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His writer accuses West Germany of trying to influence American politics and the American presidential elections in favor of Senator Barry Goldwater and of the far right. Behind this interference in the domestic political affairs of the United States are several West German political organizations financially supported by the Bonn government. An analysis of ~~strongly~~ strongly ~~happening~~ offer ~~test~~ test and give the impression that the Washington Embassy and the Chicago Consulate of West Germany are involved in this monumental effort.

German-American organizations and newspapers in this country have close relationships with official German representatives and have sharply intensified these communications during the present campaign. American patriots who remember the patterns of foreign interference in U.S. politics by the Nazi Bund and the subversive Einheitsfront organizations not quite a generation ago are puzzled by these new developments. They are also horrified that a number of German-Americans who were leading and active members and/or supporters of the subversive Bund and Einheitsfront have suddenly reappeared on the scene of the German-American political and social life and are actively trying to grab the leadership of this nationality group, to found new organizations, and to play an active role in U.S. politics.

Participating in the foreign pro-Goldwater and pro-extremist action are several refugee and expelled organizations operating in West Germany which, albeit nominally independent, are in fact financially supported by the West German Government, a fact which neither Bonn nor these organizations are denying. In the months preceding the presidential elections several of these organizations have expanded their operations to influence the German-American nationality group in the U.S. and American opinion in favor of Goldwaterism and extremism.

Dear Mr. Sherman,  
I'll be back  
in St Louis  
tonight (Tues.)  
(Kindly return  
proofs - if  
you cannot  
use them)  
Charles L. Klotzer

a series of events and developments

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ANDREW L. KONDICH is the former editor-in-chief of the Abendpost (Chicago) and of the Milwaukee Zeitung (Milwaukee), the only two daily newspapers in the German language in the Midwest, as well as the weekly SONNTAGPOST.

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ONE of these organizations is the Council of Sudeten Germans (Sudetendeutscher Rat) in Munich, whose headquarters are at Triftstrasse 1. This organization used to publish Sudetendeutscher Artikeldienst (Sudeten German Press Service) whose main purpose was rightly or wrongly called, "hate peddling against Czechoslovakia and the Slavic nations." Suddenly, in this U.S. election year, the name of this service was changed to West und Ost (West and East); Czechoslovakia almost disappeared from subjects and almost 80 per cent of the contents was devoted to the glorification of Barry Goldwater and the aims of the American far right. The bulletin was systematically sent to all German-American newspapers in the U.S., to all German-American societies, and even to some individuals who had not requested it. Letters were sent to German-American newspapers urging them in the name of the common cause to reprint the contents of the bulletin, edited by Dr. Walter Becher, a member of the West German Parliament.

In West und Ost No. 9 (May 8, 1964), the German-Americans are urged to participate in politics in order to influence American foreign policy. The bulletin points out the influence of the Polish-Americans, the Hellenic-Americans, and the Irish and implores the German-Americans to emulate them so that they can influence the foreign policy of the U.S. in the same manner as the Greek nationality group has influenced it in the Cyprus question. In the same issue an article on U.S. racial problems unfavorable to the Negroes is published along with one entitled "The Other America" by Robert Taft, Jr.

Other recent issues featured articles and comments by Senator Barry Goldwater and other ultraconservatives, among them Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, Rep. Katherine St. George, Rep. John R. Pillion and, last but not least, J. Edgar Hoover. In order to discredit Gov. William Scranton, West und Ost No. 12 (June 26, 1964) informed its readers that Scranton was supported by Moscow and the Communists.

The West und Ost publishers fervently hope that the American newspapers in the German language will publish such news and comments. They know that most of these newspapers do not use the services of the big news agencies and are glad when ready-made German translations of news and comments are made available to them free of charge. Similar hopes are nurtured by the organization of German expellees from South-Eastern Europe who call themselves the Danube Swabians. Their weekly newspaper, Der Donauschwabe, is also sent without charge to

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German-American newspapers. This writer, editor-in-chief of the German-American newspapers in the Midwest, was also urged by the Danube Swabian organization in Germany to reprint from *Der Donauschwabe* a request which he had to refuse because many of the articles were unduly concerned with American political affairs. To make them available to American readers would have meant trying to influence them in favor of the interests of a foreign power, Western Germany. This writer was not prepared to act as a foreign agent without having been duly registered as such. The political aims of the organization publishing *Der Donauschwabe* parallels those of the West German Government. No information about the financial sources of the service is available.

For the same reasons this writer had to turn down a tremendous amount of printed material sent to his editorial office by the Press Department of the German Consulate General in Chicago and by government offices of West Germany. This material contained mostly crude German propaganda, advocating the views of the West German government. This brings us to the activities of the West German diplomatic and consular officers in the United States.

#### *The Tireless Herr Bloemer*

DURING the early postwar years the German diplomatic and consular officers performed their duties as inconspicuously as possible. They knew that German atrocities in World War II were not forgotten. They limited their lobbying and propaganda activities to duly paid and registered foreign agents, to some contacts in the news media world, and to some old connections with the German-American nationality groups. To facilitate these connections, the last Chancellor of the Nazi Consulate General in Chicago, a certain Richard Kleindienst — a man who was one hundred per cent faithful to his government then and now and who knew intimately countless former American adherents of the subversive Nazi



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Bund and Einheitsfront - was reappointed chancellor of the new Chicago Consulate General of democratic West Germany. Despite his past, the U.S. government was generous enough to accept Kleindienst as *persona grata*.

This phase of discreet and circumspect German activity was abruptly ended after John F. Kennedy became U.S. president. While Kleindienst began to intensify his contacts and to appear more often at different German-American gatherings as guest and even as speaker, another remarkable man, Dr. Klaus Bloemer, was named in 1962 Press Attache of the German Consulate General in Chicago. At once he developed a extensive program whose physical scope and intensity could be compared only to that of the last Nazi Consul General in Chicago, Baer. The spirit of these activities, can best be judged by the fruits they have borne.

Bloemer, who was press attache at the German Embassy in Baghdad, Iraq, before coming to Chicago, was preceded by his reputation. The Iraqi press had often connected him with the activities of the West German Intelligence. There were Iraqis who objected to his activities and asked the Government of Iraq to declare him *persona non grata*. Others were astonished that Bloemer, originally a Berlin physician, had left his profession in order to devote himself to West Berlin local politics and then to consular service.

Bloemer tried first unsuccessfully, as described above, to influence the German-American community in the midwest through the daily newspaper *Abendpost*. This writer, then editor-in-chief of the *Abendpost*, had to turn down numerous invitations extended through Bloemer in order to put an end to crude attempts of trying to influence this writer's politics. This was to provoke the enmity of the government of West Germany; but for an editor and hopeful future citizen who wanted to be loyal to the United States, there was no other alternative.

Bloemer began to look for other media outlets. He got in touch with a German radio announcer in Chicago, who was not yet an American citizen. This German agreed to let Bloemer speak every Sunday during his radio hour under the assumed name of Dr. Klaus Frei. Bloemer's comments were highly political; the line he wanted his listeners to advocate was that of West Germany which was not necessarily identical with American foreign policy. The listeners were not informed that Dr. Klaus Frei was himself a foreigner, a diplomat of a foreign power trying to influence them. They believed that a fellow German-American was speaking.

This brazen attempt to influence American citizens to adopt the views of a foreign power could have lasted indefinitely had not a patriotic American, Richard Sperber, discovered the identity of Dr. Klaus Frei. Assuming that Bloemer might deny his activities and duck behind his diplomatic immunity, Sperber appeared with a photographer in the rooms of the radio station during one of Bloemer's speeches and photographed him talking. Copies of these photographs were sent to the government of West Germany accompanied by Sperber's energetic protests. Bonn ordered Bloemer to stop his radio comments.

After this second defeat, Bloemer and other members of the German Consulate cultivated numerous German-American associations and societies in the midwest, showing particular interest in those that were known as gathering places of extreme rightists. Bloemer established connections with Theodore W. Miller, one of the twelve endorsers of the John Birch Society in Illinois and president of the German Club of Chicago. The organization also had other Birchites on its board of governors as well as among its membership. Bloemer appeared at one of the meetings of the Society and spoke for one hour, criticizing numerous aspects of U.S. foreign policy on Germany. While certain members objected afterwards and felt that the German Club of Chicago should be more careful in its relations with the German consulate, there were others who enthusiastically approved Bloemer's views. So did other extremists in other German-American associations where Bloemer appeared. One of these societies, the German-American National Congress (D.A.N.K.) deserves particular attention; its activities will be described later.

Bloemer also established close relations with the board of directors of the Chicago German Day Association and its president Joseph Gies, a sympathetic Chicago businessman advocating moderate views whose closest friend and adviser, however, happens to be Dr. Otto Willumeit, the former Chicago area leader of the Nazi Bund.

The Chicago German Day Festival has traditions that are vividly remembered. The best president it ever had was a Jewish man who had come from Vienna, Leopold Saltiel. But after 1933 Jews disappeared from its board of directors. According to a statement of Municipal Judge John Gutknecht, published July 18, 1942 by the *Chicago Daily News*:

at the 1940 German Day Festival the swastika flag was displayed, the German consul spoke, the Nazi salute was given and the Nazi rallying song, the "Horst Wessel Lied," was played and sung . . . Hans Haupt, the father of one of the eight saboteurs who were landed with explosives from two Nazi submarines on the East Coast, was one of the directors of the German Day Festival here. The son, Herbert Haupt, after he and three others were landed in Florida, visited his parents in Chicago, told them of his mission and received aid from his father.

In the summer of 1963 Herr Bloemer and other German diplomatic and consular officers visited and spoke at the Chicago German Day Festival. The Nazi flag was missing this time; however, on the second afternoon of the Festival a group of drunken visitors sang the "Horst Wessel Lied" again. While President Gies and the dignitaries of the German Day Association have in no way inspired this unfortunate episode, the fact remains that a number of German-Americans who have not forgotten the traditions of Nazi Germany.

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BLOEMER's unfortunate episode on the radio was not entirely forgotten when another memorable affair rocked U.S.-German relations. On June 10, 1964 an article entitled " 'Harassment' by W. German Consul Ripped - Interference Charged by Chamber Official" appeared in the *Chicago Tribune*. The *Tribune*, which indeed cannot be accused of antipathy towards the reactionary politics of the Bonn Government, found itself obliged to write:

The president of the German-American Chamber of Commerce of the Midwest called a press conference here yesterday to accuse Chicago consular officials of the West German government of "interfering" with the operations of his organization.

Dr. Henry W. Fredericks, who also heads a Chicago company which represents European manufacturers, asserted that interference by the consular officials consisted, in effect, of "stealing" visiting German notables for whom the chamber had arranged Chicago appearances. Fredericks, who with other chamber officials met with reporters in the Union League club, said he would like to sue the consulate to stop its action but had found that to be impossible. "The officials have diplomatic immunity from any court action in this country," he explained.

The latest such notable is Dr. Franz Joseph Strauss, former German defense minister, who arrived yesterday for a three-days visit. Fredericks said his chamber had arranged with Strauss, weeks ago, for various appearances here, only to receive a cable from him that he would not be able to keep his commitments and would follow a schedule "planned by the Chicago consulate (of Germany)."

Fredericks contended that the consulate was attempting, by its alleged interference with his organization, to support a rival organization, the German-American Chamber of Commerce of Chicago, which, Fredericks said, was formed months after his chamber was established in 1962. He said his group was about 100 members, and the other chamber has "considerably fewer."

Dr. Klaus Bloemer, press and cultural attaché of the German consulate general in Chicago, said the consulate was "asked by our foreign office" to prepare the Chicago program for Strauss. Eugen Betz, German consul general here, said: "We have nothing against Dr. Fredericks having his chamber of commerce, but we work with the other because it is recognized by German authorities."

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The same day, a reporter of *Chicago Daily News* asked Karl Leuteritz, the German deputy consul general here, why the Consulate fights Fredericks and his Chamber. Leuteritz answered: "It is not the policy of the German authorities and organizations to support such free-lance ventures as that started by Dr. Fredericks."

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In a press release published the same day, President Fredericks accused the former German consul general Motz, the deputy consul general Leuteritz, and the press attache Bloemer of the "strongest possible pressure, influence and interference" in American domestic affairs and wrote:

In our opinion, it is completely improper for German consular officials to interfere in American affairs and organizations in the above way, and to exert influence and pressure in this country in this manner. We have never heard of any other foreign consulate acting in such an improper manner, and we feel that this must be stopped immediately . . . German consular officials, through derogatory news releases, phone calls, circulars, and other means, try to influence news media, government officials, business men, and others, to refuse cooperation with and support of German-American Chamber of Commerce this scheming being carried on in the U.S.A. and Germany. As an example of flagrant attempts there is the attempt to influence the Chicago German language newspaper "Abendpost" against the GACC . . . Many other cases can be cited and proven.

President Fredericks further charged the German diplomats of having organized, with the help of German government funds, a rival American organization, which functions as a foreign agent without being duly registered as such. He writes:

As manager (of this rival chamber) they installed a former salesman from the German government-owned airline Lufthansa, named Friedrichs — a name in English pronunciation identical with GACC President's name Fredericks. Messrs. Motz and Leuteritz then had German government funds remitted to their chamber for operating funds, making their chamber a German government financed and directed satellite organization. German consular officials . . . are operating their German government financed Chicago satellite. This is done in direct competition against the GACC, which is operating on private American funds — membership fees and contributions . . . During the Steuben Scholarship Award Dinner (rewarding outstanding American high school students of the German language) at Germania Club, German Vice Consul Dr. Klaus Bloemer, an invited guest at the dinner, in a show of calculated arrogance and rudeness, left the dinner hall as . . . Dr. Fredericks entered.

*[Handwritten scribbles and marks]*

This writer, as everybody else, was puzzled by the implacable enmity which the German Consulate had shown toward Dr. Fredericks, a well-known Chicago civic leader, and asked him for an explanation. Dr. Fredericks explained:

I was born in Germany and was a follower of Pastor Niemoller, who was a fearless fighter against Nazism. As an anti-Nazi I left the country in 1933 and went to the U.S.A., where I became an American citizen. During World War II, I was scheduled as a teacher of German for an OSS course which was planned in Chicago. After I founded the German American Chamber of Commerce, I invited Americans of both parties and all religious beliefs to join the Chamber. Senator Paul Douglas and Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois became honorary directors of the chamber. Prominent Jewish men, for instance Milton Silberman, vice-president of the Exchange National Bank of Chicago, and Rabbi Samuel Burr Yampol are members of the Chamber board. These facts may have antagonized inveterate Nazis in Germany and elsewhere posing as reconstructed democrats, but they shouldn't antagonize the government of West Germany. There is one more important reason: I have let the former German Consul General Motz know that I do not intend to act as a tool of the German government; the interests of the U.S.A. are primordial for my chamber and me.

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The treatment given Fredericks seems to have been tried also on other persons who, the Germans thought, should be "tools of the German government." This writer has been told by K. Albert Schroeder, an Evanston businessman and representative of one of the greatest German manufacturing companies, that the former Consul General Motz had tried unsuccessfully to enlist his help in supplying the German consulate general with hard-to-get economic information. Schroeder objected on the grounds that such a form of collaboration, which he found very unusual, could be construed as economic espionage. According to Schroeder, Motz reacted strongly:

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Visibly shaken by this refusal, Motz retorted: "Mr. Schroeder, the Fatherland is asking for your help!" I answered: "There seems to be a slight misunderstanding about the Fatherland you are talking about. I left Germany long ago and I am now a British citizen, while my wife is a Czech." Motz was consternated by this answer.

The same day I wrote to my firm in Germany, complaining against Motz. This firm happens to be very powerful and has several members of the West German Parliament on its board of directors. I was never again importuned by Motz; very soon after my complaint, he was transferred from Chicago to Bolivia.

It happened that another prominent Chicago Jewish physician, Dr. Franz Steinitz, complained to the German government about Motz's behavior toward him. In the light of these facts, Motz may have indeed been "kicked upstairs" to Bolivia.

It would be unfair to the German Consulate to mention only people with whom the Consulate has bad relations. There are in fact other circles with whom the German Consulate has excellent and quite close relations, for instance the Foundation for Foreign Affairs, often identified with persons close to the John Birch Society. In close collaboration with Germany, this Foundation organized in March 1962 a conference on "The Berlin Problem and the Future of Eastern Europe" in Chicago. The German participants, by no means avowed Nazis, belonged either to the most conservative political circles of their country or to the German refugee and expellee organizations. The American participants included: Prof. Gerhart Niemeyer, William R. Kintner, and Stefan T. Possony, whose political views, during the present campaign are only too well known.

#### The Adolf Gunesch Affair

FATE did not permit Consul General Motz to leave this country without being involved in one more widely publicized affair which casts a peculiar light on the German Embassy in Washington and the German Consulate General in Chicago and their relationship with certain groups of German-Americans. The affair in question was caused, by internal dissensions in one of these groups, the German-American National Congress (D.A.N.K.).

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In 1952 a suave, well-educated German immigrant came to Chicago. This man, Josef Noe, soon became general manager of the last of the five German dailies once published in Chicago, the *Abendpost*. During World War II,



Noe had been one of the managers of the German war industry in the Rhineland. After the war he became one of the founding members of Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party and assistant general manager of the *Rheinische Post* in Duisburg, one of the leading newspapers in Germany, which has excellent connections with the German heavy industry and government circles. German-Americans in Chicago were puzzled that Noe who ostensibly could have become a member of Parliament or an ambassador of his country, or make a brilliant career in the German press, had chosen instead to emigrate and to become manager of a small foreign language newspaper in Chicago which was slowly dying for lack of financial support at the time of his arrival. After hearing Noe advocate in strong terms the cause of a new Germany, people began asking themselves whether his activity had a hidden purpose. This writer is unable to answer this question. He is able to present a series of facts which will enable the reader to draw his own conclusions.

Shortly after his arrival, Noe began spreading the idea of founding a new powerful organization of German-Americans with the purpose of uniting this nationality group throughout the whole country in order to make its voice heard and its influence felt. He got in touch with Ernst Ten Eicken, the last president of the Einheitsfront (German-American National Alliance), an organization which was declared subversive during World War II and disbanded by the U.S. Attorney General for the support it had given Nazi Germany. He also got in touch with Leonard Enders and other former prominent members

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of the Einheitsfront. He could not claim to be uninformed. Right in the *Abendpost* files he could have found a communication dated July 18, 1942, addressed to the *Abendpost* by Municipal Judge John Gutknecht. According to the *Chicago Daily News* of the same date, Judge Gutknecht strongly criticized the opinion of the *Abendpost* that there were no disloyal German-Americans. He exposed the activities of Ernst Ten Eicken and of the Einheitsfront, referring to it as "the organization that came into being after the Nazi Bund was uncovered for what it was."

Also in the *Abendpost* files was a voluminous report explaining why the Einheitsfront was declared subversive, why it was disbanded, and numerous members arrested. On page 12 of this report it was stated that the Einheitsfront had received extremely favorable attention from the Nazi General Consulate in Chicago. As indicative of the close association between the Nazi Consul General Baer and the guiding lights of the Einheitsfront it was observed that they were seen together at the Germania Club in Chicago, where they thought themselves unobserved, in intimate conversation on August 28, 1940 and September 4, 1940. It was further stated that Ten Eicken went to Germany, where he received the instructions to found a powerful German-American organization, and that he received further instructions through Ludwig Plate, head of the North German Steamship Line in Chicago. The Einheitsfront, which then came into being, spread Nazi propaganda through a *News Letter* and a radio hour over Radio Station WHIP, Hammond, Indiana. One of the broadcasters was Hans Reichel, a director of the Einheitsfront, to which this writer will refer later. In these broadcasts Americans of other descents were accused of persecuting the German-American minority. The Einheitsfront also sent out Nazi literature throughout the U.S. and as far as Chile. Prior to its disbanding, the Einheitsfront had perfected a political organization in Chicago covering thirty-eight city wards. It was alleged at that time that it hoped to elect in the near future a mayor and other important city officials on its own ticket. Einheitsfront members sent thousands of letters to congressmen and senators threatening them with political extinction if they enacted measures against Nazi Germany. The Einheitsfront also collaborated intimately with the Nazi Bund. At a dinner party on Saturday evening, June 7, 1941 at the Bismarck Hotel in Chicago, Dr. Otto Willumeit, the leader of the Bund in the Chicago area, said that the Einheitsfront was a very important German organization in its ability to render invaluable aid to Germandom. In the 1940 German Day edition of *Frontkamerad*, also one of the Einheitsfront organs, it was stated that the leader Adolf Hitler, who is guiding all Germans as their first front line soldier, should be regarded with special reverence, and that each and every German feeling and thinking individual abroad should have reached the conviction that it is truly a special honor and distinct privilege for a man in this world to be permitted to identify himself as a member of the German nation; and that anyone who did not think so was a traitor to his own people, a coward, and a double-crosser. The book "Expose of the German-American National Alliance," prepared then by the Non-sectarian League for Americanism, Chicago, charged that the Einheitsfront was rapidly becoming a deadly menace to Americanism and was the spearhead of Nazism in this country, extremely more vicious than the Nazi Bund. However, since the Bund had made only limited inroads on the German-American life, the Einheitsfront was formed to take the Bund's place for the purpose of undermining American civil and political organizations. It was created to public opinion in favor of the Nazi Reich, to stir up hatred against democracy, to influence Americans, primarily of German descent, to do everything possible to harm the Allies.

Josef Noe must also have known Leonard Enders, one of his closest collaborators. Also in the files of the *Abendpost* was a *Chicago Sun-Times* report of November 14, 1946, entitled "OAGA Needs Scrutiny for Germ of Bund," by Millburn P. Akers, which stated:

The OAGA (Organization of Americans of Germanic Descent) will shortly ask Secretary of State Barrett for a charter. When it does, Barrett should make more than the usual perfunctory inquiry. For OAGA has some undertones that should be investigated before the organization is given the legal standing that comes with a charter.

The following advertisement appeared in the "Sonntagpost," and a similar one in the "Abendpost," recently: "The OAGA, founded some weeks ago, appeals to every American citizen of German descent to join the organization immediately. The OAGA has the intention to unite all German-Americans in order to realize united action in great tasks that can only be accomplished by the backing of numerical strength. The interest received in German circles in Chicago proves the necessity of such an organization. The next meeting that invites every German-American citizen will be held Monday, November 4, at the Schweizer Clubhaus."

There were developments at the meeting which took on a sinister aspect. One thing Secretary Barrett should ascertain is whether the "Mr. Enders," who presided, is the Leonard Enders who had long associations with Bund affiliates. The meeting, conducted in the German language, had about 25 persons in attendance.

This conversation took place when a person in the audience asked Enders: "Just what do you mean by Americans of German ancestry?" You're putting me on the spot, Enders replied. He went on to say that the name of the organization signified who was wanted and who wasn't. "You are not answering my question," the interrogator asserted. "I want to know who will be admitted to this organization and who won't." After another evasive answer, Enders, pinned down, said: "Did you hear anything in this place said today against the Jews? We said nothing against the Jews. But we want only Germans of Germanic blood."

One speaker, stating that the Irish constitute only 4 per cent of the city population, said the Germans could do as well, if they were organized, as they constitute 16 per cent of the city's inhabitants. He also noted that "it has been 40 years since Chicago had a German mayor."

OAGA may be harmless. Apparently, however, it contains the germs of a revived Bund. It has the undertones. And it has "Mr. Enders," as many a prewar Bund affiliate had a Leonard Enders. OAGA should be checked and

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Richard Enders. OAGA should be checked and double-checked. For American citizens worthy of the name, and that includes many of Germanic descent, want no more of the Bund or kindred organizations.

These informations did not stop Noe from enlisting the help of Enders, Ten Eicken, and other former members of subversive organizations in founding his new German-American organization. The spirit of the new organization became manifest through the choice of its name, its first president, and its statutes and by-laws. The new organization was called German-American National Congress (the old subversive Einheitsfront was called in English: German-American National Alliance). Ernst Ten Eicken, last president of the subversive Einheitsfront, was chosen first president of the new organization. The statutes and by-laws of the Einheitsfront became the basis for the statutes and by-laws of the new organization. In writing these statutes, Ten Eicken, apart from some minor changes, made only one major change: he substituted the new for the old name. Leonard Enders and Josef Noe were elected members of the board.

The founding meeting of the new organization was held in a long, badly lighted hall. The founders did not know that William D. Saltiel, a prominent Chicago civic leader, was sitting in a dark corner of the hall. Saltiel, the son of the former president of the German Day Association before 1933, Leopold Saltiel, left the hall in protest after an anti-Semitic speech by one of the founders. He was seen leaving which ~~was~~ caused great consternation. One of the founders followed him and tried to apologize.



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The new organization, known under its abbreviated name, D.A.N.K., became a thriving concern. While the previous efforts of Leonard Enders to maintain the OAGA had not been successful, the D.A.N.K. prospered because numerous former Einheitsfront members joined, among them Hans Reichel, the former director and radio announcer of the Einheitsfront. The real key was Josef Noe, general manager of the *Abendpost*, who extended the help of the only German daily in Chicago to the new organization. He made Leonard Enders city editor and Hans Reichel advertising manager of the *Abendpost*. Karl Bertel, a relative of Noe and secretary general of the D.A.N.K., became circulation manager of the *Abendpost*. Familiar, ideological, political, and social ties became so closely intertwined, that the role of Josef Noe was only partly visible. He was elected president of the Chicago South group of the D.A.N.K., and maintained close contacts with the German Consulate General. The founding and activity of the D.A.N.K. must have been welcome to West Germany, since the D.A.N.K. advocated the gathering of all German-Americans and the creation of a powerful pressure group in order to help Germany. Such a group was missing in American politics after the disbanding of the Bund and Einheitsfront.

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This writer, during his activity as editor-in-chief of the *Abendpost*, often argued with the general manager Noe about the extensive publicity which he gave to the D.A.N.K. Noe was impervious to the fact that other German-American organizations strongly resented this preferential treatment. He was completely convinced that the best way to help the U.S. as well as Germany was to favor the D.A.N.K. Since Elmer Reynolds, the owner of the *Abendpost*, was an Irishman who could not read and speak German and thus relied completely on Noe, there was nothing this writer could do against Noe's partiality. Noe also remained unimpressed by proofs about the past activities of Ten Eicken, Enders, and Reichel for the subversive Einheitsfront.

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The U.S. authorities, however, did not regard the activities of the D.A.N.K. with the same equanimity. The fact that the statutes of the new organization, except for the name, were almost identical with the statutes of the subversive Einheitsfront, did not remain unnoticed. Several persons were thus denied American citizenship as long as they were D.A.N.K. members. Finally, Ten Eicken and Enders asked American authorities for an explanation. It was pointed out that the statutes of D.A.N.K. should be changed. This was promptly done. Since that time no further citizenship difficulties were encountered.

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Other serious difficulties gave, however, birth to the memorable Adolf Gunesch affair which caused considerable interest in Chicago and the Midwest. It cast a peculiar light on the link between the D.A.N.K. and the German diplomatic and consular representatives in this country.

Adolf Gunesch, president of the Gunesch Precancel House in Chicago, was a member of the highest ruling body of the D.A.N.K. Taking at face value the words of his fellow members that it was perfectly possible to be in sympathy with the Democratic Party and be at the same time a good D.A.N.K. member, he unwittingly exposed a whole complex of highly sensitive problems, which were described by columnist Tony Weitzel in the *Chicago Daily News* (November 30, 1962):

Lame-duck Rep. Sidney Yates innocently triggered a political timebomb this week that could blast Chicago's German-American community wide open. In the middle of the politico-ethnic ruckus is 72-year-old Adolf Gunesch, for years a ranking dignitary in Chicago German-American societies. Until he resigned Wednesday he was a director of the German-American National Congress (D.A.N.K.) and president of the West Side group of the D.A.N.K. He seems to have been out-flanked by an ultra-rightist group that took a dim view of his personal campaign this fall for Sid Yates. Gunesch even paid for a huge ad in the German-American press here, backing Yates and the Democratic ticket. The day after the ad appeared, Gunesch says, he was bombarded by anonymous phone callers who berated him as "a traitor to the German nation."

After the election things seemed fairly quiet. Until, that is, Gunesch and his group staged a banquet last Saturday night at the Keymens' Club, celebrating German-American Week. On the dais were Yates, Hans Adler, director of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, and Atty. William D. Saltiel. Yates spoke. So did German Consul General Guenther Motz.

Monday, the whole basket of ethnic eggs hit the fan. Gunesch was "invited" to a special meeting of the D.A.N.K. directors. He was shocked, he says, when he discovered the purpose of the session. Three of the directors, he says in a letter sent to friends Wednesday, tried to force him to sign a declaration in which he was to renounce his Democratic political opinions.

"I have the right," Gunesch says in his communique, "to fight for the good of this country with the party of my choice. . . . I shall not permit anybody to force me to alter my political beliefs. Should the D.A.N.K. try this then it does not deserve to exist. To show my protest against such practices, I resigned as president of the Chicago West Side group and as member of the board of directors of D.A.N.K." I tried to reach members of the D.A.N.K. board of directors last Thursday. They were, I learned, at another special meeting.

The D.A.N.K. felt itself dangerously threatened by Gunesch's exposures. The ruling body of the D.A.N.K. issued hurried denials, stating that their organization was independent and non-party. The ideas which Gunesch may have had about the independence of the D.A.N.K. are reflected in his decision to complain against the action of the D.A.N.K. ruling body to the only person who in his opinion stood above the supreme D.A.N.K. hierarchy: the German Ambassador in Washington. Gunesch sent to the Ambassador a lengthy written complaint accompanied by numerous photostats.

Was the German Embassy in Washington the proper place to complain against the decisions of an allegedly independent American organization? This writer has not reached any conclusion in this matter. He would have definitely concluded that the D.A.N.K. is independent and that the German Ambassador is disinterested in American domestic matters if Ambassador K. H. Knappstein had emphasized these facts in his answer to Gunesch's complaints. The Ambassador's answer speaks for itself:

Mr. Adolf Gunesch  
President, Gunesch Precancel House  
30 W. Washington Street  
Chicago 2, Ill.

Dear Mr. Gunesch:

I thank you many times for your letter of December 1, 1962, in which you are informing me about different happenings inside the German-American National Congress from your viewpoint.

I must confess to you that I am deeply moved by the contents of your letter. Difficulties and opposed views inside the German-American National Congress are ostensibly unpleasant and should be avoided at any price.

Since I cannot make at once ~~my standpoint known from~~ Washington, ~~a standpoint which would go further~~, I have asked Consul General Dr. Motz to investigate this affair and send me a detailed report about it.

Yours very devoted,  
K. H. Knappstein

*I stunned*  
*the direction of my views*

A very strange letter indeed, in which the Ambassador of a foreign power asks his subordinate in Chicago to investigate a purely American organization. It was probably written in the belief that its contents will never be made public. However, the omniscient Tony Weitzel published on December 21, 1962 in *Chicago Daily News* the following information:

STUFF: In the wake of that intramural ruckus here (involving highly respected Adolf Gunesch), West German ambassador Heinrich Knappstein has asked for an investigation of the local D.A.N.K. (German American National Congress).

A series of hectic D.A.N.K. meetings followed. One of the meetings, whose obvious purpose was to silence Gunesch and to prevent any further leakings and adverse publicity, was held in the Chicago Bismarck Hotel. The German Consul General Motz participated in the meeting and also influenced Gunesch not to talk. Poor Gunesch, who had in the meantime applied to the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith for help, after receiving dozens of threatening phone calls and letters, decided finally that it might be perhaps wise to give up the struggle. He was especially shocked by a threatening letter, which bore the address "Adolf Precancel, Traitor to Germandom", was smeared with blood, and contained only three words: "You are next!"



D.A.N.K. Festivities

EMBOLDENED by the silencing of Gunesch, the D.A.N.K. went ahead with new activities. On September 15, 1963, the D.A.N.K. organized a big celebration in the Germania Club of Chicago to consecrate a new flag. The main speaker was Dr. Ludwig Fritsch, a member of the board of directors of the D.A.N.K., who had published after World War II a book, "The Crime of Our Age," containing some unkind remarks about the Jews. A protestant pastor before the war, Dr. Fritsch lost his job during the war because of his pro-Nazi activities. This writer was invited to attend the ceremony; he declined the invitation and sent a reporter, Mrs. Isabella Przysiesny. She came back horrified and reported that Fritsch had uttered several unkind remarks about the American flag. Shortly afterwards, she was called to the Chicago FBI office, where she gave a statement about the D.A.N.K. ceremony. Josef Noe, the general manager of the *Abendpost*, did everything in his power to hush up the story and ordered the editorial staff to proceed with favorable publicity for D.A.N.K. as if nothing had happened.

The following day, the D.A.N.K. already had the information that Mrs. Przysiesny had been questioned by the FBI. An official of the D.A.N.K. called her by phone in the editorial offices of the *Abendpost* and tried to induce her not to tell anybody about what had happened. Mrs. Przysiesny was so affected by the rudeness of the official that she cried for long. This writer decided then to let D.A.N.K. know that he would ask for police protection for the *Abendpost* staff and would inform the Attorney General if further harassing calls or actions happen. This helped.

In the meantime, the German-American community in the Midwest was stirred by feverish activity. New organizations, partly composed of D.A.N.K. members, mushroomed. The Jewish daily, *Morning Freiheit*, concerned by these activities, published on January 19, 1964 an article by its Illinois manager Jack Kling, "Midwest Nazis Strongly Tied To Other Ultra-Rightist Groups" which charged:

On February 8, 1963 a new organization made up of former Nazis, many German, called the "Independent American Council" was founded. The president of this organization is Christ N. Herr, a former member of the Nazi police force in occupied Yugoslavia. Herr fled in October 1944 with other Nazis to Germany and later immigrated to the United States after the Republicans came to power. Other members of the Board of Directors are Leonard Enders, a well-known pro-Nazi and anti-Semite in the German community, Dr. Ludwig Fritsch (more about him later), Hans Reichel, another well known pro-Nazi in the German community. The Board of Directors has more than 30 members and meets every Friday evening in the rooms of the German-American National Congress (D.A.N.K.) another rightist German-American organization.

Dr. Fritsch, who lives at 1901 S. Cumberland Ave., Park Ridge, Ill., published a book in 1949, entitled "The Crime of Our Age." The book (p. 2) is "dedicated to the Christian People of America." On page 5, the author writes: "Our leaders decided for the sinister powers of communism and atheism and helped them to victory. Our forces made a heap of ruins of the bulwark of Christianity and the white race, Germany . . . Since the physically and mentally sick late President (Roosevelt) surrounded himself with advisers who according to their spiritual background, reject the Savior and Prince of Peace, it is evident to me that the end of the war could not bring peace but chaos and unspeakable misery for all mankind. Bernard Baruch from Koenigsberg, the so-called elder statesman, Henry Morgenthau from Mannheim, Felix Frankfurter from Vienna, Albert Einstein from Berlin, Mrs. Rosenberg from Budapest, Sam Rosenman, Roosevelt's ghost writer, Sidney Hillman, the labor leader, and many others who advised the President . . . had reason to hate the Nazis for their cruelty against their race."

Hans Reichel, one of the members of the Board of Directors of the "Independent American Council" is also connected with ultra-rightists belonging to other nationality groups, many of whom are war criminals wanted in their native countries for crimes committed against Jews and others as well . . . On May 24, 1963, Reichel spoke in the Germania Club of Chicago, Germania Place at a meeting of the German Day Association. About 140 delegates representing 108 German-American societies were present. Reichel spoke about the "brave fight for the German nation during World War II" and told the assembly that he was "imprisoned and tortured for three years in an American concentration camp." He was referring to the period when he was interned for Nazi Bund activities.

Hans Reichel is currently employed by the "Abendpost," the only German daily newspaper in the Midwest. Until recently, he had been the assistant manager of the "Abendpost." Reichel and his colleagues have been in direct and indirect contact with leaders of the American Nazi Party. Reichel was the organizer of a banquet held August 1963 in honor of the 72nd birthday of one Leonard Enders, a well-known Nazi Bundist in the Chicago German community. The master of ceremonies was Christ N. Herr. Herr introduced the main speaker, Charles V. Falkenberg, an attorney with rightist connections. The lawyer at the outset spoke of his connections with pro-Fascist Father Charles Coughlin in the 1930's. The attorney boasted of his defense of an American Nazi Party group arrested outside of the State and Lake Theatre in the Chicago Loop as they picketed a film in which Sammy Davis Jr. played. Falkenberg referred to Sammy Davis Jr. as the "coon-Jew boy."

There are also indications of links between these forces and some top people in the John Birch Society of the Midwest. So here we get just a small part of a very big and involved story. You have the American Nazi Party and its attorney with connections with various rightist movements and with Nazi war criminals living in our country. All of these forces together contaminate the atmosphere with their racial hatred and anti-Semitism.

While the *Morning Freiheit* mentions only briefly the "links between these forces and some top people in the John Birch Society of the Midwest," the *Abendpost* of August 5, 1963 listed among people present at the same Enders testimonial meeting Theodore W. Miller (one of the twelve endorsers of the John Birch Society in Illinois) and Fritz Reuter (John Birch Society). The New York *Aufbau*, a Jewish weekly newspaper in the German language, also mentioned connections between the D.A.N.K. and the Birch Society in its issue of May 15, 1964.

The present election campaign makes it possible to closely scrutinize D.A.N.K. allegations about its independent and non-party character. No Democrat has had the opportunity, as far as this writer knows, to speak to the D.A.N.K. members. Prominent Goldwaterites, however, have been allowed to attend D.A.N.K. meetings at an early stage of the campaign.



an early stage of the campaign, for example, Hayes Robertson. On September 30, Walther A. Kollacks (who became president of the D.A.N.K. after the death of Ten Eicken) spoke to the membership about "Johnson, Goldwater and the German-Americans," he emphasized, among other things, that the opinion of the German-Americans will be respected in Washington only if and when one hundred thousand members would stand behind the D.A.N.K. leadership. After this optimistic talk, political movies sent by the German Consulate General were shown. The event received wide publicity in the *Abendpost*.

