Communist causes, which would make it unlikely indeed that a secret Nazi would choose a Lardner to be Legislation Editor of a magazine which was supposed to "reverse" the pro-Marxist trend. But apparently, Rockwell had even more interesting plans for the magazine, for in the second issue we are informed that Mr. Lardner has been put in charge of preparing suggested plans for a National Federation of Service Wives to be sponsored by the magazine.

But the time U. S. Lady reaches its fourth issue, one begins to suspect what Rockwell and his colleagues may have been up to. In an article outlining plans for a new feature to be called "Post of the Month," Rockwell wrote:

As you will notice, we have been covering major clusters of service installations in the first issues, and we will continue to do this until we have covered all major service areas throughout the world.

This phase should be completed in approximately 18 ~~months~~ issues. After that we will start covering individual posts and stations and include addenda to area reports, previously printed, to bring them up to date.

In this way service families can maintain an up to date directory of any major service area to which they may be sent by keeping and referring to the first 18 copies of U. S. Lady. Subsequent issues will give much more detailed pictures of specific places to which they may be ordered for temporary duty or permanent change of station.

This procedure we believe will provide maximum needed information of a general nature quickly and provide more leisurely exposition of details later.

In other words, Rockwell had worked out a plan whereby a "directory" of our far-flung military installations could be compiled and kept up to date-- ostensibly for the use of service wives. Note the terms use by Rockwell: major clusters of service installations; major service areas; individual posts and stations; detailed pictures of specific places. What a wonderful source of information U. S. Lady could be to Soviet Military Intelligence. And if agents of Soviet intelligence were working for the magazine, or were even owners of it, they would have access to even more valuable information through the maintenance of the mailing and subscription lists. They could easily keep track of the movements of our soldiers and officers by simply keeping records of the changes of addresses of the subscribers.

All of which leads us to a very curious episode involving Rockwell, U. S. Lady, Soviet intelligence and the FBI. We shall let Rockwell describe it in the words of his own autobiography:

One of the things distracting me was an effort by a gang of Reds to get control of the magazine. . . . I was approached by Frank Bryer, from the Army Times, who took me to lunch at the George Washington Roof, told me that "big interests" were considering supporting me, and wanted me to put out a companion magazine to U. S. Lady to be called "U. S. Officer." . . . He was drinking martinis one after the other, and,

as I pressed him to explain how this magazine would be a financial success, he kept saying his "big interests" had plenty of money to cover it. I explained that such a book would lose millions permanently and asked where in hell they would get money like that. He was obviously flushed with the gin, and drew me close. "From the Soviet Union," he said, not kidding. I pretended to laugh and let the subject drop.

I went back to the office and told Mrs. Brownlow of this. (Note: Mrs. Jane Brownlow, a retired general's daughter, had become interested in working for U. S. Lady.) We figured he was perhaps just too drunk to know what he was saying.

But he followed it up. He told me that the "interests" were in Texas, and were ready to pay my fare and expenses to come down there and talk over the deal. I wanted nothing to do with it, of course, and told Mrs. Brownlow to say nothing to anybody. But she did anyway. Her boy friend at the time was an Army officer who did some shooting at a range with an FBI friend. She told the officer, who told the FBI friend.

So I got a call from FBI agents, and told them the story when they asked me to. They suggested I go and see what it was all about, and implied that there would be agents around in case it was dangerous. So I agreed to investigate the thing.

There was a moment at home with my wife, when I saw how she and the kids had to live, that the temptation to take the deal was almost overpowering. I knew then how the Reds operate, and knew that I could assure

a happy and successful career for the rest of our lives, with luxury and security, ~~was~~ just by going along with these people and pretending not to notice what was going on. . . . But once again my dear, brave wife agreed with me that we must scorn this nasty deal, and fight our way through by ourselves.

I went down to Dallas and met the "contact." I was taken to a millionaire's club, and listened to the proposition. They wanted fifty-one percent of the stock--control--in return for fat financing, and there was some talk of printing the magazine on the presses they owned in Texas.

The millionaire was the last person in the world I would expect to have anything to do with Frank Bryer, the man in Washington who broached the ~~stock~~ deal. He was the soul of conservatism, and seemed to know little ~~of~~ of what was going on. We came to no agreement, and I flew back to Washington.

Then the FBI double-crossed me--unintentionally, I feel sure now. I had told them that Bryer was with the Army Times, an outfit which could have ruined me in the service publishing business, and I did not want him to know I had given the story to the FBI. But they interrogated him anyway, and let him know that they were looking into the "Soviet Union" bit.

Bryer called me in horror when the FBI had left, and I had Jane Brownlow listen in to ~~me~~ witness the incredible call. He said he was "hot" and would have to clear out of town and was going to "hide out" up

in Philly for a while. I managed to convince him that I couldn't imagine who had "squealed," and he suggested that I, too, "lie low." Then he blasted the FBI unmercifully, said he gave a speech about FBI tyranny and snooping at his Methodist social action group -- and left for Philly.

This incredible story by Rockwell deserves some examination. He tells us that Frank Bryer of Army Times approached him, but he doesn't tell us why Bryer proceeded to act as if he had Rockwell's complete, pre-arranged conspiratorial confidence. Then, after Bryer had revealed that the money for the new magazine would come from the Soviet Union, Rockwell didn't even bother to inform the FBI about it. Instead, he told Mrs. Brownlow. "We figured he was perhaps just too drunk to know what he was saying," he writes. Not very perspicacious for someone who had supposedly absorbed the wisdom of Mein Kampf and read the Protocols of Zion and was now engaged as a secret Nazi in a secret one-man war against the "Jewish conspiracy."

"But he (Bryer) followed it up," writes Rockwell. "He told me that the 'interests' were in Texas, and were ready to pay my fare and expenses to come down there and talk over the deal. I wanted nothing to do with it, of course, and told Mrs. Brownlow to say nothing about it to anybody."

Why did Rockwell tell Mrs. Brownlow to say nothing to anybody about it? Why didn't he himself go instantly to the FBI? Was he hoping to cover up Bryer's blunder or cover up his own blunder? In any case, Mrs. Brownlow did tell an Army officer friend about the Bryer proposal. "So I got a call from FBI agents," relates Rockwell, "and told them the story when they asked me to."

The implication, it seems, is that Rockwell would not have told them if they had not asked him. "They suggested I go and see what it was all about So I agreed to investigate the thing."

Rockwell's next thought is even more puzzling. He tells us that there was a moment with his wife, when seeing how she and the children had to live, "the temptation to take the deal was almost overpowering." Why should this have been so? In the first place, he had said that he "wanted nothing to do with it," implying that he had had no intention of meeting Bryer's contact at all until the FBI had "suggested" that he go see what it was all about. And in the second place, he hadn't even been offered any deal as yet, unless Bryer's conversation had gone much further than Rockwell revealed. He tells us how he could have assured himself a happy and successful career, with luxury and security if only he had been willing to go along with "these people" and pretended not to notice what was going on. But then he and his brave wife agreed to scorn "this nasty deal."

Since when do Soviet agents or Communists become "these people," or a scheme to betray one's country "this nasty deal"? A very peculiar point of view for someone who had secretly dedicated himself to fighting that terrible "Jewish conspiracy" Communism. The implication is that Rockwell and his wife gave up a wonderful economic opportunity so that they could "fight our way through by ourselves." The implication is that you become a patriot when you turn down an offer to become rich by working for the Communists. What Rockwell overlooks is the minor fact that the Communists only offer such economic opportunities to those already inside the Communist conspiracy or those

sufficiently sympathetic with Communist aims to warrant Communist trust. The Communists do not go around offering lucrative financial deals to innocent Americans on the off chance that they will pretend not to notice what is going on. The Communist conspiracy would have never reached its present degree of success had it used such unsure means to promote its interests and extend its control.

Rockwell then tells us that he went down to Dallas and met the "contact." He was then taken to a millionaire's club and listened to the proposition. "The millionaire was the last person in the world I would expect to have anything to do with Frank Bryer He was the soul of conservatism," writes Rockwell. Rockwell doesn't tell us who the millionaire was, or where the millionaire's club was located, or the date of the meeting. This is rather odd, as we shall see later, when Rockwell becomes engaged in trying to entrap another conservative millionaire, Russell McGuire, in an anti-Semitic scheme.

After the Dallas meeting, Rockwell flew back to Washington. "Then the FBI double-crossed me--unintentionally, I feel sure now," he writes. What was the nature of the "double-cross"? Rockwell explains it as follows: "I had told them (the FBI) that Bryer was with the Army Times, an outfit which could have ruined me in the service publishing business, and I did not want him to know I had given the story to the FBI. But they interrogated him anyway" Which means, according to Rockwell, that the Army Times would have wanted to ruin him for doing his patriotic duty and exposing a Red subversive in their organization. The normal reaction would have been just the opposite. The

Army Times would have given Rockwell a medal for exposing a dangerous subversive who had infiltrated its staff.

But what did Bryer do after he had been interrogated by the FBI? Did he suddenly realize that Rockwell was no longer to be trusted? Did he recognize his faux pas in having approached the patriotic Mr. Rockwell in the first place? No. He telephoned Rockwell with the complete confidence that Rockwell was still on his side. Rockwell describes the phone call as follows: "Bryer called me in horror when the FBI had left, and I had Jane Brownlow listen in to witness the incredible call. He said he was 'hot' and would have to clear out of town and was going to 'hide out' up in Philly for a while."

Now, what is so obviously wrong with Rockwell's account? In the first place, no genuine Communist agent, knowing that the FBI was hot on his trail, would telephone a fellow conspirator through an office switchboard, knowing full well that the phone could be tapped, listened in to, or the conversation taped. The fact that Rockwell had Jane Brownlow listen in to the call suggests, rather, that the call was deliberately planned so that Rockwell could emerge from this compromising situation unscathed and unsuspected.

Whatever the actual circumstances of Rockwell's involvement with Bryer, it is obvious that Rockwell was not the innocent bystander he would have us believe he was. Certainly the subject of Communist infiltration of the publications which serve our Armed Forces should be the subject of a Congressional investigation. Perhaps only then shall we be able to know what actually

transpired between Rockwell, Bryer, the Dallas "contact," and the Red financier.

It was soon after the Bryer episode that Rockwell sold out his interest in U. S. Lady. He relates that his decision to sell out was forced by the pressure of a group of conspiring ladies on the magazine, the underwriter of the stock issue, and his creditors. It is also quite conceivable that Rockwell's superiors decided that he could be more useful to them in a less compromised situation, and therefore ordered him to sell out. In any case, Rockwell's connection with U. S. Lady came to an end in January 1956 when he sold out his interest to one John B. Adams of Washington, D. C.

Chapter Seven

THE NETWORK

Immediately after his severance with U. S. Lady, Rockwell decided to take a two-week rest. His wife Thora had just given birth to their third child. And so, he used these two weeks to think about the future. He writes:

Since I had been unable to keep the vehicle I intended to use for political reform, I decided to go directly into politics, if I could somehow find a way to earn two livings at the same time. (p. 191)

It should be remembered that Rockwell was required, by his divorce agreement, to support his first wife. This financial handicap and his family responsibilities, however, scarcely stood in the way of his future career. These were his thoughts:

By this time, I had plenty of opportunity to look over the activity of the "right wing"--the conservatives--and had come to the conclusion, in my total ignorance of the real nature of the case, that all they needed to succeed was an organizational drive to get them "together," with a businesslike plan. (p. 191)

It seems rather odd that a commercial artist with a limited experience in magazine publishing would suddenly decide to take it upon himself to organize the "right wing" when up to that moment he had had no contact whatever with any conservative organizations, knew no conservatives, and had never publicly expressed a conservative thought, although as publisher of U. S. Lady ~~magazine~~ he had had a vehicle for a few months at his disposal in which he could have expressed himself. Instead, he had chosen Fred Lardner as Legislative Editor and had become involved with Frank Bryer. Now, suddenly, with no qualifications whatever, he decided to organize the "right wing."

What did Rockwell's plan consist of? He conceived the idea of a national "right wing" newspaper, to be called the Conservative Times. Then he decided to organize a right-wing meeting in Washington. He purchased a series of radio spots in February 1956 before and after the Fulton Lewis show to announce the meeting of his group, which he called "The Diehards." The name he chose was already bound to endear him with conservatives. Rockwell describes the results as follows:

The response seemed to be gratifying. Hundreds of people called and I arranged with one of them, Sam Jones, the correspondent of Bill Buckley's National Review, to use his lovely old Virginia mansion in McLean for our first meeting.

Of the hundreds who called, only about fifty showed up at the meeting, including John Kasper and an Arab friend.

From time to time somebody in the audience would ask "What about

the Jews!"--and there would be snickers and shifting around of feet, like grammar school kids when somebody mentions the word "sex." Then I would scold the "Dold" character for such a "disgusting display of prejudice," making my righteous love of the wonderful Jews very clear, and even sharing knowing winks with some close friends at my "clever" deception.

This is a rather queer way to get started in conservative politics. It is difficult to attribute Rockwell's sudden display of political ineptitude to ignorance. He had risen to the rank of Commander in the Navy, had gone to college, had won a national poster award--all of which could not have been achieved without better-than-average intelligence.

Nor had his wife, Thora, niece of the Icelandic ambassador and daughter of a prominent Icelandic business and political leader suddenly gone off her rocker, too, although she had taken up a little collection during the meeting. One asks, how could a young mother of three small children have approved of her husband's new career which showed no prospects of providing her family with the food needed to feed it.

The answers to these questions would become obvious in time. However, the key to that first Rockwell meeting, of course, was the presence of John Kasper, a professional agent provocateur who had just begun to obtain national notoriety in the press. Obviously, Rockwell had already met Kasper prior to the meeting as well as the other "close friend" with whom he shared his "knowing winks." Rockwell describes his friendship with Kasper as follows:

I became friendly with this unknown John Kasper, and he often stayed at our home in Vienna, Virginia. He ran a tiny right-wing bookstore in Georgetown which was frequented by a Bohemian set of odd-balls, dopists, poets and patriots. We confessed to each other our dedication to Adolph Hitler, whom we called "The Saint,"--but he had an even greater love, Ezra Pound--the famous poet and broadcaster for Mussolini who was locked up as a nut in Saint Elizabeth's. John Kasper led a circle of worshipful admirers who sat at the master's feet there in the ward full of raving madmen. I attended one of these sessions with my wife one Sunday, and it was an unbelievable afternoon. There was a barefoot lunatic pacing up and down beside the group seated around Pound, silently giving hell to an invisible companion. . . . Meanwhile the group was at the feet of Ezra, who wore shorts, sandals, a loud shirt and a beard. They included a lady dope-fiend, an artist, a beatnik who said he was a poet, John Kasper's hefty blond girlfriend Nora Devereaux, John Kasper, Pound's almost silent wife, my wife, and I. (p. 194)

Kasper had come to Washington, apparently, for more important reasons than simply opening a bookstore and visiting Ezra Pound. He had come there to organize the first White Citizens Councils to resist the school integration order by the Supreme Court. The springboard/organized for his activity was which he the Seaboard White Citizens Council, whose most active members were later to become the nucleus of Raskvill's Nazi operation.

By September, 1956, John Kasper was to prove his mettle as a skilled agent provocateur. The town chosen to be the guinea pig of Kasper's group of agitators was Clinton, Tennessee, where the local high school was due to be integrated. The New York Times of September 1, 1956, described Kasper's activity as follows:

Kasper arrived in Clinton last Sunday and announced that he was an official of the Seaboard White Citizens Council. He urged that local parents protest the integration at Clinton High School.

The integrated classes opened Monday, with twelve Negro pupils among some 800 white students. Under the exhortations of Kasper, some students and some adults picketed the building.

At first there were no incidents. On Wednesday and Thursday, however, there were several flare-ups in the community, involving a few interracial fist fights and milling mobs around the school yard. Several arrests were made.

Wednesday night Kasper addressed some 1,000 persons from the courthouse steps. It was then he was served with the injunction. Kasper continued to address the rally and urged that the school integration be stopped through local action. This constituted the violation of the restraining order.

Clinton High School is the first state-supported public school to be integrated in Tennessee.

The court order did compel Kasper to take a more ~~an~~ passive role in the Clinton agitation. But others, following his directions, whipped up the mobs. One agitator, Asa Carter, president of the North Alabama White Citizens Councils, was quite effective. That same Times story wrote the following:

After Mr. Carter's speech the crowd turned into a mob, chanting, yelling and shouting as it spilled into the main thoroughfare, blocking traffic.

The situation in Clinton, which had made headlines throughout the world, deteriorated. The New York Times of September 3, 1956 characterized Kasper's role as follows:

The main pro-segregationist speaker responsible for stirring local feeling during the week was John Kasper, 26-year-old native of Camden, N. J.

And on the following day, the Times wrote:

Segregationists from outside, led by John Kasper, 26-year-old native of Camden, N. J., stirred community feeling about local school integration and touched off crowd demonstrations.

What John Kasper ~~was~~ ^{before} doing had been done by dozens of similar well-trained, professional agitators in other countries. In Russia the same technique had been used to create the atmosphere for anti-Jewish pogroms.

The Clinton riots, however, which resulted in the calling out of the National Guard, were instigated as only the beginning of a long-range program planned to provoke progressively greater military interventions as time went on. The next step would be Little Rock, and by 1962 the country would be ready for the full-scale invasion of Oxford, Mississippi.

However, as a beginning, Clinton was quite adequate. The New York Times of September 8, 1956, described the military intervention in Clinton as follows:

Clinton's strife-torn hours were touched off at 10 P.M. last Friday following four days of pro-segregationist activities in which outsiders railed against racial integration at Clinton's public high school. . . .

The National Guard entered the town with 633 men with full combat equipment, including seven M-41 tanks, three armored personnel carriers and a helicopter.

What of the outsider who had caused all of this? Was the press very much interested in finding out who he was and who were behind him? The New York Times of September 5, 1956 published this biographical sketch which, as usual, provoked many questions about Kasper which it never bothered to answer:

Frederick John Kasper, a long, lean man of 26, seemed headed for an inconspicuous life among books before his fight against integration led him to jail for contempt of a Federal Court in Tennessee.

Extremist ~~views~~ tendencies that made him a leader in demonstrations for segregation in Clinton, Tenn., were not apparent to those who knew this Northerner as a boy in Merchantville, N. J., or as a student at Columbia University.

During his earlier years in New Jersey, where he was born, he was recalled as a well-mannered, studious, though not extraordinarily talented.

At Columbia, which he entered after two years at Yankton College, at Yankton, S. D., the impression he left was that of a fairly good student, particularly interested in philosophy, English literature and German.

In 1951, when he received his Bachelor of Science degree, he gave little indication of ideas he had advocated in recent months.

As organizer of the Seaboard White Citizens Council, Kasper has said his group planned to end integration in Washington, put the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on the Attorney General's subversive list, and abolish rock-and-roll music.

A pamphlet detailing the convictions of the group has condemned "pink punks" and "freaks, golf players, poodle dogs, hot-eyed Socialists, Fabians, scum, mold on the top of the omelette." Also condemned are "liars for hire, the press gang, degenerate liberals crying for petrefaction of putrefaction."

Even now, persons in Mechanicsville, a suburb of Camden, are considerably ~~not~~ surprised at Kasper's strong views. Ten persons who knew him when he

was an adolescent agreed that he was affable, though not gregarious, with no apparent interest but books.

After he moved to Washington last fall he opened a book store in the Georgetown section, which has a reputation as an oasis for tolerance and intellectualism.

But in June of this year, Kasper's rebellion flared. He then formed his organization affiliated with the Citizens Council in Alabama. Members of Kasper's group had to be white, 18 and "believe in the Divinity of Jesus Christ." He said his organization was not anti-Semitic, but that Jews were not eligible to join.

Since Kasper's name has figured in the news, however, there have been reports that he was active in movements before he went to Washington.

One such report was forwarded yesterday to the Senate Internal Security subcommittee by the Jewish Labor Committee, which represents about 500,000 Jewish workers in the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The labor group asked Robert Morris, the counsel of the Senate group, to check information it had received that Kasper had been "active with the neo-Nazi Renaissance party of New York and has also attended the Communist party's Jefferson School."

One would have expected the New York Times, with its vast resources for research, to have followed up these sensational leads regarding Kasper's reported Communist connections. However, as expected, there was no follow up. Nor did the Times bother to ask why a Northerner who had been brought up in integrated

New Jersey and had attended one of our great liberal universities in New York should suddenly have felt so concerned about the impending integration of a school in Tennessee, as to organize and lead a pack of agitators to incite riot, which would result in his arrest. Nor did the Times seem to be terribly interested in what Kasper had been doing between 1951 and 1956, that is, after his graduation from Columbia and before his moving to Washington. There were five important years to account for.

What do we know about these five years? Well, we know that Kasper lived in Greenwich Village during that period, that he had shared a room with Eustace Mullins at 526 East 6th Street, and that he had run a very small bookstore at 169 Bleeker Street, called the Make It New Book Shop. Kasper's roommate, Eustace Mullins, who later became part of the Ezra Pound group in Washington, had been an active member of the agent-provocateur network since, at least, 1951. Mullins had never become a mob agitator, probably because he lacked the talent for it, but he produced a great deal of agent-provocateur literature of the most vile anti-Semitic kind. His writings could be read regularly in Women's Voice, the house organ of the agent-provocateur network, published in Chicago.

Mullins was also a frequent speaker at meetings of the "right-wing extremist" National Renaissance Party, organized by James Madole, which was the nucleus of the agent-provocateur network in New York. During the 1950's, in fact, Mullins was one of the most active members of the network, working closely with its other members in New York--James Madole, Frederick Weiss, Matt Koehl, Edward Fleckenstein, Keith Thompson, and West Hooker.

Later, in Washington, Mullins became active in the movement to obtain the release of Ezra Pound from St. Elizabeth's. His involvement with Pound became so deep that he later wrote a biography of Pound which was published in 1961 under the title, This Difficult Individual. Commenting on Kasper in his book, Mullins wrote:

A shy, thin, long-legged fellow, Kasper had turned up as a visitor from New York City in the autumn of 1950 (sic). Because of his desire to get some things in print, Pound thought him very useful. Kasper later went South in search of amusement, and wound up in Clinton, Tennessee. (p. 312)

Not much of a comment for someone who knew Kasper intimately and knew exactly why Kasper had gone to Clinton.

As for Kasper's life in Greenwich Village, it was not exactly racially pure, as revealed by a sensational article which appeared in the New York Amsterdam News of September 29, 1956, shortly after Kasper had obtained national notoriety. Since the Amsterdam News scarcely circulates beyond the Negro community, much of the story never reached the national press. We therefore reproduce it in its entirety:

RACIST EXPOSED

RACE BAITER JOHN KASPER WAS VILLAGE NEGRO LOVER

by George Barner

Dapper John Kasper, the 26-year-old rabble rouser whose loud mouth fight against school integration landed him in jail for contempt of Federal Court in Tennessee, did not practice what he preached about racial

separation when it came to Negro women, an Amsterdam News study showed this week.

In a frantic one-year sojourn in New York's gaudy Greenwich Village, the smooth talking Kasper devoted his time almost entirely to Negro companions and fell for the charms of the amateur dancers, reporters for this newspaper learned after an exhaustive visit to Kasper's old village stamping grounds.

Choreographer Ned Williams of 224 W. 4th St., Kasper's closest chum in the artist colony told the Amsterdam News:

"We shared the same bed on numerous occasions in my former studio at 61 Fourth Ave. and often he spent all night sleeping on the floor, with Negro girls and boys after one of our exhaustive parties," Williams said.

It was through Williams that Kasper met his brown-skinned loves. His primary heart throb was a willowly (sic), soft-spoken school-teacher from Brooklyn who "loved to party" and danced occasionally with one of Williams intermediate classes.

The Amsterdam News has been in personal contact with this teacher who has in her possession a powerful packed photograph of herself and Kasper with other amorous interracial couples at the height of a swinging party.

Despite appeals to her race pride the teacher has refused to release the photo for fear of her job and of "damage that might be done to some other people."

Friends feel she may still "feel something for" Kasper, whom she describes as "all mixed up."

The fever of this affair, according to intimates, reached such a height that Kasper, after moving to Washington, flew in the teeth of all he was later to uphold in Tennessee and brought the lady to the Capitol for a visit with his idol, confined ex-Fascist poet, Ezra Pound.

Kasper's Negro lady love lived and worked closely with him in his "make-it-new" bookshop at 168 Bleeker St. The shop, which specialized in Negro literature, was the scene of many discussions of the race problem. In these, said Williams and other friends, Kasper always took the side of the Negro.

"It's hard to believe," said one of his former intimate girl friends who lives in Harlem. "If he was putting on an act he sure deserves the Academy Award. There was never anything to make you suspect that he would turn out this way. He must have lost his mind." She asked that her name not be used.

Kasper's mind came in for more discussion by Avant Garde artist Ted Joans who lives and operates an art studio at 108 St. Marks Place in the Village.

"He said he wanted to be remembered in history. And although he was a very quiet, gentlemanly type fellow, he often said he would "do anything, go to any extreme to gain recognition."

"Actually, though," said Joans, "his prejudices were not new. He often made bitter remarks about Jews. But in the same breath he would down "those liberals who put their arms around a Negro in the Village but barely speak uptown."

At a fish fry in Brooklyn Kasper jumped on a table, according to Joans, and urged the party goers to join the NAACP. He secured twelve new members. He himself did not join, he is reported to have said, "because of the Jews"

According to Williams, Joans and the girls, Kasper never made any bones about his across-the-line love life. "He would kiss the girls anywhere, anytime, publicly. He seemed to prefer the darker girls," said Williams, "and he was up in Harlem more than I ever was."

Kasper is also alleged to be the godfather of a Negro child whose parents live on West Sixth St. in Greenwich Village.

These revelations about Kasper aroused even less suspicion than the report that he had attended the Communist party's Jefferson School. There was no follow up undertaken by any of the mass media organizations to find out the truth about John Kasper. The mass media was content to publicize its surface image of Kasper with no concern about uncovering the truth behind the fiction.

In Washington, Kasper opened his bookstore in partnership with Robert Furniss and T. David Horton. The shop was called the Cadmus Bookstore and located at 1246 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W. Little is known about Furniss or Horton. However, in Eustace Mullins' biography of Pound there is a photograph of Mullins and a young lady painter by the name of Sherri Martinelli. Miss Martinelli was arrested on July 29, 1955 in Alexandria, Virginia, for possession of marijuana. Mullins and T. David Horton were among those who testified in the case.

This, then, was the group of racial idealists Rookwell and his wife found themselves associating with after he left U. S. Lady. After the sensational

article in the Amsterdam News, which must have come to the attention of Kasper's friends, one would have imagined that Rockwell would have questioned Kasper's racist sincerity. But the Amsterdam News article might well have never been written, for it in no way shook the confidence which Kasper's so-called right-wing extremist associates had in him--and for obvious reasons. They were all in the same boat.

The Clinton events, of course, took place in the fall of 1956, and the last we had seen of Rockwell, he had freed himself of U. S. Lady and organized his first right-wing meeting after his radio announcement in February, 1956.

On April 18, 1956 he organized another meeting, this time held at the Mayflower Hotel. The meeting, which was attended by about 25 persons, was organized by Rockwell's American Confederation of Conservative Organizations, an organization which existed on paper only. At that meeting, Rockwell related how he had made the rounds of conservative organizations and personalities in an effort to raise money to finance his idea, but was unsuccessful. He said that he had used a list of 500 conservative organizations published by a group in San Francisco.

This list--entitled The First National Directory of Rightist Groups--curiously enough, had been compiled by Willis Carto, the West Coast's most active member of the agent-provocateur network. Carto had compiled and published the list in 1955 in collaboration with the New York ring with whom he was in correspondence. His closest collaborators in New York were Frederick Weiss, Keith Thompson, West Hocker, and Francis Parker Yockey, an elusive mystery man who was often traveling abroad.

In San Francisco, Carto had organized a libertarian-sounding group called Liberty & Property. In 1955 he also began publishing a newsletter called RIGHT--which, for all practical purposes, was the West Coast house organ of the agent-provocateur network. For example, in the December 1955 issue (Number 3) there appeared an ad for Kasper's Cadmus Bookstore in Washington, D. C. RIGHT further announced: "The three men behind the venture, Bob Furniss, Dave Horton and John Kasper ask that all patriotic groups with books to sell contact them now."

That same issue of RIGHT carried plugs for James Madole's National Renaissance Party as well as for its Chicago counterpart, the Nationalist Conservative Party, whose chairman was William B. Wernecke, a member of the Chicago-based ring.

Carto's publication also plugged The Nationalist Party of 224 East 38th Street in New York, which had been organized by West Hooker as the nucleus for the projected Rockwell operation. Carto's publication also carried the following item:

From Chicago comes news of the reorganization of the Realpolitical Institute. The youthful leadership include: Eustace Mullins, Max Nelsen, Edward Fields, Matt Koehl, Charles Kelley.

Eustace Mullins we already know of. Matt Koehl was later to become an active "Nazi," and Edward Fields, who later organized the National States Rights Party, was to become the most active agent provocateur in the South. Obviously, the Realpolitical Institute was composed of a rather elite group of provocateurs.

Willis Carto, on the other hand, never behaved too obviously as an agent

provocateur. For this reason he has been able to cultivate many good contacts among unsuspecting conservatives. He is the only agent provocateur who successfully penetrated the full-time staff of The John Birch Society during the first year of its operation. His success, however, was short-lived and he was dismissed from his position with the Society when it became obvious that something was wrong with his behavior.

Carto's most successful operation has been the organization of Liberty Lobby, an outwardly respectable right-wing group with headquarters in Washington, D. C. Liberty Lobby is the one right-wing group organized by a member of the agent-provocateur network, which has attracted a large following.

As for Rockwell, following his meeting at the Mayflower Hotel, he flew down to Birmingham, Alabama, on April 19, 1956, to help in the Alabama Primary campaign of Rear Admiral John G. Cromelin. He had been urged to do so by John Kasper. That particular primary campaign seems to have attracted a number of agents provocateurs to the area. It is conceivable, if not likely, that plans for the Clinton operation were made at that time, since Kasper's closest collaborator in the Clinton agitator, Asa Carter, of the North Alabama White Citizens Councils, came from that area. It was also to Birmingham that Kasper went after the Clinton events.

As for Admiral Cromelin, he appears to be a strong segregationist who attracts agents provocateurs the way honey attracts flies. But it seems that Rockwell, according to testimony he gave later, did not work for the Admiral, after all. But neither do we know what he did do while down there.

In any case, Rockwell returned to Washington a week later. Then he held another meeting of his American Confederation of Conservative Organizations, on

April 28, 1956, at the Broyhill Auditorium in Arlington, Virginia. That meeting does not seem to have been any more successful than the prior ones. As Rockwell wrote: "Our meetings were better and better attended, but there was no result at all,--nothing accomplished." (p. 197)

It was following the Broyhill meeting that Rockwell went to work briefly for National Review on a project to get mass circulation for the magazine in colleges and universities. Apparently the job did not lead Rockwell where he wanted to go, for he gave it up soon after he ~~had~~ had taken it.

Despite the seemingly erratic course of Rockwell's political career, his wife Thora was ever sympathetic, as evidenced by these lines from Rockwell's autobiography:

During all this time, my wonderful wife and I were enjoying our marriage as I am sure few couples experience the institution of matrimony. She pitched in loyally on everything, helped me with meetings, collected donations--even gave little talks.

. . . Often, even as far back as this period in my political career, I would tell her that I knew some day I would have to go to jail, in all probability, not for doing wrong, but for standing against Jewish treason. She never flinched, and I never doubted for a moment she would wait faithfully for any number of years. (p. 204)

During this period Rockwell tells us that he continued to widen his circle of right-wing acquaintances all over the country. "I was serving my unavoidable apprenticeship for what I am not doing," he wrote in 1961.

Then, on July 4, 1956 he held his last Washington meeting at the Mayflower Hotel. He had hoped to attract some wealthy conservatives who would provide the financing for his idea. Again, however, the meeting was a failure.

One of the men attending the meeting, however, was Robert B. Snowden, a wealthy conservative from Arkansas. Snowden had heard of Rockwell through Congressman Ralph Gwinn of New York who knew Rockwell. How Congressman Gwinn had come to know Rockwell, as well as several other members of the agent-provocateur network is not known. In any case, Snowden was persuaded to attend the July 4th meeting, and he did.

The meeting, according to Rockwell, was a complete failure except for the contact he made with Snowden. The result of the contact was an offer to work for Snowden in Memphis, Tennessee, where Snowden had created a conservative organization called The Campaign for the Forty-Eight States.

Rockwell accepted the offer and moved his family to Memphis where he purchased a giant 44-foot trailer in which he, Thom and the three children could live. Why he bought a trailer instead of renting a house is a bit of a puzzle. Obviously, Rockwell must have decided in advance that his stay in Memphis would be very short and that he would be doing a great deal of moving around in the coming months.

In any case, no sooner did Rockwell start working for Snowden than the relations between the two men became strained. During this period, Rockwell was required by the Naval Reserve to report for two weeks of summer duty. This, he did. On his return to Memphis, the situation deteriorated. Rockwell is rather vague about the whole thing. He writes:

When I got back from the two-week cruise, there was a new battle with Snowden, this time of a serious nature. He later settled the matter out of court, and I agreed not to divulge the details of this affair, and thus cannot do so here.

After that, things in the office were worse than difficult. . . . I tried to tell him I had established good contacts with Russell Maguire at Mercury magazine, and other contacts which could get us good publicity, but Snowden scorned these offers. . . . (p. 214)

Rockwell doesn't tell us the names of the other "good contacts," but who can doubt that among them were other agents provocateurs who were working in league with Rockwell to entrap Snowden? It should be remembered that at that very moment arrangements were being made by John Kasper and other provocateurs to create havoc in Clinton, Tennessee, in September, and ^{it is probable} that Rockwell's presence in Memphis fitted in with these plans. In any case, Rockwell quit Snowden at about the time the Clinton Riots were due to take place. He hitchhiked up the 14-foot trailer to a 1949 Cadillac which he had bought and set out in the direction of Washington, D. C. Did Rockwell stop off at Clinton to join his friend Kasper? He could have, and that would explain why he had found it more convenient to buy a trailer instead of rent a house. With the trailer he could have easily found a place to park in the vicinity of Clinton, then taken part in the Clinton riots--in which the press reported so many outside agitators had participated--and then resumed his journey to Washington, D. C.

When Rockwell and his family arrived in the Washington area, they camped in a trailer park at Haine's Point. From there Rockwell journeyed to New York

alone to see another right-wing millionaire to aid him in the next phase of his work. The man he went to see was Russell Maguire, publisher of American Mercury, a reputable anti-Communist publication which was beginning to deteriorate. Rockwell had already sold Maguire an article about Iceland, in which he ~~had~~ actually advocated a U.S. evacuation of Iceland--which was exactly what the Communists wanted. Rockwell had simply concocted a few anti-Communist reasons for the evacuation, all of which seemed perfectly plausible unless you knew the facts about Iceland's strategic and nuclear value. Maguire had been thoroughly taken in, and obviously Rockwell considered him gullible enough to go for bigger and better tricks. And so, Rockwell telephoned Maguire and arranged to see him in his apartment at the Park Lane. It was at this meeting that Rockwell proposed to do further work for Maguire. In describing the meeting, Rockwell wrote:

We talked over the "movement", as patriotic leaders inevitably do upon meeting, and agreed that what was needed was what he called a "hard core."

Apparently, Maguire must have liked what Rockwell proposed, for he hired Rockwell to work for him. Rockwell then had a moving company bring the 44-foot trailer to a trailer park in Moonachie, New Jersey, just across the river from Manhattan where Thora and the three children set up house. Rockwell began working for Maguire, and in his description of what he did there virtually described what happens when an agent provocateur infiltrates an organization he intends to destroy:

For a while, it seemed too good to be true. . . . But then I began to get into the office intrigues going on in every office in the world, and it was hard to maintain my position, which had no title. Sometimes "P.M." as the staff called this tiny multimillionaire, would send me over to pounce on all the mail at his Mercury office on 50th Street, and search through to see if the staff over there, including his own daughter (who was the boss at Mercury) was filching from or messing up the mail accounts. This did not endear me to that staff. Nor did I gain any popularity when I discovered left-wing sympathies in some of the editors, and presented the evidence, as was my duty, to the boss. (p. 217)

Strange, Rockwell wasn't at all as concerned with the left-wing sympathies of John Kasper—evidence of which had been published—as he was with those of Mr. Maguire's staff. An interesting double standard, to say the least. Rockwell then writes:

Meanwhile, I was busily searching out and rounding up the talent for Maguire's "hard core."

In the process, I ~~came across~~ a man named DeWest Hooker.

When I met Hooker, once again my life changed permanently.

It is highly unlikely that Rockwell merely "came across a man named DeWest Hooker." Hooker was not only one of the most important members of the agent-provocateur network, he was the man who planned Rockwell's Nazi operation in advance and provided Rockwell with his "stormtroopers" ~~he~~ when he required them later on. In addition, Hooker had for several years already been working closely

with John Kasper and Eustace Mullins, long before Rockwell had met them both, and, therefore, it is probable that Hooker had met Rockwell at about the same time that Rockwell became a member of the provocateur network, which was either shortly before or soon after he left U. S. Lady in January, 1956. Hooker had been forming the so-called Nationalist Party all during 1955, the year Rockwell had been busy with U. S. Lady. Willis Carto had reported its formation in the December 1955 issue of his publication, RIGHT.

Actually, the New York ring of agents provocateurs had formed three small groups all peopled by the same members, but with slightly different functions. The groups were the National Renaissance Party—a more or less permanent catch-all "party" for the New York provocateurs directed by James Madole and Frederick Weiss; the Nationalist Party, formed by West Hooker to serve as a forerunner to an actual "American Nazi Party"; and the Nationalist Youth League, otherwise known as "Hooker's boys," a training ground for young agents provocateurs and future stormtroopers. None of these groups can be said to be bona fide political organizations, since they are composed of about a dozen provocateurs who have no intention of permitting their tightly closed network become infiltrated with outsiders. In addition, since these organizations, and others like them in other parts of the country, are merely paper organizations, there is no telling when they abruptly cease to exist or become transformed into other new organizations. Keeping track of these organizations means, in reality, simply keeping track of the individuals involved.

DeWest Hooker, whom Rockwell recognizes as his "mentor", is perhaps one of the most interesting of the provocateurs we shall encounter, principally because of his background and family connections. Rockwell describes him as

follows:

He was a graduate of Cornell, exactly the same age as myself, same temperament, same ideas, and infinitely more experienced. He was handsome--so handsome that he made money as a professional model, and I still see him in cigarette ads. His rugged aristocratic face was framed by perfectly groomed hair, greying at the temples. His build was athletic and tall, and he walked with a bounce and spring in his step which is rarely seen in our best people. He was descendant of the Hooker who had signed the Declaration of Independence with millionaire parents, and a millionaire wife.

But most of all, Hooker was a Nazi. Not a "patriot" or "right-winger" or a "conservative,"--but a fighting, tough, all out Nazi. He had gone into the streets of New York City and rounded up gangs of tough kids and potential juvenile delinquents, and converted them to fanatical loyalty to the United States, the White Race, and Adolf Hitler. He called the gang of little hoods the Nationalist Youth League, and I was impressed when I saw what leadership and guts will do to make decent dedicated Americans out of little lost baby gangsters. Hooker had those kids worshipping him! He was an obvious aristocrat from a mansion in Greenwich, Connecticut, who wore a homburg and a chesterfield with supreme dignity,--and led these little New York gutter kids out of despondency, and in picket lines against Jewish Communism,--right in its filthy stronghold, New York City.

Hooker was everything Rockwell said he was, and much more. Hooker had first gained notoriety as an anti-Semitic "right-wing extremist" when he organized a Facts Forum group in Larchmont, New York, in the spring of 1953. Facts Forum was a conservative educational organization founded in 1951 by H. L. Hunt of Dallas, Texas. By 1954, Facts Forum had about 125,000 persons participating in its various programs, many of them organized into local chapters.

Hooker organized the Larchmont Facts Forum group with the specific purpose of tainting the organization with anti-Semitism. Present at its first meeting was fellow provocateur Eustace Mullins. At the second meeting could be found Keith Thompson, another member of the New York provocateur ring. And at the third meeting, Mullins was actually a speaker. W

When this state of affairs was brought to the attention of Facts Forum in Dallas, the organization immediately disavowed Hooker and the Larchmont group. Obviously what Hooker had been doing was exactly what Rockwell was to do three years later. It was a pattern not unfamiliar to those who have observed the provocateurs at work.

Of course, it would be interesting to know how Hooker had become a member of the provocateur ring in the first place. All we know, however, is that his fellow provocateurs, Eustace Mullins and Keith Thompson, were quite active in the early 50's doing everything in their power to link Sen. Joseph McCarthy with anti-Semitism. One newspaper which specialized in exposing the "right-wing extremists" during that period was a weekly called Expose, published by left-wing extremist Lyle Stuart. Expose's chief targets were Sen. McCarthy, J. B. Matthews, George Sokolsky and Alfred Kohlberg. Expose seemed to have a

special hatred of Jewish anti-Communists. At the same time, it printed a weekly column by one L. M. Birkhead, president of an outfit called Friends of Democracy, whose specialty was reporting on the activities of "right-wing extremists." Birkhead often attended meetings of the National Renaissance Party and then wrote about them in his column. For example, in the February 1953 issue of Expose Birkhead wrote:

James Madole, head of the National Renaissance Party, presided at this recent Yorkville meeting. His audience was smaller than the other nationalists used to gather, but the same propaganda line was followed by Madole. . . .

Eustace Mullins was introduced by Madole as the great authority on the Jewish control of the United States. . . .

Joseph Ruden, a former street fighter and bodyguard with Joseph McWilliams and the American Destiny Party also spoke. . . .

Final speaker was C. Daniel Kurtz. He was introduced as leader of the Christian Front in Queens.

Then, in the August, 1953, issue of Expose, Birkhead wrote:

The Storm Troopers are marching again on the streets of Yorkville. . . .

The present Storm Troopers, however, wear black shirts, not khaki colored shirts and instead of the swastika they wear arm bands with the insignia of a flash of lightning in a circle.

These are similar to the arm bands worn by the Columbians down in Georgia, and Gerald L. K. Smith's Nationalist Christian Crusader's party

troopers out in Missouri and in California.

The present Storm Troopers in Yorkville are bodyguards for the leader and speaker of the Renaissance Party, James H. Madole of Beacon, New York.

The Storm Troopers also patrol the Madole meetings and they usher H. Keith Thompson to and from the meetings. Thompson has announced his candidacy for Congress in the next election in the same district where Joseph McWilliams ran on the American Destiny Party ticket.

Thompson promises to see that justice is done for the Arabs in the Middle East if he is elected. . . .

Thompson has been the registered agent, in the United States, of General Otto Ernest Remer's Socialist Reich Party. . . .

Since the Socialist Reich Party was outlawed in Germany, Thompson has organized "the Society for the Preservation of Western Culture."

H. Keith Thompson is the one agent provocateur whose movements from left to right to left again have been well documented. The Anti-Defamation League has kept a very careful dossier of Thompson's anti-Semitic agitation. His involvement with West Hooker, James Madole, Frederick Weiss, Mystery-agent Francis Parker Yockey and the National Renaissance Party is a matter of record. It was therefore something of a surprise when Thompson suddenly shifted back to the radical left again in 1962, after ten years as a "right-wing extremist." of the virulent anti-Semitic variety. Prior to 1952, Thompson had been engaged in politics as a radical leftist. In 1948 he had campaigned for the Wallace-Taylor Progressive Party ticket, and he had also worked in behalf of radical

pro-Communist Vito Marcantonio, Congressman of New York, in two of the latter's campaigns.

With agents provocateurs shifting from left to right and left again, depending on where their services are needed most by the conspiracy, occasionally the Communist background of one of these agents is exposed, either by accident or by an informer. One such exposure occurred in the case of Mana Truhill, a member of Madole's ring. In such cases where an exposure may endanger the entire agent-provocateur operation and give the secret away, a phony story is concocted by the network to explain away the "infiltration" of their ranks by a Communist. ^{Left-wing} Scandal sheets like Lyle Stuart's Expose serve as a fitting outlet for such phony stories. The Mana Truhill story appeared in the June, 1954, issue of Expose, as follows:

COMMUNIST-TRAINED AGENT CALLS FOR McCARTHY SUPPORT

He goes by the name of Mana Truhill but was once listed in the New York City telephone book as Emanuel Truhillo.

His education is limited to grade school and intensive courses at the Communist Party's Jefferson School in New York.

Last year, together with two other Communist-trained associates, and under the supervision of a Jefferson School instructor, he planned to infiltrate the pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic National Renaissance Party in Yorkville.

Six months later, his cell had so successfully infiltrated that he had openly proclaimed himself ruler of the party, and was giving directions to its leader, hysterical, introverted James Madole.

Madole had been "captured" through the use of a girl, a member of the Truhill clique. It was Madole's first infatuation with a member of the opposite sex.

Although Truhill's Jefferson School connections were discovered, he convinced the Party members of his sincerity. In his living room where a photograph of Stalin once hung, there now hangs a photograph of Hitler.

This month, Communist-trained Meta Truhill told the National Renaissance Party it must intensify its support for Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Under his direction a mass meeting for McCarthy was called for May 2, at the Hans Jaegers Turnhalle at 85th Street and Lexington Avenue.

. . .

Like the Anti-Defamation League, the Communists frequently infiltrate "opposition" groups, aiding them morally and financially, in order to use them for their own purposes.

This is the network of agents Rockwell joined when he reached New York-- a small exclusive clique including John Lasper, Eustace Mullins, DeWest Hooker, H. Keith Thompson, James Madole, Willis Carto, Francis Parker Yockey and Frederick Weiss, all engaged in highly specialized anti-Semitic agitation intended to discredit the legitimate anti-Communists in the United States. It is highly unlikely that Rockwell would have found such easy entree into their closed circle unless he was one of them, under special assignment and orders. What was Rockwell's family life like at this point? He describes it

as follows:

Meanwhile in our trailer in Moonachie, my wife and I were very happy, considering the restricted living-space. She was once more pregnant, but we had money in the bank and our family grew daily more loving and united. With the pay coming in steadily and Maguire promising me raises for a job I wanted very much to do, the future seemed ideal.

I spent a good deal of time with West at his place in Greenwich, and in New York. . . .

What was Rockwell's real interest in Russell Maguire? Aside from his task of helping to wreck American Mercury as a magazine, Rockwell and Hooker were anxious to get Maguire to finance their Nazi party. The reason for this was obvious. If the Nazi party were to be publicized as the natural outgrowth of the American right wing, what better way would there be to establish this than by getting a right-wing angel to finance the Nazis? Hooker had already tried and failed in an elaborate scheme to involve right-wing money under his control. That scheme's failure was recorded in an item which appeared in The New York Times of December 8, 1955:

WEST HOOKER ENJOINED

Film-TV Promoter Barred From Dealings in Securities

A film-television entrepreneur and his two companions accused of anti-Semitic activities were enjoined yesterday from dealing in securities in New York State. Supreme Court Justice Joseph A. Gavagan granted a temporary injunction against West Hooker Film Network, Inc. and ~~Mattar~~

Television Corporation on the motion of the State Attorney General's office.

Special Deputy Attorney General David Clurman charged that Mr. Hooker and the two companies had issued a prospectus misrepresenting the amount of money raised and using, without their knowledge, the names of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur and other prominent persons. Mr. Hooker contended that the anti-Semitic charge was "a smear campaign."

The new scheme, involving Maguire, was much simpler, but nevertheless it involved drawing Maguire into the trap. Rockwell describes their progress as follows:

Finally, Maguire agreed to a secret meeting between Hooker, himself, Fred Willis (Maguire's oldest and best friend) and myself at Maguire's Park Lane apartment. . . .

We presented a complete plan for a slow, secret Nazi build up under Hooker throughout the U.S.A., using the personnel and leaders already so well known to Hooker, a front group with an "almost" Nazi flavor, and financing by Maguire. . . .

Maguire seemed entranced with everything presented. Hooker wanted to give him the complete list of ADL and other Jewish agents, and evaluations of all Right Wing leaders, but I suggested holding off until we got some kind of commitment. This tactic got results.

"All right!" said Maguire with the air of a man suddenly decided on an immense step. "I'll back it! . . . I'll put in a thousand dollars for the first year!"

How much of Rockwell's account is true, we shall perhaps never know. However, we do know, on Rockwell's own admission, that Maguire never did put any money into the projected operation. In fact, it appears that very shortly after this meeting, Rockwell left Maguire's employ altogether.

Despite their failure to obtain right-wing financing, Rockwell and Hooker proceeded with their plans. Rockwell writes:

We got a press, a little store, started the boys frantically reading manuals on printing, held meetings, planned financing, raised money (p. 228)

Where did they get the money to do all this? We are never told. Inasmuch as Rockwell had lost his job with Maguire, we wonder how he could afford to rent a store, buy a press, hold meetings, etc. Rockwell considered losing his job with Maguire a major financial calamity, and he wrote about it thus:

As I sat in our trailer across from Manhattan and contemplated another debacle in my political career, I realized that the chances of supporting two families, as I had been doing, while also working in politics were less than slim. I would have to find some source of business income immediately.

At the same time, I had no intention whatsoever of abandoning my entire purpose in life. I wanted some job by which I could make the money necessary for the two families by extra exertions, and over short bursts of time, leaving me free to work toward my political goals.

Any ordinary individual would have had to spend months looking for a job that paid that much money, required that little work, and left an individual with great periods of free time. But Rockwell found this dream job with almost no trouble at all. He writes:

While in Washington, I had met a Nazi sympathizer named Ed Strohecker, who was in the management engineering business, and he had often invited me to join him. He described it as exactly the kind of thing I needed now, a business wherein I could earn substantial money without getting tied down to an "office", and support my two families by extra hard work over shorter periods of actual time consumed.

When Ed heard of my situation, he got in touch with me and offered me a job working under him for a New York firm of Management Engineers. I accepted. (p. 239)

The company Rockwell went to work for was C. H. Cleworth & Associates, Inc., whose offices are located in the Empire State Building. Rockwell then goes on to relate how good he was at his job, which consisted of selling company presidents the idea that their businesses could be improved by adopting modern management engineering techniques. Rockwell's job was to get the company president to sign a contract agreeing to have a survey made by the Cleworth company. For each signed contract Rockwell obtained, he received \$100 in commission.

Apparently Rockwell did not need any special training or preparation for

his new job, for he plunged into it immediately. This is all very unusual, since management engineering and consulting is a highly specialized service which requires some experience before one can begin to approach potential clients. The Association of Consulting Management Engineers has published a book entitled Professional Practices in Management Consulting. Concerning the matter of promotional activities the book states:

In their promotional activities, both the individual consultant and the management consulting firms have an obligation to adhere to the highest ethical standards. Management consulting by its nature is a personal service, which means that both clients and the public should feel secure in the knowledge that management consultants observe high standards of conduct similar to those followed by exemplary firms in other fields of professional service. Acts or practices should be avoided which are undignified or unprofessional, or which might discredit or do injury to the profession.

Apparently the Cleworth company was not terribly concerned about how their salesmen solicit business, for Rockwell describes his selling technique as follows:

My job was to talk into offices "cold", and for the president of the firm and then sell this dignitary on the idea of having a survey of their business done for one hundred dollars. . . .

Just getting to see the President, who is the only man ~~who~~ you are allowed to have sign the sale, is usually a matter of master strategy and colossal impudence. . . .

And when I got in, I was able to SELL! I discovered, as I had in door-to-door selling of vacuum cleaners as a kid, that such selling is not so much convincing as it is a battle of the WILLS of the opposing parties. You must make a convincing "pitch", of course, but even then, in the "close", he wills NOT to buy, and you will that he WILL buy. The sale or loss depends on which will is stronger, not on your arguments. In a business like that, or in door-to-door work, you have to be prepared to be tough, mean, obnoxious, and literally impossible to get rid of without the victim succumbing, so that he gives up meekly and signs, even if just to get rid of you. (p. 240)

Rockwell's description of his selling technique provokes a number of questions. What salesman ever walks cold into a firm's office to see a busy company president without first making an appointment? Was Rockwell's door-to-door selling as a kid supposed to be his prior experience for now approaching company presidents cold and selling them the services of management consultants? Who would buy these services from a representative who was "tough, mean and obnoxious"?

The previously quoted book, Professional Practices in Management Consulting, has this to say about soliciting clients:

Inquiries concerning the prospect of obtaining a professional assignment may be made by letter or in person in response to a request where a personal relationship has already been established or where an interest on the part of the prospective client has been made known. Indiscriminate solicitations, however, are regarded as undignified and unprofessional.

So much for Rockwell's great selling technique. The work, however, his new job, for he plunged into it immediately. ~~The work must have been~~ exceedingly easy, for Rockwell was able to make a lot of money and still have plenty of time for his political work. He writes:

With things thus apparently going well, I devoted every spare minute in the day, all my week-ends, and my long evenings working on political plans and writings. . . .