#### *The Leonard Enders Affair*

*Spec* **T**HERE has been, however, a series of protests which should have warned the owner of the *Abendpost* that the activity of these elements had been noticed. In June 1962, a delegation of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, led by H. Abbot Rosen, a member of the Board of Directors of that organization, and William Pinsley visited Elmer Reynolds, owner of the *Abendpost*, and submitted a series of proofs about the activity of his city editor Leonard Enders to his attention. Among these proofs was a statement, published in the *Congressional Record* by Rep. Sidney Yates, in which Enders was exposed as an anti-Semite. Reynolds, however, declined to examine these proofs and to fire Enders.

**□** Leonard Enders would have remained city editor of the *Abendpost* to this day, had he not been forced by a strange series of events to resign. After Richard Sperber

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et had unmasked the activities which the German press attach Dr. Klaus Bloemer conducted under the false name of Dr. Klaus Frei, Enders felt himself compelled at once to attack publicly and slander Sperber. This was another memorable coincidence illuminating the relations between the German Consulate, the *Abendpost*, and the D.A.N.K. Sperber had no other choice but to use Enders; this lawsuit was described by the Chicago City News Bureau on August 13, 1962 as follows:

A \$250,000 slander suit was filed yesterday (Thursday) in Superior Court against Leonard Enders, city editor of the "Abendpost," a German language daily newspaper published in Chicago. A radio announcer, Richard Sperber, 41, of 926 Michigan Ave., Evanston, alleges in the suit that Enders, who lives at 627 Melrose St., slandered him on two occasions. Attorney Melvin A. Brandt drew the suit, which alleges that on April 27th, Enders called Sperber "a traitor to the German cause", at a reception in the home of the Austrian consul general, Dr. Franz Haromy, 2925 Pine Grove Ave. The second occurrence, the suit said, was on July 22, at a picnic of the German-American National Congress, in the Forest preserve, where Enders allegedly called Sperber "an exponent of the Jews," who was "trying to exert Jewish control" over the group, of which both Enders and Sperber are members. The suit said that after Enders' statements a movement to oust Sperber as director of the club's foreign affairs committee formed, and that he was fired from his post as editor of the group's bulletin. All of Enders' words on two occasions were "false and defamatory," according to the suit.

Sperber's suit asks for an injunction to restrain Enders from continuing "his campaign of slander," as well as \$250,000 damages for injuries to Sperber's "good name and reputation." Brandt said that Enders' allegations amounted to charges of disloyalty against Sperber. . . . Sperber added that the August 2 issue of the bulletin, containing an article by him on "right-wing radicalism" in the organization, was burned, except for two copies he got from the printer. Sperber is a panel member on the television program, Press Internationale.

After a deputy sheriff appeared in the editorial office of the *Abendpost* to hand the suit to Enders, the latter almost collapsed and cried publicly. He applied at once to Noe and Reichel for help, imploring them not to let him down and reminding them of their past and present common ties and common beliefs. To this writer Enders said that he was prepared to commit suicide in the rooms of the *Abendpost* or in the headquarters of the D.A.N.K., in order to open the eyes of Germandom on the matter of the nefarious activities of Richard Sperber. However, Noe and Reichel used at once their influence on Sperber, imploring him not to persecute Enders in the interests of the German-Americans. Reichel, who in his position as assistant general manager and advertising manager of the *Abendpost* circulated very much in the city of Chicago, also enlisted the help of other people in order to save Enders, his former collaborator in the subversive pro-Nazi Einheitsfront. Sperber finally gave in under one condition: he asked that Enders must resign from his post as city editor of the *Abendpost* and sever his connections with that newspaper forever, in order to stop harming the German-American community by his slanted writings.

Although Elmer Reynolds, the *Abendpost* owner, and Josef Noe did not want to loose such a prominent collaborator, Enders finally resigned, after he was advised that Sperber would win the lawsuit. Enders appeared soon afterwards in the Chicago German-American press as contributor to a magazine in the German language, the *Chicago Illustrierte*. He also increased his social activities, holding meetings and participating in the founding of new groups. The activity of one of these groups, headed by Christ Herr but inspired by Enders, was described previously in this article. He also received full support from D.A.N.K. This organization glorified Enders in one of its bulletins by publishing his picture and calling him "father of the D.A.N.K."

The traditions of Enders in the *Abendpost* were continued by the assistant general manager Hans Reichel, himself a member of the D.A.N.K. as well as of the former subversive Einheitsfront. At the time of the Eichmann trial, Reichel published in the *Abendpost* an article denying that Germans had been the greatest war criminals in World War II and asserting that the greatest war criminal was Moshe Piyade - a Jew from Yugoslavia. This writer refused to publish the article in the *Abendpost*; however, he was overruled by the general manager Noe, who enjoyed the full support of the *Abendpost* owner and sided with Reichel.

Reichel's assertions in this and other articles, as well as his past and his activities outside of the *Abendpost* in the Chicago German-American community, antagonized a number of prominent Chicago Jews; who formed a delegation and visited with the *Abendpost* owner Elmer Reynolds, asking him to fire Reichel. The leaders of the delegation were Rabbi Samuel Burr Yampol and the lawyer Arthur L. Berman. As in the Enders case, Reynolds refused categorically and gave the delegation the strange answer that he was going to investigate the loyalty of Reichel with the help of the Counter Intelligence Agency. This answer puzzled everybody, since it was known that the CIA was not entitled to act in such domestic matters, being a governmental agency dedicated to operations abroad. For this writer, however, this answer came as no surprise, since Noe had previously boasted many times about his excellent relations with the CIA. After several weeks, Reynolds let Rabbi Yampol know that Reichel would remain with the *Abendpost*.

Emboldened by this support, Reichel published on October 1, 1963 a manifesto in the *Abendpost*, calling the "750,000 German-Americans in Chicago and vicinity" not to disappear in the great American melting-pot but to unite and fight for political influence, to found a powerful organization uniting them all, and to elect German-American members of Congress. For those who remembered the language of the subversive Einheitsfront, which

American members of Congress. For those who remembered the language of the subversive Einheitsfront, which also advocated the organizing of powerful German-American pressure groups in order to work for the interests of a foreign power -- these ideas were neither new nor strange. In order to get a platform from which he could more successfully spread his beliefs, Reichel was elected president of a German-American organization in Chicago, the American Aid Society; an organization which did not concern itself exclusively with aid, but tried to exert influence in Washington. Reichel's activities, already considerable at that time, increased immensely with the beginning of the presidential campaign. He is, needless to say, a Goldwater supporter.

Parelleling the activities of Enders and Reichel, the *Abendpost* increased its connections with West Germany. After the break between Dr. Henry Fredericks and the German Consulate in Chicago, the general manager Noe, who remained in constant touch with the German Consul Motz, ordered this writer to blacklist Dr. Fredericks and to deny him any publicity. Noe even tried to refuse a paid advertisement by Fredericks, claiming that the deadline for the ad was past and that the printers would not accept it. After checking with the printers, this writer found these assertions untrue; the ad was published. Noe also tried to blacklist Adolf Gunesch after his dissensions with the D.A.N.K. Needless to say, this writer declined any blacklisting as contrary to the moral code of the American press.



At the same time, a new and revolting form of collaboration with West Germany was introduced by Noe. While the *Abendpost* formerly bought whole-page mats in the German language with harmless contents from several private West German firms; the German Consulate began sending free-of-cost numerous whole-page mats containing brazen German political, economic, and cultural propaganda, glorifying Germany past and present as a haven of pure democracy, Western culture, and human decency. At the same time, a nominally independent West German organization called "Inter Nationes," operated by German government funds, also began sending whole-page propaganda mats. This writer protested energetically against the inclusion of foreign propaganda, not labeled as such, in an American newspaper whose publisher was not registered in Washington as the agent of a foreign government. However, Noe, the general manager, ordered the inclusion of these mats in the contents of the *Abendpost* as well as in the daily *Milwaukee Deutsche Zeitung* and the weekly *Sonntagpost*.

Noe also went to West Germany, using a plane of the Lufthansa, the government-owned German airline. He told this writer, he did not pay the fare. In West Germany he got in touch with Franz Meyers, Prime Minister of the Rhine province, in order to get material support from government-owned and private German business companies for the *Abendpost*, *Milwaukee Deutsche Zeitung*, and *Sonntagpost*. Noe told this writer, such support was promised. After the return of Noe, several ads from West Germany arrived; among them were several from firms which could not be interested in American business and could have no reason to advertise in a small, American foreign-language newspaper. /a

This writer was powerless to object to such business practices. However, he protested after a big German industrial company send a gift of 500 German Marks. After this writer pointed out to Noe that outright gifts in reply to letters of solicitation should be unwelcome, Noe inserted an ad in the *Abendpost*, although the company had not asked for such an ad.

#### Threats At 2 A.M.

Spec. TENSION developed, after it became known that this writer, in his capacity as editor-in-chief of the *Abendpost*, *Milwaukee Deutsche Zeitung*, and *Sonntagpost*, would not support the above-described practices of the management. One night, at two o'clock in the morning, this writer was disturbed at home by a phone call. The man at the other end of the line spoke English with a heavy German accent and said: "You have been opposing as editor of the *Abendpost* not only patriotic organization like the D.A.N.K. which want to save this country from the Jewish-Liberal conspiracy, but also West Germany, the last bulwark of human decency and a Christian way of life in the world. We are asking you for the last time to repent and to collaborate with the German-American patriots and with West Germany. If you reject this last chance, which is given to you although you do not deserve it, you will have to ascribe all the evil consequences that will ensue for you to yourself. Do not believe that there is an authority in this country to protect you from the so-called extreme rightists you are opposing, because the FBI and the CIA work hand in glove with these patriotic forces, not with the Jewish-Liberal traitors you /ssympathize. Moreover, it would be easy for the government of Western Germany to send a report to the American authorities describing your past activities as subversive, Communist, or Anarchist. There will be nobody to whitewash you in this country, because government-to-government reports are blindly trusted, and you will be labeled as subversive and thus persecuted to the end of your days. So please think, and I pray to God that you will come to the right decision and do penance for your past errors and wrongdoings."

like This writer was, needless to say, surprised by this call, due to the fact that he had an unlisted number, known only to the *Abendpost* management and to a few friends. He changed his phone number the following day, taking care not to inform the *Abendpost* about the new number. No more harassing calls were received.

In the light of the subsequent events, the threats uttered over the phone did not seem to be the irresponsible boasting of a madman. Shortly after the *Abendpost* owner Reynolds had told the Jewish delegation that he was able to check the loyalty of his employees by the CIA, an attempt was made to burglarize the apartment of this writer. Fortunately two strong locks withstood the burglars. This writer as well as his wife was also shadowed by unknown persons. A Chicago civic leader, Dimitrije Munjic, was also shadowed after having met this writer in a cafe. His apartment was also burglarized by two unknown persons posing as exterminators, who were seen by his neighbors. Nothing valuable disappeared from Munjic's apartment, neither money nor jewels. However, all his manuscripts were taken away. The organizers of the burglary must have been heavily disappointed after they discovered that they had stolen the manuscripts of several major anti-Communist works. /e

New dissensions between this writer and the *Abendpost* management induced the owner to look for a new editor out of town. The *Abendpost* owner did not dare to publish an ad looking for a new editor in Chicago, but published such ads in New York and St. Louis. Since it would be very helpful for a Chicago newspaper to get an editor born and raised in the same city, well acquainted with the local German-American life, the purposes of doing otherwise are self-explanatory. Moreover, the *Abendpost* owner also knew that Richard Sperber, the able newspaperman who had exposed Leonard Enders, /wereand had been available for the job; he was not called. Did his past antagonism to Enders and the D.A.N.K.

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Did his past antagonism to Enders and the D.A.N.K. leadership as well as to the German diplomat Bloemer make him ineligible? This question can be answered only by the *Abendpost*.

In the meantime Western Germany has intensified its activities in the U.S. Hundreds of emissaries of different West German organizations, many of them advocating extreme rightist views or the interests of different German expellee groups, have swamped the U.S. after the beginning of the election campaign. They travel from city to city, from one German-American group to another, speaking at their meetings and conferring with the leadership of these groups behind closed doors. In Chicago, Denver, Los Angeles, and Milwaukee the German-Americans are stirred up to unite, found a strong pressure group, and take over the leadership of this country. Fantastic utterances about the number of German-Americans are spread; some are asserting that they number more than 40 million people. The West German visitors are doing everything in their power to boost ~~their~~ ideas. Their travel expenses are paid by their organizations, and these organizations are partly financed by the German government.

One may take all these events with humor and say, as the *Decatur Herald* has done, that all those people in foreign countries who are taking so much interest in U.S. domestic affairs and in the U.S. presidential campaign should be sent a United States tax bill. Or one may take a more serious look and emphasize that such interference is not in the interest of good relations between West Germany and the U.S.

these

# *Speech material*

FLASH MESSAGE WHICH HAS JUST COME OVER THE WIRE FROM

ROBERT WOLF:

Senator Goldwater is having trouble trying to define extremism and moderation. His variations make me think that what he really needs is a George Orwell 1984 dictionary because this is the language he is using. I know this much; he has left at least one genuine conservative behind--Noah Webster, because I can't find the Goldwater definition of a moderate in Webster's dictionary. Now I will admit that my version of Webster's dictionary is a 1922 edition that my father gave me when I was a very young man. Webster tells me that a moderate is one who "observes reasonable limits" and Webster also tells me that the word "moderate" is synonymous with one who is temperate; who is calm, frugal, judicious, cool and sparing. Webster also tells me that a halfhearted man isn't a moderate. He is a person who is wanting in heart, spirit, zeal, courage, or interest. And an extremist, according to Webster, is one who exceeds reasonable or just limits.



Woestendieck

# Extremism - Ideas

Dear Mr. Woestendieck:

Your telegram of July 20, however brief and to the point, is difficult to answer, but answer it I shall in the most sensible way I can.

My definition of extremism reflects my own understanding of our political system and of the forces which make it work.

Our system is an open one, based upon the open pursuit of individual and social goals. To pursue those goals either in the absence of restraint or in the presence of regimentation would be to deny them completely.

Thus we in America have chosen a system which tries to seek a proper balance and to provide for the means of achieving those goals. Democracy in this context is a method, not a systematic philosophy with official dogma and goals. You and I and our fellow citizens have the goals; our political system makes it safe for us to pursue them. It does so by maintaining free political choice, equal justice under law, equal opportunity for all of us to realize the best that is within us.

The extremist confuses his goals with the business of government. Having persuaded himself that he has found Truth or Justice or Liberty, he is not content to let his fellow citizens decide for themselves through an open political system. He will spare them the trouble by deciding for them.

Thus the extremist is necessarily intolerant of those who disagree with him; they are simply wrong or sinister or both. The extremist is a tragic figure in a free society because he cannot tolerate freedom. He rejects the open society because it means diversity, dissent, competition, compromise, accommodation -- these are anathema to his closed and rigid mind.

The extremist desperately needs certainty, predictability, purity of action as well as purity of ideals. Failing to find these things in the

world around him, he finds them in himself and rejects the world as impure at best and conspiratorial at worst.

To purify the world around him he is prepared to abandon the rules of the game and the rule of law. He is prepared to take matters into his own hands. If this requires killing or maiming, if it requires defiance of law and order, then so be it -- the purity of his end justifies whatever means he might use. Therein lies the menace to liberty.

The great American jurist, Learned Hand, said, "The spirit of Liberty is the spirit that is not sure it is right." The extremist cannot accept this notion; indeed, it frightens him.

Who are the extremists? Communists, fascists, racists, jingoists -- these are the classic and most obvious varieties. But no matter what labels we may find for them, I suppose there will always live among us those whose minds, commitments, interests and goals cannot be reconciled to the facts of human diversity.



At the same time that the American nation has recently been showing itself once more to be a healthy and idealistic country, moderate and humane, concerned and progressive, there has been -- worse even than the complacency to which we were prone a half-decade ago -- a spirit of extremism and of disrespect for law. Four little children in Sunday School were killed by an extremist's bomb; Medgar Evers was gunned down in his front yard; an extremist murdered the President of the United States, and another man, taking the law into his own hands, killed the accused assassin; churches have been burned; young students working for civil rights have been slain; and riots have occurred in some of our great cities. City streets have been turned into battlefields, parks into jungles, and pasture ponds into burying grounds. Right before our eyes we are seeing the fruits of extremism hack into the tree of democracy.

It has become quite the thing to talk about extremism these days. Every era has its catchwords, its off-beat ideologies, and one is tempted to let this one run its course. For indeed, it is running fast, from its bold launching as a national "principle" to its present vague definition where those who have espoused it as political dogma now claim, without discarding its doctrine, to repudiate ~~some of~~ the support of some who would follow its tenets.



Yet it is precisely because the waters have become muddied so fast, that I feel compelled to address clearly and without equivocation what has become the current central question of our political philosophy. The question of extremism -- of its meaning, its implications, and its consequences -- is a question not of context, as some would now have us believe, but of concept -- of essence, not of semantics. The underlined advocacy of extremism cannot now be hedged by a paraphrase, by equivocal reference to an official List. So I must state, without artifice and without elusion, my views on this fundamental issue of polity.

Extremism is a vice. Moderation is a virtue. Extremism even in the name of liberty, is a vice. Moderation even in the pursuit of justice, is a virtue. It is that simple.

Extremism is a vice because absolutist and self-righteous attitudes -- extremist attitudes -- lead to the use of power rather than reason, and to disrespect of the person of one's opponent, and to the defiance of law. And extremism on the one side begets extremism in return, seriatim, until at last the bonds of the community are broken.

~~And extremism on the one side begets extremism in~~  
~~return, until at last the bonds of the community are~~  
~~broken.~~

Those who defend extremism would explain to us<sup>x</sup> that they mean by the word only an extreme devotion to one's ideas -- but that is exactly the root of the vice. ~~Extreme and~~ <sup>For</sup> intolerant devotion to one's <sup>own</sup> ideas is the fundamental fault from which come intimidation; secret maneuvers; short cut, shot-gun politics; power plays, riots in the streets; ~~the~~ anonymous phone calls and ~~the~~ threatening letters; ~~the~~ wholesale attack upon established leaders and established institutions, upon the press and upon the police. The extremist attitude is the unreasonable one that does not subject itself to a give and take but shuts out <sup>dissent</sup> by jeers, labeling, and unthinking slogans. The extremist attitude is the impatient one that is willing to take short cuts around the law and decent behavior; to ~~snipe practice~~ with guns in the hills or attack with knives in the streets. The extremist attitude is the self-righteous one that says, I am <sup>ab</sup>solutely right, you are absolutely wrong -- I do not compromise, I will not be a moderate, my position is absolute. All this flows from the extremist's attachment to his ideas, which is his assumption that he has a monopoly of truth.

Moderation is a virtue because it means that -- even with respect to those things about which we feel

most deeply -- we observe the limits of law, the limits of reason, the limits of a decent respect for our opponents.

The emotion-filled questions about the relations between the races have often lacked this moderation, on many sides, throughout our history. Much extremism has appeared in the defense of human slavery, of white supremacy, and of segregation; that is an obvious and terrible fact of our society down to the present. But that is not the only position in which some extremism has appeared. I honor the abolitionist movement in general, and theirs was a clear cut moral question if there ever was one -- freedom versus human slavery -- literally. Nevertheless, even in that most just and righteous cause, moderation was a virtue, extremism a vice. The extreme self-righteousness of some in the abolitionist movement, and especially in the radicalism of the reconstruction period, when the radicals, without restraint and moderation or self-criticism, rode roughshod over the defeated south, has led <sup>directly</sup> to some of the problems of the present. The extremists wanted, not just to oppose the social evil, but to humiliate and punish those who

[continued on next page]



had been their enemies and with whom they disagreed. They were willing to use any means to those ends. The wise and moderate -- the compassionate -- counsel of Lincoln, who wanted with charity for all and malice toward none to bind up the nation's wounds, who knew that both sides prayed to the same God and that neither could claim a monopoly of virtue or the endorsement of God, was set aside by absolutistic extremists who wanted vengeance and self-justification.

The point is that extremism releases those restraints on our behavior, from reason, from law, and from conscience. that ~~re~~ are the mark of a civilized and a democratic people. Extremists are impatient and intemperate ~~persons~~ people, who do not want to play by the rules.

The culmination of extremism is defiance of law and order. The gravest perils of extremism are the breakdown of freedom and the loss of reverence for law.

The challenge to the moderate is to protect the institutions of ordered liberty which allow the extremist to exist, and yet to prevent the extremist from undermining these same institutions. And this is an arduous duty. One need not look far for an example of how moderates, smug in their faith that triumph of moderation was inevitable, saw their cause swamped ~~by~~ by the zeal and dedication of the extremists and their allies.

Although toleration of extremists intrinsic in democracy, there are limits to the demands it may place upon the moderate man,<sup>the man</sup>/who is dedicated to law and to reason. Toleration of extremists does not require acceptance of their views, or of their tactics or of their support; indeed, it demands that the extremists' views, and their tactics, and their support, be specifically and completely and promptly rejected. Since exposure by discussion is the principal weapon that a free society possesses, to defend itself against undemocratic ideas, it is important that we discuss, and specifically reject, extremist groups, all extremist groups, and their tactics, and their ideas.

~~Yet~~

Yet it is not enough to wait, and to equivocate, and then finally to repudiate. We need to impel/<sup>a</sup>positive principle which we can affirm with a zeal and dedication which matches that of the extremist, which strikes a chord in our national conscience, and which offers assurance of victory for our democratic way of life.

We need not look far, for ~~there~~<sup>such</sup> there is in the American spirit/a principle which is deeply felt, and that is that there is a transcendent, identifiable, objective order which, for reasons deep in our heritage, must be obeyed. I speak of ~~that~~ the Rule of Law, the rule by laws that have been arrived at in freedom, and that may be changed in freedom.

Obedience to the Rule of Law in a democracy does not mean the stifling of dissent. Obedience to the Rule of Law does not mean that one man, not in power, must defer without question, or even without protest, to ~~the~~ the mandate of another who is in power. This is the point to which the extremists would lead us, and it is the point to which we must not be led. But obedience to the Rule of Law, in a society where ~~that~~ the Rule is freedom and the guarantee of due process, does require that we seek our ends within the processes which the law provides, and that, once having gained them, we guarantee the same rights to ~~others~~ all others.

Our Constitution has endowed us with a mechanism by which we are able to obtain a national consensus, a reconciliation of conflicting ideas and aims into a united ~~unified~~ course of action. An essential element of of our free system is the opportunity it affords to every individual to challenge the general consensus, to determine peaceably what the law really is, and to ask that it be measured against what the law ought to be. Respect for law and order, the mark of the moderate man, does not demand that we like the answers that we get, but only that once having been answered, we heed what we are told. The peaceful means to find the answers, and the respect we give and are obligated to give to ~~them~~ them, is what we mean by due process, and due process in turn is at the ~~x~~ root of the Rule of Law.



the instruments through which the people may express their will;

and having once made, are free, together, to change.

It is, I think, significant that the Preamble to our Constitution mentions not the Congress, not the President, not the Courts, but -- and not merely in passing, but centrally, as the very purpose for the whole great document -- the People, "we the People of the United States of America." They -- we -- the People -- in formulating this Constitution and in consenting to be bound by its terms, are the final and most important part of the Rule of Law. It is a law that we make, Not all the people at any one time will agree upon every course being followed in the name of the Constitution. To some, the Rule of Law it has established will at times seem too slow. To others, equally of good will, it will seem to work too fast. But if law and order are to prevail, if our democracy is to be preserved, if our nation is not to be torn asunder, these differences of view, however deep, however strongly felt, must be resolved within the Rule of Law.

To be more specific, I turn to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It should be understood from the outset, by men of all opinions, that this historic Act is the fruit of the democratic process and the Rule of Law. It must be equally understood that the great reforms which it launched will succeed or fail only to the extent that they meet or fail to meet the continued test of the Rule

of Law. I, for one, am confident that they will succeed, but that, for the moment, is not my point.

If the first visible aftermath of the Civil Rights Act is lawlessness and violence fomented by those who are presumed to favor the Act, the great moral purpose of the statute will be swallowed up in strife and the law's prospects for success will be diminished. Similarly, if those who continue to take exception to the purposes or provisions of the Act express their opposition by lawlessness and violence they will have cast doubt upon their claim to have the law's provisions reviewed within the ordered paths of law.

There will be men of good will, on either side, who will remain unsatisfied with the Act's passage. Some will feel that it has not gone far enough or that it is not being adequately enforced, and the next session of Congress and the courts offer them an effective means to attempt to achieve their further goals. Others, equally well motivated, will doubt the validity of the law, or some of its provisions, and they, too, may have their day in court and again in these halls. Each side has a right, and indeed, as responsible citizens, a duty, to explore all the avenues of due process. Neither side has the right to utilize the city streets or the country roads. This is the difference between disagreeing about what the law is or ought to be, and lawlessness. This is the difference between an ordered democratic

society under the Rule of Law, and anarchy.

In the words of Mr. Justice Black, "Whatever power it may allow the states or grant to the Congress to regulate the use of private property, the Constitution does not confer upon any group the right to substitute rule by force for rule by law. Force leads to violence, violence to mob conflicts, and these to rule by the strongest groups with control of the most deadly weapons. Our Constitution, noble work of wise men, was designed -- all of it -- to chart a quite different course: to 'establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility ... and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity.'" Mr. Justice Black then went on: "At times the rule of law seems too slow to some for the settlement of their grievances. But it is the plan our Nation has chosen to preserve both 'Liberty' and equality for all. On that plan we have put our trust and staked our future. This constitutional rule <sup>of law</sup> he concluded, "has served us well



We may now ask: Are there not occasions upon which one may deliberately and with justice violate the law? The answer is, unequivocally, No. There are a <sup>very</sup> few apparent exceptions, but these, upon examination under our Federal constitutional system, are seen ~~to~~ clearly to be not violations of the law, but an attempt to clarify the law, to determine what the law really is. I shall explore this in a moment, but first, let me repeat: There is no justification -- legal <sup>or</sup> moral ~~grounds~~ -- for ~~disobedience~~ willful disobedience of the law under our American system of free government.

But what about the idea of ~~the~~ "civil disobedience"? Is this not morally justified? I ask you first, what do you mean by "civil disobedience?" If you mean deliberate defiance of law and order, unruly hooliganism, or disobedience of the final order after all the avenues of due process have been exhausted, my answer is brief and to the point: This is unlawfulness and should be punished to the full extent the law provides. There is no such right in our Constitutional democracy.

But many instances of what is sometimes loosely called "civil disobedience" are not deliberate disobedience to law at all, but peaceful and lawful demonstration -- a part of our heritage of free speech and petition; or they are tests, undertaken in an orderly fashion, not in defiance of the law, but to ~~set~~ set into motion the processes for determining what the law truly is under the Constitution. If ~~this is the~~

subject of your inquiry, then my answer is equally unequivocal: These processes are a very part of our democratic system under the Rule of Law.

Some civil rights leaders have said, in answer to the question about breaking the law, that one should obey "just" laws, but that one may disobey "unjust" laws. That is an entirely inadequate formulation, and must be rejected. It is even unfair to the cause of those who state it. I can understand why it was said, but it is not a careful -- nor an accurate -- statement.

We obey "unjust" laws all the time -- laws, that is, that we regard as unjust. We must do so, or else a system of law <sup>simply</sup> ~~may~~/would not work. A large and varied people has in it many different and conflicting ideas of what is ~~just~~ "just", and many widely differing interpretations of what "liberty" means in specific cases. If every man is an extremist in behalf of what he thinks is liberty and if every man obeys only those laws he regards as just then we do not have law and civilization ~~by~~ but anarchy.

Let me repeat: Our heritage does not hold that believing a law to be "unjust" is justification for disobeying it. We obey laws even though we regard them as unjust so long as there is the opportunity, through legal means, of changing them. And in our open and democratic society the opportunity to change the law by political means is available ~~to~~ to all. ~~Not by way~~

Not by way of digression, but to illustrate my very point, the legal and moral imperative behind the Constitutional mandate that legislatures be equitably apportioned is precisely to assure that the opportunities of due process, ~~in which the legislative branch plays a key role~~ in which the legislatures play a central role, will be available to all.

There is, it is true, a philosophical heritage of a, quote "right to ~~revolution~~" unquote, which much literature of the Judeo-Christian and Western past has recognized, and indeed to which our founding fathers appealed. But that is a rare and narrow right against tyranny only -- against unjust government, where the whole system of law is wrong and no redress is available. Do those pitiful extremist groups of today (some of whose names appear on no official List and so have escaped condemnation by some people who expressed themselves publicly on have/~~been publicly concerned with~~ the question of extremism) -- do these groups, who like to invoke the names of Patrick Henry and the American revolutionaries, -- do these groups really mean what they imply: revolution? The American colonists wanted to overthrow the existing government by force -- and they did it. Is that the intention of these modern-day radicals? Do they now intend to overthrow our American government by force if they do not get their way? If so, they are, to use one of their own favorite words, subversive.

But of course, that is not their intention; all that they really want is some justification for short cuts and foul~~x~~ means. They should be repudiated, all of them; our Constitutional system repudiates them, all of them; and I repudiate them -- all of them.

The fact is that a free and democratic society institutionalizes "revolution" by providing orderly instruments for change. It thereby eliminates moral appeals to a "right revolution," for by legal means, within the system, one can throw the rascals out.

I wish that the great movement for Negro rights, with which I am proud to be associated, were not loosely called the Negro "revolution." That is the wrong word entirely. The Negro has not sought to overthrow this government; he has sought to fulfill this government. He has not sought to alter this society; he has sought to join it -- to attain his full rights within it.

It is especially important, now that the Civil Rights Act has become the law of the land, that continued efforts to secure civil rights remain within the law: peaceful demon~~strations~~ strations only, directed toward specific goals and specific agencies, within the law. Generalized and mass protests, directed ~~xx~~ toward large vague goals and toward the public at large, must be rejected. Whatever the tradition of ~~stick~~



"civil disobedience" has meant, it has not meant ~~the~~ general harrassment of officials and police and ~~the~~ general interference with the work and life of the public. This is a form of ~~ex~~ extremism and it has no place within our free system.

continued

again,  
But what of the so-called "right" of civil disobedience? Cannot generalized protests by masses of Negroes today be as effective ~~as~~ <sup>and</sup> as legitimate as the sit-in demonstrations of 1963? The answer clearly is "No." Those who "sat in" at lunch counters in 1963 in violation of anti-trespass statutes did so because they had reasonable grounds to believe that the statutes themselves were unlawful and hence that the so-called "unlawful" act of sitting in was not in fact against the law. These non-violent demonstrations were effective because they abided by the general rules of civil order, were directed at specific targets, and stayed within the Rule of Law. Some recent harrassing actions, on the other hand, deny the basic ground rules of our ordered society, and make no effort to fit actions to specific targets. Lacking the essential discipline which the orderly processes of the Rule of Law provides, these actions too readily turn into lawless violence, and hence destroy the very civil order upon which minority rights depend.

The sit-ins of October of 1963 raised the question whether state trespass laws could be legally applied under those circumstances. There will be owners of public accommodations in October of 1964 who will bar Negroes from their premises and thereby raise the question whether the Civil Rights Act of 1964 can be legally applied against them.

I have no doubt that it can, but under the Rule of Law, every man has a right to raise such a question, and in order to do so he may have to violate the law he is setting out to test. But once the question is resolved by the courts through the exercise of due process, every citizen, under the Rule of Law, is bound to abide by the decision. In all the sit-in cases, no one on either side ever questioned whether law and order must prevail. The question was always whether the weight and protective strength of law and order would be cast in favor of one side or the other. In the words of the Great Chief Justice John Marshall, a son of Virginia, writing in 1803 in the case of Marbury against Madison, which first recognized the Supreme Court's responsibility to decide constitutional questions, "The very essence of civil liberty certainly consists in the right of every individual to claim the protection of the laws, whenever he receives an injury." But unless every citizen is to obey those laws once their meaning has been established through the orderly channels of due process, there is no "protection of the laws."

Check

The theory of

^ "Civil disobedience" depends upon the so-called "principle" that "the violation of unjust laws is justified by the fact that these laws themselves violate a higher law, which may be called moral law, natural law, or divine law, depending on the viewpoint of the interpreter." But this

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"principle" has no place in our Constitutional system,  
and indeed is <sup>exactly</sup> ~~the exact~~ opposite to the Rule of Law.

"The point of view of the interpreter" is no foundation upon which to rest an ordered society. It is not enough merely to be "willing to accept the penalty for disobeying the law." The responsibility of a citizen in a democracy is to ungrudgingly accept the present law, in return for which he receives -- and this is what characterizes the open society -- effective access to the processes of orderly change. But as soon as he abandons the orderly processes, he breaks his compact with society, loses both his legal and moral right to have vindicated the substantive right he seeks, and from his own self-centered point of view, loses his effectiveness. The very instruments of the state which were available to serve him must turn upon him. While civil disobedience may be an effective technique in the tyrannical state, it has no place in a free society operating under a Rule of Law.

Against the argument that civil disobedience is needed in the North where the state fails to enforce the laws and to remedy unjust situations, the answer is that Negroes must take advantage of these opportunities which are in fact open to them. The problem is that generalized protest demonstrations are easier to organize than are specific attempts to take advantage of legal rights which are already readily available. It is easier to get 40 pickets in front of



City Hall than it is to get one Negro family to try to buy a home in a white neighborhood. And so the protest demonstrations go on, and the state and local civil rights laws go unenforced -- or more precisely (if less grammatically) un-taken advantage of.

Furthermore, for Thoreau (who ~~was~~ was naive and irresponsible even for the simple America of ~~1849~~ 1849) and Ghandi (who had a sophisticated view of the limitations as well as the potentialities of the "weapon" he was espousing), and for the other great religious ~~and political~~ ~~and~~ leaders who have been identified with "civil disobedience," civil disobedience has had a very severe discipline: non-violence; clarity of one's specific purpose; moral training; and the willingness to bear upon oneself the consequences of one's act (by going to jail, if that be what the law provided).

Intended to appeal to the conscience of men, civil disobedience has never been responsibly proposed to create a general disorder nor to substitute for the Rule of Law. It was Aristotle who said that it is better for a bad law to be obeyed, than by disobeying it to have all law brought into disrepute. Civil disobedience -- disciplined, non-violent, and determinate -- can be morally justifiable only under certain <sup>very</sup> narrowly prescribed circumstances: where it will be effective and where nothing else can be effective.

Ghandi had no other means, and civil disobedience, at his time, under ~~those~~ particular circumstances, against the British, was effective. ~~But~~

But American citizens are not a colonial people, ruled from abroad; we are our own rulers, and the means of ~~social~~ /social change are available to us -- within the law.

We are fortunate in this great free society that we can solve our problems -- all our problems -- on the great central path of reason, respect for law, and moderation.

John; just to give you an idea of whom you're confronting -  
None of this was ever used in the campaign, other than a leak to  
My Times, which printed some of the names. WEL.

The following is merely a partial listing of evidences of  
extremism surrounding, and perhaps overwhelming, the Goldwater  
candidacy at the highest levels in the Los Angeles area alone --

1. Ralph E. Davis: Member, National Council of the John Birch  
Society, the intimate group of advisers to Birch boss Robert Welch  
who has called Dwight Eisenhower, Milton Eisenhower, John Foster  
Dulles, Allan Dulles and a veritable cast of thousands of Republicans  
in the Eisenhower Administration either Communists or Communist-  
controlled.

Member, exclusive Goldwater Sports Arena Dinner Committee,  
Los Angeles, March 19, 1964.

2. Mrs. Joseph M. Crosby: Paid field coordinator, John Birch  
Society. Also, organizer of a wacky outfit called Network of  
Patriotic Letter Writers in Pasadena, which has circulated a weird  
and fraudulent map purporting to show how Irish and Mongolian troops  
will police the United States under a World Government plan.

Member, Goldwater Dinner Committee.

3. Phillip Chandler: Member, John Birch Society. Hosted two-  
day closed-door Welch seminar at his Pasadena home on January 14, 15,  
1962. Served (September 23, 1963) on the general committee for a  
testimonial dinner at the Hollywood Palladium honoring Robert Welch,  
the Birch fogleman.

Member, Goldwater Dinner Committee.

4. Mrs. Phillip Chandler: Ditto.

5. Mrs. Fritz Burns: Member, John Birch Society. Served on  
the executive committee for the Welch testimonial dinner.

Member: Goldwater Dinner Committee. And official Goldwater delegate.

6. Fritz Burns: Supporter of and contributor to the John Birch Society. According to the Los Angeles Times (August 28, 1962): "Los Angeles builder Fritz Burns, vacationing in Honolulu, said that he is not a member of the (John Birch) Society, 'but I am one of its many supporters and have made contributions from time to time.' He said his wife is 'an ardent member of the Society.'"

Member, Goldwater Dinner Committee. Member, Los Angeles County Advisory Committee to Goldwater.

7. Walter Knott: Attended two-day Welch secret seminar at the Chandler home (Source: Pasadena Independent, January 14, 1962). Also, National Treasurer of the Liberty Amendment Committee of the U.S.A., a wild group headed by Birch Society speaker Willis Stone and Birch Society organizer Harry Browne which is primarily interested in repealing the income tax. Also, member of National Advisory Council of the Bircher Billy James Hargis' Christian Crusade which believes, among a good deal else, that "the majority of newspaper are actively promoting the Communist line."

Member, Goldwater Dinner Committee. And official Goldwater delegate.