I already had all the facts of the political situation I needed to think my way through to an organized plan of action. I knew most of the people in the "right-wing", or through Hooker, had a complete and revealing report of those I did not know. (p. 242)

Rockwell further elucidates how conducive his management engineering career was to his political planning:

My work with the management engineering firm demanded fairly long trips all over Pennsylvania and New York State and New Jersey -- and I now took along a typewriter. I would stop overnight in State parks and camping grounds, set up my jungle hammock, and then write far into the night by lantern. . . . In those parks and camping grounds, I wrote the words and laid out the plans that were to burst forth upon America two years later in Arlington, Virginia. . . . (p. 255)

Then, suddenly, there was a change in Rockwell's fortune, the kind of change which usually precedes his next move. He wasn't making so much money after all. The Cleworth company just wasn't getting enough follow-up sales from his leads. ~~The head of the company, identified by Rockwell as Bill Brown,~~

Rockwell explains his predicament as follows:

In twenty sales I made in the area, the follow-up men, the "surveyors", had not been able to get a single "go-ahead" with the client agreeing to the expensive engineering work, which meant that there were not only no commissions for me, but that I was a heavy expense for the company.

In other words, Rockwell had been paid two thousand dollars in advances by the Cleworth company for the twenty "sales" which never developed into assignments for the company. One would have thought that the Cleworth company, then and there, would have regretfully dispensed with Rockwell's services. But no, this is not what happened at all, as Rockwell relates:

I wanted to go back to commercial art and advertising, but my employer felt so strongly that it was only a question of the law of averages before my sales paid off that he offered me the unheard-of inducement in the management engineering business, of a hundred a week SALARY, sales or no! He showed me that they got "go-aheads" on one out of three sales with even the poorest salesman, and, with the jobs I had been able to sell, just one of these would pay both the company and me handsomely. (p. 256)

What was the plan? Rockwell was to relocate to Pennsylvania where ~~the~~ was thought the field was more fertile than New York for Rockwell's kind of sales talent. And so, Rockwell, his wife and four children--Thora had just given birth to a baby girl at the Hackensack Hospital in New ~~York~~ Jersey--hitched up the forty-foot trailer and drove to Lincoln, Pennsylvania, where the newly enlarged family settled down in a trailer park.

Rockwell's sales technique seemed to lose its golden touch in Pennsylvania and things went from bad to worse, so we are told:

Our financial situation, after moving again, was worse than awful. It was desperate. For the first time, I missed some payments to my first wife, and lived in dread of sheriffs and alimony jail. (p. 258)

Of course, it seems incredible that a man would have subjected his family to so much inconvenience and uncertainty for a salary he could have easily earned in the New York area had he decided to remain there. But apparently Rockwell had no choice in the matter and had to go where he was instructed to go. In any case, things were never as financially desperate as he would have us believe, for the family lived comfortably in the trailer, ate well and was quite content. This much we can gather from the photographs in Rockwell's autobiography taken during this period, which show Thora and the children, with smiles on their faces, in excellent spirits.

What happened next, however, was even more incredible than anything that had happened before. It was during the summer of 1957, and Rockwell writes:

About this time, West Hooker called me from New York, said he had been invited to speak at a meeting in Knoxville, Tennessee, and asked me if I would go in his stead. He was definitely going to Italy, after having gained Nelson Rockefeller as a "partner", to set up the bottling business there, and did not want to get a movement going without millions of dollars, and, since no millionaire would help do the job, he was aiming to become one in his own right, and then start the fight. (p. 25)

This is perhaps the most curious passage in ^Rockwell's autobiography, more for what it tells us about West Hooker than anything else. Hooker, after having tried so hard to get right-wing money for his nationalist neo-Nazi schemes, suddenly finds it much easier--in fact, the course of least resistance--to team up with a liberal internationalist like Nelson Rockefeller. Why would a neo-Nazi hate-monger turn to Nelson Rockefeller for his chances to make a million, and why would Nelson Rockefeller offer this marvelous opportunity to a fascist right-wing extremist? Obviously, there must have been something about West Hooker which made Nelson Rockefeller overlook Hooker's racist activities. Could it be that Rockefeller was perfectly aware of Hooker's past activities and knew them for what they were? Could it also be that there was a family connection somewhere?

Well, it is a fact that Mrs. John D. Rockefeller III, nee Blanchette Ferry Hooker, is West Hooker's fourth cousin, once removed. This would perhaps explain why Nelson ^Rockefeller was so readily accessible, while all those right-wing millionaires weren't. West Hooker, incidentally, is not the only radical relation Mrs. Rockefeller has. Her cousin, William Hawkins Ferry, is vice president of the Fund for the Republic, an outspoken critic of J. Edgar Hoover, a sponsor of the Triple Revolution, and a contributor to the pro-Communist publication, A Minority of One.

Perhaps Nelson Rockefeller knows that in his heart of hearts West Hooker is as much for the Triple Revolution as is his sister-in-law's cousin, W. H. Ferry. In any case, it has been seven years since Hooker went off to gain his millions for his neo-Nazi cause. He has yet to make his comeback.

Also, it is interesting to observe that Rockwell, who was supposedly on the verge of starvation because of his unswerving devotion to the cause, found nothing to criticize in his mentor's sudden decision to become a business partner of a notorious liberal whose name provokes more hostility among genuine conservatives than any other so-called liberal. Strange behavior for an uncompromising Nazi who is willing to let his children suffer economic deprivation rather than give up his political activities. In any case, Rockwell agreed to go to the meeting despite the fact that he was financially desperate. Where did he get the money for the trip, we are not told.

Chapter

THE KNOXVILLE MEETING

The meeting in Knoxville which West Hooker had asked Rockwell to attend was indeed an important gathering of top agents provocateurs. Rockwell described it as follows:

It was at this meeting, in the summer of 1956, (an error, Rockwell meant 1957) that I met Wallace Allen, Emory Burke, and Ed Fields. Burke had launched and almost succeeded with the "Columbians" in Atlanta right after the war, but had his office infiltrated by agents of the Anti-Nazi League, dynamite planted in his garage, and had been railroaded to a chain gang! Ed Fields was a young chiropractor whom Hooker told me was 100%.

Ed Fields--better known as "Dr." Edward R. Fields--was indeed 100%. At the tender age of 25, which he was in 1957, he had already proven himself to be one of the more talented and promising of the agents provocateurs. Fields had been born in Chicago in 1932. In 1946 his family moved to Atlanta where Fields attended the Marist Catholic High School. There he gained a reputation as a trouble-maker. Undoubtedly, Fields came under the influence of a ring of agents provocateurs while still at school, for in 1949, during his last year there, he tried to influence his fellow students in participating in a typical provocateur operation called the "Black Front." Believe it or not, Fields was barely 17 at the time.

No sooner was Fields out of high school than he formed a new provocateur group called the Atlanta American Anti-Communist Society and circulated anti-Semitic handbills. This was 1950 and Fields was only 18. No doubt this was a period of apprenticeship. In July, 1951, Fields wrote a letter which appeared in the July 26, 1951 issue of Women's Voice, the Chicago-based provocateur house organ. Obviously, Fields' talents were under the observation of his mentors, who were on the lookout for future leaders. In 1952, Fields' career advanced one step further when he was put under the wing of J. B. Stoner, a seasoned provocateur with a record of activity going back to 1944. Stoner had come to Atlanta to study law at a local diploma mill. In 1952 Stoner formed a provocateur group called the Christian Anti-Jewish Party, comprising four members, one of which was Fields, its Executive Secretary.

Stoner was not the only mentor Fields had, for provocateur activity in Atlanta went back to 1946 when Emory Burke achieved notoriety by launching a Nazi-type group called the "Columbians." The "Columbians" used the symbol of the thunderbolt, which was to become the symbol of Fields' National States Rights Party.

In 1953, Fields went to Davenport, Iowa, where he attended the Palmer School of Chiropractory to obtain the "Dr." which now adorns his name. During his stay in Iowa, Fields gained a momentary notoriety by posting anti-Jewish signs on store windows on the evening of February 20, 1954. The posters appeared on store windows in Rock Island and Moline, Illinois, and in Davenport, Iowa. The police traced the posters to Fields and another student by the name of Robert Milner, also from Atlanta, who was studying at the Palmer School. When questioned, Fields admitted that he and Milner had received materials for

making the posters from a group in St. Louis called the National Citizens Protective Association, another small provocateur front.

On August 17, 1954, Fields and Stoner enlarged their provocateur experience by picketing the White House in Washington in the name of the Christian Anti-Jewish Party. Finally, in 1955, Fields entered the front rank of the agents provocateurs by joining the Realpolitical Institute, a group comprised of elite, hard-core provocateurs only. The December, 1955, issue of Willis Carto's publication, Right, announced:

From Chicago comes news of the reorganization of the Realpolitical Institute. The youthful leadership include: Eustace Mullins, Max Nelsen, Edward Fields, Matt Koehl, Charles Kalley.

During 1956 Fields spent a good deal of time in Chicago conferring with other provocateurs and making plans for the future. One such meeting, arranged by veteran member of the network Maynard Nelsen, took place on January 1, 1956. Other meetings took place under the auspices of another provocateur front called the Chicago Committee of Northern Friends of the South.

Fields also took part in organizing the American Constitutional Party of Iowa in August, 1956. Then, after the imprisonment of John Kasper during the Clinton fracas in September, 1956, Fields formed the "Justice for Kasper Committee." Thus, by the time the Knoxville meeting took place, which Rockwell attended, Fields not only had had a great deal of provocateur experience behind him, but he was also on the threshold of launching his most ambitious provocateur effort, the National States Rights Party.

It should be noted that Nelson Rockefeller's business partner, West Hocker, was quite intimately aware of all the doings of the agent-provocateur ring in Chicago. In fact, the February, 1956, issue of Right carried the following items:

Right understands that a national convention of radical Rightwingers is to be called in Chicago about July 4 under joint sponsorship of West Hocker's Nationalist Party and the Realpolitical Institute.

The second name mentioned by Rockwell, Emory Burke, was also a provocateur of considerable past experience. Burke was born in 1915 and was already active as an agent provocateur prior to the war. In the summer of 1946 he launched the first post-war provocateur offensive with a Nazi-like organization which he called the "Columbians" based in Atlanta. Collaborating with him as Executive Secretary of the organization was Homer L. Loomis, Jr., a West-Hocker type who came from a wealthy family, had graduated from St. Paul's, an exclusive prep school, and attended Princeton University.

Burke's career as the first of the post-war fuhrers, however, was cut short by a run-in with the police. On February 21, 1947, he was sentenced to a three-year term in jail for having usurped police power in connection with the beating of a Negro in Atlanta by members of his group. He started serving his sentence in April, 1950, after a series of appeals had been rejected.

Between the date of the sentencing and his actual arrival in prison at Reidsville, Georgia, Burke continued his provocateur activity. Both Burke and Loomis went to work for Gerald L. K. Smith and his Christian Nationalist Crusade. Burke not only appeared before some of Smith's rallies, but articles by him

appeared in the November 1948 and September 1949 issues of Smith's publication, The Cross and the Flag. After Burke's imprisonment in April, 1950, Smith remained in the forefront of Burke's defenders. Articles defending Burke appeared in The Cross and the Flag throughout 1950. Burke's wife, who had sent out a printed appeal for financial help, stated: "Mr. Gerald L. K. Smith has been most loyal and generous throughout my husband's ordeal and his organization is now sending me a weekly allowance to provide food and shelter for me and my children." In a financial report for the year 1951 issued by Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade, it was reported that \$1,122 had been given to Mrs. Burke.

No sooner did Burke leave prison sometime in 1953 than he joined his fellow provocateurs in Atlanta. He was reportedly one of the four members of Stoner's Christian Anti-Jewish Party. What Burke did from 1953 until the Knoxville meeting in 1957 is not on record. However, as an insider member of the provocateur network, he was undoubtedly engaged in work for that aspect of the conspiracy.

The third person mentioned by Rockwell, Wallace Allen, impressed him more than any of the others. Describing him, Rockwell wrote:

Wallace Allen was an amazing human being. He was crippled in both legs by polio, but had such a super-human will that he threw away his crutches one night in Philadelphia,--when some unspeakable louse stole them, no less. And from then on, Allen walked without them, in the most unbelievable fashion. His mind, I discovered, was so keen that he could perceive what you were getting at almost before you had the words out. . . . Wallace Allen had the sharpest mind of any man I ever met. . . .

The person whose spirit dominated the Knoxville meeting, however, was neither Fields, Emory Burke nor Wallace Allen. It was John Kasper, who, curiously enough, is not even mentioned in Rockwell's account of the occasion. This is odd, for Kasper was the one man in the provocateur network whom Rockwell knew intimately, having had him as a house guest back in Washington. The principle reason why Knoxville had been chosen as the site for the meeting was because Kasper's trial was scheduled to take place there at the same time. Kasper's court trial, in fact, opened on July 8, 1957 in Knoxville and closed with his conviction on July 23rd. During the trial, however, Kasper was free on bond, and after the trial he remained free pending his appeal. This enabled him to conspire with his fellow provocateurs for the September school opening, which Kasper was planning to make as violent as the opening at Clinton. Kasper had given an idea of what he had in store for his next target in a statement he gave to the press and which appeared in the New York Times on July 24, 1957, as follows:

He (Kasper) said he did not plan to oppose school integration in Clinton this fall, but would kick off a protest movement in Nashville . . . where mixed classes are to start in the first grade of the public school system in September. He added, "That's the next big one."

You can be sure that Rockwell had not failed to mention his friend Kasper because of the latter's interracial past. Neither West Hooker's partnership with ultra-liberal Nelson Rockefeller nor the exposure of John Kasper's lurid interracial past seemed to bother the agents provocateurs at all. Fields went on to promote his "Justice for Kasper Committee" despite the fact that the New York Times had printed the following in its edition of July 24, 1957:

Kasper's Negro classmates at Columbia University, where he was graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree in 1951, and the companions of the Bleeker Street bookshop that was an interracial social and intellectual center as late as 1955, were shocked when his virulent appeals in the South to race hatred began making headlines. These former friends remembered him as having been "courteous," "likable," "generous"

As for the "next big one" which Kasper and his co-conspirators had planned for September, it indeed lived up to all expectations when on September 11, 1957, headlines reported the shocking news that a school in Nashville had been bombed. The New York Times story read as follows:

Nashville, Sept. 10--An explosion early today heavily damaged a \$500,000 newly integrated school here. The Hattie Cotton grammar school was empty at the time of the blast. . . .

Twenty-five or more persons . . . were arrested, seven in connection with the school bombing. Frederick John Kasper, segregationist leader, who has advocated violence in speaking to crowds, was among those arrested.

Because of the bombing and the physical clashes around the schools yesterday fear has gripped this city. . . .

Kasper, who comes from New Jersey, was booked on charges of vagrancy, loitering, disorderly conduct and offensive conduct.

Kasper and his gang of provocateurs, well-trained in the art of agitation, had descended on Nashville in 1957 just as they had descended on Clinton in 1956. The city officials of Nashville had no trouble in recognizing Kasper as the principle instigator of the violence. They sought a federal injunction against

the "twenty to twenty-five agitators" who were trying to block public school integration in the city. The restraining order, which was issued by Federal Judge William E. Miller on September 12, 1957, named the following agitators: John Kasper, Fred Stroud, John F. McFerrio, Wilson Lee Brown, James Jarrell, Emmett A. Carr, Vincent Albert Crimmins, Mrs. Margaret L. Conquest, Mrs. Mary B. Stinson, J. A. Stinson, James Harris and Paul McConnell and others whose names were not known by the petitioners of the injunction. How many of these persons were actually colleagues of Kasper and how many his dupes, we shall not know until a full-scale investigation of the entire agent-provocateur network is undertaken by a Congressional committee.

Rockwell doesn't tell us whether or not he took part in the planning of the September violence in Nashville. Theoretically, he was still a salesman for Cleworth. Nor does he tell us when it was, exactly, that he returned to Thera and the kids in Pennsylvania after the Knoxville meeting. For all we know, he might have detoured with another group of provocateurs to Little Rock, Arkansas, which also had its famous disturbances at about the same time as the disturbances in Nashville. In any case, after his return to Pennsylvania, Rockwell set to work to produce a multi-paged offset publication called "Battle Call." He sent the first proof sheets of the publication to his friends in Atlanta, Wallace Allen and Emory Burke. We are not told where Rockwell got the money or the equipment to do all of this. However, despite his dire financial situation, he was able to produce copy, make photo-offset negatives and produce proof sheets to send to his friends.

His friends in Atlanta were so impressed with the proof sheets, that Allen telephoned Rockwell and begged him to come down to Atlanta. Rockwell writes:

There was damned little money in Pennsylvania, so I agreed to give Atlanta a try--but I did not want to move my family again, especially with my boy in school. So I went down there alone for a month or so, to see how it would work out.

That was in November, 1957. Rockwell doesn't tell us if he had any difficulty tearing himself away from the Cleworth company to accept Allen's offer. In fact there is no further mention of his employers who at one time had been so impressed with his salesmanship that they had offered him the unheard of inducement of putting him on salary whether he sold anything or not. In Atlanta, Rockwell had the kind of sudden burst of financial prosperity which usually serves as a pretext for his next important move. He writes:

In Atlanta, I put in a few hours a day making phone-calls, selling advertising in various booklets for Allen, and was staggered by the results! The first week, working less than I ever had before, I earned over two hundred dollars! (p. 263)

This new job sounds as convincing as the one he had with Cleworth. Of course, we are not told what kind of booklets Allen was publishing which provided such lucrative advertising revenue. But these are minor details with which Rockwell prefers not to burden his readers. He writes:

I was staying in Allen's lovely home,--and working all spare time on political plans. After four weeks of this, I flew back to Lincoln for Christmas, and happily told my wife how things had gone. (p. 263)

The next move, of course, was to pull up stakes and drive the 64-foot trailer with wife and four children from Pennsylvania to Georgia, which Rockwell proceeded to do. They arrived in Atlanta on a cold day in January and settled in a local trailer park.

No sooner were they settled in Atlanta, however, than things took a turn for the worse. The advertising revenues, which had been so lucrative only a few weeks before, was now down to zero. Obviously, it was time for another change. Now, a man in Rockwell's predicament would have looked for employment in Atlanta where he had friends rather than drag his wife and four children around the country from one uncertainty to another--and certainly there was nothing more economically uncertain than the deal which motivated his next move.

It seems that while he was working for Allen, Rockwell had been corresponding with a man named William Stephenson in Newport News, Virginia. Stephenson was the publisher and editor of a racist magazine called The Virginian. Rockwell writes:

I had written him a letter, he had heard of me, we compared mental notes and ideas, and he seemed impressed. I sent him a suggestion for a series of cartoons called "Odd Birds", making fun of liberals, and, in a sneaky way, Jews, comparing them to birds. He liked the idea, and we agreed to produce them.

When Stephenson heard of our predicament in Atlanta, he called and gave us some very wonderful cheering up. His call yanked me out of deep despondency, as I saw the truly frightful conditions for my dear wife and babies. (p. 263)

If Rockwell's situation was truly what he said it was, then the move he made to alleviate it was very strange indeed. He writes:

Stephenson invited us to come to Newport News where he had a press and photo-offset equipment, and work with him--not on a salary, but on a sharing basis, as we published the birds, and other material. (p. 263)

Now, no man in Rockwell's position with a wife and four children to feed, plus the burden of supporting his first wife and three children, would have dragged a 44-foot trailer from Georgia to Virginia with no better prospects than those offered by Stephenson. Obviously, if Rockwell accepted the offer it must have been for reasons other than those he gave. After the long haul to Newport News, Rockwell went to work with Bill Stephenson and his wife and their partner Lacy Jeffries. He writes:

We went ahead with the publication of the "Old Birds" in high hopes that sales of the portfolio of drawings and commentaries . . . would bring in the income we so desperately needed. . . . Then we waited for results. They were miserable, wretched--heart breaking. (p. 273)

Which means that they were even in worse shape than when they had arrived in Newport News. The clue to Rockwell's motivation in coming to Newport News, however, can be found in the events that followed. It seems that Stephenson had a financial "angel," an eccentric millionaire from Baltimore by the name of Harold Arrowsmith Jr. who had been infected by the "Jewish-conspiracy" virus. Arrowsmith had supplied Stephenson with equipment, a press and financial help. Since the economic incentive to move to Newport News was non-existent, it becomes obvious that Rockwell had come to work for Stephenson not so much to help the

latter, but to get to know Harold Arrowsmith who could become the "fat cat" Rockwell had been seeking for so long.

The need for finding a "conservative" millionaire to help Rockwell launch his Nazi party had always been the most crucial and difficult part of the operation. First, the number of "conservative" millionaires available and willing to finance an anti-Jewish campaign were practically zero, and the one or two who could be seduced into such a lunatic scheme had to be pretty neurotic, unstable and gullible to begin with. But, apparently, Arrowsmith had all of the qualifications. Second, even the most experienced of agents provocateurs would have found it difficult to predict the fate of a group coming out into the open at that time with swastikas and an undiluted Nazi program. There had to be no doubts in the minds of the public as to its genuine "right wing" origin, and a "conservative" millionaire's backing would provide the most convincing evidence of this.

To help him in his plan to lure Arrowsmith away from Stephenson, Rockwell had the assistance of a young man by the name of Bill Anderson who had come all the way from Chicago with his wife and children to work for Stephenson for about the same kind of economic incentive which had brought Rockwell up from Atlanta. Rockwell doesn't tell us very much about Anderson, but it is more than likely that Anderson--if that is his real name--had been sent by the network in Chicago to help Rockwell either take over Stephenson's operation or capture Arrowsmith all for himself. It is not unreasonable to assume that the network had known of Arrowsmith's existence for some time and had mapped out an elaborate plan whereby Rockwell could be able to ensnare him. That would account for Anderson's presence as well as Rockwell's scheming by mail to get himself into Stephenson's circle. Once Anderson and Rockwell were established within the

small Stephenson circle, they could then proceed to separate Arrowsmith from Stephenson.

Stephenson, who more or less suspected that Rockwell was conspiring behind his back, was anxious for Arrowsmith not to meet Rockwell. And so, when Arrowsmith was due to arrive for a visit, Stephenson advised Rockwell that his millionaire friend was very nervous and touchy and that it would be better if Rockwell stayed out in the garage while Arrowsmith was present—~~however,~~ ^{however,} if he had to come in during that period, to use the back door. Naturally, Rockwell looked for the first opportunity in which to get a glimpse of Arrowsmith. But he had to be very careful. Rockwell describes what happened as follows:

Several days later, after Arrowsmith had been around for at least a day, I went into the kitchen, via the back door, and Arrowsmith was sitting at the kitchen table with Bill, sipping cocoa. I was introduced in the briefest possible fashion, and left.

A day or so after that, on a Sunday morning, I was typing on more of "Battle Call" when there was a knock on the trailer door. I opened it and found Bill Anderson and Arrowsmith. . . .

Bill explained bluntly that Arrowsmith was disgusted with the way Stephenson had handled the many thousands of dollars he had put into the operation, and was planning to close it up and sell the equipment. Bill said he had prevailed on Arrowsmith to come and see me, by convincing Arrowsmith that I had the talents and know-how to do something worthwhile with the enormous investment already in the venture—or at least to use the printing equipment which he was going to sell (p. 275)

The plan was working out very well indeed. Arrowsmith was now anxious to dump Stephenson and put his press and photo-offset equipment at Rockwell's disposal if Rockwell could come up with a plan. What special methods of seduction Rockwell's confederate had used to produce Arrowsmith's sudden switch in loyalty, we are not told. But the skillful agent provocateur is never at a loss to find the special weak spot in a victim with as many neurotic desires as Arrowsmith.

Later that day, after a nasty showdown with Stephenson, Rockwell then showed Arrowsmith the "Battle Call" proof sheets, and Arrowsmith became quite enthusiastic over Rockwell's whole program. Rockwell writes:

The next day he (Arrowsmith) came over in his rented car and ~~we~~ drove me down to a deserted beach, where we parked and discussed the situation for many hours. He wanted to know what I thought should be done. I told him that the only place in the world where a strong movement could succeed was in Arlington, Virginia, right across from the Nation's Capitol. In every other place the Jews could put so much pressure on the authorities that any strong anti-Jewish effort would be ruthlessly and illegally crushed. But in Washington--the show place of America and the "free" world--while they could hurt us badly, the usual Jewish inspired gross violations of all justice and rights to silence exposure of Jewish treason would be too obvious, and thus impossible. Too many people would see and hear about it, no matter how they tried to cover it up, use the "silent treatment," and smear us out of existence. (p. 278)

Apparently, this was what Arrowsmith wanted to hear. The idea of establishing a center in Washington where Rockwell could print all of Arrowsmith's materials exposing the Jews was quite entrancing to the eccentric millionaire. The plan

was for Rockwell to launch an all-out anti-Jewish campaign in public, while the group also flooded Congress with the anti-Jewish documents which Arrowsmith had gathered in great abundance.

Rockwell was also able to extract from Arrowsmith a verbal agreement to the effect that Arrowsmith would provide him with a secure home for his family and a printing shop in the basement, using the equipment then in Stephenson's place. Arrowsmith suggested that the group call itself the "National Committee to Free America From Jewish Domination," and Rockwell agreed to that, figuring that it would be too dangerous to come out immediately with the swastikas. It would have to be done gradually. Rockwell writes:

Once Arrowsmith was ready to go, he couldn't wait. He was actually fidgetty, like a fat little boy waiting for a parade, and insisted that we start instantly.

Stephenson had announced he was a terror, of course, and would battle to the death to hold the equipment, and told Anderson, whom he didn't realize was involved with Arrowsmith, that he would sabotage the press and equipment before it would go out. But Arrowsmith got a justice of the peace and was told how to get a writ, etc.—and when Bill heard this, he capitulated. Arrowsmith went to get the stuff with a truck, and Bill confined his "fight to the death" to calling a policeman to have his former benefactor thrown off the premises!

This, Rockwell had succeeded in getting the "fat-cat" which he and Hooker had been trying to ensnare for so long. Now Rockwell could get his Nazi operation underway, provided that Arrowsmith could be kept properly humored for at least the next six months.

Chapter
THE FIRST PICKET

There was much to be done before the operation could be launched, and there was not a moment to lose. Going on no more than a verbal agreement with Arrowsmith, Rockwell immediately drove the 44-foot trailer to Washington. Then, Arrowsmith's equipment was placed temporarily in the basement of a friend. Describing this period, Rockwell writes:

Meanwhile we looked for a permanent place--and I got to know my new "fat cat."

Arrowsmith was nocturnal, I learned--a habit just the opposite of mine. . . . (H)e would insist that I sit up until three, four or five every night talking to him about the "eekings" as he called the enemy. He also made it impossible for me to do anything else to earn any money--and then welched on his promises to pay me enough to eat while I worked for him. I had a very bad tooth, and my face swelled out like a grapefruit--but I could not afford a dentist, and this multi-millionaire made me beg, night after night, sitting in my car outside of his hotel in Alexandria, for the small money he had promised me to get set up.

Clearly, there is nothing a good agent provocateur won't do to see his plan through to the very end. There would have been no need for Rockwell to have put up with Arrowsmith's eccentricities, unless Arrowsmith had that something which Rockwell needed very badly in order for his operation to be a success.

The operation had to have a right-wing backer. I could not be carried out convincingly in any other way. And so, Rockwell just about catered to Arrowsmith's every whim. He writes:

One night at 5 A.M., in spite of everything, in spite of my impossible financial situation, in spite of my wife and children, in spite of all reason and sanity--in spite of instinct for survival--I had had all I could take. I jumped out of the car, ran around to his side, opened the door and told him to get out.

He wouldn't do it. He sat there looking as though he were about to cry, and pouted. He said I was cutting off my nose to spite my face, and told me there was no point in being stupid

I cooled off, somehow, and we went back to negotiating.

The trick worked, and from then on things went more smoothly. They found a suitable house in the Williamsburg section of Arlington. Arrowsmith was to make a down payment of \$15,000 on the house and Rockwell was to make the mortgage payments. The printing equipment was to be installed in the basement. Rockwell was anxious to have this entire arrangement committed to paper, but Arrowsmith was smart enough to avoid making such a commitment. He merely left a check for \$15,300 with a friend, which took care of the house, and then he left town.

Rockwell went ahead with his plans, nevertheless. He sold the trailer, moved into the house, and set up the press. By the time Arrowsmith returned to Washington a few weeks later, Rockwell was all prepared to launch the operation he, Hooker and the others had been planning. Arrowsmith had originally thought in terms of a publishing venture, that is, printing and distributing documents and pamphlets exposing the alleged Jewish control of America. But now Rockwell

suggested that it was time for street action, that is, organized picketing in front of the White House with simultaneous picketing in other cities. Arrowsmith thought this was a wonderful idea. Rockwell suggested that since Pres. Eisenhower had obviously intervened in Lebanon in behalf of "Jewish international aggression," that that ought to be the theme of the picketing. Both Rockwell and Arrowsmith agreed that Eisenhower's anti-Nasser policy was obviously Jewish inspired.

Arrowsmith was all for the idea, but wondered, of course, how Rockwell could arrange such a demonstration all by himself. Where was he going to find the pickets? That was easy, Rockwell told Arrowsmith. He simply explained that during his past few years of apprenticeship in "the movement" he had managed to establish contacts with other men all over the country who thought as he did and were ready to cooperate in any joint operation of this kind. Arrowsmith bought this explanation. Rockwell then explains:

So I told Arrowsmith that, to picket the White House, we would have to send for my boys--Hooker's boys--in New York. It would cost, altogether--for signs, literature and transportation--over a thousand dollars. Arrowsmith said go ahead. . . .

So I arranged with New York for a chartered bus-load of the boys, designed and silk-screened huge oil-cloth signs in fluorescent red and black, wrote, designed and printed tens of thousands of two-color leaflets, prepared minute directions for the pickets, telephoned all over the U.S. and managed to get Ed Fields, in Louisville and Wallace Allen in Atlanta, to agree to picket simultaneously with us, and made the thousand other arrangements necessary to such a relatively large-scaled operation.

The preparations for the simultaneous demonstrations were indeed elaborate, requiring the coordinated efforts of members of the agent-provocateur network in different parts of the country. An excellent inside picture of these preparations was given in a letter Rockwell wrote to Wallace Allen about a week before the demonstrations. The letter fell into the hands of the police several months later after the Atlanta Temple bombing. The letter is a good example of the literary style of the agent provocateur, with its double entendre and camouflage. The text, a large portion of which follows, appeared in the Atlanta Constitution of October 18, 1958:

Dear Wallace,

It was wonderful to talk to you on the phone! Made me realize how feeble and uninformed most of us so-called "hard-core" is just by contrast.

Still can't stand still long enough to write a long and detailed letter, as I'd like to; I want to get some more material off to you right away and some more information on what's up.

So please forgive the lack of amenities and proper narratives of how all this happened. Suffice it to say that we are finally beginning to DO what we have all talked about, mostly thanks to ONE "Fat Cat" as Wes (Hooker) used to call them--who is putting his \$\$\$ where his mouth is. God Bless him.

The enclosed "hate-mongering" will give you an idea of the caliber of material we are preparing to roast the Jews alive in the fire of truth as it were. _____ is all out on the stickers, which are the ultimate weapon against the Jew, because he can't see where he's getting hit from--the technique he himself has been using to knock us all off.

People who won't even publicly admit that there are such things as Jews have been sneaking up to get a supply of these "Communism is Jewish" stickers to put up privately in the right places.

The big blast is all set for either next Sunday or Saturday, if there is local ordinance forbidding picketings, etc. on Sunday.

We will know tomorrow and will keep you informed. But we want to have it Sunday. If possible, because the boys are coming down from New York for the work here--no guts in the local citizens--and we want to have Saturday to pass out thousands of handbills and put up posters to sort of steam things up for the big blow itself.

You'll have to find out if there is an ordinance in Atlanta against Sunday picketing too and, if there isn't, your boys, just as mine, will not be free, in all probability, until Saturday, and you can use that whole day to distribute the "printing" we will get down to you in quantity by Thursday or Friday.

There are three items for handbills:

1. An inflammatory explanation of WHY we seem to be having trouble in the Middle East, coupled with an announcement of the picketing, and an invitation to come and hoot at the Jews with us.
2. A document, damning INFORMATION sheet to hand out at the "ceremonies" to establish exactly what Israel has done and is doing, and generally to (anger) the citizenry at the traducers of our country and traditions, etc.
3. Membership applications for The American National Committee to Free America from Jewish Domination--local chapter--(the results of this will be all yours in your area--if you want to and can handle it.)

There will be two items of posters: The picket signs themselves, in fluorescent red and black--and posters to be stuck wherever you can while passing out the handbills.

There will also be a sort of information sheet to be sure that all the demonstrations are well COORDINATED and OBVIOUSLY NATIONAL in scope. We think the Jews are just a little off balance for once right now--and a NATIONAL and EFFECTIVE blast at them right now will, we hope, tip them just enough so that they will come out from behind some of the brotherhood a bit, and let Americans see their dirty soul.

Allen's answer to Rockwell, which was probably written immediately, is equally interesting. The full text, portions of which follow, was printed in the Northern Virginia Sun, October 17, 1958:

Dear Linc:

Congratulations on having obtained arms to fight the enemy.

. . . Bless the Revolutionary Iraqi Government who are doing their utmost to show they are not communists in face of the barrage of propaganda to the contrary and insults from the U.S.

I hope you have thought the contents of the literature out to the extent you realize that the Mid-East may come under the heel of the communists. By pointing out that although these countries are not now communist, but will be if we don't change our policy toward Israel, the goyim will not think we were wrong when and if they fail to the Jews.

. . . The exact method we will use here is still undecided and is entirely dependent on existing conditions which will be examined thoroughly.

. . . The Temple would be wrong since it relates to the religious rather than the political.

. . . The piece from the American Hebrew is too subtle for the ordinary Goyim mind. Sounds fantastic but true.

Allen's letter is revealing in many ways. For an alleged anti-Communist, he is unduly happy over the revolution in Iraq which destroyed the anti-Communist government of King Faisal and Premier Nuri as-Said and installed the pro-Communist regime of Abdel Karim Kassim. This is not surprising, however. A study of agent-provocateur literature reveals that the network has constantly favored Nasser, Ben Bella, Kassim, and Castro, until the "agrarian reformer" becomes too openly Communist even for the agents provocateurs to back.

Allen's use of the word "Goyim" is also of great interest. Goyim is the Hebrew word for stranger or foreigner. When used in modern colloquial speech, it means "non-Jew" and is used in a slightly derogatory manner. The word "Goyim" is used throughout the Protocols of Lenin—formerly the Protocols of Zion--to designate the enemy, the bourgeoisie, everyone outside of the members of the conspiracy itself. Its usage throughout the Protocols is of particular interest because Lenin himself liked to refer to all those who were not members of his conspiracy as "strangers." According to Alexander Potresov, an early collaborator of Lenin, "Lenin knew only two categories of people and events: his own and strangers. His own people were those who were within the sphere of influence of his organization; the strangers were those who did not enter his sphere and who thus--and because of this fact alone--were considered enemies."

It is more than revealing, therefore, to find that Allen, supposedly anti-Semitic and anti-Communist, does not only not identify himself with the "goyim"--the "non-Jews"--but speaks of them with contempt. Allen refers to the piece

from the American Hebrew as being "too subtle for the ordinary goyim mind," and he advises Rockwell to make a particular point about the Middle Eastern countries so that "the goyim will not think we were wrong when and if they fall to the Jews." For someone who is supposed to be one of the "goyim" himself, this is a peculiar point of view, to say the least. Allen's use of the word "goyim," in fact, is quite in keeping with Lenin's use of the equivalent as described by Potresov.

At last, the "great event"--as Rockwell calls it--was upon them. On Saturday, July 26, 1958, the busload of boys from New York arrived. These were the boys Hooker had recruited for his Nationalist Youth League in 1956. Rockwell hadn't seen them since he left New York in the winter of 1957. Apparently, none of them had lost their fervor in the interim. Nevertheless, they were all somewhat apprehensive about this risky operation--which was designed to be the most openly anti-Semitic public demonstration since the downfall of Hitler. Rockwell describes the situation with his usual candor:

We got out a large number of pamphlets, and prepared to picket the next day, Sunday. It is almost impossible for me to imagine it now, but we were all scared to death. My New York boys, tough as tigers, were restless and worried, and their leader, Luke Donner, proved to be a complete coward. He told them they would all be killed by "three or four hundred niggers", and got them all determined to quit on me! They heaved off for New York on a bus, and left me with a mutiny. (p. 291)

But Rockwell managed to save the day. He used his skillful salesmanship on the boys and convinced them that the operation had to be successfully carried out. Rockwell writes:

When it came time to go, I left one lad to watch my family, and held my wife and looked into her eyes a long time. I really didn't know if I would ever be back--silly as it sounds today. Our signs, using words like "kike" and showing vile pictures of these hook-noses, were something never seen in public before, and we had received plenty of threats and warnings of arrests and beatings and killings. I was really very scared--as scared as I ever was during two wars.

As usual, Thora was brave and inspiring, and I left determined to succeed or die that day.

Rockwell and his imported crew did picket the White House that day, and much to Rockwell's surprise and relief there were no mishaps. Arrowsmith watched the proceedings from a safe distance across the street. After it was all over, the new Nazis were given a police escort, for their own protection, back to Haine's Point where the boys were staying and the chartered bus was parked. One might say that, officially, Rockwell's new career as "der fuehrer" had begun that day, July 27, 1958.

The picketing in front of the White House didn't get quite the newspaper coverage Rockwell had hoped for. The Washington Post carried the following short item about the demonstration in the next morning's edition on page 10:

Anti-Semites Picket Here

Eight persons carrying anti-Semitic placards picketed the White House for about an hour yesterday.

Lt. Charles Murphy of the Third Precinct said the eight picketers were the only sign of what had been advertised the day before as a mass demonstration.

On Saturday groups distributed anti-Jewish literature on F st. n.w. in the Chevy Chase area and in the Williamsburg area of North Arlington, calling for mass demonstrations at the Soviet and Israeli embassies as well as the White House.

Elsewhere, the picketers were not quite as successful as Rockwell's in Washington. In Louisville, Kentucky, two women belonging to Ed Fields' National States Rights Party were fined \$10 each for distributing the leaflets Rockwell had sent Fields. In Atlanta, the fate of the picketers was much worse, as described by the following story which appeared in the Atlanta Constitution on Monday, July 28, 1958:

Anti-Jewish Pickets Here Are Seized

Police cut short a demonstration in downtown Atlanta Sunday afternoon with the arrest of five pickets who were carrying anti-Jewish signs.

The five were identified as Billy Roy Branham, 19, of 591 Highland Ave., NE; George Michael Bright, 35, of 525 Page Ave., NE; Kenneth Chester Griffin, 32, of 580 Ponce de Leon Ave., NE; Luther K. Corley, 35, of 292 1/2 Osburn Rd., NE, and Phillip Luther Wilson, 22, of 90 1/2 Bowen St., NW. They were arrested in front of the Constitution and Journal building.

After more than seven hours of police interrogation, the five men were locked in the city jail on a charge of suspicion of inciting a riot, and were to be questioned on Monday. . . .

Detective Supt. I. G. Cowan said his department had advance information that some type of racial demonstration would be staged during the weekend in Atlanta. The five had marched about three minutes when detectives arrived, confiscated the placards and took the demonstrators to police headquarters.

"Each of the arrested persons was carrying a sign that was very derogatory to the Jewish people and we felt that to allow this to continue could be very detrimental to the peace, good order and dignity of the city," Sgt. Blackwell said.

The pickets' signs read: "Constitution and Journal Distort News, Suppress Facts," "Jewish Controlled Press Lies About Middle East," and "Nasser Outlawed the Communists and Jailed his Reds, But Your Jewish Press Lies that the Arabs are Red." All of the signs carried a signature banner, "National Committee to Free America from Jewish Domination."

On the following day, the Atlanta police arrested Richard Bowling, 26, whose name had kept coming up in the investigation of the pickets. The Atlanta Constitution of July 29, 1958 reported the following about Bowling and one of the pickets, Corley:

Officers said Bowling was arrested in 1950 on a larceny charge and was sentenced to 12 months probation. They said he also was arrested in 1950 on a charge of violating the motor vehicle law and was sentenced to pay a \$25 fine or serve three months.

(Luther K.) Corley was sentenced in 1952 at Jacksonville, Fla., to serve five years on charges of unarmed robbery and in 1948 was sentenced to 30 days for vagrancy, police said.

Which is a good indication of the moral character of the men in Reckwell's circle. The trial of the five picketers took place on Tuesday, July 29, 1958. The five were convicted on charges of disorderly conduct and sentenced to serve thirty days each in the city prison farm. Their defense attorneys, James R. Venable and Kessley B. Burdine, immediately filed appeals, and the five were

released on bond supplied by Arrowsmith. It was disclosed at the trial that the plans had been made the previous week ~~at~~ meeting of the National States Rights Party, presided over by George Bright as chairman.

Rockwell tells us that several days later Wallace Allen flew up to Washington to confer with him and Arrowsmith about the events in Atlanta. Rockwell writes:

Allen told us they had discovered a spy in their little group down there, a sneaky character named L. E. Rogers. He described to Arrowsmith and me how this ~~Rogers~~ had seized the confidential picketing directions I had placed with the signs, when they arrived in Atlanta, and had scooted off to his home with them. Allen and the boys had to go get them back. Later, when John Kasper was released from the Atlanta Penitentiary, and they wanted somebody to greet him, but didn't want the ~~sensars~~ and publicity attendant thereon, they had cagily sent Rogers to do the public greeting, and he had not been able to get out of it. ~~Allen~~ thought this was pretty funny at the time. (p. 295)

Rogers, indeed, was an employe of the FBI who had infiltrated the National States Rights Party. It is unlikely, however, that Allen, as Rockwell suggests, suspected this at the time, for otherwise Allen would not have sent Rogers along with George Bright and Billy Branham to meet Kasper as he emerged from the Atlanta Penitentiary on Friday, August 1, 1958, less than a week after the picketing. Rockwell further writes:

He (Allen) also told us that Rogers was forever suggesting dynamiting at the meetings they held in Atlanta. I have learned from this. Whenever anybody in our meetings even vaguely suggests bombing or anything the least bit illegal, we call the police or the FBI immediately. But the boys

in Atlanta, while wanting no part of such illegal activity, hesitated to judge, convict and turn in a supposed "fellow patriot" on such slim evidence. Everybody hates to be a "squealer"--so Rogers got away with this provocation--which I have since learned is one of the most easily recognized marks of the Jewish-paid provocateur.

Of course, the Atlanta bombing trial had brought out an entirely different set of facts, all of which Hockwell assumed his readers would know nothing about. Actually, the standard accusation all agents provocateurs make against those who infiltrate their ranks is that the infiltrators are the provocateurs, and not the original provocateurs themselves who are being infiltrated. This accusation is in itself a dead giveaway, for nobody knows more about the technique of provocation than the Communists themselves, and when a provocateur accuses his enemies of being provocateurs, he is using a typical provocateur technique. Provocateurs often enlist dupes to carry out much of their dirty work. If they restricted their activities to include only the faithful and known members of the network, they would not only be handicapped by an acute shortage of manpower, but their reason for being would be partially negated. The object of the agent provocateur is to enlist as many dupes into his operation as is safely possible, thus giving the operation greater influence. The danger in enlisting dupes, however, is that one of these dupes may turn out to be an FBI agent. It is obvious, therefore, that an agent-provocateur operation which opens its ranks to potential FBI agents must exercise great care in planning acts of violence such as bombings and murders, unless dupes involved in the acts are meant to get caught. It is also likely that many acts of violence are carried out by a parallel network

of trained specialists--known as Direct Action Committees--who are given orders from above and need not have any direct link to the agent-provocateur operation they may be helping. The blind obedience of the Communist agent makes this possible. This would account for why the FBI has been virtually unable to pin any specific act of violence on Rockwell, Fieldis, Allen, Kasper or any other well-known provocateur and agitator, even though many acts of violence have taken place which seem to be directly connected with their agitation.

In any case, it goes without saying that agitation and provocation are not only meant to create a climate for the violence which invariably follows, but that they have no value unless violence does follow. Agitation and provocation are meant to prepare a community for violence. If the agitation and provocation are being promoted on both sides of a conflict, a clash is bound to result.

Before we proceed into the next major event in "Rockwell's career, which involves the bombing of the Jewish Temple in Atlanta some three months after the July picketing, we might review Rockwell's activities in the interim.

During the month of August, 1958, high-school seniors in Arlington, Virginia, were deluged with "hate mail," which prompted the Northern Virginia Sun to investigate the origin of the mailings. An article appeared in that newspaper on September 20, 1958, revealing some interesting details, as follows:

During August, many Arlington seniors received three examples of the so-called "hate mail." This special report on the mailings by the Sun teen editor Anne Bradford is the result of questions many of them have asked the Sun. . . .

The first of these circulars--sent to 919 Arlington seniors--was headed "The Communist 'Race Equality' Myth Exposed!" The second pamphlet

was entitled "Segregation or Death!" by John Kasper, a self-styled rabble rouser and titular head of the Seaboard White Citizens Council who was released from prison in August. . . .

The Publisher, the Seaboard White Citizens Council, is headed by Floyd Fleming, recently retired from Naval Air.

He is owner of Post Office Box No. 4564, Brookhead Station, Washington, D. C., stamped as the return address on the envelopes of the first mailing which Arlington students received from the SWCC. . . .

One Arlingtonian actively working with Mr. Fleming in the organization is Eugene Collton, who works for the District's Traffic Bureau.

The envelopes are addressed by Mr. Fleming's sister, Mrs. Randy de Ment. . . . Mrs. De Ment stated that "an Arlington school official borrowed the student lists from the schools."

. . . Mrs. De Ment said the presses were in Virginia. At first she said they were in Arlington, later denied this and said she thought they were in Alexandria.

A North Arlington resident Lincoln Rockwell, has offset printing presses in his basement and prints similar literature.

The Seaboard White Citizens Council had been formed by Kasper in 1956 just at the time when Rockwell had left U. S. Lady and joined Kasper's circle of provocateurs. Obviously, Rockwell was now working closely with this group since his return to the Washington area. It is noteworthy that the group distributed Kasper's hypocritical pamphlet "Segregation or Death!" after the facts about his past were known. The story of Kasper's interracial days was conveniently forgotten by his Seaboard followers. The press, however, in a very small way

continued to be curious about this obvious contradiction in Kasper's career. When Kasper was interviewed by reporters after his release from prison, the following was reported in the Atlanta Constitution of August 2, 1958:

When reporters questioned him about instances when he associated socially with Negroes and danced with Negro girls in New York, Kasper said it occurred at a period when he was interested in warning Negroes against Jewish exploitation.

One would have expected Kasper, a graduate of Columbia, to have invented a more convincing story than that.

As for Rockwell, his relationship with Arrowsmith deteriorated to the breaking point, as expected, and by the end of September Arrowsmith was ready to take back his equipment from Rockwell as he had from Stephenson some months before. This time Arrowsmith operated with great dispatch. One day, while Rockwell was busily printing in his basement, a man with a truck showed up with the necessary legal papers to pick up Arrowsmith's equipment. Rockwell writes:

I called the police and they said I had the right to forbid the man to come on my premises, and this is what I did. But not before I called Arrowsmith and tried to find out what it was all about. He pretended not to be in and had his mother say he was out of Baltimore. But I heard him, and called back in a few minutes, using the name of the man with the truck from Baltimore. This time the sneak answered. For an hour and a half (on my long-distance bill) he whined at me that it was my duty to turn over the equipment and move out of the house.

. . . I did my best to make him see what a horrible injustice being thrown in the streets without a livelihood was to my wife and kids.

It is very difficult, indeed, to feel sorry for a man who had used every bit of ingenuity to get involved financially with a hopelessly unreliable neurotic, in order to use him for a sinister purpose, and now finds himself at his victim's mercy. In all probability, Rockwell expected nothing else and merely hoped to hold on to Arrowsmith until the big press exposure was ready.

Chapter

THE ATLANTA BOMBING

It took the bombing of The Temple in Atlanta to bring Rockwell the first real national attention he had been able, as yet, to obtain as an anti-Semite. The question naturally arises whether it was all carefully planned to work out this way. Indeed, all the elements of the plot were in place: a new Nazi fuhrer in the making, his right-wing financial angel in hand, anti-Jewish pickets appearing in several cities simultaneously, and a series of synagogue bombings. All, in fact, that was needed for Rockwell's work to be of greater use to the conspiracy was widespread publicity and exposure, and only an act of formidable violence would produce such an exposure. That act, conveniently enough, took place in Atlanta, on Sunday, October 12, 1958, at 3:38 a.m. It was reported on page one of the next day's Atlanta Constitution as follows:

JEWISH TEMPLE ON PEACHTREE WRECKED BY DYNAMITE BLAST

\$200,000 In Damage Estimated

A thunderous dynamite explosion blasted a gaping hole in the wall of the Atlanta Temple Sunday, ripping into shambles the interior of the three-story Jewish house of worship at 1589 Peachtree St., NE.

The dynamiters fled in the pre-dawn darkness. Police searched the area but did not find the wreckage until four hours later.

The impact shattered valuable stained glass windows, ripped plaster off walls, wrecked a church office, heavily damaged an auditorium used for

religious education and social activities and littered the sanctuary with glass and splinters.

A building contractor who visited the scene estimated damage at \$200,000. . . .

The FBI and OBI entered the case, as police launched one of the most intensive investigations in the city's history. President Eisenhower ordered FBI director J. Edgar Hoover to find the dynamiters. . . .

Ed McDonald, a service station attendant working across the street from The Temple, said he was unaware of the proximity of the blast which Police Capt. J. L. Moseley estimated was set off by 40 to 50 sticks of dynamite.

Investigation concentrated on two main objectives:

1. To locate a tall man with a scar across his face who stopped at a Peachtree Road service station at approximately 1 a.m. Sunday and asked the location of The Temple. He was reported driving a 1956 model automobile with a South Carolina license plate wired over a Georgia plate.

2. To identify the occupants of an old model automobile reported seen pulling up a driveway beside The Temple about midnight.

Police rounded up members of suspected race-hating organizations which have been under surveillance here. Chief Jenkins named the National States Rights Council and the Confederate Underground as chief suspects.

Police were first notified of an explosion at 3:43 a.m. . . .

Gov. Griffin said he will offer the maximum reward permitted under Georgia law.

The incident was the second straight Sunday dynamiting in the South. A series of blasts shattered an integrated school at Clinton, Tenn., last

Sunday. Atlanta became the fourth Southern city in which Jewish worship centers have been dynamited this year. Earlier blasts were in Miami, Jacksonville and Nashville. . . .

(Detective Capt. R. E. Little Jr.) said that whoever set off the blast "certainly knew how to handle explosives." . . .

The last anti-Jewish incident reported in Atlanta was on July 27, when five persons were arrested while picketing the Atlanta Constitution and Journal Building and carrying signs with anti-Semitic themes.

This bombing in Atlanta was indeed similar in many respects to the bombings which had taken place in Miami, Jacksonville, Nashville and Clinton, except for two big differences. It caused far greater damage, and there was a ready group of suspects in the city which the police lay their hands on--the five picketers arrested in July. The Atlanta Constitution of October 14, 1958 reported the story:

BOMBING WAS PLANNED AT ATLANTA MEETING IN MAY. INFORMANT SAYS MORE
NAMES GIVEN POLICE BY SUSPECT

A suspect Monday night dictated and signed a statement to ~~three~~ Atlanta police saying the bombing of the Jewish Temple on Peachtree street was planned at a meeting of an anti-Semitic organization held in East Atlanta last May.

The informant said he attended the meeting at which initial plans for the bombing were laid. He said, however, that he objected to the use of dynamite and was not invited to participate in later meetings where final plans were laid. . . .

In his statement, the suspect said one member of the group who had

who had worked as an architect drew plans of the Temple showing exactly where the dynamite was to be placed. The dynamite was to have been ~~procured~~ procured from Harlan, Ky., he said, and was to have been set off by a man brought from Birmingham, Ala. . . .

The suspect, who implicated himself to some degree, said the organization had several members in every Southern city. He added that in each bombing those who set off the blast were brought from another city. . . .

Half a dozen other persons who were present at the east Atlanta meeting where the bombing was planned were named in the statement, (Sgt.) Blackwell said. He added that some of those named are out of the state but said efforts are being made to have them arrested.

Four persons are being questioned by Atlanta police in connection with the bombing, Capt. R. E. Little said.

The four were jailed for suspicion of ~~suspicious~~ vagrancy, Little said.

Three of those held participated in the picket demonstration in front of The Constitution-Journal Building, carrying anti-Semitic signs, Little related. He identified them as Luther King Corley, 35, of 26 Highland Dr., Kenneth Chester Griffin, 32, of 3130 DeKalb Ave., NE, and George Michael Bright, 35, of 525 Page Avenue. . . .

The fourth man held, listed as Robert (Bobby) Bowling, 25, of a Peachtree road address, did not appear in the picket line. However officers said they found in his Peachtree Road apartment a transcript of the Municipal Court trial and newspaper clippings of recent bombings.

The suspect who had told about the meeting in May, when the plans for the bombing were laid, was Kenneth C. Griffin. In other words, it would appear

that the plans were laid far enough in advance so that Allen and Rockwell could have indeed planned the sequence of events to lead to an embarrassing and sensational exposure of Arrowsmith and a great deal of publicity for Rockwell. In fact, the following day the police arrested Wallace Allen and, lo and behold, they found in his possession the "fat cat" letter which Rockwell had written him in July. Had the letter been written as part of the plan? The Washington Post story of October 17, 1958, which gave Rockwell his first big press coverage, strongly suggests that it was. Here is the story:

FBI QUIZZES 2 HERE IN BOMBING

Baltimore Man, Artist Deny Role

Arlingtonian Admits Writing Letter to Suspect

An Arlington artist and his Baltimore benefactor were linked yesterday to a suspect held by Atlanta police in connection with the bombing of a Jewish temple there last Sunday.

The FBI questioned both men yesterday. Both denied they knew anything about the \$200,000 dynamiting of the temple.

The artist is George Lincoln Rockwell, 40, of 6512 Williamsburg blvd. who turns out anti-Jewish literature in a basement printing plant in his home.

He acknowledged writing the "mystery letter" found by police at the Atlanta home of Wallace E. Allen, 32, a crippled printing salesman who is one of five persons held in connection with the bombing.

Rockwell's benefactor is Harold Noel Arrowsmith Jr., member of a wealthy Baltimore family. Arrowsmith told The Washington Post that he gave \$500 to Allen for bail money and legal fees after Allen was arrested by Atlanta police last July for participating in an anti-Jewish picketing demonstration.

Arlington court records show that Arrowsmith and Rockwell have had a recent disagreement.

Arrowsmith is listed in county deed records as the owner of Rockwell's home. Tax stamps indicate Arrowsmith paid \$15,500 cash down on the house and assumed the remaining debt of ~~\$1632~~ \$8236.

But more recent records in the courthouse show Arrowsmith is suing Rockwell for return of the printing apparatus valued at \$1632 located in the basement of Rockwell's home.

In separate interviews yesterday, Arrowsmith said he has been trying to get Rockwell to leave the house, and Rockwell said he is staying.

Rockwell said the printing machinery was used to produce anti-Jewish literature under the name of a "National Committee to Free America from Jewish Domination."

He gave reporters samples of the literature he puts out on his Multilith duplicator which Arrowsmith is trying to recover.

One piece was a two-color leaflet headlined "Integration is Jewish" which was distributed Aug. 22 at a meeting of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties at Fairfax Courthouse.

Another was a pamphlet entitled "Winston Churchill Tells the Truth About the Jews."

Arrowsmith, who was questioned by FBI agents in Alexandria last night, said he had bought the home on Williamsburg blvd. for Rockwell and also paid him \$150 to arrange materials for an anti-Jewish picketing demonstration last July 27.

The picketing came off in Louisville, Atlanta and at the White House here. Rockwell said he participated in the Washington picketing.

The "mystery letter" which Atlanta police seized contained this sentence:

"Suffice to say that we are finally beginning to do what we have all so long talked about, mostly thanks to one man--the one fat cat-- . . . who is putting \$\$\$ where his mouth is. God bless him."

At another point, the letter stated:

"The big blast is all set for either Sunday or Saturday . . ."

Press accounts of the letter from Atlanta said it came from Arlington. Rockwell was first identified as the author yesterday by the Northern Virginia Sun.

Rockwell said the letter to Allen was an effort to organize the picketing and had nothing to do with the bombing.

The phrase "the big blast" he said, referred to a concentrated distribution of anti-Jewish literature and the picketing demonstrations, and not to any bombing attempt.

Rockwell also showed a letter which he said was Allen's answer. In it, Allen said picketing of the Jewish temple "would be wrong since it relates to the religious rather than the political."

This shows Allen would never think of bombing a temple, Rockwell said, since he even refused to picket it.

Arrowsmith said he first met Rockwell in Newport News, Va., in the offices of The Virginian, an anti-Jewish publication. He said he helped support The Virginian by purchasing subscriptions.

He said he met Allen through Rockwell at the Congressional Hotel in Washington.

Arrowsmith said some of the literature produced by Rockwell was "very

informative," and acknowledged that some of the "documents" reproduced by Rockwell were the result of his research.

Arrowsmith lives with his mother in a stone mansion in Baltimore's exclusive Guilford section. He is the son of Dr. Harold Noel Arrowsmith Sr., who was canon of the Cathedral Church of Incarnation (Episcopal) in Baltimore for 34 years before his death in 1955.

Mrs. Arrowsmith said her son devotes full time to studies and research of Nordic and Mediterranean racial characteristics to prove his belief that Nordic stock is superior.

"Fortunately, he does not have to earn a living," said Mrs. Arrowsmith.

As he appeared for questioning by the FBI in Alexandria, Arrowsmith, 39, said his own attitude on anti-Semitism is "too long and involved to tell a press conference."

"I'm going to have to ask the Bureau for protection from lynching," he added.

As for the Atlanta bombing, Arrowsmith said: "I can't imagine ~~anybody~~ anything so stupid."

After his two-hour session with the FBI, Arrowsmith was asked if he was the "fat cat" referred to by Rockwell in the letter to Allen.

He conceded it was a "possibility."

"I know he (Rockwell) has referred to me to others as a fat cat before," said Arrowsmith. "It is a most disrespectful term."

Arrowsmith said he set up Rockwell in the house in Arlington so he could have "documents" circulated easily among influential Government officials.

He said one disagreement he had with Rockwell was over printing rates

Rockwell charged as much as retail printers, said Arrowsmith.

At his home where FBI agents questioned him earlier, Rockwell said he also opposed bombing and violence.

"I am against blasting temples," said Rockwell. "I deplore the bombing of religious buildings from a public relations standpoint."

"It makes everybody hate you." . . .

Rockwell, a handsome man with a crewcut, conceded that "90 per cent of the anti-Jewish movement is crackpot in character--frustrated old ladies, queers all over the place, people obsessed with an idea like flouridation of water."

Rockwell in the interview said he does not "act anti-Jewish" but "thinks anti-Jewish." He objects to the term "anti-Semitic" because that would include Arabs, he said.

He acknowledged that John Kasper, leader of ^{White} Seaboard/Citizens Council, had contacted him recently, and that he has published literature circulated by the Seaboard group "because they were broke." . . .

Rockwell said he didn't agree with Kasper's "way of doing things."

"I am not pro-segregation or pro-integration," he said. "I'm for repatriation. We should help the Negroes establish an industrial nation in Africa." . . .

Rockwell said he first met Allen in Knoxville a year ago at a session of the United White Party which, he said, is now combined with the National States Rights Party.

Rockwell called his present operation a "national educational anti-Jewish center." For a livelihood, he also prints Christmas cards.

He said he now has plans for the formation of a new anti-Jewish group, tentatively called the "World Union of Free Enterprise National Socialists."

He spoke of Adolph Hitler's valuable contribution to Germany, and said:

"The only thing I cannot find out is if he did annihilate Jews; we would be against that."

He said the new world organization would try to determine "if Jews were born that way, in which case they would have to be sterilized or something; or if they learn their characteristics, in which case the Jewish babies could be taught."

The Washington Post story had been exactly what Rockwell and his co-conspirators had hoped to achieve. Now the stage was set for further exploits. National attention had been directed to Rockwell and the public's curiosity was aroused. Who would have believed that in 1958 a man would suddenly appear who was prepared to take up where Hitler had left off? Had any movement in history died a more dishonorable death than Nazism in 1945? But now, as the press reported, Nazism wasn't dead ~~about~~ after all. It was alive in the person of George Lincoln Rockwell. So alive, that soon the public's attention would be diverted from Castro, Khrushchev and Mao Tse-Tung to the powerful new threat posed by the new fuhrer of Arlington, Virginia.

Actually, by creating Rockwell, the conspiracy hoped to achieve the following: (1) recreate the spectre of a continuing, world-wide Nazi threat with all its horrors and symbols; (2) divert attention away from the very real Communists to a synthetic Hitler; (3) revive memories of Hitler's atrocities and barbarism,

associating them with right-wing anti-Communism; (4) frighten the Jews into closer association with leftist movements; (5) prepare the country for a greater acceptance of open Communist activity, since open "Nazi" activity would seem even more obnoxious in comparison; (6) provide anti-American propaganda for the Communist press throughout the world; (7) scare off people from joining anti-Communist organizations; (8) incite racial hatred and violence; and (9) pave the way for Communist speakers on university campuses. We shall see, by the story which unfolds, how the Communists have been able to achieve all of these objectives through Rockwell's activities.

In the meanwhile, on October 17, 1958, five of Rockwell's friends in Atlanta were indicted by a grand jury on charges of having taken part in bombing The Temple. The five included Wallace Allen, Kenneth C. Griffin, George Bright, and Robert and Richard Bowling. Neither Rockwell nor the "fat cat" were to figure in the trial at all, although the Atlanta Constitution of October 18, 1958, gave the impression that Rockwell and Arrowsmith were key figures in the bombing. The story read as follows:

POLICE FIND IDENTITY OF 'FAT CAT'

BOMBING FINANCIER IS NOT GEORGIAN

The police investigation of a Southern terrorist bombing ring Friday moved closer toward unmasking a financier--known as "the fat cat"--whose money was said to have poured life blood into the organization. . . .

Rockwell was identified as the author of a letter, seized at the home of Allen, which mentioned "the fat cat" financier and outlined plans of the anti-Semitic group.

Financial affairs of the organization assumed a more important role

as the investigation progressed.

(Capt.) Little said the investigation here reflected two important issues:

1. The Atlanta organization was supported financially through sources outside of Georgia.

2. Evidence uncovered in the temple bombing tended to link that incident with similar blasts set off in Nashville, Tenn.; Clinton, Tenn.; Jacksonville and Miami, Fla.; Birmingham, Ala., and Gastonia and Charlotte, N. C.

The Northern Virginia Sun of October 17, 1958 had written the following in a similar vein:

The FBI is on the trail of the other "big money" backing for anti-Jewish activities in the South, seeking to establish a pattern of relationships between anti-Jewish "cells" and financial backers in several cities.

Of course, the FBI found no such pattern of relationships. The few Arrowmiths in these United States couldn't begin to account for but a fraction of the money which is needed to keep a small army of professional agents provocateurs working full time as they flit from one end of the country to the other, picketing, agitating, and printing and distributing tons of literature each year. Since Rockwell himself has admitted that ninety per cent of the anti-Semitic movement were "crackpot in character," the other ten per cent he had in mind were undoubtedly the agents provocateurs like himself.

Chapter

THE ATLANTA BOMBING TRIAL

The trial of the accused Temple bombers opened in Atlanta on Monday, December 1, 1956. The State of Georgia had decided to try George Bright first, since, of the five indicted men, Bright offered the prosecution the best chances for a conviction. The trials of the other four were to follow Bright's.

The State's case against Bright, although based entirely on circumstantial evidence, was a strong one. But because the penalty for bombing a house of worship in Atlanta included death, the State's case had to be particularly good. The defense's ~~unorthodox~~ strategy was sensational to say the least. They had decided to prove that Bright was the victim of a gigantic Jewish conspiracy to frame him. The tenor of the trial and of the defense's tactics could be gauged by the account of the trial which appeared in the Atlanta Constitution of December 3, 1956:

STATE SAYS BRIGHT WAS AT BOMBING

The state began putting up evidence Tuesday ~~when~~ it said would show that George Michael Bright "was there at the time" the Jewish Temple was bombed here Oct. 12. . . .

Trials of the others, Griffin, Robert and Richard Bolling and Wallace R. Allen, are scheduled to start after Bright's trial is completed.

Defense attorney James R. Venable was rebuffed by Judge Durwood T. Pye when he attempted to have Mrs. Shurgin and Rabbi Rothschild disqualified as witnesses on grounds that, as practitioners of Judaism, they had taken an oath which would disqualify them as witnesses in a court of law.

Venable contended that an oath known as "Kol Nidre" which Jews take on Yom Kippur, invalidates any other oath they have taken during the year. Quoting from what he said was the oath, Venable said it contained wording which said all oaths would be "made of no effect." . . .

Rabbi Rothschild said he spoke on Judaism at the Baptist church on the night of Wednesday, May 28, at the invitation of the church. When he completed his presentation, he said, he asked for questions from the audience.

The rabbi said Bright asked him a question "about the number of Jews in the world," and when he answered 13,000,000, "he took exception and insisted there were three million more."

Rothschild said it soon "became apparent that he was not really interested in the number of Jews but he became belligerent and antagonistic." He said he reminded Bright that Hitler has exterminated some six million Jews, and Bright "challenged me on that."

The incident at the Baptist church indicated to what extent Bright was provocatively preoccupied with the "Jewish problem." As for James R. Venable, one of Bright's two defense attorneys, he was closely associated with the agent-provocateur ring in Atlanta. His reference to the Kol Nidre prayer was meant primarily to embarrass the two Jewish witnesses before a jury which was hardly in a position to understand the subtleties of Venable's attack upon the Jewish religion. But for Venable to have raised such a technical point regarding

the wording of an ancient Hebrew prayer, the correct meaning of which had nothing to do with condoning perjury in a court of law, is something suspicious in itself. From where had Venable gotten his expert information on Hebrew prayers? The incident reminds one of Wallace Allen's letter to Rockwell, in which he referred to the "goyim" with unconcealed contempt.

This, however, was a minor incident in a trial which took on much greater significance when the FBI's undercover man took the stand. The Atlanta Constitution of December 5, 1958, described that day's happenings in court as follows:

An undercover employe for the FBI who is under police protection said Thursday he joined a states' rights organization in which George (Michael) Bright was active to get information "about possible violence."

Testifying on the fourth day of Bright's trial in connection with dynamiting of the Jewish Temple here, the witness, Lesley E. Rogers of 3384 Piedmont Rd., NE, said he also joined the U. S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klans, for the same reason.

Rogers said the purpose of the states' rights organization for which he served as secretary and treasurer in cooperation with the FBI, was the "extermination of the Jews--the expulsion of Jews from responsible positions in the United States government."

Earlier in his testimony, Rogers related that during July, a man identified as Billy Branham--whom the state has said is a "co-conspirator" in the Temple bombing--declared:

"The next place that ought to be blown up is the new synagogue in Northside drive."

Rogers said Bright was present when the statement was made by Branham.

. . .

In a lengthy appearance on the stand, Rogers told of becoming active in the National States Rights Party, the meetings of which were attended at various times by Bright, his brother Albert, Branham and bombing co-defendants Wallace Allen and Kenneth Chester Griffin.

Regarding Branham's statement that the Northside drive synagogue "ought to be blown up," Rogers said Branham declared the new synagogue should be dynamited "and scattered all over the side of the hill to set a precedent."

Rogers added that Griffin told him "a precedent had already been set," but did not explain what he meant by it.

Testimony about Rogers' membership in the Klan came out under cross examination by Venable. Rogers said he joined the organization in September, 1957, and served as chaplain and "klesagle" and remained in the organization until the Temple bombing occurred Oct. 12.

Rogers, who operates a janitorial services firm, also testified at length about various meetings of the states' rights organization, about their plans to distribute anti-Semitic literature, their picketing of The Journal-Constitution building and other activities.

The witness also told of attending a national meeting of the States Rights Party in Louisville, Ky., where he said he became frightened when persons there saw him taking down automobile tag numbers; of meeting segregationist John Kasper here when he was released from Atlanta Federal Penitentiary and of talking to an official of the party in connection with possibly obtaining some dynamite in Knoxville, Tenn.

The FBI rarely surfaces one of its undercover men at a trial for fear of revealing too much concerning its undercover activities within the ranks of subversive organizations. However, the Atlanta bombing had caused such nationwide

indignation that the FBI had no ~~other~~ choice than to put Rogers at the disposal of the State of Georgia. Rogers' testimony however, as revealing as it was, was still not sufficient to clinch the case against Bright. The State produced only one further important witness, Bright's cellmate. The story is told in the Atlanta Constitution of December 6, 1958:

BRIGHT TOLD OF BOMBING, WITNESS SAYS

The state rested its case Friday against George Bright after Bright's former cell mate testified Bright told him he acted as a "lookout" while co-defendant Richard Bolling placed the dynamite charge that blasted the Jewish Temple here Oct. 12. . . .

Among the first witnesses the defense used were three Ku Klux Klansmen, including Imperial Wizard El L. Edwards, and chairman Arthur Cole of the National States Rights Party, in which Bright was active.

The Klansmen, besides Edwards, identified themselves as John Felmet of 2748 Bankhead Highway, a painter who said he has been reelected Klan treasurer, and Wesley Morgan of 27 Gould St., SE, who said he is president of N. B. Forrest No. 1, U. S. Sons, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

~~They~~ They were used in an attempt to discredit testimony by L. E. Rogers, an undercover employe for the FBI, who told of Bright's activities in the anti-Semitic organization. . . .

During Cole's appearance on the stand, Assistant Sol. Gen. Tom Luck Jr. questioned him about a letter written by a party official in which Atlanta was given as a target of the party's activities because of the death of the Columbian movement here.

The letter, written by Dr. Ed Fields, identified as a Kentuckian and an official of the National States Rights Party, to Billy Branches—whom the

whom the state has identified as a "co-conspirator," pointed out Atlanta was the birthplace of the Thunderbolt symbol used by both the party and the Columbians. It also declared:

"This reason alone makes it necessary for us to make a stand in Atlanta."

Referring to the trial of Columbian leader Emory Burke here, Dr. Fields also declared in the letter:

"The first thing the NSRP in Atlanta should do in speeches and literature, is reopen the Emory Burke frameup trial and demand the impeachment of (Sol. Gen.) Paul Webb and Mayor Hartsfield and all the other sly politicians who aided in the bringing of witnesses against Burke."

The letter said Fields felt the part should "make a tremendous fight in Atlanta."

Cole, who said he was a "figurehead" in leading the party, said he did not agree with some of the statements in the letter. . . .

It is not without significance that the trial brought out the connection between the old Columbians, led by Emory Burke, and the National States Rights Party led by Ed Fields, both friends of each other, as well as John Kasper, Dewest Hocker and Rockwell. The story continues:

The state rested its case directly after testimony from Bright's former cell mate had directly tied him in with the dynamiting. . . .

The former cell mate testified at length about details of the bombing which he said Bright told him while imprisoned with him in the Fulton County jail after his arrest in connection with the Oct. 12 bombing.

De Vore, who himself was being held on larceny after trust charges which were dismissed, said Bright told him he was the "leader" of the bombing group

and that he drew the plans for it.

"He told me that he was there in that he drew the plans and led it . . . He told me that he didn't do the actual bombing . . . that he rode as a lookout," De Vere related.

The witness said Bright told him that three getaway cars were parked on Spring street facing Peachtree, and that another was parked on a ramp leading into the North Expressway. He said Bright told him it was jacked up as if it had a flat tire to "keep people from asking questions."

De Vere related that Bright told him that prior to the bombing he had been picked up from an all-night drugstore on Ponce de Leon Ave., NE, by Wallace Allen, a co-defendant, and others, and carried "out on Spring street."

After the bombing, De Vere said Bright told him, Bright left and went back on Ponce de Leon and had a steak." . . .

First defense witness was Patrolman Paul Green, who said he saw Bright at the all-night drugstore up until 2 a.m. Oct. 12. Essentially the same testimony came from Miss Ann Blackwell, cashier at the store. She said Bright, in company with a woman, left about 2:30 a.m. . . .

The state extensively cross-examined another out-of-town defense witness, David Baird, 23, of LaFollette, Tenn., who said he came to Atlanta on his own expense after hearing that Rogers, the undercover FBI employe, was to be a part in the trial.

The defense put Baird up to disprove Rogers' testimony that anti-Jewish statements he related from the witness stand came from persons he met in Tennessee, and not from himself. Both Baird and Cole testified Rogers was vociferous in his anti-Jewish comments.

Baird, under cross-examination, said he could not recall how he heard "about three weeks" ago that Rogers—whose connection with the case has been

kept secret by police--was to be a witness in the case.

Also used by the defense was Mrs. Allen Bright, sister-in-law of the defendant, who said Bright was at home until after midnight, Oct. 12, but that he left home sometime after midnight.

The defense had been able to account for Bright's whereabouts only until 2:30 a.m. that Sunday morning. Where had he gone to after 2:30 a.m.? The newspaper account gave no indication that the defense had supplied any satisfactory answer to that question during the trial. Since the Temple bombing occurred approximately an hour later, at 3:38 a.m., it lent a great deal of credence to De Vere's story that Bright had indeed gone from the all-night drugstore to the scene of the bombing in Wallace Allen's car. Bright's sister-in-law testified that Bright had not come home that night.

The jury deliberated for the next few days. In the interim, the press reported that the State's two star witnesses, Jimmy Dave De Vere, Bright's cell mate, and L. B. Rogers, the FBI undercover man, received threats on their lives, indicating that the agent-provocateur network hoped to discourage individuals from entering the risky business of trying to expose them. On December 10, 1958, the jury reported a deadlock of 9 to 3 in favor of conviction. This forced the judge to declare a mistrial, which meant that Bright would have to be retried at a later date. In the meanwhile, Bright's codefendants were released on bond.

The defense, naturally, was jubilant at the outcome. It meant a second chance to prepare a much better case and map out a new strategy of attack. It also meant that a brand new group of jurors would be selected.

In the meanwhile, no one in the press bothered to raise the question as to who George M. Bright was. Was he some kind of barely literate, Southern redneck fanatic? On the contrary, like so many of the agents provocateurs he was a

a university graduate--North Carolina State University to be exact--and originally from the North. He was described throughout the trial as an architect, an industrial engineer, a draftsman, and a civil engineer. He had also taken music lessons for the last four years. Despite this impressive background, the press never bothered to find out very much about Bright's background. What had he taken up in college? What did some of his old friends think of him? Did he have the same kind of ~~law~~ background as Kasper? How did he become involved with the Atlanta group of provocateurs? Although a great deal of information was undoubtedly revealed during the trial, the Atlanta Constitution was particularly parsimonious in its supply of details concerning the backgrounds of the defendants. The most that was revealed about Wallace Allen, for example, was that he was head of a firm called the Wallace Allen Advertising Agency, Inc. Information concerning his birthplace, education or past political activity was nil, except for the fact that he had taken part in the planning of the July picketing.

The second trial opened on January 13, 1959. To make it less difficult to obtain a conviction, the State of Georgia decided that it would not seek the death penalty. George Bright's new attorney, Ruben Garland, mapped out an even more sensational strategy for the defense than was used at the first trial. Garland decided to go on the offensive and to accuse the FBI undercover man of being the actual bomber, and not his client. The effect of this strategy would be to place the FBI man on trial instead of Bright. The Atlanta Constitution of January 14, 1959 reported the trial proceedings as follows:

BRIGHT'S COUNSEL ACCUSES FBI'S MAN OF BOMBING

Defense counsel for George Bright told a Fulton Superior Court jury Tuesday afternoon he intends to prove that an FBI undercover man bombed

the Atlanta Jewish Temple.

". . . L. E. Rogers . . . is the man who bombed The Temple," shouted Attorney Reuben Garland, beating one fist fiercely on the jury box rail.

"The State's whole case against my innocent client, George Michael Bright, was born in the brain and fantasy of Rogers, the informer . . ." Garland declared, shaking his horn-rimmed spectacles with the other hand.

Garland said he will link Rogers to the Oct. 6 school bombing at Clinton, Tenn., a week before the Jewish Temple explosion here. . . .

As the retrial of Bright opened, the defendant's counsel announced that Mayor Hartsfield, Police Chief Herbert Jenkins, Detective Superintendent Glyn Cowan, the entire vice squad of the Atlanta Police Department and about a dozen FBI agents have been subpoenaed as witnesses.

"I'll have them put in jail," Garland threatened, "if they fail to come to this court." . . .

News of the mass serving of subpoenas to city officials by the defense came when Prosecutor Tom Luck said Garland was "in the process of serving subpoenas that would tie up the entire police force of the city of Atlanta."

It took very little time before the trial bogged down into a long, drawn-out battle between the FBI, as represented by its undercover man, Rogers, and the agent-provocateur network, as represented by Bright and his very clever attorney. The proceedings of Friday, January 16, 1959, were reported in the Atlanta Constitution of the next day as follows:

The name of T. V. Williams Jr., son of the resigned state revenue commissioner, was injected into the George Bright bombing trial Friday

night.

During cross-examination of L. E. Rogers, a state witness, Williams' name was mentioned when the witness was asked when he first made contact with Billy Branham, 19-year-old newcomer to Atlanta.

"T. V. Williams Jr. called me up and said a boy from Kentucky is coming down here and looking for a job," testified Rogers. "I found him a job with a sign painter."

Branham, Rogers testified, was once elected temporary chairman of the group which organized the National States Rights Party in Atlanta. Rogers said other officers named at a meeting in Branham's apartment on North Highland avenue, NE, were the defendant, Bright, security officer; Kenneth Chester Griffin, vice chairman; Rogers, an FBI undercover agent, secretary-treasurer, and Wallace H. Allen, local organizer. . . .

Williams formerly headed the Georgia Commission on Education and resigned the position under fire. . . .

The trial was recessed shortly after the defense attorney shook a handful of money in the face of a state witness (Jimmy Devore) and facetiously complimented him on his testimony.

Judge Jephtha Tanksley promptly scolded Attorney Reuben Garland for his gesture and remarks to witness Jimmy Devore. . . .

In reprimanding Garland for the money incident, the judge warned laughing spectators he would clear the packed courtroom if order was not restored. Judge Tanksley told the courtroom, in the presence of the jurors, "Mr. Garland's conduct is not supposed to be a show . . . his actions indicate a lack of respect. . . ."

Earlier Friday night, Judge Tanksley told the jury that defense

counsel's accusation that the state's key witness, Rogers, did the actual bombing of the Temple, had no basis.

Who was Billy Branham, the 19-year-old boy with good connections, whom Ed Fields of the National States Rights Party had entrusted with organizing the party's group in Atlanta? The Atlanta Constitution of January 19, 1959, identified him as a "Rightest," although there was nothing particularly "right wing" about him. All that was known about him was that he had come from Kentucky and was attending a college in the Northeast. Nevertheless, this juvenile delinquent was brought to Atlanta to testify against the FBI. The Constitution story read as follows:

'RIGHTIST' TO TESTIFY FOR BRIGHT TODAY

DEFENSE TO PRESS CHARGE STATE WITNESS WAS BOMBER

The young Atlantan in whose apartment George Bright and others met to organize an Atlanta branch of the National States' Rights Party will be called back to the witness stand Monday morning when the Jewish Temple bombing trial enters its seventh day in Fulton Superior Court.

The defense witness is Billy Branham, who at the age of 19 was elected temporary chairman of the group which formed the NSRP here. . . .

After the Saturday session, Branham asked Judge Tanksley to excuse him as a witness. Branham told the judge he had semester final exams to take this week in college. The jurist told Branham he could not excuse him but said, "your testimony will be completed first thing Monday."

Branham did not tell Judge Tanksley what college he said he is attending, and when questioned by a reporter said, "It's a college in the northeast."

The defense put Branham on the stand to develop its assertion that L. E. Rogers, a star witness for the prosecution, committed the actual bombing of the Temple last Oct. 12. Branham swore that Rogers once pointed to a photograph of the Temple and said, "It ought to be bombed."

The big surprise of the trial, however, was not to come until the next day when Bright's alibi for his whereabouts on the morning of October 12 appeared in court. Apparently the defense had had time between trials to concoct a fitting alibi to take care of those few hours which Bright has been unable to account for. Where had his alibi been hiding all this time? In a local mental hospital! The Atlanta Constitution of January 20, 1959 provided the incredible details:

A Milledgeville State Hospital inmate--legally "insane" but ruled a "competent witness"--testified Monday night that George Bright was with her at the time a dynamite blast ripped the Jewish Temple.

The jurors leaned forward in rapt attention as she spoke.

"At 3:38 a.m., Oct. 12, 1958, tell the jury where George Bright was . . ." directed defense attorney Reuben Garland.

" . . . I swear George Bright . . . was in my automobile en route from a grocery store to my home."

The witness was Mrs. Marilyn Harris Craig, Bright's alibi for his whereabouts during the early hours Oct. 12. . . .

Mrs. Craig, an attractive brunette, told the jury she was with Bright from about 2:15 a.m. Sunday, Oct. 12, when she met him at a drug store, through about 3 p.m. Monday, Oct. 13, when detectives arrested him at her home.

Before permitting Mrs. Craig to testify, Superior Court Judge Jephth Tanksley sent the jury out and asked her questions to decide whether she would be competent as a witness. He asked her a few questions, then ordered the jury back in.

"Gentlemen," Judge Tanksley told the jury, "on preliminary examination, the witness appears to the court to be competent."

Mrs. Ima S. Council, a licensed practical nurse for 12 years at the Milledgeville hospital, and Dr. Joseph Combs, a psychiatrist, accompanied Mrs. Craig to Atlanta.

During the preliminaries to decide whether Mrs. Craig could legally qualify as a witness, the nurse told the court, in the jury's presence, that the inmate "knows the nature of an oath, knows yes from no and knows right and wrong." Dr. Combs was not called to the stand.

Speaking unhesitatingly in a precise and resonant voice, Mrs. Craig gave testimony which apparently impressed the jurors. The 14 jurors listened to her intently.

Mrs. Craig—shic with a Bavarian braided hairdo and wearing a salmon-pink coatsuit--was subpoenaed by the defense Monday morning from Milledgeville State Hospital, where she was committed Nov. 6, 25 days after the Temple was dynamited.

Mrs. Craig, answering initial questions asked her by Garland, said that she had been married to Pete Craig, was the mother of two boys aged 16 and 10, had been separated from Craig "for some time," and was committed to the Milledgeville hospital on a sanity warrant sworn to by her husband.

The circumstances surrounding Mrs. Craig's commitment to the mental hospital are strange indeed. According to the newspaper account, she was considered only legally "insane," although apparently she wasn't insane at all. Who was her husband? What reasons had he given for committing her? Did he have any connection with the ring of provocateurs? Had she been deliberately put away so that she would be unavailable as a state's witness at the first trial? Although Bright had been picked up by detectives in her apartment, the defense had been careful to forget her existence during the first trial. What made them now so confident that she would testify correctly? Had she been rehearsed? If so, with the approval of the mental hospital?

The Atlanta Constitution continues:

She testified she had known the defendant about two weeks before meeting him about 2 a.m. at the Plaza Pharmacy on Ponce de Leon avenue, NE. (The clock in the Temple was stopped at 3:38, following the explosion there.) She said she had gone to the pharmacy about three hours earlier to purchase a newspaper. She said Wallace Allen, another defendant in the case, introduced her to Bright.

In other words, Mrs. Craig had gone to the drugstore at 11 p.m., spent approximately three hours purchasing a newspaper and then met George Bright at about 2 a.m. Oddly enough, she had been introduced to Bright only two weeks before by Wallace Allen, Bright's fellow provocateur. How long had she known Wallace Allen, and what were the circumstances of her meeting him? These questions were never answered in the press. The newspaper account continued:

"George and I left roughly at 2:15," Mrs. Craig testified. "The only reason I remember that is he was trying to hurry me up."

Reason for Bright's hurry, she said, was that they shared a mutual interest--watching satellites--and wanted to observe one scheduled to come over Atlanta before dawn that morning.

"We left in my automobile," she said, and drove to an all-night grocery store (The Park & Shop) on Peachtree Industrial Boulevard to purchase sausage, coffee and syrup, arriving at the store about 3 a.m. She said Bright left his car parked near the Plaza Pharmacy.

After buying the breakfast supplies, she told the jury, she and the defendant drove her car to her home to play records, listen to the radio, then finally retire for the night.

Listening to the radio in her home at 4365 Conway Dr., NE, Mrs. Craig said, she and Bright heard a newscast reporting the satellite "had blown a fuse," and they abandoned plans to watch it.

"So we decided to play records," she said.

"Later," she testified, "he (Bright) yawned in my face and I yawned in his face," and she went to sleep on the living room couch. She said Bright retired to sleep, in her boys' bedroom. Only she and Bright were there, she said.

"We didn't sleep very long," she said. She got up later, she said, and "George was sound asleep and I waked him up" for breakfast.

Garland asked her when she and Bright first learned the Temple had been bombed.

Mrs. Craig said the first report came to them on television in a sermon preached by Dr. Roy O. McClain, pastor of the First Baptist Church.

She remembered that the sermon concerned "what a regrettable thing the Temple bombing was."

After the sermon, they went to the Broadview Plaza, then to pick up Bright's car at the Plaza Pharmacy, she said, returning to her home about 9 p.m. Sunday, Oct. 12. They stayed in her home she said, until a detective, Sgt. Jimmy Helms, came to the house about 3 p.m. Monday to question Bright.

Mrs. Craig testified that after Bright heard of the Temple bombing he made a number of telephone calls. "One of the first places George called was the police station," she said.

Bright's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Albert G. Bright Sr., of Rochester, N. Y., sat quietly, almost expressionless, at their son's side during the hour and 15 minutes Mrs. Craig spoke for the defense.

Judge Tankley recessed the trial at 10:01 p.m. until 9:30 a.m. Tuesday, after verbal exchanges between the prosecution and Mrs. Craig.

Under cross-examination she said that she and Bright had "kissed" and "held hands." Mrs. Craig said she was "provoked" at Prosecutor Luck's questions.

Although we imagine that the prosecutor had a lot of questions to ask of Mrs. Craig, the Atlanta Constitution had reported almost nothing of the state's cross-examination. Was the "liberal" Constitution trying to be fair to the "racist" George Bright and his lady friend? Nowhere in the Constitution do we find any genuine curiosity or desire to get to the bottom of what happened on Oct. 12. Contradictory testimony, suspect witnesses, an outrageous defense attorney, a sharp battle of wits between the FBI and a small, well-oiled group of "racists"--all of this, and the Atlanta Constitution finds no room in its

pages to do a real reporting job, especially when the need for one is so great.

The testimony of Mrs. Craig by no means brought the trial to an end. There was still a long ways to go. The proceedings of the following day were reported in the Atlanta Constitution of January 21, 1959:

Mayor Hartsfield and Police Chief Jenkins will be called to testify Wednesday in the George Bright trial, the defense said Tuesday. . . .

Bright's counsel, Reuben Garland, said the defense will lead off Wednesday with the mayor and police chief, then call 10 more witnesses. . . .

Nine witnesses testified for the defense. They were Eldon L. Edwards, imperial wizard of the U. S. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.; M. Wesley Morgan, past exalted cyclops (president) of a klavern; J. T. Hopkins, a service station attendant; Matt Koehl, organizer of the National States' Rights Party; Leonard Williams, a grocery store manager; Paul Green, a policeman; Hugh Casey, business associate of Rogers; Louis Glover and J. D. Holloman, Negro employes of Rogers.

During cross-examination of the KKK officials, the prosecution failed in its attempt to have the organization's membership records brought to the trial.

The imperial wizard and the ex-exalted cyclops testified that Rogers, the FBI undercover man on whose testimony the state has largely based its case against Bright, was a "former brother . . . banished from the KKK for betraying the oath . . . and conduct unbecoming a klansman." They said Rogers was a former KKK chaplain.

The defense put Glover and Holloman on the stand in an attempt to show that Rogers' car was in the metropolitan area the day of the bombing. They said they drove Rogers' 1948 Dodge car the afternoon of the blast.

On cross-examination, Prosecutor Luck drew testimony from both men that Garland had showed them photographs of Rogers' automobile outside the courtroom. Garland then insisted on being sworn as a witness. Luck swore him in. Garland declared he had done nothing improper in showing the witnesses the pictures.

Hopkins, 23-year-old Standard Oil Co. filling station attendant, told the jury that before the explosion a "yellow-skinned Negro with a deep scar on his face" stopped at the station to ask the location of the Temple. Hopkins testified he did not know that the service station was diagonally across Peachtree road from The Temple.

Koshl swore that Rogers once told him "of a scar-faced Negro who was particularly handy with explosives."

Casey, testifying that he eavesdropped on three telephone calls made by Rogers, admitted under cross-examination that he had withheld some information from FBI agents investigating the case. He quoted the contents of each conversation:

1. "It's a smooth job. Be quiet. I'll see you later."
2. "I believe it will go to fifty thousand, don't you?"
3. "I think it's as high as it will go. Let's shoot."

Through stiff cross-examination, Prosecutor Luck forced Casey to admit that he did not tell the FBI what he heard although FBI agents asked him about it.

Casey said he eavesdropped on the conversations by means of an extension phone. He said the first call was made the afternoon of the bombing. Casey said Rogers told him he had "an important call" to make, and he listened in secretly.

The calls, Casey said, were made from a janitorial service firm in which he and Rogers are associated.

Casey, wearing dark-green glasses and a suave three-button suit, smiled constantly as he recited the conversations for Garland. But during the cross-examination, Casey changed to nervous hand-wringing.

"Didn't you say you wanted to go to see Garland before seeing the FBI?" the prosecutor demanded.

"Yes, I wanted an attorney with me," Casey answered.

Casey stuttered for an answer as Prosecutor Luck asked:

"Why did you need a lawyer just to tell the FBI the truth?"

Casey finally answered that he needed a lawyer's advice on just how much he should tell the FBI. He said Garland told him to tell the FBI anything he knew.

But he didn't talk about the eavesdropping then, he said, because of this reason:

"They (the FBI) didn't pin me down."

Casey remembered, when Garland questioned him, that Rogers was driving his 1948 Dodge on the Sunday of the bombing. The defense has spent much time talking about his car in the trial and has attempted to place it at the scene of the explosion. The state contends the car was disassembled at that time.

Prosecutor Luck asked Casey which of Rogers' two cars--his old Dodge or new Ford--was driven to the Marietta office of the janitorial service on the days preceding the Sunday the Temple was bombed.

Casey said he wasn't sure. Then Luck asked him if Rogers went to Marietta on Tuesday and Wednesday of the week preceding. "Yes," said Casey.

Luck asked if he were certain. "Yes," he answered again.

Then, in a loud voice, Prosecutor Luck asked:

"Don't you know that Rogers was in Tennessee on those days?"

"No, sir," Casey replied.

Rogers and defense witnesses from Tennessee have sworn to Rogers' presence at LaFollette, Tenn., during the first part of the week before the Temple bombing.

The state claimed two more loopholes from cross-examination of two earlier defense witnesses Tuesday, contending the witnesses contradicted some details of testimony by which Bright is attempting to set up an alibi for the night when the Temple was dynamited.

Mrs. Marilyn Harris Craig, who was brought from Milledgeville State Hospital Monday to testify in Bright's behalf, said she and Bright were at the Plaza Pharmacy on Ponce de Leon avenue, about 2:15 a.m. on Oct. 12 and while there Bright introduced her to Paul Green, a city policeman, and asked Green if he could leave his car there while they drove to her home in his automobile.

Green testified that he saw Bright but he (Bright) did not introduce his woman companion and did not ask about the car.

Mrs. Craig also testified she drove with Bright to the Park & Shop, an all-night grocery store on Peachtree Industrial Boulevard, and parked on the north side of the building because there were gasoline pumps in front.

Leonard Williams, night manager of the store, testified there are no gasoline pumps near the store.

It is interesting to note to what lengths the defense had been willing to go to frame the FBI undercover man. What is important to understand is that the

the defense could have never concocted such a frame up without the conspiratorial connivance of other members of the provocateur network, namely Billy Branham and Matt Koehl. Koehl, of course, was one of the most experienced of the young provocateurs, a member of the elite Realpolitical Institute with co-conspirators Ed Fields and Eustace Mullins.

It is also interesting to note the interlocking activities of the provocateur network with the Ku Klux Klan, which came out very clearly during the trial. Provocateurs apparently have little difficulty shuttling back and forth between their own groups and the KKK. The top "leadership" of all these groups seem to get along very well.

Of course, Rogers was the unsung hero of the trial. By having undertaken a dangerous and difficult job, which rewarded him with little money and no medals, he was now the subject of harrassment, intimidation and calumny. It is hardly to be expected that the jury or the citizens of Atlanta understood how important his undercover work had been.

There were still two more days of the trial to go. The next day's/proceedings^{tumultuous} were reported in the Atlanta Constitution of January 22, 1959:

QUIZZING OF MAYOR STIRS CLASH

The presence of Mayor Hartsfield, called as a defense witness in the Temple bombing trial of George Bright, touched off a new courtroom incident Wednesday between the presiding judge and defense attorney.

Judge Jephtha Tanksley ordered the jury from the courtroom after Defense Attorney Reuben Garland challenged the veracity of the mayor. Garland disobeyed repeated orders to be seated, and Judge Tanksley directed the sheriff to seat him forcibly. . . .

Garland has maintained throughout the trial that Bright's arrest

and trial resulted from a conspiracy involving Mayor Hartsfield, The Atlanta Constitution, the Atlanta Police Department, the FBI and the solicitor general's office. . . .

The defense put 20 other persons on the stand before the trial was recessed at 7:25 p.m. until 9:30 a.m. Thursday.

The first character witness whom Garland put on the stand, James Gramlin, an executive of Roberts & Co. Associates, for whom Bright once worked as a draftsman, testified under cross-examination that Bright had been discharged for "inefficiency."

Gramlin and other character witnesses from that company said the reputation of Bright, so far as they personally knew, was "good." But they all said they did not know him well, that their associations with him were confined to irregular professional or business contacts.

Another witness, Ralph Errolle, refused to say Bright's reputation was good and Garland cried: "I've been entrapped by the witness."

Errolle said he had known Bright "on and off for about four years" and his conduct was "good" in a music class taught by Errolle.

Jim C. Crawford, an advertising salesman, testified he sang with Bright in a chorus and knew his reputation as "good."

~~Edward~~ Devore, younger brother of Jimmy Devore, a state's witness, testified the character of his brother "is bad" and said he wouldn't believe him under oath. The state put the older Devore on the stand earlier to give testimony that Bright confessed The Temple bombing in a cell.

The next, and final, day's proceedings were reported in the Atlanta Constitution of January 23, 1959 as follows:

FBI AGENT TAKES STAND TO CLEAR UNDERCOVER MAN

An FBI agent took the stand for the prosecution Thursday to clear the name of L. E. Rogers, the state's star witness in the Jewish Temple bombing trial of George Bright. . . .

From the trial's outset 11 days ago, Rogers has been the subject of repeated assaults by the defense. Bright's counsel, Reuben Garland, charged Rogers bombed the Temple.

(FBI Special Agent Henry) King followed five character witnesses who testified in Rogers' behalf. The prosecution opened rebuttal with the character witnesses after the defense rested following a 15-minute unsworn statement by the 35-year-old George Bright. . . .

Garland, subpoenaing new witnesses for the defense rebuttal, said facetiously after his gesticulating courtroom tirade the trial "could last 'til Christmas."

King said Rogers volunteered to get information for the FBI. But Rogers was investigated, King said, by the Washington office of the FBI which authorized the Atlanta regional FBI office to "maintain regular contacts with him and make assignments to him."

King said Rogers was regularly paid by the U. S. government for his undercover services.

"It is not unusual for a citizen of this country to come to the FBI with information," King said, ". . . but it is unusual for a person to be in Rogers' position to furnish information on a continuing basis."

King said that in addition to doing undercover work on bombings in Atlanta, Clinton, Tenn., and other Southern cities, Rogers also joined, and became a chaplain in, the Ku Klux Klan to seek out information about that organization.

In reference to the KKK investigation--which was not explained--King pointed out that the FBI is charged with responsibility for keeping check in all organizations in addition to watching for 123 types of violations. . . .

After King was put up by the prosecution, Garland conducted lengthy cross-examination of the FBI agent and many of his questions were repeatedly ruled out by Judge Tanksley. Garland asked King if he were "hiding under that cloak," then shouted in the jury's presence that the FBI agent was "under suspicion in this case."

The judge said such statements by Garland were "highly improper." . . .

Robert Pierce and Paul Mitchell, Negro mechanics, swore that Rogers' 1948 Dodge car was disassembled on cement blocks in the garage on Oct. 12, the day of the bombing. . . . Their testimony was used in an attempt to offset defense contentions that Rogers' car was seen near the Temple by a taxi driver a short while before the explosion.

The defense rested Thursday after defendant Bright declared, in a 15-minute speech to the jury, that he was innocent of the two-count grand jury indictment charging him with dynamiting the house of worship. . . .

During his first trial Bright made a 6½-hour statement, mostly about historical heroes and segregation.

The following day's newspapers reported the jury's verdict: Bright was acquitted. But his defense lawyer, Reuben Garland, was sent straight to jail by Judge Tanksley for 40 days for contempt of court. Being as clever as he was, Garland only managed to serve 5 out of the 40 days, being released on appeal. A higher court later ruled in his favor.

So ended one of the most important and least publicized trials in modern America.

But what had the trial really revealed? It had revealed that the provocateur network was no courtroom pushover; that it had excellent legal brains at its disposal, as well as enough funds to buy whatever their legal defense required; that the FBI was up against highly professional agents who knew every trick in the book and took advantage of every FBI weakness to counterattack unmercifully. One thing was also obvious: these "racists" were no disorganized mob of fanatic rednecks. They were highly trained agitators and skilled provocateurs, adept at all the conspiratorial techniques usually associated with the Communist conspiracy. In addition, they were sustained by co-conspirators strategically placed in different parts of the country. One merely has to examine the provocateur publications to see how harmoniously the conspirators echoed the same line: that the bombing was the result of a Jewish conspiracy. The Thunderbolt, the official organ of the National States Rights Party, led the pack. Its issue of January 1959, Number 7, said:

Every crooked trick in the book was pulled in Atlanta, Ga., in an effort to frame five Segregationists, and smear the National States Rights Party. The press moved heaven and earth, trying to build up public pressures against the five innocent Atlantans. For days they screamed for a 'conviction', to make an 'example' of someone. During the first two days of the trial, Drew Pearson ran a series of articles on the NSRP, in an attempt to smear us and influence the Atlanta jury.

That same issue carried an article entitled "George Bright on Trial" by Matt Koehl, in which the Jews were actually accused of bombing their own temple. Koehl wrote:

On October 12, 1958 the Jews bombed one of their synagogues in Atlanta. This was a cue to sob-sisters of the press and clergy. Immediately gallons of crocodile tears gushed forth. Self-consciously these fakirs urged the American public to join them at the Wailing Wall.

After they had bombed their temple, the Jews needed some scapegoats to blame, who would serve their purpose better than those who opposed their efforts to bring integration to Atlanta? A list of names was handed over to the police by the ADL. On that list was the name of George Michael Bright. . . .

Koehl doesn't tell his readers that the Atlanta police had their own list of names as a result of the July picketing and were quite aware of Bright's activities without the help of the ADL. The article continues:

Bright had stepped out momentarily, when police raided his home. Not waiting until he returned, they seized his brother, Albert, as hostage. Hours later, when finally informed of his brother's seizure, Bright called police, and told them that he wanted to speak with them immediately to clear up the misunderstanding. A short time later two detectives appeared. Bright courteously told them that he'd be happy to answer any questions they cared to ask. He was abruptly informed that they were not interested in what he had to say; what he would say had already been decided! Handcuffs were then snapped on his wrists, and he was led away. . . .

Koehl's account of what had taken place was quite different from the account given by Bright's lady friend from the mental hospital. But provocateur writers have no concern whatever for facts. Their writings are merely tools of deception. Koehl continues:

Seldom since the Jews crucified Christ has the issue between Good and Evil been more profound. On one side in that Atlanta courtroom stood everything that is clean, honest, upright, and noble. On the other side was represented that which is filthy, cowardly, low and conniving.

From one door George Bright was led in. He walked with a steady step, holding his head erect, looking at his persecutors with a clear eye. . . .

From the other door came the head prosecutor, Paul Webb (of dubious ethnic background), his visage twisted with hate. He was followed by his junior partner, Thomas Luck, a glib opportunist who had just been hobknobbing with Jewish friends and admirers in the corridor. . . .

Such was the tenor of Koehl's article in The Thunderbolt. In San Francisco, Right, the publication associated with Willis Carto, did its share. In its January 1959 issue it published the following:

The facts of the mistrial of George Bright, asset forth briefly in the article by Dr. Fields in this issue, raises numerous questions.

For instance, the Atlanta police and the FBI must answer why, instead of searching for the scar-faced Negro who has been described by two gas station attendants, they have wasted their time and thousands of dollars in harassing and intimidating sincere American patriots who obviously have not the slightest thing whatever to do with ~~the~~ bombing.

The FBI must also answer why it has paid good money from White, Christian taxpayers to a repulsive stumblebum named L. E. Rogers who is also a paid agent for the Anti-Defamation League gestapo--and it must tell how much it paid him. . . .

The Atlanta police and the FBI must answer why they have not investigated

the part that this Rogers character--who has bragged about his connections with underworld Negroes--may have played in the bombing. In view of the heavy profits that have already accumulated to the latest Jewish fund-raising drive from this bombing . . . it is only reasonable to look for the criminals from among those who profited from the crime, as well as the human derelicts like Rogers whom they hire to do their dirty work.

The Atlanta police must answer why they railroaded Bright's star witness to the insane asylum so that she could not testify in his behalf, and why they employed third-degree torture methods on some of the luckless defendants.

Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Journal and Constitution must explain why he has subjected the five youths to a vindictive, savage persecution probably without precedent in American journalism. . . .

The writer in Right apparently hadn't read the Atlanta Constitution during the trial period. McGill had conspicuously written nothing about the trial, and his newspaper's coverage of the trial was uninspired to say the least and quite parsimonious in its details about the accused.

As for the supposed railroading of Bright's girlfriend to the insane asylum, she had testified under oath that she had been committed on a sanity warrant signed by her own husband. Most likely the provocateurs themselves had been instrumental in getting her locked up and were accusing the Atlanta police in their usual manner of blaming others for what they themselves had done. If one actually took the provocateur literature at its word, one would have had to believe that the Jews had hired an FBI undercover employe to bomb their own temple in order to raise funds and that they had decided to frame innocent George Bright with the crime. The Atlanta police, working in cahoots

with the Jewish fund raisers and the FBI, then proceeded to railroad George Bright's lady friend to a mental hospital to prevent her from testifying in Bright's defense. In other words, the FBI and the Atlanta police were willing to commit every possible violation of a citizen's rights as well as to participate in the criminal bombing of a temple in order to help the Jewish community raise money!

That same issue of Right published an article by "Dr." Edward R. Fields entitled "Trial Facts Prove Frame-Up." Here is a sample of Fields' prose:

The communist Conspiracy indicted George Bright for the dynamiting of a synagogue. . . .

The Jewish masterminds of the trial were depending upon perjury to convict Bright. . . .

Bright's star witness, however, was not available. This was the girl with whom Bright had spent the entire evening. The police, after discovering that Bright's alibi was water-tight, arrested the innocent girl, had her declared insane and locked her up in the mental ward of Grady Hospital so that Bright could not call on her in his defense.

The most convincing evidence during the trial showed that the dynamiting of the synagogue was planned and executed by the other lying witness for the prosecution named L. E. Rogers, who is a paid agent for the ADL and FBI, and who was branded by Bright as a "paid informer, a rat and a pimp" during the trial. . . .

In New York, the provocateur ring did its share. The National Renaissance Bulletin, organ of Madole's National Renaissance Party, published an article by Madole entitled "The Untold Facts Behind The Synagogue Bombings" in its

issue of September-October 1958. The article echoed the same provocateur line: that the Jews had bombed their own temple to spur their fund-raising campaign.

And in Chicago, Women's Voice, the provocateur house organ edited by Lyrl Clark Van Hyning, published an "Urgent Plea for Justice" signed by James R. Venable, Bright's lawyer, in its issue of October-November 1958.

The final courtroom victory, of course, was celebrated in the provocateur publications. George Bright himself wrote a personal message which was published in the February 1959 issue of The Thunderbolt. It read:

Dear Fellow Members and Friends:

After nearly 100 days in prison, and being completely innocent of the phony charges, I again breath a free and exonerated man. There was never for a moment any doubt in my mind that justice would triumph. I feel that my trials will serve to awaken all Americans to the fact that our enemy is vicious and desperate!

The mere fact that my case united every Nationalist group behind our defense, is proof that we stand together in crisis. . . .

I remain here in Atlanta, and will continue to work and build the ranks of the National States Rights Party! . . .

A victory article by Ed Fields appeared in the March 1959 issue of Right.

It read:

American nationalism won its first major victory in years on January 23, 1959, when George Bright's jury found him innocent of the charge of dynamiting a synagogue. . . .

The most amazing revelation of these two trials was the part played by the once-respected FBI in using a thoroughly disreputable character, one L. E. Rogers, to frame five nationalists whose only "crime" was that they actively fought communism and read patriotic literature!

. . . On January 16 I was ready to take the stand to testify in behalf of Bright and the NSRP. While standing in the corridor, crowded with spectators, waiting my call to take the stand, an FBI man came out of the courtroom with L. E. Rogers. As Rogers passed in front of me he suddenly jumped in the air, grabbed his leg and shouted that I had kicked him! The FBI man immediately grabbed me and said I was under arrest. The crowd in the hall began to protest. Then the bailiff in the courtroom called, "Will Dr. Fields take the stand?" I jerked myself away from the FBI man and went into the courtroom and testified. After an hour and a half of testimony I left the courtroom but there were no FBI men in sight. Since they had failed to stop me from testifying they had no more interest in me.

. . . Fight now to stop the use of the FBI as a kosher gestapo or it will soon be too late.

Fields' attack on the FBI was nothing new. The very first issue of The Thunderbolt, published in June 1958, carried an attack on the FBI. The second issue of The Thunderbolt (July 1958) "exposed" the FBI, and all the subsequent issues reporting on the Bright trial were dripping with hatred for the FBI. Then, the March-April 1959 issue of The Thunderbolt carried the following item:

ADL-FBI PIMP DISAPPEARS

Atlanta.-- L. E. Rogers, the ADL-FBI pisp who testified against George Bright in the temple bombing case, has been reported missing here. A vast manhunt has been quietly under way during the last two weeks to discover his whereabouts.

Police are without clues in the case. Neither Rogers nor his body have been found. Rumors that he had been seen earlier proved to be false.

The Jews apparently had no further use for him.