8. Harold K. Levering: Member, Executive Committee, of the Liberty Amendment Committee of the U.S.A., which would, in order to repeal the income tax, either abolish or sell to private enterprise such as the Forest Service, TVA, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Bureau of Public Roads, and the Veterans Administration.



Member, Goldwater Dinner Committee. And official Goldwater delegate.

9. Loyd Wright: Said, according to the Los Angeles Times (December 15, 1961):

"'I would give notice to Russia to get out of the enslaved Baltic nations within a certain time,' said the former president of the American Bar Association and one of the founders of the local Project Alert.

"'If they didn't get out, I would commence shooting.

"Asked whether he proposed Russian cities should be bombed, he said: 'We don't have to blow up the whole city of Moscow. But if we do, that's too bad!'

"He said such an attack should make use of whatever weapons are needed, including nuclear.

"Asked if he meant he was firmly committed to the concept of preventive war, he said, 'You bet! And I think the American people are in the same frame of mind.'"

Wright also wholeheartedly endorses the John Birch Society. According to the Los Angeles Times (January 6, 1962), he said: "I wish we had 10,000 -- perhaps 10 million -- more of the kind of men I know are in this society."

Member: Goldwater Dinner Committee. Official Goldwater delegate. And Member, Goldwater Los Angeles County Advisory Committee. (And hopefully, in event of a Goldwater Administration, not Secretary of Defense!)

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10. Henry Salvatori: President, Anti-Communist Voters League, a Los Angeles-based outfit which rates candidates on their "awareness" of the Communist threat and which has flunked a number of genuine, thoroughly aware anti-Communists such as Republican Assemblyman Hugh Fluornoy, a Ph. D. professor of political science at Claremont. Also, sponsor of American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters, an ad hoc group sponsored at its inception by 10 leaders of the Birch Society (Anderson, Manion, Braden, et al.)

Member: Goldwater Dinner Committee. And official Goldwater delegate.

11. E. S. Hartwick: Official sponsor, Manion Forum, the extremist project run by Clarence Manion, ultra-high ranking advisor to Robert Welch as member of the select National Council, John Birch Society.

Member: Goldwater Dinner Committee.

12. Frank R. Seaver: Ditto.

13. Joseph C. Shell: Said, according to the Los Angeles Times (March 8, 1962): "The middle of the road is 75 per cent socialism." Has spoken kindly and approvingly of the Birch Society many times (such as June 3, 1962, New York Times.)

Member, Goldwater Dinner Committee. Official Goldwater delegate. Member, Goldwater Los Angeles County Advisory Committee.

14. Fred G. Sherrill: Member, Committee of Endorsers, Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, a Birch-led group, headed by seven members of the Birch Society National Council (Manion, Anderson, Phelps, Chance, Braden, Heinsohn, Grede).

Official Goldwater delegate. Member, Goldwater Los Angeles Advisory Committee.

15. Leo J. Shanahan: Supporter and endorser, Liberty Amendment Committee of the U.S.A., the group trying to get rid of or sell to private enterprise (if buyers can be found, of course) such as the Federal Reserve System, the Patent Office, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Social Security Administration, and Parcel Post.

Member, Goldwater Dinner Committee.

16. Z. Wayne Griffin: Member, Executive Committee, previously-covered Anti-Communist Voters League.

Member, Goldwater Dinner Committee.

17. Harry Johnson Jr.: Member, John Birch Society. (Johnson, according to witnesses, admitted his membership at meeting of Young Republican Executive Board of Orange County in 1963).

Official Goldwater delegate.

18. Donald L. Jackson: Executive officer, Anti-Communist Voters League. Has had TV show in the past, called "Capitol Reporter" and sponsored by the card-carrying Birch pet food maker, D. B. Lewis, on which, on March 10, 1963, he called a truly anti-Communist U.S. Army counter-guerilla warfare exercise named Water Moccasin III "not only perplexing but frightening."

Member, Goldwater Los Angeles County Advisory Committee.

19. Kersey Kinsey: Member, Executive Committee, Liberty Amendment Committee of the U.S.A., the crowd wanting to abolish or sell (if private enterprise will have) such as the Panama Canal Company, the Soil Conservation Service, the Federal Housing Authority, and the Civil Defense Administration, among 680 other agencies of government.

Member, Goldwater Los Angeles County Advisory Committee.

20. Mrs. J. Vernon Luck: (Another Bircher). Member, general committee for Welch testimonial dinner at the Palladium.

Member, Goldwater Dinner Committee.

21. Donald C. McDaniel: Head, Los Angeles Young Republicans, who have endorsed a whole slew of Birch-promoted proposals, such as the income tax repeal. Said, according to transcript of TV interview (KNXT, Los Angeles, April 24), that any Republican who approves of the present House-passed civil rights bill is a "Fabian Socialist." This would apply to 80 percent of the Republicans in the House of Representatives, who voted for the bill.

Official Goldwater delegate.

22. Ronald Reagan: Another Liberty Amendment stalwart. (Source: San Francisco Chronicle, April 27, 1964).

Member: Goldwater Dinner Committee.

23. G. Earl Carson: Another Bircher. Member, Executive Committee, Welch testimonial dinner.

Member: Goldwater Dinner Committee.

24. Mrs. G. Earl Carson: Ditto.

25. Bruce V. Reagan: According to the Associated Press, May 4, 1964: "Reagan called Kuchel a socialist and said (former President) Eisenhower's participation in the Republican party-to-people program is ludicrous."

Chairman, Goldwater Dinner Committee. And official Goldwater delegate.



In addition, there are a number of these situations:

Frederick S. Bale, a right-winger, is a member of Goldwater's Los Angeles County Advisory Committee. His wife, Gertrude Darby Bale, is a Bircher -- a member of the Society's Committee of Endorsers.

Left out also are: A number of sponsors of Fred Schwarz activities who surround Goldwater in Los Angeles; a number of prime sponsors and backers of H. L. "Bill" Richardson, when Richardson ran for Congress as an avowed and proud Bircher; several sponsors of the celebrated Project Alert forum at which Loyd Wright and others gave extremist talks; and some charter backers of the extreme right-wing publication, Human Events.

Finally, at least four more members of Goldwater's Dinner Committee have been named privately by informants as secret members of the 99 percent secret Birch Society -- and another six on the delegation are reportedly hard-core members, though there is no hard proof.

# THE Insider's Newsletter

AN EVERY MONDAY REPORT FOR BUSY MEN WHO NEED TO KNOW WHAT'S GOING ON

New York, N. Y., June 22, 1964

## ONE SUMMER OF VIOLENCE?

As voter registration teams opened their drive in Mississippi last week, law enforcement officials in that state braced themselves for the expected long, hot summer while civil rights leaders called for protection by U.S. marshals. According to sources in the Justice Department, marshals will not be sent unless there is a "significant" breakdown in local law enforcement. This apparently does not mean isolated instances of terrorism or even murder, as have occurred there off and on for the past several months. Mississippi Gov. Paul Johnson has announced his plans to insure law and order, even if it means using state highway police and National Guardsmen to beef up the often less than ardent local sheriffs and their deputies. Despite these assurances, civil rights leaders fear a major outbreak of violence. They point out that the southern part of the state, where registration workers will concentrate, is an arsenal of privately-owned arms. In this region, also, there has been a resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan. Some Northern Congressmen have reportedly urged President Johnson to make a personal appeal to Governor Johnson. Southern moderates fear that if Federal marshals were sent in, the "invasion" would swing much of the indifferent populace over to the extremists who are spoiling for another "Sherman's march." Says one Federal official just back from a sounding trip: "The entry of U.S. marshals would send a thrill of apprehension through the South." Despite such feelings, James Foreman, leader of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which has recruited most of the several hundred Northern volunteers for the drive, wants the marshals. Says Foreman: "There has been a complete abdication of responsibility all across the South." One young SNCC volunteer summed up the thoughts of many of her co-workers on the eve of their "freedom drive": "The Federal Government has not yet decided whether it wants all Americans to be citizens or not."

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THE FILM THAT MIGHT HAVE STOPPED GOLDWATER: A belief in the validity of public opinion polls and trust in the decisions of

committees can be fatal to politicians. This was proved by the California primary victory of Senator Barry Goldwater. Background: When New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller first entered the California race as a champion of Republican moderates against the right wing-ers, he was rated an underdog. In order to illustrate the danger to the party from the right, Rockefeller's backers made a half-hour documentary film called The Extremists. The film showed radical-right speakers attacking almost every important Republican--Nixon, Lodge, Scranton, Eisenhower, Rockefeller--that is, almost everyone except Goldwater. The Arizona Senator was never mentioned in the film, but the implication was clear--he was the one Republican the extremists approved of. (Persons who have seen The Extremists report it is one of the most effective campaign films ever made.) TV time was purchased and plans were all set to show the documentary. But then came Rockefeller's surprising victory in the Oregon primary and the polls began to show him moving into the lead in California, ahead of Goldwater. Even at that point, Rockefeller and many of his top aides favored showing the film. But in the light of the new polls, a committee of 12 Rockefeller backers was set up to decide whether or not to use The Extremists. The committee voted eight to four against showing the film, on the grounds that Goldwater would cry "smear" and Rockefeller could win without it. So the film was never shown, and the rest is memory. Eight prints of The Extremists are still in the hands of Rockefeller's disappointed California friends.

■■■

**THE LITTLE MEN (WOMEN) IN SPACE:** The ever taller, heavier American male which our vitamin-rich society is producing may find himself left out of the space race. Both NASA and important space contractors like Douglas Aircraft have reached the conclusion that our present crop of astronauts is too heavy and too tall. (Under current rules, astronauts must be under 6 feet tall, but the average height is 5 feet 10 inches and average weight is 165 pounds.) This height and weight will not be a handicap when the trip is merely to the moon, a three-day jaunt each way. But when the destination is Mars--as it could be in 10 years--and traveling time is six months, every extra inch of height, every extra pound is a costly addition. And when 25-year voyages to other galaxies are contemplated, the price of avoirdupois becomes truly astronomical. Douglas, for instance, estimates that by reducing average astronaut height to 5 feet 7 inches and average weight to 145 pounds, savings in such things as food, fuel and ship size would cut 70,000 pounds from the load a

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## NOTES OF THE WEEK

**Storm-in-Coffeecup Note:** The Cyprus state tourist offices throughout Europe have received instructions to delete the phrase "Turkish coffee" from their brochures and press releases. In the future, the Makarios Government has ordered, it is to be known as "Oriental coffee."

**Glass-Wall Note:** "We expect a college to believe and teach that training qualified people for industry is one of its major goals. If students even sense that the real goal is to become a professor and that it is second best to go into industry, the handwriting is on the wall and we had better start preparing for a new socio-economic system,"--Dr. Robert G. Denkwalter, vice president of the Merck, Sharp and Dohme Research Laboratories.

**Entente-Cordiale Note:** Sign on a fruit stall in New York's Spanish Harlem: "Se habla Yiddish." --from Jewish Landmarks in New York (Hill and Wang, Inc.).

■■■

**SCRUB-UP ALONG THE BORDER?** The U.S.-Mexican border, long a haven for enchiladas, armadillos and men on the "most wanted" list, will soon be the object of a clean-up drive by the Mexican Government. The drive, which will hit hundreds of Americans living in Juarez, Tijuana, Mexicali and Ensenada, was set off by the arrest this spring in Juarez of Richard C. Irving. Irving, who was wanted by Pasadena, Calif., police for murder, thought that in the border strip he was free from all troublesome police action. His arrest by Mexican authorities came as a shock to the whole area. Over the years, the border has become an asylum for undesirable characters from the U.S., Central and South America. Many engage in dope peddling, bootlegging, running houses of prostitution and smuggling.

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**INSIDE THIS CHANGING WORLD:** Russia may soon have its first Rotary Club. Roy Thomson, British newspaper publisher and veteran Rotarian, discussed the possibility with Premier Khrushchev during a recent visit to Russia. Khrushchev is said to have liked the idea and since then Thomson has been negotiating with the Soviet Government and Rotary International. Prospect is for a Rotary Club in Moscow for Soviet managerial-level executives... It will soon cost more to repair your car. Prices are about to be boosted on spare parts ranging from door handles to fuel pumps. When full effects are felt, repair costs will climb 6 to 10 per cent... For the one-car family in which one of the partners does not know how to shift for herself, Hurst Performance Products of Glenside, Pa., has designed a



His and Hers gearshift. The dual gate transmission provides automatic controls for wives and a manual unit for husbands. It comes in a single assembly which can be installed on '63 and '64 Pontiacs, Oldsmobiles and Chryslers... Communist Yugoslavia is now a hunting preserve for Europe's rich capitalists. Chief Yugoslavian big game is brown bear, of which there are several hundred of champion size in Bosnia alone. Hunters have to pay from \$1,500 up per specimen shot for the privilege of killing one of the bears. The price is determined by the bear's size, quality of fur and the like. One world champion bear is now being carefully guarded by gamekeepers against poachers for a wealthy West German hunter who is coming next fall to kill the animal--and pay \$15,000 for the right. Last year, the same hunter paid \$12,000 for a bear weighing some 700 pounds... Italy's economic problems are giving the Government nightmares--and the panic seems to have spread to the people. Recently the police trapped a man in the bushes of the Pincio Garden. The offender was stark naked and rushed out shouting: "I am the current economic condition."

■ ■ ■

**TOKYO'S OLYMPIC TASK:** Tokyo is taking steps to protect its summer Olympic visitors against every conceivable danger. The Metropolitan Sanitary Bureau is taking VD blood tests of some 9,000 bar, cabaret and hotel employes, as well as of 1,000 other persons connected with this summer's games. The bureau says that it is checking particularly carefully on geishas, hostesses and those working at accommodation facilities such as the specially built Olympic Athletes' Village. In other words, the sanitary inspectors comment, they will check any persons working at a place where they might come into physical contact with Olympic visitors. "We are not saying by any means that any of them would have an affair with foreigners. Any misunderstanding in this sense would be embarrassing to us," a Sanitary Bureau spokesman insists. "But we have chosen our objects in view of such a possibility. Naturally they include more women than men. I think we'll inspect them on the basis of one or two men against every 10 women."

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# *This Man? or This Man?*



- "I don't want to hit the moon. I want to lob one into the men's room of the Kremlin and make sure I hit it." — Newsweek, 5/4/64.
- "A craven fear of death is entering the American consciousness." — The Conscience of a Conservative.
- "I'd drop a low-yield atomic bomb on the Chinese supply lines in North Vietnam, or maybe shell 'em with the Seventh Fleet." — Newsweek, 5/20/63.
- "I think it would be very desirable to unleash Chiang Kai-shek." — Women's National Press Club, 10/31/63.
- "I have always favored withdrawing recognition from Russia." — U.S. News & World Report, 9/2/63.
- "The only summit meeting that can succeed is the one that does not take place." — Why Not Victory?
- "The United States no longer has a place in the United Nations." — Associated Press, 12/21/61.

- "One explosion of temperament, one impulsive mistake could irrevocably damage America's power and prestige in the world — and cost millions of lives."
- "The U.S. needs leadership with courage, wisdom, experience and stability — leadership which will neither act rashly nor cringe at the threats of our enemies."
- "Our dealings with the Communists will be effective in direct relation to the unity of purpose of the Free World nations — else we become the prisoners, rather than the masters, of events."
- "Withdrawal of recognition of another country is a first step toward war. Added to that is the matter of losing contact with other great nuclear power in the world and the grave danger of miscalculation that could result."
- "The United Nations is no substitute for a strong, Free World structure or a strong America, but it is a uniquely significant instrument for the pursuit of peace and security. I would not abandon to the Communists the only existing universal machinery for peace."
- "It is only responsible Republicanism that can provide the contrast and the challenge this November to the dismal Democratic record of failure at home and abroad."

## **ROCKEFELLER BELIEVES:**

"Responsible Republicanism has made our Party strong and has provided Americans with leadership — from Abraham Lincoln to Dwight D. Eisenhower."

## **BUT GOLDWATER MAINTAINS:**

"I remember once I called the Eisenhower program the Dime Store New Deal. I admit I did it in a moment of probably a little bit of anger. But as I think it over, that's what he offered." — Issues and Answers, ABC-TV, 6/4/61.

"One Eisenhower in a decade is enough." — Newsweek, 11/4/63.

*You must make a DECISION*

*on June 2nd!*

What kind of Republican Party do you want—  
**UNREALISTIC?** or **RESPONSIBLE?**



- "I think Social Security should be voluntary." — New York Times Magazine, 11/4/63.
- "I think this type of government in a business thing (TVA) should be turned over to free enterprise, even if they could only get \$1 for it." — Congressional Record, 7/20/61.
- "Our problem with regard to taxes, then, is to enforce justice—to abolish the graduated features of our tax laws; and the sooner we get at the job, the better." — The Conscience of a Conservative.
- "I am therefore not impressed by the claim that the Supreme Court's decision on school integration is the law of the land." — The Conscience of a Conservative.
- "I fear Washington and centralized government more than I do Moscow." — 9/15/60 speech in South Carolina, quoted by Look, 4/21/64.

- "I believe Republicans want to see our Party appeal to people in all walks of life—a Party that looks forward, not backward."
- "Making Social Security voluntary would bankrupt the system—and wipe out the security of millions of older Americans who depend upon it for their basic needs."
- "TVA, an undertaking much like Senator Goldwater's \$1 billion Central Arizona Project, is an accomplished fact. To consider selling TVA is an impractical day-dream in the nuclear age."
- "Abolishing the graduated features of our income tax is unrealistic—and fiscally and socially irresponsible. We'd have to fight the Communists with bows and arrows."
- "The federal Constitution guarantees basic civil rights (under the 14th Amendment), and the federal government has the responsibility of insuring these fundamental rights of its citizens."
- "Our Republican Party can choose to lead our Nation or it can choose, like the Whig Party of a century ago, to turn its back on the fundamental problems of its time—and disappear."

Which do you want—  
**A LEADER?** or **A LONER?**



**THESE MEN STAND TOGETHER  
ON THE PARTY'S PRINCIPLES**

Lodge, Nixon, Rockefeller, Romney, Scranton, Stassen. . . . .

These men stood together solidly and proudly on the up to date platforms of 1952, 1956 and 1960.

None of them wants to withdraw recognition from Russia, abandon the United Nations to the Communists, ban summit meetings, unleash Chiang Kai-shek, etc. None of them wants to make Social Security voluntary, sell TVA, renounce the Supreme Court desegregation decision, abolish the graduated income tax, etc.

All seek a Republican Party that goes forward, not backward—that seeks solutions, not slogans; that faces Communism firmly, but not belligerently.

Lodge, Nixon, Rockefeller, Romney, Scranton, Stassen. . . . .

In the California Primary Rockefeller represents them,—in the kind of Republicanism that they and the overwhelming majority of Republicans believe in.

Which do you want—  
**A LEADER?** or **A LONER?**



**THIS MAN STANDS OUTSIDE**

- By himself.
- Not a single other nationally-known Republican would substitute a mere statement of principles for the 1964 platform, and in such language as this?
- "Instead of so many words, say we included a simple statement like: 'We believe in the freedom of the individual.' All right, Senator Javits can take that in New York and apply it to civil rights, the Negro question, everything else. I can take it and apply it to right-to-work." Senator Goldwater, New Yorker, 11/2/63.
- No wonder!
- Goldwater has voted against all major issues proudly cited by the Republican platform—and has been in the distinct Senate Republican minority on 23 of them!



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## ROCKEFELLER — TRUSTED AND RESPECTED BY LEADERS

*"The breadth of your service to your government has indeed been outstanding." — Dwight D. Eisenhower.*

*"No man has campaigned harder, more effectively — no man has campaigned more courageously all over the U.S. — than Governor Rockefeller. And I'm glad to be here to say it." — Vice President Richard M. Nixon, 10/17/60, Buffalo, N.Y.*

*"Rockefeller represents moderation as President Eisenhower represented it and as other potential candidates — Lodge, Nixon, Scranton and Romney — represent it." — U. S. Senator Thomas H. Kuchel, California, Senate Republican Whip.*

*"Throughout the years, Rockefeller has developed a realistic plan which is second to none in its tough stand against communism. This plan is not concerned with a fruitless search for subversion, nor does it attempt to appease the Soviet rulers." — Dr. Edward Teller, noted atomic scientist, 1/7/64.*

The very life of your Republican Party — and, perhaps, our nation's — is up to you.

Vote June 2 — vote to send the responsible Rockefeller delegation headed by California's distinguished U.S. Senator, Thomas H. Kuchel, to the G.O.P. National Convention in San Francisco.

Reject extremism.

Vote to insure a responsible Republican Party — a Party guaranteeing a safe and sane America.

**The DECISION IS YOURS — VOTE FOR YOUR PARTY'S REAL LEADERS. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S FUTURE IS IN YOUR HANDS!**

# ROCKEFELLER



An answer to Berry Goldwater.

From Judge Learned Hand——

"A society so riven that the spirit of moderation is gone, no court can save; a society where that spirit flourishes, no court need save. . . . What is the spirit of moderation? It is the temper which does not press a partisan advantage to its bitter end, which can understand and will respect the other side, which feels a unity between all citizens . . . which recognizes their common fate and their common aspirations. . . . If you ask me how such a temper and such a faith are bred and fostered, I cannot answer. They are the last flowers of civilization."

From Glenn G. Martel, Magnolia, Arkansas.



# Many View Election as Pitting Radical and Middle-of-Roader

By Louis Harris

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In the view of many American voters, this year's presidential campaign is a contest between a "radical"—Sen. Barry Goldwater—and a "middle of the roader"—President Johnson.

By this measure, the electorate does indeed feel that in the two candidates for the presidency it has "a choice and not an echo." But the claim of Sen. Goldwater's supporters that their candidate stands for the conservative philosophy of government and that Mr. Johnson symbolizes the liberal is not the way most people see it, at least at this stage of the campaign.

In this survey of a carefully selected cross-section of American voters we sought to determine how their conceptions of the political philosophies of the major candidates compared with their own. After asking them to rate themselves, we asked:

"Where would you say each of these people stands politically—conservative, middle of the road, liberal, or radical—(Johnson, Miller, Goldwater, Humphrey)?"

## VOTER POSITION vs. CANDIDATES POSITION

Voters consider

	Them-selves	Gold-water	Johnson
	%	%	%
Conservative	36	40	25
Middle of road	44	8	42
Liberal	19	7	30
Radical	1	45	3

It is immediately apparent that most voters believe Sen. Goldwater to be far more radical than they are themselves. In fact, the public sees itself somewhere between middle of the road and conservative in its current mood. By contrast, in the view of most people, Sen. Goldwater ranks somewhere between conservative and radical.

Mr. Johnson is considered to stand between the liberal and middle of the road positions, although one voter in every four believe he is a conservative. Carefully, the Democratic candidate is much closer to the national norm than the Republican nominee.

The candidates for vice president present a somewhat different pattern. Republican William Miller is looked on as a conservative, while Democratic Hubert Humphrey is thought of as a liberal. However, more people believe Sen. Humphrey is either a conservative or middle of the roader than think he is a liberal. And one in six feel that Mr. Miller is a radical. Here is how voters stand vis-a-vis Sen. Humphrey and Representative Miller:

## VOTERS POSITION vs. VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES POSITION

Voters consider

	Them-selves	Miller	Humphrey
	%	%	%
Conservative	36	46	21
Middle of road	44	26	32
Liberal	19	11	41
Radical	1	17	6

Some have suggested that in Sen. Humphrey, the Democrats selected an "extreme liberal" to balance Sen. Goldwater's stand as an "extreme conservative." The results of this survey clearly show that at least at the beginning of the campaign, the public sees no such counterpoise. And realistically, the positions of the vice presidential candidates will have less to do with the outcome of the election than those of the top men on the tickets.

In 1952, Gen. Eisenhower convinced voters that his was essentially a middle of the road and conservative position which reflected that of the country as a whole. In 1964, much of Mr. Johnson's current wide lead can be attributed to his ability to impress as a middle of the roader.

*John Edgar Hoover* [1964]

## Extremism: The Politics of Catastrophe

Anyone who has spent his life, as I have, in American politics expects that a presidential campaign will produce some pretty rough play. The American people have a pretty wide range of tolerance for campaign extravagance, but they also have a deep sense of dignity, a sense of the groundrules which are even stronger for being unwritten.

One of the groundrules which seems to have been overlooked by the leadership of the Goldwater faction is that candidates for the majestic offices of President and Vice-President of the United States do not act as if they were running for sheriff and coroner of Buncombe County. To refer, for example, to the superbly talented Secretary of Defense, who has made great personal

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is a legal and a moral concept. It is not illegal to call the President of the United States a traitor; however despicable an individual may be, he has a constitutional right to engage in this vituperation. And he does it with the certain knowledge, the coward's courage, that no President would demean himself or his office by bringing action for libel. Other nations handle these things differently, employing rigorous seditious libel laws, but our Bill of Rights fortunately stands as a barrier to prosecution. And we pay the price of this freedom by tolerating this billingsgate --- and pay it willingly.

There is no legal guilt, but one might think that moral standards, which transcend legal norms, have been violated by such character assassination. Indeed, under normal circumstances to accuse the Republican Party of



fostering extremism, of cultivating gallows politics, would constitute a form of guilt by association. And I would be the last person in the land to make the charge. When Wendell Wilkie in 1940 discovered that certain pro-Nazi groups were supporting him, he vigorously repudiated them, and no man could fairly accuse him of nurturing extremism. Richard Nixon in 1960 similarly repudiated the support of the notorious Gerald L.K. Smith.

1964, however, is not a normal year. The responsible leaders of the Republican Party went to San Francisco determined to put their party on record against these apostles of discord, and in one of the most shameful scenes in political memory, were defeated. Not merely defeated but exposed to precisely the howling lynch-law they were attempting to outlaw. I will not soon forget the disgraceful shambles when the distinguished Governor

of New York -- an opponent whose integrity and patriotism I have never questioned for one second -- was booed down.

The outcome of the Goldwater Convention was a flat refusal to repudiate extremism. More than that, the Goldwater Convention by its refusal to condemn the lunatic fringe of American politics broke radically with the traditions of both the Republican Party and the Democratic -- which have in past elections made every effort to exclude from active participation in our political life those individuals and organizations whose stock in trade is the politics of hate. Indeed, the Chairman of the Goldwater National Committee, Dean Burch, said when asked if he would accept support from the Ku Klux Klan, "We are not in the business of discouraging votes." I have heard a lot of cynical remarks in my time, but this defies belief.

With the approval of the Goldwater Convention and its candidate, all the sick, evil forces that live on the margin of the American community rushed to the center of the political stage. For the first time in recent American history they have been welcomed into a major political movement. For a generation they have been pushing their dirty accusations, their political smut, their nasty nuances in the back alleys of American politics; now they have received the blessing of the temporary leadership of the Republican Party and have marched to the center of the platform.

And let me emphasize again, we are not talking of guilt by association. What emerged clearly from San Francisco was the conviction of the Goldwater faction that there is no guilt in associating with extremists. They proclaimed to all the world that the moral cripples



of the John Birch Society were worthy of membership in their movement.

We Democrats would feel guilty if we associated with the John Birchers, the Ku Klux Klan, or the Communists -- indeed, we expressly repudiated them in our platform. We are in the business of discouraging their votes. The Goldwater faction has chosen to associate with these prophets of hate - the American people must decide whether there is any guilt involved in this association.

We know why the Goldwater faction has welcomed extremists; discouraging votes seemingly violates the conscience of a conservative. What remains to be explored is why the extremists welcome Goldwater. What is there about this man which has made him the vessel of the twisted aspirations of the radical right?



Now I want to note at this point my personal conviction that Senator Goldwater is in his private capacity a fine, decent American. What is at issue here is not his private, but his public role in American politics. And the gist of my message on this point is that since Goldwater is a good private citizen but a public disaster, he should be returned to that private life for which he is so eminently qualified.

Our concern then is with Goldwaterism, not Goldwater. And I repeat the question why does Goldwaterism have so magnetic an appeal to the paranoidal fringe, to the race haters, the extremists in the cause of discord and disruption? Why have these addicts of gallows politics -- who want to lynch the Chief Justice of the United States -- rallied to the Goldwater standard?

The answer, I think, is not hard to find. The Gold-

waterites are the spokesman for the politics of catastrophe. At a time when we have never been stronger, and the communist world system is coming apart at the seams, they see us sliding down the slope to defeat. At a time when we have reached a breakthrough in the struggle against our ancient curse of race prejudice, they talk of nothing but race riots, street violence, and gang rapes. At a time when we are reaching forward to eliminate poverty, the despair of old age, disease and poor education, they say we are becoming a nation of slaves. At a time when human survival depends upon the exercise of restrained, responsible power, they encourage nuclear adventurism and shooting from the hip.

In every area of foreign and domestic policy the Goldwater faction cultivates catastrophe. It invents catastrophe; with a mean and conspiratorial spirit, its leaders assume that everything in America is dishonest. If the President does not make a statement on recent military technology, he is accused of hiding his incompetence from

the American people. If the President does inform the people of our latest triumphs, the cheap charge rings out that he is using his high office for political profit.

Around every pronouncement of the Goldwater faction there is an atmosphere of defeatism, of negativism, of distrust in government, in our elected officials, in our judges, in the people themselves. Nothing is ever done from honest motives -- all mistakes are founded on evil grounds. In short, the free spirit which invigorates American life and provides the environment for our great accomplishments does not exist for the Goldwater faction-- they live in the conspiratorial police state of their sick imaginations.

How else can one explain the refusal of Senator Goldwater to accept intelligence briefings from the Central Intelligence Agency? The explanation given to a startled



world was that the Senator did not expect to be told the truth! John McCone, the distinguished Republican who heads the CIA, is considered dishonest by the Goldwaterites. It almost seems as though the Goldwater faction believes all human relations are based on deceit-- which gives us more of an insight into their mentality than it does into the realities of American politics.

Or take his appalling announcement that, first of all, President John F. Kennedy had arranged the Cuban crisis in 1962 to win the congressional elections, and second, that President Johnson will probably manufacture a world crisis this fall for electoral purposes. To even attempt a reply to such allegations would be to dignify them as serious charges. Let us pass over this incident quietly by suggesting that if American politics had this 1984 quality about it, Senator Goldwater and his votaries



would hardly be wandering around the country bellowing about "Dictatorship."

This lack of faith in our institutions and our leaders nourishes all the prophets of catastrophe. Let us listen to some testimony from their ranks:

Says Gerald L. K. Smith, a man who has built his career over thirty years around the dissemination of hate:

"Franklin D. Roosevelt in the mind of every mature, intelligent patriot was a complete fraud and a ruthless demagogue surrounded by left wing manipulators, corrupt politicians and international strategists who used the big lie as a fixed instrument of policy....

Dwight David Eisenhower, a creature of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Bernard Baruch's choice, was rammed down the throats of the Republican leadership....

Protestations from Republican moguls notwithstanding, the realistic fact is that in 1964 the Republican Party

with Barry Goldwater as its nominee will be the white man's party."

Says Robert B. dePugh, national leader of the "Minutemen," a wild right wing group which trains its members for guerrilla warfare against "radicals," a category which includes everyone in the United States who accepts the twentieth century:

"[President Johnson is] a political opportunist who would sell the United States out to the Communists or anyone else who would pay his price."

His "Minutemen", dePugh noted, "are as close to being 100% for Goldwater as it is possible for an organization to be." One hardly knows whether to laugh or be sick when he learns that de Pugh has ordered his troops to infiltrate Democratic campaign headquarters and sabotage the Johnson campaign by indulging donors, losing

key lists, and generally imitating the inefficiency of loyal party workers.

Says Tom Anderson, who plays Mikoyan to Robert Welch's Khrushchev in the John Birch Society:

"Even an honest hip-shooting American like Barry Goldwater can't stem the tide toward Communism, but he's a starter." Andersen went on to note that unless Goldwater were elected, a "Socialist, Communist, internationalist dictatorship" would be imposed upon the nation. "Why, we would have been better off with Adlai Stevenson going 100 miles an hour towards communism than with Eisenhower doing 50."

Unfortunately this list could be continued almost indefinitely, but one more example will be quite enough. The National Conservative Council met in Chicago in July to endorse the Goldwater nomination and made clear the



reasons justifying this action. To them a Goldwater victory in November would make possible, among other things, the repeal of the 14th Amendment, repeal of the federal income tax, an end to public housing, to urban renewal, to disarmament, to coexistence, to the "hot line" between Washington and Moscow, to United States membership in the United Nations. To these modest proposals they added the elimination of such allegedly "socialist" agencies as the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Federal Communications Commission, and the National Labor Relations Board. A curious plank urged action to "buy back the Federal Reserve System from the Rockefellers."

Enough. We have seen the essential components of Goldwaterism. Once again we must emphasize that there has been no indication from the Goldwater leadership that



such support is not welcome. (In the interests of fairness statements of support for the Senator from leading functionaries of the Ku Klux Klan have not been included because -- after initial hesitation-- Goldwater did reject their aid.) On the contrary, the welcome mat was put out in San Francisco and has never been taken in.

Now as I said before, American politics has often involved a good deal of rough play. But never on this scale, or with such outrageous virulence. These are not merely political attacks -- they are attacks on the very fabric of our community, particularly on that atmosphere of trust which is essential for the survival and development of a free society. The United States is a great, diverse nation of almost two hundred million people. The overwhelming bulk of the population, Demo-

cratic or Republican, urban or rural, white or Negro, northern or southern, is composed of individuals who are loyal to the fundamental values of our society. Some of them may be unhappy about the decisions that are made by the elected officials, by the President and Congress, or by the courts. Yet it would never enter their heads, or their hearts, to decry as treason decisions which they personally oppose. The opposition is a loyal opposition, and the government is a loyal government--mistaken perhaps on details, depending on one's viewpoint, but nonetheless committed to those priceless ideals which we hold in common, which justify our nationhood and our claims to greatness.

But denunciation of extremism, necessary as it may be, is not substitute for a positive affirmation of these *fundamental* *American* ~~priceless~~ ideals, ideals which are held by all responsible

men, Democratic and Republican alike. A call for faith and trust must inevitably sound banal -- but for lack of faith and trust many a great nation has tumbled to dust, has fallen prey to paranoidal adventurers. To put it differently, we are wholly committed to the spirit of liberty -- and I can do no better than end with a moving statement of what this commitment implies, a statement given many years ago by the late Judge Learned Hand:

"The spirit of liberty is the spirit which is not too sure that it is right; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which seeks to understand the minds of other men and women; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which weighs their interests alongside its own without bias; the spirit of liberty remembers that not even a sparrow falls to earth unheeded; the spirit of liberty is the



spirit of Him who, near two thousand years ago, taught mankind that lesson it has never learned, but has never quite forgotten: that there is a kingdom where the least shall be heard and considered side by side with the greatest."

This is our reply to the politics of catastrophe.



- ~~in~~ (9)

such support is not welcome. On the contrary, the welcome

~~mat was put out for right wing extremists~~ <sup>radicals</sup> in San Francisco

and has never been taken in. And we remember the clever

sentence Goldwater used to convey the message at San

Francisco: "Extremism in the pursuit of liberty is no

vice, moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

As I said before, American politics has often

involved a good deal of rough play. But never on this

scale, or with such outrageous virulence. These are not

merely political attacks--they are radical attacks on

the very fabric of our community, particularly on that

atmosphere of trust which is essential for the survival

and development of a free society.

At a time when we have never been stronger, and the  
in turmoil, the radicals  
communist world system is fragmenting, they see us

sliding down the slope to defeat.

At a time when we have reached a breakthrough in  
the struggle against our ancient curse of race prejudice,  
they talk of nothing but race riots and street violence.

July 23, 1964

To: Senator Humphrey

From: Julie

Re: RESPONSE TO YOUR TELEPHONE  
MESSAGE  
ON THE EXTREME-ISM ISSUE

Here is the documented case  
on the Goldwater quotes, plus  
editorials and the Lippmann  
column you mentioned.

JNC:caw  
Enclosure

✓ cc: John Stewart

Release:

*Speech  
Material*

Excerpts of Statement  
Prepared for Delivery By  
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.)  
In the United States Senate  
July 1964

SEN. HUMPHREY SAYS GOLDWATER  
"EXTREME-ISM" IMPERILS  
LAW AND ORDER

I should like to submit a few comments with regard to one of the most serious problems facing this Nation.

It is the problem of what we shall do about extreme-ism.

This Nation does not believe in extreme-ism.

If there is anything the history of America in the 20th Century shows, it is that our people reject wild, reckless "swings" to the extreme poles of action - either the Far Right or the Far Left.

Yet, today, the Republican candidate for the highest office of the land not only does not reject extreme-ism, but he condones it, embraces it and boosts it.

This is a reckless attitude almost unparalleled in the history of America's 2 great political parties. It is an attitude which does not do



justice to

a) the Republican party and, far more important,

b) the Nation.

The Republican Party is stuck with its candidate's view that "extreme-ism-is-no-sin."

But the Nation is not stuck. The Nation has the freedom, the opportunity and the responsibility to reject this attitude by a thundering vote in November - a vote which will, I believe, absolutely repudiate extreme-ism.

#### THE 4 BASIC FACTS

Now, let's see the basic facts. Here they are:

1) The Republican standard-bearer deliberately chose to praise extreme-ism. He didn't have to.

2) Later, he deliberately chose to defend his original comments in the face of

criticism by a few leaders within his own Party.

3) The Republican candidate's praise of extreme-ism was greeted with overwhelming approval by the Republican Convention. Since then, his Party has not repudiated his incredible stand.

4) Therefore, it is up to the American electorate to take their own stand on this issue between now and the election.

There is only one stand that a thinking, law-abiding citizen can take. It is a stand in absolute opposition to the Republican ticket.

Our people know that for the Republican candidate to praise extreme-ism in this difficult time of racial adjustment is like tossing a lighted match inside a TNT factory.