Obviously, the provocateur network had made good its vengeance. This, of course, was meant to discourage any further infiltration by the FBI of provocateur ranks. In the meanwhile, attacks on the FBI continued unabatedly in The Thunderbolt. The May 1959 issue carried an article by J. B. Stoner entitled "Tips on How to Handle Red Secret Police." In it Stoner wrote:

FBI agents are the Jew-controlled shock troops of integration. Those criminals are working to destroy our White Race. Any person who gives information to the FBI is guilty of giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States. Don't be a Traitor.

The February 1960 issue of The Thunderbolt carried an article entitled "J. Edgar Hoover's Red Background," and its April 1960 issue reprinted a letter on Hoover which Fields had sent to the Louisville Courier. The letter, which concurred with the newspaper's criticism of the FBI, was printed in its letters to the editor section and read as follows:

I heartily approve of your editorial December 23 on J. Edgar Hoover of the F.B.I. It seems that Hoover maintains a permanent publicity department in order to build himself up personally. . . .

I feel it is about time Hoover be retired and the job given to someone with less ego.

Louisville.

Edward R. Fields

Fields' line on the FBI was, not surprisingly, identical to that of the Communists who have been clamoring for Hoover's head for years. It would not be too difficult to conclude that The Thunderbolt, supposedly the anti-thesis of The Worker, is merely another example of the "dialectic" in action.

At present The Thunderbolt is the most active and virulent purveyor in America of the "communism is Jewish" theme, reminiscent of similar publications which propagated the same idea in Russia prior to and after the Bolshevik takeover in 1917. This is hardly a case of history repeating itself accidentally. On the contrary, it is the deliberate utilization of American soil of an old trick which has worked in every other country taken over by the Communists where anti-Semitism could be used effectively.

Chapter

ROCKWELL BECOMES A FUHRER

The Atlanta bombing trial did not involve Rockwell directly. He had not been asked to testify either by the defense or the prosecution, despite his important "fat cat" letter which had received a good deal of speculative attention in the press and had catapulted him into the headlines. The response of his Arlington neighbors, however, was a little less than sympathetic. Rockwell writes:

My home became the target for unbelievable abuse! Cherry bombs were thrown from speeding cars, my kids were stoned, our phone rang constantly, and some of the calls had my wife in tears with the viciousness of their threats and abuse. . . . My boy in school was insulted and hated. (p. 302)

One could hardly sympathize with Rockwell's so-called "plight" after he had told an interviewer from the Northern Virginia Sun (October 17, 1958) that he intended to create an international movement called the "World Union of Free Enterprise National Socialists," the symbol of which was to be a swastika on a circle of white set in a field of red. Who could imagine a sane man risking his future and the health and welfare of his family for such a package of political garbage as Free Enterprise National Socialism, whatever that was

supposed to mean?

The day before, the same newspaper had written:

. . . Rockwell and his wife were fearful that someone might "plant dynamite in our basement, and then the sheriff or police would rush in and arrest us." He charged that this was done to Emory Burke, ex-leader of the Columbians, a Nazi-type outfit active in Atlanta a decade ago, and a friend of Rockwell's.

By November, 1958, the public's interest in Rockwell had begun to be aroused and the Providence Sunday Journal of November 9, 1958 carried the following interview with ex-Brown student Rockwell. We quote the more salient portions of this article, which carried the general line which Rockwell was to repeat in many future interviews:

In 1936 a talented teenager became editor of the Central High School student paper, later went to Brown to study philosophy and then in patriotic fervor left college to enlist in the war against Hitler. . . .

His career seems to be a series of estrangements from his own family and from his associates. . . .

One day recently he spoke for hours as his four children ages 7, 4, 3 and 1 played about him, shepherded by his second wife, Thora. . . .

In 1950 . . . he . . . went to San Diego.

This was the "awakening."

He says he was first introduced to the "Jewish menace" by a San Diegan woman whose name he says he cannot now remember. He began reading Jewish literature and became convinced, under her tutelage, that Communism was a Jewish plot to dominate the world, and that ~~the~~ ^{only} the Nordic races were fit to rule. . . .

Today Lincoln Rockwell repeats time after time a plaintive questioning of his new ideology and even his own psychological state.

"I believe what I'm telling you with all my heart. It's an obligation. I'd give anything to be released from it, if it's wrong. I could be wrong. I could be crazy. But nobody has been able to show me, yet. Until that time it's my duty to do this."

We don't imagine that Rockwell's dilemma broke many hearts. Nevertheless, the interviewer seemed to answer some of the questions the gullible public had been asking. It never occurred to the reporter, however, to ask Rockwell or his wife how they had come to the conclusion that Communism was a Jewish plot when there were so many Communists in Iceland and no Jews there.

Regarding his transformation into an active Nazi, Rockwell told the reporter the following, which was printed in the Providence Evening Bulletin of November 10, 1958:

Rockwell says: "My political mentor was West Hooker."

West Hooker, a former model and actor, started an "all Christian" television network in 1952 and engaged in anti-Semitic activities. . . . Hooker also organized clubs in Yorkville, New York, of juvenile and young adult gangs who were used to heckle and break up meetings.

Rockwell says he is using the same youth technique as Hooker. . . .

"Once we're respectable, I've been promised support, real support, from the biggest corporations in America, the kind who advertise in Fortune. I know, because I've seen the color of their money. No, not in my movement. In West Hooker's."

Of course, Rockwell hadn't bothered to tell the reporter that Hooker had been enjoined from dealing in securities because he had used the names of prominent conservatives without their knowledge or permission. Nor did he tell the reporter of his great financial "successes" with Robert Snowden, Russell Maguire or the neurotic Arrowsmith.

These interviews and the rest of the publicity he was getting did not particularly endear Rockwell ~~with~~ ^{to} his neighbors. And so he knew that if he was to pursue his new Nazi "destiny" without hindrance, he would have to be free of the cares concerning the safety of his family. He writes:

My wife's family in Iceland are very well-to-do. Mr. Hallgrimsson, her father, is the chief owner and director of Shell Oil, one of the biggest corporations in the Nation. They were eager for her to come up there, where she could be comfortable, economically secure and safe. . . .

My loyal wife did not want to go. Her folks came over here from Iceland to help persuade her and see what could be done. My own heart was breaking at the thought of being alone in all that danger and mess, without the sweetest and dearest human being I had ever known, and my precious kids. But I realized that she simply HAD to go, and I had to stay and fight.

Obviously, Rockwell's "destiny" was of such a compelling and world-shattering nature that nothing, not even the love of wife and family, could stand in its way. Nevertheless, the thought of being separated from Thora was slightly less than unbearable. But Thora was just the right kind of wife a new, up-and-coming

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Fuehrer needed. Rockwell writes:

I realized that can happen in a year's separation even to people as much in love as we were, and warned my wife that she might get too comfortable and safe up there, and might not want to come back. But she seemed to have the faith of an angel, and I had almost to fight with her to get her to agree to go. Over and over she scolded me for mentioning the possibility she would grow away from me up there, and insisted that nothing on earth could ever spoil our marriage, no matter how long I had to fight. Even when I told her I felt sure I would go to prison, she would not lose her faith. So I made arrangements for my family to go up to Iceland. (p. 304)

And so Thora and the children went to Iceland. Rockwell drove them to Idlewild airport in New York to see them off. This was sometime in November. Rockwell, waxing dramatic over this event, then writes:

Then I drove away into the lonely, empty battle.

I had no money, no job, no possibility of getting a job, my house was to be seized in the courts, and I faced the most gigantic and vindictive power on earth. I expected to spend most of the year in jail, after the Atlanta bombing, and most of my "friends" (the "die hards") had deserted.

I truly felt alone.

The impression Rockwell wants to give is that he began his Nazi movement alone, from zero. Actually, the entire network of agents provocateurs stood ready to assist him when needed. While his friends in Atlanta were busy at the trial, Rockwell remained in Arlington. He writes:

I spent Thanksgiving and Christmas alone As the utility companies grew discouraged with not being paid, the phone and lights were cut off. I was in court day after day without an attorney fighting desperately to keep the "home" Arrowsmith had "guaranteed" us.

But, as usual, whenever Rockwell is at zero level money somehow from some unnamed source manages to flow in his direction. He explains it thus:

In spite of my notoriety and the fear inspired by ~~my name~~ my name, I was able to get some odd jobs here and there. Little by little, I paid enough on the bills to get the lights on, and even my phone back. I boned up on the law fiercely, until one day able to face Arrowsmith's highly paid attorney before the Circuit Court Judge--and win an agreement to settle.

Of course, we are not told what kind of odd jobs came Rockwell's way or who gave them to him. The important thing to note, however, is that he was financially free to plan the launching of his Nazi movement. Not only did he not have to worry about money, but he was now ideologically and psychologically prepared for the next step. He explains this inner development in an interesting paragraph in his book:

Behind me I had almost five years of rough, tough apprenticeship, during which I had made my mistakes and learned my lessons. I would not make them again. I was approaching that state of technical virtuosity in the art of manipulating people and events which is the mark of the professional revolutionary.

This is the most revealing passage in Rockwell's book which, of course, was not meant to reveal the wrong things. But, naturally, Rockwell did not expect anyone to take his book seriously. It was to be part of the whole costume act. But no one can write an autobiography of several hundred pages, no matter how filled with falsifications and phony leads, without revealing more than one intends to reveal. Now the phrase "professional revolutionary" is a dead giveaway. Its only meaning in today's age of revolution is that which Lenin gave it in his famous book What Is To Be Done? In that book, written in 1902, Lenin argued strongly for the creation of a secret organization of professional revolutionaries. To this day, the only "revolution" for which men have been and are still being trained to become "professional" agitators and provocateurs is the Communist revolution. In fact, the "professional revolutionary" is the trained Communist agitator or provocateur. Professionalism in revolutionary activity was the very concept on which Lenin based his organization of the Bolshevik conspiracy. He knew that a revolution could not be successfully carried out by part-timers. It required full-time devotion to the so-called art and craft of revolution.

"A worker-agitator who is at all talented and 'promising' must not be left to work eleven hours a day in a factory," Lenin wrote in 1902. "We must arrange that he be maintained by the Party, that he may go underground in good time, that he change the place of his activity, otherwise he will not enlarge his experience, he will not widen his outlook, and will not be able to hold out for at least a few years in the fight against the gendarmes." In other words, Lenin was saying, he should be put on the Party payroll so that revolutionary activity alone becomes the revolutionary's profession. But, as Lenin knew, "it takes years to train oneself to be a professional revolutionary."

the full meaning of his
Rockwell describes ~~these years of~~ self-training as follows:

I had progressed from the desire and ability to manipulate paints, paper and words to achieve a desired result to a minimum professional ability in the highest form of art--politics. In all other arts, one manipulates a limited number of materials and ideas to achieve a very limited aim. In politics alone does the art encompass the whole earth and all that is in it. In the battle of real politics (—not the disgusting sham of "politics" of "Democrats and Republicans" which are nothing more than struggles to snuzzle the next hog from a place at the slop-trough)-- in constructive and therefore revolutionary politics, one's canvas is humanity itself, one's paints are the whole range of ideas, words, graphic arts, bluff, and every tiniest facet of human existence--while one's brushes are not only vocal chords and pamphlets and TV and all the rest of the media of public expression--but one's fists, one's very life itself! . . .

Unlike the millions of my fellow "right-wingers" I had become a hardened and determined revolutionary, destined either to achieve the aims of which they only talked, or die.

Lenin would have been proud of Rockwell's development. However, in order to be a successful Fuehrer, one had to have followers, and, as expected, Rockwell did not have to work very hard to find them. He writes:

With all this in mind, I went to the post office one morning, and found a big carton waiting for me. It was from James K. Warner, one of our first supporters. Inside I found, carefully and lovingly folded, a

huge Nazi flag, eighteen feet long. It was one of the strokes of destiny I have come to expect.

One must take Rockwell's allusion to "strokes of destiny" with a large grain of salt. Any professional revolutionary who relied on strokes of destiny to get somewhere would not get very far. In fact, the professional revolutionary, by definition, would be the last person to rely on "strokes of destiny" for his success. The sender of the flag, James K. Warner, was a new recruit to the provocateur network and had undoubtedly been instructed to send the flag to the new Fuehrer, who then proceeded to build an altar in his home with it. Rockwell writes:

There was no doubt in my mind. I went home and hung the beautiful banner completely across the living-room wall. In the center I mounted a plaque of Adolf Hitler. Then I placed a small book-case under it, and set three candles to burning in front, to make a holy altar to Adolf Hitler.

But one Nazi flag does not make ammovement. Rockwell still needed a few warm bodies, and, as expected, another "stroke of destiny" provided them:

There was a knock on the door one evening as I sat, lonely and wondering, by the fire. I opened it and found a man named Eugene Colton standing there with two other men I had never seen before. Gene was a twenty-seven-year-old right-winger I had met only recently. He introduced one of the men, a bluff and very husky construction-worker-type--as "J.V." Morgan, and the other as Louis Yalacki--a deceptively good-looking little guy who was almost "pretty"--but who was tough as nails underneath.

Eugene Collton, of course, was one of Floyd Fleming's associates in Kasper's Seaboard White Citizens Council. He had been identified as such in the Northern Virginia Sun of October 20, 1958. It is of course interesting that Rockwell's first "followers" should have come to him from Kasper's little ring of provocateurs who had started out being merely opposed to integration and ended up espousing Nazism in toto, as if this were some sort of natural sequence. That the South's intricate social customs had nothing whatever to do with an alien European doctrine of National Socialism was, apparently, of no relevance.

It is also interesting that Messrs. Collton and Fleming, who were apparently so fanatic in their racism that they could join Rockwell's Nazis, found no reason to repudiate John Kasper, whose Greenish Village past had been thoroughly exposed in the Negro press. Not only did they conveniently "overlook" Kasper's leftwing background, but they also continued to distribute his hypocritical pamphlet "Segregation or Death".

Rockwell further writes:

Collton was not too surprised by my big Nazi banner and the candles-- but the other two staggered back in disbelief and horror. They had not been prepared for anything like THIS!

The result was that Rockwell explained to the men the significance of this new provocative tactic:

They began to come to little gatherings every evening, and I slowly educated the two new men to the appalling facts of our historical situation, using always the earthy terms they understood.

After the men had been thoroughly oriented, Rockwell then outlined his program whereby he would "provoke" himself into national notoriety. This, of course, could only be done with the conscious or unconscious cooperation of the mass media itself. He writes:

(T)he way to do it was to open the doors and big windows to the heavily traveled boulevard so that the public could see our Nazi flag and altar, our candles, red searchlights, etc. I even got an infrared light for the banner itself, for the psychological effect of the HEAT it threw out, in addition to the eerie red-light it cast. We have made it safe now, of course, but at that time, such conduct seemed mad and suicidal.

Indeed, it did, and for that reason Mr. Collton decided to sit it out on the sidelines and watch Rockwell and his two "followers" pave the way. Rockwell describes the rest of the fraud:

We got ourselves brown shirts, arm bands and leather belts. J. V. brought his rifles and revolvers and holsters. Consciously and purposely we swaggered around the house in the most dramatic and provocative possible fashion, knowing that this would be too much for the Jews to stomach. (p. 311)

Thus, the stage was set to launch the new Nazi movement, this time using the actual symbols of Nazism rather than watered down versions of the real thing which the provocateurs had used in the past. Considering that the American public had been so thoroughly conditioned by every possible means to despise Nazism and its symbols, it required considerable daring to launch openly and flagrantly

what to all outward appearances seemed to be a genuine Nazi movement. That it was hardly genuine is easily proven by Rockwell's ready admission that it all consisted of pygacting, dramatic staging and deliberate provocation. Yet, the public, viewing the surface effects only, reacted as expected. Rockwell writes:

At first it was just kids who came to stare and hoot and throw rocks. But we were not discouraged, and knew that sooner or later, the Jews would be unable to ignore this challenge.

One night a big and expensive car stopped out front and looked at our dramatic display of banners and searchlights and storm-troops. We could see somebody making notes inside. A few nights later, we found out whom it had probably been, when Drew Pearson let go at us with a smashing national broadside about the dreadfulness of it all--Nazis only a few minutes from the Lincoln Memorial, etc., etc.!!!

If one were to ask in all calm objectivity who it was who initiated Rockwell's national press build-up, one would have to answer: Drew Pearson. Pearson, who, as a nationally syndicated columnist, was a mass media all by himself, decided to give Rockwell and his new Nazi movement the boost it needed. The column, devoted entirely to Rockwell, appeared in the nation's newspapers on February 17, 1959 and read as follows:

U. S. HATE MONGERS LINKED WITH NASSER

Washington, Feb. 16--Just across the Potomac River from the nation's capital, in fact only a stone's throw from the Lincoln Memorial where the Great Emancipator is shown in thoughtful meditation, are the headquarters of one of the most virulent and vitriolic hate-nests in the USA.

It has had contact with those investigated in connection with the bombing of the Atlanta synagogue, draws money from Arab sources, and even sends word of its activities to Col. Abdel Nasser of Egypt.

On Feb. 6, a registered letter was mailed from George Lincoln Rockwell, the Arlington, Va., hate-monger, who is circulating thousands of copies of petitions calling for the impeachment of Governor Almond. Simultaneously, Rockwell's picture appeared on the front page of Nasser's newspaper El Aharan, though in denial of reports that Nasser had anything to do with the American hate-net.

The group, which recently has assumed the name of "The Virginia Committee to Impeach Governor Almond," gives its mailing headquarters as P. O. Box 1352 in Arlington.

The box was rented on February 3 by Floyd Fleming, grizzled old hate agitator and sidekick of rabble rouser John Kasper. The Seaboard White Citizens Council was built around them. Two of Fleming's henchmen, Eugene Collton and H. Cary Mansel, also signed the rental papers for the box.

The group operates largely from Rockwell's home at 6512 Williamsburg Boulevard. Rockwell is the son of the former radio comedian and rocking chair philosopher, "Old Doc" Rockwell, whose squeaky voice was once familiar to millions of listeners.

The younger Rockwell, whose philosophy has taken a bizarre twist from the horse sense preached by his famous father, stayed as a house guest last May in the home of Mrs. Helen Lane, member of the Arlington School Board. His baggage included a printing press on which he printed hate propaganda in Mrs. Lane's basement.

Rockwell's letters to Wallace Allen, a crippled printing salesman,

were picked up by Atlanta Police during their investigation of the synagogue bombing.

Rockwell ended some letters to Allen with the Nazi phrase "Sieg Heil."

One of his letters referred cryptically to a "big blast," but Rockwell insisted to the FBI that he meant a planned picketing and knew nothing of the subsequent bombing.

One letter also spoke of a "fatcat financier" who turned out to be Harold Noel Arrowsmith, Jr., son of the late canon of Baltimore's Episcopal Cathedral. Arrowsmith took offense at the "fatcat" reference, apparently thinking Rockwell was ridiculing his physical plumpness.

Rockwell also told associates that Arrowsmith had ~~arranged~~ ~~with~~ in the "Arab Secret Service."

It appears to be true that Arrowsmith was in touch with Salem Hader, who runs what he calls the Arab-Asian Institute.

Much of the hate-nest across the Potomac was financed by the wealthy preacher's son from Baltimore, Arrowsmith, until he broke with Rockwell. He made his first payment on Rockwell's headquarters and is reported to have poured about \$20,000 into the operation, plus about \$6,000 for the Rockwell printing press.

Lately, Rockwell has been supplying literature to James Madole who was cited in 1954 by the House Un-American Activities Committee as the would-be Fuehrer of the Nazi-style National Renaissance Party, which attempts to maintain a uniformed "elite guard" in the Hitler tradition.

Anyone reading Pearson's column on Rockwell would have had to conclude that what he was reporting at the time was not news. The Arrowsmith-"fat-cat"

letter episode had gotten quite sufficient coverage, as well as Rockwell's links to the men indicted in Atlanta. Nor was Rockwell's connection with Kasper's Seaboard White Citizens Council "news," although Pearson conspicuously omitted any mention of Kasper's leftwing, pro-Negro past. The rest of the column, devoted to Rockwell's "connections" with Nasser, which amounted to nothing more than a fan letter he had written, and his activities with "The Virginia Committee to Impeach Governor Almond," is hardly the kind of material worthy of the space of a nationally syndicated column. In essence, it was nothing but pure and unadulterated free publicity for George Lincoln Rockwell, an attempt to magnify, all out of proportion with the reality, the significance of Rockwell's "activities."

It is, of course, additionally interesting that Pearson had slanted his column to have a particularly unsettling effect upon Jewish readers. By tying in Rockwell with the synagogue bombing, Abdel Nasser, and Nazism, Pearson was creating a personality of international significance, enmeshed in a web of international intrigue. But what was the reality? Rockwell had not been involved in the bombing, his connection with Nasser was simply a letter, and his Nazism consisted of a few stage props and store-bought costumes. Hardly enough to frighten five million American Jews into panic. Yet, the Pearson column was meant to do just that.

Now the Jewish community had been content to ignore Rockwell until then. However, they hadn't counted on Drew Pearson--whom Senator McCarthy had once described as the "Voice of International Communism"--giving Rockwell the kind of national send-off for which any celebrity would have gladly paid through the nose. Pearson's column, reaching 45,000,000 readers through approximately

600 newspapers all over the United States, would have cost a commercial advertiser millions of dollars. This one column certainly was enough to put the name of Rockwell into the minds of millions of Americans. And so, the big bluff in Arlington had been magnified and reinforced by the big bluff of a Pearson column. In the public's view, if Pearson wrote about it, then it must be important. Equally, in the minds of many members of the Jewish community, if Pearson devoted a whole column to Rockwell, then he must be for real.

As everyone knows, there are literally hundreds of crackpots in the United States espousing all kinds of ridiculous causes. No one expects a nationally syndicated columnist to devote his time publicizing them. His popularity as a columnist would not last very long, for the very simple reason that people are essentially repelled by the senseless and the insane. Dangerous crackpots are usually put away; harmless crackpots are ignored.

Now Rockwell, for a number of months, had been spewing forth the most crackpotish and obscene political garbage imaginable. His ideas were of the kind usually found expressed on public-washroom walls, which are sort of the bulletin boards for crackpots. Yet, in a few months time, this "crackpot" would achieve a kind national fame usually associated with individuals of great talent or achievement. The costly and complicated machinery whereby an individual achieves national fame in our society is not open to any Tom, Dick and Harry who merely wants to get his name in the paper. Least of all is it open to obvious crackpots who have nothing whatever to offer the public and are a source of annoyance. It is therefore something of an unusual phenomenon when one specific crackpot does achieve national fame.

The secret of Rockwell's success was that Pearson--and others after him-- did not take Rockwell as a crackpot, but as a serious potential danger. But anyone knowing the truth of the bluff Rockwell was perpetrating would have known that he and his "movement" represented no real danger at all and that, at best, he was no more than a local public nuisance.

Did Drew Pearson know that Rockwell was a bluff? The fact that Pearson went to the trouble to make news out of a story that was old news, adding a few flimsy details to enhance the timeliness of the column, is an indication that he knew that there was very little substance behind Rockwell's clever masquerade. Certainly any astute observer would have detected something phony in Rockwell's caricature of Nazism and sought to find out what the real purpose of his performance was. With the legendary connections Drew Pearson is supposed to have, it would have been no trouble at all for him to find out what Rockwell was really up to. There were enough people in Washington who had worked with Rockwell on U. S. Lady to offer newsmen a wealth of leads. Which brings one to the next logical speculation: is it possible that Pearson knew that Rockwell was just playacting, but was part and parcel of the conspiracy to create a phony public image of the new Nazi Fuehrer?

Pearson's next reference to Rockwell was made about a month later, in his column of March 19, 1959. In it Pearson wrote:

Passers by the home of Lincoln Rockwell in Arlington, Va., were surprised to see through an open door a huge Nazi swastika with candles burning below it as if before an altar. This just across the Potomac ~~from~~ the nation's capital and only 15 years after American boys were killed defeating Nazism. (Rockwell has been trying to impeach Gov. Lindsay Almond of Virginia.)

Of course, by simply raising the spectre of the swastika, without expressing curiosity as to what Rockwell's showmanship was all about, Pearson was merely adding more to the public's growing consciousness of a new Nazi menace on the horizon. By interjecting the solemn memory of American boys dying to defeat Nazism, Pearson was also able to give Rockwell's cheap stage-setting an aura of seriousness. If Rockwell's bluff was succeeding, it was because Pearson was helping it to succeed. He was setting the pattern in which the public's attitude was to be molded.

The best overall description of Rockwell's activities during this period, however, appeared in the April 1959 issue of the Anti-Defamation League Bulletin. The article, entitled, "Fiasco For A Fuehrer" was written by Zander Hollander, city editor of the Northern Virginia Sun, and it read as follows:

A passerby saw it first. He couldn't believe his eyes. But through the rain and the shadows of a mid-March night, he could see it clearly in the bright red beam of a floodlight. A swastika! It hung in the living room of a neat brick house fully visible through the open windows and front door. There was no mistaking the huge Nazi battle flag--the black hackenkreuz in the circle of white on a crimson field. Set into the center of the swastika was a bronze bas-relief of Hitler. Beneath it burned three candles--a veritable shrine to Nazism right in the middle of quiet Williamsburg Boulevard in Arlington County, Va., suburb of the Nation's capital.

As a passerby stopped to stare, a tall, muscular man in a trenchcoat came to the door, saluted Nazi style and yelled: "Sieg Heil!"

The passerby ran to phone the police.

The police came to take a look and, as the weather cleared, people strolled, passed, or drove by 6512 Williamsburg Boulevard to observe the latest shenanigans of one of its less popular citizens, Lincoln Rockwell, anti-Semitic pamphleteer, now newly established as the "fuehrer" of an avowedly Nazi organization.

Rockwell had gained notoriety as an organizer of anti-Jewish picketing at the White House last July, and subsequently as the associate of wealthy Harold Arrowsmith of Baltimore in disseminating anti-Semitic tracts under the imprint of the "National Committee to Free America from Jewish Domination." Arrowsmith had provided him with the house on Williamsburg Boulevard.

But after his brief moments of public attention resulting from the White House picketing and the hate literature that had been mentioned in connection with the Atlanta synagogue bombings, Rockwell found himself sinking into oblivion. He tried to attract attention by promising to solve the race problem by "repatriating" all Negroes to Africa. Then he printed a petition to impeach Gov. J. Lindsey Almond for saying that Virginia's "massive resistance" program could no longer halt desegregation in the schools of the State. Nobody paid much mind.

Then came the new phase. Instead of scattering his literature broadly, he decided the greenest fields were just outside his doorstep. The floodlighted swastika-banner was his first lure. A few days later he hung a glowing swastika against his slate-black roof.

When the shocked and curious lingered, Rockwell and his uniformed "troopers"--about a dozen all told--appeared. They wore Nazi-style brown shirts, swastika armbands and had holstered revolvers at their belts.

The revolvers were perfectly legal as long as the boys were inside the house grounds.

The curious came to see--mainly teenagers, exactly as Rockwell had planned. He invited them in, handed out packets of anti-Jewish tracts, carried on disarming "man-to-man" question and answer sessions. More came, attracted by the storm-troop regalia, the guns, the dramatic brutality of the performance put on by Rockwell and company. Rockwell was pleased with himself.

"When I was in the advertising game," he said, "we used to use nude women. Now I use the Hackenkreuz and storm troopers. You use what brings them in."

The town authorities conceded he was "bringing them in" all right--as many as a hundred a day--and they worried about the effect on their teen-agers.

After one visit, a youngster reported: "He's very subtle. He creates a relaxed atmosphere. He says, 'Now let's discuss things man-to-man, calmly. You tell me what's on your mind. I'll tell you what's on mine.' Some of them were really eating it up.

"I could see it coming," said the youth. "And suddenly he pulled it out like a knife."

What Rockwell "pulled out like a knife," in talk after talk, was his fanatic, all-pervasive theme that all of history and current events could only be understood in terms of the existence of a gigantic Jewish conspiracy.

A Jewish boy, persuaded to come along by his companions, said he was "scared and shaken" by the experience.

One teen-ager left the house wearing a swastika armband, "for a joke," he told investigators.

There were rumors of "anti-Jew" clubs in the high schools and some Jewish students received telephone threats. One of the callers was identified; he was "invited outside" by a Jewish classmate; that ended his interest in the Rockwell movement.

Many teen-agers were seen to depart the house laughing, hurling the Nazi tracts into Rockwell's lawn or ripping them methodically to bits before his eyes. Some gathered outside, hooting and jeering when Rockwell or a "trooper" appeared. Eggs splattered against the house. Rocks were thrown at windows and the garbage was tipped over several times.

Parents and teachers became alarmed over the widening disturbance. The authorities--school, governmental, and police--kept watch and tried to restrict the spread. But, principally they worried what effect, in sum, fast-talking Rockwell was having on the young people. Was he deceiving and winning any?

Some students brought their doubts to school. Washington-Lee High School history instructor, Dean Brundage, told in an article in the Northern Virginia Sun how his class had discussed Rockwell, dismissed him as a misguided fanatic, yet acknowledged that as long as he technically stayed within the laws, he should not be prosecuted. It would make him a martyr.

In a radio speech, Arlington Commonwealth Attorney William J. Hassan pointed out that if Rockwell produced disturbances or endangered public safety, he could and would be charged under statutes governing disorderly conduct or public nuisance.

Seizing on the speech as an avenue to publicity, Rockwell sued Hassan for \$1. "I don't care about what he said," he chuckled, "but maybe I can get a courtroom of people to listen to me this way."

Meanwhile, Arlington police, detectives and other investigators kept a regular vigil over the scene. "Our main job at this point," Asst. Chief Raymond S. Cole said, "was to keep the kids moving, not to let them gang up and get into trouble with Rockwell's gun-boys."

Washington area newspapers understood that one of Rockwell's objectives was to attract attention and publicity. They played down the events on Williamsburg Boulevard. Rockwell, angry over the publicity denied him, telephoned newspaper editors to complain of being quarantined and to demand coverage.

Perhaps the newspaper "dim-out" itself added to the problem. Outraged citizens who were informed of Rockwell's bid for youth support and resulting disturbances feared the authorities were either unaware of the threat or were doing little about it.

The Jewish community was especially perturbed. To acquaint his Arlington-Fairfax Jewish-Center congregation with the facts, Rabbi Noah Golinkin had the members meet after Friday night services with local Jewish community relations workers.

"Our big job," an ADL spokesman said later "was to make sure that nobody flew off the handle. The authorities had the situation under control."

Even as the congregation met, the situation had changed markedly. As dusk fell, more than a hundred teen-agers, most of them from Washington-Lee High School were parading on the boulevard in front of the Rockwell home. The crowd grew and rocks began to fly. The youthful mob chanted slogans, "Get Out, Rockwell," "Nazis, Go Home." The police, unwilling to use force on the schoolboys, radioed to police headquarters for instructions.

Police Capt. Cole arrived to find the house blacked out, the swastika banner hidden, the door barricaded. The teen-agers were apparently preparing to rush the house, where Rockwell and his armed half-dozen "troopers" waited.

Mr. Hassan, Capt. Cole and other officers entered the house. "I saw one young punk in the candlelight with his hand on a .45 automatic," Mr. Hassan recalled. "Get your hands off your guns and get those lights on or someone will get hurt in a hurry," a police official said. Someone struck a light switch.

Rockwell demanded protection. He wanted a full-time police guard maintained at his door. The Arlington officials turned him down. He would get the same protection as any other citizen. But the police didn't plan to shoot any teenagers to save him if he continued to provoke them by the Nazi displays.

"He was plenty scared," a police witness said. "He knew those teenagers would come in and get him if he didn't agree to stop. And he knew most of the kids weren't Jewish."

The curtains were drawn, the doors closed. The next day callers at the door were not invited in; they were told to send a stamped, self-addressed envelope if they wanted the Nazi literature. . . .

Rockwell has had other recent reverses. A rifle vanished, and he purged his ranks of one follower. Another erstwhile "trooper" decided Rockwell stood for a great deal more than the "anti-Communism" that had attracted him to the "fuehrer." He resigned.

The defection, and the disappearance of still another weapon from the Rockwell armory, spurred a new "loyalty" investigation in mid-April.

Rockwell maintains he is not discouraged. He and his dwindling band-- now about five--spend hours devising schemes for the advancement of Nazism. "Our year for the White House is 1972," Rockwell says. "We can't make it now, of course, but in '64 we'll be on the ballot and in '68 we'll be close. In '72, we'll win."

The article by Mr. Hollander was by far the most informative piece written about Rockwell during that period, but it still failed to ask the most obvious questions which would have occurred to any rational human being observing the scene: what was a man like Rockwell doing, with his background, behaving like a lunatic, deliberately provoking attack? Did he really believe in all that nonsense he was preaching? And if he didn't, what was the ulterior motive behind it all? Where was every indication that Rockwell was behaving in a most calculated and deliberate manner, that his performance had been fully planned and organized in advance, and that he was most alert and shrewd in dealing with the students who visited him. Most of the teen-agers saw through the phoniness of it all without any trouble. Yet none of the adults, particularly the authorities, showed any interest in finding out what was really behind the new "fuehrer." They betrayed either an appalling lack of curiosity or a dismal ignorance of elementary human psychology.

What is even more surprising is that the Anti-Defamation League, which had been keeping a close watch on Rockwell since the "fatcat" letter exposure, took the Arlington "fuehrer" at face value from the very beginning and showed no interest in getting to the bottom of his obviously phony behavior. But, in this respect, they were treating Rockwell exactly as they had treated his predecessors. They simply catalogued his anti-Semitic statements and actions, without concerning themselves about ulterior motives, thus giving the public

the impression that Rockwell was as potentially dangerous as he appeared.

To the citizens of Arlington, however, Rockwell was less a potential danger than a very present nuisance. And so, on April 21, 1959, Rockwell's Arlington vaudeville came to an abrupt halt when the police raided the house on Williamsburg blvd. and served Rockwell with a court summons. The Washington Post of April 22, 1959 described the scene as follows:

Arlington County police last night raided the home of George Lincoln Rockwell, self-styled printer of anti-Jewish literature, after an Arlington grand jury returned a presentment charging him with maintaining a public nuisance there.

The two-count misdemeanor complaint charged Rockwell, 41, with actions indicating he advocated the Nazi policies of Adolf Hitler.

The 13 raiders, led by Commonwealth Attorney William J. Hassan, said they were seeking additional evidence to support the complaints. Rockwell was ordered to appear in Arlington County Circuit Court at 10 a.m. Friday to answer them.

Police Capt. Raymond Cole said more summonses will be issued.

Sheriff Carl Taylor, who served the court summons, said Rockwell accepted it with a murmured, "Thank you, sir," then invited the raiders inside his red brick bungalow at 6512 Williamsburg blvd. They were armed with a search warrant.

The raiders--Hassan and his deputy, Taylor and two deputies and eight Arlington police--spent nearly three hours cataloguing and identifying Rockwell's possessions.

Then they carted out several cartons of literature, eight swastika armbands, two pistols and a rifle, a device that shoots streams of tear

gas, a bronze plaque of Adolf Hitler and a 5 by 11-foot swastika that had hung in the living room.

Also seized were a target bow and arrow, a hunting knife, two pistol belts, a tape recording described as German martial music and Nazi rallies and two books: "Hitler's Secret Conversations" and "The House That Hitler Built."

Among other things, they left undisturbed Rockwell's printing press, an 85-pound barbell, two Bibles, a copy of Hitler's "Mein Kampf," and a half-eaten birthday cake with pink frosting with which Rockwell had celebrated Hitler's 70th birthday on Monday.

While the raid was in progress, four "troopers"--Rockwell's followers--knocked on the bungalow's door. Each raised his arm in the Nazi salute and said, "Sieg Heil," before entering.

Rockwell made use of the occasion to announce his candidacy for the Virginia State Senate this fall.

"I have done no more than anybody would do who was running a Republican or Democratic headquarters," he said. "Because a lot of people think we are Communists and throw rocks, that does not make me a criminal."

Judge McCarthy issued the court summons and search warrant immediately after the grand jury complained that Rockwell permitted continuance of a "public and common nuisance" at his home between March 15 and April 21 by:

Producing and distributing "un-American hate literature, designed to incite riots, cause consternation and alarm and create a breach of the peace."

Carrying firearms on his person at his home, displaying them in a "threatening manner" and permitting his "followers, aides or associates to do the same."

Displaying in his front yard a "foreign, alien-type swastika

Displaying himself and permitting his "aides" to show themselves in "storm trooper" uniforms with swastika armbands, thereby indicating that he advocates the principles and policies of Adolf Hitler and the Third Reich of Germany."

Stopping and "illegally" searching vehicles traveling on Williamsburg blvd. and impeding the flow of traffic on public streets in such a way as to cause "serious traffic hazards."

Encouraging and permitting congregation of minor children and adults in front of his house . . . "to the consternation and alarm of all the citizens of the community."

Creating and permitting to continue a condition "which greatly endangers the health, safety and well-being of all the citizens of this community."

The action was presented in court by Hassan, who called six residents of the area in which Rockwell lives and three Arlington policemen as witnesses before the grand jury.

Although Rockwell was forced temporarily to give up his provocative show, he still did everything in his power to gain as much publicity and public exposure as possible. For example, two days after the raid, he appeared before a social psychology class at George Washington University during which he expounded his philosophy. The Washington Post of April 24, 1959 described the occasion as follows:

Psychology professor Curtis E. Tuthill said Rockwell was invited to speak before the class because his Nazi and anti-Semitic views were

characteristic of movements studied by the class.

The course, which deals with the psychology of social movements, has included investigations of such diverse figures and programs as Moral Re-Armament, Father Devine, Billy Graham, the Townsend "ham and egg" clan and the United World Federalists, Tuthill said.

Rockwell also managed to file libel suits against Drew Pearson and the B'nai B'rith, thereby obtaining additional publicity. Of course, the court found both suits inadequate.

In the meanwhile, the community of Arlington's case against Rockwell became bogged down in legal technicalities. It was not, however, without its own interesting sidelights, as revealed by this fascinating story which appeared in the Washington Post on June 6, 1959:

A red-bearded George Washington University sophomore "infiltrated" the Arlington Nazi headquarters of George Lincoln Rockwell to write a term paper on "deviant subgroups."

The disclosure was made yesterday by Rockwell . . . in Circuit Court. . . .

Rockwell charged that the student, Henry C. Burchard, 19, 521 N. Lincoln Street, Arlington, "Came to my headquarters purporting to be one of my people. He actually was a spy writing a term paper. He has no character."

At his home, Burchard, a sociology major, said yesterday:

"I was doing a term paper on deviant sub-groups. One evening I drove by Rockwell's house and saw his Nazi flag spotlighted through the window. I said to myself, 'Here's a deviant.'"

Burchard, who no longer has his red beard, said he first went into Rockwell's house early in March and attended meetings for two months. He said a crowd had congregated outside and that he went to the door, shook hands with Rockwell, and faked his anti-Jewish sentiments. His beard and friendliness impressed Rockwell, he said.

"Rockwell's group is not going anywhere," Burchard said. "The men, who numbered between 4 and 15 when I was at meetings, sat around and told anti-Jewish and anti-Negro jokes. They tried to act tough.

"In fact our party names had to be tough. They're supposed to be associated with our real names. So I suggested that I be called Trooper Birch. But that wasn't tough enough. Rockwell said I was to be called Trooper Oak."

Burchard said Rockwell once questioned him about his activities after accusing him of being a spy. He said a red spotlight was played on his face during the questioning.

"At the initiation ceremony my cheek was nicked with a razor," the student related. "When I could squeeze a drop of blood, I put it on the Nazi flag. That was another test of being tough."

. . . He also said that Rockwell had someone stay with him every night as a body guard.

"I stayed three nights. It wasn't so much that he thought he needed protection, but that he didn't want to be alone."

Burchard said he finally got out of the organization because "it was close to exams. I had to write my term paper, and I was getting tired of the whole thing."

The Northern Virginia Sun of June 6, 1959 provided additional details about Burchard's adventure:

Burchard, a Washington-Lee graduate, submitted the paper to his sociology professor in lieu of the book reports other students did.

"As a valid sociological study, it was unsuccessful, I'm afraid," Burchard said. "But I got B-Plus for effort."

In it he recounts how the "Commander" photographed him from the front and side "in case I turned out to be a spy--but with an empty camera."

In that and subsequent meetings, Burchard feigned agreement with expressions of hatred of the Jews uttered by Rockwell and his handful of "troopers" most of whom wore swastika-armbands and carried guns.

. . . "We were supposed to be tough. We were storm troopers you know . . . stouthearted Nazis and so on, ready to give our lives in the event of a Jewish invasion."

Burchard's observation sessions with the Nazi Rockwell's outfit had their ups and downs, he said. "As long as there were people shouting outside or coming to the door for propaganda, everybody was happy."

"When things died down, the boys would stretch and yawn and go home. Sometimes when it got dull, Rockwell would 'hear something' and we'd all rush out and hunt around the house. We never caught anyone," Burchard said.

It is interesting that a 19-year-old student could see through the phoniness of Rockwell's so-called movement but that neither Drew Pearson nor the Anti-Defamation League, both of whom had considerably more information

at their disposal than the student, lacked the curiosity to follow through on the student's observations and seek more deeply into the motives behind the Arlington fuehrer's activities. Is it possible that both Pearson and the ADL were more interested in creating the image of a real live Nazi menace than in exposing a very obvious phony?

By the middle of June, the Arlington show was all over for Rockwell. The period of occupancy of Arrowsmith's house had come to an end, thus leaving Rockwell without a base of operations. He describes his predicament as follows:

I was still facing the criminal charges incourt; we had no money; all the printing and other equipment was gone, and now no place to go, either. . . .

Morgan and Yalacki and a non-member Cary Hansel were my only faithful Helpers in those impossible days, as I had to borrow a truck and move out. We were unable to find any place to move into except a tiny shack far out in the back-woods of Fairfax County, so we took that. . . .

I spent the months of June and July out there alone, broke, seeing no human beings sometimes for three or four days, and roasting alive in the heat. (p. 325)

Although Rockwell had had no visible source of income for over six months, he had been able to stage his two-month-long spectacle in Arlington without any apparent lack of the financial wherewithal. He was well fed during the period, was able to print and distribute thousands of pieces of literature, paid his utility bills and other expenses, made a birthday party for Hitler, collected

an arsenal, etc., all without money. It would have taken at least a few thousand dollars to sustain the momentum of Rockwell's operation during that period--from January to June 1959. And certainly the success of those activities, judged by the amount of attention he had gotten, could not have been possible had Rockwell been preoccupied with the problem of finding enough money to keep him in business.

The achilles heel of any such highly risky political operation is its financial pipeline. Professional revolutionaries are on a payroll of some sort, and the easiest way to find out the true nature of an operator's work is to establish the identity of his paymaster. So far, no one had bothered to ask the crucial question of where Rockwell had been getting his money. Since Arrowsmith had long left the picture there was even greater reason to be curious about Rockwell's finances. But neither Drew Pearson nor the ADL were terribly interested in that mundane subject.

There was another reason why the question of Rockwell's funds was of great importance. If all the crackpots in America didn't have to worry about earning a living and could simply devote all their time and energies to expounding and propagating their crackpot ideas, the United States would easily become a madhouse. But reality being what it is, there are very few crackpots wealthy enough to be able to indulge their eccentricities on a full-time basis. However, what was especially peculiar about Rockwell's crackpottery was the fact that it even took priority over his family life, the welfare of his children, and his relationship with his wife. When one understands to what extent Rockwell needed the love and approval of his wife, one begins to see his activities in a different light.

Chapter

THORA

After Rockwell had moved to his shack in the back-woods of Fairfax County, he was able to give more thought to his relationship with his wife. He writes:

Now my letters from my wife began to be less frequent, and less filled with the fanatical devotion I loved in her so much. I needed all the sustaining love I could get, and kept heckling her for more mail. Finally, I wrote a relatively sharp letter asking why she couldn't write more often.

I got back a magnetic tape, but couldn't play it because there was no electricity. So I lugged the tape recorder to a nearby church which was empty, sneaked into the basement, plugged in the machine, and listened to the recording of my wife's voice. What I heard chilled my blood.

For the first time in our lives, she sounded really distant and even a little nasty. (p. 326)

For a man like Rockwell, this was not easy to take. Then, Rockwell relates,

Thora began to complain to him that her parents were begging her to divorce him. Apparently they had been horrified by the stories about Rockwell in the newspapers. Having a vociferous Nazi agitator as a son-in-law was not exactly something to be proud of. They refused to allow Thora to rejoin Rockwell unless he gave up all political activity and settled down to a normal life.

At this point Rockwell wrote to Thora offering to give up politics, and to live in Iceland where he could make a good living. This, however, was not what Thora wanted. She preferred to return to the United States after Rockwell had made adequate preparations. In the meanwhile, Thora's father, who was president of the Shell Oil Company in Iceland, decided to pay his son-in-law a visit, to see what preparations Rockwell had made for the return of Thora and the children. The visit took place, but Mr. Halgrímsson was unimpressed. Rockwell explains:

The only course seemed to be to tell him to go back to Iceland and ask my wife to wait until I had things under better control. And this is what I did.

Then, while he was on his way back to New York and Iceland, I began to realize how dangerous such a course would be for our marriage, and called my wife long-distance to Iceland. I asked her if she loved me and wanted to come home--and she answered with burning passion, "Yes! Yes! Yes!" She said she would take a plane by the 21st of October, and I collapsed exhausted and happy beyond words.

Rockwell's happiness, however, was shortlived. His wife had followed the phone conversation with a letter saying that she would be coming to the United States alone merely to look over the situation and that she would stay at the

home of her cousin--the wife of the First Secretary of the Icelandic Embassy-- during the visit. This was a devastating and humiliating blow to Rockwell.

He writes:

I decided to do the only thing left: go at once to my wife, no matter what.

Recklessly, crazily, I sold everything I had, for nothing--raised all the money I could everywhere, and made all arrangements to go to Iceland to keep my family together. I had to battle to get a visa at the Icelandic Embassy, because of the influence of my wife's father, and the knowledge of all concerned of the personal circumstances of my request to go to Iceland. But I did it all, somehow, arranged to have my art, photography and other professional things shipped to Iceland to make a living, and let everything drop where it was in the U. S.

In other words, Rockwell had decided to give up his career as a professional revolutionary, in order to be able to live with his family once more. He writes:

There was no doubt whatsoever in my mind that the deep, abiding love between my wife and I, coupled with my utter determination to do anything necessary to keep our family together would soon melt the ice which was causing the impasse, and we would be once again the happy parents and lovers we were so long and happily--even in the harsh circumstances we had faced.

And so, on September 20, 1959, barely two days after the Arlington court had dismissed the charges against him, Rockwell bade farewell to his three

faithful "followers"--Floyd Fleming, J. V. Morgan and Louis Yalacki--promising them that he would return in due course to resume the great struggle. Then he took off for Iceland, hardly prepared for what was to greet him. Rockwell writes:

I had cabled my wife of the time of my arrival, and looked for her at the gray and depressing little airport in Reykjavik. There was no one there. I got a ride with a U. S. Army major who was there to meet his wife, and drove over to the address of the apartment I had never seen where I knew my wife and children lived. I was laden with baggage and a steam-shovel toy and a huge doll as I struggled up the stairs and knocked ~~on~~ that magic door! Inside I could hear the little voices of my children--voices I had asked to hear for one year! Then the door opened and there stood my wife holding little Evelyn Bentina in her arms. She was wearing torreador pants, and apparently had no idea I would show up--why, I still don't know. She stepped back in horror as I stood there, ready to crush her to pieces, and said, "WHAT! YOU! WHAT ARE YOU DOING HERE!"

Rockwell was at first too stunned to move or say anything. This was not the greeting he had expected from his beloved Thora. When he tried to kiss her, she repelled him in anger. What did he mean by coming here, she asked him several times. Then she ordered Rockwell out of the house. When he refused to go she got her lawyers and the police to force him out.

Apparently something had taken place to produce this sudden and drastic change in Thora. However, Rockwell was not quite able to figure it out. The next few days were agony, we are told. He wandered about the streets aimlessly in a state of shock and drank whiskey. He writes:

In the daytime, she let me come back to see my children, and they remembered and loved me, and broke my heart with endearments. Ricky, the eldest, apparently understood, and told his mother he didn't want us "to divorce." My wife talked calmly and icily to me, and stayed as far as possible from me, even trying to sit in the front seat of a taxi once to avoid riding with me and our little daughter Jeannie.

Despite this humiliating treatment, the fuehrer decided to do everything in his power to keep his family together. He applied for and got a tentative okay on a good job at the U. S. airbase at Keflavik, thirty miles from Reykjavik. When he told Thora about the job, she replied, "I'm not sure it will be any use." In fact, she wasn't sure she would remain married to the fuehrer no matter what he did.

Now it seems that in Iceland it is very easy to get a divorce. One merely has to go to the local preacher (who is also some sort of government official) and announce that one intends to end the marriage. Automatically, then, the party is granted a separation for one year and then a divorce. Rockwell describes how the process of his own divorce got started:

My beloved wife took me, as though we were on a "date", to the same preacher who married us, and asked for the machinery to be started up. I believed it was supposed to be a "reconciliation" hearing--as it was advertised, and begged, pleaded, cajoled and argued. I got down on my knees before my wife and implored her to save our family--but this only made her angry and she got down on hers and said, "See, I can get on my knees, too!"

After a bit more of this farcial "reconciliation" hearing, the

preacher sent me down to the local city hall to sign some kind of paper the lawyers said I had to sign, and that was IT!

By now Rockwell was in a state of misery he could only describe as being "an emotional hell." He had no desire to stay a moment longer in Iceland. And so, after borrowing the fare from Thora's father, arranged to leave that evening. Then a very strange thing happened. He writes:

As I waited for the plane to leave Orri, my wife's ex-husband's brother, who had been sympathetic and helpful, drove up in his little car. I saw my wife beside him. He got out and told me to get in.

She had come to say goodbye! She was pouring tears. I took her in my arms and sobbed uncontrollably. So did she. I begged her to tell me WHY--but all she would say was that she wished it could be otherwise more than I did!

In more sane moments I might have paused to consider the madness of it all, but I can barely remember those terrible minutes. I couldn't stand it any more and jumped out of the car, beyond control entirely. They drove away into the blackness of the Icelandic night, and I stood there with the icy wind freezing the tears pouring down my face and dripping onto the black runway. (p. 339)

What had Thora meant when she had told Rockwell that she wished it could be otherwise more than he did? It was a very strange confession, indeed.

When Rockwell returned to his friends in Arlington, they were of course surprised to see him so soon. He had only been gone a week. He stayed at Yalacki's house, recovering from the severe emotional crisis he had suffered in Iceland. Then, as the days went by and pain wore off, he began to see Thora's

actions in an entirely different light. He writes:

Had I managed to fight my way back to a united family up there, after the brutal and heartbreaking battle I had experienced, the warm love of my wife and children might have overcome my sense of duty to the Cause. I might have postponed for too long the all-out battle we have fought and won here

Irrational or not, I have now come to the conclusion that my beloved wife acted only her part in a drama neither of us understood--which is the only explanation for the crazy goodbye at the airport. She booted me brutally back into the fight I told her, almost the first day I met her, was the whole purpose of my life. In hurting me more terribly than I believed possible for a human being to be hurt and survive, she gave me the one last weapon I needed to fight and HOLD my victory--and she forced me out into the battle.

In other words, if we are to believe Rockwell, it was Thora who was even more dedicated to the "cause" than Rockwell himself. Which means, perhaps, that it was Thora who originally recruited Rockwell into the apparatus when she hooked him in Iceland. Certainly, she had approved of and encouraged his development into a "professional revolutionary." She had worked with him on U. S. Lady, then, with the greatest of ease, made the transition with him to "right-wing extremist," associating with such unsavory racists as John Kasper, West Hooker, Wallace Allen and the others. And when he had gone out to picket the White House with anti-Semitic placards, she was "brave and inspiring."

It is therefore not entirely beyond the realm of possibility that Thora Rockwell was not only the key motivating force behind her husband's newly

chosen career as a "professional revolutionary," but that, on orders from above, proceeded to divorce him so that he would have no choice but to pursue the highly provocative line of activity for which he had been groomed by the conspiracy. At the airport, he had begged her to tell him why they had to be divorced, but, as Rockwell tells us, "all she would say was that she wished it could be otherwise more than I did!" Considering the power of the forces which controlled their lives, it obviously could not have been otherwise. Rockwell writes:

As I began to recover from my spiritual collapse, I found myself steeled and hardened and almost somnambulistic in my attitude. And for the first time in my life--I just didn't care what happened. I became virtually a tool of the giant Forces which I realized had shaped my life.

By now, Rockwell realized that he was too deeply involved to get out. Even though he had lost the one value he thought he had gained by betraying every other value, there was no turning back from the path into which he had been led. He had no choice now but to serve his humorless masters. Of course, he had Thora to thank for all of this. He writes:

One of the horrifying things which happened to me in Iceland, was my wife's answer when I asked her what I had done to violate our marriage vows, and if she didn't feel bound by her vows and oaths, and the "love forever and ever and ever" in her letters, etc. She replied coldly that these were "just words", and "everybody breaks them."

It was a cruel and brutal lesson, but one I needed desperately. It is true. If such an unparalleled human being as my wife, such a loyal, faithful, long-suffering, good, kind and noble person could cast aside

the most sacred vows and a family of six people after reaching a certain point of suffering, then indeed, all vows ARE just words. . . .

Now an implacable destiny had graduated me from the hardest school in the world and my diploma was inscribed in deep scars on my heart. . . .

What Rockwell had learned was that to a "professional revolutionary" there was no loyalty higher than that owed to the revolution itself. Neither wife, nor family, nor country could ever come before the revolution, even if one had become a revolutionary merely to please one's wife. And, of course, there were always one's fellow revolutionaries to see that one made the right choice. And if one's wife were a devoted and unshakeable revolutionary, then so much the better. But the revolution hardly depended on persuasion alone to keep its children in line. One obeyed because one knew that the revolution could always destroy you if it wanted to. And so, if one had no choice, was it not the better part of wisdom to make the best of it?

Chapter

THE SWASTIKA EPIDEMIC

With the events of Iceland several weeks behind him, Rockwell was now ready to resume his newly chosen career as *Fuehrer*. Psychologically, he was in good form. He writes:

My wife had given me the most priceless armor available--fearlessness.

I began slowly to realize what she had done for me. Even unconsciously, this wonderful woman had given me what I needed at the right time. (p. 341)

The agent-provocateur network was also ready to supply him with the necessary manpower and financial aid to see to it that the operation was a success. James K. Warner, the young man who had sent Rockwell the Nazi flag some months before, had been discharged from the Air Force and had joined Rockwell's crew in Washington. At the same time, two brothers from Baltimore, Bernard and George Harriss "had become interested in the cause," as Rockwell writes, and had gotten in touch with him. They even invited Rockwell up to their home for Thanksgiving Day dinner. Thus, with Yalacki, Morgan, the Harriss brothers, Warner and himself, Rockwell had the nucleus of his American Nazi Party all set for the next stage of his operation.

In the meanwhile, Floyd Fleming went about seeking a new headquarters for the Party in Arlington. Warner and Rockwell, for the time being, rented a small cabin some forty miles south of Washington. There they planned the next big operation--the mass distribution of anti-Semitic and racist handbills on the streets of Washington during the week before Christmas. Rockwell writes:

Thus it was an army of three Nazis who descended on Washington in the week before Christmas. . . . We stood forth alone on the street corners with our red-emblazoned handbills, waving the sheets so all could see the huge letters: "White Man! Are You Going To Be Run Out Of Your Nation's Capital Without A Fight!"

Then, on December 26, 1959, the world's newspapers reported the shocking story that a synagogue in Cologne, Germany, had been smeared with swastikas. The story, on page one of The New York Times, reported the incident as follows:

VANDALS DESECRATE SYNAGOGUE OPENED BY ADENAUER IN COLOGNE

Cologne, Germany, Dec. 25--A synagogue that Chancellor Konrad Adenauer helped to dedicate last September was smeared with swastikas and anti-Semitic slogans early Christmas morning. The action cast a pall over Cologne's holiday celebrations. . . .

The Cologne incident was only the beginning of a much larger operation. By the first week in January, not only had similar incidents occurred in many different parts of West Germany--much to the consternation of the Bonn Government--but anti-Semitic daubings and acts of vandalism were reported in London, Vienna, Paris, Oslo, Glasgow, Athens, Melbourne, Rome, New York and dozens of other cities. In a matter of days the newspapers were filled with stories about a new Nazi

"resurgence." During that period one read such headlines as:

ADENAUER SCORES OUTBREAK OF BIAS (N.Y. Times, 12/27/59)

MORE ARRESTED IN COLOGNE CASE (N.Y. Times, 12/28/59)

ANTI-JEWISH ACTS IN GERMANY GROW (N.Y. Times, 12/31/59)

LONDON SYNAGOGUE DAUBED (N.Y. Times, 1/1/60)

BONN CHARGES PLOT TO SMEAR REPUBLIC WITH ANTI-SEMITISM (N.Y. Times, 1/3/60)

BONN PLEDGES DRIVE ON ANTI-SEMITISM (Wash. Post, 1/3/60)

ANTI-JEWISH SLOGANS APPEAR THROUGHOUT WESTERN EUROPE (Wash. Post, 1/4/60)

TOP BRITISH JEWS GET NAZI THREATS (N.Y. Times, 1/5/60)

HATE DRIVE SPREADS IN GERMANY (Wash. Post, 1/5/60)

BRITONS OPPOSING A STRONGER BONN; SIGNS OF NAZI REVIVAL VIEWED AS

BOLSTERING RESISTANCE TO ARMING AND UNITY (N.Y. Times, 1/7/60)

JEWS, ANGLICANS JOIN IN DEMAND FOR WEST GERMAN NAZI CLEANUP (Wash. Post, 1/8/60)

40,000 BERLINERS MARCH TO PROTEST ANTI-SEMITIC ACTS (N.Y. Times, 1/9/60)

PRESIDENT SCORES 'VIRUS OF BIGOTRY' (N.Y. Times, 1/13/60)

50,000 JOIN IN LONDON PROTEST MARCH ON W. GERMAN EMBASSY (Wash. Post, 1/19/60)

By the third week in January, a world-wide, well-orchestrated newspaper campaign against the West German Government was in high gear. Time magazine of January 25, 1960, published an article entitled "The Haunted Past" which was about the alleged high percentage of Nazis in the Bonn Government, and The New York Times of January 24, 1960 printed an article with the following headline: NAZIS IN HIGH OFFICE AT ISSUE IN GERMANY; DEMANDS RISE FOR ACTION BY BONN AFTER ANTI-SEMITIC OUTBREAK. There was no telling how far the campaign would go.

Then, almost as suddenly as it had begun, the newspaper campaign against

West Germany came to a halt. The reason for this was quite simple. The Bonn Government had begun to uncover the Communist hand behind the entire rash of anti-Semitic incidents, and the newspapers, for some unknown reason reluctant to investigate what the Communists were up to, simply let the matter drop.

In the meanwhile, the public had been left with the indelible impression that the Bonn Government was full of Nazis, and that there existed a vast Nazi underground throughout the world. Drew Pearson, of course, was there on the spot. On January 8, 1960 his entire column was once more devoted to Rockwell and the Nazi underground. The column, as published in the New York Mirror, read as follows:

ANTI-SEMITISM TRACED TO NAZIS

Washington, Jan. 7--The so-called "fuehrer" of the American Nazi Party confirms the statement of the Israeli newspaper, Davar, that the present rash of European anti-Semitism results from underground Nazi organization.

George Lincoln Rockwell, who has flaunted the swastika from his home across the Potomac in Arlington, Va., is authority for this statement. Rockwell has sued me for \$500,000 and has distributed leaflets around my house damning me as his enemy.

In the course of defending the suit I took Rockwell's deposition and elicited from him under oath, some amazingly frank statements. With the rash of swastikas appearing on synagogues in Germany, England, Scotland, and New York, I questioned Rockwell again. Again he was frank.

"Your time will come," he told me. "Nothing will save you from the gas chamber. However, I will tell you the truth. Regarding the present wave of anti-Semitism in Europe, there are 20,000 ex-SS men running

around in Europe and once you get it in your heart, you don't lose it.

"We have organizations and publications all over Europe. The best is in Sweden where a Nazi magazine, 'Nordic Kamp,' is published. Letters to the editor are published under 'Heil Hitler.' There are organizations in London, Canada, Australia, Norway, and on the continent. In London the magazine is called 'Combat,' and there's another publication in Norway, but it isn't very big. The biggest, toughest, uniformed organization is in Austria. In another month we will publish a magazine, 'The International Nazi.'"

When I asked the reason for the sudden outbreak of swastikas in Germany, Rockwell replied: "It's pent-up resentment against the fact that they're not permitted to organize. The Nazi party is banned in Germany. These people can't be heard. They can't hire a hall. So they demonstrate as best they can."

"Here in this country I have the right to pass out literature. If anyone tries to stop me the police protect me. I was in the Navy once. When people complain to the Navy about me, the Navy says 'That's OK, he has a right to belong to a political party.' This is impossible in Germany."

Unwittingly Rockwell seemed to be giving the best reasons in the world for the American anti-Nazi system of free speech. Bearing out the effectiveness of that system, Rockwell's neighbors in Virginia gave him such a cold shoulder that he seems not unhappy to move away.

His old headquarters on Williamsburg Boulevard in Arlington, he said, had been taken over by an agent for Russell Maguire, publisher of American Mercury. . . .

"Maguire hired me to form a Nazi party," Rockwell said. "But I got too hot for him. He now controls the printing presses and the hate literature."

Rockwell is the son of the prewar radio comedian and rocking-chair philosopher, "Old Doc" Rockwell, whose homespun philosophy was familiar to millions--a philosophy far different from that of the young man who has read "Mein Kampf" 12 times, openly displayed the swastika in front of his home, has been pouring out hate literature from the banks of the Potomac, and is titular leader of the "American Nazi Party."

Pearson, of course, had just given Rockwell, his "enemy," another million dollars worth of free publicity. The phony masquerade known as the "American Nazi Party" couldn't have been given a better send off. Please note that Pearson showed a surprising lack of curiosity in Rockwell's finances or his associates. In fact, the only things he wrote about were those which would reinforce the myth that a real, live Nazi movement existed. But that wasn't all Pearson would have to say about the swastika epidemic. It seems that The Worker of January 10, 1960, which contained its first party-line article on the daubings, stressed another angle. They were interested in the Nazis in the Bonn Government and the sinister connection between American capitalists and German capitalists. Their lead article, which had the screaming headline: **SWASTIKA PLAGUE ALERTS WORLD TO NAZI WAR PERIL**, said the following:

. . . Monopoly interests in our country, and other Western countries, were responsible! They propelled our Government into a policy of reviving German militarism via NATO, sanctioning the rebirth of Nazism, giving Krupp and other West German capitalists the green light.

Apparently Drew Pearson was also given a green light, for in a matter of days he was in the forefront of the journalists hammering away at the Nazi complexion of the Bonn Government. His column of January 13, 1960, which appeared in the Washington Post, followed the Communist party-line with amazing accuracy. It read as follows:

NAZISM REVIVAL I AID PARTLY TO U.S.

Shortly after the war, some of the highest officials in the United States Government began encouraging the reinstatement of Nazis in positions of power and influence. So did certain American businessmen who helped finance Germany before the war and wanted to build it up again. They rushed in to enlist Nazi businessmen who could help their investments and even began discouraging the trial of Nazi war criminals responsible for the slave camps and the murder of some 6 million Jews.

In view of this example, set by highly placed Americans, you can't blame German Teachers for failing to teach the horrible history of Hitler. You can't entirely blame some German youth today for flaunting the swastika.

The full story of how American officials and American businessmen reinstated the Nazis has never been put together. Looking over my back columns, however, I find it told in installments, beginning just a few

months after the war ended. Put together, the installments make a damning picture of American guilt. . . .

Three days later, on January 16, 1960, Pearson followed up his first party-line column with another, assertedly giving more details on how American officials and businessmen had curried favor with the Nazis after the war, "thereby helping sow the seeds of what is happening today." What about the Communists? Did Pearson know of the connection between the Communists and the Nazis? Of course, he did, for he had written about it in his own column sometime in March 1954. But in that column he had drawn attention to the Communist-Nazi "underground network" not for the purposes of exposing it, but merely as a means of discrediting Sen. Joseph McCarthy. Pearson had written:

The evidence is conclusive that the (Communist-Nazi) network has used none other than Sen. Joe McCarthy as a propaganda mouthpiece. When McCarthy charged the U. S. Army with torturing German war criminals . . . Senate investigators traced the charges to Dr. Rudolph Aschenauer an ex-Nazi working with the Communists.

Aschenauer had three known agents in this country -- Frederick Weiss, H. Keith Thompson, and Ulick Varange -- who also represented the Socialist Reich Party . . . such a flagrant pro-Nazi party that it was outlawed by the West German government.

Weiss masterminds the National Renaissance Party, a group of fanatical anti-Semites with headquarters in Yorkville, New York City . . . The FBI is most interested however in Varange, a mystery man who also goes by the names of Francis Yockey and Frank Healy. He is known to be the author of a book on Fascist strategy, urging anti-American but not anti-Soviet activity.

It is obvious, therefore, that Pearson not only knew of the existence of the Communist-Nazi network, but he also knew who were its principle members. Yet, when it came to an epidemic of anti-Semitic acts obviously inspired by the very same network of which Pearson had full knowledge, he could only place the blame on American businessmen and officials who hadn't the remotest connection with the provocateurs and professional revolutionaries responsible for the acts of vandalism.

As for the McCarthy episode, the figure of Rudolph Aschenauer--the defense attorney for the Nazis--had been invoked years later only as a means of discrediting the Senator after he had become the Senate's leading anti-Communist. The entire controversy concerning the dubious methods whereby U. S. Army prosecutors had extracted "confessions" from S.S. prisoners involved in the Malmedy massacre had been kicked up by an investigation of the trials by a Justice Review Board. At stake was the entire reputation of American justice abroad and the concept of a fair trial, to which even the defeated enemy had been entitled. Liberal publications in the United States, such as Christian Century and the Progressive were highly critical of the U. S. Army in this case, and McCarthy's role during the Senate Armed Services Committee's hearings was that of a Senator who took his job seriously. McCarthy, however, had not been criticized by the Pearsons at that time, because the ~~position~~ position he had taken was considered "liberal." After the Senator had turned his attention to the internal Communist menace, his newlyfound enemies decided to use any weapon they could possibly get hold of against him. They knew that McCarthy had received unsolicited information from Rudolph Aschenauer in much the same manner that Senators received information from any number of publicists and lobbyists on

on behalf of any number of causes.

Thus, Jack Anderson, a staff-reporter for Drew Pearson, had maliciously written the following in his book McCarthy: The Man, The Senator, The "Ism," which was published in the fall of 1952:

Where had McCarthy turned up his "evidence" against the American prosecutors? . . .

The answer came out one day when McCarthy carelessly mislaid a brown manila envelope in a Congressional hearing room. It bore the return address of Rudolf Aschenauer, of Frankfurt, Germany. A check was made with Army intelligence officers, who reported that Aschenauer was a member of a Communist spy-ring. He funneled the trumped-up charges to McCarthy, then planted the charges in the German press between Senator McCarthy's quotation marks. Joe gave Aschenauer's Communist fictions the ring of truth. . . . (p. 161)

The significance of that paragraph was not in what Pearson's helpmate had said about McCarthy, which was Anderson's own biased version of what had taken place, but in the fact that Anderson had gone to such great lengths to "get" McCarthy, that he had been willing to publicize the fact that Aschenauer, the defender of Nazis at Nuremberg and the publisher of a neo-Nazi periodical, was actually a Communist. Naturally, Anderson was not at all interested in finding out why a Communist agent, disguised as a Nazi, would be defending Nazi war criminals. He was only interested in discrediting McCarthy. That this was the only reason why Aschenauer's Communist background was ever made public is proven by the fact that nowhere else, except in relation to this McCarthy story, has Aschenauer's true ideological complexion ever been revealed. Now

why was this important? It was important because Aschenauer's chief agents in the United States--Frederick C. Weiss, H. Keith Thompson and Francis Parker Yockey--were all important figures in the agent-provocateur network, posing as "right-wing extremists." In other words, if Aschenauer were a Communist, then it was more than likely that Weiss, Thompson and Yockey were also Communists, not to mention their agitator colleagues such as Kasper, Madole, Rockwell, Fields, Hocker and others.

To show how closely allied were the German neo-Nazis to their counterparts in the United States, Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein of the Anti-Defamation League had devoted a major portion of their book, Crosscurrents, published in 1956, to demonstrating how the two groups were closely linked. In the United States, there was Frederick Weiss, H. Keith Thompson, Edward Fleckenstein and James Madole of the National Renaissance Party, and in Germany there was Dr. Rudolph Aschenauer, Heinrich Malz, Heinz Peter and Werner Naumann of the German Reichs Party. Nowhere in Crosscurrents, however, was it ever mentioned that Aschenauer had belonged to a Communist spy-ring, although the ADL book had been published four years after the Anderson book.

As for the Communist involvement in the epidemic of anti-Semitic daubings between December 25, 1959 and January 28, 1960, the White Paper published by the Bonn Government and released to the press on February 17, 1960, contained some interesting information. It revealed that the two young men, Paul Schonen, 25, and Arnold Strunk, 23, who admitted daubing the Cologne synagogue, were members of the German Reichs Party, the small, neo-Nazi party led by Werner Naumann, one of Aschenauer's friends and a former employee of Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry. The ADL had documented the link between the German Reichs Party and Frederick Weiss, head of the provocateur ring in New York. Weiss,

in fact, had supplied his German contacts with a great deal of anti-Semitic literature.

The White Paper further described the two young men as follows:

Schonen holds the opinion that democracy is not the most suitable form of government for a people, and that a "moderate dictatorship" is preferable. This political attitude is at present best represented by the Deutsche Reichspartei. For this reason, after attending an organized meeting of the DRP in April 1958, he became a member of that party.

Strunk became interested very early in anti-Semitic writings. He believes that the Jews, although they should not be exterminated -- as under the Nazi regime --, should be expelled from the country. . . . Through conversations with Schonen he was induced, in May or June 1958, also to join the DRP, because the ideology of that party "most closely corresponded" to his opinions.

Together with Schonen, Strunk adorned his room with Nazi emblems, DRP posters, pictures of Hitler and Horst Wessel, and a cupboard painted black, white and red. This setting, as well as a rather extensive library of pro-Nazi books caused DRP members to call his room "The Brown House." . . . Schonen and Strunk took an active part in the activities of the party and were considered as holding radical views. They regularly read the party's periodical "Der Reichsruf."

Erich Schmidt, editor of Der Reichsruf, was another of Frederick Weiss's contacts in Germany. The White Paper further revealed that Schonen and Strunk had been responsible for other smearing jobs prior to the Cologne incident. The Cologne daubing had actually been planned three months before Christmas,

thus providing sufficient time for others elsewhere to coordinate their own anti-Semitic activities. The White Paper also revealed that both Schonen and Strunk were sympathetic to the East German Communist regime and had a record of visits to East Germany. The White Paper stated:

According to their testimony, the two offenders flew to Berlin on a pleasure trip in July 1955. On this trip they also visited the Eastern Sector of Berlin without making any contacts with official Soviet Zone agencies. With a girl who had been taken into his parents' home and was known to the Schonen family from their evacuation during the war, Schonen again entered the Soviet-occupied Zone to attend the Leipzig Fair. Allegedly he wanted to revisit the scene of his evacuation and enable his companion, who had "deserted" to the Federal Republic in 1957, to visit her mother who was living in the Soviet Zone. He used his father's car for this journey.

Their stay in the Soviet-occupied Zone lasted about 12 days. During that time Schonen came into contact with his companion's brother who, after several years in the USA and Canada, was now branch manager of a State Trading Organization shop. Moreover, on the street he made the acquaintance of a teacher who is a member of the SED [East German Communist Party], and became friendly with him. Through the latter he got to know another teacher who gives German language lessons to members of the Red Army. With the two teachers Schonen went to a Soviet Russian military canteen to buy a Russian bearskin hat. Here he got into a conversation with officers of the Red Army. While in a restaurant in the Soviet-occupied Zone he acquired an SED badge from a member of the SED. He subsequently wore this badge on a number of occasions in the Federal Republic. He used

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this method to express his recognition of the Soviet-Zone regime as an independent state.

Schonen went to the Leipzig Autumn Fair in 1959 with another girl of his acquaintance, again entering the Soviet-occupied Zone in his father's car, this time with Strunk. This girl had likewise "deserted" to the Federal Republic. Her relatives still live in the Soviet-occupied Zone. During this visit Schonen, together with Strunk, again contacted the two teachers. Together they visited the same Soviet Russian canteen and allegedly had no contact with the State Security Service or police agencies of the Soviet-occupied Zone.

In other words, the two swastika claubers, both members of the German Reichs Party, had made a trip to East Germany only weeks before they smeared the Cologne synagogue.

The White Paper revealed that other Communists participated in anti-Semitic incidents:

In the night of 18 to 19 January 1960, swastikas, SS runic signs and the slogan "Out with the Jews" were painted up in Lehrte. Of the three offenders apprehended the same night, all of whom had previous convictions, two, the 34-year-old Kurt Blank and the 27-year-old Wolfgang Hulitschke, were members of the forbidden Free (Communist) German Youth (FDJ) and had participated in the communist World Youth Festival in 1951 in Berlin. . . . The instigator of the act, the 33-year-old Kurt Thomas, was sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment, while Blank was sentenced to 7 months' imprisonment and 2 weeks' detention and Hulitschke to 5 months' imprisonment.

The 27-year-old former "culture functionary" of the FDJ, Gerhard

Neumann, also a former member of the Soviet Zone "People's Police", declared in a tavern in Ahlen, in North Rhine-Westphalia, on 19 January 1960, that all Jews ought to be hanged or burnt. Although he fled from the Soviet Zone, Neumann admits that he is a supporter of the type of government prevailing in the so-called "German Democratic Republic."

The West German Government's report told of another Communist-inspired daubing:

A swastika was painted on a building in Fannenbronn, near St. Georgen (Black Forest), about the end of January 1960 by offenders of whom two had stayed at a communist Free German Youth Camp in the Soviet Zone of Germany during the past year. When their houses were searched, copies of the Soviet Zone newspaper "Neues Deutschland" were found; the edition of 5 January 1960 contained a caricature showing the Federal Government with swastikas.

The White Paper then dealt extensively with the Communist background of the anti-Semitic incidents:

The question of whether individual offenders, or groups of them, were directed by communist elements can only be considered against the background of the communist defamation campaign that has been directed against the Federal Republic for years. . . .

As early as 19 January 1955, Albert Norden, a member of the Politbureau of the SED, acting in the name of the Soviet Zone "Committee for German Unity", issued a "Black Book on the Paris Agreements", in which it was asserted that in the Federal Republic the "reactionary, fascist racial

theory is once more in full bloom." . . .

In September, 1958, the self-same "Committee for German Unity" alleged in its "Documentation of National Distress in the Federal Republic" that "terror and racial hatred and symptoms of moral decay" held sway in Western Germany. . . .

The inflammatory Communist campaign emanating from the Soviet Zone is not the only factor that must be considered. At the beginning of 1959 the Central Committee of the SED declared that statements and publications concerning increasing anti-Semitic currents in the Federal Republic were particularly effective and appropriate in diminishing the esteem in which the Federal Republic is held by its Western allies and also by neutral powers. On 23 January 1959, at a special meeting of members of the Central Committee of the SED presided over by Walter Ulbricht, it was resolved to organize Nazi excesses in a number of towns of the Federal Republic and the defilement of Jewish places of worship with Nazi symbols to be carried out by "action commandos." (Author's emphasis)

Although this was the most explosive and important revelation made in the entire White Paper, the Bonn Government, probably for reasons of security, did not disclose its source of information. The White Paper continued:

Experience has shown that the Soviet-Zone regime is in the habit of putting such decisions into effect after adequate preparations have been made. Even though it has not been possible so far to prove that any of the arrested offenders were carrying out orders forming part of the plans of such an "action commando", nevertheless there are weighty indications of Eastern influence having been exerted. It is now already possible to

bring proof that the Communists have unscrupulously exploited the wave of Nazi and anti-Semitic daubing activity for the above-described agitation campaign of the Soviet Zone. . . .

Finally, leading SED functionaries responsible for the work against the Federal Republic expressed their satisfaction about the anti-Semitic incidents, stating that they were apt to support the Communist's allegations concerning the Fascism and anti-Semitism prevailing in the Federal Republic. It was said that the SED planned to continue exploiting these incidents for its defamation campaign against the Federal Republic at home and abroad, and anticipated that it would have a disintegrating effect on the Western system of alliances. This information finds corroboration in a report in the Italian newspaper "Camidco" of 31 January 1960. According to this report a Jewish businessman received a letter in German containing the insulting statement "Out with the Jews". The offender has admitted being a registered member of the Italian Communist Party with the Party Number 200 295.

In conclusion, the White Paper stated:

Ever since 1955 the Communists, as part of this campaign, have been voicing the accusation that the fascist racial theory is once more flourishing in the Federal Republic. . . . After the first anti-Semitic incident at Christmas 1959, the Communist propaganda was stepped up and even went so far as to declare that the anti-Semitic activities were inspired by members of the Federal Government itself. This declaration is all the more outrageous as the Communists, apart from using it for propaganda purposes, also exerted an active influence on them. This becomes

more clearly apparent in West Berlin, where in spite of the anti-Nazi attitude of the population known the world over, the strikingly high number of 123 incidents occurred, where members of the FDJ were caught sticking up swastika posters and agents of the Soviet Zone State Security Service were discovered in radical right-wing organizations. The response which the Cologne incident and those that followed in its wake found abroad is interpreted with satisfaction by East Berlin Communists as a success of their efforts to discredit the Federal Republic as an alleged hotbed of racial hatred in the eyes of the world. The Federal Government, on its part, has disclosed the true nature of the incidents in this white Paper.

Concerning the role played by American provocateurs in Germany, the White Paper revealed this interesting bit of information:

The action of the North-American citizen John Mercurio also falls into this category. In Ottingen, together with his German secretary, he prepared about 300 pamphlets. He dispatched these pamphlets by post and tried by this means to instigate provocative, anti-Semitic acts.

Who was John Mercurio? He was no less than a close associate of Frederick John Kasper, and, in fact, had been jailed in Nashville in September 1957 while helping Kasper stir up violence in that city. Mercurio not only knew Kasper, but he was also an associate of Floyd Fleming, Rockwell, Ed Fields, Bill Hendrix, and the others in the agent-provocateur network. Mercurio, an elusive figure who has posed as an itinerant preacher, is said to have later supplied Rockwell with an offset printing press and an automobile. Where did the itinerant preacher get the money to travel to Germany and hire a secretary,

as well as to supply Rockwell with a printing press? Perhaps some day we shall have the answer.

What was the reaction of the American press to the sensational disclosures of the White Paper? The New York Times most obviously went out of its way to minimize the role played by the Communists. Its story, appearing on page 9 on February 18, 1960, read as follows:

WIDESPREAD BIAS IS DENIED BY BONN

IT FINDS NO EVIDENCE LARGE PARTS OF POPULATION HAVE ANTI-SEMITIC FEELINGS

By Sidney Gruson

Bonn, Germany, Feb. 17--The West German Government issued a White Paper today that asserted "there is no evidence that large parts of the population harbor anti-Semitic feelings."

This was a major conclusion of an investigation conducted by the Ministry of the Interior on the year-end outbreak of anti-Semitic vandalism in West Germany. The White Paper prepared by the Ministry will be presented to Parliament tomorrow.

The reaction to the outbreak showed that the "overwhelming majority of the German people condemn anti-Semitism and are ready to take defensive action," the White Paper said. . . .

The only paragraphs of the Times article which drew attention to the Communist involvement read as follows:

The White Paper said no evidence had been uncovered to show that the outbreak in West Germany was organized or centrally directed. However, both the Communists and the extreme Right-wing German Reichs party were implicated.

The ideology of the German Reichs party probably contributed to some of the acts, the report said, and the question of Communist direction "can only be appropriately handled against the background of the Communist defamation campaign against the Federal Republic."

Once the incidents began, the Communists exerted "active influence" for the purpose of propaganda exploitation, the White Paper said.

Why did the Times deliberately underplay the involvement of the Communists in the fantastic epidemic of anti-Semitic acts which had swept the Western world? Why did it omit the White Paper's reference to the special meeting of the Central Committee of the East German Communist Party on January 23, 1959, presided over by Walter Ulbricht, during which it had been decided to organize Nazi excesses in West Germany? Why did the Times show no inclination whatever to even raise the question of why the Communists would resort to such tactics in their campaign against West Germany? It is hard not to believe that somebody on the New York Times knew what he was doing.

Of course, not all journalists were taken in by the fraud. Roscoe Drummond had written in his column of January 10, 1960, which had appeared in the Washington Post, the following:

Only the Communists stand to gain by these anti-Semitic actions. There would be no reason to be surprised to find them abetting this anti-Semitism at every opportunity. What the Communists want is to discredit the West German government as a means of breaking up the NATO Alliance and of weakening our common stand in behalf of West Berlin.

Mr. Drummond's point of view, expressed a month before the issuance of the White Paper, however, was clearly a minority one. The majority "Establishment"

point of view, however, was best exemplified by a statement made by John J. McCloy, the Rockefeller banker, who in 1964 would serve on the Warren Commission to prove that there were no Communists involved in the assassination of Pres. Kennedy. Mr. McCloy's statement concerning the swastika daubins appeared in The New York Times of February 24, 1960, six days after the issuance of the White Paper:

RED HATE ROLE DOUBTED

MCCLOY LAYS ANTI-SEMITISM WAVE TO GERMAN HOODLUMS

Princeton, N. J., Feb. 23 (AP)--John J. McCloy, former United States High Commissioner in Germany, said today he doubted that the recent anti-Semitic outbursts there were Communist-inspired.

"I think the anti-Semitism was the act of irresponsible hoodlums which touched off the problem all over the world," he said in a lecture at Princeton University.

Mr. McCloy is chairman of the board of the Chase Manhattan Bank.

"Certainly remnants of the old Nazi attitude prevail today in German," he said. "But I really think the responsible opinion in Germany is ashamed of that period and is humiliated by it."

Thus spake Mr. McCloy, who undoubtedly knew much better.

What had been the contribution of the domestic agents provocateurs to the overall anti-Semitic campaign? Aside from flooding the Washington area with anti-Semitic handbills, Rockwell didn't seem to contribute much else. He was, of course, busy planning the next phase of his operation, which involved setting up a headquarters for the American Nazi Party. On January 12, 1960 the Northern Virginia Sun reported that the Nazi party had indeed bought a house

in Arlington. The Washington Post of January 13, 1960 revealed some of the details:

NAZI GROUP PLANS OFFICE IN ARLINGTON

George Lincoln Rockwell has applied to Arlington zoning officials for a permit to establish a headquarters for an organization he calls the American Nazi Party of the World Union of Free Enterprise National Socialists.

Rockwell, who operated a similar headquarters in Arlington last year from which he distributed anti-Jewish literature, has moved into the new building, 928 N. Randolph st., pending issuance of the permit.

County records show that the frame house was purchased last week by Floyd Fleming of Washington for \$21,500. Rockwell's application stated that the house had been leased by Fleming to J. V. Kenneth Morgan, of Alexandria, whom Rockwell termed his "deputy commander."

Rockwell said yesterday he intends to distribute literature and indoctrinate new members from the headquarters. He will also, he said, begin publication of a magazine, "The International Nazi," and hold rallies in the backyard.

Obviously, the impoverished Rockwell had nothing to worry about. Elsewhere, members of the network had participated more directly in the anti-Semitic campaign. In New York, three members of Madole's National Renaissance Party were arrested. The New York Times of January 27, 1960 carried the story as follows:

Three young men were arrested last night and held in \$15,000 bail each after they had allegedly strutted through Union Square Park giving the Nazi salute and shouting "Heil Hitler!"

The police said that one of the trio carried an envelope full of anti-Semitic leaflets and other "hate" literature. They were accused of causing a crowd to collect.

The arrests were made almost an hour after a rally in the park conducted by the Committee to Stop the Revival of Nazism and Anti-Semitism. . . .

Twenty-five hundred persons attended the rally itself, which was held without an incident.

Rabbi Harold Marateck of 1070 Nelson Avenue, the Bronx, told the police that he was speaking to three or four other men--all former inmates of Nazi concentration camps--after the rally when the trio approached, extended their arms in the Nazi salute and shouted "Heil Hitler!"

The rabbi said he pointed out to the youths that this was a democracy, and one replied, "This is a republic, and as far as the Constitution is concerned, I'll shove it down your throat."

This youth was identified as Hugh Bruce, 17 years old, of 2117 Troy Avenue, Brooklyn. The police said he was carrying a membership card in the National Renaissance Party, an organization described by a detective as "neo-Fascist."

The others arrested were Gilbert Demillo, 20, of 101 State Street, Brooklyn and Seth Ryan, 21, of 137 East Twenty-seventh Street. . . .

The National Renaissance Party, of course, was hardly a political party. It was, for all practical purposes, the cover name for the New York group of agents provocateurs. Almost all of the better known provocateurs--John Kasper, Eustace Mullins, H. Keith Thompson, Matt Koehl--had "belonged" to it at one

time or another, and it maintained the most direct link between the provocateurs in the United States and those in Germany and other countries.

Although its titular "leader" was James Madole, its real behind-the-scenes director was Frederick Charles Weiss, a German alien, resident in the United States since 1930, who published and distributed anti-Semitic literature through a front organization called the LeBlanc Publishing Co. Weiss's circle included H. Keith Thompson, West Hooker, Edward Fleckenstein, Eustace Mullins, Matt Koehl, Ed Fields, W. Henry MacFarland, Jr., Mrs. Lyril Clark Van Hying, Willis A. Carto, Francis Parker Yockey, and others. In Germany one of Weiss's distributors was one Johann Strunk, described in Crosscurrents as "a school-teacher in Dusseldorf, (who) uses his spare time composing anti-Semitic poems and pamphlets, or traveling through the industrial Ruhr distributing his own and similar compositions, and making speeches." Was Johann Strunk, Weiss's distributor, related to the Arnold Strunk who admitted daubing the Cologne synagogue? We do not know. Weiss's chief contact in Germany, however, was Dr. Rudolf Aschenauer, the Communist agent. But his links to "right-wing extremists" was on a world-wide scale, including those in the Malmoe organization, sometimes known as the Northern League.

An interesting article, linking the Malmoe organization to the world-wide anti-Semitic outbreak, appeared in the Washington Post of January 16, 1960. Written by Paul Ghali, it reported the following:

Bern, Switzerland--The recent appearance of Nazi swastikas and anti-Semitic slogans in synagogues and Jewish monuments and shops in Western Europe is a concerted action initiated by a group of former SS officers, German and non-German, with headquarters in Malmoe, Sweden.

This is the opinion, based on documents at hand, of particularly well informed Swiss observers who have been closely watching these anti-Semitic demonstrations since they started a month ago with the desecration of a Cologne synagogue. . . .

The Swiss say the Malmoe organization was established four years ago under the name of "European Social Movement" by four men, all noted Nazis: the Swede, Dr. Per Engdahl; the German, Karl-Heinz Priester; the Frenchman, Maurice Bardeshe, and an Italian, Prof. Massi. Engdahl's right-hand man, and the real organizer of the anti-Jewish demonstrations is Swedish born Orgve Nordborg. . . .

During 1959, the Malmoe Fascist organization has been active in concentrating and co-ordinating the work done by the innumerable Fascist groups of the world. A "ring" has been established in Malmoe itself under Goran Asser Oredson to unify all the work done in Europe. Simultaneously, all remnants of the non-German SS formations who have fought for Hitler, are being grouped into one huge "International ~~Fascist~~ Union."

Last July, representatives of all Fascist organizations met in Teutoberg in eastern Prussia to commemorate the battle during which the German Teutonic knights defeated the Slavs. The decision to test the world's public opinion by threatening the Jews was probably taken during this international conference of Fascist leaders--or so it is believed here.

The Swiss observers had not tied the Malmoe group to the Communist conspiracy, although they had speculated that the Soviets might have "infiltrated" the group. But if we are to believe the Bonn Government's White Paper--which was

~~was~~ based on the hardest evidence--then it was at the January 23, 1959 meeting of the Central Committee of the East German Communist Party, presided over by Walter Ulbricht, that the decision was made to organize Nazi excesses in West Germany. The Teutoberg meeting, which took place in July, 1959, was obviously for the purpose of co-ordinating a world-wide outbreak of anti-Semitic acts with those occurring in West Germany. If the Communists were indeed the financiers and guiding hands of the Malmoe organization, then such co-ordination would not only have been possible but also expected.

Had an American representative of the U. S. provocateur network attended the Teutoberg Moot? Most certainly, and he was none other than Edward Vargas, editor of RIGHT, published by Willis Carto's organization, Liberty & Property. The October, 1959, issue of RIGHT carried an article by Edward Vargas entitled "Notes of a Traveler," which gave a poetic description of the statue of Hermann (Arminius) at Teutoberg. The article was introduced by the following lines:

Last summer, the NORTHERN LEAGUE held its first Moot, at the Forest of Teutoberg, in Germany. This is the site where Hermann (Arminius) exterminated the legions of Varus almost two thousand years ago, and thereby saved northern Europe from slavery and latinization in one of the most historically decisive battles of all time.

Mr. Vargas attended the Teutoberger Moot. Here he gives his impression of it in a vivid word-picture you aren't likely to soon forget.

Concerning the Northern League, the March, 1959 issue of Right had written the following:

A nationalist library service has been announced by two widely-

scattered groups. THE NORTHERN LEAGUE (USA address: Box 67, Sausalito, Calif.) has set up a central office in Scotland where scarce and valuable books on "forbidden" subjects will be available. Members of the LEAGUE only are eligible to use the service. The other group with similar plans is headed by David Lawyer, Plains, Mont. Write him for information.

It is obvious, therefore, that the world-wide network of agents provocateurs works smoothly and with great co-ordination, and that its agents have no trouble moving around the globe to confer with one another in different countries. They certainly do not seem to be inhibited by any lack of funds. What is even more obvious is that despite the fact that the Communist hand was clearly at work behind the swastika epidemic, the world-wide, newspaper-reading public was skillfully shielded from this fact or ever understanding its crucial significance.

Chapter

NAZIS ON THE MALL

With the purchase of a house for the American Nazi Party in Arlington, the conspiracy had obviously decided that Rockwell was worth the investment. There would be no more scrounging around for "Fat Cats." The fattest cat of them all had decided that Rockwell was the man for the job. But from now on, Rockwell would have to show, at every step of the way, that he was worthy of the conspiracy's money and confidence. For a professional revolutionary, one might say, it was a step up the ladder of success.

Everything Rockwell had done up to now was merely preparation for what was to come. The swastika epidemic, the Pearson columns, the ADL articles had prepared the public's mind to accept the notion that a real-live Nazi menace, which until now had been lurking underground, existed. Now it was time for that menace to come to the surface in all its horror.

But before the cooperation could be launched, Rockwell was plagued with a number of personal problems. First, on January 15, 1960, the U. S. Navy announced that it was instituting proceedings to oust Rockwell from his commission in the Naval Reserve because of his activities. This was somewhat of a blow to Rockwell, for he had taken great pride in his Naval commission. But now that he had to choose between being a Naval Commander and a professional revolutionary, he chose the latter.

Then, on January 28, 1960, the Washington Post reported that Judith Rockwell, the fuhrer's first wife, was suing him for failure to make his payments for support. The Washington Post of February 26, 1960 reported the outcome

of the court action as follows:

ROCKWELL TOLD TO SUPPORT FIRST WIFE, 3 CHILDREN

George Lincoln Rockwell, leader of a neo-Nazi group, was ordered yesterday in Arlington Domestic Relations Court to begin support payments to his first wife and their three children.

Judge Hugh Reid, after hearing Rockwell testify that he cannot get a job because of his anti-Jewish activities, told him to recognize his duties to his children.

"I do not think you're morally free to devote yourself to this unpopular cause," Reid said. The judge told Rockwell he must decide "whether to go in for propaganda or give your first efforts to your children. Freedom to crusade depends on what ties you have in this world," Reid added. . . .

Judith Rockwell alleged that Rockwell had failed to pay \$300 a month for the children in accordance with a Maine Superior Court order. She asked that he now pay \$200 a month. Rockwell said his last payment of \$50 was in April, 1958.

Judge Reid ordered him to make monthly payments of \$80 for three months starting March 1, \$200 for the next three months, \$120 and \$150 for succeeding three-month periods, and \$200 a month afterward.

Rockwell said friends are "willing to set me up in business in a bookstore. I've already been given several thousand dollars worth of books." He said after six months he hopes to make \$85 or \$90 a week.

Of course, Rockwell had no intention of giving up his career as a professional revolutionary merely to support his children. What the Judge did not understand,

however, was that Rockwell would get all the money he needed by simply devoting himself to the "unpopular cause" which was supposedly the reason for his impoverishment. Of course, it is not known how the conspiracy decides on what salaries to pay its full-time operators. But obviously, the professional revolutionary must get as much as he needs in order to be able to pursue his professional chores without worrying about his financial obligations. And there is no doubt that Rockwell was being well taken care of, despite the fact that he had no visible income whatever and owed his father-in-law the plane fare from Iceland to New York. One wonders why the Internal Revenue Service, which is so conscientious about collecting its taxes from the salaries of hard-working, responsible citizens, has done nothing to investigate the incomes of these professional revolutionaries who carry on their activities for years without ever declaring their true incomes to the IRS.

Despite his pledge to the Judge that he was going to open up a "book store," Rockwell went ahead planning his next operation. There was, of course, a great deal of anxiety on the part of the Jewish community in Washington concerning Rockwell's distribution of anti-Semitic handbills on the streets of the city. However, Rockwell had a very powerful left-wing ally to look after his "rights." The ally was the American Civil Liberties Union. A Jewish Telegraphic Agency dispatch of February 14, 1960 indicated the extent of the ACLU's concerns:

Washington, Feb. 14. (JTA)--The District of Columbia commissioners today received a ruling that they are not empowered to halt distribution of pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic hate literature on downtown streets.

The ruling came down from the District of Columbia Corporation Counsel Chester H. Gray. . . .

After studying such material, the District of Columbia legal authorities concluded, it was not obscene. Orders have been issued to police to protect Rockwell's Nazis as they distribute the handbills. Police were told not to interfere with the "peaceful distribution of the pamphlets" unless they see "a clear and present threat to public disorder."

Lawrence Speiser, Washington spokesman for the American Civil Liberties Union, today said that District of Columbia legal authorities should be highly commended for permitting and protecting the distribution of American Nazi Party's anti-Jewish handbills. He termed the attitude of the authorities "admirable" in the face of what he described as "intense pressures" to act against "free speech."

In other words, the ACLU was keeping a sharp eye on the situation in Washington, sensitive to any possible curtailment the authorities might have been planning to impose on Rockwell's activities. Since Rockwell had made no secret of his aim to "provoke" rather than inform, more than the simple issue of "free speech" was involved. But the ACLU was so carried away in its defense of Rockwell, that it lost all sense of proportion, as witness the following story as told by two JTA dispatches. The first dispatch reported that Rockwell's "deputy commander" had gotten into a scuffle with a Jew. The dispatch read as follows:

Washington, Feb. (JTA)--Metropolitan police today made known that they have arrested the "deputy commander" of George Lincoln Rockwell's "American Nazi Party" along with a Jew active in local Jewish communal affairs. Charges of disorderly conduct were lodged against the two men.

The Rockwell official was J. V. Kenneth Morgan, 34, of Alexandria, Va. The Jew was Irving Berman, 48, an engineer, of nearby Falls Church, Va. . . .

Morgan and Berman were released on payment of collateral and will appear for trial tomorrow in municipal court. The arrest occurred on a downtown Washington street corner where Morgan and Rockwell were distributing pro-Nazi and anti-Jewish propaganda tracts to passers-by. Police officers said Berman and Morgan became involved in a scuffle over the tracts. Both men were seized by police. Rockwell was not arrested.

The ACLU's interest in the case, however, was not apparent until the trial took place. The second JTA dispatch covered that event, as follows:

Washington, Feb. 23 (JTA)--The Corporation Counsel of the District of Columbia today officially dropped all disorderly conduct charges against a local Jewish communal leader and a neo-Nazi who were arrested after a scuffle over public distribution of anti-Semitic handbills.

Today's action terminated the entire case. It has involved Irving Berman, 48, northern Virginia leader of the Israel Bond Drive, and Kenneth Morgan, 34, leading henchman of Fuehrer George Lincoln Rockwell of the "American Nazi Party."

The dropping of the charges ended efforts of the American Civil Liberties Union to transform the case into a classic free speech issue. The ACLU had sought to incriminate Mr. Berman on alleged grounds of "interfering with free speech" because he opposed the street-corner distribution of handbills urging the gassing of American Jews. The

ACLU had assigned two attorneys of Jewish faith to enter the case on the Nazi side.

Their injection of a "free-speech" controversy complicated what had previously been considered only a simple street corner fracas. The ACLU attempt to turn the "disorderly conduct" episode into a question of constitutional free speech guarantees caused widespread controversy.

The ACLU was indeed behaving very strangely. It was exerting every possible influence and pressure to make sure that Rockwell was not only permitted to engage in his provocative activities in complete freedom, but was also protected from the very people he intended to provoke. This is really having your cake and eating it too. ^{And it} ~~is~~ is all the more astonishing, since the liberal press had pounced on the government of West Germany for permitting neo-Nazis to exercise political freedom. And, of course, it was assumed that the Bonn Government was full of Nazis because some hoodlums and provocateurs had painted swastikas on synagogues. Yet, the ACLU, an ultra-liberal organization, not only congratulated the District of Columbia authorities for permitting Rockwell to agitate freely on crowded downtown streets, but it bent over backwards to make sure that Rockwell was given every protection possible. If the left-wing critics of West Germany were to be consistent, they would have had to conclude that the ACLU was also filled with Nazis.

Now that Rockwell knew that he could count on the ACLU and the Washington police for legal and physical protection, he went ahead with his plans. He writes in his autobiography:

On official party stationery, which is extremely impressive, I now requested a permit from the Department of the Interior to speak on the grounds of the Washington Monument on April 3--the earliest the weather would be warm enough.

They denied this, but did give me the information that I could speak without a permit on a ground almost as good on the Mall, between the U. S. Capitol and the Washington Monument--right besides the Smithsonian Institute. Millions of tourists pass by this spot, and we got the Interior Department to set up a roped-off area for us. We built a sneaking stand, got a PA system on credit, and organized our men in a defense force.

Undoubtedly, the ACLU was also putting its pressures on the Interior Department. Nevertheless, it is difficult to understand how the Department could justify going out of its way to cooperate with Rockwell to the extent of using the taxpayer's money to set up a roped-off area on the Mall for the Nazi agitator, especially after the press campaign against West Germany and the fact that Rockwell had sufficiently demonstrated that he was a public nuisance of the first order. It is significant that the Federal Government exercised great care in protecting the rights of Rockwell, yet seemed to forget that it owed the rest of the citizenry similar protection from manipulation and fraud by foreign agents. After all, only a few weeks before, the newspapers were filled with stories about an international Nazi underground, of which Rockwell was supposed to be a member. Yet, the Justice Department hadn't even hinted that Rockwell might be investigated to determine whether or not he was a foreign agent.

And so, the Interior Department gave Rockwell all the cooperation it could. However, before April 3rd came around, Rockwell's troopers gained a little preliminary exercise by picketing the White House on March 10, 1960 while David Ben-Gurion, the Israeli Prime Minister, was visiting Pres. Eisenhower. Naturally, this incident, so soon after the swastika epidemic, shocked

the Israeli Government, and the press gave the incident sufficient coverage to help increase American prestige all over the world.

Finally, April 3rd arrived. Rockwell writes:

When the great day arrived, we had Nazis from as far away as Detroit and Florida.

And then it rained! . . .

We went down in the rain without any of our shiny paraphernalia, stood in the downpour like drowned birds, and I gave a sad little talk to our tiny audience of troopers.

The Washington Evening Star took the bait hook, line and sinker!

They printed a three-column cut of my soaked speech and wet Nazis, and ran a supercilious little story on the big Nazi "flap." They even wrote up an editorial showing the good citizens what failures we Nazis were.

So the next week, when the sun shone, we went down there and showed them what Nazis really are. . . .

A Jewish Telegraphic Agency Bulletin, dated April 13, 1960, described that Rockwell rally as follows:

NAZI OPEN-AIR RALLY IN WASHINGTON ATTRACTS LITTLE ATTENTION

Washington, April 12. (JTA)--Several hundred persons heard George Lincoln Rockwell, fuhrer of the American Nazi Party, harangue against the Jews over a powerful loudspeaker at an outdoor rally Sunday in an area crowded with tourists. But most of the listeners, strolling to and from the National Gallery of Art and the Smithsonian Museum, drifted away after listening briefly.

The reaction of the average by-passer to the open espousal of the Nazi cause was one of curiosity and surprise. A few indignant persons complained to police. Rockwell was flanked by his "storm-troopers" and protected by a large detachment of police, including armed forces military police, patrolmen, plainclothes, detectives, and mounted officers. His harangue lasted over two hours. It was preceded by the playing of the "Horst Wessel Song," the Nazi storm-trooper anthem.

The following week's carnival, taking place on Easter Sunday, was more heated. The JTA Bulletin of April 19, 1960 described it as follows:

NEO-NAZI RALLY IN WASHINGTON DISPERSED; CROWD OBJECTS TO ANTI-SEMITISM

Washington, April 18. (JTA)--United States park police today reported they were forced to disperse a neo-Nazi rally to avert what appeared an imminent violent clash between Lincoln Rockwell's followers and a crowd that became enraged when Rockwell voiced extreme anti-Semitism.

Police said that about 150 persons were present at the open-air rally of the "American Nazi Party." Most of the crowd appeared to be tourists, mainly students, who were passers-by in the area. Individuals armed themselves with sticks. It was the hottest flare-up yet ignited by the neo-Nazi group which harangues against the Jews on weekends near the leading art gallery and museum.

Rockwell's Jew-baiting, under a banner proclaiming Nazism, caused listeners to surge forward, hooting and threatening the agitator. His voice was drowned out by the tumult. A riot seemed in the immediate offing, causing park police to go into action. They ordered Rockwell to turn off his loud-speaker system and leave the area. They also dispersed the crowd.

Despite these first provocative rallies, Rockwell wasn't getting half the publicity he expected. And so, Drew Pearson obliged with another nationally syndicated column about the Nazi terror on the Potomac. Here is the column, as printed in the New York Mirror, April 21, 1960:

HATE FOULS THE SPIRIT OF EASTER

Washington, April 20--It was one of those Sundays when Spring pauses briefly in Washington before giving way to Summer. The cherry blossoms were out. Sight-seeing buses were parked around the plazas. The halls of the Capitol echoed with the voices of children on Easter vacation.

Lou Gordon, the Detroit TV commentator, had brought his three young daughters to see Washington for the first time. Coming out of the Smithsonian Institute to the sunshine of Constitution Avenue they heard a voice blare over the loudspeaker:

"Hitler was right about the Jews. The State Department has been unable to produce any evidence proving that Hitler was wrong about the Jews."

It was the voice of George Lincoln Rockwell, self-styled fuhrer of the American Nazi Party. Though his headquarters are in Virginia, he invades the nation's capital every Sunday to speak at Constitution and Ninth Street. His voice, carried by loudspeaker, permeated the otherwise peaceful sabbath.

Lou Gordon's daughters were born after Hitler's persecution of the Jews. And as the world remembered the resurrection of a Jew who died for mankind, they got their first taste of hatred--in the capital of the free world.

Note--While American officials must preserve the right of free

free speech and free assemblage guaranteed in the Constitution, is it necessary also to guarantee free speech by loudspeaker? In Hyde Park, London, from which springs our tradition of free speech, speakers merely have the benefit of a soapbox..

Mr. Pearson, great libertarian that he is, was as much concerned over the sacredness of Rockwell's free speech as the ACLU, although he did complain about the loudspeaker. Please note, once more, that Pearson did not raise any questions about Rockwell's financing, his connections with the international network, the possibility that he might be a foreign agent, his Icelandic wife, or his past with U. S. Lady. Mr. Pearson, who is noted for getting the "inside dope" on everyone, somehow never managed to even scratch the surface when it came to Rockwell.

This was all the more peculiar, for the court action initiated against Rockwell by his first wife had caused to be revealed many interesting financial details about the funder. For example, the Northern Virginia Sun of April 21, 1960 revealed that Rockwell's income for 1959 had been \$1,190, of which \$900 was supposed to have been paid to the court for the support of his children by his first marriage. This left Rockwell with all of \$290 to spend on himself during that entire year. Where had he gotten the money to live on and carry on his extensive printings and distribution of anti-Semitic literature? We are never provided with an answer. Nor are there any records available. The American Nazi Party did not have a bank account and it had, according to Rockwell, only ten dues paying members, which was hardly enough to account for the money spent on behalf of the "party."

But none of this was of any interest to Mr. Pearson, who kept on selling the same masquerade over and over again. Indeed, Rockwell couldn't have had a

more devoted publicist had he hired Pearson himself.

Then Rockwell decided on a tactic which was guaranteed to give him the headlines he wanted. He would bring the whole Nazi vaudeville show to New York. And so, on May 12, 1960, the JTA Bulletin reported the following:

Washington, May 11. (JTA)--George Lincoln Rockwell, self-styled fusher of the "American Nazi Party," said today that he will bring his "stormtroopers" to New York City by motor convoy for a mass anti-Jewish rally on July 4. The meeting will probably be held in Union Square.

The New York Post of May 27, 1960 added a few more details. Its story read as follows:

The "commandant" of the American Nazi Party has applied for a permit to hold a rally in Union Square on the Fourth of July.

If he's turned down, he'll ask the American Civil Liberties Union to take his request to court in order to get permission for the anti-Jewish, anti-Negro meeting. . . .

Rockwell said he spent a few days in New York a week ago visiting James Madole, the head of Yorkville's pro-fascist, anti-Jewish National Renaissance Party, and attending one of his meetings here.

"Many of his followers are also my followers," said Rockwell. . . .

That was somewhat of an understatement, since they were all members of the same network of agents provocateurs, shuttling back and forth between Washington and New York to picket, distribute leaflets and partake in other activities. One young member of Madole's gang, whom Rockwell had gotten to

know through Hooker and who had since gone into the Marines, came up from Quantico Marine Base to participate in one of Rockwell's rallies on the Mall. The Marine's presence caused quite a stir, as witness the following story which appeared in the Washington Post of June 5, 1960:

The Justice Department is investigating the self-styled American Nazi Party, whose self-styled "Fuehrer" bragged here that he has recruited a United States Marine.

The investigation is aimed at determining whether the pro-Hitler party should be labeled a subversive organization. . . .