To praise extreme-ism is to pat would-be terrorists on the back. It is to invite vigilanteism and mob rule.

That is not what the candidate intended, but that is the net effect of the candidate's imprudent language.

A SERIES OF EXHIBITS

I have compiled the record carefully on this subject in the form of a series of exhibits.

Here they are:

1) DICTIONARY DEFINITION: Webster's dictionary says an extreme-ist is "one favoring extreme-ism." Extreme-ism is "the state of being extreme," and extreme means are:

"marked by great severity  
or violence...uncompromising,  
radical, fanatical."

2) THE CANDIDATE'S WORDS: The following are the exact words spoken on July 16th by the Republican candidate for President, in accepting the nomination. I quote from the transcript published



by the New York Times (July 18): -

"And let our Republicanism so focused and so dedicated not be made fuzzy and futile by unthinking and stupid labels.

"I would remind you that extremeism in the defense of liberty is no vice!

"And let me remind you also that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue!"

3) DELIBERATE STATEMENT: This comment by the Senator from Arizona was a deliberate statement of his convictions. It was not an inadvertent slip.

Newsweek (July 27) recalled how,

"the night before he

(the candidate - ed) said of the

passage on extreme-ism, 'I like

that line.'"

The New York Times recalled (July 18)

"The extremism remark was underlined on the mimeographed texts of the Goldwater speech released to the press, and re-



porters took this as an indication of how important the candidate considered it."

4) CONVENTION APPLAUDED: The Republican Convention was delighted with its candidate's approval of extreme-ism. In reacting in this manner, the Convention showed how much it was out of step with the thinking of the American people.

Let the facts of the Convention's endorsement of extreme-ism be clear:

The New York Times wrote in a news summary (July 18)

"Most delegates on the Convention Floor gave it (the comment on extreme-ism-ed.) a thunderous ovation, the most demonstrative interruption of the entire speech."

Now, let me say that since the Republican Candidate does not seem to believe that the New York Times

is fair, let us see what other great newspapers said about the Convention's attitude.

The Baltimore Sun editorialized (July 18):

"The Convention majority in San Francisco cried its approval..."

The Washington Post editorialized (July 20)

on:

"The thunderous applause which greeted his justification of extreme-ism..."

Viewed then and in retrospect, the Republican Party cannot be proud of this response by the 1300 delegates; nor can the American people.

5. SOME G.O.P. OPPOSITION: To their credit, some Republican leaders expressed immediate and, sometimes, open dismay at the incredible comment by their Party's candidate.

Governor Rockefeller characterized it as

"dangerous, irresponsible and frightening." He expressed "amazement and shock."

Here is the Governor's full statement as published in the New York Times (July 18):

## Rockefeller's Statement

Special to The New York Times

SAN FRANCISCO, July 17—  
Following is the text of a statement by Governor Rockefeller issued here today:

Senator Goldwater said last night: "Extremism in the defense of liberty is not a vice, moderation in pursuit of justice is not a virtue."

To extoll extremism whether "in defense of liberty" or "in pursuit of justice" is dangerous, irresponsible and frightening.

Any sanction of lawlessness, of the vigilante and of the unruly mob can only be deplored.

The extremism of the Communists, of the Ku Klux Klan and of the John Birch Society—like that of most tyrants—has always been claimed by such groups to be in defense of liberty.

The only sure guarantee of freedom for the individual in America lies in law and order and in the processes of

our system of justice which have been developed over the centuries. Our very basic guarantees of trial by jury, habeas corpus and due process of law are all designed to assure the administration of justice in an atmosphere of fairness, reason and moderation—and not under the hysteria of the mob, nor in the star chamber of the tyrant.

I regret that my reaction to Senator Goldwater's very first public statement as the Republican standardbearer must be one of amazement and shock.

Coming as it did from the new leader of a great American political party in his first public utterance, it raises the gravest of questions in the minds and hearts and souls of Republicans in every corner of our party.

I shall continue to fight extremism within the Republican party. It has no place in the party. It has no place in America.

General Eisenhower and others asked for clarification of what the candidate had in mind.



6. THE CANDIDATE'S "EXPLANATION"

How did the Republican standard-bearer react to the criticism and the request for clarification?

He endeavored to "explain" his original remarks. He did not retract them. He defended them and elaborated them.

But the "explanation" satisfied almost no one. It utterly confused the issue. And it did not in the slightest take the sting or harm out of the original comment.

This is the way "Newsweek" (July 27) factually summarized and quoted the candidate's response to Governor Rockefeller's criticism:

"None of this seemed to faze Barry Goldwater. He remained adamant and unrepentant. \* \* \* He demanded that Rockefeller 'put down in writing his definition of extremism.' Extremism, he said, in effect repeating the earlier statement, 'is no sin if you are engaged in the defense of freedom.' Asked to define extremism himself, he said: 'Extremism in politics is either Fascism on one side or Communism on the other.'"



Now, let me say this: To define "extreme-ism" in this way, i.e., as (only) including Fascism or Communism does not make sense - in the previous context. Why? Because it would mean that the candidate's view is allegedly that:

"Extreme-ism (i.e. Communism or Fascism) in the defense of liberty is no vice."

Now, can Fascism and Communism possibly be construed as "defense of liberty?"

Fascism or Communism are the antitheses of liberty; they represent the destruction of liberty.

On this point, the Washington Post (July 20) has well summarized the ridiculousness of the candidate's definition and explanation.

The statement out of which the furor grew was that "extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice." But when Mr. Goldwater was later asked for his definition of extremism, he is quoted as saying: "Extremism in politics is either fascism on one side or communism on the other." Putting the two statements together, they would seem to mean that fascism and communism are not evil so long as they are designed to bring about freedom.

It is impossible to believe that this is the meaning the Senator intended to convey, if, indeed, a combination of the two statements conveys any meaning at all. We respectfully suggest that Candidate Goldwater start over again and tell the people in carefully chosen words precisely what he does believe "extremism" is and how it affects the country's constant search for freedom and justice.

But the candidate offered additional comment in an attempted "explanation."

This is the way the New York Herald Tribune reported (July 18) his response to Governor Rockefeller's criticism:

"The Governor has never defined extremism," Sen. Goldwater told reporters who read him the Rockefeller statement in a hallway of the Francis Hotel. His remarks were off the cuff.

"Is it extreme action for our boys to give their lives in Viet Nam?" he asked. "Would the Governor fight for his life? That would be an extreme action."

Smiling warmly and appearing completely at ease, he said he would like the Governor "for my benefit and the benefit of the party and the American people to put in writing what his definition of extremism is."

And then he proceeded to give an off-the-cuff definition of his own.

(Continued from page one)

George Washington, Theodore Roosevelt and Dwight D. Eisenhower "all engaged in extreme action when defending our liberty," he said.

Roosevelt was "rather extreme" when he led his Rough Riders into Cuba and when he used Presidential muscle to create Panama and push through construction of an isthmus canal, the Senator said.

"But it was used for the benefit of our freedom, and I won't condemn it," he added.

His hotel hallway explanation would seem to explain his idea of justifiable extremism as the use of power in the midst of international crisis.

But that was far from the impression he left with Republican party moderates here Thursday night when he spread his arms before the convention and proclaimed that "extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. . . . Moderation in pursuit of justice is no virtue."

Now, the candidate's further off-the-cuff explanation also does not really "add up." I say this with all due respect to the Senator from Arizona.

The plain fact is that "extreme-ism" cannot be equated with a Government's legal actions to defend a nation, particularly in time of international emergency or war. Such action, e.g., General Eisenhower's "extreme" action in leading the Normandy Invasion has nothing whatsoever to do with indefensible "extreme-ism" by an individual vigilantee or mob in defiance of law and in defiance of the orderly process of a free society.

Whether in time of war or in peace, a Government acts by law to defend law.

But, as Walter Lippman pointed out, this is completely different from a private citizen taking the law into his own hands at any time.



Mr. Lippman pointed (July 21) to the contrast between a "governmental-waged war" and a private "war":-

"Private killing is murder. Private war is insurrection."

Mr. Lippman pointed out the danger of encouraging "private shootings, private burnings, private bomb throwings."

7. THE BOOMERANG AGAINST THE CANDIDATE'S OWN BELIEFS

What the Republican candidate does not seem to understand is that his defense of extremism will boomerang against his own position on other issues, e.g., his own position in opposition to Civil Rights.

Thus, his defense of extremism could be taken by an extreme opponent - a Civil Rights extremist - as condoning killing, shooting and burning in "defense" of Civil Rights.

No such justification is tolerable. Yet to follow the Republican candidate's peculiar "logic"



is to open the door to extreme-ism on all sides on all issues in all ways by all sorts of people.

This is not a matter of mere conjecture.

On July 22nd the Washington Post cited an illustrative case in Harlem:

### ***Philosophy in Action***

Senator Goldwater's memorable speech of last week seems to have found a large and responsive audience. "I would remind you," the Senator told the Republican Convention, "that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice." The echoes are already very audible.

In Harlem, amidst the debris of three nights' rioting, Lewis H. Michaux explained to a white reporter the meaning of the ghetto, and of the outburst. Mr. Michaux, the founder and president of the African National Council in America, Inc., said: "This shows that in America, after 350 years, we can't become citizens. The Black Nationalists are telling people now that they have a right to protect themselves against the police.

"There is no violence," he added, "that can be called extreme when it's for freedom."

### 8. NEWSPAPER EDITORIALS

But now let the Nation's press speak for itself and in detail. I ask unanimous consent that there be published at the conclusion of my remarks a series of newspaper editorials on the extreme-ism issue, including Mr. Lippman's excellent column. The editorials are from the Providence Journal, St. Louis Post Dispatch, Baltimore Sun, Washington Post and Philadelphia Bulletin.

I have selected editorials which are, I believe, representative of grassroots judgment.

The editorials range in tone from outright denunciation to milder-type criticism for <sup>the candidate's</sup> "imprecise" language.

### 9. THE REAL ISSUE

Insofar as my own view is concerned, I believe that the candidate's "explanations", "definitions" and "amplifications" do not change the record or its results.

The Republican candidate may now proceed to try to "explain" his views further. I hope he will. But this time, I hope he will pour oil on the troubled waters of social unrest instead of inflaming them further.

Whether he does or does not, the die is cast. His past comment cannot be erased. It stands



as a self-indictment. It stands as a mark of regrettable and unforgettable irresponsibility.

It stands outside the mainstream of the American tradition.

Extreme-ism runs contrary to the American character.

Even when it is not violent, it is anathema to our people.

We deplore the type of hate-filled people who spat at Adlai Stevenson and who jostled Lyndon B. Johnson and Mrs. Johnson.

We deplore the poisonous character assassins who went so far as to characterize former President Eisenhower as an

"unwitting agent of the Communist conspiracy."

That is extreme-ism. That is what the Republican Party should have repudiated. And that is what it has



now condoned.

The real issue is: "Shall Americans endorse  
or condemn extreme-ism?"

There can be but one answer. We must condemn  
it. We must and will vote in November accordingly.

#

For Immediate Release  
July 20, 1964

It is time - while there is still time - to call a spade a spade. The country has not been watching a Republican Convention at San Francisco. An appalled world has witnessed an outrageous Putsch.

The disgraceful proceedings at the Cow Palace do not represent the views of the vast majority of the Republican Party. On the contrary, the will of the rank and file Republicans was throttled in full public view. I am not elated as a Democrat, because I am far too concerned as an American.

I agree with the Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller, Republican Governor of New York. In fifty years of American politics, I have never witnessed a more frightening performance. When a so-called convention, refuses to repudiate an organization which called Dwight David Eisenhower - a Republican nominee who was elected by 33,000,000 Republicans and Democrats and is beloved by 195,000,000 Americans - a conscious communist agent, then I say that such action is not Republican, and comes close to being Un-American. When a Republican Governor of the State of New York charges that his followers received death threats and that ruffians attacked his meetings, then I say that the Governor of New York is not making a Republican request for fair play but is giving an earnest American warning to all of his fellow citizens that the Bill of Rights is under attack. When a Republican Governor of Pennsylvania charges that his followers were roughhoused and barred, and that the galleries were rigged, then it is obvious that there is something of most sinister intent and of dangerous proportion abroad in our country.

The country is now being subjected to the tragic farce of the extremist candidate attempting to hide behind the dictionary. The backing and filling in

the defense of extremism clears up only one thing and that is that such statement is one of the most irresponsible and incendiary utterances in the history of this country. It is a mistake for the responsible Republicans now searching their consciences to believe that the fanatical followers among the Goldwater forces can be controlled. Indeed, it may well be the tragic illusion of Senator Goldwater himself that he can control them. ~~In any event, it is far too late for Barry Goldwater to attempt to explain away with his lips the hatred and bigotry some of his followers carry in their hearts. Can it be that he does not know that there are those among them who would change the American White House to their Brown House?~~ . . .

It is more painful than I can easily say to note that a responsible New Jersey Republican leader has voiced fear of civil war. I do not share such concern. I believe the American People will reject those who would convert the Goldwater candidacy into a Gold Shirt movement as they repelled the philosophy of the Brown and Black shirts of nazism and fascism. But I can understand his alarm because Hitler's Beer Putsch and Mussolini's March on Rome started with less momentum.

The problem which confronts the conscience of the responsible Republican leaders is one which most certainly should weigh heavily upon the consciousness of Barry Goldwater. By this time, even he should realize that his extremist followers are not campaigning in the ordinary sense. The stark fact is that they are dangerously close to inciting insurrection and civil disorder.

JAMES A. FARLEY  
(Former Chairman, Democratic National Committee)

SD  
Extremists

MEMORANDUM

September 1964

To: Democratic Senators  
From: Ronald F. Stinnett, Research Director  
Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee  
Re: Far Right Organizations

William K. Wyant, Jr., of the St. Louis Post Dispatch, Washington Bureau, listed the following as the most active right wing groups in America:

(1) The Rev. Carl McIntire, whose Christian Beacon, Inc. of Collingswood, N.J., (tax-exempt) sponsors the "Twentieth Century Reformation" in broadcasts (carried on 600 stations), publications and other activities; annual expenditures are estimated well beyond \$1.5 million (\$62,000 in 1958).

(2) Life Line Foundation, Inc., (tax-exempt) outlet of Texas oil billionaire H. L. Hunt, dedicated to "the preservation of American Freedoms through an informed public", aired five times per week over more than 330 stations, loathing Communism, urban renewal, 'give-aways,' one-worlders and favors curbing the Supreme Court; estimated expenses more than \$1 million (about \$50,000 in 1958).

(3) Human Events, well-printed, edited and circulated (118,611) propaganda weekly tabloid, launched in 1944 under auspices of the America First Committee, now headed by James L. Wick, allied with Americans for Constitutional Action (anti-welfare state group, headed by Admiral Ben Moreell in Washington, D.C., with purpose of electing 'constitutional conservatives'); estimated 1962 expenses of about \$1 million.

(4) John Birch Society, Inc., Belmont, Mass., founded by Robert Welch in 1958 to fight the 'Communist menace,' now the bellwether for ultra-Right attitudes and activities, followers tend to be well-to-do and influential, published "American Opinion" monthly; estimated expenses of \$1 million (\$130,000 in 1959).

(5) Christian Echoes National Ministry of Sapulpa, Oklahoma, title of tax-exempt Christian Crusade headed by Rev. Dr. Billy James Hargis, mails out 250,000 books and pamphlets to followers each month; budget seems to have grown from \$275,000 in 1958 to more than \$677,000 in 1963.

(6) Christian Anti-Communist Crusade of Long Beach, Calif., tax-exempt group led by Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, "a cherry, fast-talking physician from Sydney, Australia... (who) specializes in the theory that Communists are Satanic and masterly intriguers who make monkeys out of America's gullible leaders"; budget increased from \$104,000 in 1958 to over \$725,000 in 1962.

(7) Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge (Pa.) tax-exempt group which aims "to preserve and extend the American way of life under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights" but many regard the foundation as a vehicle to promote business conservatism and right-wing views; expenses increased from \$327,000 to \$700,000 in past five or six years.

(8) Manion Forum of South Bend, Ind., set up by former Notre Dame Dean Clarence E. Manion who was dismissed from the Eisenhower Administration after supporting the Bricker Amendment and advocating the sale of TVA, has radio programs over some 240 stations in 41 states; finances doubled since 1950 to estimated \$600,000 in 1962.

(9) American Economic Foundation of New York and Cleveland, founded by Fred G. Clark, New York insurance man, whose activities include indoctrination of school teachers and distribution of 'educational' materials; expenditures rose from \$300,000 in 1958 to near \$1 million in 1963.



(10) Dan Smoot of Dallas, Texas, former FBI man and commentator for H. L. Hunt, since 1955 has published the Dan Smoot Reports and offers weekly radio and TV programs, arch-foe of the Council on Foreign Relations which Smoot calls the "invisible government"; budget estimated at \$455,000.

(11) American Security Council of Chicago, non-profit corporation headed by ex-FBI man William F. Carroll, correlates and indexes "factual information about Communist and other statist movements," has been described as operating a "loyalty-security" blacklist for employers; estimated budget of \$256,000.

(12) Kent and Phoebe Courtney of New Orleans, publish The Independent American, in 1961 became disillusioned with Goldwater as "tainted with socialism," how have rallied to his support; estimated budget of \$281,000.

(13) Other organizations -- National Education Program of Searey, Ark. (\$240,000); Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, Inc., of Philadelphia (among its graduates are the founders of the Young Americans for Freedom); Circuit Riders, Inc. of Cincinnati (formed last year to fight the civil rights bill); Citizens Foreign Aid Committee of Washington, D.C. (enemy of foreign aid, allied with the Hargis Christian Crusade and John Birch Society); Marvin Liebman of New York (ex-Communist who helped organize the "Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations" and the "American Committee for Aid to Katanga").

# EDITORS' NEWS SERVICE...

FOR AM PAPERS

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1964

DISPATCH # 175-

## GOLDWATER GETS BACKING OF GERALD L. K. SMITH

WASHINGTON, D.C., Sept. 19 (Special) --- Gerald L. K. Smith, leader of the extreme right-wing Christian Nationalist Crusade, has endorsed Senator Barry M. Goldwater for President.

"He is a godsend of America," Smith wrote in a signed editorial in the current issue of his magazine, The Cross and the Flag.

"For the first time since I have been a man one of the old parties has nominated a candidate for whom I have complete respect."

Smith said that Goldwater had impressed him with his "complete loyalty" to the late Senator Joseph McCarthy and the manner in which he "paid tribute to the fine type of people" who belong to the John Birch Society.

He went on to predict that the so-called white backlash would provide Goldwater with the margin of victory in November and indicated that he saw no danger of Goldwater repudiating the Smith endorsement.

Smith said:

"I can easily imagine Mr. Goldwater being elected President of the United States and I can easily imagine this backlash constituting the majority factor which will put him over. ...

"In the last Presidential election we exerted no aggressive effort because even Nixon cursed me in a public statement, thus giving our people little or no choice. Unless something occurs which does not now appear on the horizon our fraternity of patriots might easily spell the difference and if the Goldwater campaign remains consistent with that which now appears, the Christian Nationalist Crusade might easily be a deciding factor in helping to restore Constitutional Government, state sovereignty, local self-government, private enterprise and racial self-respect."

Turning to Goldwater's running mate, Smith said Rep. William E. Miller "is an upstate New Yorker whose conservative viewpoints are as uncompromising as those of Mr. Goldwater."

Following are excerpts from the Smith endorsement:

### EXCERPTS FROM GERALD L. K. SMITH EDITORIAL

For the first time in my mature life a major political party has nominated a candidate for president worthy of respect.

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

Goldwater first impressed me in his manifestation of complete loyalty to Senator Joseph McCarthy at a time when the routine politician considered it political suicide to defend McCarthy. Then as the anti-McCarthy myth developed, Goldwater's fearlessness in this respect remained intact and he manifested loyalty not only to McCarthy in life but in death. He honored the great Wisconsin statesman's memory. In the realm of conservatism versus radicalism this was almost the acid test.

Then along came the John Birch Society. This Society was so completely smeared that among professional politicians it was considered very unsafe to be identified with the Society or any of its members. When questioned concerning this organization Mr. Goldwater did not take the easy way. He did not flatter the lying press or the smearing commentators. He expressed his disagreement with the head of the organization, but paid tribute to the fine type of people who belonged to it. "At least," he said, "the ones I have known are good people."

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

Some of my friends who knew my concern with the aggressively organized hand of Jewry reminded me of the fact that Mr. Goldwater, although a Christian with a Christian family, had a Jewish grandfather. In appraising this man I took this into consideration and upon thorough investigation I found that he had built his entire family life in the tradition of Christianity and that his chief political opponents are Jews.

I made a careful survey of the California primary only to discover that in the large Jewish precincts in Los Angeles his vote was nil. The Jews almost unanimously vote against Goldwater wherever his name is offered, and today they are fighting him with a viciousness almost surpassing their attacks on the late Joseph McCarthy.

His super-test of courage and moral stamina came when the 'Evil' Rights Bill, legally known as the Civil Rights Bill, was introduced into the United States Senate. His appraisal of this document was strikingly similar to mine. In effect, he said, "We would not deny anyone his legal rights under the Constitution regardless of his race, his creed, his color or his national origin, but he pointed out that two sections of the Bill, in his judgment, were un-Constitutional. These were the sections which deny American citizens the right to determine whom they shall serve and whom they shall employ.

# # # #

...Outside of the behavior of two or three patriots who took a courageous stand during World War II and before, it was the most courageous act of statemanship ever to come under my observation. It marked him as a man with the courage of his convictions which in this degenerate day of corrupted politicians is a sensation.

The courage of Barry Goldwater was illuminated by the fact that he was able to translate his convictions into the wording of the platform and into the behaviour of the delegates.

Already the black leaders have called the Republican Party "the white man's party." Already they have dubbed him a Fascist, a Hitlerite and a bigot. These are the terms usually reserved for people like myself. But what is happening now to Goldwater merely confirms my philosophy; namely, that if a man takes an uncompromising stand against Communism he will eventually be called a bigot, a hatemonger, a racist, a Fascist and a Hitlerite. These are the smear weapons of the liquidators when they set out to take an American citizen out of circulation.

This formula has backfired. Some call it "the white man's panic," and others call it the "white backlash."

I can easily imagine Mr. Goldwater being elected President of the United States and I can easily imagine this backlash constituting the majority factor which will put him over.

High on the scale of courageous action was his choice for Vice President when he approved Congressman William Miller. The pattern in years past has been to 'balance the ticket' by naming the winning candidate's vigorous opponent as the Vice Presidential candidate. For instance, when Eisenhower was nominated, Nixon who had opposed Alger Hiss was chosen as a compromise on an attempt to appease the followers of Taft and McCarthy. Goldwater has indulged in no such shenanigans. True enough he gave the nod to an Easterner, but Congressman Miller is an upstate New Yorker whose conservative viewpoints are as uncompromising as those of Mr. Goldwater.

He is a godsend to America. For the first time since I have been a man one of the old parties has nominated a candidate for whom I have complete respect.



It has been said that my friends and supporters and associates and compatriots are so located in the Nation as to influence the decision of one million voters. In the last Presidential election we exerted no aggressive effort because even Nixon cursed me in a public statement, thus giving our people little or no choice. Unless something occurs which does not now appear on the horizon our fraternity of patriots might easily spell the difference and if the Goldwater campaign remains consistent with that which now appears, the Christian Nationalist Crusade might easily be a deciding factor in helping to restore Constitutional Government, state sovereignty, local self-government, private enterprise and racial self-respect.

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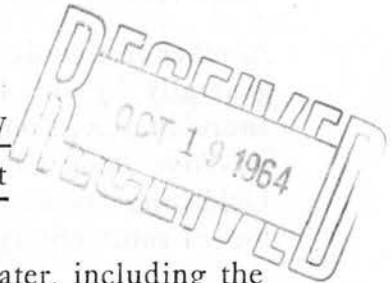
# GROUP RESEARCH REPORT

Vol. 3, No. 19



October 15, 1964

Study of Goldwater's right-wing activity shows early  
extremist links and continuing help from far right



A detailed report on the right-wing activities of Senator Barry Goldwater, including the connections of his staff and advisers for the Presidential campaign, recalls some close Goldwater associations with extremists and names a significant number of John Birch Society leaders in his camp.

The 32-page report, illustrated with documentation, has just been released by Group Research, Inc., whose last report to receive public attention dealt with the financial support of the right wing in America. (page 65)

The more significant events in Goldwater's early and overt association with the right wing included the following highlights, for example:

- Goldwater's first and best-selling book, *Conscience of a Conservative*, was published with key aid from Leo F. Reardon, a former aide to Father Coughlin and to Upton Close and now Vice President of the "Forum" run by Clarence Manion, a member of the National Council of the John Birch Society.
- Two right-wing journals—*Human Events* and *National Review*—claim to have been among the first to chronicle the Arizona Senator as Presidential timber.
- Although Goldwater later repudiated the Founder of the John Birch Society, Robert Welch, dating the repudiation about 1958, he joined a major Birch "front" called the Committee Against Summit Entanglements after that time.
- Goldwater went to Chicago in 1959 to address an extreme right-wing group called We, the People! in company with leaders of other far-right groups who were soon to become publicly identified with the John Birch Society.
- Goldwater's support for President or Vice President at the 1960 GOP Convention was organized partly by extremists such as the Courtneys—with some Goldwater acquiescence.
- The chief Goldwater booster club during the past four years—Young Americans for Freedom—was organized with his encouragement by active right-wingers.

The report summarizes the right-wing activity leading up to the Goldwater victory in the big California primary and nomination at the GOP convention held there last summer, naming some of those in his camp who were also active in right-wing groups. In this section, the report recalls that former Congressman John Rousselot, now a top leader of the Birch Society, says that more than 100 delegates to the convention were Birch members and that a top Goldwater aide, Richard Kleindienst, said after the Convention: "All those little old ladies in tennis shoes that you called the right-wing nuts and kooks. They're the best volunteer political organization that's ever been put together, and they proved it today."

Another section describes the right-wing organizations which have been joined or praised generally by the Presidential candidate. These include the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, Young Americans for Freedom, *Human Events*, *National Review*, the Conservative Book Club and Americans for Constitutional Action. The latter, which gives Goldwater one of its extremely rare 100% ratings on voting record, is shown to be interlocked substantially with the John Birch Society through officers and contributors.

Individuals praised by Goldwater include Hubbard S. Russell, a pioneer in trying to abolish the "Marxist" income tax; Joseph M. Mitchell, the former Newburgh, N. Y., City Manager, who is now an organizer for the (White) Citizens Councils, and Clarence Manion. It is also pointed out that Goldwater praised the biography of him by Edwin McDowell, an Arizona editor who was an original Endorser of the John Birch Society but says he left the organization.

Among members of Goldwater's campaign staff who are identified as having been particularly active in right-wing circles are: Karl Hess, his chief speech writer; Denison Kitchell, Paul Wagner, Lev Dobriansky, Philip Brennan, Mrs. Elizabeth Iglehart and Fernando Penabaz. In addition, many of Goldwater's "advisers" are identified. A score of staff and advisers are identified as Birch Society members.

A category of even more active rightists consists of nearly 100 "Goldwater boosters," broken down as to those clearly authorized and those who may not be so official but have not been repudiated in any way. (The Senator has not even repudiated extremists as a group—in fact, his acceptance speech praised "extremism in the pursuit of liberty.") Boosters in the first category include a significant number of people who have also boosted the Birch Society, such as Ken Benton, Gen. Bonner Fellers, Roger Milliken and J. Howard Pew. It also includes Vivian Kellems, who became famous for resisting the withholding feature of the Federal income tax; Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, who regularly calls for abolition of the graduated income tax and withdrawal from the United States; and Charles M. White, retired steel executive who has supported right-wing causes for a long time.

The "unauthorized" boosters run the gamut from conservative through Ezra Taft Benson, Eisenhower's Secretary of Agriculture who has praised the Birch Society, to Billy James Hargis, Gerald L. K. Smith and Joseph P. Kamp.

The only organization found to have been repudiated by Goldwater is the Ku Klux Klan, which the candidate repudiated after refusals to do so by the GOP Convention, his hand-picked Republican National Chairman and his hand-picked running mate, William F. Miller.

## LYNDON'S LEGACY

Monarch Books; Derby, Conn.; 1964, 303 pages, paperback 75¢

A book by Frank L. Kluckhohn, former reporter and government official whose last previous book, America: Listen!, attacked President Kennedy and the men around him. Lyndon's Legacy is a sort of transition to the Johnson Administration, and it appeared about the same time as another Kluckhohn book, The Inside on LBJ (Monarch Books, 75¢)

From Kluckhohn's introduction:

"The rulers of the Soviet Union have believed that they are gaining from this policy of 'accommodation'; for reasons best known to themselves, John F. Kennedy's advisers have favored such a policy, have held that victory in the struggle with communism is impossible. Now, as Lyndon's legacy, they continue to influence American policy in the direction of disarmament and peace at almost any price." (pp. 8-9)

### Chapter 1: "What Breed of Man is Making Over America?"

"In the Kennedy Administration one could almost sense the entire New Frontier retreating into an academic or intellectual limbo with these men /Schlesinger, Jr., Rostow, Arthur Dean, Harlan Cleveland, George Ball, Salinger, Yarmolinsky, Wiesner, Rusk, Richard Goodwin/ once the blows of Cuba, Laos, Steel, and the stock-market crash took their toll. Americans now wonder whether President Johnson, as the focal point of these key men on the team, will also join them to cover future mistakes by a policy of peace through appeasement." (p. 24)

### Chapter 2: "Dean Rusk--The Gray Man With Flaming Ideas"

"In general, just what successes against communism has Dean Rusk obtained for his chief, the President?"

"The answer must be: virtually none, except those which could easily be obtained through appeasement." (p. 69)

### Chapter 3: "Backstage at the Pentagon"

"Since coming to the Pentagon, America's first and last line of defense, Robert McNamara has inaugurated a new American 'defense' strategy, which can be explained, in the following painstakingly researched analysis, under two main headings: Limited Retaliation; and Disarmament." (p. 75)

"Robert McNamara has not developed a single new American weapons system since he took office in January 1961!" (pp. 82-3)

"This unprecedented lateral control /by 'political advisers'/ of the military is remarkably comparable to the commissar system used in Soviet Russia." (p. 92)

"If the American people could rip off the curtain of secrecy surrounding the hanky-panky in the Defense De-

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partment (and throughout the Administration) there might be a 'March to Washington' to make all previous 'marches' look like Sunday-school cookouts." (p. 115)

### Chapter 4: "The Amateur Strategists vs. the Joint Chiefs"

"Today our military establishment is under control of the Administration's civilian inner Circle. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have been subordinated." (p. 122)

"It /Bay of Pigs/ was the most colossal and ignominious military failure in American history, and it provided a tragic lesson in what happens when politicians and thinkers get their hands on a military operation." (p. 123)

"The historical fact that we have never had a military coup d'etat does not lessen fear of emergence of a 'Man on Horseback' in the minds of the Yarmolinskys, Schlesingers and their associates, including those of the ADA." (p. 125)

"It is interesting that this attack /on the Birch Society and General Walker/ followed implementation on January 1, 1961, by Gus Hall, head of the Communist Party, U.S.A., of a Moscow directive of December 5, 1960, ordering an all-out worldwide attack on anti-Communists." (p. 125)

### Chapter 5: "An End to Security--The Otepka Case"

"Self-policing of 'security' is now standard procedure throughout much of the federal government under the Johnson Administration." (p. 148)

"The lesson of the Otepka case is plain. The State Department security against penetration by Communists and against other security risks has been smashed and exists effectively no longer." (p. 157)

### Chapter 6: "Walt Whitman Rostow--The Genius From M.I.T."

"... Walt Rostow, the man who heads the 14-man policy planning council of the U.S. State Department, shapes our policy upon the absurd theory that the Soviet slave-masters are really becoming nice guys at heart, and that they are finding out they really want peace." (p. 165)

### Chapter 7: "Harlan Cleveland--The Maxwell Mythologist"

"This fantastic idea that the Communists are mellowing, or are on the road to mellowing, persists in the utterances of Cleveland as much as it does in the utterances of Walt Rostow. . . ." (p. 199)



## Chapter 8: "Marvelous McGeorge Bundy"

"Washington observers have credited a major part of many highly questionable Kennedy and Johnson Administration policies to Bundy's advocacy. . .". (p. 204)

## Chapter 9: "Bouncing George Ball"

"To Ball, the whole vast network of thievery of our nuclear secrets never existed". (p. 233)

## Chapter 10: "Lucky Portly Pierre"

"As with Adam Yarmolinsky, Salinger's mother 'officially' had absolutely no influence upon his political thinking. Salinger himself, however, seems to be irresistibly interested (as an observer, of course) in the phenomenon of the world Communist revolution". (p. 254)

## Chapter 11: "Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. -- His Father's Only Son"

". . . and while not one of Schlesinger's words openly supports communism, he frequently ends up advocating the current Party Line--innocently, of course". (p. 267)

## Chapter 13: "The House that Jack Built"

"Whatever their small group' around the President motives, their words and actions have had the effect of aiding world communism". (p. 301)

Note: The author of this book, Frank Kluckhohn, received \$1,000 in August of 1964, for "field program" from the Americans for Constitutional Action, according to ACA's report to the Clerk of the House of Representatives. ACA is an ultraconservative organization whose officers interlock with the John Birch Society and whose funds come in part from Birch Society leaders. (See Special Report #9 in Sec. 4)

INSIDE ON LBJ, THE

A paperback by Frank L. Kluckhohn, author of other right-wing books such as Lyndon's Legacy, published about the same time -- during the 1964 campaign. (See page in this section) (Monarch Books, Inc., Capital Building, Derby, Conn., 1964)

From the Introduction: "Lyndon Johnson is clever; Lyndon Johnson is slick; Lyndon Johnson is experienced. But Lyndon Johnson is not a man of wide knowledge. Lyndon Johnson proved in the nomination fight in 1960 that he is not a political genius. And Lyndon Johnson is certainly not a man of deep convictions." (p. 13)

Johnson's appointments: "A study of Johnson's new appointments and advisers reveals the same miasmic dream world in which one goes against all reality to promote sure destruction--under, of course, the delusion (or guise) of promoting the welfare of the World!" (p. 43)

On the domestic scene: "He Johnson evidences little faith in the private enterprise system of the nation, and instead, equates government spending and controls with success in solving every economic problem we face." (p. 62)

On Bobby Baker: "Bobby Gene, in cold fact, acted as Lyndon's 'blackjack' in the Senate, clubbing and covertly threatening Senators into line on votes." (p. 67)

On foreign policy: "As President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson has the power to reverse the field of foreign relations. He could win an election, probably, by knocking out Castro and communism in Cuba. That must be a great temptation for a man whose foreign policy stock has fallen so low, so fast." (p. 94)

On Africa: "The paradox is that the United States, more than any nation, was responsible for the ending of Western colonialism in Moslem and Negro Africa. Yet is is sic the Communists who are reaping the benefits." (p. 120)

On Red China: "That Lyndon Johnson will accord diplomatic recognition to Red China and approve its entry into the United Nations if re-elected is a widespread conviction in informed diplomatic circles." (p. 131)

On agriculture: "The truth also is that the administration has driven close to one million farmers from their land, despite a pledge to help the family-sized farm. Even so, the Department of Agriculture has expanded its budget to a record high, and now employs 122,000--one bureaucrat for every 30 farmers." (p. 147)

On "managed news": "LBJ still tries to manage the news. Over-all, he probably succeeds." (p. 161)

On civil rights: "The one area in which Lyndon Johnson has done his biggest flip-flop has been that of civil rights." (p. 168)

Note: The author of this book, Frank Kluckhohn, received \$1,000 in August of 1964, for "field program" from the Americans for Constitutional Action, according to ACA's report to the Clerk of the House of Representatives. ACA is an ultraconservative organization whose officers interlock with the John Birch Society and whose funds come in part from Birch Society leaders. (See Special Report #9 in Sec. 4)

### Right-wingers step up libel suits

On top of several major libel suits by right-wingers against their critics now pending in various stages of litigation, three new ones have been filed:

- The John Birch Society and three of its officers have sued the National Broadcasting Company for a total of \$8,000,000. Robert Welch, Laurence E. Bunker and MacDonald Hayes claim that a May 20 Huntley-Brinkley newscast maliciously stated that the FBI had arrested someone for selling arms unlawfully to the Society.

- Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, head of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, filed a libel suit for \$510,000 against *The Criterion*, the Roman Catholic publication at Indianapolis, for an editorial Oct. 25, 1963, on the eve of Schwarz's arrival for one of his Anti-Communism Schools. (pages 71 and 81)

- Karl Prussion, Editor of *Heads Up*, has slapped a \$300,000 libel and slander suit on Virginia Franklin, the school teacher in Paradise, Calif., whose harrassment by right-wingers has been publicized nationally and who is engaged in a suit against them. Prussion refers to the defendant as "Czarina" Franklin, says she "is well known as a leftist teacher and political activist," and claims that she caused cancellation of five of his lectures. He also named ten "John Does" in the suit. Prussion describes himself as "a former Communist and F.B.I. undercover operative."

Meanwhile, a similar suit—Dan Smoot *versus* the League of Women Voters of Traverse City, Michigan—is going to trial. Smoot charges that the League libeled him \$500,000 worth for charging that his monthly *Report* is "slanted information, half-truths, innuendoes and sometimes worse." In an unusual move, the judge ordered Smoot to post a bond in case his suit was proven to be for "vexatious purposes." Writing about the suit as being of great national and legal significance, the New York *Herald-Tribune* (10/4/64) stated that "many observers suspect the suits have become a tactic of the ultra-conservative movement" and that the judge's requirement of a bond "may curtail the practice."