On Memorial Day, speaking from a bunting-draped platform near the Capitol, he proudly identified a youth standing beside him as a Marine-- and a worker for his party. . . .

Someone in the restless, hooting crowd of about 250 mostly tourists called the Shore Patrol and complained of a Marine's participation in such a rally.

The Shore Patrol arrived and arrested Marine Pfc J. C. Patsalas, of Quantico Marine Base, who is in his early 20s.

Pfc Patsalas, who was dressed in civilian clothes, was taken to Quantico and questioned at length.

Marine Lt. Col. Philip N. Pierce of Marine Corps Headquarters in the Pentagon, said that the Marine Adjutant General's office was asked if Patsalas had done anything illegal.

The answer was no.

Col. Pierce said that the American Nazi Party is not listed by the Attorney General as a subversive organization. Thus, he said, no action can be taken to forbid Patsalas from such activities.

He added, however, that Patsalas was warned that he may not wear his uniform when participating in American Nazi Party activities nor use his connection with the corps to help promote the organization.

One would have thought that the Justice Department would have investigated Rockwell simply to see if he was tied in with this international network of fascists and receiving foreign funds. But it took the Patsalas incident to force the Justice Department to think about investigating the American Nazi Party.

In the meanwhile, Rockwell had decided to insert himself in national politics in a manner to do the greatest damage to the conservative cause. He came out with a public endorsement of Vice President Nixon for the presidency. This evoked the following story which appeared in the JTA Bulletin of June 7, 1960:

Vice President Richard M. Nixon repudiated today support offered him in his presidential campaign by George Lincoln Rockwell leader of the American Nazi Party.

Herbert G. Klein, special assistant to the Vice President said Mr. Nixon's views on Nazism were in the same category as his reaction to Communism. . . . He recalled Mr. Nixon's visit to the Warsaw Ghetto last year and said the Vice President was very moved by the experience.

Of course, the damage had already been done, and no amount of protest from Mr. Nixon could erase the fact that Rockwell and his party of ten had endorsed him. It is not difficult to see why the conspirators are so glibly confident that they can deceive an entire nation. When one agent provocateur, dressed up like a Nazi, can elicit that kind of a serious communique from the Vice President

of the United States, then one can believe how it is possible for the conspirators to stage some of their more spectacular frauds.

Finally, on June 7, President Eisenhower, after a long talk with leaders of the Jewish War Veterans, asked Attorney General Rogers to look into the neo-Nazi activities in the Washington, D. C., area.

A good description of the tumult being caused in Washington by Rockwell's rallies was printed in the June 9, 1960 issue of American Examiner. It read as follows:

. . . Members of Congress said privately that "free speech" advocates "lean over backwards" to shield the Nazis. . . .

Communist diplomats have been attending and photographing the Nazi rallies. They relish the chance to obtain anti-American propaganda material in the heart of Washington. . . .

The U. S. Department of Interior, with public funds, contributed a rectangular enclosure to facilitate erection of the Nazi speaker's platform. . . .

The demonstrations are held, with increasing frequency and attendance, in the museum area crowded with tourists. Nearby is the National Archives Building where the Declaration of Independence, Constitution and Bill of Rights are enshrined. A few hundred yards away is the United States Department of Justice. . . .

The dignified wife of a member of the Italian delegation to the U.N. strolled with her children from the Art Gallery. She stormed in her tracks. Arms were raised in the Nazi salute. There were shouts of "Seig Heil!" Loudspeakers blared the Nazi "Horst Wessel" songs. Jews were threatened.

How the Federal authorities could permit a "crackpot" whose political ideas are usually found scribbled on the walls of public toilets to set up a loud speaker in the Mall, amidst throngs of tourists, so that he could desecrate everything that is sacred to the American patriotic tradition, is something of a mystery. It is hardly a coincidence that such a display greatly pleased the Communist diplomats in Washington who came by to take pictures to send back to Moscow.

In the meanwhile, with Rockwell's planned rally in New York causing considerable controversy in that city, Drew Pearson continued to do his bit in building up the Nazi menace. He came forth with another column, showing the great communion of ideas which existed between Nasser and the Arlington Fuehrer. Since Nasser was Israel's number-one enemy this was bound to provoke even greater anxiety among the large Jewish community in New York. Mr. Pearson's column, appearing in the New York Mirror of June 9, 1960, read as follows:

Camal Abdel Nasser, the lord of the Nile, has confided his views of America's shortcomings in a letter to the self-styled American Fuehrer, Lincoln Rockwell, who has been striving to found a Nazi party in the nation's capital.

The Egyptian dictator praised Rockwell for his anti-Jewish ~~propaganda~~ campaign, then lashed into America's "subservient" and "inconsistent" policies.

Since Nasser recently complained to Senate Foreign Relations Chairman William Fulbright about his press coverage in America, this column will publish his views as written to Rockwell.

Nasser began by thanking Rockwell for a pamphlet "containing information about the sort of resistance you are conducting against

destructive Zionist activity.

"I hope," Nasser continued, "your efforts will help the delivering of humanity from Zionist aggression. It seems a matter of regret that despite all this collaboration and almost all attempts at peace, a body of politicians and statesmen still pursue a line of propaganda and fabrication, subject to almost every whim or caprice. In this sense they forward the work of destruction.

"I have finally established belief that national awareness throughout the world in addition to devotion to the cause of liberty and peace will expose such sinister policies and avoid the world a third disaster. A day will come when war-mongers and sham politicians will be called to account for their crimes."

Nasser signed the letter "best regards" and "yours sincerely."

Pearson didn't say how he had gotten hold of the letter. We can only assume that Rockwell would have been only too happy to furnish his favorite columnist with a copy of the letter, knowing that he would make good use of it.

Then, quite unexpectedly, a most extraordinary thing happened, of which few even know about today. The top agent provocateur in the United States--the head of the network--was captured by the FBI. The fantastic story of his capture is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter

YOCKEY IS CAPTURED

Contrary to what many people believe, the international conspiracy to bury the United States is not infallible. It makes many mistakes, and it is also subject to the law of accident. It was therefore a fantastic stroke of luck when one of the masterminds of the world-wide agent-provocateur network inadvertently fell into the hands of the FBI, with the goods on him. Ordinarily, such an event would have made headlines all over the nation. But in this day and age of a manipulated press and a well-concealed conspiracy, such did not occur. While Rockwell was gaining notoriety all over the country, the capture of the man who was probably his boss was scarcely made known beyond the city limits of San Francisco. The San Francisco Chronicle of Thursday, June 9, 1960 reported the story as follows:

MYSTERY MAN SEIZED WITH 3 PASSPORTS

A 47-year-old man of many names was held here yesterday in a passport fraud case that apparently baffled even the FBI and the State Department.

Pure chance brought his arrest. His suitcase had gone astray and airline employees seeking to identify it found it contained three different passports--all with the same photograph.

He was booked as Francis Parker Yockey, a cum laude law graduate of

Notre Dame, and held here while Federal officials sought to have an exceptionally high bail of \$50,000 set. "There are lots of unanswered questions, and we want to be sure he'll be around to answer them," one official said.

He had already made one violent attempt to escape when first being questioned at the home of an unidentified friend in Oakland, FBI agents reported.

The case of the straying suitcase began on Sunday when Yockey arrived in Oakland to visit his friend--unnamed because FBI agents believe he was not involved in any fraud.

Yockey discovered one bag was missing from his luggage, and telephoned the airline. Airline employees in Fort Worth, Texas, meanwhile, had found the missing bag and opened it to identify it.

Inside were three passports. One, issued to Edward Max Price in Salinas in 1954, had been altered later to read "Edward Max Bricegan," FBI agents and State Department officials said. They refused to reveal the names on the other two passports; but all three bore Yockey's own photograph, they said.

The airline notified the FBI, which sent agents to return the bag to Yockey on Monday at the Oakland address of his friend. Yockey tried to flee, FBI agent Edward Cunningham said at yesterday's bail hearing before U. S. Commissioner Joseph Karesh.

FBI agent Robert Leonard tried to restrain Yockey, Cunningham said, but Yockey eluded him--and slammed a door violently on Leonard's restraining hand, gashing it so badly many stitches were required to close the cut. Yockey fled from the house, but agents recaptured him in the street outside.

Held on a temporary charge of failing to have registered for the draft, Yockey was transferred to custody in San Francisco yesterday on a passport fraud charge filed by State Department agents.

FBI agents said Yockey claims to be a writer, but won't give any address. When agents first sought to question him Monday, they said, he gave his name as Richard Hatch.

Yockey interrupted yesterday's bail hearing time--once to shout that FBI testimony was a lie, and again to insist that "I know my rights" because he was a graduate of Notre Dame Law School in 1941. The FBI later confirmed this.

Commissioner Karesh said he would continue the bail hearing at 10 a. m. today. At one point in yesterday's proceedings he made it clear he was as puzzled as anyone else by the unusual case.

"I don't know what you may have in your minds," he cautioned the government agents, "but to justify this kind of bail, you're going to have to make a case--on the record."

Assistant U. S. Attorney William P. Clancy Jr. had explained that he high bail was necessary "because of the unusual circumstances of this case." (His office later told reporters that the staff had been instructed "by Washington" not to discuss the case further.)

State Department officials here said that the passport bearing the name "Briceman" showed its holder had traveled extensively in England, Germany and Belgium.

At the time of his arrest, Yockey had \$2300 in cash in his pockets and was also carrying press credentials from a German magazine, they said--credentials bearing his own picture but still another alias.

Richard Auerbach, special agent in charge of the FBI here, said last night:

"You think it's a mystifying case? Well, we just wish we knew more about it, too."

It was to be expected that the FBI would have a difficult time unraveling Communist the/conspiracy's best kept secret, if indeed the secret could be unraveled at all. But the incriminating evidence found in Yockey's suitcase provided excellent clues. The San Francisco Chronicle of the following day, June 10, 1960, provided ~~more~~ more interesting details:

INSANITY PLEA IN PASSPORT CASE HINTED

Francis Parker Yockey, the man of many names held here on Federal charges, may have been operating an illegal passport factory, a Federal prosecutor said yesterday.

Yockey's own attorney, Carl Hoppe, insisted at first that the only problem was that his client was insane--but he later withdrew the suggestion pending further private ~~conversations~~ conversations.

Assistant U. S. Attorney William P. Clancy Jr. told newsmen yesterday that Yockey had used at least 15 aliases during "what appears to be a systematic and well-planned operation in passports; the purpose of which we do not know." . . . Yockey, 47, was identified by fingerprints on his service record.

State Department officials here said yesterday that Yockey had been a War Department employee in Europe in 1946, and other sources reported he was active at that time in the Nuremberg war crimes trials in Germany but fired.

A friend and former classmate of Yockey told The Chronicle last night

that Yockey had been "a pro-Nazi" while attending Georgetown University, Washington, D. C., in 1937-38.

Georgetown University confirmed that Yockey had attended its School of Foreign Service as a member of the class of 1939 but had withdrawn before completing the course. His hometown at that time was listed as Roxana, Ill.

He was known to have practiced law in Illinois at one time and to have served as an assistant district attorney in Detroit.

Yockey, glowering and silent, appeared before U. S. Commissioner Joseph Karesh at 10:30 a.m. yesterday, ostensibly to plead for a reduction in the \$50,000 bail demanded by the Government.

With him was Attorney Hoppe--a specialist in patent and copyright law.

"I'd like to have Mr. Yockey examined by a psychiatrist to determine whether he is sane," Hoppe told Commissioner Karesh.

Yockey erupted in a sibilant, resounding whisper: "That's a dirty trick!"

Then he spoke clearly: "I'm sorry--I'd like to dismiss the attorney. This comes as a complete surprise to me."

Karesh allowed a 20-minute recess so Hoppe could confer further with his client. As Yockey and the attorney left for their conference, Yockey again muttered: "It's a dirty trick," and spat on the floor.

Attorney J. W. Ehrlich, present with Hoppe and Hoppe's associate Victor Iobe, told reporters "I talked to Mr. Yockey at Mr. Hoppe's request, but I'm not associated with the defense."

After the private conference between Yockey and his attorneys Hoppe and Victor Iobe, Hoppe asked Karesh to continue the hearing--ostensibly called to determine whether \$50,000 bail was too high--to 10:30 a.m. today.

"I'm now pressing my motion to reduce bail, and I'm not now pressing my motion for an examination by an alienist," Hoppe explained. "I want to confer further with Mr. Yockey."

Karesh asked Yockey if he agreed that Hoppe should continue to represent him, and Yockey nodded. Karesh thereupon continued the hearing until this morning.

While the legal technicalities of Yockey's detention were being ~~being~~ argued over in court, the San Francisco press was beginning to show great interest in the curious background of Francis Parker Yockey. The San Francisco Chronicle of Saturday, June 11, 1960 reported the following:

PASSPORT FRAUD MYSTERY UNFOLDS; FASCIST LINKS

A long background involving activity with extreme right-wing political groups in the United States and Europe began to emerge yesterday in the case of the mysterious Francis Parker Yockey.

He appeared briefly before United States Commissioner Joseph Karesh at 10:30 a.m. and had his hearing set over until 10:30 a.m. Monday.

Yockey's service record shows he was born in 1917 in Michigan. He graduated cum laude from Notre Dame and attended a number of U.S. universities. He was honorably discharged from the Army in 1943 with a medical disability. The discharge carried the notation "dementia praecox, paranoid type."

Stanley Jacobs of the Anti-Defamation League here said their files showed Yockey had appeared with Gerald L. K. Smith, head of the Christian National Party, in St. Louis in 1950.

He said he is the author of "Imperium," a book published in London

which Yockey described as "a master thesis of Fascist strategy based on three principles: anti-Americanism, a neutral Germany, avoidance of anti-Russian activity."

Columnist Drew Pearson wrote of him in 1954. He identified him as one of three known U. S. agents for Rudolph Aschenauer, a neo-Nazi of Frankfurt, Germany. He said Yockey wrote under the name of Ulick Varange.

Yockey is known to have used the aliases of Francis Downey, Frenz Yockey, Franz Downey, Frank Healy and Frank Downey.

U. S. Assistant Attorney W. P. Clancy Jr. said he could be charged with making false statements to obtain a passport and with assault on a Federal officer.

Yockey was arrested by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation Monday at the home of Alex Scharf, former director of education for the Temple Beth Abraham in Oakland.

Scharf was not available to explain why Yockey should be in his home. His guest was picked up after his luggage had gone astray and would up in an airport in Fort Worth, Texas.

Employees opened the luggage and found three passports--one American, one Canadian and one British--seven birth certificates and a set of German press credentials.

When arrested Yockey tried to escape. He slammed a door on the hand of FBI agent Robert Leonard. It required 20 stitches to sew up the wound.

Since then he has been held in lieu of \$50,000 bail while authorities attempted to discover the pattern of his life and the reason he was carrying \$2300 in cash and \$850 in traveler's checks with him.

"We are interested in where he gets his money," Clancy said. "We know he has been associated with some anti-Semitic groups and that he is engaged

in a systematic and well-planned operation in passports."

In his appearance before Karesh, Yockey was stiff and angry.

"This is practically assault and battery," he told Karesh. He braced himself and folded his hands as the Commissioner talked with his lawyer, Carl Hoppe, about a continuance pending the arrival of his sister.

She is Mrs. William D. Coyne, wife of a Navy commander of Bethesda, Md.

Hoppe said he needed time to discuss the entire situation with Mrs. Coyne and he asked if she could visit Yockey, 47, in jail today.

"You want an order for Saturday for your boy?" asked Karesh.

"I beg your pardon," Yockey snapped. "I'm no boy."

"Young man, then?" purred Karesh.

"No, no young man either," said Yockey.

"Then, defendant," said Karesh. "I think we can agree on that.

I'll see you Monday."

The plot had indeed thickened. What was Yockey, author of a master thesis on Fascist world strategy, doing at the home of a Jewish educator in Oakland. This must have indeed puzzled the ADL. And where had the Jewish educator disappeared to? In addition, why would the author of a master thesis on Fascism be an agent for Rudolph Aschenauer, member of a Communist spy ring in Germany? It was all very mystifying, and there were very few people indeed who could put the pieces together to make any sense.

One man, however, seemed to know more about Yockey than any other. His name was Drew Pearson, and on June 13, 1960, with the echoes of Rockwell's loudspeakers still ringing in his ears, he wrote the following column which appeared in the Washington Post:

EX-NAZI SEIZED

A mystery man suspected of being implicated in the bombing of American synagogues has just been picked up in San Francisco. He was arrested through the pure happenstance that his suitcase got lost, ended up in Ft. Worth, Texas, where airline officials opened it for purposes of identification and found three passports, seven birth certificates, \$2300 in cash and \$850 in traveler's checks. They called the FBI.

The man in question is Francis Yockey, and when San Francisco authorities checked their records they found a clipping from this column, March 31, 1954, describing Yockey's background.

He has two aliases, Ulick Varange and Frank Healy, and according to earlier publication in this column, was the agent of Dr. Rudolph Aschenauer, a German ex-Nazi who was reported in 1954 to be working with Communists; also was mailing speech material to Sen. Joe McCarthy from Frankfurt, Germany.

In Yockey's suitcase were found one British passport under the name of ~~Edward Max Briceman~~ Michael Joseph Taylor, one U. S. passport under the name of Edward Max Briceman, and another U. S. passport under the name of Edward Max Price. In his suitcase was also a list of 15 persons, some of them deceased.

When arrested, he tried to break away from the FBI, and slammed the door so hard on the hand of a G-man that 20 stitches were taken in his hand. Yockey is being held for making false statements and assaulting a Federal officer.

Yockey was born in Michigan in August, 1917, graduated cum laude from Notre Dame in 1941, attended Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.,

and the University of Arizona, served briefly in 1945 with the War Crimes Commission at Neurenberg. He was discharged for pro-Nazi sentiments.

This column reported in March, 1954, that Yockey was involved in a new alliance between unrepentant Nazis and Communists in a worldwide underground network.

"The evidence is conclusive that the network has used none other than Sen. Joe McCarthy as a propaganda mouthpiece. When McCarthy charged the U. S. Army with torturing German war criminals . . . Senate investigators traced the charges to Dr. Rudolph Aschenauer, an ex-Nazi working with the Communists.

"Aschenauer had three known agents in this country--Frederick Weiss, H. Keith Thompson, and Ulick Varange--who also represented the Socialist Reich Party . . . such a flagrant pro-Nazi party that it was outlawed by the West German government . . .

"Weiss masterminds the National Renaissance Party, a group of fanatical anti-Semites with headquarters in Yorkville, New York City . . . The FBI is most interested, however, in Varange, a mystery man who also goes by the names of Francis Yockey and Frank Realy. He is known to be the author of a book on Fascist strategy, urging anti-American but not anti-Soviet activity."

The above was written in March, 1954.

Thus spake Drew Pearson who had been writing about the Communist-Nazi network since at least 1954 when he attempted to use the information about Aschenauer and his agents to discredit Sen. McCarthy. This time he wrote about Yockey to make sure, perhaps, that the public did not mistake this "ex-Nazi" for a Communist. It is interesting that Pearson could find no Communists around

when writing about the swastika epidemic only a few short months back. It is also interesting that Pearson failed to show any connection between his friend Rockwell and the captured Yockey. Rockwell was a member of Yockey's network and only a few days before had visited New York to confer with James Madole, leader of the National Renaissance Party, which even Pearson knew was a front for the undercover activities of Frederick Weiss, H. Keith Thompson and Francis Yockey. Pearson had obviously not lost his ability to put two and two together. There are some people who seem to specialize in seeing to it that two and two are never put together. Of course, Pearson hadn't bothered to mention that Yockey had been captured at the home of a Jewish educator. After all, things were hard enough to explain.

Each additional day of Yockey's detention managed to bring more and more interesting facts to light. The San Francisco Chronicle of Tuesday, June 14, 1960 reported as follows:

BAIL PLEA DELAYED

PASSPORT SUSPECT CALLED 'TOP FASCIST'

Francis Parker Yockey, mysterious collector of spurious passports, was described here yesterday as a "significant Fascist with international connections."

Yockey, 43, held under \$50,000 bail for passport fraud, was so classified by Stanley Jacobs, regional director of the Anti-Defamation League.

He was one of the several unofficial observers yesterday at Yockey's stormy hearing before U. S. Commissioner Joseph Karesch.

Jacobs said Yockey is considered "as important a world figure in fascism as we now know."

Assistant U. S. Attorney William P. Clancy Jr. said the Yockey case

will be given to the Federal Grand Jury later this month.

In the meantime, Clancy said, the Government will file a request tomorrow that the U. S. District Court order a psychiatric examination for Yockey.

Karesh may join in the motion, basing his request on Yockey's behavior in hearings before him.

Yockey's lawyer, Carl Hoppe, came into court yesterday, prepared to ask a reduction in bail. Action, however, was postponed until this morning to enable a new lawyer to enter the tangled case.

Hoppe, a patent attorney, said he wished to withdraw in favor of a lawyer with criminal experience.

Present during yesterday's hearing was Emmet F. Hagerty, who may represent Yockey during future hearings. . . .

Yockey complained during yesterday's proceedings that he had been refused permission to see his two sisters, Alice Spurlock, hospital X-ray technician in Gilroy, and Mrs. William Coyne of Bethesda, Md.

The Commissioner recessed court for 40 minutes to allow Yockey to confer with his sisters in the Marshal's office.

Yockey was asked during the recess whether he had traveled extensively in Russia in 1957, and the questioning reporter was dismissed with the order: "Get out of here, you filthy swine."

Had the author of a master thesis on Fascist world strategy spent a great deal of time in the Soviet Union? An interesting question, no doubt asked by a reporter who had been given some inside information. How long would it take before the world knew the whole secret: that the world-wide Fascist network was run by Moscow? The longer Yockey remained in Federal hands the worse it would be. And so it was not altogether a surprise to read in the next day's Chronicle

that Yockey had planned to escape from jail. The San Francisco Chronicle of June 15, 1960 reported the story as follows:

'JAILBREAK PLOT' TOLD IN PASSPORT CASE

A bold jailbreak plot engineered by Francis P. Yockey, the passport mystery man, was revealed yesterday, along with alleged threats of suicide.

Yockey, a 43-year-old ex-lawyer from Detroit, had appeared before U. S. Commissioner Joseph Karesh to plead for a reduction in his \$50,000 bail on a passport-fraud charge.

Toward the end of that proceeding, which was intersession, Assistant U. S. Attorney William P. Clancy Jr. mentioned, with dramatic casualness, the purported escape plot and the suicide threats.

Arguing against bail reduction, he said: "There's an extreme risk of flight . . . a grave risk of injury to himself and others."

The escape plan, Clancy said, was relayed to him by the FBI. It went, he said, like this:

Yockey on Monday approached two other Federal prisoners being held at the county jail. He offered to post \$1000 bail for one who is awaiting sentence.

This man would then get a car and guns. When the Federal prisoners were marched into the U. S. Marshal's van in Dunbar alley behind the Hall of Justice, the second accomplice would start a brawl.

The man with the guns would then move in, slip a gun to Yockey, and all three would escape in the car parked nearby.

The plan went awry, Clancey said, when the bail posting fell through and one of the prisoners tipped off the FBI.

Yockey spoke up: "Not a word of truth in that."

Karesh turned to Emmet F. Hagerty, who replaced Carl Hoppe as Yockey's

attorney. "If such a thing is true, I'm sure you'll agree the bail set is not excessive."

"I agree," said Hagerty, "if it's true."

"We've good reason to believe so," said Clancey.

Hagerty said it might prove otherwise if the other prisoners were produced for ~~cross-examination~~ cross-questioning, and Clancey said he might disclose their identity today.

Jail superintendent Frank Smith later disclosed the other two prisoners were Philip Galati, 21, of Brooklyn, awaiting sentence on a check charge and held in lieu of \$1000 bail, and Jack Fambrough, 27, of 619 39th street, Oakland, who has pleaded guilty to the \$5944 robbery of an Oakland Army Terminal PX service station where he worked.

Fambrough was to have been sentenced by Judge Sweigert yesterday but the case was postponed until today.

Midway in the bail discussion the case abruptly moved into Federal Judge William T. Sweigert's court where Clancey requested a psychiatric examination for Yockey, saying he was "unable to comprehend the situation" and thus could not assist in his defense.

Yockey, familiar with Nazi and Fascist elements in this country and Europe, stood before the court with arms folded across his chest, while Hagerty objected to a mental examination.

"This man has an intellect equal of any in this courtroom, with all deference to Your Honor," Hagerty said. "He is a member of the bar in Illinois and Michigan, a graduate of Notre Dame, Georgetown, Michigan, an author of books; was a Deputy District Attorney of Detroit and a prosecutor at the Nuerenberg trials. That doesn't mean he is incompetent to assist in his defense."

Clancey countered: "He was discharged from the army in 1943 as a dementia praecox--paranoid type, and his conduct before the U. S. Commissioner has been bizarre."

He then related reports that Yockey had twice threatened suicide--once in the Oakland jail after his arrest and again in the jail here. Yockey promptly denied that, then tossed in a little sensation of his own. He said that Alex Scharf, in whose Oakland apartment he was arrested and who has since disappeared, had been taken into custody by the FBI.

"He was arrested in my presence," Yockey said.

The FBI promptly denied that.

Judge Sweigert said he would rule at 11 a.m. today on whether to direct that Yockey be given a psychiatric test, and Karesh held up the bail matter until after that.

Why was Yockey so desperate about getting out of the clutches of the Federal authorities? Obviously, the evidence found in his suitcase was far more incriminating than the FBI had been willing to reveal to the press, evidence which not only indicated that Yockey was a top Soviet agent in charge of creating a world Fascist movement, but also involved in espionage. An agent like Yockey, with so many identities and so many passports, which facilitated the crossing of many frontiers, obviously traveled a good deal between East and West. If he was Moscow's chief coordinator in charge of world anti-Semitism and the Communist-controlled world Fascist movement, then obviously he knew all of the top members of the network in the many different countries. In fact, he knew too much, and if he couldn't escape, he would probably have to commit suicide. Unfortunately for Yockey, there could be no other choice.

In the meanwhile, the San Francisco Chronicle of Thursday, June 16, 1960

reported the courtroom developments as follows:

MENTAL EXAM ORDERED IN S. F. PASSPORT MYSTERY

Francis P. Yockey, 43, passport mystery man, was ordered held for psychiatric examination yesterday by Federal Judge William T. Sweigert.

The order was made on Government motion, and over the strenuous objections of Yockey, himself an attorney, and his lawyer, Emmet F. Hagerty.

Judge Sweigert said he would receive the psychiatric reports on July 11 and a motion to reduce Yockey's \$50,000 bail was withdrawn until that date. . . .

U. S. Commissioner Joseph Karesh, before whom Yockey has appeared in several stormy hearings, was called yesterday by Assistant U. S. Attorney William P. Clancey Jr.

Karesh testified that he had closely observed Yockey and described his actions as "the most unusual of any accused person who has ever appeared before me."

With permission of the court, Yockey undertook to cross examine Karesh. He accused the Commissioner of being prejudiced because he had read Yockey was "anti-Jewish."

Judge Sweigert halted Yockey in mid-sentence. "That will be enough of that," he snapped.

Two FBI agents Edward M. Cunningham and Keith G. Teeter, submitted affidavits that Yockey had received a psychiatric discharge from the Army in 1943. . . .

Another affidavit said Yockey told two unnamed cell mates in the County Jail he intended to commit suicide by sharpening a comb into a lethal weapon.

Tuesday it was revealed in a hearing before Karesh that Yockey had

allegedly attempted to engineer a daring escape from the County jail. One of the prisoners whom he solicited to aid in the getaway plan, transmitted the information to the FBI.

Yockey, in a passionate statement to the court, charged that the Government was depriving him of his defense by subjecting him to psychiatric examination. He said that use of his Army medical record violated his rights.

Yockey's defeat in court meant that he would have to remain in Federal hands until at least July 11 before he could be released on bail--which was much too long for a man who know as much as he did and was never meant to be caught. The longer he remained in custody, the deeper would go the inquiry into his activities, and the more information would be leaked to the public. There was, of course, only one way to put an abrupt end to the inquiry, and that was for Yockey to kill himself, which is exactly what he did. The San Francisco Chronicle of Saturday, June 18, 1960 reported the story as follows:

MYSTERY MAN YOCKEY KILLS SELF IN S. F. JAIL CELL

Neo-Nazi Francis P. Yockey took a leaf from the notebook of Hermann Goering, Hitler's air marshal, and poisoned himself in jail yesterday.

He left behind him a furious set of Federal officials and a note defying anyone to find out who supplied him with the cyanide he used to end his life.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation, the State Department and the United States Attorney's office were left holding a top-secret file on Yockey and no Yockey to prosecute.

The file arrived last Wednesday. One official said it was "loaded

with dynamite."

Yockey, 43, was arrested June 6 for investigation of passport fraud. FBI agents caught up with him when he checked on a suitcase that had gone astray during a plane flight.

The suitcase contained three false passports, German press credentials and seven birth certificates.

Agents found him in the apartment of Alex Scharf, 465 Bellevue avenue, Oakland. Scharf, a former teacher at the Temple Beth Abraham school, immediately disappeared.

He has been subpoenaed by the Federal Grand Jury but so far has not turned up.

A warrant for arrest of Scharf was issued late yesterday afternoon. Bail was set at \$5000.

The mysterious aspect of the case was compounded by Yockey's behavior and by the insistence of authorities that he be held in the surprisingly high bail of \$50,000.

Yockey began talking of suicide the day he was arrested. He made one elaborate escape attempt. In his court appearance his grandiose manner and contempt for proceedings led to an order for a psychiatric examination.

The U. S. Assistant Attorney William P. Clancey would say of Yockey only that he seemed to be dealing in passports and that current information showed him to have traveled extensively in Europe.

Stanley Jacobs of the Anti-Defamation League was more specific. He said Yockey was associated with the top figures in extreme right-wing and anti-Semitic movements.

Yockey is known to have been closely connected with the resurgent Nazi movement in West Germany.

Somehow he obtained the poison crystals he used Thursday night. Just as Goering, the No. 2 Nazi, did at Nuernberg hours before he was to be hanged in 1945. Yockey used potassium cyanide.

No one knows how he got it. He played checkers with his fellow inmate, Adam Nieman, a mapmaker of 1703 Arcadia street, until lights were turned out in their County Jail cell at 9 p.m.

Nieman, then held on charges of grand theft which were dismissed yesterday, said Yockey gave signs of what was in his mind during the evening.

"He told me he was the No. 1 leader of some sort of organization," Nieman said. "He said he had knowledge of people he loved and he thought he'd be forced to reveal it."

"The night before he discussed killing himself with heavy weights on his throat. The last remark he made to me was, 'You'll sleep all night, of course.'

"After lights were out he kept looking over the ledge of the bunk at me. I got quite concerned but finally I fell asleep."

Apparently that was what Yockey had been waiting for. He took his capsule. His body was found at 7:25 a.m., rigid on the bed, hands folded across his chest. He still had his boots on.

Tucked into the folds of a blanket he used for a pillow was the following note:

"I shall write no messages which I know will never be delivered--only this, which will be:

"You will never discover who helped me, for he is to be found in your own multitudinous ranks, at least outwardly."

Jail Superintendent Frank Smith at first reported Yockey had died of

natural causes. Closer examination showed the inside of his mouth and throat were seared as one might expect from swallowing cyanide.

The news brought Sheriff Matt Carberry bustling to the jail:

"We heard he was planning suicide or escape last Tuesday," he said. "We moved him from an upper tier to cell 20 on the ground floor where he could be watched constantly by the guard on duty.

"I'm satisfied that sufficient precautions were taken."

Sheriff Carberry's satisfaction was not shared by Clancey, James B. Cavanaugh, special agent for the security division of the State Department, or a handful of agents of the FBI who had been working on the case.

Grim-faced, they all showed up at the jail and tried to find out how their man had cheated justice and deprived them of possible information.

The investigation itself was taken up by the Homicide Bureau of the Police Department, and by Carberry.

In Yockey's personal effects left with the jailer a second note was found. It was addressed to Keith G. Teeter, an FBI agent. It read:

"My dear Mr. Teeter:

"I ask you as a favor, in the name of humanity, which we share, to notify my sister of this, or her husband: Lieutenant Commander or Mrs. William D. Coyne, Bethesda, Md.

"I thank you.

Francis Yockey."

Mrs. Coyne viewed the body in the Coroner's office with Emmet F. Hagerty, Yockey's attorney.

Yockey's epitaph was provided by an acquaintance and admirer, Willis Carto, secretary of the Congress of Freedom here and founder of the San

Francisco Conservative Republican Headquarters set up during the OCP convention here in 1956. Carto visited Yockey in jail June 10.

"Although I do not agree with all his ideas, I feel he was an authentic, creative genius. I feel that those individuals who are responsible for driving him to his death should feel a great sense of guilt.

"The world has lost a great man whose ideas will be remembered until Western Civilization is exterminated," Carto said.

Needless to say, the death of Yockey deprived the Government of its prize catch. It would be a long time before the Government was provided with another such piece of luck which resulted from the accidental loss of Yockey's suitcase. The suicide of Yockey, the murder of Lee Harvey Oswald, the escape and subsequent suicide of Dr. Soblen are all of a pattern symptomatic of the vast conspiracy our law enforcement agencies are so inadequately prepared to deal with. A prize as valuable as Yockey deserved a 24-hour, special guard to see to it that he did not commit suicide.

But there was little point in crying over spilled milk. The question now was who had given Yockey the cyanide? It is interesting that the one person, of the agent-provocateur network, who had visited Yockey while he was in jail was Willis Carto, the publisher of Right. What had Carto and Yockey discussed during that visit? Did Carto see Yockey more than once? Who had given Carto permission to visit the prize prisoner, and under what circumstances was that permission given? These are all questions to which we shall undoubtedly never get answers.

Then there was Yockey's sister, Mrs. William D. Coyne of Bethesda, Maryland. She was interviewed by the press shortly after Yockey's death. The San Francisco Chronicle's version, published June 18, 1960, read as follows:

SISTER CALLS SUICIDE TRAGIC; PHILOSOPHER, NOT PRO-NAZI, SHE SAYS

The suicide of Francis Parker Yockey, mystery man with many passports, was described as "a tragedy" yesterday by one of his sisters.

"All that talent, all that brilliance is now gone," sighed Mrs. William P. Coyne, of Bethesda, Md., wife of a U. S. Navy commander.

Mrs. Coyne, a handsome blonde with pale blue eyes, said Yockey spent his adult life scrutinizing the world from the exalted station of a true philosopher.

"No," she said, "he wasn't anti-Semitic, he wasn't anti-Zionist. No, he wasn't pro-Nazi. He never idolized Hitler. In fact he thought Hitler made one mistake after another."

Likewise, Mrs. Coyne said, Yockey was neither pro-Russian nor anti-Russian.

"He merely felt that Russia had a role to play in world history," she said.

Mrs. Coyne proudly recited the titles of six books written by Yockey, all of which were privately published in London and one of which has been called "a blueprint of Fascist strategy."

"No publisher in the United States would touch them," she said.

Mrs. Coyne, interviewed in the office of Attorney Emmet Hagerty, said she had been close to her brother when they grew up in Chicago but that in the last 10 years she had seldom heard from him.

"He would telephone me once in a while but never say where he was. I think it was because he was in some kind of trouble with the FBI," she said.

Mrs. Coyne said she received a telephone call from Yockey early last week informing her that "I'm in the Oakland jail."

The sister immediately flew here from Maryland to help him.

She said she talked to him in jail about the United States passport he obtained in Salinas in 1951, under the name of Edward Max Price.

(This same passport was found among Yockey's belongings, bearing Yockey's photograph, with the name changed to Edward Max Briceman.)

"He couldn't have changed that name on the passport. That requires special technique," she said.

Yockey told her, she said, that he still carried the passport because the State Department had turned him down seven times when he applied for a new passport.

Why did Yockey also carry Canadian and British passports with his photograph but different names?

"Maybe he thought three passports were better than one?" Mrs. Coyne replied.

The sister said she had no idea how Yockey had earned his living in recent years or where he had been living.

"My sister and I gave him some money to have a book published, but that was quite a few years ago," she said.

Finally, Mrs. Coyne was asked why she thought Yockey committed suicide.

"Has it been established that it was a suicide?" she replied.

Reminded that Yockey penned a suicide note before he died, she added:

"Oh, that's right. He did. Probably he felt he wasn't going to have a fair trial."

She hesitated a moment and added:

"Dedicated upon what happened, he was completely justified in feeling that way."

Another version of the same interview appeared in the San Francisco

Examiner of June 19, 1960. It read as follows:

YOCKEY'S SISTER TALKS

'HE FEARED UNFAIR TRIAL'

"That brilliant mind gone--and others live who have nothing to contribute."

Mrs. William D. Coyne stared at her lap and let her voice drop to a whisper as she spoke of her brother, Francis Parker Yockey.

Why had her mysterious brother taken his own life?

"He felt he wasn't going to get a fair trial, and I think he was completely justified--predicated on what had happened before.

"When I first visited him in jail (six days ago), I couldn't see him through the Mesh screen that separated us, but the first thing he told me was 'My constitutional rights have been violated eight times to date.'

"That was like him--not viewing himself personally, but looking at the broader picture."

Mrs. Coyne, the wife of a Navy commander stationed at Bethesda, Md., arrived here to visit her imprisoned brother last Saturday. She saw him last on Wednesday. Was he despondent then?

"My brother was never despondent. The note he left was factual rather than despondent. But he was perturbed that people thought he was crazy."

What was Francis Parker Yockey like?

"Basically, he was a philosopher. . . . I don't know what his philosophy was. You'd have to read his books (six), and they're not easy reading."

Mrs. Coyne said she was very close to her brother, but that she had not heard from him in the last 10 years.

"I guess he was in Europe--London, probably. I don't know where he was. He called me once and asked for money. I sent it to him. But money was no

problem with him. He always had enough, and he lived like a monk."

Where did he get the money?

"I don't know. He spoke Spanish, Italian, French and German fluently. He may have been employed as a translator or interpreter. I don't know."

Was it true that Yockey was anti-Semitic?

"He was anti-Zionist, not anti-Semitic. He was aware of everything that was going on in the world. He was not anti-Communist. He felt Russia had a role to play in world history.

"He felt every country had a destiny . . . and one of his books is titled 'The American Destiny.'"

Was he pro-Hitler?

"He told me he thought Hitler made one mistake after another."

What about his discharge from the Army? . . .

"He was in G-2 (intelligence) in the Army, and he suffered a nervous breakdown. He enlisted, but he had no business in the Army.

"He was an aesthete--the kind of person a sergeant would love to pick on."

With Yockey dead, the interest of the newspapers now shifted to Alex B. Scharf, the missing "Jewish educator" in whose home the world's top Nazi had been caught. The Scharf-Yockey relationship was puzzling, to say the least. The San Francisco Chronicle of June 19, 1960 read as follows:

VICTIM OF NAZIS LINKED TO YOCKEY

Alex B. Scharf, tattooed survivor of the Auschwitz concentration camp in World War II, was being sought for questioning yesterday about the mysterious activities of neo-Fascist Francis P. Yockey, . . .

Immediately following Yockey's arrest, Scharf, 31, abandoned his job as principal of Temple Beth Abraham school and disappeared.

Both Government officials and Jewish leaders were puzzled by the association between Scharf and Yockey.

Seymour Fromer, director of Jewish Education in Oakland, said Scharf wears the German tatoo on his arm that proves he was a prisoner of Auschwitz, where more than two million Jews were cremated by Hitler.

"I am sure Scharf believed in Israel and Zionism," said Fromer.

Stanley S. Jacobs, chief of the Anti-Defamation League, here declared:

"I am loath to believe Scharf was engaged in Neo-Fascist activities with Yockey."

Yockey is known to have been anti-Zionist, if not anti-Semitic, and in liaison with various extreme right-wing leaders, including former followers of Hitler.

Yockey's former wife, Alice Yockey of San Antonio, Tex., told this reporter that Yockey thought reports of Jewish genocide in World War II were exaggerated.

Investigators hope to question Scharf about his original explanation for having Yockey in his Oakland apartment.

After Yockey's arrest, Scharf is said to have told agents he met Yockey for the first time a few days earlier at the gambling tables in Reno.

At that time, he said, he invited Yockey, a stranger, to come to Oakland and stay at his apartment.

Assistant United States Attorney W. P. Clancy said yesterday, however, that Scharf had known Yockey for nearly a year.

In 1959, Clancy said, Yockey applied for an Irish passport.

Either Yockey's application or an attached affidavit, said Clancy, bears

the name of Alex B. Scharf and his former address at 2401 Sacramento street.

Scharf was born in Czechoslovakia in 1928 and, after World War II, lived in Paraguay and Argentina.

He studied at Columbia University and at the Jewish Teachers Institute in New York and then he returned to Paraguay as a teacher.

Scharf came to San Francisco in late 1958 looking for a job teaching Hebrew and was employed by the Bureau of Jewish Education.

In June, 1959, he was assigned to Temple Beth Abraham in Oakland as educational director.

Shortly before Scharf disappeared two weeks ago he was notified that his contract at the temple would not be renewed. . . .

The San Francisco Chronicle of June 20, 1960 continued its quest for Scharf with the following article:

FIZZLING TRAIL OF YOCKEY'S 'FRIEND'

Federal authorities yesterday sought to solve the riddle of what linked Nazi concentration camp victim Alex B. Scharf to neo-Fascist Francis P. Yockey.

But even Scharf's closest friends, including the pretty, dark-haired girl he once asked to marry him, were unable to explain the strange relationship. . . .

"I know he didn't have any money," Mrs. Ezra Cohen-Sitt, of 115 Beulah street, San Francisco.

Mrs. Sitt met her husband Ezra, while dating Scharf last year. Sitt was Scharf's roommate and a teacher at Temple Beth Abraham school. Scharf had once asked Mrs. Sitt to marry him. He served as an usher at her

wedding in January, and remained a friend.

"Alex was not the kind of person you could get close to," she said. "He was very laid and very serious, and even though he was likable he was always distant." . . .

Scharf led a modest bachelor schoolteacher's life in Oakland, she said.

He frequently dated one girl who was employed at a Reno gambling casino, she said.

Scharf never mentioned Yockey to any of his acquaintances here, Mrs. Sitt said.

Assistant United States Attorney W. P. Clancey said Scharf's battered 1956 yellow and black Mercury sedan has not been found, but that the California Highway Patrol has been alerted.

The San Francisco Chronicle of June 21, 1960 reported further developments in the search after Scharf:

Alex B. Scharf, still sought as a key witness in the puzzling case of neo-Fascist Francis P. Yockey, may be aboard a ship enroute to Israel, the Chronicle learned yesterday.

Federal authorities here said they were checking the possibility that Scharf may have boarded a ship in New York last week, or that he is still waiting in New York to leave the country. . . .

The first possible clue to Scharf's whereabouts came yesterday in checking a former San Jose court reporter described as Scharf's closest friend.

The reporter, William Slomovich, 35, left his job in San Jose about three months ago, worked until last month in Los Angeles, and then left for New York.

The Chronicle learned that Slomovich's name appeared on the passenger list of the Atlantic, an American Export Lines ship, which sailed from New York last Thursday bound for Haifa, Israel.

Although Scharf's name did not appear on the passenger list, Federal authorities said it is possible he may have used an assumed name since he is not a citizen of the United States. . . .

Meanwhile, it was learned that Yockey asked a fellow-prisoner two days before he committed suicide in the County jail here where he could obtain "some poison." . . .

Authorities are puzzled as to where Yockey obtained the deadly poison and how it reached his cell.

At the same time, the coroner's office announced that a toxicologist's report shows that Yockey took one-fifth of a gram of potassium cyanide, which is double the lethal dose for a man of his size.

Yockey left a note defying anyone to discover how he obtained the poison.
 . . .

Mrs. Ezra Cohen-Sitt of 115 Beulah street, a friend of Scharf, said yesterday she wanted to correct an impression given in an interview with The Chronicle Sunday that Scharf had at one time asked her to marry him.

"He did not," she said. "I did not intend to be quoted on any matter related to Mr. Scharf."

The search for Scharf continued. The authorities learned that Scharf had been a frequent visitor to Reno, Nevada, where he had a lady friend, an ex-black-jack dealer at the Cal-Neva Club. In fact, he had been expected at the woman's home on the same day as Yockey's suicide, but didn't show up. The authorities had hoped to catch him there.

The lady friend, Hildegards Bohlen King, had arrived in the United States from her native Germany in 1956. She said she had met Scharf on January 1, 1959. The San Francisco Chronicle of June 23, 1960 reported the interview with Mrs. King as follows:

"We were introduced," she said. "We did not meet at the tables."

It is known, however, that Scharf had something more than a casual interest in gambling.

Mrs. King said she understood that Scharf had been in the United States eight or ten years and had known Yockey for at least a year.

"I have no idea where they met or anything about that," she said. "But when he did speak of Yockey it was with admiration. He greatly admired Yockey's intelligence and mentioned a few times that he had seen or heard from him."

Mrs. King, who plans to remarry her divorced husband next month, said Scharf had no close friends, so far as she knew.

She said she could not imagine what Yockey--the known neo-Fascist and close associate of anti-Semites all over the world--could have had in common with Scharf, the 31-year-old Hebrew school teacher and principal.

Finally, it was established by the authorities that Scharf had known Yockey by three different names. This was made clear by an article in the San Francisco Chronicle of June 24, 1960:

SCHARF KNEW 3 YOCKEY NAMES

The missing Hebrew teacher Alex B. Scharf knew neo-Fascist Francis P. Yockey by at least three different names.

This was indicated yesterday when U. S. Postal Inspector James V. P. Conway identified Scharf's signature on a passport application found among Yockey's belongings.

The application for an Irish passport was made out on June 26, 1959 in the name of one Michael Joseph Taylor.

Scharf signed the unused application for the Irish passport as a guarantor or reference and listed his address as 2401 Sacramento street.

When FBI agents arrested Yockey at Scharf's Oakland apartment on June 6, Scharf indicated he knew the international mystery man as Richard Hatch.

"But if he knew him as Hatch," asked Assistant U. S. Attorney William P. Clancey, "what was Scharf doing signing his name on the Irish passport application for Michael Joseph Taylor?"

Finally, Scharf is known to have referred to the 43-year-old right wing anti-Semite by his real name--Yockey.

This was established by Hildegarde Bohlen King, a former girl friend of Scharf's and a former Reno blackjack dealer.

"He greatly admired Yockey's intelligence and mentioned a few times that he had seen or heard from him," Mrs. King said. . . .

Scharf, 31, disappeared immediately following Yockey's arrest at his apartment and he is now the target of an international manhunt.

A subpoena has been issued calling him before the Federal grand jury here and there is a warrant for his arrest as a material witness in the Yockey passport fraud inquiry.

The shocker, however, which was to leave no further doubt as to who both Yockey and Scharf were working for, was the story which appeared in the

San Francisco Chronicle of July 27, 1960, a full month after the last Yockey-Scharf article in June. It read:

YOCKEY'S FLEEING PAL TRACED TO CUBA

Alex B. Scharf, the missing friend of the late neo-Fascist Francis P. Yockey, has been traced to Cuba.

This was disclosed yesterday by Assistant United States Attorney William P. Clancey Jr., who said "a reliable source" placed Scharf in Cuba last month.

Scharf is wanted as a material witness in the investigation of Yockey's forged passports and he is also wanted for questioning by Immigration and Naturalization.

Scharf is not in custody in Cuba and his whereabouts there are not known.

Clancey, nevertheless, expressed the hope that State Department officials will be able to find Scharf and ask him about Yockey's activities. . . .

~~His whereabouts in~~ Cuba, it turned out yesterday, was the apparent emergency headquarters for Yockey, also.

This was revealed by a County Jail prisoner who said Yockey asked him to convey a message to a full-figured Cuban girl, a Havana journalist named "Cina."

"If you get this to Havana," the prisoner quoted Yockey as telling him, "Cina will see to it that you are taken care of financially."

Yockey handed the informant a piece of newspaper bearing a Havana address and the cryptic message: "See that Alfred gets this." . . .

The prisoner, whose identity was not disclosed, said he was separated from Yockey almost immediately after the note was handed to him.

While Yockey remained in jail behind the Hall of Justice, the prisoner was sent to County Jail No. 2 at San Bruno to serve a theft sentence.

He immediately asked for permission to tell what he knew about Yockey,

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he said. But by the time anyone listened to his story in detail, Yockey had swallowed cyanide just like his idol, Hermann Goering.

The story went like this:

The informant said he wandered into the cocktail lounge of the Flamingo Hotel in Miami Beach last February.

There he fell into conversation with Yockey (known to him then only as "Blair"), Cina and Emanuel Diaz, a 40-year-old stocky Cuban with a heavy mustache who said he was a correspondent for a Havana magazine.

Yockey talked about literature, books and San Francisco, the informant said.

Two nights later, the informant said he returned to the Flamingo.

He found Yockey playing Strauss waltzes on the piano. Cina and Diaz invited him to visit them in Cuba, he said.

Yockey, he added, reported he was in Cuba, too, living there and sowing anti-American propaganda.

The next meeting came after the informant was arrested here.

Yockey came up to him in the exercise yard of county jail, he said.

"He patted me on the back and said, 'Remember me?'" the informant reported.

"I didn't immediately. But then he reminded me of the meeting in Miami Beach."

The pair talked for two hours.

The informant said he spoke about suicide--a subject Yockey discussed with virtually everybody following his arrest in Oakland on June 6.

He was picked up then by FBI agents who wanted to know why three passports had turned up in a suitcase he had left at Fort Worth.

"The passport charge is a minor thing in my case," the informant

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quoted Yockey as saying. "I am the top Fascist in the world. There is nobody bigger than me."

Since Yockey's suicide, the informant has repeated the story to U. S. Immigration and Naturalization agents and P. Clancey Jr.

He also told Deputy Sherriff John Mariani and Captain Charles Cunningham at County Jail No. 2 in San Bruno before Yockey's suicide that he had some information.

The informant's first meeting with Federal authorities did not take place until five days after Yockey's death.

It is obvious from the above story that Yockey, the world's top Fascist, was also a top Communist agent and that Scharf was probably his KGB liaison in San Francisco, that is, a member of the Soviet Secret Police. It is hardly likely that Scharf would have fled to Castro's Cuba if he had been anything else.

But obviously, the conspiracy could not let the Yockey-Scharf matter lie as it was. If Scharf remained in hiding in Cuba, then it would be clear to the FBI that Scharf was a Soviet agent. But if he came back, pleaded innocence and was cleared of any complicity with Yockey, then some of the damage done by Yockey's capture could be undone.

And so, it was ~~decided~~ decided that Scharf would return to San Francisco, but only after he had studied the press clippings which had been sent to him, and could concoct a plausible story. Then he telephoned the San Francisco Chronicle from Havana and offered to tell them his story exclusively if they paid his way back to California. The Chronicle agreed and sent one of their reporters to Miami to meet Scharf as he returned to the United States. The Chronicle printed the story of that return in its edition of August 20, 1960:

Miami, Fla., Aug. 19--Mystery man Alexander B. Scharf arrived here tonight from Havana and told The Chronicle he fled the Bay Area two months ago after the arrest of his pal, neo-Nazi Francis P. Yockey, "because I feared revenge."

Scharf said he would now fly back to San Francisco and appear before the grand jury there to answer questions about the Yockey case. . . .

Scharf said tonight he met Yockey, who was using the name of Michael Taylor, in Reno in the spring of 1959.

"He was very friendly and invited me for a cup of coffee," Scharf said. "I did not know this man was a criminal at all."

"Yockey spoke warmly of the Jewish people and said he was interested in talking to me because I was a student of the Bible."

Scharf said Yockey lent him \$30 at the Reno gambling tables "and I felt mildly indebted to him. He told me he was a lawyer and a former district attorney."

"Only in Havana did I learn that Yockey had anything to do with Nazism," Scharf said.

Yockey wired him from Washington, D. C. late in April, Scharf said, and asked if he could visit a few days in Oakland.

"I don't know what he had up his sleeve," said Scharf. "He offered to finance me in a business—he also offered to loan me \$200 to pay some debts."

When FBI agents came to the apartment, Scharf said, Yockey was out. But he telephoned a few moments later and asked if everything was all right. "I said yes, to come on up. I helped them catch him."

"In his suitcase was a black mask--just like the movies. In my mind he was either a Chicago gangster or a Russian spy, or both. I was scared

for my life. I feared his friends would try to take revenge, so I ran."

Scharf said he left his possessions and car and took a bus to Los Angeles and caught a plane for Havana, where he had visited in 1956 and again in 1958.

He said he gained help of friends in Havana "until they found out who I was a couple of weeks ago."

Of course, Cuba was the last place a person would have gone to to seek safety from the avengers of a possible Russian spy. In fact, the traffic was entirely in the other direction. Refugees were fleeing Cuba by the thousands in search of safety from Communist terror. If Scharf had been so afraid of Yockey's avengers, why didn't he ask the FBI for protection?

When Scharf got to San Francisco, he embellished his impossible story. He once more told how he had fled to Havana out of fear. He said that he hoped to find shelter there, a job and forget all that had happened.

"But I couldn't even escape there," he told the Chronicle. "You can't run away from anything--and so I decided to come back, for the first time in my life to stop running, and ease the minds of those who had faith in me."

The story sounded like something out of a tenth-rate drama, but Scharf was counting on his ability to win the sympathy of the authorities. After all, he was just a poor, harrassed former inmate of a concentration camp, running away from fear--to Cuba, which was about the last place a former inmate of a concentration camp would go to for safety and peace of mind. Had Scharf actually been in a concentration camp? The only proof he offered was his tatoo, which could have easily been put on as camouflage.