### Right-wing books continue mysterious sales records

Three hard-hitting, ultraconservative paperback books, plus a campaign-time tabloid, continue to amaze book circles, partly because their primary sources of distribution are unknown in regular channels. Several top-flight reporters have been assigned to dig out facts surrounding their phenomenal circulation, now estimated to be around 16,000,000.

All three paperbacks come from previously unknown "publishers," and the tabloid's author is unidentified, although it bears the name of Liberty Lobby, a far-right Washington group interlocked for several years with Birchers. And all have been sold in mysteriously huge bulk orders. (See pages 57 and 61 for earlier articles here; and see the New York *Times* of Oct. 4, Washington *Star* of Oct. 9, and Kansas City *Star* of Oct. 1 for round-up articles.) The four publications are:

- *None Dare Call It Treason*, by John A. Stormer, a newcomer to radical-right publishing but active in Missouri GOP and Goldwater circles. Stormer told the *Times* that he is not a Birch member but that his wife is. The book attacks every administration since Hoover's for some sort of complicity in treasonous decisions favoring the communists. Its arduous



effort at "documentation" has been strongly criticized by the Minneapolis *Tribune*, a Cowles Publication. (9/20/64, in *Congressional Record* 9/24/64, p. 22122.)

Stormer's publishing house, "Liberty Bell Press," has been exposed by the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, as being a hastily-created office shared with a beauty parlor near his home in Florissant, Mo. Printing is done mainly in Chicago, with cash in advance—about \$600,000 of it to date—and at least 1,000,000 copies have been sent to the John Birch Society, according to reporters.

- *A Texan Looks at Lyndon*, is written by J. Evetts Haley, best known in right-wing parlance for having urged the lynching or hanging of Chief Justice Warren, rather than impeaching him. Haley's paperback is more of a personal attack than a right-wing document, but some 7,000,000 copies have been printed somewhere other than at its "publisher," Palo Duro Press in Canyon, Texas.

- *A Choice Not An Echo*, by Phyllis Schlafly, was published by the "Marquette Press" for distribution on the eve of the San Francisco GOP Convention as a Goldwater plug. However, it has had big distribution since Goldwater's nomination—perhaps 2,000,000 copies—and she has another book on the way: *The Grave Diggers*, which alleges that the U. S. is disarming while the Communist countries grow stronger. Mrs. Schlafly is President of the Illinois Federation of Republican Women and Research Director of the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation. She denies being a member of the John Birch Society but was called one by Robert Welch in his March 1960 *Bulletin*.

- *LBJ: A Political Biography* is the name of the 12-page tabloid distributed by Liberty Lobby. Postmarks on copies received lately indicate that the personal attack on the President is being circulated in large quantities by unknown distributors in widely-separated parts of the country. Because this is the first tabloid put out by the far-right Liberty Lobby, there is reason to believe that it has had help; but the only clue in the publication itself is a reference that more information can be obtained from Haley's book.

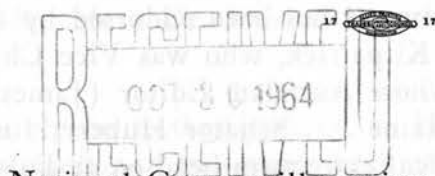
Incidentally, a similar publication from the pages of *Human Events*, the weekly Washington tabloid of far-right slant, was edited by Richard P. Jennett, who wrote a major article in this month's *American Opinion*, the Birch Society magazine.

# GROUP RESEARCH

# REPORT

Vol. 3, No. 20

October 29, 1964



## National Group will monitor right-wing broadcasts

The recently organized National Council for Civic Responsibility has announced that it will monitor the radio and TV programs of 10 leading right-wing organizations and issue a digest of their contents. The Council is headed by Dr. Arthur Larson, former Eisenhower assistant and director of the U. S. Information Agency, and is supported by the Public Affairs Institute.

At a Washington press conference, Dr. Larson, who is associated with the Duke University School of Law, also announced that the Council will send transcripts to any organization or person who is the subject of a radio attack. He explained that the central monitoring will be done for the Council by Group Research, Inc.

Larson noted that there are over 7,000 radio and TV programs weekly which are put out by right-wing groups, such as Manion Forum, America's Future, Church League of America, White Citizens' Council and Rev. Carl McIntire.

"We plan to challenge the spokesmen for the Radical Right with their own words," he said. "For too long they have filled the air with noxious propaganda but there has been no physical record." Larson said that the U. S. has long monitored foreign propaganda broadcasts, partly to know what they are saying and partly to make a record.

The Council now is sending its five minute "antidote" to right wing broadcasts to a little over 30 radio stations. It is called "Spotlight on Extremism." Also, it has published a pamphlet, "Extremism: 20 Questions and Answers," which is available for 25c from the Council at 65 East 55th Street, New York City.

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POLITICAL NOTES: J. Evetts Haley, author of the best-selling campaign attack on LBJ, is reported to have had help from a neighbor, Thornton Dewey, who has entertained and contributed money to George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi Party . . . Meanwhile, Haley has addressed such extremist groups as We, The People!, in Chicago, and Kent Courtney's Independents for Goldwater, at Atlanta . . . The Allen-Bradley Company, which has helped several right-wing groups including the John Birch Society, pulled its advertising out of the *Saturday Evening Post* after the latter endorsed Lyndon Johnson . . . Robert Bauman, Chairman of Young Americans for Freedom, appeared Oct. 11 on the Manion Forum, operated by John Birch Society Council member Clarence Manion . . . Edward Carl, a teacher at the Milwaukee vocational school has admitted "fronting" for unnamed people in distributing



hundreds of thousands of copies of a campaign tabloid called "Freedom's Voice" which charges that the Democrats have sold out to communism . . . Kent and Phoebe Courtney's last-minute push in the campaign was a booklet entitled "Goodbye, Lyndon," which makes use of racist material in its satire . . . Nicholas Nyaradi, head of Hungarian-Americans for Goldwater & Miller, is a favorite speaker on right-wing programs; he was quoted in the 1959 full-page ad of the Birch-front group, Committee Against Summit Entanglements, which was signed by Goldwater and scores of Birchers . . . Goldwater has been endorsed by the *Richmond News Leader*, which is edited by James Jackson Kilpatrick, who was Vice Chairman of the lobby against the civil rights bill this year and whose Associate Editor (James Lucier) is a major contributor to the John Birch Society magazine . . . Senator Hubert Humphrey, Democratic candidate for Vice President, attacked political extremism head-on at Tulsa, a Republican city and headquarters of Billy James Hargis.

#### Warren Report adds footnotes on Dallas right-wingers

Almost buried in the long detailed coverage of the Warren Commission's report on last year's assassination were the findings of the Commission which tied up some loose ends relative to right-wing attacks that greeted the late President on his visit to Dallas.

For example, all of those involved in preparing the extremist ad, "Welcome Mr. Kennedy," that appeared in the *Dallas Morning News* turn out to have been John Birch Society members, and the JBS coordinator in the area played a key role in preparing the ad and raising the funds to pay for it. The money came from three Dallas businessmen, one of them Nelson Bunker Hunt, son of the well-known oil-billionaire, H. L. Hunt.

Less widely reported at the time of the assassination was the appearance of a circular on streets of the Dallas area in the days just prior to the Kennedy visit. This was a "Wanted for Treason" handbill, which carried front and profile pictures of the President. It was found by the Warren Commission to have been produced by Robert Surrey, a close associate of former Gen. Edwin A. Walker. Among other things, Surrey and Walker are partners in American Eagle Publishing Co., which turns out reprints of the General's right-wing speeches.

In its primary findings, the Warren Commission, as expected, dealt at length with the various rumors and allegations of conspiracy—both from the left and the right—and dismissed all of them. It concluded that Oswald had acted alone and suggested that his possible motives are likely to be found in his own life and personality. Predictably, these findings by the Commission have already been rejected by many on the right and some on the left. For instance, Gerald L. K. Smith calls it "the fraud of the century."

#### Did Birch writer contribute Goldwater phrase?

Miss Taylor Caldwell, the famous novelist who also writes frequently in *American Opinion*, the John Birch Society magazine, has suggested publicly that she may have given Senator Goldwater his famous phrase: "extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice." In a letter to the editor of *America*, a Catholic magazine, Miss Caldwell told of once having sent Goldwater a similar quotation from Cicero. She didn't know whether her contribution was in Goldwater's mind when he accepted the GOP nomination, but she stated: "Fortunately, we have a Cicero in Barry Goldwater." Senator Everett Dirksen, a Goldwater supporter and quoter of classics himself, thought well enough of Miss Caldwell's correspondence to put it in the *Congressional Record* for Oct. 2, adding: "That sounds almost word for word like Barry Goldwater . . ."

#### ACA gets more extreme

Americans for Constitutional Action, which specializes in voting indexes which rate ultra-conservative candidates 100%, has taken several steps putting it farther out on the right-end extreme. It recently added a new Trustee to its letterhead who is an Endorser of the John Birch Society and President of the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, which interlocks heavily with JBS. He is Dr. Thomas Parker, of Greenville, S. C., a long-time supporter of far-right causes.

Also, ACA financial reports to the Clerk of the House disclose payment of \$1,000 last August to Frank Kluckhohn, author of two paper-back attacks on President Johnson's Administration and recent speaker at Billy James Hargis's meeting in Dallas. The report also shows continuing income from Birch supporters. Through August of this year, ACA received nearly \$170,000 in contributions. It has endorsed 173 candidates for Congress and revealed that it has "57 field representatives, working in behalf of 55 candidates in 27 states." It admits that its budget for this field program is about \$100,000.

#### Other organization news:

- The John Birch Society recently ran a fancy 16-page supplement in the Sunday papers of Los Angeles—reaching some 2,000,000 readers with very attractive material. Among its tricks of lay-out and copy writing were impressions that General Eisenhower and FBI Director Hoover endorse the extremist organization. Elsewhere the Society's coordinator for the Houston, Texas, area has announced that teen-agers are being organized experimentally.

- The Minutemen, chief organizers of guerilla opposition to the coming "invasion" by communists (and Lyndon Johnson), claim they are embarrassed by disclosures that St. Louis Library books have been defaced with their stickers. At the same time, the extremist group has led a protest against the "Mailmen's March" on their own time to deliver appeals for contributions to the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation. Postmasters have been sent 57 alleged items in Mrs. Roosevelt's "red record."

- The White Party of America has opened a small book store in Washington, D. C., three blocks from the White House. Its main exhibits so far are J. Evetts Haley's attack on LBJ and John Stormer's attack on all recent Presidents.

- The Christian Crusade of Billy James Hargis has blasted the Halloween-time funds campaign for UNICEF again this year as some sort of a communist plot. And fewer Governors proclaim United Nations Day these days, as opposition builds up.

- The American Security Council, which just started a massive daily radio program on the "cold war" (page 67), has broken precedent for itself by running a double-page advertisement in *Human Events*, the ultraconservative tabloid published in Washington (Sept. 26). It promotes the Council's booklet, "Peace and Freedom Through Cold War Victory." (page 60) The names on the ad include a mixture of persons well established in the right-wing (e. g. Robert E. Wood and Admiral Ben Moreell), together with individuals who have recently declared for Goldwater (e. g. Stephen Possony, Dr. Edward Teller and Patrick J. Frawley). Beginning Nov. 9, the ASC program will be on more than 1,000 stations.

**PERSONALITIES:** JOHN RUSSELL, best known as "Mr. Lawman" on TV, was recently the "moderator" of a workshop at ROBERT LEFEVRE's far-right Freedom School in Colorado Springs . . . JANET GREENE, a Columbus, Ohio, TV kiddie show star, has been recruited by DR. FRED SCHWARZ. One of her lyrics for the cause, to the tune of "Blue Tail Fly," goes: "When I was young it seemed to me / The whole wide world would soon be free / But Communism is on the rise / And Satan has a new disguise. / Be careful of the Commie ties / Swallow them and freedom dies. / The USA must realize / That she's the biggest prize." . . . MAJOR EDGAR C. BUNDY, head of the Church League of America, is addressing a McIntire-related meeting in Washington on the subject: "Who says Civil Rights is a 'moral' issue?" . . . GENERAL A. C. WEDEMEYER, luminary in many right-wing groups, is mailing out Phyllis Schlafly's book, *A Choice Not An Echo*, and REV. CARL MCINTIRE used a recent radio program to plug *The Life of John Birch*, by Robert Welch, . . . The newest book by EZRA TAFT BENSON, Birch supporter and former Eisenhower Cabinet officer, is called *Title of Liberty*, and is compiled by his son, Mark . . . An older son, Reed, is a Birch Society Coordinator in the Utah area.

#### Publications counter extremists

- "What is Extremism?" is the title of a pamphlet by the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56 Street, New York. It is designed to help persons encountering the movement at an early stage and suggests antidotes for extremism.
- Robert Wilson, Editor and Publisher of Prairie Publications at Maroa, Illinois, has published a full-page satire called "Why I Joined the John Birch Society." Wilson has frequently clashed with extremists in his community.
- The October 20 issue of *LOOK* magazine carries a five-page article on some leading extremists and analyzes their appeals. Sample: "They are humorless, rigid, afraid of change. They are prophets of treason and doom. They are the powerful, yet elusive, force in a new U. S. political climate, and they cannot be ignored."
- The October 10 issue of *Information Service*, published by the National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York City, devotes all 12 pages to the radical right. Single copies are 25c.

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*Estimate*

10/12/64

BARRY GOLDWATER AND THE ORGANIZED RIGHT WING

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# Human Events Played a Part

In the spring of 1958, at one of *Human Events*' periodic staff meetings with political leaders, James L. Wick, executive editor of *Human Events*, said to Barry Goldwater: "We would like to see you President of the United States."

The senator, then in his first term, replied: "Oh no! Nothing like that can happen. It will be a long time before the nation will elect a President with a Jewish name like Goldwater."

In its July 1, 1959 issue, *Human Events* definitely proposed Goldwater for President, adding that: "...Nomination of candidates from small-population states (with only a limited number of delegates to the convention) are unprecedented—but these are times of realignment of parties, political flux and crumbling of party traditions. In these strange times, precedent may well be broken."

Soon after, Leo Reardon, representing the obscure Victor Publishing Co. of Shepherdsville, Ky., persuaded the senator to write a book expressing his views. Aided by Brent Bozell, the senator rewrote his speeches, releases and statements of the previous five years. Because the publisher was completely unheard of in the book trade, it was not expected to sell over 5,000 or 10,000 copies. To everybody's surprise, including the senator's, *The Conscience of a Conservative*, published in March, 1960, started a prairie fire. The presses could not keep up with the demand. Sales to date have passed 2.5 million; a larger number than any

book ever written by a political figure who had not yet become President.

Following publication of the book, a youth movement for Goldwater—now called "Young Americans For Freedom"—sprang up over the country. By the thousands—spontaneously—they travelled to the 1960 convention in Chicago and started a presidential boom. But Goldwater withdrew his name and insisted that conservatives support the Nixon-Lodge ticket.

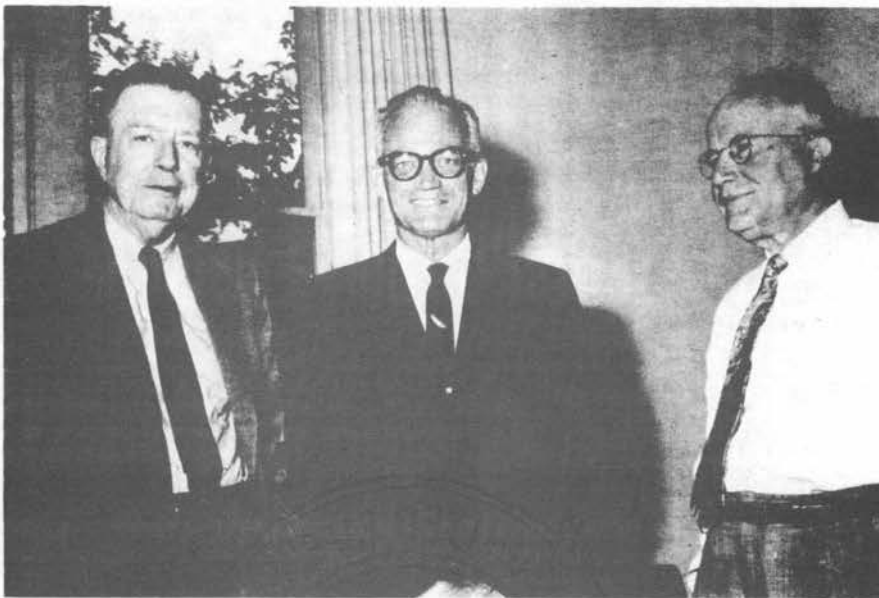
In his speech to the convention, he said:

"Let's grow up, conservatives. Let's, if we want to, take this party back—and I think we can someday. Let's get to work."

After Kennedy's victory in the November election, Goldwater took his own advice. He "went to work." He spent a large part of his time building up the conservative strength.

He became the biggest drawing card at college and university assemblies. He was the principal speaker at four *Human Events* Political Action Conferences. He, as the headliner at \$100-a-plate fund-raising dinners, raised more money for the GOP than any other man in history.

He never wanted the presidential nomination. He had to be drafted to run, simply because there was no other conservative with the following to prevent the Eastern "me-too" liberals from capturing the nomination and the party machinery.



Sen. Goldwater with Frank Hanighen (left), publisher of *Human Events*, and James L. Wick (right), executive publisher of *Human Events*, in the spring of 1958 at a staff conference when Wick said "We would like to see you President of the United States."

## BARRY GOLDWATER AND THE ORGANIZED RIGHT WING

### I. Origins of the Goldwater-for-President boom

Without attempting to set the beginning date of the move to put Senator Goldwater in the White House -- if there is such a date -- it is possible to highlight several key movements in Goldwater's behalf by the organized right wing of American politics and economics, choosing only those which Goldwater made significant by some kind of personal involvement rather than attributing to him any movements completely beyond his control or influence.

Late in the 1950's, Goldwater became established as the United States Senate's leading spokesman for conservatism far beyond his Arizona constituency. He had been re-elected once and had been chosen Chairman of the Republican Senate Campaign Committee, a role which gave him both mobility as a speaker and influence inside his party. Among those who found him an attractive political figure with possibilities for replacing Dwight Eisenhower in 1960, when he could not succeed himself anyway, were the Founder of the John Birch Society, Robert Welch, and two ultraconservative publications of considerable stature -- Human Events and National Review. The first wave of Goldwater support was on, and successive events unfolded somewhat chronologically.

1958

Human Events, an influential Washington publication, points proudly to its July 1, 1959, issue as an early definite proposal of Goldwater for President. The issue of July 25, 1964, which recalls that event, reproduces a picture of Goldwater taken in the spring of 1958 "at a staff conference of the publication, standing between Frank Hanighen, the late publisher of the tabloid, and James L. Wick, its executive publisher, who said at the time: 'We would like to see you President of the United States.'"

That this was more than mere promotion for a publishing enterprise is shown by the fact that the accompanying article recalled the circumstances surrounding the writing and publication of Goldwater's famous book, The Conscience of a Conservative. Because of its historic significance, the article and picture are reproduced on the opposite page.

In the fourth paragraph of the article, Human Events discloses that the book was the idea and project of "Leo Reardon, representing the obscure Victor Publishing Co. of Shepherdsville, Ky." This apparently is a journalistic "scoop," just as Reardon's enterprise resulted in a publishing "scoop" when the Goldwater book hit the best-selling list and stayed there. Reardon may have been obscure by some standards, but he was already a key figure in the radical right -- and still is.

Reardon was confidential advisor to Father Coughlin and his personal representative in political affairs just before World War II, when Coughlin was running an anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi operation, according to Forster and Epstein in Danger on the Right. (Random House, 1964, pp. 115-117 and 128) Reardon later became a fund raiser for another anti-Semitic propagandist, Upton Close, whose career included radio broadcasts sponsored by the late Merwin K. Hart, head of the National Economic Council.

Reardon is now Vice President of the Manion Forum at South Bend, where he seems to be managing the business end for Clarence Manion, operator of the Forum and National Council member of the John Birch Society. In December of 1962, Reardon announced that the Forum would be expanded from radio to TV, a venture made possible by "the patriotic cooperation of Mr. D. B. Lewis, President of the Lewis Food Company, of Los Angeles, which is sponsoring our TV program in the above seven Western states, paying the heavy costs of station time...." This is obviously the D. B. Lewis whose numerous far-right activities include being an Endorser of the John Birch Society.

Early in 1962, Reardon was discovered in Tulsa, Oklahoma, helping the Christian Crusade of Billy James Hargis, another Birch Society Endorser. He explained that he was there "in a private capacity on a part-time basis." (Donald Quinn in a copyright article in The Criterion, 2/16/62. Quinn is Managing Editor of the Oklahoma Courier, official paper for the Oklahoma City-Tulsa Diocese.)

The Victor Publishing Company, referred to by Human Events, did publish the first edition of Goldwater's best-selling book -- and still holds the copyright. It has an office in South Bend, as well as in Shepherdsville, Kentucky, according to a recent brochure, and two of its three officers, according to corporation reports, are law partners of Manion.

Human Events has remained a constant Goldwater booster -- and vice versa. A promotional circular quotes the Senator as saying: "I consider Human Events to be forthright and factual in interpreting the vital issues of the day."

The publication was started as a newsletter in 1944 with the assistance of a Chicago luncheon hosted by Gen. Robert E. Wood, then head of Sears, Roebuck and Co. and perennially active in numerous right-wing causes. The list of charter subscribers, which is frequently reprinted as promotional material, is a sort of who's who of the right wing even today -- Charles Edison, H. L. Hunt, Admiral Ben Moreell, J. Howard Pew and many others.

It once had a joint subscription arrangement with the John Birch Society's magazine, American Opinion, according to the Blue Book of that Society; and Robert Welch wrote in the same place that Human Events "feels also that we complement each other well... and American Opinion is, to the best of my knowledge, the first... magazine with which they have been willing to join in such a combination offer." (page 81, 1961 printing)

Editors and contributors to the influential publication, now a tabloid, have included some of the most able right-wing spokesmen in its 21 years, and in 1961 the lively enterprise started a new activity called Human Events Political Action Conferences, held about twice a year to increase the conservative impact at the polls.

At these conferences, Barry Goldwater has been not only hero but also chief activist. He has been the principal speaker on at least four of the programs.

The sessions are open to the public and are always key-noted by Admiral Ben Moreell, head of Americans for Constitutional Action, whose "voting index" was at first published by Human Events and has never shown Goldwater to have less than 99% of the perfect conservative voting record. (Senator Humphrey, by contrast, has never been rated higher than 1% by the ACA index.)

But the semi-annual Human Events Political Action Conferences are more than mere meeting places of traditional conservatives -- they bring together far-right organization leaders as well. A few of the most extreme have been Kent and Phoebe Courtney and the late Merwin K. Hart -- all Birch Society stalwarts.

Meanwhile, the publication has grown in coverage and circulation (118,661 in the Fall of 1963). Most of its scattered commercial advertisers are John Birch Society members in private life. The chief promotional offers in 1964 have been reprints of long articles attacking President Lyndon B. Johnson and praising Senator Barry Goldwater, but they also have been promoting for a long time Barry Goldwater -- Portrait of an Arizonan, by Edwin McDowell, a graduate of campus conservative groups, an editor of the Arizona Republic, and an original endorser of the Birch Society who left it. The cover of his book carries the following endorsement from its subject, Senator Goldwater: "as accurate an account of my career as I have seen in print."

When Human Events founder Hanighen died, on January 4 of this year, the honorary pallbearers included J. Edgar Hoover and Senator Goldwater. A Memorial Fund committee was named which included a score of John Birch Society figures.

#### 1958: The National Review and William Buckley, Jr.

A similar claim of discovering Goldwater as a national political hope -- and of mutual support in their respective causes -- has been made by National Review, the lively ultraconservative "journal of fact and opinion," edited in New York City by William Buckley, Jr., probably the leader of the current spokesmen for the right wing.

A promotional letter mailed in August of 1963 from the National Review circulation department began: "National Review readers will continue to be first with news about Senator Goldwater (as they have been since 1958 when, all by ourselves, we heralded him as a new national leader). Our readers have been the first to see important Goldwater articles, the first to learn of the Draft Goldwater movement."

That this feeling is reciprocated by the Senator has been demonstrated clearly. For example, a year ago Buckley wrote the New York Times, in denial of a report that he had tried to board the Goldwater campaign staff but had been rebuffed: "My relationship with the Senator is every bit as close as I desire it to be. We are friends; and he reads National Review, which time and again he has publicly endorsed." (N.Y. Times 9/25/63)

Even more significantly, National Review sent out a circulation letter a few days after Goldwater had been nominated for President at San Francisco which enclosed an all-out plug with Goldwater's facsimile signature on paper headed:

MEMO... from the desk of Barry Goldwater  
UNITED STATES SENATE

The endorsement was reprinted in the August 11, 1964, issue of the magazine. And a little earlier, the magazine had distributed a 12-page pamphlet of "Answers for Conservatives," designed to help those supporting Goldwater who might be asked questions about his position.

Founded in 1955 with the help of Buckley's father, a self-made oil millionaire and conservative in his own right, the magazine rose steadily in prestige and influence, while its editor, his relatives on the staff and his contributors have been readily available as lecturers or debaters for the right or far-right cause. An Associated Press profile of Buckley soon after President Kennedy's inauguration stated that Buckley "in the past 10 years has moved to the forefront just behind and somewhat to the right of Barry Goldwater, as the leading proponent of the conservative position. It is Buckley, more than anyone else, who gives the conservative movement now stirring on a number of college campuses an intellectual and philosophical platform from which to lob think bombs at the New Frontier." (AP in Des Moines Register 7/18/61)

When National Review was launched, the Directors included Clarence Manion, who later became a National Council member of the John Birch Society; Edwin S. Webster, Jr. and Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, who had supported numerous right-wing causes; and Godfrey Schmidt, a right-wing lawyer who is an Endorser of the Manion Forum, on the organizing committee of the Conservative Party of New York, was President of Aware, Inc., during a battle over its blacklisting of radio and TV personalities in 1955, and is on the Committee For Equal Anti-Trust Law Protection, a group organized by Clarence Manion in 1962 to bring organized labor under the anti-trust laws.

Those congratulating the enterprise on its first issue included Admiral Ben Moreell, Chairman of Americans for Constitutional Action; and the following rightists who later became identified with the John Birch Society: J. Bracken Lee, Gen. Bonner Fellers, Spruille Braden, Charles Edison and J. Howard Pew.

The activities of Buckley-National Review are numerous. Their organization of Young Americans for Freedom, on the home estate at Sharon, Conn., is described later (as an event of 1960), as are their interests in even more extreme groups. Buckley's role in these movements was summarized by two experts on the subject, Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, in their recent book for the Anti-Defamation League, Danger on the Right (Random House, New York, \$4.95), as follows:

"As an individual, Buckley himself performs an important role in the activities of the American Right. He is a link between the senior and junior members of the Extreme Right Wing, binding the Old Guard with the young warriors. \*\*\* he also serves as a kind of ideological bridge between leading Radical Rightists and the Extreme Conservatives. Buckley has been quoted as calling himself a "Radical Conservative," and the self-chosen label is apt--for in fact, Buckley is one of the leading fellow travelers of the American Radical Right. On a number of subjects, his own political thinking and the National Review's line fall just short of Radical Right." (page 241)



Before founding National Review, Buckley wrote God and Man at Yale, charging his alma mater with undermining both Christianity and American principles; and he wrote occasionally for H. L. Hunt's Facts Forum, American Mercury and Human Events. A principal figure at the latter during that time was Frank Chodorov, who named Buckley President of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists before taking it himself.

Buckley has joined several far-right organizations, usually in company with a number of his magazine colleagues. Some of the early ones were: the U. S. Day Committee, a collection of the radical right to combat U. N. Day; the Campaign for the 48 States, similarly radical; and For America, a sort of third-party movement headed by Gen. Bonner Fellers. Many of his cohorts in these three movements later showed up in Birch Society lists.

In the fall of 1959, just a year after starting the drums for Goldwater, Buckley spoke at the Chicago meeting of the Courtneys (below), in company with Birchers Robert Welch, Tom Anderson, J. Bracken Lee, Medford Evans, Bryton Barron and Revilo P. Oliver (then on the National Review masthead). In the November 7 issue of his magazine, Buckley described the meeting as adding up to "a lot of right-wing firepower."

Buckley more recently joined the Committee for the Monroe Doctrine, for more action against Cuba, along with a dozen Birchers. And his editorial position consistently supports most of the right wing positions on the U.N., the Warren Court, civil rights, etc. Also, his weekly syndicated newspaper column openly supports Goldwater.

In running the magazine, Buckley has been aided by several sisters and a Yale classmate, L. Brent Bozell, who became a brother-in-law. Bozell worked for the late Senator Joseph McCarthy a while and co-authored with Buckley a book praising the controversial figure: McCarthy and His Enemies. (Incidentally, the introduction to the book was written by William Schlamm, once an editor of National Review and Associate Editor of American Opinion, the John Birch Society magazine. In fact the JBS Bulletin for April of 1961 described him as the leading writer since the first issue, and Schlamm was also an Endorser of the Society.)

Bozell is perhaps better known as the ghost writer for Goldwater's first and most successful book, The Conscience of a Conservative, for which he was given credit in the Senator's second book. In 1964 he ran unsuccessfully in the Republican primary for a Maryland Congressional seat near Washington, D.C.

Buckley has defended the John Birch Society and its members, although he has criticized Founder Robert Welch and suggested he resign. Similarly, he has defended Goldwater from criticism for not disassociating himself from the Birch Society. (See National Review 11/19/63)

#### John Birch Society

Goldwater has explained publicly on several occasions that he knew Robert Welch, the Founder of the John Birch Society, the benchmark of extremism among right wing groups, as early as 1956; but Welch did not go on record until 1958, when he praised Goldwater in

the Blue Book of the Society. One of Goldwater's biographers -- Jack Bell, the Associated Press political reporter and author of Mister Conservative -- quoted Goldwater in 1963 as saying this:

"I saw the controversial book that Bob Welch prepared, in about 1956. In fact, I think I was probably one of the first to receive it because at that time Mr. Welch was visiting his brother, who was wintering in Arizona, and he delivered it to my home.

"I returned it to him with the comment that if he could not prove every word of it he had better do one of two things, or preferably both -- destroy all of the books and then retract the statements that were contained in them.

"I told him at the time that these statements, if found out -- and they were bound to be discovered -- would work a hardship on the people connected with him. Now we have seen Welch's connection with the society hurting it." (pages 112-113)

The next quotation was: "My sole criticism of the group has been wrapped up in Bob Welch's being head of it..." To which Bell added: "Senator Goldwater was unwilling to cut the Birchites off his list of potential supporters."

No change occurred in that situation during the remainder of 1963 and into the campaign of 1964. In fact, Goldwater has repeatedly said complimentary things about the Society and its membership, and the Society leaders have kept up support for him for President.

In fact, Welch sent campaign money to Goldwater two years after the controversial manuscript was rejected. In his 1958 Blue Book, the "bible" of the Society, Welch wrote:

"I know Barry fairly well. He is a great American... I raised around two thousand dollars in my state and sent it to him early in 1958... Barry Goldwater has political know-how and the painstaking genius to use that know-how with regard to infinite details. He is a superb political organizer, and inspires deep and lasting loyalty. He is absolutely superb in his Americanism, has the political and moral courage to stand by his Americanist principles, and in my opinion can be trusted to stand by them until hell freezes over. I'd love to see him President of the United States, and maybe some day we shall." (pages 119-120)

More recently, the Society leaders have used an official policy of nonpartisanship and nonendorsement of candidates to fend off questions about their support for Goldwater. However, reporters have been able to get through the screen quite effectively, and a number of individual JBS supporters have been identified with the Goldwater campaign. Some of them, who are identified more completely in Section IV as Goldwater boosters, are John Rousselot, Peter W. Reiss, Dr. Dean Sauer, George H. Miller, Jr., Tom Anderson, Kent Courtney, Gen. Bonner Fellers, Billy James Hargis, J. Bracken Lee, Phillip Blair Jones, Edwin L. Wiegand, Ernest Swigert, J. Howard Pew, Clarence Manion and Roger Milliken.

1959: Committee Against  
Summit Entanglements

Goldwater's public distinction between Founder Welch and members of his Society has covered up his personal involvement with Welch in 1959 -- three years after he rejected Welch's manuscript and four years before Bell's book. The occasion was a public display of what was later learned to be a JBS "front" called the Committee Against Summit Entanglements.

Goldwater's name appeared as a member of the 15-man Executive Committee, surrounded by 13 names who were later identified with the John Birch Society.

The Committee sponsored a full-page ad in the New York Times of August 30, 1959, and in more than 100 papers throughout the country.

"Dear President Eisenhower," it began, "We cannot believe that when you agreed to the exchange of visits with Nikita Khrushchev you were aware of the following facts and considerations." These included:

Khrushchev is "the archmurderer of all recorded history"

"Every 'summit conference' in which a President of the United States has engaged with a Soviet dictator has had disastrous consequences for ourselves and the free world."

"This is war to the death..."

The ad included (1) a petition blank to clip, asking the President to avoid summit conferences as well as exchanges, (2) a request that checks be sent to the committee at Belmont 78, Mass., and (3) an incomplete list of committee members, reproduced on the following page.

Belmont 78 is the address of the John Birch Society, and of Robert Welch, who headed the ad as chairman of the Committee. The ad did not mention the John Birch Society, which was then unknown; but Welch later explained that he conceived the Committee as a Birch "front." He reproduced the ad in his Blue Book of the Birch Society, pointing to the committee as the Society's "one large national front to date" and "by far the most successful effort in this category." (page ix of footnotes for the 4th printing.)

In his introduction to The John Birch Society White Book for 1960, Welch wrote: "From the latter part of July, through all of August, September, October, and a part of November, 1959, the time of the then small office force of the Society was given over almost entirely, night and day, to the activities and then the aftermath of the Committee Against Summit Entanglements -- protesting the visit of Nikita Khrushchev as an honored guest of this nation. Not until December were we really and fully cleared away from that effort -- and from its results, which were quite encouraging in many ways, even though we did not stop Khrushchev's visit."

Part of the ad which appeared in the New York Times (8/30/59) and was included in the 1961 Blue Book is reproduced on the following page, with asterisks added for those who later were identified as JBS National Council members, Endorsers or Editorial Advisory Board members.

1959: We, The People!

Three weeks later -- September 20, 1959 -- Goldwater went to Chicago to address one of the most extreme of the right wing political and economic organizations -- We, The People! It had been organized in 1955 by Harry T. Everingham, who still is executive head, "to protect ourselves and our children from welfare state socialism which can take us into a police state, and finally dictatorship under world government." (1961 brochure) We, The People! holds annual meetings in conjunction with the income-tax repeal movement, has featured Robert Welch on its program, and has generally represented the most radical elements among the conservatives.

The March, 1960, issue of the organization's publication, Free Enterprise, printed a suggested reading list which included such notorious hate journals as Common Sense and The Cross and The Flag, then published by Conde McGinley and Gerald L. K. Smith, respectively.

The three immediate past heads of We, The People! have been:

- Billy James Hargis, head of Christian Crusade and a JBS Endorser.
- Ezra Taft Benson, who praised his son for becoming an employee of JBS and who addressed at least two Birch-sponsored meetings himself.
- Tom Anderson, a National Council member of JBS and leader of numerous other extremist groups.

The top staff man of We, The People! -- Harry Everingham -- was very active in behalf of Goldwater at the 1960 Republican Convention, in cooperation with the Courtneys. (Independent American, August, 1960)

At the time of Goldwater's major role in the organization (1959), it was headed by Congressman Ralph Gwinn (R-N. Y.), then the leading spokesman for the Committee for Constitutional Government but now deceased. The three-day program in Chicago "to end the surrender of the United States to the Communists" was loaded with extremists, including the heads of several far-right organizations:

- Dr. Billy James Hargis, head of Christian Crusade, who spoke on "Communist Influence Through Church Organizations, the U. N., the NAACP, the Unions -- A New Program to Combat It."
- Milton M. Lory, President of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, Washington, D.C.
- Merwin K. Hart, President of the National Economic Council and even then recognized as a bigot. (He was characterized a little later as a "long-time anti-Semite" by the Anti-Defamation League in its Nov.-Dec. 1961 issue of FACTS.) Hart, now deceased, was an Endorser and New York City leader of the John Birch Society.
- Mrs. Ray Erb, who had just been Chairman of the National Defense Committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR).
- Willis E. Stone, leader of the income-tax repeal movement which at that time was called the National Committee for Economic Freedom but is now the Liberty Amendment Committee, USA.