Scharf's incredible story appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle of August 22 and 23, 1960. He described how he had met Yockey--a poised, aggressive and charming man--at the dice table in Reno. Scharf, a lonely Hebrew teacher, occasionally went to Reno to gamble. It was an escape, he tells us. One night in April 1959, while he was standing at a dice table in the Nevada Club he became aware that a man was watching him. His luck had been very bad that evening, but the stranger smiled at him and offered him a cup of coffee. He told Scharf that he was playing badly and had better quit. Scharf agreed with the stranger and accepted his offer for coffee.

"I was interested," Scharf told the Chronicle. "He seemed to know what he was talking about. So we went out to a coffee shop and he told me his system for gambling. It was simple. He said you divided your money into 30 units. When you won or lost five units, you stopped for the day."

That wasn't much of a system, but Scharf was impressed by it. Scharf then relates that Yockey introduced himself as Mike Taylor, saying that he was a writer, and a former lawyer and deputy district attorney from Detroit. He was living in Reno.

Before they parted that night, Yockey loaned Scharf \$30, and Scharf gave Yockey his name and address. During the next few months Scharf and Yockey--supposedly known only by the name of "Taylor"--met from time to time for lunch in San Francisco. According to Scharf, "Taylor" had moved from Reno to San Francisco.

"He liked me and wanted my friendship as I wanted his," Scharf told the Chronicle. "He would call me up on the telephone and say, 'Hi bastard,' in that way Americans have of being friendly. He spoke warmly of the Jewish people. He said he admired them. And he spoke in a derogatory manner about the Germans. He said they never could have won the war, because they hated each other. He

said the Jews would help each other, and he seemed to admire this."

Scharf told the Chronicle that Yockey and he never discussed politics, only history, gambling and the Old Testament. (A likely combination!) Scharf had told Yockey that he had been in concentration camps during the war, but Yockey did not comment or seem surprised. Then Scharf told the Chronicle this amazing piece of information:

"He (Yockey) told me once that he had been in Cuba--it was during the Spring of this year--and that he had almost gotten a very high position in the Castro government. I did not like this, because I knew this man Castro was pro-Communist, but I am not a political man, and I did not pry further into his affairs."

The Chronicle did not delve more deeply into this improbable story. In the first place when had Scharf seen Yockey last to know that Yockey had been to Cuba? Second, how could he possibly not become suspicious of someone who had almost gotten a very high position in the Castro government? Simply because Scharf was "not a political man" was no reason for him not to have had the normal suspicion and curiosity anyone would have of a "friend" with such intimate connections with the Castro government.

Scharf then insisted that his selection of Havana as a refuge was pure coincidence.

"When the FBI talked to me about Yockey," Scharf told the Chronicle, "they said ~~me~~ he was a bank robber. When I saw the passports I was afraid that Yockey might be a Communist spy of some kind. I've had enough of terror and blood in my life and I panicked and ran."

Scharf's behavior was somewhat strange for a man who knew that Yockey had been to Cuba and had almost gotten a very high position in the pro-Communist Castro government. If Scharf had suspected that Yockey might be a Communist spy,

how could he expect to find safety in Communist-controlled Cuba, where he knew that Yockey had friends in high positions? Certainly, Cuba would have been the last place to go--unless Scharf had been something else, like Yockey's KGB liaison, and then it would have been the most logical place to head to. The fact that Scharf later came out of Cuba safely, without any difficulty, suggests that Scharf was not only an agent of some importance, but that he might have been even more important than Yockey. For, had he been blamed for Yockey's capture by his superiors, he might have been disgraced and liquidated. But no, he went swiftly and directly to Cuba where he knew he would be safe--not from Yockey's friends, but from the FBI.

In addition, where had Scharf gotten the money to make this costly trip from San Francisco to Havana? If safety had been the only motive of his flight, why didn't he go north to Vancouver, Canada, or South to Tijuana, Mexico? Both places were far more accessible than Havana. But Scharf explains that he had been to Cuba several times before and knew that they needed Hebrew teachers. But did they? Half the Jewish population had already left the island by mid-1960.

Of course, the question which entered the public's mind was why would Yockey, a top Communist-Nazi agent, waste his time befriending a rather insignificant Hebrew teacher like Alex Scharf. The answer Scharf gave was that Yockey had intended to use him as a front. In a story which appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle, August 23, 1960, Scharf told reporters:

"I can see now how he wanted to use me. But at the time I thought he liked me--I didn't realize I was only camouflage for him."

Concerning Yockey's application for an Irish passport, Scharf told the Chronicle:

"The only thing he ever asked me to do specifically was to sign his application for an Irish passport, which I did. I had met him as Mike Taylor at the dice

tables in the Nevada Club in Reno. He was a friendly fellow, he loaned me money and we got along well."

Of course, it never dawned on Scharf to ask why an American citizen should want an Irish passport. He knew that Yockey was a lawyer and had worked as a deputy district attorney in Detroit. Didn't he suspect that "Mike Taylor" was engaged in some sort of illegal activities?

"I remember that he wanted to set me up in business," Scharf told reporters. "I'm an educator, not a businessman, but he wanted to put up the money and let me run a store on a partnership arrangement. A respectable business address would have been a foolproof front for him. That's all I offered him, I know now--respectability and camouflage. No one would ever think of looking for a fascist in the company of a teacher of Hebrew--even I didn't think that any American could be a fascist."

How naive could one be? Scharf's German girlfriend in Reno, Hildegard Zohlen-King, had told reporters that Scharf had spoken to her about Yockey as Yockey and therefore knew him under that name. In addition, if Scharf were a Hebrew teacher as well as a former inmate of a concentration camp, he would have known that indeed America was full of all kinds of fascists and anti-Semites. The San Francisco papers had carried their share of news about the swastika epidemic, synagogue bombings and anti-Semitic agitation. A Hebrew teacher, on the mailing list of any number of Jewish organizations and publications, would have been fully aware of these things. Unless Scharf was so busy "escaping" to Reno that he had no time for anything but the dice tables.

It is also unlikely that Yockey would have entangled himself financially with someone totally innocent of what he was doing, an enemy, no less, who might turn on him if his real anti-Semitic background became known. In other words, in order for Yockey's plan to have been able to succeed, Scharf would have had

to be in on it. Certainly, Yockey would have never asked Scharf--a perfect stranger--to sign his application for an Irish passport unless he was absolutely sure he could trust Scharf. After all, Scharf could have easily become suspicious and gone to the FBI, especially after he had become aware of Yockey's doings in Cuba.

Which means, quite simply, that if Yockey had intended to use Scharf, the innocent Hebrew teacher, as a front, he could have only done so with Scharf's knowledge, approval and cooperation. No conspirator as skilled, professional and important as Yockey would have risked teaming up with someone who could have exposed him. And therefore he must have had complete confidence in Scharf. After all, the application for Yockey's Irish passport had been signed by Scharf a year before Yockey was captured by the FBI. In that year's time Scharf tells us he hadn't the faintest suspicion who his friend really was. It was only when the FBI opened Yockey's suitcase that Scharf woke up--so we are told.

Scharf also tells us that from time to time he received casual post cards from Yockey--from New York, New Orleans and Washington. Didn't he ever wonder how Yockey managed to support himself and travel so extensively around the country? Scharf then tells us that early in June Yockey sent him a telegram asking that Scharf put him up for a couple of days. Did Scharf answer the telegram? We are not told. Where did the telegram come from? We are also not told.

When Yockey got to San Francisco he told Scharf that he had lost his valuable suitcase in transit and that the airline would call him about it at Scharf's address. He told Scharf that the suitcase would be delivered under the name of Richard Hatch.

"I didn't like this," Scharf told the Chronicle, "but I didn't pry."

In other words, Scharf had willingly signed Yockey's false application for an Irish passport, knew that Yockey had been to Cuba and had been offered a top

job in Castro's government, knew that Yockey traveled under the assumed name of Richard Hatch, yet found none of this suspicious enough to warrant asking a few elementary questions about his friend's activities or calling the FBI.

Why had Yockey used the name Richard Hatch? Obviously to escape the surveillance of the FBI. Yockey had been evading the FBI for years, and he had devised the most elaborate means of escaping their detection by the use of many false identities. His trail was easily broken up by a ~~random~~ constant switching of identities. Wherever the FBI searched they came to a dead end. It was a freak accident, however, which enabled the FBI to find Yockey's trail.

Yockey had bought his last airline ticket under the name of Richard Hatch and had expected to disappear in the apartment of an inconspicuous Hebrew teacher in Oakland. But the freak accident of a lost suitcase spoiled everything. Thousands of pieces of luggage are checked in at airline counters all over the country. A destination tag with the flight number is attached to each piece of luggage. The chance that the tag will be accidentally ripped off is very remote indeed. We can easily picture "Richard Hatch" checking in his luggage, having done so many times before on many other trips, using many different names, perhaps smiling to himself as the clerk tagged the suitcase which was crammed with top-secret, incriminating evidence, musing that it could get lost but somehow never did. It didn't seem likely that of all the suitcases traveling around the United States, this one, this important one, would be that one out of thousands that would get lost. Yet it did, suggesting that history is not always on their side.

Mr. Hatch's stray suitcase was opened in Ft. Worth by airline employees who found the three passports, seven birth certificates and other paraphernalia befitting a secret agent. They called the FBI. In the meanwhile, Mr. Hatch

had told the airline about his missing suitcase and had given Scharf's address-- 465 Bellevue avenue, Oakland--as the place for its delivery when found. The FBI, of course, decided to make the delivery itself. Yockey had gotten up early and was out when they came, but Scharf was there. He knew about the suitcase.

"He told me he was very worried about the lost suitcase because it contained a pin worth \$5000," Scharf told the Chronicle. "It was a common pin, a straight pin, the head was painted by an Argentinian artist. The artist had used a hair from his wrist as a brush. There were only three such paintings in the world and one of them was a portrait of Peron, the dictator."

Scharf saw an FBI agent take a small jewelry box from the suitcase and assumed that it contained the pin. He also saw the false passports and credentials as well as a black rask. There was also the \$2300 in cash.

The FBI agents decided to wait for Yockey to return to the apartment and instructed Scharf to answer the telephone if Yockey called. Yockey finally did call. He pretended to be Rabbi Harold Schulweis, Scharf's employer. At this point Scharf had to do some fast thinking. If he played along with the Rabbi Schulweis game and the FBI found out about it, then Scharf's complicity with Yockey would be proven beyond a shadow of a doubt. He therefore put on a show of irritation and said to Yockey, "Come off it, I know you are not Schulweis-- what do you want?" "Has my luggage arrived?" Yockey asked. "Yes," Scharf answered. Then Yockey asked, "Is it okay for me to come on in?" Scharf answered, "Yes."

Scharf tells us that had he been working with Yockey he would have obviously answered "no." But would he? And would Yockey have pretended to be Rabbi Schulweis unless Scharf had been working in cahoots with him? Would he have asked Scharf if it were okay for him to come on in unless Scharf knew that the FBI was hot on his trail? Obviously, Scharf and Yockey had worked out the Schulweis guise together, not dreaming that the FBI would be in the same room with Scharf when Yockey called. They probably figured that, at best, the

FBI would send a man to watch the building from the outside.

Therefore, Scharf really had no choice but to do what he did. Had he made any obvious attempt to warn Yockey of the FBI trap, then he would have had to explain what he--a Hebrew teacher and former inmate of Auschwitz--was doing collaborating with a man whom the ADL had identified as the leading figure in the international Nazi underground. It would have exposed the entire Communist-controlled anti-Semitic movement.

Thus, it was far more important to show no working connection between Yockey and Scharf than to save Yockey from the hands of the FBI. The FBI had found the evidence in Yockey's suitcase; no greater damage could have actually been done to the cause had Yockey himself been captured. Therefore, Scharf had done what any good agent in his position would have done, feigned complete and utter innocence. And it worked. Yockey was taken into custody, but Scharf, unsuspected, was free and got away.

Why did Scharf risk coming back? Obviously, the risk was not very great. More important, however, it was necessary to continue the game of innocence. If Scharf remained in Cuba, the FBI would draw the obvious conclusion. But if he returned and faced the Grand Jury, chances were very good that he would be cleared of any complicity with Yockey. "How could I come back if I had anything to conceal?" Scharf had told the press.

But Scharf had a great deal to hide, as was revealed by the Federal Grand Jury's questioning. The San Francisco Chronicle of August 25, 1960 reported the scene as follows:

Alex B. Scharf, 31, a native of Germany, went before the Federal Grand Jury here yesterday and emerged nearly four hours later as Benjamin

Junger, 36, native of Czechoslovakia. . . .

Scharf said he was born in Czechoslovakia and put in a Nazi concentration camp as a boy. He was liberated by Americans, then began a restless search for a place to settle. His parents had been killed by the Nazis and his family scattered.

He went from Austria to Germany, to England, and back to Germany. In the late '40s he came to the United States under his true name of Junger.

A diamond-cutter, he heard that opportunities were good in Brazil and went there only to discover that Czechs were not welcome. He went on to Paraguay.

By becoming Alexander Scharf, born in Munich, he was able to stay in Paraguay and establish citizenship.

After two years, however, a desire to complete his education brought him back to the United States.

He entered this country the second time as a Paraguayan citizen, Scharf, native of Germany.

Scharf said he met Yockey at a Reno dice table as "Mike Taylor," and after a casual friendship of a year knew nothing about his true identity or activities.

"I'm happy all this can be straightened out now," said Scharf-Junger.

Attorney Joseph Hertog accompanied Scharf to the Grand Jury and said he hopes to obtain "an adjustment of Scharf's status" from the immigration service.

Hertog said he will confer with immigration officials about Scharf-Junger before the Grand Jury resumes its questioning of the man next Wednesday.

And that's how the Scharf story ended. There was no further Grand Jury investigation, and Junger, alias Scharf, simply disappeared from the pages of the San Francisco Chronicle. What of Scharf's fantastic story? Was it to be believed? Was he even a Jew? Apparently the authorities were not interested in prying too deeply into a story with so many contradictions. They seemed to fall for it hook, line and sinker. Yet, an analysis of the Scharf-Junger story left a great many puzzling questions unanswered.

What guarantee was there that Benjamin Junger wasn't just another false identity in order to be able to enter the United States as a displaced person? What proof was there that he was even Jewish? A tattooed number wasn't proof of anything, especially if the intent was to deceive.

Scharf told the Grand Jury that he came to the United States in the late '40s, then went to Brazil because he had heard that opportunities were good there, only to discover when he got there that Czechs were not welcome in Brazil. This is an odd story indeed. How did he manage to get a visa to Brazil in the first place if Czechs weren't welcome there? Certainly the visa would not have been granted if he were unwelcome. But perhaps Scharf had intended to enter Brazil illegally in the first place and didn't even bother to apply for a visa.

He then relates that he went on to Paraguay where he changed his identity to Alexander Scharf, native of Germany. He had supposedly gone to Paraguay because there they allegedly had a different attitude toward Czechs. Yet, it was in Paraguay that Junger changed his identity to that of German-born Alexander Scharf. Why didn't he change it in Brazil and remain there?

He further relates that he remained in Paraguay only two years, yet established Paraguayan citizenship in that brief period of time. Is this true, or did Scharf get his German-Paraguayan identity in much the same way Yockey

had acquired so many of his other identities--by getting hold of the passports of deceased individuals supplied to him by other members of the network.

Scharf relates that he returned to the United States as Scharf in order to complete his education. What education did he need? He was supposedly a diamond-cutter. When had he decided to give up diamond-cutting to become an "educator"?

The San Francisco Chronicle of June 19, 1960 had said that Scharf had studied at Columbia University and at the Jewish Teachers Institute in New York and then "returned" to Paraguay as a teacher. Scharf had also admitted visiting Cuba in 1956 and 1958. Then in 1958 he settled in San Francisco. Apparently Scharf had made more than one trip between the United States and South America. Where did he get the money to take these costly trips? As a refugee, he couldn't very well have had too much money. Yet according to the press reports, Scharf had traveled in Czechoslovakia, Austria, Germany, England, the United States, Brazil, Paraguay, Argentina, Cuba and back to the United States. For a person of his wide travel experience and ability to change identities at will and deceive the authorities of a half dozen nations, Scharf was unusually naive when it came to such "strangers" as Yockey. This is the way it would seem if Yockey, indeed, was a stranger. In any case, Scharf, the Hebrew teacher, dropped from view quite suddenly after his Grand Jury appearance and nothing has been reported about him in the press since. A peculiar ending to an unfinished story.

YOCKEY AND IMPERIUM

The capture of Yockey and his subsequent suicide was bound to have its effects on the agent-provocateur network. The first article about Yockey appeared in the July, 1960, issue of Right, the publication of Willis Carto, who had visited Yockey in jail. It read as follows:

ADL CLOSES ITS FILE ON YOCKEY

Creative Genius Driven to Suicide

Frustrated and driven to despair, hounded and persecuted like a wild beast, deserted and ignored by the easy-giving cowards from whom he had fought so hard -- a great creative genius committed suicide in the San Francisco County Jail on Thursday night, June 16.

The man was Francis Parker Yockey. Born in a mid-Western Catholic family in Chicago in 1917, Yockey displayed astounding gifts early in life and his wondering parents determined to give him the best education they could. He attended American colleges, graduating cum laude from Harvard in 1941.

He was a talented pianist. He was a gifted writer. But most of all, Yockey was a philosopher.

Although strongly anti-war, Yockey joined the army. He never went overseas and was given an honorable (medical) discharge in 1943. In 1944 he went to work as assistant county attorney in Detroit. He soon

applied for a position with the "war crimes" tribunal and easily landed a job. But it was too much for his sense of justice. He became ~~amused~~ disgusted with the crooked and illegal procedures being followed and, in an angry exchange with Justice Jackson, quit.

This was the turning point in his life, for Jackson immediately reported Yockey's attitude to his superiors. . . .

Now Yockey travelled in Europe. At first he tried to work with various European nationalist groups which advocated European unification. But he was resented for his superior intellect. At last he decided to put his thoughts down on paper, convinced that only his dynamic philosophy of Cultural Vitalism could save the White Race. So he went to Brittas Bay, Ireland in 1948. Isolated, he wrote Imperium, using the pen name of Ulick Varange. . . .

Another tribute to Yockey was published by his New York friends, H. Keith Thompson and Frederick C. F. Weiss. Weiss and Thompson decided to reprint an article which Yockey had written several years before entitled "The World In Flames!" The Introduction to the article, signed by Weiss and Thompson and dated February 1, 1961, is perhaps as interesting as the article itself. It read as follows:

. . . We venture to believe that Yockey died happy and contented. For he knew that the crack which he had forged in our prison wall could never be sealed up again, that it was bound to get wider and wider until eventually the entire wall would collapse and we would escape from the dark cavern into the light of truth.

A man of brilliant legal mind and training, Yockey was ever alert to injustices and ridiculous twistings of legal principles for political ends. He opposed "victors' justice" at Nuremberg, just as he opposed the ruthless persecution of minority political opinion--Right and Left--by the Bonn and Washington regimes. A man who decried the dangerous Smith Act found himself naturally opposed to the senseless exclusion from the United Nations of the People's Republic of China, representing one-fifth of mankind.

An undeveloped element in Yockey's evaluation is an analysis of the significance of China's competition with Russia. This challenge, spurred on by the biological pressure of some 680,000,000 Chinese and the rapid strides made by Peoples' China in science and technology, is rapidly acquiring direction and form. Within two years at the latest, China will have commenced the systematic manufacture of ~~these~~ nuclear weapons. Particularly, it will have small atomic bombs capable of being launched from bazooka-type mechanisms, suitable for use in jungle and "brush-fire" wars. At this point, for every Caucasian on the Eurasian Continent--including the Russians--the question will be how to insure for the Leucodermi the greatest possible role in the final state of enforced "unification" of all the peoples of the earth. Where in America we are now taught to view this unification in terms of "Melting Pot" ideals, the Russians--as well as the British, the Germans and other Western European Nations--have different ideas about their future. Yockey knew this, and he recognized that the "Anschluss" of Russia with Europe, and particularly with Germany, was only a matter of a few years hence.

In memory of this great political theorist and activist, whom we are

were proud to know as both friend and collaborator, the reader will profit by his incisive appraisal of the course of events. The European Liberation Front, an organization which he forged ~~and~~ to eject from the European Continent the meddling, inept, coca-cola culture-dist~~urbers~~ers, survives Yockey to continue the task of clearing the way for an up-coming vibrant culture which ultimately will unite with that of Western Europe to form the Wave of the Future.

Obviously, the "Wave of the Future" referred to by Thompson and Weiss is the same wave originated by Marx and Lenin. It should be noted that in this special edition of Yockey's article, the biographical sketch used by Weiss and Thompson, was borrowed from the July, 1960, edition of Right. The article was published by Weiss's own front operation, LeBlanc Publishers, Box 155, 215 East 86th Street, New York 28, N. Y. It was distributed internationally by Polzin Publications, P. O. Box 85, Parkesburg, Penna., another mysterious front operated by one Frederick E. Polzin. Polzin, a long-time collaborator of the Weiss network, was, according to the National Renaissance Party Bulletin of December 1953, branch leader of the National Renaissance Party in Pennsylvania, along with one Edward R. Barron. In March 1959, Polzin was listed as Secretary of The Truth Seeker Company, Inc., publishers of The Truth Seeker, an old freethought publication, which had been transformed, somewhere along the way, into a so-called "journal for Reasoners and Racists." The Truth Seeker had become another anti-Semitic and racist publication controlled by the agent-provocateur network.

It is interesting to note that none of these tributes to Yockey bothered to mention the name of Alex B. Scharf or even question why Yockey was found in the home of a Jew. Nor was there any hint that Yockey had anything to do with Castro.

The provocateur network, however, had big plans for Yockey's future. They decided to use Yockey's book Imperium as an ideological base for a racist and nationalistic form of anti-Communism, a new version of National Socialism. At the same time they would try to build a myth around Yockey as having been the greatest philosopher of the West since Oswald Spengler. And so, Imperium was reprinted by The Truth Seeker Company, with a new long Introduction by Yockey's devoted friend, Willis A. Carto. The Truth Seeker of December, 1962, carried an announcement of the book's publication:

A Rare Work Reprinted

IMPERIUM:

The Philosophy of History and Politics

by Francis Parker Yockey

The author, a brilliant young American lawyer, worked eleven months, in 1946-1947, with the War Crimes Tribunal in Wiesbaden, Germany, where the "second-string" Nazis were "tried" in a kind of court procedure new to the civilized West. He became convinced that these alleged trials aided, and were intended to aid, international communism. His reports displeased certain officials in Washington, who ordered them rewritten. Disgusted, he quit.

In 1948 he published Imperium, two volumes, in England under most difficult circumstances, only 200 copies of vol. II being printed. His subsequent life until his death (listed as "suicide") in June, 1960, in jail in San Francisco, Calif., where he was being held, from lack of \$50,000 bail, for possessing false passports, is reported in the extensive Introduction by Willis A. Carto. . . .

Though it expresses certain views directly opposed to those for which The Truth Seeker stands, the Truth Seeker Company reprints Imperium because it presents some ways of thinking and valuing which must be accepted if the high culture of the West is to be saved from total destruction by the culture distorters. Imperium will make the reader fiercely to think, and will likely change his judgments of history and politics.

The February, 1963, issue of the Truth Seeker carried some additional commentary about Imperium and its author:

Francis Parker Yockey's posthumously republished Imperium, the Philosophy of History and Politics has already sold more than one half of the 2,000 copies printed. Though the work was reprinted by the Truth Seeker Co., most of the sales have been not to readers of the paper but to members of other groups through individuals who co-operated in its republication; and the sales of the Truth Seeker Co. itself, which have been more than was expected in light of the warning in the advertisement that the work directly opposes much for which The Truth Seeker stands, have been in large part to outsiders. It is odd for us to receive orders signed by clergymen and even by mother superiors. . . .

A Scotsman, Alistair Harper, in ordering a copy of Imperium writes:

Your decision to republish Yockey's book is a good idea. I met the man on one of my rare visits to London some years back. He was in the company of a chap called Francis X. Cannon, also an American. It is a pity that Yockey met such an end. He was intended for better things.

What is Yockey's book all about? In order to understand its true message, one must understand that Yockey, as a member of the International Despotic Conspiracy, was performing a very specific function as "top fascist." The Conspiracy uses the dialectic as a guide to both Communist and anti-Communist action. What is the dialectic? It is a method of logic used by the German philosopher Hegel and adapted by Marx to his materialist philosophy: it is based on the concept of the contradiction of opposites (thesis and antithesis) and their continual resolution (synthesis). U Thant, the Secretary General of the United Nations, expressed the meaning of the dialectic in terms of historical movement in one of his speeches: "I believe very strongly in the Hegelian concept of Thesis, Anti-thesis and Synthesis . . . I believe in the march of humanity towards a synthesis." To the conspirators the thesis represented Communism, the anti-thesis anti-Communism, and the synthesis is their world despotic government. Of course, one should not expect this philosophical scheme to actually fit reality. But that never stops the criminals from applying it, since they require only the flimsiest philosophical justification for their crimes.

How did the conspirators apply the dialectic? They decided that in order for the synthesis to be "inevitable," it was necessary for the conspirators to be the leaders of both the thesis and the anti-thesis. In only that way could they be sure that the synthesis would come out the way they predicted it. Thus, Communism as well as anti-Communism had to be controlled by them. In order to control Communism they used Marx's Das Kapital as an ideological guide. In order to control anti-Communism they used Hitler's Mein Kampf in Germany and are now using Yockey's Imperium in the post World War II period.

Willis Carto repeats this idea in so many words in his Introduction to the Truth Seeker edition of Imperium. He states:

What is the significance of Imperium? Simply this. That now, for the first time, those soldiers who enlist in the service of the West have a profound theory to inspire and guide them. . . .

In one respect, Imperium is akin to Das Kapital, for Karl Marx gave to the conspiratorial Culture Distorter the necessary ideological mask to hide its mission of ruthless, total destruction. He provided an ugly and invalid theory of man, cloaked in putrefying equality, mawling hypocrisy, the disease of indiscriminating altruism and the "science" of economics. By so doing, he thrilled the rationalists with a totally specious verity, something their stunted, guilty souls desperately needed after they killed God.

Francis Parker Yockey has done the same thing for those who are constructive-minded and who have the intellectual and moral courage to face reality and seek and speak truth.

The Communist brand of anti-Communism can usually be identified by the following hallmarks: it is racist, anti-Semitic and anti-capitalist. It usually adds up to some form of National Socialism, which is merely a variation of Marxism. Yet, the Communists have successfully pawned off this fraud on many people who are convinced that Nazism is actually anti-socialist. Yockey's brand of anti-Communism is no different. For all practical purposes, it is a post-war adaptation of Hitlerism. In it the Jews are characterized as the parasitic "culture distorters," and the political philosophy of our Founding

Fathers is dismissed as "rationalistic nonsense." Yockey's work is pseudo-Spenglerian, heavily larded with the same kind of pagan mysticism which characterized Nazism. It is, in essence, the philosophy of a primitive and despotic collectivist who hates everything American civilization stands for. Yockey's message for the anti-Communists, in fact, is that they must have their own despotic revolution. He writes:

I set forth here then the two great action-tasks of the Inner Imperative of the West:

First, the liquidation of the tyranny of 19th century ideas. This means the complete cleansing of the Western soul from every form of Materialism, from Rationalism, Equality, social chaos, Communism, Bolshevism, liberalism, Leftism of every variety, money-worship, democracy, finance-capitalism, the domination of Trade, nationalism, parliamentarism, feminism, race-sterility, weak ideals of "happiness" and the like, of every form of class war. Replacing these ideals is the strong and manly idea of the Age of Absolute Politics: Authority, Discipline, Faith, Responsibility, Duty, Ethical Socialism, Fertility, Order, State, Hierarchy--the creation of the Empire of the West.

Second, the solution of the immediate life-problem of the West by conquest on the eastern plains for the further existence and fulfillment of the world-mission of the Western Civilization. (p.617)

One would hardly expect a genuine lover of individual freedom to fall for Yockey's phony brand of anti-Communism. Yet, Yockey's philosophy is being

pushed today by a well-financed group of provocateurs who are not only distributing Imperium as widely as possible among anti-Communists but are also publishing a monthly magazine devoted to expounding Tockey's philosophy called Western Destiny. This magazine, which first appeared in June 1964, is the newest and most respectable looking of the provocateur publications to appear on the scene. Again, it pushes the basic tenets of Communist anti-Communism: racism, anti-Semitism and statism--but in a manner to appeal to the intellect. It leaves the more virulent line of racism and anti-Semitism to The Thunderbolt.

Chapter

ROCKWELL COMES TO NEW YORK

The capture of Yockey apparently did not interfere with Rockwell's plans, although it most certainly sent its reverberations throughout the network. It is said that Yockey's friends in New York were visited by agents of the FBI. In general, the Yockey story had been largely confined to the San Francisco press, with very little of it reaching outside newspapers. The Drew Pearson column of June 13, 1960 was the only story about Yockey which had wide circulation outside the Bay Area. It is strange indeed that Pearson never bothered to follow up on his first Yockey story, particularly since all of the spectacular revelations came out after the suicide. One would have expected Pearson, with his intense interest in Rockwell's career, to have looked more deeply into the Yockey story to see if there was a Rockwell-Yockey link. But he didn't.

The only newspaper this writer found which drew attention to a possible connection between Yockey and Rockwell was the Financial Post of Toronto of July 16, 1960. It stated the following:

The FBI, which keeps a close eye on Rockwell's activities, has not yet acknowledged any link between the American Nazi Party and mystery man Francis P. Yockey, a Nazi sympathizer who committed suicide ~~in~~ recently in a San Francisco jail. . . .

One would have expected Drew Pearson to come to the aid of the FBI, but he never did. Meanwhile, back in Washington, Rockwell was carrying on as if nothing at all had happened, which was probably the only and best thing he could do. Had he, by his actions, indicated in any way that he was linked with Tockey, the FBI would have been able to put two and two together. And so, on June 16, 1960, the day America's top agent provocateur committed suicide, Rockwell embarked on what would be his greatest triumph over the American people. It all began when New York City's Commissioner of Parks, Newbold Morris, announced that the American Nazi Party would be issued a permit to hold a 4th of July rally in Union Square.

That was enough to touch off a storm of protest and indignation in America's largest city. This is exactly what Rockwell wanted. Taking advantage of the emotionally provocative situation, Rockwell let the newspaper reporters interview him. One such interview appeared in the Journal-American of June 17, 1960: The reporter wrote as follows:

. . . Rockwell, who speaks with a rapid, almost unintelligible delivery, outdistanced the reporter. He had mentioned three names. The reporter asked him about them.

"David Ryan, Gilbert De Mello, Hugh Bruce . . . three of my supporters . . . arrested in Union Square . . . I'm holding this rally to avenge them."

. . . How many do you think will attend your rally, Mr. Rockwell?

"After the bedlam that's been going on in the United States the rally should be solid."

What bedlam?

"The Communist conspiracy. In order to stop its spread we must recognize that the leaders of this conspiracy are Jewish."

You're the president of this organization, Mr. Rockwell?

"The commander. My deputy commander is sitting right next to me. He's Maj. Kenneth Morgan of Alexandria, Virginia. . . He wants you to get his name right . . . the head of the Gas Chamber."

The reporter interrupted Rockwell, asked him to repeat that last.

"The gas chamber. We're making it a special project to get a chamber large enough to do the job efficiently . . ."

Do the job efficiently!

"Yes . . . We've got a man in Detroit drawing up plans . . . by the time we catch 'em, try 'em . . . the electric chair . . . it'd take years."

Most of these people you're going to gas? Are they Jews?

"Yes . . ."

The reporter pressed the point by asking would he gas only Jews.

"No. Anyone, anyone guilty of treason to the white race . . ."

Mr. Rockwell, do you realize how many Negroes there are in New York?

"I get on fine with Negroes -- generally they go right along with me. I explain to them they'll never be able to be fully integrated over here. Over there . . . Africa . . . they'll be potentates. I made it attractive so they'd want to go back . . . we've got a generous aid program . . . what we offer is \$20,000 per Negro family of five or more free first class transportation back . . ."

It seems incredible that this moronic drivel was published in a major newspaper and read by hundreds of thousands. It was a good illustration of an agent provocateur at his provocative best. One might recall the plaintive

cry Rockwell uttered at one time to the Providence reporter: "I believe what I'm telling you with all my heart. It's an obligation. I'd give anything to be released from it, if it's wrong. I could be wrong. I could be crazy. But nobody has been able to show me, yet. Until that time it's my duty to do this."

At this point, one would have expected the government psychiatrists, who show so much interest in right-wing extremists, to step in. But, ~~likewise~~ of course, government psychiatrists are only reserved for the real enemies of the Conspiracy--for people who want to repeal the income tax or get us out of the United Nations--but not for those who preach mass murder and race hatred.

Of course, the Communist paper, The Worker, had something to say about Rockwell. The impending visit of this agent provocateur created just the kind of situation they thrive in. The following is from its issue of June 19, 1960:

The main New York organizations of victims of Hitler's concentration camps called on Mayor Wagner last week to prevent the granting of a permit by the Park Dept. for a Nazi demonstration in Union Square, July 4.

They also urged that a patriotic open-air rally be held July 4 in New York to ~~mark~~ the 15th year of the smashing of Nazism and the freeing of Hitler's victims from the death camps.

These actions were taken June 8 at a meeting of the League of Ghetto Fighters, Concentration Camp Victims and Partisans. . . .

The meeting elected a committee of 25 who will seek to enlist other Jewish and non-Jewish organizations in the proposed activities.

Present at the meetings were representatives of the Jewish Bund, Jewish Socialist Alliance, Workmen's Circle, Jewish National Workers Alliance, League of Nazi Victims and Invalids, the Socialist Party, etc.

One cannot help having a feeling of revulsion toward the monstrous hypocrisy and evil of the Communists who first--dialectically--create a Hitler, then take up the banner of his victims, then create another ersatz Hitler, to open old wounds, and strike up new terror in the hearts of thoroughly confused men. The incredible kinds of evil the Communists will commit to advance their cause defies human understanding and imagination. Some day, when the majority of men have once more come to their senses, it may be possible to fathom the pathological riddle of such evil.

By the 20th of June, protests had mounted to a crescendo and a suit was filed in the State Supreme Court to prevent the city from giving the permit to Rockwell. The suit was filed by an ad hoc group called The Public Awareness Committee.

On June 21, the city authorities came to a decision and it was reported in the New York World Telegram:

Denouncing Nazi leader George Lincoln Rockwell as a "half-penny Hitler" who wants to incite a riot, Mayor Robert F. Wagner this afternoon denied a permit for the American Nazi Party rally July 4th in Union Square.

The Mayor said he had information from "qualified sources" that Rockwell intends to incite riot. . . .

Emanuel Redfield, representing the New York Civil Liberties Union, was granted permission to appear as a friend of the court in behalf of the American Nazi Party. Mr. Redfield said his group would take the position that there should be "freedom of speech without discrimination."

It was to be expected that the liberal Civil Liberties Union would take up the battles of the under-privileged Mr. Rockwell in New York as they had done

in Washington, D. C. After all, it was imperative that a man of Mr. Rockwell's talents have the right to create havoc in the middle of a large city. Wasn't that one of his inalienable rights?

Of course, one could hardly be opposed to Rockwell's freedom of speech, even as an agent provocateur, but did the citizens of New York have to put up with this degenerate in one of their main public squares, when a small area near the city dump could have been appropriately roped off for him and his five followers? Clearly, it wasn't a question of freedom of speech at all, for nobody had suggested plastering an adhesive tape over Mr. Rockwell's mouth. It was simply a question of whether the citizens of New York had the right to protect themselves from that kind of filth and provocation. Certainly, no one with a lawyer's education could have possibly considered Rockwell as a serious political thinker.

But, as we shall discover, Rockwell's "freedom of speech" became the concern of some of the most unexpected people.

On June 22, 1960 Rockwell finally made the headlines. Here are a few sentences from the New York Post of that day, with the banner heading:

CROWD ATTACKS NAZI LEADER HERE; MAYOR BARS PERMIT FOR JULY 4 RALLY

A near-riot broke out in the Supreme Court corridor today as an angry throng attacked the leader of the American Nazi Party.

George Lincoln Rockwell had to be dragged away from 150 lunging, screaming spectators by police and court attendants. . . .

Another coup for the conspiracy. What joy to be a member of a conspiracy that is able to manipulate people so well.

The New York Times, of course, covered the story on its front page and added these details which quickened the hearts of all lovers of free speech:

. . . The New York Civil Liberties Union, however, urged that a permit be issued on the ground that denial of such permission would violate constitutional rights of free speech and assembly.

. . . A similar position was taken by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, of which Clark Foreman is executive director. Mr. Foreman said he had notified Mayor Wagner to this effect.

It is interesting to note that both civil liberties organizations came to Rockwell's rescue. The first organization has long been a champion of the Constitutional rights of Communists to subvert this country. The second is itself listed on the Attorney General's list as a subversive organization. The Guide to Subversive Organizations, published by the Government Printing Office, states the following on page 69:

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is an organization with headquarters in New York, whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and discredit the FBI.

. . . The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, established in 1951, although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operates as a front for the Communist Party.

Curious indeed that a front for the Communist Party should fight for Rockwell's right to incite riot and propagate anti-Semitism. Not so curious, however, when one understands Mr. Rockwell's connection with the Communist conspiracy. It should be noted, moreover, that The Worker came out editorially

against permitting Rockwell to speak in Union Square. This, however, did not stop their lawyers from pleading Rockwell's case in the courts. In the meanwhile, Communist organizers had formed a Committee to Stop the Revival of Nazism and Anti-Semitism and threatened to picket City Hall demanding that Rockwell's permit be denied. The Committee, however, was a little late, for the Mayor had already made his decision before the picketing was announced. But this operation is a typical example of Communist action. First, get a group of five Communists to dress up and act like Nazis, and then organize everybody else into a Committee against a Nazi revival. A perfect exercise in the manipulation of people.

Most entertaining of all, however, were the editorial comments which the Mayor's forthright stand elicited from some of the nation's newspapers. It should be borne in mind that it was not Rockwell's freedom of speech which was being contested, but his right to incite riot in the heart of a great city.

The New York Post, a left-wing newspaper with a large Jewish readership, edited by a former member of the Young Communist League, commented as follows:

Mayor Wagner's decision to silence Rockwell was regrettable.

The New York Times was even more dismayed by this shocking denial of a citizen's basic rights:

But Rockwell is not going to shake the foundations of this Republic. If he were left quietly to speak his piece, however revolting and abominable it is, he would create no impact. It is only when he or his henchmen are throttled, or physically attacked as one of them finally was in Washington, that they achieve the attention they crave, and we begin to chip away at

the structure of the free and liberal society in which all of us believe -- all but the Rockwells, the extremists of Right and Left.

We regret that the Mayor has panicked before a miserable and contemptible hate-monger.

It is hard to take the Times seriously when it suggests that if Rockwell "were left quietly to speak his piece . . . he would create no impact." Rockwell had hardly hidden his purpose. His intention was to create the ~~same~~ same kinds of disturbances he had created in Washington.

The Boston Herald, too, couldn't bear to see Mr. Rockwell deprived of his right to provoke mob violence. Its editorialist wrote the following on June 27, 1960:

We cannot but agree with the New York Times' conclusion that the Mayor "has panicked before a miserable and contemptible hate monger." All Americans are a little less free for what Mr. Wagner has done.

Less free of what, one might ask? The freedom to cut another's throat? Not to be left out of this fine assemblage of liberals for Rockwell, the Americans for Democratic Action also registered their faith in freedom by protesting the Mayor's decision. The following eloquent testimony appeared in The New York Times of June 26, 1960:

The Greenwich Village Chapter of Americans for Democratic Action criticized Mayor Wagner yesterday for refusing to issue a speaking permit to George Lincoln Rockwell, leader of the American Nazi Party.

In other words, Rockwell's entire support was coming from the left, from "liberal" to crypto-Communist sources. This is quite understandable if one understands the dialectic. It should be noted that not one serious, legitimate anti-Communist organization showed the slightest sympathy for Rockwell's desire to incite riot. It is also interesting to note that everytime the liberals mention Rockwell's name, it is always followed by the phrase "Leader of the American Nazi Party." It is never stated anywhere that this so-called "party" has no bank account and only ten dues paying members. Perhaps they thought it might spoil the image.

Of course, most of the editorial comment throughout the country approved the Mayor's action, which gives rise to the observation that most of the people in this country are quite rational despite the concerted effort which is being made to misinform, confuse, betray and frustrate them. All the same, the New York Post of June 29, 1960 reported the following:

The New York Civil Liberties Union has called a special meeting tomorrow of its Board of Directors to review the George Lincoln Rockwell case.

. . . The board members reached by this newspaper vigorously endorsed the NCFIU policy.

Ephraim London, who is president of the American Jewish Congress Lawyer Chapter . . . said, "I think every person must have a right to speak, no matter how dangerous I consider his ideas."

. . . Helen L. Buttenweiser put it this way:

"I feel very strongly Rockwell should be permitted to talk because I think the dangers inherent in stopping people from saying what they have to say are far greater than the danger to the community in letting this man talk."

Mrs. Buttenweiser, wife of Benjamin Buttenweiser of Kuhn, Loeb, is ~~the~~ one of the more interesting of Rockwell's defenders. She is the generous lady who not only contributed to the defense of Alger Hiss but also put up \$30,000 of the bail money for Dr. Robert Soblen, the convicted Soviet agent who escaped out of this country and later committed suicide in much the same manner as Yockey. It is hard to imagine a more unwavering quartet than Mrs. Buttenweiser, Dr. Soblen, Rockwell and Yockey. Yet, each, in the area of his activity, represents a good cross-section of the total conspiracy which has as its goal the destruction of America.

Meanwhile, back in Washington, the Administration was continuing its feeble action. According to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency Bulletin of June 29, 1960:

The Justice Dept. was reportedly continuing its inquiry into the activities of George Lincoln Rockwell and his American Nazi Party, but Mr. Yeagley noted that before the Department could take action, "there must be specific evidence to establish a violation of a specific Federal statute."

In New York, however, the authorities were a little less tolerant of America's most popular agent provocateur. A warrant for Rockwell's arrest was issued by the Kings County Supreme Court on charges of disorderly conduct and inciting to riot on a complaint signed by a member of the Jewish War Veterans. Thereafter Rockwell could not enter the New York area without risking arrest.

In addition, the American Nazi Party was restrained by Court order from

engaging in "subversive political activities" in New York State.

But in Washington, no action was taken at all, despite an appeal from the Rabbinical Council of America to Attorney General William P. Rogers, to put the American Nazi Party on the subversive list. At the same time Secretary of the Interior Seaton informed the Anti-Defamation League of his personal concern over the continuing Nazi activity in the area under his jurisdiction and the fact that he had received numerous complaints from throughout the Nation.

Finally, the Eisenhower Administration decided to take action, but only after a serious riot had taken place. Here is what happened according to the JTA Bulletin of July 5, 1960:

The U. S. Government today forbade George Lincoln Rockwell, leader of the American Nazi Party, to hold any more rallies on the Mall.

The order was issued by Elmo Bennett, administrative assistant to Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton. It followed a bloody melee on the Mall yesterday, when Rockwell and 12 of his cohorts were arrested, some were beaten, while 5 anti-Nazi hecklers were also taken into police custody.

. . . Rockwell was told that he could use one of two other locations in this city to exercise "free speech." He chose the nearest site, Judiciary Square, a relatively isolated area seven blocks away from the Mall.

The arrests enabled the public to identify the members of Rockwell's group. They included George L. Harras, 31, and Bernard C. Harras, 30, the two brothers

from Baltimore; Bernard F. David, 19; Herman N. Forbes, 45; David Honaker, 31; Paul F. ~~Donner~~, 21, younger brother of Luke ~~Donner~~, who had brought Hooker's boys from New York for Rockwell's first White House picket on July 27, 1958; Roger C. Foss, 32, a Soviet agent whose liaison with the Soviet Secret Police (KGB) was through a member of the Soviet embassy in Washington; Richard R. Braun, 25; David Burrows, 23, otherwise known as Dan Burros, a member of Madole's gang in New York; James K. Warner, 21, a young, budding agent provocateur from Pennsylvania; Lee T. Lord, 19; and J. V. K. Morgan, 35, Rockwell's "deputy commander."

In New York, however, the aftermath of Rockwell's visit produced the kind of July 4th demonstrations against the dead horse of Nazism which the Communists love. More than 1,000 New Yorkers attended an Independence Day celebration in Union Square where Rockwell was supposed to have quietly said his piece.

According to the press, the police were out in strength to prevent any attacks that might have been made by local adherents of Rockwell, all three of them.

Also, in other ceremonies in the city, civic speakers made bitter attacks on the American Nazi Party (membership: 10) just about forgetting that there were such people in the world like Fidel Castro, Nikita Khrushchev and Mao Tse Tung. Obviously, that's what Rockwell had been invented for. And that is how the Communists control the masses.

The arrests on July 4th did not deter Rockwell and his men from causing another ruckus on the streets of Washington on July 24, 1960, resulting in their being dragged to jail once more on charges of disorderly conduct. The Washington Post of July 25, 1960, described the incident as follows:

Park Police Lt. Walter W. Lange said the troopers stood in rank behind Rockwell as he addressed a crowd of about 150 persons for some 40 minutes. At a signal from Rockwell, Lange said, the troopers moved out into the crowd in small squads and "provoked fighting and general disorder."

For eight of the "troopers" -- Bernard C. Harriss (or Harras), Daniel O. Honaker, Paul F. Donner, Roger C. Foss, Richard R. Braun, Dan Burros, James K. Warner and J. V. Kenneth Morgan -- this was their second arrest. The others arrested were: John Patler, the Hooker boy who was finally "discharged" from the Marines; Dawson H. Grant, 30; Larry C. Denny, 23; Sam Crutchfield, 26; Albin A. Wiengen, 43; George E. Clark, 25; Louis B. Yalacki, 27; and Eugene B. Collton, 28, the last two, Rockwell's old standbys.

When Rockwell appeared in Court, it didn't take very long for the Judge to decide that a psychiatric examination of the fuhrer was in order. Was Rockwell in his right mind? This was the question which was to be answered in the following weeks.

Chapter

ROCKWELL AND THE PSYCHIATRISTS

Up to July 1960, there had been a tendency on the part of the public to consider Rockwell as some sort of crackpot. His actions and statements certainly were not those of a normal human being. They could only be construed as the neurotic ravings of someone who had gone off on the deep end. Yet, there was method to Rockwell's madness. Each bid for national attention, each provocation was well-planned and well-coordinated. Which would lead one to conclude that if the contents and substance of Rockwell's overt activities were crackpotish, the method whereby he got the notoriety he wanted was not.

A good inside picture of how Rockwell was conducting himself during this period was given by a series of articles which appeared in the Washington Daily News in August 1960. The articles were written by two reporters, one of whom "infiltrated" the American Nazi Party. It is obvious that Rockwell knew that he was being "infiltrated" and that he was quite content to expose himself to the reporter as long as it resulted in additional publicity and notoriety. The first article of the series appeared on August 15, 1960 and read as follows:

"After a meeting on the Mall on June 19, I went up to Rockwell and

told him: 'It took a lot of nerve to say what you did.' Rockwell replied: 'You've got a lot of muscle. We need guys who can help us--physically or financially. Come over to headquarters and we'll talk about it.'"

That is how a Washington Daily News reporter, working under cover, joined the almost non-existent legion of George Lincoln Rockwell.

Rockwell, now awaiting trial in Municipal Court on peace disturbing charges, is founder and proprietor of the "American National Socialist Party", or more briefly, the "American Nazis."

Lately he has become something of a public, albeit repellent figure

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"Tench" picked up the phone.

"You won't get McGinley," Rockwell said. "He's in the hospital."

"Tench" called anyway and, oddly enough, got him.

McGinley said he'd send the sheets--when he got the money.

Rockwell looked glum. His elder statesmen clumped around with their guns. A younger, gunless member sat down beside the hefty girls on the sofa, hugging one and mussing the other's hair. The girls sat stolidly, seemingly impervious to passion or its imitation.

"You don't look dignified, Robert," Rockwell said. Robert with his arms around the girl, paid him no mind. "I'm going to hit the sack," Rockwell said. "I'm beat." That was the last we saw of our leader that day. He got sleepy and, as he said, he hit the sack.

The questions which most naturally come to mind are: what was a grown man, an ex-commander in the Navy with a university education, the former publisher of a respectable magazine, married to a girl from a distinguished Icelandic family, father of four lovely children, doing with a gang of moronic juvenile delinquents and acting as if he were in a kindergarten? Where was he getting the money to indulge such lunacy, seven days a week? There seemed to be no visible source of income. Most people would love to give up their jobs and devote their full time to their pet hobbies, but they don't do so because they know that they have to eat and pay their bills, and there are few generous souls around willing to pick up the tab for someone else's irrational behavior. In the case of Rockwell, however, the public was expected to believe that there were enough people in the United States who loved Rockwell so that they were

willing to support the antics of this fuhrer and his crew to the tune of keeping them in business indefinitely. In the ten years of Rockwell's full-time career as a Nazi, he has never wanted for a square meal; he has never lacked the means to get around the country by auto or airplane; he has bought paper, printed literature and sent it out by the thousands using a tremendous amount of postage. Yet there has never been any attempt to find out what keeps this well-oiled machine going.

Anyone who has ever had experience with organizational work knows how difficult it is to raise financial support for even the most respectable and effective anti-Communist organizations. Yet, a lunatic movement, based on a totally discredited and abhorred racist philosophy borrowed from a former enemy responsible for the deaths of thousands of young American men manages to keep going indefinitely. If Rockwell's support during these ten years has come from persons within the United States, it should not be difficult to find out who these supporters are. If the money has come from abroad, then the Attorney General, under the foreign agents registration act, should investigate. But so far, in ten years, there has been no investigation. Who, indeed, is protecting Rockwell, and why? How is it that he has enjoyed such immunity over the years?

The second article was written by the reporter who has "infiltrated" Rockwell's gang and was present at the July 3rd rally on the Mall. This reporter subsequently was also a witness at Rockwell's trial. He wrote:

I was on the side of Rockwell's speaking platform, between Rockwell and his audience, one of the thin lines he calls his "Circle of Defense." There were about 20 of us, four or five in civilian clothes, the rest in the usual wrinkled khaki.

Rockwell mounted the platform and began to rant.

"Fellow Americans . . ."

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"In reference to your spying on the party, you are hereby no longer a member of the American Nazi Party. You have for the last three weeks been under investigation by the party, and your appearance in court has given us the final proof of your treachery." It was signed "Sieg Heil. James K. Warner, Lt. WUFENS."

"WUFENS" is a bark without a bite. It stands with megalomaniac exaggeration for "World Union of Free Enterprise National Socialists"-- the name by which the Arlington misfits would like to be known.

It is easy enough to understand the perplexity of those who were at a loss to explain what Rockwell was up to. The idea that he could be a Communist agent provocateur hadn't occurred to anyone (except a few astute anti-Communists) because they, as yet, had no idea that such creatures existed. It is obvious, therefore, that in order to explain the Rockwell phenomenon, a number of superficial theories about him were dreamed up. But before going into that, let us review Rockwell's encounter with the psychiatrists.

First, it should be understood that it was not the Federal Government which was interested in Rockwell psychiatrically--as it had been in Gen. Walker--but the District of Columbia municipality. It seemed to Municipal Court Judge Neilson that Rockwell had been behaving somewhat abnormally and that his competence to stand trial was at question. The question of sanity had been raised by the Assistant Corporation Counsel who had studied Rockwell's literature and activities. ~~Therefore, when~~ Therefore, when Rockwell appeared in Municipal Court on July 6, Judge Neilson ordered him to find a psychiatrist, submit himself to an examination, and inform the court of the results. In other words, Rockwell had to go out and get a psychiatrist himself.

According to Rockwell, he spent the next two weeks looking for a psychiatrist to examine him, but every psychiatrist he approached refused to have anything to do with him. Thus, when he returned to court on July 20, Rockwell himself requested the Judge to order someone to examine him. The Judge consequently ordered Rockwell to make himself available to the D. C. General Hospital for an examination on an outpatient basis. The D. C. General Hospital, however, having no facilities for conducting psychiatric examinations on an outpatient basis, refused to examine Rockwell. The Judge was then forced to rescind the order.

It looked as if Rockwell was not going to get his examination, until two St. Elizabeth psychiatrists, after being prevailed upon by the Assistant Corporation Counsel, agreed to examine Rockwell without charge as private doctors-- not as staff members of the hospital.

The point worth emphasizing is that Rockwell had a very difficult time trying to find a psychiatrist to examine him. On the other hand, in the case of Gen. Edwin Walker, government psychiatrists from Baltimore, Memphis and elsewhere couldn't wait to volunteer their opinions and services, tripping over each other trying to get there first. In other words, when it came to a man like Gen. Walker, who had in no way exhibited irrational behavior, there were more than enough psychiatrists available. But when it came to an agent provocateur, advocating mass extermination and carrying on like a moron right under the nose of the Federal Government, there was no great urge on the part of the psychiatric community or the Federal authorities to take the case on.