**COMMITTEE AGAINST SUMMIT ENTANGLEMENTS**  
**385 CONCORD AVENUE**  
**BELMONT 78, MASSACHUSETTS**

**Chairmen**

x Robert Welch

**Vice Chairmen**

x Spruille Braden

x Wm. J. Grede

x Alfred Kohlberg

x Clarence Manion

x A. C. Wedemeyer

**Executive Committee**

x Thomas J. Anderson

x Robert B. Dresser

x Bonner Fellers

x Barry Goldwater

x Norman J. Gould

x R. P. Hamilton

x A. G. Heishohn, Jr.

x Roger Milliken

x Robert H. Montgomery

x Cole G. Parker

x Samuel B. Penningill

x J. Nelson Shepherd

x Robert W. Stoddard

x Ernest G. Swigert

x Elizabeth W. Wilson

**National Board**

x T. Coleman Andrews

x George W. Armstrong, Jr.

x John U. Barr

x Brent Botell

x Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

x Laurence E. Bunker

x H. G. Carpenter

x F. Gano Chance

x James L. Coker

x Kenneth W. Colegrove

x Stillwell J. Conner

x Kent Courtney

x W. J. Bryan Dorn

x S. M. Draskovich

x Pierre S. du Pont, 3rd

x Franklin Farrel, Jr.

x Dorothy B. Frankston

x J. H. Gipson, Sr.

x Rev. Richard Ginder

x Hope Gray

x Earl Harding

x A. Brooks Harlow

x Mervyn K. Hart

x B. E. Hutchinson

Howard E. Kershner

Joseph S. Kimmel, Sr.

x Fred C. Koch

x J. Bracken Lee

x F. P. Loock

x Ross Martin

Joseph Matt

x N. Floyd McGowin

x W. L. McGrath

x Ludwig von Mises

x Revilo P. Oliver

x Florence Post

x Louis Ruthenburg

x Morrie Ryskind

x T. G. W. Settle

x Olive Simes

x Wint Smith

x Robert B. Snowden

x Suzanne Silvercrus Stevenson

x Louis K. Timolat

x George M. Tisdale

x W. H. Wilbur

x George H. Williamson

*(Listing Incomplete)*

(From advertisement N. Y. Times 8/30/59)

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1:55 P.M. — **INTRODUCTION** — **Robert B. Snowden**, Memphis, Tenn., Chairman, The Campaign for the 48 States and Trustee, A.C.A.  
 2:00 P.M. — **Senator Barry Goldwater** — "How to Win a Non-Partisan Victory for Freedom"

**Senator Barry Goldwater (R., Ariz.)** has become the patriot's patriot — he is as courageous as he is conservative — as American as he is humble. He is a giant among pygmies — a statesman for the ages among petty demagogues. His re-election campaign of 1958 produced the formula for American freedom.



Senator Goldwater

(from page 6 of 1959 We, The People! program)

-- Robert B. Snowden, Chairman of the Campaign for the 48 States, a defunct group which was organized in 1955 by Congressman Gwinn and was the predecessor of Americans for Constitutional Action. Snowden, a Memphis feed manufacturer, was the first Finance Chairman of ACA (Denver Post 1/22/59) and has been associated with numerous far-right groups, including being an Endorser of the John Birch Society. The letter-

head of the Campaign for the 48 States included at least 16 people who could later be identified with the John Birch Society, notably Robert Welch himself.

A report of Goldwater's speech is reproduced on the following page from the Chicago Tribune of September 20, 1959:



Chicago Daily Tribune  
November 22, 1960  
Page 12

## CONSERVATIVE VOTERS TOLD TO HOLD TOGETHER

### Sen. Goldwater Warns We, the People!

Sen. Barry Goldwater (R., Ariz.) told the fifth annual convention of We the People! in the La Salle hotel Saturday that conservatives in America must stick together.

"We are all conservatives," he told an audience of nearly 800 delegates from every state, "but we cannot accomplish our goals by words alone—it is going to take action at the polls."

#### Must Recognize Danger

"We have to stop the attitude of not voting because we do not agree 100 per cent with another conservative's point of view. We should be equally aware of the danger that exists in our own coun-

try from radicals who are trying daily to destroy our form of government and our system of economy."

Concerning the visit of the Russian premier, Nikita Khrushchev, to the United States, Goldwater said:

"It is nice of Mr. Khrushchev to come over, but from the cool reception he has received so far, it looks as tho the only sympathetic audience he will have will be in San Francisco with Reuther and Carey."

#### Would End Relations

This was an allusion to a prospective meeting with Walter Reuther, boss of the AFL-CIO United Automobile Workers, and to James Carey, boss of the AFL-CIO United Electrical Workers.

Goldwater said he would like to see the United States withdraw its recognition of Russia, but added that the likelihood of such action was reduced with the defeat of a number of conservative congressmen in the last election. These defeats came, he said, "because a lot of conservative voters decided to stay home." \* \* \*

The Tribune had reported the previous day that many of the 800 attending the annual meeting wore black mourning bands in protest against President Eisenhower's invitation to Nikita Khrushchev, then in the United States, and that Billy James Hargis, the keynote speaker, had denounced the invitation as the "greatest victory for any enemy of America since Pearl Harbor." Another speaker who preceded Goldwater on the program was Revilo P. Oliver, the Illinois University professor, a leading writer and speaker for the John Birch Society.

### 1960: Radical right activity at the Chicago Convention

As Republican delegates gathered in Chicago for their July, 1960, National Convention, Richard M. Nixon was the leading contender for the party's nomination to succeed President Eisenhower, but there was maneuvering for Vice President and a dispute between liberals and conservatives over the platform.

There were "four separate Goldwater committees...on hand" at the time in Chicago, according to a right-wing author, M. Stanton Evans, in his Revolt on the Campus, (Regnery, 1961, page 94) His account is confirmed by press coverage of the period, which also indicates that all four groups cooperated to a substantial degree and that Goldwater was personally involved in at least some of their activities. The four Goldwater groups will be dealt with separately:

(a) Kent Courtney, of New Orleans, staged the major Goldwater rally, working closely with Harry Everingham of extremist We, The People!, which Goldwater had addressed the year before. (See pages 4 and 5) Courtney and his wife, Phoebe, run the Conservative Society of America and a far-right newspaper, The Independent American. Courtney is also a Birch Society leader.

The year before, Courtney had sparked a meeting in Chicago to form a third party to the right of the GOP. Banquet speakers were Robert Welch, Founder of the John Birch Society, and William Buckley, Editor of National Review; other speakers included Birchers Tom Anderson, Bryton Barron, Medford Evans, J. Bracken Lee and Revilo P. Oliver, together with Dan Smoot and David Moltrop, a frequent speaker for so-called right-to-work laws and against cooperatives.

Courtney was to revert to his third party efforts in 1961, after Goldwater's withdrawal at the 1960 Convention (he said Goldwater "has been tainted by Socialism"), but he was extremely active for Goldwater on the eve of the Chicago convention (and again at San Francisco four years later). The Courtney rally for Goldwater, held at the Morrison Hotel on Sunday, July 24th, the day before the Convention, featured Robert Welch, Founder, and Tom Anderson, National Council member of the John Birch Society. In addition, there was a surprise speech from former Senator William Jenner, a leading supporter of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy.

One of Courtney's chief helpers in this operation was Medford Evans, a Birch Society leader and formerly associated with H. L. Hunt's old Facts Forum, National Review and Human Events. (Later, Evans sat with Gen. Edwin Walker at the "muzzling" hearings conducted by the U. S. Senate and now works for the White Citizens Councils.)

Another significant person, who was on the platform at the Courtney-staged rally to report to the audience, was Aubrey Barker, a GOP delegate from Arizona and co-chairman of the "Goldwater Coordinating Committee," described below. Courtney conducted a big Goldwater petition campaign and supplied many of the Goldwater placards used at the convention. He published a full page of rally pictures in the August, 1960, issue of his Independent American, together with the speeches of Welch and Jenner. (See also Chicago Daily News, 7/19/60, and Tribune 7/22/60, as well as Evans' book, supra, page 96.)

(b) Youth for Goldwater for Vice-President was the immediate forerunner of Young Americans for Freedom, as is made clear by author Evans. (See especially pages 108-9; YAF is described a little later.) This group was headed by Robert Croll, as President, and Douglas Caddy, as Secretary-Treasurer. (Chicago Daily News 7/6/60, New York Times 7/23/60, and Chicago Tribune 7/25/60 & 7/26/60) Others listed by Evans as Executive Committee members were David Franke, Robert Harley, Richard Noble, and John Weicher. (page 89) Of these, Caddy, Croll, Franke, Harley and Noble very soon became leaders of YAF, along with others who had been active in Youth for Goldwater. (Evans, pages 109-110) At Chicago, these young people furnished much of the volunteer work at the several Goldwater headquarters and for the demonstration



on the floor when Goldwater was nominated.

(c) Goldwater for President Coordinating Committee evidently furnished the direct contact with the convention floor. Its co-chairmen were Gregory D. Shorey, Jr., Chairman of the South Carolina delegation to the Convention, and Aubrey Barker (Chicago Tribune 7/23/60), mentioned above as an Arizona delegate and participant in the Courtney rally. Headquarters were maintained in the LaSalle Hotel, and Shorey told newsmen "he was keeping in constant touch with Mr. Goldwater." New York Times 7/26/60)

(d) Americans for Goldwater: This appears to have been the major effort and the one to which the Senator lent his personal prestige. Its formation was announced July 6th by Reginald Mitchell, its press contact who has also been press contact in Washington for Admiral Ben Moreell's Americans for Constitutional Action and General Bonner Fellers' Citizens Foreign Aid Committee. The announcement (New York Times 7/7/60 and Chicago Daily News 7/7/60) was made in the name of two very significant co-chairmen: Clarence Manion, a National Council member of the John Birch Society and long-time leader of ultraconservative movements, and Frank C. Brophy, another JBS Council Member, from Phoenix, Arizona. Brophy is also active in several other far-right groups.

The close tie between this movement and the Senator himself is demonstrated by the fact that his daughter Peggy was guest of honor at the opening of the headquarters and that Goldwater held his press conference there the following day. (Chicago Tribune 7/20/60 and Daily News 7/21/60)

As is well recorded in history, Goldwater withdrew after his nomination as Vice President and a big floor demonstration, throwing his support to the Nixon-Lodge ticket. One of his nationally-televised remarks on that occasion (July 27) was to become especially significant for at least the next four years: "Let's grow up, conservatives, if we want to take this party back, and I think we can someday. Let's get to work."

#### 1960: Young Americans for Freedom (YAF)

This appeal or injunction of Goldwater's blossomed very soon into a full-scale organization. In fact, Goldwater met with the Youth for Goldwater leaders right after the convention to thank them for their role in the demonstrations and suggested that they form a national organization for young conservatives. (William Dunphy in Commonweal 4/14/61) The result was formation of Young Americans for Freedom a couple of months later at the Sharon, Connecticut, family estate of the Buckleys, but there were several preliminary steps of importance.

YAF had a sort of antecedent in a movement conceived near the end of 1959 in a Washington restaurant by two student conservatives who wanted to counteract a move to repeal the loyalty oath required of students getting aid from the National Defense Education Act. They started the National Student Committee for the Loyalty Oath -- and a lot more besides. The students were Douglas Caddy, who was then head of the College Young Republicans in the D. C. area, and David Franke, who was editor of The Individualist, newsletter of the Intercol-

legiate Society of Individualists, and of The Campus Republican, organ of the national College Young Republicans. Both contacted friends among young conservatives, and the resulting movement received considerable credit for beating repeal of the oath that session of Congress.

This beginning, and much more history of related movements, is recounted with candor by M. Stanton Evans, a leader of the movement and now Editor of the ultra-conservative Indianapolis News, in his 1961 book, Revolt on the Campus, which was published by Regnery with a strong jacket blurb from Senator Goldwater.

It was now 1960, and both parties were engaged in the preliminaries of choosing their candidates for the White House. The next step occurred at Des Moines, Iowa, in April of 1960, at a meeting of the Midwest Federation of College Young Republican Clubs at which Goldwater supporters narrowly lost an internal struggle over offices but succeeded in endorsing the Senator for Vice President. (Evans, supra, p. 88) A delegate from Illinois, Robert Croll, called Caddy, Franke and others in the Loyalty Oath Committee and organized "Youth for Goldwater for Vice-President" one month after the Des Moines meeting.

The exploits of this hard-working band of young conservatives has been recounted in the preceding pages, as part of the Chicago Convention rallies for Goldwater; of more lasting significance is the post-convention founding of Young Americans for Freedom.

As Evans tells it (Chapter VI, supra), leaders of the Youth for Goldwater remained in Chicago a few days, gathered in the Pick-Congress Hotel and decided to call a national meeting of their like-minded conservatives to utilize the momentum of the Convention: "Accordingly, on the weekend of September 9-11, 1960, more than one hundred young conservatives, representing forty-four colleges, assembled in Sharon, Connecticut, at the family home of William F. Buckley, Jr. In two days...the conference emerged with a new organization called 'Young Americans for Freedom' (address: 79 Madison Ave., New York City)."

This was the address of Marvin Liebman, right-wing public relations specialist, YAF later moved to Washington, D.C., but its first Executive Director, Douglas Caddy, who worked with Liebman, was also Executive Director of the Committee for Public Affairs of the McGraw-Edison Company, headed by Charles Edison, a big supporter of numerous right-wing causes and a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of the Birch magazine, American Opinion. Edison is a member of YAF's National Advisory Committee and has written to various members of Congress urging them to join the same group. (letter of 3/29/61)

YAF decided not to endorse the Nixon-Lodge ticket in the 1960 election, although members were left free to do so, but it plunged into right-wing chores. It supported the House Un-American Activities Committee by picketing the White House and started a magazine called The New Guard, edited by Lee Edwards, then a press assistant to Senator John Marshall Butler (R-Md.) and later publicity director for the Draft Goldwater Committee and a press assistant in the Republican National Committee after the 1964 Convention. The Managing

Editor, Carol Dawson Bauman, was an original Director of YAF -- with her husband, Robert -- and later went with Edwards to a big campaign position.

Among contributors to the magazine have been William Schulz and Allan Ryskind, employed by Human Events; Carl T. McIntire, who has worked with his father, Rev. Carl McIntire, on right-wing projects; and Scott Stanley, Jr., who soon became Managing Editor of American Opinion, the John Birch Society magazine.

One who became a very active Director of YAF was Fulton Lewis III (Buddy), son of radio commentator Fulton Lewis, Jr., and narrator of the controversial film "Operation Abolition" which was produced by the House Un-American Activities Committee, for which he then worked. Lewis later became the chief speech writer for Goldwater's running mate, William Miller. Another YAF officer, Secretary Marilyn Manion, is the daughter of Clarence Manion, who operates his own Forum and is active in numerous groups including the John Birch Society.

In 1960, YAF sponsored a big rally in New York's Manhattan Center which gave awards to William Buckley, novelist Taylor Caldwell (who writes frequently for American Opinion), the Republic of China, the House Un-American Activities Committee, the McGraw-Edison Company and others. The main speaker was Barry Goldwater, who got a thunderous ovation. (pages 121-122 of Evans, supra)

In 1961, YAF sponsored an even more ambitious rally in Madison Square Garden, built around Moise Tshombe, then head of the secessionist Katanga Province of the Congo and chief thorn in the side of U.S. and U.N. activities in that country. The U. S. government refused to let Tshombe come for the rally, and YAF also lost Senator Dodd (because he felt the rally had taken on political tones) after ex-General Walker was cancelled as a speaker because he had entered the Texas primary for Governor. However, some 18,000 people came to hear Senators Goldwater and Tower, along with Brent Bozell of National Review (who urged an "immediate landing in Havana"), and to see awards given to the Deering Milliken Company, Prof. Ludwig von Mises, John Wayne, Charles Edison, Prof. Richard Weaver, Senator Strom Thurmond, John Dos Passos, Marvin Liebman, M. Stanton Evans, Herbert Hoover and Tshombe. Deering Milliken's award was received by Roger Milliken, an Endorser of the John Birch Society; von Mises and Edison are on the Editorial Advisory Committee of the JBS magazine.

The high point of the evening was the welcome for Goldwater, whose appearance was greeted by a rendition of "Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory of the Coming of the Lord." (See Washington Star 3/8/62 and New York Times 3/8/62 in general)

More recently, the energies of YAF have been largely absorbed in the Goldwater drive. (The September, 1964, New Guard tells about seven YAF leaders who have high positions in the Goldwater-Miller campaign.) However, it has taken on a few other causes which illustrate its extremist nature.

In May of 1963, National Chairman Robert Bauman sent out a kit of materials to members which included: (1) a petition to Congress urging the proclamation of National Flag Week "at the request of Mr. Gilbert Durand of

Los Angeles...." Durand is an actively anti-communist businessman who cooperates with several right-wing groups.

(2) Advance registration forms for the 6th Human Events Political Action Conference, to be called "Operation Young America" and conducted cooperatively with YAF.

(3)'A special informational pamphlet from the National Right-to-Work Committee," along with the recommendation that "you or your local YAF group contact the Committee or subscribe to their many excellent publications."

A letter to YAF members from two national officers in February of 1963 stated that "no greater hoax has ever been perpetrated on the American people than the so-called 'settlement' of the Cuban problem" and announced that "on behalf of YAF we have consented to serve on the Committee for the Monroe Doctrine headed by one of the truly great living Americans, Captain Eddie Rick-enbacker." This was another Liebman operation, whose list of members included at least a dozen Birch Society members.

YAF's National Advisory Board, which is printed frequently on the back of its stationery, is adult and far-right in nature. It includes some dozen National Review staffers and contributors, ultraconservative Congressmen, leading conservative writers and speakers, a sizable number of professors, the usual representation of retired military men, and a score of known Birch Society supporters. In addition, the list included heads of far-right organizations such as Frank Chodorov, then head of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists; Dr. Carl McIntire, head of the Twentieth Century Reformation Hour; and Admiral Ben Moreell, Chairman of Americans for Constitutional Action, whose voting records are regularly mailed out with the YAF Washington Report and whose supporters interlock substantially with the Birch Society. Goldwater is also listed on the Advisory Board in a gross understatement of his real position.

The latest YAF announcement -- Sept. 21, 1964 -- tells of joining a new campaign group to be called Young Americans for Goldwater-Miller (YAF-GM) and assured members that this "should not in any way diminish our constant activity in the conservative movement which will last long after the elections of 1964."



"I consider Young Americans for Freedom and the excellent work it has been doing to be of great importance to the future of our country. I am particularly gratified that YAF has been one of the most responsible political action groups in the nation. The future of the young conservative movement depends in a large part on Young Americans for Freedom."

SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER

(From a 1964 YAF brochure)

1961-1962: The draft Goldwater movement

The secret Chicago meeting: On December 3, 1961, the national press began discovering that a secret meeting had been held the day before in Chicago's Essex Motel to plan a drive to draft Barry Goldwater for President and start raising money for it. Actually, plans for the meeting had been made at a similar session in Chicago on October 8, according to William Rusher, Publisher of National Review, whose long article about the movement was bannered on the cover of the August 11, 1964, issue of that magazine as "Suite 3505: the inside story of how, when and where the Goldwater candidacy was conceived and launched." Rusher purported to have been in on the maneuvers and was certainly a friendly reporter -- so friendly, in fact, that he named only a handful of the 55 or more involved as a concession to their privacy.

F. Clifton White was chosen to direct the draft movement (and he set up unlabeled headquarters in Suite 3505 of a New York office building). White had been a political science teacher at Cornell, a bureau chief in the Thomas Dewey Administration of New York, and a professional conductor of programs to get businessmen active in the party of their choice. The latter activity started with the Effective Citizens Organization (ECO), then he helped set up an enterprise called Public Affairs Counsellors, Inc., whose clients included the American Farm Bureau Federation, among others. He directed the Citizens for Nixon and Lodge in 1960; and, after the 1964 GOP Convention, he became Director of the Citizens for Goldwater and Miller.

During 1962, White and his band of supporters worked constantly to get Goldwater into the Presidential campaign, including work on the Senator himself. They operated quietly, and even claim to have been rebuffed by Goldwater at least once, until about February 17, 1963, when the executive committee met and decided to "draft" the Senator. It named one of its members -- Peter O'Donnell, the Texas Republican Chairman -- to serve as Chairman of the National Draft Goldwater Committee. A press conference in Washington on April 8, 1963, made it official, and White moved from Suite 3505 to the Nation's Capital to work in the open.

O'Donnell is a Dallas investment man who has supported several right-wing movements. He is a trustee of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, an ultraconservative training ground; is on the National Advisory Board of Young Americans for Freedom, organized to put Goldwater in the White House; is a Sponsor of the American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters, a Marvin Liebman operation; a member of the Contribution Policies Committee of the American Security Council; a Trustee of the American Enterprise Institute; and was a speaker at a Human Events Political Action Conference in July of 1961. In addition, through his O'Donnell Foundation, he has supported the American Enterprise Institute and its affiliated Institute for Social Science Research, as well as the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists and the National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship, a financial underwriter of Human Events for several years.

There is no complete agreement among published reports on the list of 55 who attended the secret meeting, but it is apparent that it was a mixture of the conservative wing of the GOP, mere observers and active right wingers,

(Chicago Sun-Times 12/4/62, Chicago Tribune 12/4/62 and Advance magazine, Spring 1963) Some of the more significant included:

-- Jeremiah Milbank, Jr. and William Middendorf, who became key money raisers and stayed on in that capacity after Goldwater was nominated. (Milbank is discussed further below in Section III on the campaign staff.)

-- Robert Morris, former Counsel to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, first President of Defenders of American Liberty, former President of Dallas University, and unsuccessful primary opponent of Senator Clifford Case (R-N.J.) in 1960. Morris once addressed a large John Birch Society meeting (Los Angeles Times 1/13/61)

-- Roger Milliken, an Endorser of the John Birch Society whose firm advertises in National Review; and Gerrish Milliken, a director of the firm and contributor to Americans for Constitutional Action and Intercollegiate Society of Individualists.

-- Charles R. Barr, Chairman of the Effective Citizens Organization and Administrative Assistant to the President of Standard Oil of Indiana.

-- Mrs. Patricia Hutar, a leader in the Young Republicans, who became Assistant Chairman of the Republican National Committee in charge of women's activities after Goldwater's nomination.

-- Peter F. O'Donnell, Jr., Texas State Republican Chairman who became Chairman of the resulting Draft Goldwater Committee.

-- Congressman John M. Ashbrook (R-Ohio), who is active in YAF and other right wing groups.

-- James D. Martin, who narrowly missed defeating Lister Hill (D-Ala.) for the U.S. Senate the month before.

-- Wirt Yerger, Mississippi State Republican Chairman.

-- Ione F. Harrington, Indiana National GOP Committee-woman, who became Assistant Director of the Draft Goldwater Committee and head of women's activities for Citizens for Goldwater-Miller.

Congressman John Rousselot, who was then a public member of the Birch Society and had just been defeated for re-election to Congress, was invited but did not attend.

The intermingling of recognized Republican Party leaders with right-wing activists continued throughout 1963 and into 1964, sometimes very quietly but occasionally with a flurry of national press attention. For example, the District of Columbia Young Republicans suddenly found "Buz" Lukens, a Goldwater booster, as its President, then the national press discovered at the next national convention of the Young Republicans that Lukens was running the whole organization.

Meanwhile, the primary battles between Gov. Rockefeller, as the "liberal" challenger, and Goldwater, as "Mister Conservative," ran inconclusively through New Hampshire, Wisconsin and Oregon; then it came to a real show-down in the big and final state of California. The story of the



California battle is extremely significant -- and was apparently decisive in putting Goldwater across at the 1964 GOP National Convention, which happened to be held in the same state.

1963-64: The California Primary --  
a case study of the radical right in action

Top Goldwater aide, Richard Kleindienst, characterized the successful California primary of 1964 in a few direct words: "All those little old ladies in tennis shoes that you called the right-wing nuts and kooks," he told a reporter, "They're the best volunteer political organization that's ever been put together, and they proved it today." (Quoted by David Broder in the Washington Star, 7/16/64)

The central significance of Kleindienst's words would probably have been concurred in by the defeated Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, who had warned the previous year that "vociferous and well-drilled extremist elements" were "embarked on a determined and ruthless effort to take over the party, its platform and its candidates."

California in 1963 had been the locale for the seizure of power in the Young Republican movement by the Birch-endorsed elements (see Evans and Novak column in N.Y. Herald-Tribune 8/29/63); in 1964 it was to be the scene of Goldwater's key victory.

The coalition between the candidate and the far-right dated at least back to September, 1963, when Goldwater announced formation of a California advisory committee "to help him decide whether to enter the Presidential primary there." (N. Y. Times 9/21/63) The 23-man group included the following, in addition to former Sen. William F. Knowland:

Peter J. Pitchess, Vice-Chairman -- Pitchess, Los Angeles sheriff, had been on the Board of Advisors of the December, 1961 "Project Alert" at which one speaker had urged the hanging of Chief Justice Warren (subsequently apologizing), and another had proposed that the U. S. drop the "outmoded shackles of democracy" in order to win the cold war. (Quoted by Brooks Walker, The Christian Right Peddlers, pp. 220-1) More recently Pitchess has been California Chairman of Project Prayer, one of the lobbies pushing for a constitutional amendment to reverse the recent Supreme Court decision on school prayers. ("Project Prayer" shared a large number of Advisors with the earlier "Project Alert.")

Donald Jackson -- former Republican Congressman and member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. After his retirement from Congress Jackson headed an organization called Anti-Communist Voters League, set up to judge candidates on their "awareness" of the Communist threat. (President and chief financier of the League was Henry Salvatori -- see below.) Since 1963, Jackson has been closely associated with D. B. Lewis, the pet-food manufacturer who is an Endorser of the Birch Society and Dan Smoot's leading sponsor. Jackson narrated the Lewis-financed film, "Katanga: The Untold Story" and now has a regular radio program, "America Has the Right to Know," sponsored by Lewis's firm.

Walter Knott -- A leading figure on the right, Knott is Treasurer of the income-tax-repeal organization, Liberty Amendment Committee of the U.S.A.; an advisor to

Billy James Hargis' Christian Crusade; and a leading financial supporter of several right-wing causes (as well as having set up his own California Free Enterprise Association). Knott was one of the select group attending a 2-day, private, seminar in Pasadena conducted by Birch Society head Robert Welch in January, 1962. (Pasadena Independent 1/14/62) Knott was a contributor to the 1962 campaign for re-election of admitted Birch Society member, John Rousselot. Subsequently, it was at Walter Knott's "Berry Farm and Ghost Town," near Los Angeles, that Goldwater wound up his drive for the California nomination with a rally that featured Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer. (Washington Star 6/1/64)

Albert C. Rubel -- Rubel was reported as one of the campaign contributors of H. L. Richardson, an admitted John Birch Society member, who ran for Congress in 1962.

Joseph C. Shell -- Shell ran against Nixon for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in 1962. Shell said once that, "The middle of the road is 75 per cent socialism" (Los Angeles Times 3/8/62), and has spoken approvingly of the John Birch Society (e.g. N. Y. Times 6/3/62).

Col. Fred G. Sherrill -- Col. Sherrill is on the Committee of Endorsers of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (which opposes foreign aid and is headed by Birch endorser Bonner Fellers).

All 23 of the Goldwater Advisory Committee were later to be official delegates on his slate, except for Jackson and Leland Kaiser, both of whom were candidates for the Senatorial nomination in the primary (both losing to actor George Murphy, still another conservative).

The coalition continued to be in evidence the following March when the Goldwater campaign in southern California was "kicked off" with a huge dinner at the Los Angeles Sports Arena. Joe Shell was the Vice-Chairman and Knott, Pitchess and Rubel were all members of the dinner committee. In addition it included the following (from advertisement, Los Angeles Times 3/10/64):

Master of Ceremonies, Ronald Reagan -- Actor Reagan is a favorite speaker on right-wing circuits and has called for repeal of the income tax. Organizationally, he has expressed his support for Young Americans for Freedom, Fred Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, and the December, 1961, Project Alert referred to previously. He was campaign chairman for Loyd Wright in his effort to unseat Republican Senator Thomas Kuchel in the 1962 primary.

State Finance Chairman, Henry Salvatori -- As noted earlier, Salvatori, an oil man, was President of the Anti-Communist Voters League operated by former Congressman Jackson. He also was a sponsor of the American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters and is one of Fred Schwarz's leading supporters.

Mr. and Mrs. Fritz Burns -- Mr. Burns has identified himself as a supporter of the John Birch Society and his wife as "an ardent member." (Los Angeles Times 8/28/62)



Of the above, Mrs. Burns, Harold Levering, Dr. J. Lafe Ludwig, Henry Salvatori, and Loyd Wright were all to be Goldwater delegates to the GOP convention, and Ronald Reagan was to be an alternate. Still other Goldwater delegates with ties to the right-wing were:

Within weeks of the formal nomination of Barry Goldwater at San Francisco, an appropriate footnote had been written to the California story when the chairmanship of the state GOP passed to a Goldwater supporter, Dr. Gaylord Parkinson, of San Diego -- still another member of the far-right Association of American Physicians and Surgeons. (5/21/64 letterhead)

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A telegram from Goldwater to Billy James Hargis, reproduced by the latter in his Christian Crusade magazine for Sept. 1962, reassured Hargis that the Senator had not criticized anti-communist groups, as had been reported by Inez Robb.

## II. Goldwater's affiliations with right-wing groups

In the 12 years that Senator Goldwater has been on the national scene, he has made hundreds of appearances of all kinds and has joined several movements of significance to his position in the far-right spectrum. To summarize the preceding section it included pertinent documented references to the following groups:

Human Events and its Political Action Conferences

(pages 1, 2)

National Review and its cluster of activist writers

(pages 2, 3)

John Birch Society and its major "front," the Committee Against Summit Entanglements (pages 3, 4, 5)

We, The People! and groups which meet with it (pages 4, 5, 6)

Kent Courtney's complex (page 6)

Young Americans for Freedom (pages 6, 7, 8)

In addition to all of those, which figure prominently in the origins of the Goldwater drive for the Presidency, there are several groups which he has joined or otherwise affiliated with overtly, as well as a few other right-wing leaders who should be mentioned because of his affiliation with them.

Intercollegiate Society of Individualists: One of Goldwater's syndicated columns during 1961 praised this organization as a leader in the conservative revolution on campuses across the country. He recited its growth and printed its address to encourage more. (Denver Post 4/3/61)

ISI was founded in the early 1950's by Frank Chodorov, a favorite author and activist in the far right, perhaps best known for his book Income Tax -- Root of All Evil, published about that time. Chodorov's numerous affiliations have included Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council, We, The People!, and YAF. William Buckley, Jr., preceded Chodorov briefly as President of ISI.

Two organizations helped Chodorov get started -- Human Events and the Foundation for Economic Education at Irvington-on-Hudson. ISI has since produced a significant number of bright, hard-working, young leaders of the right-wing movement, including Edwin McDowell, a Goldwater biographer and an original Birch Society Endorser who later left.

Goldwater's column included: "This group of young determined idealists holds the right of private property as the best bulwark of freedom. They argue that unemployment should be alleviated by charity and that children should obey the Biblical command to honor parents by caring for them in their old age instead of leaving the responsibility to the Social Security Administration."

An ISI brochure of 1962, the next year, lists an Advisory Committee of adults which includes Peter O'Donnell, soon to become head of the Draft Goldwater Committee. About one-third of its members were also leaders of the John Birch Society.

Marvin Liebman complex: Many of the right-wing operations in the foreign policy field are run by a New York

public relations man, Marvin Liebman, who specializes in producing full-page newspaper ads, letterhead committees and public rallies. His office, at 79 Madison Avenue, is used by the following groups:

Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations, American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters, American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange, American Jewish League Against Communism (Liebman is an ex-communist), Emergency Committee for Chinese Refugees, Committee for the Monroe Doctrine (for a harder line in Cuba), and National Committee Against the Treaty of Moscow (the test-ban treaty). In addition, YAF originally shared offices with Liebman, and Dr. Fred C. Schwarz used the quarters when he started organizing his Madison Square Garden rally. Also, Liebman used his office for the National Committee for the Reelection of Walter H. Judd, the former Minnesota Republican Congressman who became President of a Liebman organization -- the American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange -- after his defeat in 1962.

Also at 79 Madison Avenue is Communications Distribution, Inc., which has advertised in National Review and American Opinion a film on the war in Katanga and which distributed a film story of YAF. An ad for the latter begins: "Are You Looking at the Next President? You may be, when you see Barry Goldwater in a new motion picture..."

Liebman's activities include three that Goldwater has supported:

(1) Young Americans for Freedom. Liebman was present at the Sharon founding and YAF was at first operated by Douglas Caddy at 79 Madison Avenue from the same desk at which he served the McGraw-Edison Company's Committee for Public Affairs. Charles Edison, Board Chairman of McGraw-Edison and an Editorial Advisor for American Opinion, supports numerous Liebman enterprises. Conversely, in 1963, Liebman organized a Charles Edison Dinner in honor of the ACA Treasurer. Goldwater's role in YAF has been detailed earlier.

(2) Committee of One Million (Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations) was organized in 1953 and has remained fairly active since that time in the cause described in its title. Liebman is Secretary and chief executive of the group; its steering committee includes several leading Democrats and Republicans, both in and out of Congress. Goldwater is no longer listed as a member, but he was for a number of years. For instance, he was a signer of the Committee's full-page ad in the Feb. 20, 1961, Washington Post and appeared on the organization's historical brochure distributed in 1961.

(3) American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters was created at a lunch meeting December 9, 1961, of William Buckley, Jr., James Burnham, another editor of National Review, and Marvin Liebman. (Peter Edson in the Washington Daily News 12/21/61) The new Committee ran a full-page ad in the New York Times (12/14/61) urging "rejection and defiance of the United Nations' despotic policy" in the Congo at a time when the United States was supporting the U. N. efforts there

to stop the secession of Katanga Province.

Officers were drawn largely from National Review personalities, but an additional list of sponsors included at least 10 leaders of the John Birch Society. Eight of these names did not appear in the next ad, though some reappeared in later ads. Barry Goldwater's name appeared on a letterhead as recently as January 11, 1963 (reproduced below), and on two full-page newspaper ads. (Washington Post 8/3/62 and 1/9/63)

## AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR AID TO KATANGA FREEDOM FIGHTERS

SUITE 909 • 79 MADISON AVE. • NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 5-0190

### CHAIRMAN

Dr. Max Yergan

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.  
James Burnham  
Eugene Lyons  
Frank S. Meyer  
William A. Rusher  
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Sen. Barry Goldwater  
Prof. Mark Graubard  
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(Partial List)

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Rep. Donald Bruce  
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Sen. James O. Eastland  
Max Eastman  
Hon. Charles Edison  
Julius Epstein  
M. Stanton Evans  
Lawrence Fertig  
John M. Fisher  
Prof. William Fleming  
Clifford Forster

Joseph Mitchell: In the middle of 1961, a national controversy was created by the City Manager of Newburgh, New York, Joseph McD. Mitchell, at his announcement of a sharp crack-down in the welfare and relief program. Mitchell's plan was so drastic as to require the Governor of New York, Nelson Rockefeller, to seek an injunction against putting it into effect. (For an article about the suit, which went against Newburgh, and about the 13-point Mitchell program, see the New York Times of Dec. 20, 1961.)

As the Mitchell controversy ricocheted around the country, its author visited Senator Barry Goldwater in Washington after which Goldwater endorsed the Mitchell program with great enthusiasm. (N. Y. Times 7/19/61)

He described his meeting with Mitchell as "one American's admiration for another to protect my taxes" and declared: "I don't like to see my taxes paid for children born out of wedlock, I'm tired of professional chiselers walking up and down the streets who don't work and have no intention of working. I would like to see every city in the country adopt the plan."

This was reported in the newspapers, but what was not so fully reported was the letter which Goldwater had written Mitchell two weeks earlier -- on July 5, 1961. It was printed in Human Events and reprinted with credit in the August, 1961, Bulletin of the John Birch Society, along with instructions to Society members for writing letters in support of Mitchell.

Reading the account of Mitchell's stand on "welfarism," Goldwater began, was as "refreshing as breathing the clean air of my native Arizona. This took courage on your part, but it is the kind of courage that must be displayed across this nation if we are to survive. . . My thanks to you as an American for this act and more power to you." (Underscore added by Robert Welch)

About two years later, Mitchell announced that he was resigning to go to work for the John Birch Society. Soon thereafter he announced that he had changed his mind about JBS, but he did leave Newburgh and sought another city manager's job. Then, in 1964, it was disclosed that Mitchell had gone to work as full-time organizer for the (White) Citizen's Councils, the arch-segregationist group headquartered in Jackson, Miss., as organizer for a three-state area around Washington, D. C. He is still so employed. (The Citizen, July-Aug. 1964)

Daughters of the American Revolution: Goldwater addressed the annual Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), April 18, 1961.

Hubbard Russell: Goldwater inserted in the Congressional Record (1/20/64, pages 617-618) a glowing tribute to the deceased Hubbard S. Russell, Sr., whom he said he had known well, which began as follows:

"Mr. President, occasionally, as one travels the road of life, he has the unusual pleasure of walking arm in arm with men who are giants among men. . ."

The tribute, written by a friend of Russell's named Raymond S. Richmond, included this sentence: "Hub's idol of recent years, Senator Barry Goldwater, trusted him implicitly. The correspondence between the two men was never casual."

The tribute also included the facts that Russell had been an original subscriber to Human Events, was one of the organizers of For America (later run by Robert E. Wood, Col. Robert McCormick, Clarence Manion, Robert M. Harriss and J. Evetts Haley), and was "a pioneer" in the fight for the repeal of the income tax. ("For a time he served as president of the original national organization that brought the iniquities of this Karl Marx type of taxation to the attention of the American public.") It also noted that Russell had been one of the founders of the United Republicans of California, referring to a group which later helped capture the Re-



publican party for Goldwater conservatives.

**Clarence Manion:** Goldwater appeared several times on the Manion Forum, the radio-TV and pamphlet program operated by Clarence Manion. For example, he was interviewed on the January 21, 1962, program -- well after Manion had been publicly identified as a National Council member of the John Birch Society. (see below)

The Conservative Book Club, organized this year to sell more conservative books, announced its formation in right-wing publications and featured a list of sponsors which included Goldwater. Among others were editors of National Review; Dr. Howard E. Kershner, Editor of Christian Economics; and James Jackson Kilpatrick, best known as the Editor of the Richmond News-Leader and a leading register of desegregation. Kilpatrick was Vice Chairman at the time of the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, the main lobby against what became the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Americans for Constitutional Action, organized in 1958 primarily to help conservative candidates for Congress, was endorsed by Goldwater in 1960, according to ACA's report on its 1960 activities. The feeling is very mutual, for Goldwater rates 100% on the current "ACA index" of voting records -- that for 1963. (ACA news release 3/12/64) The only other 100 percenters in the Senate for that period were Carl Curtis (R-Nebr), who was Goldwater's floor manager at the 1964 convention, and John Tower (R-Texas), one of the first to push Goldwater's candidacy.