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do their part in creating his phony press image. It was also important to demonstrate that the left hand knew what the right hand was doing. It couldn't be otherwise. That, of course, does not mean that all Communists know that Rockwell is an agent provocateur, for the Communist Party itself is largely a front group with all kinds of infantile, dim-witted utopian saps and gullibles within its ranks. But some members of the left-side of the party know of the existence of their so-called "right-wing" agents provocateurs because they not only created them but also because it is their job to help them do what they have been created to do. Naturally, Mrs. Lockwood's article was not wasted in The Worker, which reaches only a few thousand readers, but it was published in the Toronto Star Weekly, one of Canada's slick, mass circulation, Sunday supplements. Also, Mr. Lockwood didn't give the impression that he was affiliated with the Communist Party, but it takes little imagination to judge which side of the fence he is on by his performance. One need do no more than compare that performance with that of the reporters from the Washington Daily News, who gave a true picture of the reality of Rockwell's phony, contrived little movement.

Chapter

ROCKWELL'S SOVIET AGENT

Now we come to an episode which is even more fantastic than anything related until now. It begins with a story which appeared in the Washington Post of August 12, 1960, a story which should have made headlines across the nation but never did. The FBI had accumulated evidence proving that one of Rockwell's so-called troopers was an actual Soviet agent. What is even more interesting is how this story was subsequently squelched. Here is the story as it appeared in the Washington Post:

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Operation was being so well protected by its accomplices that it could use a registered Soviet agent as a picket and still not be exposed as a Communist operation. Probably, had Rockwell and his men pinned their Communist Party cards to their lapels, The New York Times would have failed to see that too. How many more mistakes would the so-called American Nazis have to make before it would become crystal clear to everyone that Rockwell and his gang were nothing less than agents provocateurs doing the work of the Communists?

Another interesting item the press failed to pick up was the fact that Rockwell actually had a Jewish member in his Party. This member participated in picketing a theatre in Hollywood, California, in which Sammy Davis, Jr. was appearing. The New York Daily News of October 27, 1960 reported the incident as follows:

Three youths wearing swastika arm bands marched outside a theatre last night to protest the scheduled marriage of Sammy Davis Jr. and Swedish actress May Britt.

The crowd roughed them up and destroyed the placards.

Police said Leonard Holstein, 20, Fred Joseph, 21, Roger E. Stanton, 19, told them they are unofficial members of the American Nazi Party, which has headquarters in Arlington, Virginia.

Is it not interesting how so tiny a group could operate in so many parts of the country, attracting attention and giving the impression that its operation was far more extensive than it actually was. Obviously, the "Nazis" had hoped to give Mr. Davis the impression that he was being picketed by "right-wing

extremists." But what would Mr. Davis have thought had he known that he was actually being picketed by left-wing agents provocateurs, one of whom happened to be Jewish?

We know that Leonard Holstein was Jewish because Rockwell admitted it himself in an interview which was published in The Realist in June, 1961. That interview went as follows:

Q. You said you have a Jewish member--

A. One of the most intelligent, cleverest men here--I don't know whether I should give his name because the poor kid would be bitterly persecuted--

Q. The name doesn't make any difference.

A. He has a very Jewish name. And just yesterday he requested membership. And also, the head of my Party in Los Angeles--who was just arrested, and put on a wonderful demonstration in behalf of Eichmann--is named Leonard Holstein, a Jew.

As far as is known, no official investigation was made concerning the backgrounds of the three Nazis who picketed Sammy Davis, Jr. But it certainly would have been interesting to find out why a young man of the Jewish faith--Leonard Holstein--was parading around as a Nazi. Undoubtedly, he was simply applying the dialectic, like a good Marxist.

Another unusual character found in Rockwell's group was a Hungarian resident of Canada, visiting the United States. His identity was revealed in a story which appeared in the Washington Post on October 21, 1960. The story went as follows:

Deportation proceedings began yesterday against John Pahl, 45, a follower of George Lincoln Rockwell's tiny American Nazi Party, the U.S. Immigration Service said.

Pahl, a Canadian who emigrated from Hungary after World War II, was in a group of anti-Kennedy, anti-Jewish pickets in front of Democratic National Headquarters . . . on October 12.

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Many hundreds of persons were milling around Pleasant street in front of the historic old church when the doors were closed by state police on duty, shortly after 8 p.m. The tension was electric as the curious and the enthusiastic waited patiently for the expected appearance of the self-styled commander of the American Nazi Party.

. . . When the appearance of Rockwell did not materialize, the crowd outside dwindled to a mere handful by the end of Hall's two hour lecture.

. . . The restlessness of the young people was evident, and many soon became bored with the seriousness of Hall's message and left the church.

. . . Also on hand were representatives of radio, television, and newspapers (including the Boston Globe, Boston Herald and Traveler, Boston Record, UPI, AP and local newsmen.

Indeed, Gordon Hall ran true to form that evening. But simply picture this: an American audience being lectured to by one agent provocateur working in cahoots with another agent provocateur, both intent on only one thing: manipulating and deceiving their countrymen in order to betray them more efficiently into the hands of their enemies. Please note, that Gordon Hall, the great authority on Rockwell and the American Nazi Party, didn't bother to inform his audience that a Soviet agent had been found in "Rockwell's group and that that same Soviet agent was still in Rockwell's organization. Nor did he bother to mention what had happened in San Francisco when Yockey had been caught. As an "authority" on anti-Semites, celebrated for his "knowledge and depth of investigation," Hall didn't tell his audiences anything they weren't being spoon-fed by the controlled mass media.

In the meanwhile, back in Boston, Rockwell, and his companion, Roy James, were fined for registering at the Boston hotel during their previous visit under false names. This interesting detail appeared in the Boston Traveller of March 26, 1961:

The 43-year-old Nazi testified that a man "by the name of Christopher Snow" had registered him at the hotel.

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control over thousands of others in a healthy American community where the organs of information were obviously under the influence of the diseased men or their dupes. As long as these thousands of good, anti-Communist citizens are ignorant of how they are being manipulated, the diseased men will keep on winning.

Now, of course these basic techniques of manipulation can be used in other situations -- for example, in a Southern community to create racial tensions, as was the case in St. Augustine, Florida. It only takes a handful of professional agitators to turn a city upside down. But also remember that these agitators are the agents of a much larger enterprise; that they are the visible parts of an otherwise invisible conspiracy whose influences can be seen operating in the Justice Department, the press, and the White House. These professional agitators are on someone's payroll, doing a job for somebody, and until our police authorities are free enough of inhibiting influences to find out who is financing that payroll, the agitators will keep on agitating.

Chapter

ROCKWELL, MONEY AND THE BOSTON HERALD

In late March of 1961, Rockwell decided to incorporate his Party. An interesting story about this appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of March 31, 1961:

A Virginia Corporation Commission reaffirmed today the right of the minuscule American Nazi Party to a state charter as long as it complies with Virginia's laws.

. . . Replied at his headquarters, Mr. Rockwell seemed pleased, but not surprised by Mr. Caterall's letter. He said he needed the charter to incorporate his movement "because our funds are growing so large that I didn't want to handle them as an individual." He said he'd rather not

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haven for itinerant Nazis, he should support his children.

According to testimony Rockwell's Nazi movement ~~has~~ has some ten dues paying members.

Now anyone who tried to make sense out of Rockwell's finances on the evidence presented up to April 1961 did not get very far. From February 1956, when Rockwell started working as a full-time agent provocateur, to April 1961, is a period of five full years. During these five years--apart from the brief Arrowsmith episode (and it should be remembered that Arrowsmith repossessed his house and equipment)--it is impossible to find a source of substantial income for Rockwell, who was required to support the three children from his first marriage, not to mention the four children of his second marriage who apparently did not need his support. During these five years Rockwell held no substantial jobs--yet, in April 1961, he was living comfortably in a home for which \$20,000 was suddenly made available out of nowhere; he had eaten his meals during all of this time; smoked his cigars; paid his phone bills; traveled extensively by air and auto around the country; printed tons of literature on a costly two-color rotary press in his own house; mailed out thousands of letters, circulars, booklets, magazines, propaganda sheets, all at first class rates; had the use of electronic equipment and movie cameras for his rallies and pickets; paid out the many legal fees and fines connected with his troubles with the law; supported a sizable group of unemployed bums and juvenile agitators who had all the time in the world to picket incessantly in many places, accompany Rockwell on his trips, stay at hotels, and were not in want of any of the necessities of life.

All of this, over a period of five years, cost a substantial

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That's all there is to that item. It should also be noted at this juncture that it was in June 1961 that The Realist, a left-wing beatnik magazine, published in Greenwich Village, printed a seven-page interview with Rockwell. However, there were a few letters to the editor objecting to the publication of the interview. Apparently, Rockwell's fantastic success in getting headlines had begun to alarm a few "liberals". But The Realist decided to publish the interview because, as the editor replied to his readers, "Rockwell's bite is but a warning signal of the danger inherent in the John Birch ~~tree~~ bark."

~~Incidentally~~ Evidently, these "liberals" were unaware that it was their fellow "liberals" who had created Rockwell's press image and had made it possible for the Fuehrer to operate so freely and with impunity. It should of course be expected that the liberals would deliberately build up Rockwell. Even if they were not in on the conspiratorial side of the Rockwell operation, they were shrewd and cynical enough to know that Rockwell's antics could only benefit the liberal cause in the long run.

Chapter

MINOR TROUBLES FOR THE MEMBER

The "Hate Bus" excursion had ended in a fiasco in New Orleans. But the trouble did not stay behind in Louisiana. No sooner was Rockwell back in Washington, than his gang managed to create a scandal which even the Attorney General couldn't entirely ignore. The story is told in the Washington Post of July 16, 1961:

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Well, the authorities at Bucknell had the wisdom to cancel "Rockwell's" intended appearance at the University after a number of local community groups had raised a howl. But in March Rockwell had much better luck elsewhere, specifically in Southern California, where he was invited to speak at San Diego State College by another so-called "liberal" student group called the Committee for Student Action. What is interesting about these liberal student groups is that they are always eager to welcome a Communist Party leader or a Rockwell to speak before the student body, but never do they invite anyone connected with the John Birch Society. A rather strange bias, to say the least.

Before Rockwell went to California, however, he stopped off in Chicago to address a mass meeting of Black Muslims on February 25, 1962, at the invitation of Elijah Muhammed himself. What had been Muhammed's purpose in inviting Rockwell to speak before his followers? The purpose can be easily surmised by the way Rockwell described the occasion in his own publication, the Rockwell Report, on April 1, 1962. He wrote:

On February 25, 1962 I stood up in full Nazi uniform before 12,500 Black Muslims and gave an all-out speech calling for geographic separation of the races, with America's "foreign" aid going to our Negro people rather than to Red and "neutralist" nations which hate us, shoot up and imprison our citizens and spit in our faces.

Again and again my speech was interrupted by applause and cheers from these thousands of black men and women who, we are told in our Jew-ized press, are "hate" people bent on murder and massacre. At the end I gave

a Nazi salute and shouted "Heil Hitler!", -- and got first applause and then some boo's.

After Rockwell spoke, an NAACP official addressed the audience, which, incidentally, was much smaller than Rockwell reported. The man from the NAACP criticized the leader of the Black Muslims for having invited Rockwell to speak before them. But this didn't phase the Black Muslim leader one bit. Rockwell describes what then followed:

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad stood up, and a hush fell over the vast sea of people. Then this black leader showed why he is destined to lead the Black People out of bondage and into their own Dignity and Freedom.

"The German Nazis are not Hypocrites!" he said, (he meant American Nazis) "--they tell you the truth! The White Man does not want to mix! And the Black Man wants to be Himself, not somebody else. He does not want to mix! Only the boot-licking so-called 'Negro' comes to another race begging to 'mix'! I take my hate off to any White Man who wants to stay white!"

"Why should you not applaud this White Man for telling you the same truths I tell you?" asked this courageous Black Leader--and he was swarmed with ten thousand cheers.

Again, the expert and clever use of the dialectic. Establish a thesis, then establish the anti-thesis, then exhibit them as if they were spontaneous opposites. The Black Muslims needed confirmation that the White Man believed exactly as Elijah Muhammad told them he believed. "Why should you not applaud

this white man for telling you the same truths I tell you?" In words it was all very clear, but a little demonstration put on before their very eyes would convince many who had not been convinced until then. Besides, how many among them had the discernment to be able to see through the phony little drama which had been staged for their benefit? If they were gullible enough to be taken in by Elijah Muhammed's incredible mumbo-jumbo doctrine, what chance was there that they would see through the phoniness of a Rockwell?

From Chicago, Rockwell flew on to the West Coast, arriving there on March 1, 1962. The Ontario Daily Report reported his arrival as follows in its edition of that day:

Los Angeles (UPI) -- Rockwell, upon his arrival at Los Angeles International Airport, said he plans to organize about 300 Southern Californians who, he said, are active in the American Nazi Party.

Rockwell, who said he will be here for a week, announced plans to appear locally on TV and to address the local Black Muslim organization.

The following day appeared two additional dispatches, the first in the Ontario Daily Report:

Pomona -- George Lincoln Rockwell . . . Thursday predicted he will be president of the United States in 1972.

With Rockwell at the ~~press~~ press conference here was Robert Lewton of Pomona, an electronics technician. Rockwell described Lewton as his "number two party man in the Los Angeles area."

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The Detroit News of March 9, 1962 had these details:

"As I approached," said Cherry, "Rockwell said, 'You want to talk,' and I said, 'Yes.' Then he made a punching gesture and said 'Get out of here.'

"I just had an unconscious reaction. I hit him. I hope the action won't reflect on the school. I'm sorry."

It's hard to understand what there was to be sorry about. But it is interesting that none of the newspapers mentioned the fact that Rockwell's lieutenant in Los Angeles, Leonard Holstein, who came to Rockwell's rescue when Edward Cherry, the Jewish student, took a sock at him, was also Jewish. This bit of irony was not picked up by the press. It would have been fascinating to find out the motivation of the Jewish Nazi.

Of course, one could readily understand how Cherry had been provoked into socking Rockwell. However, at the College, the authorities took a dim view of the student's spontaneous action. The New York Post of March 11, 1962 reported that aspect succinctly:

Dr. Ernest O'Byrne, the college's dean of men, said an investigation was under way to determine if any disciplinary action should be taken against Cherry. No charges had been filed against him and it appeared none would be.

O'Byrne was quoted right after the fracas as saying: "It was a wonderful lesson in Americanism."

In the meanwhile, on the San Diego State College campus, things were in a turmoil. The student newspaper, the Daily Aztec of March 13, 1962 described the atmosphere as follows:

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Chapter

THE NEWTON ARMSTRONG TRAGEDY

Not every one on the San Diego State College campus was confused. There were a few students who were neither fooled by Rockwell nor by the obvious tactics of the Committee for Student Action. They were students who were aware of the existence of the Communist conspiracy. One member of that group, a 19-year-old student named Newton Armstrong, Jr., came from a family that was active in The John Birch Society. An intelligent, dedicated and patriotic youth, Newton had simply used his mind, which none of the liberal students ever seem to do, and he had analyzed what must be the purpose behind the entire Rockwell operation. We inserted that analysis at the beginning of this book and we saw how it accurately pinpointed the meaning and purpose of Rockwell's work as an agent provocateur.

Now it is obvious that the only way in which the Rockwell fraud could succeed was if its Communist connections remained a secret. However, following Rockwell's appearance at San Diego, Newton Armstrong circulated a pamphlet on campus written by himself, in which he explained his theory concerning Rockwell. This pamphlet must have been quite effective, for it forced the Communists to do something which they do not do too often for fear of awakening the opposition and arousing widespread indignation. They resorted to murder. Of course the murder was made to look like "suicide," but there is little doubt among those who are intimately familiar with the details of the tragedy that Newton Armstrong, Jr. was indeed murdered. The story first broke in the San Diego Union of April 1, 1962:

MYSTERY HANGING OF SDS STUDENT BAPPLIES POLICE

Campus Editor Found Dead In Home At Coronado;

Father Calls It Murder

A San Diego student, new editor of the campus conservative magazine *Evolve*, was found dead in his home yesterday in what police termed a "mystery" and his father said was murder.

Newton E. Armstrong, Jr., 19, of 435 Country Club Lane, Coronado, was found hanged by the neck by a clothesline rope from a ceiling beam.

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The boy's father said he looked to his own political activities as a possible explanation for the death. He said he has received many anonymous and crank telephone calls recently involving his Birch society activities.

He said he and other society members had been getting a "rough battering."

His son had vigorously protested the appearance of Rockwell on the campus in a pamphlet which read:

"We will no doubt soon hear that if a Nazi is allowed to speak on campus, then why not a Communist?"

Charles Barrack of 2169 California St., who was to be succeeded as editor of *Evolve* by Armstrong, said the Coronado boy's first article for the publication was a criticism of Rockwell.

"He was so excited about editing the newspaper," Barrack said. "Everything was going well for him."

Fellow members of Kappa Sigma fraternity said they endorsed his election campaign, "which he surely would have won."

He had helped organize a new Young Republicans club in San Diego, was the co-ordinator of a Young GOP publication, the *New Frontier*, which is a criticism of Democratic politics, and had assisted in the candidacy of Capt. E. Richard Barnes, USN, ret. for election to the state assembly.

It is obvious that Newton Armstrong, Jr., was everything one would hope all young Americans could be: intelligent, politically alert, active, intellectually honest, courageous, and a potential leader of great value. He obviously did not realize the dangerous position he had put himself in by writing his pamphlet on Rockwell. Evidently, he thought that in a country which was still technically

free, a person could express his political views without being murdered for it.

But he did not realize that his thesis concerning Rockwell virtually threatened to expose the entire nature of the agent provocateur's operations in the United States, and he could not have known that less than a year before Francis Parker Yockey had committed suicide in a San Francisco prison to prevent the world from knowing exactly what Newton Armstrong was telling them. And thus it was decided by the conspirators that Newton Armstrong had to be liquidated.

It is obvious that they had more than one reason for doing this: the first reason was to discourage and prevent further exposure of the agent provocateur operation; the second reason was to frighten and terrorize those patriotic students on the campus who were beginning to do an effective job; and the third reason was to test their power to get away with so cold-blooded an act of murder and terrorism in the United States today. The events which followed the death of Newton Armstrong, Jr., substantiate this. On April 3, 1962 the San Diego Union reported the following:

A San Diego student who was a close friend of Newton Armstrong Jr., yesterday found a hangman's noose on the front seat of his car in a campus parking lot.

Dist. Atty. Don Keller, who sent an investigator to the college, said there apparently was no connection between the noose incident and Armstrong's death. . . .

The noose--with eight coils drawn in a "hangman's knot"--was found by Albert Halterman, 19, of 506 Tyrone St., El Cajon, as he entered his car to leave campus about 3:30 p.m.

Halterman is a member of Students for Freedom a conservative student group. . . .

James Lockett, 21, of 5164 College Ave., who notified the district attorney's office of the noose incident, said he joined Students for Freedom Saturday evening with four other students after they learned of Armstrong's death.

The San Diego Union of April 5, 1962 continued to probe the case:

Further investigation was ordered yesterday into the unsolved death of Newton Armstrong Jr., of Coronado. . . .

Dist. Atty. Don Keller reported the action after a conference with investigators and a series of events which added to the mystery of the youth's hanging in his home last Saturday.

These were the developments:

1. Keller said, "Things keep coming up which indicate further inquiry is needed."
2. The doctor who made the first examination of the youth said evidence indicates the youth's hands were tied behind his head.
3. The president of Students for Freedom, the club in which Armstrong was a member, resigned at the pleading of her parents who said they feared for her safety.
4. School and student officials at San Diego State appealed for prudence by members of the student body. . . .

Still undecided about the death was Dr. Robert W. Chamberlain, a Coronado physician who was the first man to examine young Armstrong and reported, "It did not look like a suicide."

"I found marks that went completely around his wrists," said Chamberlain. "I'm sure they meant his hands were tied behind his head by the rope. He could not have tied them himself."

The murderers of Newton Armstrong, Jr., however, were hardly frightened by the District Attorney's investigators. They went about terrorizing other students, as revealed by this story which appeared the very next day, April 6, 1962, in the San Diego Union:

3RD STUDENT THREATENED WITH DEATH

2nd Phone Caller in Two Nights Says 'You're Next'

The third threat arising from the mysterious hanging death Saturday of San Diego State student Newton S. Armstrong, Jr., was reported to police last night.

The latest threat--an anonymous telephone call with the warning "You're next"--was received by John Lowe, 22, a SDS senior and vice president of the conservative Students for Freedom campus organization.

A similar call was made to another student Wednesday night and the first threat occurred when a hangman's noose was placed Monday in the auto of Albert Halterman, 19, of 406 Tyrone St., El Cajon, also a student.

Police sent two officers to Lowe's home, 758 Solita Ave., to investigate the youth's report that the anonymous caller refused to identify himself after uttering the threat.

The same words were spoken Wednesday night by a man who called Charles Barrack, 24, of 2169 W. California St., a graduate student at the college. Barrack was the student whom Armstrong had been named to replace as editor

of "Evolve," a conservative campus publication. . . .

Barrack said he was dozing in the living room of his residence Wednesday night when the phone rang.

He said the caller, who had a deep male voice, spoke matter of factly and made no effort to disguise his voice.

"I was pretty shocked," Barrack told a reporter later. "It really threw me, I could hardly sleep all night." . . .

Asked whether he thought some campus radicals might be seeking to intimidate the conservative organization, he said, "They are doing a good job of it--not on the members, but on the parents of members."

This was not the last of the threatening phone calls. The San Diego Union reported the following on the very next day, April 7, 1962:

4th SDS Student Receives Threat

Another SDS student told police he was threatened yesterday--the fourth such threat since a conservative campus political leader was found hanged early Saturday.

The latest victim, Gary Riggs, 24, said he was phoned while at work as desk clerk at Rancho Presidio Motel in Mission Valley at 8:55 a.m. and told:

"I suggest you stop the meeting at 7 o'clock on California Street on Sunday before someone gets hurt including yourself."

. . . Three other members of Students for Freedom have received death threats this week. . . .

Another clerk at the hotel, Ken Krouse, later told police Riggs had received a second call at 10 a.m.

This time the caller said, "Remember Sunday -- don't forget Sunday," Krouse said.

Having succeeded in committing murder and spreading intimidation among the students, the criminals' next action was to slander the victims. Rumors that both Newton Armstrong Sr. and Jr. were homosexuals began to emanate from "liberal" sources, in typical Communist fashion, on the San Diego campus. The May 1962 issue of Evolve, the conservative student paper, reported the situation as follows:

. The tactics employed by certain "liberal" elements on campus, as seen in their actions during the Armstrong tragedy, does give cause for concern. It is understandable that in the heat of political disagreement individuals will allow their emotions to move them to actions which they would otherwise avoid. But when the reputation and good name of individuals is raked through the slime of defamation, then there must be a halt.

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Of course, Armstrong, as well as Students for Freedom, appreciate further Nelson's attempt to prevent/smeared of Armstrong's name. But lies such as these must be exposed if they are to be answered. This is especially true since not only the good name of Armstrong but also his son's are now being smeared with this charge.

The student-president of the American Civil Liberties Union has said that there are indications that young Armstrong was a homosexual.

It is hard to understand how those who spend so much time making preachment about "civil liberties" and "civil rights" are capable of such hideous slander. It would be interesting to know why they are apparently so obsessed with such sexual aberrations as homosexuality.

But these are questions which only psychiatrists can answer.

Of course, slanderous and malicious defamation of character is standard Communist procedure, particularly when the victim has been liquidated or has been earmarked for liquidation. That kind of campaign of defamation is so much a part and parcel of Communist behavior that it is difficult to understand how anyone can be fooled by it. But the Communists have never merely been content to murder and defame people. They usually then accuse the victims of having perpetrated the very crimes they themselves are guilty of. Thus it is not at all uncharacteristic that Newton Armstrong Sr. should have received the following letter on May 28, 1962. The letter, reproduced in full in Evolve, was typewritten on the stationery of the Office of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., Los Angeles

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Does this letter not remind the reader of Matt Koehl's article in the January 1959 issue of The Thunderbolt in which he wrote: "On October 12, 1958 the Jews bombed one of their synagogues in Atlanta." The same technique of accusing the victim of inflicting the criminal deed upon himself is a typical Communist technique and is used by both the open Communists and their lightly disguised agents provocateurs. It should be noted that the postal authorities did not think it appropriate to investigate the origin of this vicious letter because the letter had not violated any postal regulations against "extortion, blackmail, or intimidation"!

The question, of course, is who did murder Newton Armstrong Jr.? Was he murdered by the agents provocateurs or by the Communists on campus? A thorough investigation of both groups would have easily been possible. But, as usually happens when a murder is committed involving probable Communist complicity, the San Diego Police Department, aided and abetted by their colleagues in Los Angeles, decided that no murder had been committed at all. It was "suicide." Thus, flying in the face of all the evidence to the contrary, Ray Pinker, in charge of the Los Angeles Police crime laboratory, issued the following unbelievable statement, as reported in the San Diego Union of April 14, 1962:

"All available scientific evidence indicates the deceased came to his death as the result of hanging by his own hands. There is nothing to indicate the involvements of any other persons or persons."

Then, just to add the right psychological touch, so that the public would get the hint ever so gently, Pinker added gratuitously:

"There was nothing apparent to suggest that this could be an experimental self-hanging for some deviate sex gratification, as occasionally occurs."

Is it not tragic for America, that a young, dedicated patriot, victimized by the most vicious criminal conspiracy in history, should suffer after his death not only the vicious slanders of his murderers, but also the subtle slanders of a so-called law-enforcement officer. Either Mr. Pinker was wilfully blind to the facts, or so ignorant in his job that he was merely wasting the taxpayers' money.

The refusal of the authorities to investigate the case merely meant that the murder would have to be investigated independently. Also, because Newton Armstrong Sr. was a member of The John Birch Society, it meant that the Society would do what it could to publicize the murder in San Diego. In the John Birch Society Bulletin of May, 1962, Mr. Robert Welch wrote the following:

On the two center pages of this bulletin we have reproduced the news report of the death of Newton Armstrong, Jr., as it appeared in the San Diego Union -- an excellent paper -- the day after the young man's body was found, hung from a rafter in his parents' bedroom in their home in a suburb of San Diego.

We knew of this tragedy, of course, when our last bulletin went to press on Tuesday, April 3. We refrained from saying anything about it, to avoid any possible interference with the wheels of justice. Since then the crossfire and confusion of statements and "investigations" by various authorities have gradually subsided. And one conclusion stands out: That some of these authorities, at least, are hoping interest in the case will also gradually subside and disappear, so that they can "sweep it under the rug" as an unsolved mystery and forget it.

The father of this very able, popular, and patriotic young man is

convinced that his son was murdered because of the father's activities as an avowed and dedicated member of The John Birch Society, and young Newton's own leadership in conservative groups and causes at San Diego State College. Our own study of a considerable mass of reports about the case, combined with some knowledge of the political atmosphere in and around San Diego--which is as sinister as anywhere in the United States--simply confirms the father's belief. Under all of the known circumstances, both "suicide" and "accident" become incredible to the point of absurdity.

Mr. Newton Armstrong, Sr. advised us at once, and has since reconfirmed, that regardless of the feelings of himself and the boy's mother, and regardless of any questions of "good taste" that might be involved, he would like to see us give this murder any and all publicity which might help to wake up other patriots as to what is already starting to happen in this country; and use the tragic event in any other honorable way that will help the anti-Communist cause. For he feels sure that this is what young Newton himself would have wanted. We agree. For while this is the first murder for political reasons we know about, of which a member of the JBS family has been the victim, there have already been entirely too many "fatal accidents and suicides" happening to such other anti-Communists as Manning Johnson and Povl Bang-Jensen. And we do know of other actions being taken and pressure being brought, against and even prospective members of the Society -- enough to make it clear, as we indicated above, that we may only be two or three years off in this country from what is already happening in France, where many patriotic citizens like yourselves are simply disappearing into concentration camps. We are

therefore taking two present steps which we believe would be in accordance with the wishes of Newton Armstrong, Jr. as well as of his parents.

A. We should like to have our members write their local newspapers, asking why this case has not been given the publicity and attention which would certainly be normal and expected for an unsolved murder with such overtones of national significance and interest. Do not try to go into details or analysis or argument. Just state enough of the bare facts, as taken from the first article in The San Diego Union, and ~~ask~~ why there is this apparent conspiracy of silence in the national press over the whole affair.

B. We are hereby setting up the Newton Armstrong Memorial Fund. Money received for this fund, while subject to the disposition of the Society, will be carried in a separate bank account, and used for certain special purposes. These purposes will include, and consist primarily of, the employment of attorneys, investigators, and such other experts and specialists as circumstances may require, for a continuing effort to protect the Society and its members -- and in some cases other anti-Communists -- from all of the ruthless tactics the Comsymps and their duces and allies may use against us

The letter-writing campaign of The John Birch Society began to have its effects. But the liberal press was hardly moved. Its attitude toward the "right-wing extremists" was exemplified best by an article in the New York Times of July 15, 1962

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It was to be expected that Rockwell would also join the left-wing chorus in its smear campaign against Newton Armstrong, Jr. who had done quite an effective job exposing Rockwell as a Red agent provocateur. Rockwell's magazine, The Stormtrooper, official publication of the American Nazi Party, had the following to say about the Newton Armstrong case in its issue of January-February, 1963:

RIGHT WING SMEAR EXPOSED

San Diego, Calif.--Newton Armstrong was a San Diego U. student, who published a conservatively billed "Evolve", and who opposed Cmdr. Rockwell's invitation to speak on the campus. About a week after Cmdr. Rockwell spoke and had left town, Armstrong was found hanged.

Armstrong's death was ruled a suicide, but many "right-wing" journals bannered the whole affair as a super "mystery". Some, among them Billy James Hargis, even went so far as to insinuate that the American Nazi Party had some connection with his death.

Cmdr. Rockwell recently returned to San Diego and investigated the whole mess. He came up with some startling discoveries. Among them: that Armstrong's greatest goal in life was to be accepted in the U. S. Naval Academy--and that he had been flatly refused by his congressman just a few hours before he took his life . . . Plus the amazer that Armstrong, a supposed conservative, had launched an organization called "Model United Nations Society" . . . And that his closest "chum" was a limp wrist Negro. End of Armstrong affair.

Who in San Diego gave the fuehrer this "information" we have no way of knowing. However, it is interesting that Rockwell virtually repeated the same

left-wing smears that had been circulated on campus. First he established some sort of motive for suicide, then he intimated that Armstrong hadn't even been a conservative, and then suggested that he was also a homosexual.

Several years have gone by since Newton Armstrong, Jr. was murdered. His murderers have never been identified. The private investigation initiated by Newton Armstrong, Sr. was discontinued after one of the investigators, the famous Matt Cvetic, was found dead in his car on July 26, 1962. The Los Angeles Times of July 27, 1962 reported the death as follows:

Matt Cvetic, whose counterspy exploits were made famous by magazine, radio and film versions of "I Was a Communist for the FBI," died Thursday of an apparent heart attack.

The 53-year-old lecturer and author was found slumped over the wheel of his car outside the Department of Motor Vehicles, 803 N Cole Ave., Hollywood, by examiner Charles Laeger, who was about to give him a driving test.

Artificial respiration at the scene failed to revive Cvetic and he was pronounced dead at Hollywood Receiving Hospital.

Cvetic's body was shipped the next day for burial in his native Pennsylvania. No autopsy had been performed. The "apparent" heart attack need not have been a heart attack at all, since we know that Communist agents have developed means of liquidating their opponents by such devices as cyanide spray guns, which leave no trace. Was Matt Cvetic the victim of such an attack? We shall never know.

Chapter

AGENTS PROVOCATEURS AT WORK

Rockwell left San Diego soon after the fracas on March 8th. By March 10th, he was already in Houston, Texas. A record of that visit can be found in the Jewish Herald-Voice of Houston of March 15, 1962, which stated that Rockwell, on arrival in Houston, told reporters that he had come to Houston to see "Rightist leaders." His contact in Houston, one Charles Ray, was supposed to have arranged for some interviews with the local radio and TV stations. During his press interview, Rockwell pointed out that his organization was not anti-Semitic or "anti-Jew" as he termed it. He said there were really four kinds of Jews: racial Jews; the religious Jew; the national Jew--Israeli; and the Communist Jew. What is interesting about this categorization of Jews is that it originates with Karl Marx. Dagobert Runes, in his Introduction to Karl Marx's anti-Semitic book, A World Without Jews, wrote the following:

The cunning distinction made by Soviet leaders and their fellow travelers between Zionism and Judaism is similar to the old Marxist differentiation between the Capitalist Jew and the Sabbath Jew, the Hitler abstraction of International Jew or Cosmopolitan Jew and Commonplace Jew. (p. x)

So we find that Rockwell is in the same Marxist tradition as the Soviet leaders on the subject of Jews. But then it is only natural that he would justify his anti-Semitism in Marxist terms, since he, as a National Socialist, is also a Marxist. It should be noted at this point that Karl Marx was, for all practical purposes, the father of modern anti-Semitism, since it was he who identified Judaism with capitalism, just as today the agents provocateurs and their dupes identify Communism with Judaism. It should also be noted that in Soviet Russia today, the many Jews who have been executed for so-called economic offenses are always exhibited by the Soviet press in a way as to make it clear to the gullible that capitalism is Jewish.

Rockwell's stay in Houston lasted two days. By March 12, 1962 he was in Jacksonville, Florida, looking up the local provocateurs. At about this time, Rockwell received an invitation to speak at New York's Hunter College.

The New York Times of March 13, 1962 reported the event as follows:

George Lincoln Rockwell, leader of the American Nazi party, and Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist party in the United States, have been invited to speak at Hunter College in the Bronx next month by a campus political party.

Harlan P. Kleiman, one of the founders of the Competency Party, said he was "quite sure" there was no sympathy on campus for the views of either man. He said that the two controversial speakers had been invited to explain what they believed and why they believed what they did so that students would have an understanding of their positions rather than an emotional response.

Mr. Kleiman, who is also president of the student government, said

that the party had been formed to arouse political awareness among students.

Mr. Rockwell is scheduled to speak on April 11 and Mr. Hall on April 25.

The strategy was obvious. If you wanted to get Gus Hall on the campus, you invited Rockwell first. This was the strategy used at San Diego and so well identified by Newton Armstrong, Jr. when he wrote in his article that Rockwell had been invited "To act as a forerunner for socialist and communist speakers on college campuses. The argument given would be that if a Nazi were permitted to speak, then why not a Communist?"

Also, please note the interesting juxtaposition of Gus Hall and Rockwell as extreme opposites, as thesis and antithesis, when in reality they were both partners in the same Marxist conspiracy to destroy America. An added touch of irony, of course, was that Harlan P. Kleiman, the student who had invited Rockwell to speak at Hunter, was himself Jewish. This fact caused a good deal of protest and anger on the part of the Jewish community, but the student, obviously dedicated to a cause stronger than his religious background, stuck to his position.

Following his visit to Jacksonville, we then find Rockwell, ten days later, visiting Boston. The Jewish Advocate of March 29, 1962 carried the following story about that visit:

. . . In advance of his Boston trip, Rockwell directed the following note to his Boston mailing list.

"I will be in Boston about three days starting Thursday, March 22, 1962. There will probably be a speech in Harvard Square after we have checked the laws, probable opposition, etc. There will also be an organizational meeting to set up the Boston headquarters as we have set up in Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York.

"You may call Hancock 6-3576 in Boston and ask for Nathan Ginzburg (code name) in order to get further information and arrange to attend the meeting which will probably be on Saturday or Sunday. Sieg Heil!"

The number Hancock 6-3576 is attributed by telephone company officials to the Broadway Costume Company, 116 Broadway. This company is operated by Speros A. Lagoulis who lives at 24 Church Street. Lagoulis is known to be one of Rockwell's chief backers in this area.

Rockwell's visit to the Forum Publishing Company, 324 Newbury Street, brought him in contact with Edward Kirby Meador, 77, whose firm was known formerly as the Meador Publishing Company. Meador, nominee for vice president of the United States in 1956 on the Greentack Party ticket, has published Peter L. Xavier's "Rise, America" which praised Adolph Hitler. . . .

The purpose of his visit with Meador, known to the trade as a "vanity publisher", was to discuss publication of Rockwell's rambling manuscript.

From Boston, Rockwell returned to Washington where on April 4, 1962 he appeared at the Senate Hearing where Gen. Edwin Walker was testifying about the muzzling of the military. Rockwell's presence, of course, made the newspapers. The New York Times of April 5, 1962 reported the story as follows:

The only minor disturbance came when the Capitol Police removed

George Lincoln "Rockwell, head of the American Nazi Party, for refusing to take off a lapel swastika, emblem of his organization.

Capitol Police Lieut. Lewis F. Disney said that Mr. Rockwell and two of his swastika-wearing colleagues were expelled from the hearing room and the Senate Office Building on the basis of regulations laid down by the Senate Rules Committee. These forbid the wearing of political emblems or other political insignia.

Of course, the incident was small enough in itself, but sufficient to smear Gen. Walker with the Nazi brush and distract the public from the serious and purpose content/of the hearing.

A week later, Rockwell was scheduled to speak at Hunter College in New York. The New York Times of April 12, 1962 reported the event as follows:

Four hundred students of Hunter College in the Bronx listened yesterday with what their dean called "perfect parliamentary decorum" to an exposition of American Nazism by a stand-in for its founder, George Lincoln Rockwell.

Hundreds of mounted and foot policemen and detectives guarded the college's campus in the Bedford Park area between Paul and Goulden Avenues to protect three aids of Rockwell from survivors of Nazi death camps and other pickets. Mr. Rockwell, who faces arrest for disorderly conduct

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This was indeed a busy time for the agents provocateurs. All throughout the month of March, the Virginia legislature had been carrying on a great debate as to whether it should revoke the charter of the American Nazi Party. Finally, the legislature voted to revoke the charter. While this legal battle was going on, Rockwell was making his West Coast tour, leaving the legal matters in the capable hands of Karl Allen, his Harvard bookkeeper. In the meanwhile, in Chicago, Rockwell's men were having troubles of their own, as witness the following story which appeared in the Chicago Tribune of April 3, 1962:

Two members of the American Nazi party and a 16 year old youth were arrested yesterday in the party's headquarters, 2124 N. Damen av., after one of them was seen carrying a loaded army .45 caliber automatic pistol.

Seized were Malcolm Lambert, 30, of 1920 Howe st.; Wayne Mueller, 18, of 2124 N. Damen av., and Arthur Brill, 16, of 1355 N. Homan av. They were arrested in the Vinland Book Store, headquarters for the party in Chicago.

According to Patrolman Dominic Gagliano of the Shakespeare avenue district, Mueller and Brill were dressed in nazi uniforms and were wearing swastika arm bands. Mueller carried the pistol in a black holster. The gun bore the inscription, "Property of the U.S. Army."

The arrest of the three followed a complaint from the Illinois Bell Telephone company that one of its employes had gone to the store to install an extension telephone, and was met at the door by Mueller, who was wearing the gun. The telephone man, Robert Leahy, 24, left and notified his superiors.

Lambert said he ordered the telephone, but failed to tell Mueller of his plans.

Mueller told police that the gun was given to him by Lambert, but Lambert refused to say where he got it. The provost marshal's office in Chicago is attempting to learn if the pistol was stolen from the army.

Lambert, who described himself as "captain" and head of the party in Chicago, identified Brill as a "trooper" who is interested in the party and is studying its principles. He said Brill would not be eligible for membership until he is 18 years old.

Mueller was charged with disorderly conduct, aggravated assault, and carrying a concealed weapon. Lambert was charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Brill, a student at Logan Continuation school, was turned over to juvenile authorities.

The youth's mother, Mrs. Eugene Brill, also signed complaints against Mueller and Lambert charging them with contributing to the delinquency of her son. She told police that she has been trying to get her son away from the influence of the two men.

All three are to appear today in North Side boys court.

The three and two other members of the party were arrested last Thursday for distributing nazi literature outside a downtown theater. They are to appear on that charge Thursday in Boys court.

It is interesting to note that the Communist Worker of April 15, 1962 reprinted virtually verbatim the Chicago Tribune story. Why? Could it be that they were concerned about the Army pistol and the provost marshal's investigation?

This was also the first time that a parent of a "trooper" had come forward and charged the Nazis with contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Obviously, Brill had not been recruited from a Communist family. As for Lambert and Mueller, both men had accompanied Rockwell to the platform at the Black Muslim rally in February, bedecked in their storm trooper outfits.

Another interesting incident concerning the Nazis in Chicago was reported in the Chicago Tribune of April 18, 1962:

"Go ~~on~~ to East Berlin with your Nazism," Judge Daniel J. Ryan told a Milwaukee man in Jury court yesterday.

The judge's remarks were directed at Frank Meyers, 1822 N. 24th st., Milwaukee, who said he was threatened with a gun by Herman H. Hornsey, 29, of 1354 $\frac{1}{2}$ Argyle st., outside the book store at 2124 N. Damen av. on Feb. 24. The judge dismissed Meyers' charge of aggravated assault against Hornsey on the ground of insufficient evidence. During questioning of Hornsey's attorney, William Richards, Meyers admitted he had attended meetings of the Chicago Nazi Party.

The judge continued until May 15 trial of two men, one of whom wore a Nazi storm trooper's uniform and threatened a phone company repairman in the book store April 2.

The above incident had occurred a day before Rockwell's arrival in Chicago for the Black Muslim meeting. As for Frank Meyers, we shall find him becoming Managing Editor of Western Destiny in June 1964. Western Destiny is the magazine devoted to propagating Yockey's anti-American philosophy.

The Chicago Nazis again faced the judge on May 15, 1962. The Chicago

Tribune of May 16, 1962 reported the event as follows:

Three members of the American Nazi party arrested while picketing the State-Lake theater (on March 22) were charged yesterday with parading in a public way without a permit and distributing handbills larger than the size permitted by the city.

They are Eugene Malcolm Lambert, 30, of 1920 N. Howe st., leader of the Chicago chapter of the party; William Mueller, 18, of 2124 N. Damen av.; and Clifford Uthene, 25, of 4445 N. Laramie av. . . .

Judge Daniel J. Ryan in Jury court set June 12 for hearing on the charges. He also continued until June 19 hearing on charges against Lambert and Mueller. . . .

The Fuehrer, ever concerned about the welfare of his troopers, came to Chicago and attended the trial. The Chicago Tribune of June 20, 1962 reported the scene as follows:

COURT MAKES NAZI SHUT OFF HIS RECORDER

George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi party, was ordered by Judge Daniel J. Ryan in Criminal court yesterday to cease operating a concealed tape recorder in the courtroom.

Rockwell was attending the trial of two party members, Malcolm Lambert . . . and Wayne Mueller . . . on charges of disorderly conduct, criminal defamation, and parading without a permit, growing out of their picketing of a Loop movie on ~~March 22~~ May (March) 22.

The \$200 bond of a third defendant, Clifford H. Uthene, 25, . . . was forfeited when he failed to appear. . . .

The judge found the three Nazis guilty. Lambert and Uthene, according to the Chicago Tribune of June 28, 1962, were both sentenced to a year in jail and fined \$700 each. Wayne Mueller was sentenced to four months in jail and fined \$300. Naturally, they appealed and were released on \$2,500 bond each.

The Nazis in Los Angeles were equally busy, as indicated by this story which appeared in the Los Angeles Herald Examiner of April 21, 1962:

Four men who identified themselves as American Nazi Party members complained to Hollywood police early today that they were victims of malicious mischief in the hands of three Canadian soldiers.

Leonard Holstein, 21, a truckdriver of 760 N. Frairie Avenue, Hawthorne, spokesman for the quartet, said the incident occurred at Yucca Street and El Centro Avenue.

Holstein said that he and his colleagues were returning to ~~and~~ their car after a stroll along Hollywood Blvd. when the alleged assailants smashed car lights, broke the windshield and kicked dents in the fenders.

Kenneth B. Rauen, 20, of 236 N. Avenue 50, unemployed, said one of the men pushed him and broke his glasses but he declined to press charges.

All four men were in Nazi party uniforms complete with swastika bands on their ~~and~~ arms. The other two were identified as Bruce Haserot, 21, of 10245 E. Flora ~~Drive~~, Whittier, and Edwin J. LaFay, 21, of 16341 S. Pioneer Blvd, Norwalk. The latter two also are unemployed.

Holstein, of course, was Rockwell's Jewish Nazi. Kenneth B. Rauen, according to Rockwell in The Stormtrooper of February, 1962, was actually an ex-Communist who had "defected" and become a Nazi. How genuine was his so-called defection is a moot question.

Of course, it is quite possible that the murderer or murderers of Newton Armstrong, Jr. were ^{also} among these four agents provocateurs. But as far as we know, no investigation of them ever took place.

May was another busy month for the agents provocateurs. As pointed out previously, all of the serious incidents of violence in the South have been inevitably linked to the network of agents provocateurs. Therefore, it will be quite easy to understand the following story about Rockwell's agents which appeared in the New York Post of May 14, 1962:

Nazi "hate literature" including three buldging manila portfolios marked "Jew" and "Negro" and "U.S. Government and World Communist" has been found by police in a home of a Miami man who faces trial on charges of blowing up the home of a newspaper editor.

A letter to the accused man, Donald Branch, 25, has also been found with the salutation "Seig Heil" and signature of Karl R. Allen, Lieutenant, American Nazi Party.

Branch, a meter reader in the Miami Water Department, is charged with the February 18 bombing of the home of Miami Herald editor Don Shoemaker. Two other suspects, Michael Bahey, 37, and George Victor, 50, face lesser charges of transporting explosives. . . .

Branch's identification with the American Nazi Party was contained in a letter addressed to him and dated October 21, 1961.

Its letterhead bore the swastika of the party, with the address 928 N. Randolph Street, Arlington, Va.

"I am enclosing with this letter one of the most important publications yet issued by the party," it said.

The "most important publication" was found among the papers in Branch's voluminous files.

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Allen said he met with Branch on an island off McArthur Casseway, "because Branch was afraid my hotel room might be bugged with wire taps."

He said he felt Branch to be "an alert intelligent young man, and it's my impression he's innocent."

But Allen conceded Branch could be a "firearm fanatic, and possibly likes explosives too."

He boasted that the local unit of the Nazi Party would push to "combat leftist and Communist groups we say are led by Jews," and also the American Nazi Party's national goal of "sending the Niggers back to Africa."

Allen produced a stack of pamphlets and launched on the "goals and philosophies" of the party, claiming:

"Most Communists are Jews, and if Rockwell becomes President he will execute Jew-traitors."

A top member of the John Birch Society "works closely with us to keep us informed on current sentiment within the society."

"The Black Muslims, Negro racialists, also work with the American Nazi Party against integration."

He said the party is also sympathetic with some of the goals of the States Rights groups and the Minutemen.

"We're a racist group--that's the purpose of our party," Allen said.

It is hardly likely that a "top member of the John Birch Society" was working in league with a Nazi agent provocateur unless he was also a member of the same network. Now, of course, it is possible for an agent provocateur to

infiltrate any patriotic, anti-Communist organization. But the most he would be able to do in The John Birch Society is keep his mouth shut and observe. For, if he made one obvious false move, he would be expelled from the Society forthwith. As far as we know, the only ranking member of the agent provocateur network who succeeded in infiltrating the Society was Willis Carto. However, he was dismissed from his position on the staff in 1959. It is probable therefore that the person Allen was referring to was the young, naive coordinator who was being royally hoodwinked by Speros Lagoulis. Mr. Allen would have hardly had to plant an infiltrator in The John Birch Society to find out what the sentiment was within the Society; all he would have had to do was purchase all the Society's publications which were/available to the public.

What about Allen? One must admit that organizing storm troopers in Miami and consorting with bomber-terrorists is not exactly the kind of thing one would expect of a Harvard man. But obviously there must be good money in it, or Mr. Allen would have looked seedy rather than dapper, as he was described by the reporter. It is obvious that dapper Harvard graduates who travel by plane from Washington to Miami and back and stay at hotels must have some source of income besides the ten unemployed dues-paying members of the American Nazi Party. It is difficult to imagine that Mr. Allen dirtied his finger nails by doing home-repair work either. Besides, where would he have gotten the time to run the Nazi party and also repair homes? Who was Mr. Allen anyway? What was his background? Had he been assigned to the American Nazi Party in order to relieve Rockwell of the burdensome details of running the Party, so that the Fushner could write his autobiography and go traipsing around the country? Certainly, Rockwell, forever pleading poverty, could have hardly afforded a full-time Harvard man to assist him. Someone was paying Allen's salary. It would be interesting to know who that someone was.

June was another busy month for the Nazis, and we find Rockwell in New Orleans on legal business. The Times-Picayune of June 4, 1962 reported his visit as follows:

The Commander of the American Nazi Party came to New Orleans late Sunday afternoon with the declared intention of filing suit Monday in United States District Court against several New Orleansians.

George Lincoln Rockwell said he will file the suit against Mayor Victor H. Schiro, Mrs. Edgard B. Stern, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Capt. Presley J. Troclair and Police Supt. Joseph I. Ciarrusso.

He said the suit will be "for conspiracy by using a local law to deprive a person of his civil rights, and also to cause a false arrest and a false imprisonment." . . .

Rockwell, shortly after his arrival late Sunday afternoon at New Orleans International Airport, said he came also either to speak or to picket, or both, Sunday night at the headquarters of the NAACP in New Orleans.

He said if the New Orleans police deny him permission to do so, he will go to St. Bernard parish where he knows he will be welcome.

Sunday night Rockwell spoke briefly outside the local NAACP headquarters on Orleans Street and his "Nazi troopers" picketed the place.

Rockwell also found time in June to attend the commencement week exercises at Brown University, his Alma Mater. The Providence Journal of June 5, 1962 informs us that "Mr. Rockwell attended the alumni dinner and subsequent campus dance and mixed with many guests at both functions without incident."

The month of June also provided Philadelphia with its quota of Nazi activity. The New York Times of June 16, 1962 provides us with the details:

Philadelphia, June 15 (AP)--The police provided an escort to the city line last night for three men who said they were members of the American Nazi Party.

The three men said they had planned to picket the office of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, a Jewish service organization. Two wore uniforms with Swastika armbands.

Police met them at the building and asked them not to leave their car because a crowd of about 500 was becoming hostile. The crowd shouted threats at them.

Schyler Ferris of Arlington, Va., spokesman for the group, who was not in uniform, said that "We will obey the orders of the police, although it violates our Constitutional rights."

The two men in uniforms were identified as Harry Blair of Camden, N. J., and Gene Shalander of Arlington.

This initial fracas was followed by another which ~~was reported~~ ^{made front-page headlines} in the Philadelphia Inquirer of June 27, 1962 as follows:

NAZI PICKETS ROUTED BY CROWD; 3 POLICE HURT DRIVING TO ROW

An angry crowd of some 500 persons broke up a picket demonstration of the American Nazi Party at 15th and Locust sts. Tuesday shortly before noon. An emergency ~~call~~ ^{call} brought extra police cars rushing to the scene. One of these and another car collided at Juniper and Pine sts., sending

three members of Capt. Clarence J. Ferguson's special investigation squad to the hospital in serious condition.

Two young men in the crowd that rushed the pickets were taken to Hohnemann Hospital for treatment of face cuts.

The seven pickets dressed in storm trooper regalia and carrying defamatory posters were picketing the B'Nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League which has headquarters in the Lewis Tower Building at 15th and Locust.

They showed up at 11:25 A.M. Within five minutes the swelling crowd started pressing against the cordons of 10 police under inspector Frank Rizzo. The inspector estimated the crowd grew to between 500 and 600 persons. Traffic on 15th st., Chestnut, Walnut and Locust clogged up and emergency detours had to be ordered.

Several of the signs were ripped to pieces. There were shouts of "Kill the Nazi--," "Let's take them from the police."

Inspector Rizzo sent in an emergency call for assistance. Some of the onlookers broke past the police and wrestled some of the pickets to the ground. Fists flew wildly. Rizzo and his men got the pickets into police cars and took them to 20th st. and Pennsylvania ave. police station.

No charges were placed against them. They were escorted by police to the Walt Whitman Bridge. Inspector Rizzo said the pickets indicated they were going to return to their headquarters in Arlington, Va.

The first notification police had of the intended picketing was at 10:45 A.M. when Schuyler Ferris, 47, of Arlington, Va., who said he was a captain in the American Nazi Party delivered a letter to Police Commissioner

Albert N. Brown's office. Brown is on vacation.

The letter, from Lincoln "ockwell, commander of the party, said notification had been purposely withheld to prevent build-up of street crowds "which might be used, once more, as an excuse by the Police Department to prevent us from picketing."

Ferris' colleagues gave their names as Howard L. McCuiston, 25; Karl R. Allan, 31; Gene Shalander, 23; Gary Smith, 21; Harry Bauer, 23, and Rodger Faust, 34, all of Arlington.

The agents provocateurs had again proven that they could create pandemonium in the heart of a great city with little more than stage props and placards. It is more than likely that a few Communists had been alerted in advance of the "Nazi threat" in Philadelphia and were conveniently on hand--at the right place and the right time--to start the fracas immediately. It is interesting to note that our Harvard Nazi, Karl Allen, was on hand for the occasion and that the registered Soviet agent, Roger Foss, identified by the press as Rodger Faust, was in the picket line. Allen had returned from Miami. But now, Foss and Gene Shalander, a second picket, were to go down to Miami in a very short time. Their auspicious presence there was reported in the JTA Bulletin of July 13, 1962 as follows:

July 12--A City of Miami fireman with a known anti-Semitic background posted bond for two members of the American Nazi Party who were arrested here while picketing the office of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

The two Nazis, Roger C. Foss and Gene Shalander, were taken into "protective custody" after they were threatened by a hostile crowd. Later

UNFINISHED

Missing Conclusion

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