ACA interlocks quite deeply with the John Birch Society through officers and contributors.

ACA is headed by retired Admiral Ben Moreell, who is customarily the keynoter at Human Events Political Action Conferences, where Goldwater frequently speaks, and is connected with For America, Young Americans for Freedom and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists -- to name a few.

ACA's other officers are Gen. Bonner Fellers, who serves as Vice Chairman and Secretary of ACA and is an Endorser of the Birch Society, and Charles Edison, who is Treasurer and on the Editorial Advisory Board of JBS.

The financial link is supplied by the fact that many Birch members give money to ACA, which reports it to the Clerk of the House. Last year, a group of Congressmen highlighted some of the figures in the Congressional Record (5/20/63, pages 8443-8458) and the names of contributors with Birch affiliations. They concluded that in one 3-month period at least one-fifth of the ACA money came from Birchers. Goldwater has received a Distinguished Service Award from ACA both times they have been handed out -- in 1961 and 1963.



DEAN MANION

## THE MANION FORUM

SOUTH BEND, INDIANA

WEEKLY BROADCAST NO. 382

JANUARY 21, 1962

### A FLIGHT PLAN FOR FREEDOM

An interview with Senator Barry Goldwater  
and his biographer Stephen C. Shadegg

DEAN MANION: Over this microphone last week we heard a brilliant analysis of the current Conservative uprising by M. Stanton Evans, Editor of The Indianapolis News. (Manion Forum Broadcast No. 381.) That broadcast, like all others on the same subject, has underscored the great popular interest in the man who is the personification of the American Conservative movement, United States Senator Barry Goldwater, of Arizona.

Less than two years ago, just before Senator Goldwater's phenomenal book, "The Conscience of a Conservative" (Victor Publishing, Shepherdsville, Kentucky - \$3.00), appeared in the book stores, I heard from an experienced professional who had seen the manuscript. He regretted to say



Sen. B. Goldwater

Arizona Senator provided a valid image for a sentiment that his countrymen were already conditioned to express.

But it is undeniable that the right moment met the right man and that Senator Goldwater's courageous declaration of his own political conscience gave Conservatives a concise and complete frame of reference for a drive that was bound to be born.

And so the American public has come to know a great deal about Goldwater's politics. How much does it know about Goldwater's personality, his



### III. Goldwater's choice of assistants and helpers

#### (a) Staff assistants

A number of the people staffing the Goldwater-Miller campaign have ties to the organized right. They will be considered in three layers of importance.

(1) Among the top staff people, the following seem worth noting:

Dean Burch -- A former Administrative Assistant to the Senator, Burch is his hand-picked Chairman of the Republican National Committee. His only known tie with the organized right is his membership on the Electoral College Reform committee of the American Good Government Society.

This group is difficult to characterize, but its coloration is distinctly conservative. The President is Charles R. Sligh, Jr., former Executive Vice-President of the National Association of Manufacturers; the Treasurer (replacing the late Frank Hanighen of Human Events) is Harold O. Lovre, a former Republican Congressman from South Dakota; and the Secretary is J. Harvie Williams, who, back in 1930, was one of the incorporators of the late Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council (under its initial name: New York State Economic Council).

Other Trustees include: William Ingles, formerly with the Organization to Repeal Federal Income Taxes; Roger Milliken, an Endorser of the John Birch Society; and Charles S. Payson, who was a financial supporter of Hart's Economic Council, and "helped finance the isolationist Scribner's Commentator in its last years" (Arnold Forster, A Measure of Freedom, Doubleday, 1950, p. 71)

For many years the Society's major function was its annual awards to a leading Democrat and a leading Republican (in the last 5 years these have been Senators Spessard Holland, Willis Robertson and Frank Lausche, and Representatives Graham Barden and Wilbur Mills, on the Democratic side; Senators Barry Goldwater, John J. Williams and Everett Dirksen, and Representatives Charles Halleck and John Byrnes, on the Republican). In 1962, however, a major share of the Society's nearly \$84,000 budget went for a get-out-the-vote movie titled, "The Velvet Curtain." Underwriting this effort by the Society were: the American Medical Political Action Committee (\$25,000), the Conference of State Manufacturers Associations (\$17,500), and the N.A.M. (\$2,000). A subsequent report by the N.A.M., which noted that the Society had sent the film to more than 200 television stations, emphasized that it is designed "to get out the right vote," and quoted from the Associated Industries of New York, that: "The film had a real part to play in Bill Miller's campaign on the Niagara Frontier." (December, 1962, "NAM Reports")

The Society's Committee on Electoral College Reform, which counts Burch among its members, reflects AGGS's interest in lessening the importance of urban voting in presidential elections. While claiming not to have a position, the Society clearly leans toward Sen. Mundt's proposal for "reform". (See, for example, its 1961 pamphlet, "How Should the President Be Elected?"). The Committee is headed by Frank Cruger, President of the National Small Business Association (whose Research

Director, Herbert Liebenson, worked closely with the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms in the battle against the Civil Rights Act of 1964). Included on the Committee for Electoral College Reform are at least two Birch Society Endorsers: Robert Dresser and Roger Milliken.

John E. Grenier -- Now executive director of the Republican National Committee, Grenier was the southern regional director for the pre-convention Draft Goldwater Committee. Like a number of other Goldwater partisans, he came to leadership of the Republican Party in his state (Alabama) by way of the Young Republican organization. He served as a panel member at the Fifth Human Events Political Action Conference in January, 1963.

Karl Hess -- Goldwater's leading speech-writer came to him after a brief tenure at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (see below, p. 20). In earlier years, Hess had been on the mastheads, first of National Review, and then of American Mercury -- in the latter case appearing on the masthead not long after the disappearance of such names as William F. Buckley, Irene Corbally Kuhn, and J. B. Matthews, who left amidst newspaper reports (which owner Russell Maguire denied) that anti-Semitism was involved. (See Anti-Defamation League, Facts, October-November, 1959. Maguire's increasing editorial control led to the magazine's classification by ADL as flatly "an anti-Semitic publication.")

For a period of months, during 1962-63, Hess had been listed as a member of the Anti-Communist Liaison Committee which had grown out of a meeting called by Rev. Billy James Hargis, and which is headed by Edward Hunter. Hess is an experienced "ghost writer," claiming to have turned out I Was a Slave in Russia for John Noble, and Big Dam Foolishness for Elmer T. Peterson, to mention two. He is proud of being a lifetime member of the National Rifle Association and told an interviewer earlier this year: "I still think that, if everybody in Latin America had a pistol, they would have democracy." (New Republic, 8/8/64)

Wayne J. Hood -- A LaCrosse, Wisc. businessman (Trane Co. -- heating and air conditioning equipment), Hood is a former Republican state chairman. He was a state campaign chairman for the Draft Goldwater Committee and is now director of political organization for the Goldwater-Miller campaign. He has evidently been an Endorser of the Manion Forum (operated by John Birch Society Executive Committee member Clarence Manion) for a number of years (listings for 1957-1962 show a "W. J. Hood," for Wisconsin).

John Kelly -- Head of a Philadelphia public relations firm, Kelly is one of Congressman Miller's press assistants. In 1962, Kelly was one of 16 "secret field men" assigned by Americans for Constitutional Action to assist candidates which it supported. (N. Y. Times 10/22/62 and reports filed with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives)

Denison Kitchel -- An Arizona attorney, Kitchel has long been one of Goldwater's closest advisors and is now National Campaign Director for Goldwater-Miller. He is the author of Too Grave a Risk (Morrow, 1963),

on the Connally Amendment and what Sen. Goldwater, in the Foreword, calls "the World Court movement, . . . the forces that have shaped it, and . . . the sinister threat it holds for our nation's sovereignty," (p. 7. The Eisenhower Administration had taken an opposite position on the Amendment.)

Kitchel was listed by the National Association of Manufacturers as a member of their Center for the Study of Union Power (Congressional Record 10/10/62), and he has been reported as a contributor to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (\$100 in 1959).

Fulton ("Buddy") Lewis III -- Son of the noted right-wing radio commentator, "Buddy" Lewis was on the payroll of the House Committee on Un-American Activities for a while, and narrated the controversial film, "Operation Abolition." He has played a leading role in Young Americans for Freedom, serving as a Director-at-Large and as "Field Representative." Active in the pre-convention Draft Goldwater campaign, Lewis is now on the Miller staff, as a major speech writer.

Edward A. McCabe -- A Washington attorney, McCabe was general counsel of the House Labor Committee during the Republican 83rd Congress and then served on the White House staff under Eisenhower. He was Director of Research for the Draft Goldwater Committee and now holds the same post with the Republican National Committee. Like Kitchel, he was listed by the NAM as a member of its Center for the Study of Union Power.

Paul F. Wagner -- Goldwater's top press assistant for the campaign is a professional public relations man. Prior to joining his present firm, Wagner was one of the top people in the Washington office of Selva and Lee and played a leading role in that firm's effort to improve American opinions of Portugal's colonial policies in Angola. Wagner directly supervised the operation of a sort of "front" organization, the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs, headed by Martin T. Camacho. Among other things, Wagner evidently okayed a major speech by Camacho at the 1962 convention of Billy James Hargis' Christian Crusade. Wagner also accompanied a "study group" from the National Editorial Association on a visit to Angola which was arranged primarily by Selva and Lee. On the trip, he identified himself primarily as connected with a small Nebraska newspaper, rather than as an employee of Selva and Lee. (See 1963 hearings of Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "Activities of Nondiplomatic Representatives of Foreign Principals," Part 8, espec. pp. 883-4, 909 and 1007-8)

(2) Other leading staff: At the second level of the Goldwater-Miller campaign are some additional staff members worth noting.

Philip Brennan -- Currently on leave from the staff of the Republican Policy Committee in the House, to work as press secretary for the Republican "Truth Squad" in the campaign, Brennan has long written a Washington column for National Review under the pseudonym of "Cato," (Washington Post 11/24/63 and Advance Notice, January, 1964)

W. Glenn Campbell -- On leave from the Hoover Institution at Stanford, where he is Director, to work on

research for the Goldwater campaign, Campbell is another with close ties to the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (see below). Research Director at AEI from 1954-1959, he had come to it from the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. He and his wife co-authored a 1960 study for AEI on health insurance which concluded that "a substantial majority of today's aged can afford to pay for health insurance", and that King-Anderson type legislation would "push our existing cash welfare state in the direction of socialization." Campbell also represented AEI in testimony on the foreign aid program in 1957, stating: "I can see no reason for any increase in the economic aid program." Campbell continues as an adviser to AEI and as Chairman of the closely-interlocked Institute for Social Science Research (and a member of the Executive Board of its Center for Strategic Studies at Georgetown University).

Lev Dobriansky -- Reportedly the highest-paid staff man at the Republican National Committee (Washington Star 10/6/64), Dobriansky is an economics professor at Georgetown University who is perhaps best known as Chairman of the National Captive Nations Week Committee (he is working for the Republican National Committee as Vice-Chairman of the Nationalities Division). Marvin Liebman letterheads on which Dobriansky has appeared include the American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters, Committee for the Monroe Doctrine, and the National Committee Against the Treaty of Moscow. He is also an advisor to Young Americans for Freedom and available as a speaker through the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. He is economics editor for the American Security Council's Washington Report. A more extreme organization is the Committee on Pan-American Policy of Harold Lord Varney, on whose Advisory Committee Dobriansky serves. (Research Director of this organization is Charles Tansill, who writes frequently for American Opinion, and on the Advisory Committee with Dobriansky are no less than 15 persons connected publicly with the Birch Society.)

Lee Edwards -- A former press assistant to Republican Sen. John Marshall Butler, Edwards was director of public relations for the pre-convention campaign and is now deputy director of public relations for the Republican National Committee. A former Intercollegiate Society of Individualists member, he was extremely active in Young Americans for Freedom, serving both as a Director and as editor of the YAF magazine, New Guard. He is the son of the Chicago Tribune's Willard Edwards.

Patrick J. Frawley, Jr. -- Chairman of the Board of both Schick Safety Razor Co. and Technicolor, Inc., Frawley is Co-Chairman of the TV for Goldwater-Miller Committee to raise funds for TV time in the campaign. He has been one of Dr. Fred Schwarz's leading financial supporters (both directly, and through sponsorship of his firms). He also contributed \$10,000 to the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation and has supported the fundraising efforts of the American Security Council. On at least one occasion he has donated to Americans for Constitutional Action, and he serves on Marvin Liebman's Committee for the Monroe Doctrine.

Sumner Gerard -- A Republican state senator in Mon-

tana, Gerard is a deputy director in the Political Education and Training division of the Republican National Committee, with special responsibilities in the "get-out-the-vote" area. Like Dean Burch, Gerard is on the Electoral College Reform Committee of the American Good Government Society.

James Harff -- National Director of Youth for Goldwater-Miller, Harff is a former Northwestern University student and national chairman of College Young Republicans. He has also been a member of Young Americans for Freedom (New Guard, June, 1963); and For America reports a \$150 contribution from him in 1963 (report filed with Clerk, House of Representatives).

Richard L. Herman -- Herman is an Omaha, Nebr., petroleum transport executive and served as director of the pre-convention Goldwater campaign in the plains states. He is now an aide to Wayne J. Hood in the campaign and continues as a coordinator for the plains states area. Like Dean Burch and Sumner Gerard, Herman is on the Committee for Electoral College Reform of the American Good Government Society (see above, p. 15 )

Mrs. Elizabeth Iglehart -- Chairman of the Women's National Republican Campaign Committee, Mrs. Iglehart has served as Vice-Chairman of the right-wing Public Action, Inc., headed by Birch Society Endorser Mrs. Seth Milliken. Public Action's primary program is urging members to write to Congress on legislation (for example, it sent out three separate cards urging letters against the Civil Rights bill earlier this year). In November of 1963, Mrs. Milliken announced that Public Action would suspend to allow its members to "hitch our wagon to Goldwater! Nothing less is worth doing." In early 1964, the decision to suspend was reversed but it was stressed that "We have certainly not changed our minds about Goldwater." Public Action says "Socialism follows inflation; communism follows socialism," and refers to the Kennedy-Johnson Administration's "March to a socialist state."

James B. Kilroy -- Now Chairman of the Television for Goldwater-Miller Committee, to raise funds for tv time, Kilroy was a Goldwater delegate in the California primary and, as noted previously, is a supporter of Fred Schwarz.

Donald E. "Buz" Lukens -- Formerly on the minority staff of the House Rules Committee, Lukens was elected chairman of the National Federation of Young Republicans last year and as such is a leader of the combined Young Americans for Goldwater-Miller. The convention at which Lukens was elected national chairman anticipated their elders by refusing to condemn the John Birch Society. It was also a convention that was followed by charges of "right-wing takeover," by the outgoing chairman, among others. (See Minneapolis Tribune 7/7/63 & Washington Post 8/29/63) In his campaign for the chairmanship, Lukens endorsed Goldwater and stated that he favors withdrawal from the United Nations and abolition of the income tax. (Washington Post 6/29/63 & 6/30/63) The following November, Lukens was featured on a panel at the Young Americans for Freedom convention -- along with F. Clifton White and Dean Clarence Manion's daughter, YAF director Marilyn Manion. (New Guard, Nov.-Dec., 1963)

Jeremiah Milbank, Jr. -- A partner with his father in an investment management firm, Milbank is chairman of the executive committee of Commercial Solvents, Inc. (Who's Who, 1964-65) Active in fund-raising in the draft-Goldwater operation, he is now Ass't. Treasurer of the Republican National Committee. His father was Eastern Treasurer for the Committee during the Hoover administration, and both have been reported as contributors to right-wing organizations. It is not always clear which is the contributor, but taking them together the contributions include: Americans for Constitutional Action (\$1,100 plus a \$2,500 loan); Inter-collegiate Society of Individualists (\$4,891); American Good Government Society (\$950); and American Economic Foundation (\$250).

Edward Nellor -- Director of radio-tv for the Republican National Committee, Nellor was a leading press aide of the Senator's in the pre-convention campaign. In earlier years he had been director of public relations for the National Association of Manufacturers, and radio-tv director for the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee. Nellor had also served as an aide to right-wing radio commentator Fulton Lewis, Jr., and it was in this job that he became involved, in late 1950, in the attempt to smear Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg, just nominated by President Truman for a high Defense Department post. Based on charges furnished him by J. B. Matthews, Fulton Lewis, Jr., had attacked Mrs. Rosenberg over the radio. In attempting to develop further evidence to present the Senate Armed Services Committee, Lewis sent Nellor, together with an aide to Sen. Joe McCarthy (Don Surine) to New York to talk to alleged witnesses. It later developed that the two had carried a note from Gerald L. K. Smith to another anti-Semite, Benjamin H. Freedman. The charges against Mrs. Rosenberg fell apart under examination, and Lewis and Nellor both denied any knowledge that Gerald L. K. Smith had been involved in the attempted smear. (See testimony of Nellor and others involved before Senate Armed Services Committee, December, 1950; and a recounting of the story in Forster and Epstein, The Troublemakers, Doubleday, 1952, pp. 25-60.)

G. Warren Nutter -- Another academician who is working on the research staff of the Republican National Committee during the campaign is G. Warren Nutter, chairman of the Economics Department at the University of Virginia. Nutter is also Associate Director of the University's Thomas Jefferson Center for Studies in Political Economy, which has been the recipient of generous grants from the William Volker Fund (\$29,000 annually during at least the period 1958-1960. The Volker Fund has been an important financial supporter of the Foundation for Economic Education, the National Economic Council, Harding College, Human Events, and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists.) Nutter is available as a lecturer through the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists and is listed as a visiting professor by "The Phrontistery" at the right-wing Freedom School operated by Robert LeFevre.

Fernando Penabaz -- A refugee Cuban lawyer who has a regular column in the Ft. Lauderdale, Fla. News (owned by the Chicago Tribune), Penabaz was a special assistant to Congressman Miller at the GOP convention and has



since been named to head the Cuban-American section of the nationalities division at the Republican National Committee. Long active in the work of Billy James Hargis' Christian Crusade, he has recently confirmed that he is on that payroll as a special advisor to Hargis. (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 10/2/64) Penabaz has also been listed as an available speaker by the John Birch Society's American Opinion Speakers Bureau. (1962 brochure)

**Richard A. Ware** -- Another member of the campaign research staff at the Republican National Committee, Ware is on leave from a staff position as Secretary of the Relm Foundation. This tax-exempt trust was set up in 1950 by retired oilman Harry Boyd Earhart, a supporter of Merwin Hart's National Economic Council. The Relm Foundation, during the years 1957-60, made grants to the following: American Economic Foundation (\$38,000), Foundation for Economic Education (\$29,500), and Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (\$17,208).

(3) In the field and elsewhere at the lower levels of the Goldwater campaign there are still other staff members with formal ties to the right wing. Included, for example, are the following names: (In addition, a number of Goldwater boosters who approach the status of "field staff" are treated in Section IV below.)

**Jerome L. Anderson** -- Now serving as one of the state coordinators for the Goldwater-Miller campaign, Anderson is a Montana state legislator who was chairman of the Draft Goldwater Committee in the state. He was listed by Young Americans for Freedom as a sponsor of their 1962 Madison Square Garden Rally. (New Guard, March, 1962)

**Fred Andre** -- Currently on the payroll of the Republican National Committee, Andre is a former member of Young Americans for Freedom and was Midwest Director of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. He hit the newspapers earlier this year as an aide to Brent Bozell in the latter's unsuccessful primary campaign against incumbent Republican Congressman Charles Mathias. At that time Andre told the press, "I don't mind being called a radical or a reactionary. I'm both of them." (Washington Post 4/28/64)

**James McClary** -- Another state chairman during the Draft Goldwater campaign, McClary is now state coordinator for Idaho. He has been a regular contributor to Americans for Constitutional Action: \$250 each year, 1960-62 and \$100 in early 1964.

**Stephen Shadegg** -- A former campaign manager for Goldwater (in his Senate races of 1952 and 1958), and reportedly the "ghost-writer" of his syndicated newspaper column, Shadegg served as western regional director for the pre-convention campaign and holds the same job for the Goldwater-Miller campaign. Like the Senator, Shadegg served on the American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters, organized by Marvin Liebman. His recent book, How to Win an Election, caused substantial press comment with its revelation that: "In the Goldwater campaigns of 1952 and 1958 and in all other campaigns where I have served as a consultant, I have followed the advice of

Mao Tse Tung" (in organizing "cell groups" to infiltrate and spy on the opposition, spread rumors, and attempt to influence others). (Washington News 7/30/64)

—ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS— Denver 1, Colo., Wednesday, July 29, 1964

## Tactics Used by Mao Borrowed by Barry

By DICKSON PRESTON  
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, July 28—The man who managed Barry Goldwater's two successful Senate campaigns credits the victories largely to "fifth column" tactics borrowed from Chinese Communist leader Mao Tse-tung.

Stephen Shadegg, a long-time Goldwater associate who is now the Republican presidential nominee's northwest regional director, tells how it was done in a remarkably frank new book entitled "How to Win an Election."

Shadegg says the Goldwater forces set up "cell groups" on the Communist



Preston

model to infiltrate and spy on the opposition, spread and counteract rumors, and help influence what he describes as "the indifferent voter."

He gives detailed instructions on how to recruit and train cell-group members—including a warning that on first contact they must never be told they are being enlisted to help in a political campaign.

Instead, according to Shadegg, the prospect is given an emotional appeal and a feeling of "entering into the inner circle" of Goldwater advisers. ★ ★ ★

## Mathias Sees Threat to Party From Far Right

By William Chapman  
Staff Reporter  
Washington Post, 4/28/64

Rep. Charles McC. Mathias (R-Md.) charged yesterday that the Maryland Republican party is threatened with invasion by members of the "radical right" who are supporting his primary election opponent.

He accused backers of his rival, L. Brent Bozell, of bringing "an alien doctrine" into the party and resorting to demagoguery on such issues as school prayers and the wheat sale to Russia.

Bozell is a former editor of The National Review and well-known conservative spokesman. He lost in a bid for the State Legislature in 1958.

Mathias, campaigning for renomination in Maryland's Sixth District, called a Capitol Hill press conference to "dedicate" his campaign against alleged right-wing infiltration of the GOP.

**Bozell Aide Named**

Asked to identify the right-wingers, Mathias gave reporters the name of Fred Andre, a campaign assistant

of Bozell. He said Andre had belonged to the Young Americans for Freedom and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. ★ ★ ★

**Director of ISA**

Andre said in Hagerstown that he was Midwest director of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, which he described as a non-political students' group. The ISA promotes the conservative movement on college campuses. Andre said he had done political work through the Young Americans for Freedom.

"I don't mind being called a radical or a reactionary," Andre said. "I'm both of them." The 20-year-old



(b) Goldwater advisers

In addition to his actual staff, Goldwater, like any major political figure, has a number of people whose thinking he consults on various matters. Some of these have been identified by Goldwater himself (e. g. in the Introduction to his book, Why Not Victory?); others have been named by the press, characterized variously as "brain trusters," "advisers" or "idea men" (e. g. N. Y. Times 3/31/64, Washington Star 6/7/64, Washington Post 7/20/64 and 8/19/64, St. Louis Post-Dispatch 7/19/64, Human Events 8/29/64, and Newsweek 8/31/64).

To a very large extent, these men have come from two major sources: the staff of National Review, which seems to have furnished the older stable of Goldwater "brain trusters," and persons connected either in a staff or advisory capacity with the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, a tax-exempt organization which claims "objective impartiality" but whose claim has not gone unchallenged (see House Report 3233, 81st Congress, House Select Committee to Investigate Lobbying).

National Review personnel: Among those listed on the masthead of National Review, at least six have been mentioned as Goldwater advisers: Editor William Buckley, Brent Bozell, Russell Kirk, and William Rickenbacker by Goldwater himself in Why Not Victory?, Gerhart Niemeyer in the same place and also in virtually every published listing of Goldwater advisers; and James Burnham in Human Events, 8/29/64. In addition, Prof. David N. Rowe, of Yale, also listed by Human Events, has been on several Marvin Liebman letterheads (and, as noted earlier, Liebman works closely with Buckley and his associates). Brief notes on each of this group of advisers follows. (See also pp. 2 & 3 above relative to National Review.)

William F. Buckley - A syndicated columnist as well as founder - editor of National Review, Buckley is also active on the lecture circuit. As has been noted, he played a leading role in the transformation of Youth for Goldwater into Young Americans for Freedom, is on their National Advisory Board, and has been a featured speaker at their national meetings. He played a leading role in the organization of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists and is a Trustee. Liebman letterheads which have carried Buckley's name include: American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange, American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters, Committee for the Monroe Doctrine, and National Committee Against the Treaty of Moscow. In addition, Buckley was one of the sponsors of Dr. Fred Schwarz's 1962 rally and "school" in New York City and is active in the state's Conservative Party.

L. Brent Bozell - Bozell's organizational affiliations closely parallel those of his brother-in-law, editor Buckley: American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange, American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters, and National Committee Against the Treaty of Moscow (but not the Committee for the Monroe Doctrine); and, as noted earlier, a featured role in Young Americans for Freedom. Like both Buckley and Goldwater, Bozell was on the Committee Against Summit Entanglements.

James Burnham - Burnham's affiliations with Liebman operations also parallel those of his employer, Buckley. In addition, he has been a sponsor of the American Committee for France and Algeria (U. S. /France Report, June, 1962), whose Secretary, Samuel Blumenfeld, has since been a featured speaker at this year's Hargis convention in Dallas. Burnham's 1954 book, The Web of Subversion, is sold by the John Birch Society, in reprint form in their special "One Dozen Candles" packet.

Russell Kirk - Though not a member of the American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange, Kirk is on the other Liebman letterheads graced by his colleagues, Buckley and Burnham. In addition, Kirk is on the Textbook Evaluation Committee of America's Future, and is available through the Lecture Bureau of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. A former trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education (1960-61 list), he is also a former editor of the conservative quarterly, Modern Age.

Gerhart Niemeyer - Listed as an "Associate and Contributor" by National Review, Niemeyer is on the Advisory Board of Young Americans for Freedom, has lectured to units of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (which has published a pamphlet by him, "The Communist Mind") and was on Liebman's American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters. In a sense, Niemeyer represents a bridge between the National Review and the American Enterprise Institute, since he authored a 1963 study for AEI, Communists in Coalition Governments and participated in the 1962 conference held by the Center for Strategic Studies, which is the creature of an AEI subsidiary (see below). Somewhat farther to the right, he has appeared on the Manion Forum at least twice and, in 1960, he was on the Fred Schwarz program at the Glenview Naval Air Station -- one of the "cold war seminars" that prompted the Fulbright Memorandum.

Since Niemeyer seems to be Goldwater's leading adviser in the field of foreign policy, it is interesting to note that in his 7/29/62 appearance on the Manion Forum, Niemeyer said: "We must take care of Cuba. I would say if it cannot be done with the repetition of another Pig Bay invasion, this time with air cover, then let it be done with marines. Our national interest calls for it." (Text inserted by Sen. Thurmond in Congressional Record 8/27/62, pp. A6411-2) Similarly, in his 12/29/63 appearance, Clarence Manion asked if he regarded Communist hostility as making "peaceful coexistence, so-called, impossible." Niemeyer replied, "It does indeed."

William Rickenbacker - The son of famed Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker, William serves on Liebman's Committee for the Monroe Doctrine (which his father heads), and National Committee Against the Treaty of Moscow, and is active in New York's Conservative Party. He has opined that "social institutions must not be anything more potent than voluntary associations," (National Review 9/10/63) and he made news when he refused to answer a supplementary Census questionnaire in 1960 and brought a test case claiming that his rights under the 4th Amendment protection against unreasonable search and seizure had been violated. The trial court disagreed and the Court of Appeals upheld his conviction. (Washington Post 10/30/62, Rickenbacker had been given a

suspended sentence and fined \$100.)

David Nelson Rowe - As noted, while Rowe is not on the masthead of National Review, he does work closely with Marvin Liebman. Thus, he has been listed in American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange, American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters, Committee for the Monroe Doctrine, and National Committee Against the Treaty of Moscow. Predictably, he is on the Advisory Board for Young Americans for Freedom and he lectures for the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. Earlier this year he was on the faculty of the Fred Schwarz "School of Anti-Communism" in Washington, D. C.

American Enterprise Institute personnel -- The role of the tax-exempt American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research relative to the Goldwater campaign is of substantial interest on several grounds. Not only did the Senator's leading speech-writer, Karl Hess, come to him from the staff of AEI, but another former AEI staff member, W. Glenn Campbell is also working full-time in the campaign.

AEI's president, William Baroody, as will be noted, is a Goldwater friend and adviser and was in the Senator's party at the Mark Hopkins Hotel in San Francisco (Washington Post, 8/23/64), though he reportedly was not registered.

One of AEI's trustees and financial supporters is Peter O'Donnell, who played such a leading role in the "draft Goldwater" campaign. (Other trustees include such familiar names on the right as Harry L. Bradley, Walter Harnischfeger, Charles R. Hook, and William L. McGrath.)

A further subject for comment is the fact that AEI's reported budget for the first half of 1963 was roughly equal to the budget for the preceding full year. (AEI changed its reporting to the Internal Revenue Service from a calendar to a fiscal year basis last year.) The leading contributor for the first half of 1963 -- at \$100,000, or roughly 40% of the total for the period -- was J. Howard Pew, active in far-right causes, including the John Birch Society.

William Baroody, AEI's president, was characterized early in September as Goldwater's "top campaign policy-maker" by columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. (Washington Post 9/4/64) Baroody had come to AEI from the U. S. Chamber of Commerce in 1954.

Philip A. Ray, an AEI trustee, was listed as a Goldwater adviser by the St. Louis Post-Dispatch (7/19/64). A former Undersecretary of Commerce in the Eisenhower Administration, Ray is the author of South Wind Red, published in 1962 by Regnery, the right-wing publisher.

The New York Times of 3/31/64 and the Washington Post of 8/23/64 both list as Goldwater advisers the following members of AEI's Advisory Board:

Karl Brandt -- A former member of the Eisenhower Council of Economic Advisers, Brandt is now head of the Food Research Institute at Stanford. He advocates so-called "flexible" farm price supports and has warned

against the "intellectual drift toward socialism in this and other Western countries." (Speech reprinted in Christian Economics 3/5/63)

Milton Friedman -- Prof. Friedman of the University of Chicago, is a well-known proponent of extreme laissez-faire in economics. He was co-author of a 1946 attack on rent controls published by the Foundation for Economic Education. His credo is reflected in the warning that "Few trends could so thoroughly undermine the very foundations of our free society as acceptance by corporate officials of a social responsibility other than to make as much money as possible . . ." (Capitalism and Freedom, p. 133) Active on the lecture circuit, Friedman has appeared at one of Harding College's "Freedom Forums" (Little Rock, Feb., 1964), and for the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (see Campus Report, May, 1962); and is on the faculty of the "Phrontistery" of Robert LeFevre's Freedom School in Colorado Springs, an operation that interlocks strongly with the John Birch Society. (Freedom School Newsletter 3/15/64)

A recent report of an interview with Friedman noted that "he believes the thrust and strategy of the civil rights movement has unwittingly created deep divisions in the nation. 'It has awakened the sleeping giant of racial prejudice in the North,' he says." (Washington Post 9/11/64)

Gottfried Haberler -- Harvard professor Haberler was listed by the National Association of Manufacturers as a member of its Center for the Study of Union Power and, predictably, sees unions and wage increases as the primary causes of inflation (see his AEI study, "Inflation: Its Causes and Cures").

Rev. Stanley Parry -- On the faculty at Notre Dame, Fr. Parry, like his colleague, Prof. Niemeyer, is on the Advisory Board of Young Americans for Freedom. In 1961 he was available as a speaker (for "National Defense" seminars) through the Conference of American Small Business Organizations, a long-time lobbying organization whose Co-Chairman is former Congressman Fred A. Hartley (R - N. J.)

Two others who have prepared studies for AEI have been mentioned as Goldwater advisers: Yale Brozen (mentioned by the Washington Post, 8/19/64, and Newsweek, 8/31/64), a colleague of Prof. Friedman's at Chicago; and Raymond Moley (mentioned by the Washington Star, 6/7/64), the well-known, conservative columnist. Brozen's study on automation concluded that it was not a cause of unemployment and recommended lower taxes on business and "more flexible or free labor markets;" Moley's 1950 study of TVA-type valley authorities concluded that they involve "insidious invasions of liberty" which ultimately "would end in public monopoly."

Finally, three others mentioned in the press as Goldwater advisers have played a role in connection with the Center for Strategic Studies, at Georgetown University. Headed by Adm. Arleigh Burke and with former AEI staff member, David Abshire, as Executive Secretary, the Center is "sponsored and financed" by the Institute for Social Science Research, a subsidiary in substance, if not in form, of AEI. The Goldwater advisers referred to are:

Howard Ray Penniman -- Chairman of Georgetown's political science department, Penniman is on the Executive Board of the Center for Strategic Studies. Prior to joining the faculty at Georgetown, he was a government official, serving in the Eisenhower Administration as Chief of the External Research Staff at the Department of State and as Chief of Publications for the U. S. Information Agency. In early 1963 he was the featured speaker at a local chapter meeting of Americans for Constitutional Action. (Bethesda-Chevy Chase, Md. Tribune 1/18/63)

Stefan T. Possony -- Another former Georgetown faculty member, Dr. Possony is now on the staff of the Hoover Institution at Stanford. He is on the National Strategy Committee of the American Security Council and an editor of ASC's Washington Report; lectures for the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (and has had a pamphlet, "Resistance or Death? The Perils of Surrender Propaganda," published by ISI); and was a contributor to Bear and Dragon, a booklet published by National Review in cooperation with Marvin Liebman's American Asian (now "American Afro-Asian") Educational Exchange. Like Robert Strausz-Hupe (see below), Possony is a co-author of A Forward Strategy for America, and was a leading academic spokesman in opposition to the test-ban treaty ratified by the U. S. Senate.

Robert Strausz-Hupe -- A Viennese who came to the United States prior to World War II, Strausz-Hupe did his graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania and has been on the faculty there since 1946. He currently heads its Foreign Policy Research Institute and edits its journal, Orbis. As noted he was a co-author of A Forward Strategy for America and testified in opposition to the test-ban treaty. He is perhaps the leading exponent of "protracted conflict" views on foreign relations and of what is sometimes called "the hard line" in foreign policy. Thus, he opposed the sale of surplus wheat to the Russians (letter to N. Y. Times 10/6/63) and commented adversely on some portions of Pope John's encyclical, "Pacem in Terris." Said Strausz-Hupe, if the Pope's statement about "a drawing nearer together" means "that the time is near for a global accommodation between a 'changed' communism and spiritually rooted Western political values, then it can give comfort only to the strategists of the Kremlin and their dupes in the free world, the unilateral disarmers and the advocates of 'disengagement.'" (Washington Post 4/21/63)

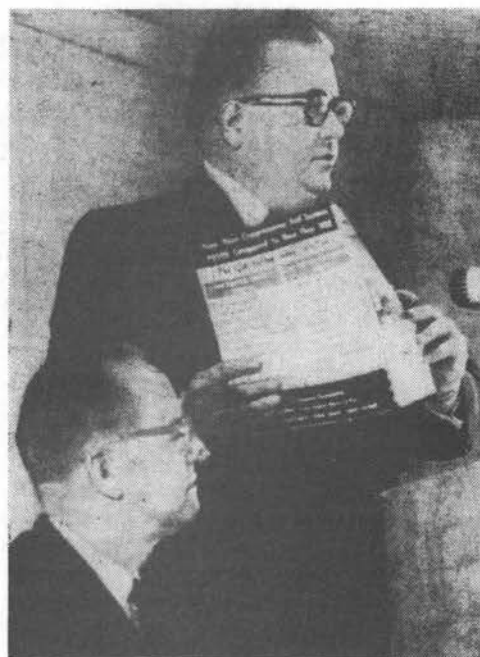
Karl D. Butler -- Though not falling into either of the two groups used above, one other Goldwater adviser requires mention. Karl Butler, frequently identified as a boyhood friend of Goldwater's, is an adviser on agricultural matters. Not so prominently noted is the fact that Butler has also been a close friend and adviser to former Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson, who has since become a leading figure on the right-wing (praising the John Birch Society and serving as head of the far-right We, The People!). Butler was an official consultant to USDA during the early weeks of Benson's secretaryship and attended top staff meetings. Active in a host of organizations concerned with farm policy (he is Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council for Agricultural and Chemurgic Research, and Executive Secretary of the

National Institute of Animal Agriculture), Butler lists himself as a "farm counselor" whose principal client since 1950 has been AVCO Corp., which makes farm equipment.

That Butler also has ties to the right-wing is evident from the fact that it was he who sold the Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation on their 1956 project of mass distribution for Secretary Benson's book, Farmers at the Crossroads (published by Devin-Adair). At Butler's suggestion, CFEF underwrote the printing and sale (largely at low, bulk rates) of more than 100,000 copies of the book and also mailed out large numbers of a slick-paper pamphlet based on the book. (Butler's role was spelled out in a CFEF memorandum of 9/14/56.) The Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation was a tax-exempt subsidiary of the old Committee for Constitutional Government, headed by Edward Rumley. CFEF's Executive Committee included Congressman Gwinn and Frank De Ganahl (later to be a Birch Society Endorser).

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United Press International

### Purge of GOP Liberals Urged

Kent Courtney, standing, a New Orleans publisher and a member of the John Birch Society, tells a pre-convention rally in San Francisco that a Goldwater victory must be followed by "a purge of liberals from the Republican Party." J. Bracken Lee, former Utah Governor, looks on.



IV. Goldwater boosters

During the draft Goldwater movement and the formal campaign which started with Goldwater's nomination at San Francisco, a large number of boosters or fans came forward who have significant connections with right-wing groups. Most were brought into the activity, some have merely been permitted to keep operating, and some are there without any affirmative sanction.

(a) Authorized boostersStatus with Goldwater

K. G. (Ken) Bentson (President, Union Sand & Rock Co., Phoenix)  
Treasurer, Arizona Goldwater for President Committee (Tucson Daily Citizen 3/25/63)  
Member, American Businessmen for Goldwater (Wall Street Journal 10/1/64)

William C. Birely (Investment securities)  
Member, American Businessmen for Goldwater (ad, Wall St. Journal 10/1/64)

Mrs. Alvin Berger (Omaha, Nebraska)  
Co-chairman of the Nebraska Citizens for Goldwater-Miller (Congressional Quarterly, 1964, p. 2229)

Mrs. Katherine Kennedy Brown (Dayton, Ohio)  
Member, Republican National Committee (Congressional Quarterly, 1964, p. 2224)

John Burkhart (President, College Life Insurance Co.)  
Member, American Businessmen for Goldwater (ad, Wall St. Journal 10/1/64)

Mrs. Claire Lee Chennault (widow of war hero, General Chennault of the "Flying Tigers")  
Co-chairman of the Ethnic Division of the Citizens for Goldwater-Miller Committee (Washington Star 9/24/64)

Martin J. Condon III (Pres., American Snuff Co.)  
Member, American Businessmen for Goldwater (ad, Wall St. Journal 10/1/64)

Lammot Copeland, Jr. (E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co.)  
Sent out invitations to a dinner at which influential Republicans were "to learn first-hand about the Goldwater-for-President boom." Sen. Tower and Clifton White spoke. (New York Times 7/17/63)

Charles Craigmile (Chairman, Belden Mfg. Co.)  
Member, American Businessmen for Goldwater (ad, Wall St. Journal 10/1/64)

Ralph De Toledano (columnist and author)  
Wrote a book in the fall of 1963, The Winning Side, A Case for Goldwater Republicanism, which concluded that Goldwater could win the 1964 election and relished the prospect  
A close associate of Karl Hess, Goldwater's chief speech writer

Martin Dies (former Congressman from Texas)  
Introduced Goldwater before a gathering of 10,000 in Longview, Texas, as "Mr. Integrity himself" (Washington Star 9/18/64)

Right-wing activity

Editorial Advisory Committee, American Opinion, the Birch Society magazine  
Endorser, Manion Forum

Former member, National Advisory Committee, Christian Crusade of Billy James Hargis

Executive Committee, Special Arrangements, of Fred Schwarz's Midwest School of Anti-Communism.

Endorser, Citizens Foreign Aid Committee  
Speaker, Human Events 4th Political Action Conference

Sponsor, 1963 Central Indiana School of Anti-Communism (Fred Schwarz)  
Contributor to Americans for Constitutional Action and to Intercollegiate Society of Individualists

Panelist at Strategy Seminar of the Anti-Communist Liaison, set up after a Hargis-called meeting in Washington, D.C.

Member, Editorial Advisory Board, American Opinion  
Director (and past President), the segregationist Southern States Industrial Council  
Endorser, Manion Forum

Treasurer and Director-at-Large, Young Americans for Freedom

Endorser, Manion Forum  
Member, Senior Advisory Board, American Security Council

Director of the American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange, a Marvin Liebman operation.  
First editor of Washington World, a weekly established by Willard Garvey to "plant a conservative journalistic seed in Washington" (quoting Business Week 7/22/61)  
National Advisory Board, Young Americans for Freedom  
Contributor, National Review

Chairman of House Committee on Un-American Activities for 7 years  
Supporter, National Indignation Convention  
Author of articles for American Opinion, Birch Society magazine



Status with Goldwater

Edward Doherty (Publisher of the Transcript, New Rockford, North Dakota)  
Chairman, North Dakota Citizens for Goldwater-Miller  
(Congressional Quarterly, 1964, p.2229)

Pierre S. DuPont (Vice-President, DuPont Corp.)  
Was co-host for a dinner at which Sen. Tower and F. Clifton White told group of influential Republicans about the Draft Goldwater campaign. (N.Y. Times 7/17/63)

Richard Durant (Republican Chairman of the 14th Congressional District in Michigan)  
Worked for Goldwater delegates to the National Convention and was elected one himself. (Detroit Free Press 1/19/64)  
Distributed copies of Phyllis Schlafly's pro-Goldwater book, A Choice, Not an Echo, to residents of his 14th District. (Detroit News 7/12/64)

Gen. Bonner Fellers, (retired)  
An early visitor to the Draft Goldwater headquarters  
(Washington Daily News 6/28/63)

Identified three years ago as follows: "For foreign policy guidance, Senator Goldwater has a strong affinity for Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers, retired. Currently, the General is centering his energies on the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, an influential lobbying organization aimed at abolishing foreign aid." (N. Y. Times 7/3/61)

Robert Galvin (Pres., Motorola, Inc.)  
Member, American Businessmen for Goldwater (ad, Wall St. Journal 10/1/64)

Robert M. Gaylord (Chrm., Ingersoll Milling)  
Member, American Businessmen for Goldwater (ad, Wall St. Journal 10/1/64)

Walter Gubelmann (New York and Palm Beach financier)  
Invited about 35 couples to his Florida home for a \$1,000-a-plate dinner attended by Goldwater (Wash. Post 2/26/64)

P. Huber Hanes, Jr. (Pres., P.H. Hanes Knitting Co.)  
North Carolina Chairman, Citizens for Goldwater-Miller  
(Congressional Quarterly 9/25/64)

Mallory Horne (Speaker of the Florida State Legislature)  
Co-chairman of Citizens for Goldwater in Florida.  
(UPI in Washington Post 9/3/64)

Right-wing activity

One of the founders of the Christian Coalition Party headed by Dr. Clarence Martin

A leading contributor to the National Economic Council of Merwin K. Hart (reported in 9 quarters during years 1957-61)  
Member, National Board, Committee Against Summit Entanglements  
Formerly Director (1955-63), the segregationist Southern States Industrial Council  
Contributor to American Good Government Society

Former member, Committee of Endorsers, John Birch Society. As a requirement for keeping his party post, Durant resigned from the Birch Society in 1962 but announced that he had not changed any of his beliefs.

National Director of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, of whose 47 members, some 18 are connected with the John Birch Society

Endorser of the John Birch Society  
Director of For America, founded by Gen. R. E. Wood and Clarence Manion

National Advisory Committee of Hargis's Christian Crusade  
Member of the Anti-Communist Liaison to coordinate the conservative movement, created at a Hargis-called meeting

Member, Senior Advisory Board, American Security Council  
Contributor to Americans for Constitutional Action

Member and contributor, Citizens' Foreign Aid Committee  
Contributor, Americans for Constitutional Action  
Trustee, Foundation for Economic Education

Member, Committee for the Monroe Doctrine  
Treasurer, Florida Committee for Conservatives  
Supporter of Americans for Constitutional Action

Director, the segregationist Southern States Industrial Council  
Endorser, Manion Forum

Florida Advisory Board, Young Americans for Freedom.  
Vice-President of the Commission on Constitutional Government, the pressure group seeking three Constitutional amendments to: 1) deprive Federal courts of jurisdiction over reapportionment cases; 2) create a super-court which could over-rule the U.S. Supreme Court in any Federal-state case; and 3) make it easier to amend the Constitution by action of state legislatures.

Status with Goldwater

Vivien Kellems, (retired head of the Kellems Cable Grip Co. in Stonington, Conn.)  
Co-chairman of the Connecticut Citizens for Goldwater-Miller (New York Times 9/6/64)

Frank L. Kluckhohn  
"Until recently another mainstay of the Goldwater camp"  
(quoting Drew Pearson in the Washington Post 7/15/64)

Dr. Amos R. Koontz (Baltimore, Md.)  
State Co-Chairman, Physicians for Goldwater (press release 10/2/64)

Eli Lilly (Hon. Chrm., Eli Lilly Co.)  
Member, American Businessmen for Goldwater (ad, Wall St. Journal 10/1/64)

Dr. N. B. Livingston, Jr.  
Chairman of the Central Ohio presidential campaign for Goldwater. (Washington Star 5/5/63)  
Chairman of the Ohioans for Goldwater Committee (Advance, January 1964)

Dr. Enrique Llaca (a Cuban refugee who was taken prisoner at the Bay of Pigs invasion)  
Speaker at the big Independence Day rally in Washington sponsored by the National Draft Goldwater Committee in 1963. (Washington Star 7/3/63)

Newman M. Marsilius (Trumbull, Conn.)  
State chairman of the Goldwater committee in Connecticut (New York Times 5/3/64)

Dr. Walter B. Martin (Norfolk, Va.)  
Member, physicians for Goldwater (press release 10/2/64)

Frank Masland (Chrm., C.H. Masland & Sons)  
Member, American Businessmen for Goldwater (ad, Wall St. Journal 10/1/64)

R. B. (Bob) McWhite (Omaha, Nebraska)  
Chairman of the Nebraska Citizens for Goldwater-Miller (Congressional Quarterly, 1964, p. 2229)

George H. Miller  
A Director of the District of Columbia Young Republicans Club and Editor-in-Chief of the club newspaper. (Washington Post 8/11/64)

Roger Milliken (Pres., Deering, Milliken & Co.)  
Described as "a key figure in the Goldwater operation at the national convention" (New York Times 7/30/64)  
Appeared with Goldwater at the 1962 rally of the Young Americans for Freedom, where he accepted an award for his family.  
Member, American Businessmen for Goldwater (ad, Wall St. Journal 10/1/64)

Right-wing activity

Received national publicity when she tried to prevent the U.S. government from collecting withholding taxes on the income of her employees  
Sponsor of the Organization for Repeal of the Income Tax (ORFIT)  
National Policy Committee, For America  
Endorsed Human Events ("so important in our family that we subscribe twice")  
Committee member of the "Hall of Free Enterprise" operated by the American Economic Foundation at the New York Worlds Fair

Member, Committee of One Million  
Speaker, Billy James Hargis' Christian Crusade Convention 8/8/64 in Dallas  
Scheduled speaker, Christian Crusade Anti-Communist Youth University, Manitou Springs, Colorado

Endorser, Manion Forum

Contributor to Americans for Constitutional Action  
Lilly Endowment has supported Fred Schwarz and Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, among others)

Endorser, public seminar sponsored by the John Birch Society, January 26, 1963 in Columbus, Ohio  
Speakers were Birch Society members Clarence Manion, T. Coleman Andrews, and Tom Anderson

Writes for Hargis' Christian Crusade magazine  
Faculty member at Hargis' Anti-Communist Leadership School in Tulsa, Oklahoma (Christian Crusade, May, 1963)

Contributor to Intercollegiate Society of Individualists

Trustee, Americans for Constitutional Action

Member, National Council of the John Birch Society, an Editorial Adviser to American Opinion, and a stockholder in Robert Welch, Inc.  
Endorser, Manion Forum

Executive Committee and Chairman of the Banquet Committee for Fred Schwarz's Midwest School of Anti-Communism, Omaha 5/7-11/62

Member, John Birch Society  
Council member, Washington (D.C.) Young Americans for Freedom

Endorser of Birch Society  
Executive Committee of the Birch front, Committee Against Summit Entanglements  
Sponsor of Manion Forum  
Trustee, Foundation for Economic Education  
National Policy Committee, Citizens Foreign Aid Committee  
Advisor, Intercollegiate Society of Individualists  
Solicited money for the National Right to Work Committee

Status with Goldwater

Gerrish Milliken (Director, Deering Milliken)  
A leader of the Goldwater forces around Greenwich,  
Conn. (Joseph Alsop, Washington Post 12/2/63)

Dwight D. Murphey (Denver lawyer)  
Helped organize Goldwater support in Colorado. (Denver Post 11/13/63)

D. Hayes Murphy (Chrm. Wiremold Co.)  
Member, American Businessmen for Goldwater (ad, Wall St. Journal 10/1/64)

Nicholas T. Nonnenmacher (Assistant to Congressman Donald Bruce, R-Ind.)  
Executive Vice Chairman, Goldwater for President Republican Committee of Montgomery County, Maryland, outside of Washington, D.C.

J. Howard Pew  
Member of the group for Goldwater in eastern Pennsylvania (Human Events 11/23/63)  
Contributed \$1,500 to Goldwater's 1959 Senate campaign (Report to Clerk of the House)

John G. Pew, Jr. (died Sep., 1964) (Vice-President, Sun Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company)  
Headed the eastern Pennsylvania support for Goldwater prior to the COP convention. (Human Events, 11/23/63)  
Eastern Co-Chairman of the Pennsylvania Citizens for Goldwater-Miller

Tom Phillips  
New Hampshire Chairman of Youth for Goldwater (YFG Newsletter, Apr-May 1964)

Harold P. Ransburg (Pres., Ransburg Electro-Coating Coating Corp.)  
Member, American Businessmen for Goldwater (ad, Wall St. Journal 10/1/64)

Captain Eddie Rickenbacker (war hero and retired head of Eastern Airlines)  
Sent "tens of thousands" of letters appealing for campaign funds, according to an announcement from Goldwater headquarters in New York City (AP in Washington Star 3/18/64)

Received an ovation at the Madison Square Goldwater rally last May (Washington Star 5/17/64)

Right-wing activity

Contributed to Intercollegiate Society of Individualists and to Americans for Constitutional Action

Advertised his book, Emergent Man, in half page ad in American Opinion, the Birch Society publication

Trustee, America's Future  
Endorser, Manion Forum  
Member, Wake Up, America Committee of We, The People!  
Member, Committee for the Monroe Doctrine

Formerly, an assistant editor of Human Events, the ultra-conservative tabloid  
Formerly on the staff of the American Legion  
Past President of "The Christianform", whose slogan is: "In Defense of the Christian Form of Civilization"

Stockholder in Robert Welch, Inc., publisher of American Opinion, the Birch Society magazine  
Major contributor to Christian Economics, a publication sent free to protestant clergymen  
Supported by name or money such right-wing groups as Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, Foundation for Economic Education, Americans for Constitutional Action, Committee for the Monroe Doctrine, and Committee for Constitutional Government

Former Vice-President of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists and a regular financial contributor to it

Endorser of Human Events  
Elected a Director of Young Americans for Freedom (New Guard, Nov.-Dec., 1963)  
National head of the Student Committee for Effective Social Welfare, organized by YAF in 1963 to oppose the domestic peace corps  
Arranged a tour of New Hampshire for Dr. Enrique Llaca, listed above (New Guard, June 1963)

Sponsor, 1963 Central Indiana School of Anti-Communism (Fred Schwarz)  
Underwrites local tv sponsorship of Dan Smoot (for Americans for Conservative Action)  
Contributor to Americans for Constitutional Action, Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, and American Economic Foundation

Chairman, Committee for the Monroe Doctrine  
National Advisory Board, Young Americans for Freedom  
Co-Chairman, Charles Edison Dinner Committee  
Recipient of Freedoms Foundation award  
Contributor, Conservative Party of New York  
Speaker: Manion Forum; Hargis' Second Annual Anti-Communist Leadership School in Tulsa; Westchester (N.Y.) Rally of the Young Americans for Freedom; at a Pensacola (Florida) meeting sponsored by the Navy League; 1963 Denver Conference of the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons; National Educational Program's 23rd annual Freedom Forum at Harding College

Status with Goldwater

M. H. Robineau (Pres., Frontier Refining Co.)  
Member, American Businessmen for Goldwater (ad,  
Wall St. Journal 10/1/64)

Cesar Romero (movie star)  
Co-Chairman, the Ethnic Division of Citizens for Gold-  
water-Miller Committee (Washington Star 9/24/64)

Col. Willard F. Rockwell (Chrm., Rockwell Mfg. Co.)  
Middle Atlantic Vice-Chairman, American Businessmen  
for Goldwater (ad, Wall St. Journal 10/1/64)

Reno Sales (Consulting Geologist)  
Member, American Businessmen for Goldwater (ad,  
Wall St. Journal 10/1/64)

Phyllis Schlafly, (President of the Illinois Federation of  
Republican Women)  
Ran successfully as a Goldwater delegate to the 1964 GOP  
convention  
Author of a popular book, A Choice--Not an Echo, which  
was published on the eve of the GOP convention to boost  
Goldwater and attack the "eastern Establishment."

Merrill E. Shoup (Golden Cycle Corp., Colorado Springs;  
Chrm. of Board of Holly Sugar Corp.)  
Heads Goldwater's campaign in Colorado. (Rocky Moun-  
tain News 11/3/63)

John W. Steffey  
Coordinator for Goldwater campaigns in Virginia and  
Maryland (Washington Post 8/6/64)

Curtis Steuart (Washington businessman and old friend  
of Goldwater's)  
Put "a private plane and crew nearly always at his [Gold-  
water's] disposal" during 1961, when Goldwater was Chair-  
man of the GOP Senate Campaign Committee. (New  
York Times 7/3/61)

John A. Stormer (Florissant, Mo.)  
President of the Missouri Federation of Young Republi-  
cans  
Chairman of Missouri's 1st Congressional District Draft  
Goldwater Committee (Columbia, Mo. Tribune 1/6/64)

Ernest G. Swigert (Oregon Manufacturer)  
Gave money to Goldwater's campaign (St. Louis Post  
Dispatch 9/22/64)

Right-wing activity

Endorser, Manion Forum

Member, Citizens Sponsoring Committee, Anti-  
Communist Literature for Latin America Project  
of Fred Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade

Member and contributor, Citizens' Foreign Aid Com-  
mittee  
Endorser, Manion Forum  
Was a member, National Advisory Council, Campaign  
for the 48 States

Contributor to Americans for Constitutional Action  
Member, National Advisory Board, Young Americans  
for Freedom

Research Director of the Cardinal Mindszenty Founda-  
tion, an offshoot of the Schwarz Christian Anti-  
Communism Crusade  
Robert Welch says she is "a very loyal member" of  
his John Birch Society (White Book 3/60), but she  
has denied it.

President, Institute for Monetary Research, Inc., whose  
Executive Director, Elgin Groseclose, serves the  
Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (against aid) and whose  
Vice President, Gen. Bonner Fellers, is active in a  
host of right-wing operations such as the John Birch  
Society and Hargis' Christian Crusade

Recipient of funds (\$1,015) from the Americans for  
Constitutional Action for "Field Program."

Director-at-large, the segregationist Southern States  
Industrial Council; his firm is among the top five  
contributors to the Council

Early this year published a book, None Dare Call It  
Treason, which accused every U.S. President since  
Hoover of complicity or complacency in alleged losses  
to the Communists, and recommends joining the  
John Birch Society; the book has had phenomenal  
distribution, helped by the John Birch Society, Re-  
publican organizations and others.

Stockholder in Robert Welch, Inc., publisher of Ameri-  
can Opinion, the Birch Society magazine. (11/63, p. 75)  
Past President, National Association of Manufacturers  
Member, Citizens Foreign Aid Committee  
Was on Executive Committee, Committee Against Sum-  
mit Entanglements  
Endorser, Manion Forum



Status with Goldwater

J. Strom Thurmond (U.S. Senator from South Carolina)  
Received national attention for announcing his bolt from the Democratic Party and support of Sen. Goldwater, who immediately appeared with Thurmond at campaign meetings.

Lloyd Waring (partner in Kidder, Peabody & Co., stock brokers, and former Chairman of the Mass. Republican State Committee)

New England regional director of the pre-convention Goldwater campaign (press release from Washington Hdq. 5/10/64)

John Wayne (movie star)

Addressed the big Goldwater rally at Knott's Berry Farm which was attended by Goldwater (Washington Star 6/1/64)

Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer, retired

Goldwater's host for his vacation at Bohemian Grove after the 1964 convention (Newsweek 8/10/64)

Member of the Maryland Goldwater for President Committee (Washington Star 1/9/64)

Made several speeches for Goldwater, e.g., at Walter Knott's Berry Farm (Washington Star 6/1/64), and in Berks County, Pennsylvania (Reading Times 7/8/64)

Dr. Louis Wegrzyn (Elizabeth, N. J.)

State Chairman, Physicians for Goldwater (press release 10/2/64)

Frederick K. Weyerhauser (Chrm., Weyerhauser Co.)

Member, American Businessmen for Goldwater (ad, Wall St. Journal 10/1/64)

Charles M. White (Hon. Chrm., Republic Steel)

Honorary Chairman, American Businessmen for Goldwater (ad, Wall St. Journal 10/1/64)

Edwin L. Wiegand (Chairman of the Board, E. L. Wiegand Corp., Pittsburgh)

Contributed \$6,000 to Citizens for Goldwater-Miller (Washington Star 9/18/64)

Right-wing activity

One of the most popular national figures in right-wing circles and perhaps leads his colleagues in putting right-wing material into the Congressional Record  
Addressed the 1961 convention of the Congress of Freedom, a far-right group recommended by Robert Welch, Founder of the Birch Society  
Participated in at least three Human Events Political Action Conferences  
Endorsed Americans for Constitutional Action  
Addressed Rev. Carl McIntire's meetings at Cape May, New Jersey  
Addressed the 1963 convention of the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, which interlocks with the John Birch Society.  
Promoted membership in Young Americans for Freedom

Campaign manager in 1950 for Robert Welch, later the Founder of the John Birch Society but then candidate on the Republican ticket for Lt. Governor of Mass. (Herald Tribune News Service in the Washington Post 7/28/64)

Received award from the Young Americans for Freedom at their regional banquet for New England

Advisory Board, H. L. Hunt's Life Line Foundation  
Appeared on Dr. Fred Schwarz's program called "Hollywood's Answer to Communism"

Received an award at the 1962 YAF rally in Madison Square Garden, which featured Goldwater

Member of Advisory Board of H. L. Hunt's Life Line Foundation

Serves in a similar capacity with:

Young Americans for Freedom  
American Security Council  
For America

Citizens Foreign Aid Committee

American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters

Originally an advisor to Robert Welch's magazine, American Opinion, but resigned in 1961

Endorser, John Birch Society

Director, Association of American Physicians and Surgeons

Contributor to American Good Government Society and to Americans for Constitutional Action

Former Trustee, America's Future

Former Trustee, Foundation for Economic Education

Former Vice-President, American Enterprise Institute

Member, Advisory Committee, 1962 Northern Ohio School of Anti-Communism (Fred Schwarz)

Committee of Endorsers, John Birch Society

Endorser, Manion Forum

Board of Directors, Church League of America

Director, National Economic Council

Board of Policy, Liberty Lobby

Endorser of the now defunct Platform for Patriotic Americans

Contributor: Americans for Constitutional Action, Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, Christian Freedom Foundation, National Economic Council

Status with Goldwater

Laurence A. Whitney (Golden, Colorado)  
Director of the Coloradans for Goldwater. (Rocky Mountain News 11/12/63)

Gen. Robert E. Wood (former chrm., Sears Roebuck)  
Contributor to Goldwater's 1958 Senate campaign  
Named, August 31, 1964, by the National Republican  
Congressional Committee, as a member of the Re-  
publican Boosters Club for the Goldwater-Miller  
campaign

Member, American Businessmen for Goldwater (ad,  
Wall St. Journal 10/1/64)

Right-wing activity

Contributor to Americans for Constitutional Action

Was head of America First Committee (before World  
War II)  
Sponsored 1944 luncheon which launched Human Events  
Honorary Chairman, For America  
Member of and contributor to Citizens' Foreign Aid  
Committee  
Contributor to Americans for Constitutional Action  
Former Trustee, America's Future  
Has been on advisory boards of: American Security  
Council, Life Line, and Young Americans for  
Freedom

(b) Goldwater boosters not necessarily authorized

In addition to the previously-listed boosters who are quite clearly a part of the Goldwater campaign, there are many other supporters whose status with the campaign is not clear. Undoubtedly some of the following had their activity accepted by the Goldwater camp, but they are included here in an effort to be cautious in the classification.

Goldwater activity

Dr. Cyrus W. Anderson (Denver physician and former  
President of the Colorado Medical Society)  
President of Coloradans for Goldwater, apparently not  
connected with other groups with the same purpose.

Tom Anderson (publisher of a group of southern farm  
papers originally built around Farm and Ranch)  
Major speaker at the conservative rally for Goldwater  
in San Francisco on the eve of the 1964 convention.

Ezra Taft Benson (former Secretary of Agriculture)  
Issued a press statement endorsing Goldwater for  
President (AP in Louisville Courier-Journal 10/13/64)

Jack Cox (a former Democrat who ran unsuccessfully  
for Governor of Texas on the Republican ticket)  
Told a Goldwater rally in Harris County, Texas, that  
the Senator "is the man to lead us out of the wilder-  
ness." (Texas Observer 10/18/63)

Robert de Pugh (Norborne, Mo.)  
Said recently: "The Minutemen are as close to being  
100 per cent for Goldwater as it is possible for an  
organization to be." (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 7/15/64)  
Told reporters that his members, who train with guns,  
will infiltrate Democratic campaign headquarters  
around the country to sabotage efforts on behalf of  
President Johnson. (New York Times 8/1/64)

Daniel C. Gainey a Minnesota businessman with a  
ranch in Arizona; was listed as a "friend and admirer  
of Sen. Goldwater" and mentioned as a possible finance  
chairman for the campaign (Human Events 6/29/63)

Right-wing activity

Director of the Association of American Physicians  
and Surgeons, a far-right group which interlocks  
heavily with the Birch Society and has been address-  
ed by Society Founder Robert Welch  
Active in the income tax repeal movement

National council member of the Birch Society  
Executive Committee of Committee Against Summit  
Entanglements, a Birch front  
Chairman of We, The People!  
Tennessee chairman of the income-tax repeal movement  
Spoke at the National Indignation Convention  
Appeared on Manion Forum  
Speaker at meetings sponsored by the Courtneys,  
Harding College and various Farm Bureaus

After his son, Reed, became a full-time Coordinator  
of the John Birch Society, Benson said, that the  
Society is "the most effective non-church organiza-  
tion in our fight against creeping socialism and god-  
less communism." (Salt Lake Tribune 3/21/63)  
Elected National Chairman of We, The People! (N. Y.  
Times 9/28/62)

Former Executive Secretary of a far-right Texas group  
called Freedom in Action  
Addressed the Human Events Political Action Confer-  
ence in January of 1962

Head of The Minutemen, a guerrilla warfare organiza-  
tion  
A member of the Birch Society until recently, when an  
argument developed as to whether he resigned or was  
dropped

Contributor to Intercollegiate Society of Individualists  
(\$300 in 1961)  
Member, Committee on Electoral College Reform,  
American Good Government Society

Goldwater activity

Billy James Hargis (head of Christian Crusade)  
Endorsed Goldwater by name at his 1964 meeting held soon after the San Francisco convention.

Described Goldwater's nomination as "one of God's blessings to Christian Conservatives." (Denver Post 7/20/64)

Al G. Hill (a Dallas and Colorado Springs businessman and son-in-law of H. L. Hunt, the oil billionaire who operates Life Line)

Paid for a mass mailing to Colorado residents asking them to help Goldwater in the primary fight. (Denver Post 5/28/64)

Edwin Hodge, Jr. (Westinghouse Air Brake)  
Member of the group of Pennsylvania industrialists for Goldwater. (Human Events 11/23/63)

Dr. Bob Jones, Jr. (President, Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina)

Addressed a meeting of the Ministers and Laymen for Goldwater in Washington, D. C., September 18, 1964.

Phillip Blair Jones

Said that "the majority of our members [of the John Birch Society] will undoubtedly support Goldwater" and outlined plans for helping their candidate. (New York Times 7/23/64)

Figured in a report of increased Birch activity in Texas in the wake of Goldwater's nomination. (Houston Chronicle 7/13/64)

Joseph P. Kamp (Westport, Conn.)

Author of 1964 pamphlet: "Goldwater MUST be Destroyed -- Who's Promoting and What's Behind the Conspiracy to Get Goldwater and to Discredit the Conservatives"

J. Bracken Lee (Mayor of Salt Lake City and former governor of Utah)

Addressed the Goldwater rally at San Francisco on the eve of the 1964 convention

Liberty Lobby (Washington, D. C.)

Is distributing widely a 12-page tabloid titled "LBJ: A political biography," which is a hard-hitting attack on the President during the campaign.

Right-wing activity

Christian Crusade features such rightists as ex-General Walker and Birch Society Founder Robert Welch

Hargis is an Endorser of the Birch Society and was recently head of We, The People!, a Chicago-based collection of extremists

Has given money to the Committee for Constitutional Government, For America, Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, and Americans for Constitutional Action

Endorser of the Manion Forum

Member of the Committee for the Monroe Doctrine, headed by Captain Eddie Rickenbacker and operated by Marvin Liebman

Contributor to Americans for Constitutional Action  
Contributor to Intercollegiate Society of Individualists

National Advisory Board, Billy James Hargis' Christian Crusade

Author of regular column, "Beside Still Waters," for Hargis' Christian Crusade.

Speaker: Leadership conference conducted by International Christian Youth in Cape May, New Jersey, and at an annual meeting of American Council of Churches--both operations of Rev. Carl McIntire.

Southwest coordinator for the John Birch Society

A long-time extreme right-wing pamphleteer, head of the Constitutional Educational League and operator of "Headlines"

In their recent book, Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein of the Anti-Defamation League note that Kamp's "writings over the years have often been marked by ill-concealed anti-Semitic innuendoes." (page 198 of "Danger On The Right")

Endorser of John Birch Society

Endorser of Manion Forum

National Advisory Board of Young Americans for Freedom

Advisory Committee of Hargis' Christian Crusade  
Committee Against Summit Entanglements  
Advisor, Intercollegiate Society of Individualists  
Citizens Foreign Aid Committee

Founded in 1955 by Willis A. Carto, who has served as its Secretary and Treasurer, as well as an officer in other far-right groups. He is reported to have worked for the John Birch Society in 1959, and he published Right, an anti-Semitic newsletter. Liberty Lobby's board includes Birchers and other extremists.

Goldwater activity

John F. Malone, Jr. (President, Pennsylvania Manufacturers Assn.)

Supports Goldwater in Pennsylvania (Human Events 11/23/63)

Richard D. Morphew

"Indirectly endorsed" Goldwater in an interview with the Washington Post at his Jackson, Mississippi, headquarters. (8/11/64)

Charles Neils

A Montana County Chairman for Goldwater

Mrs. M. J. Pritchard (Chairman, Conservative Citizens Committee, Minneapolis, Minn.)

Her organization circulates draft-Goldwater petitions. (Minneapolis Tribune 6/2/63)

Peter Reiss (attorney, Sheboygan, Wisconsin)

Entered the Wisconsin presidential primary race to carry the Goldwater banner against favorite son John Byrnes. (Madison Capital Times 2/26/64)

John Rousselot (former Republican Congressman from California)

Invited to the secret Chicago meeting to draft Goldwater, but apparently did not attend (Los Angeles Times 4/30/63)

Member, Citizens Committee of California, a draft Goldwater group (Palo Alto Times 3/15/63)

Reported by the Associated Press to feel that "the nomination of Senator Barry Goldwater has given the Society added purpose." (Washington Star 9/6/64)

Virgil Salera (specialist in Latin American economics)

Would join Goldwater's group of advisers if invited. (Newsweek 9/31/64)

Dr. Dean Sauer (St. Louis physician)

Said that his own personal preference is Senator Goldwater and that he urged all members of the Birch Society to vote for Goldwater (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 7/9/64)

George S. Schuyler (columnist for Negro newspapers, and Associate Editor of the Pittsburgh Courier)

Announced his endorsement of Goldwater after the GOP convention, although the Courier disassociated itself from the statement (UPI in the Washington Post 8/14/64)

Right-wing activity

Endorser, Manion Forum

Public Relations Director of the segregationist (White) Citizens' Councils of America

Sponsored the appearance at Libby, Montana, in March, 1964, of Hilaire Du Berrier, a correspondent for American Opinion (the John Birch Society magazine), and also listed as an available speaker through the Society's American Opinion Speaker's Bureau

National Policy Committee, For America  
Committee for the Monroe Doctrine  
Citizens Foreign Aid Committee

Contributed to Intercollegiate Society of Individualists

President, Wisconsin Chapter of the John Birch Society

Public Relations Director, John Birch Society  
Speaker, Human Events 4th Political Action Conference

National Advisory Board, Billy James Hargis' Christian Crusade

National Advisory Board, Young Americans for Freedom

Formerly Senior Economist, American Enterprise Association, now called American Enterprise Institute

Guest lecturer at the West Coast summer school of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists

Committee of Endorsers, John Birch Society

Available speaker, American Opinion Speakers Bureau of the John Birch Society

Executive Committee of the American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters

Member, American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange, which--along with the Katanga group--is a Marvin Liebman enterprise

State Committee of the Conservative Party of N. Y.  
National Advisory Board, Young Americans for Freedom



Goldwater activity

Dr. Fred C. Schwarz (Long Beach, Calif.)

Shouted "Amen" to suggestion that we need a different President -- "A President like Barry Goldwater!" (Before the Long Beach Women's Club, 7/26/63, reported in Forster & Epstein's Danger on the Right p. 66)

Said that "what American Communists feared most was the election of Mr. Goldwater" (quoting New York Times 8/9/64) and that "his supporters across the United States have shown wild enthusiasm" for Goldwater. (quoting St. Louis Post-Dispatch 8/6/64)

Gerald L. K. Smith

As early as June, 1959, praised Goldwater in his magazine, The Cross and the Flag: "Frequently people ask me my estimation of U. S. Senator Goldwater... He was one of the most sincere and intelligent friends that Senator Joseph McCarthy had... He is personable, handsome, fearless and completely loyal to American tradition... " More recently: "He is a godsend to America. For the first time since I have been a man one of the old parties has nominated a candidate for whom I have complete respect. " (The Cross and the Flag, September, 1964)

Southern States Industrial Council (Nashville, Tenn.)

Several leaders of the Council have pointed out that, while it will not officially endorse a candidate, "Goldwater's views come closer to those of the Council than do those of any other major political figure. " (Luther J. Carter in the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot 8/2/64)

Mrs. Truman Wood (Omaha housewife)

Originated the plan called "Goldwater for President Trust" or "Christmas Clubs for Barry" in which people put money in escrow for use by Goldwater should he decide to run for President. (AP in New York Times 7/24/63)

Right-wing activity

Head of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, which has run "Schools of Anti-Communism" all over the country

Speaker, Freedom Forum XX of the National Educational Program, an affiliate of Harding College.

Veteran head of the Christian Nationalist Crusade and recognized bigot

Described by a group of Congressmen before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a "racist propagandist" and as "America's most raucous purveyor of anti-Semitism and of racial and religious bigotry. " (79th Congress, H. C. U. A. hearings)

The Council, which urges withdrawal from the U. N. and calls the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling a "flagrant violation" of states' rights, distributes substantial quantities of ultra-conservative materials. "A half dozen or more of the men in the Council's leadership have been connected with Manion Forum, Americans for Constitutional Action, or similar groups, and at least two of them have had ties with the Birch Society. " (Carter, op. cit.)

Daughter of the late Congressman Howard Buffett, Nebraska Republican, Trustee of Americans for Constitutional Action, and Birch Society member. Joined with two others to spearhead the campaign which brought Fred Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade to Omaha (AP in Bismarck Pioneer 9/5/63)

(3) Repudiated support

Calvin F. Craig, Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan of Georgia, announced his support of Goldwater (AP 7/25/64) and plans to form a Democrats-for Goldwater campaign with Roy V. Harris, "longtime segregationist leader. " (AP 7/25/64) Also, Robert M. Shelton, Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America, urged Klan members to vote for Goldwater. (AP in Washington Post 8/13/64) Goldwater issued a statement repudiating Klan support by name. (N. Y. Times 8/7/64)

TO: John Stewart  
FROM: MORTON PLNER

File - 10/23/64  
Extremism

In the speech he never delivered in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963, John F. Kennedy~~y~~ meant to warn Americans of one of the dangers we face.

"There will always be dissident voices heard in the land, expressing opposition without alternatives, finding fault but never favor, perceiving gloom on every side and seeking influence without responsibility. Those voices are inevitable...

"But today other voices are heard in the land--voices preaching doctrines wholly unrelated to reality, wholly unsuited to the sixties, doctrines which apparently assume that words will suffice without weapons, that vituperation is as good as victory, and that peace is a sign of weakness."

President Kennedy planned to continue: "We cannot expect that everyone, to use the phrase of a decade ago, will 'talk sense to the American people.' But we can hope that fewer people will listen to nonsense. And the notion that strength is but a matter of slogans is nothing but just plain nonsense."

Today, as never before, we hear Americans speak in slogans, not in terms of the realities that face the world. And what they are saying is not just plain nonsense--it is dangerous nonsense.

I am talking about those who cry: "Take the U.S. out of the U.N. and the U.N. out of the U.S."

I am talking about those who look upon a fine American as the apostle of all evil and cry: "Impeach Earl Warren."

I am talking about those who call for repeal of the income tax, social security, and every other progressive measure of the past half-century.

I am talking about those who call for an end to all foreign aid, a retreat to the isolation of selfishness and narrow self-interest.

I am talking about those who accuse the past five presidents of the United States of being part of a Communist conspiracy--witting or unwitting

dupes of some fantastic scheme to "mongrelize the nation" and debilitate it, and turn it over to some sinister international body.

I am talking of the Radical Right, an element in our society which cannot be regarded as part of this nation's responsible political fabric but whose words and slogans obfuscate <sup>and</sup> ~~the~~ prevent serious political discussion.

The Radical Right often wraps itself in secrecy and furtiveness--the marks of organized conspiracy, which, incidentally, it is not. Yet the Radical Rights' analysis of all national and international positions is rooted in the concept of "Communist conspiracy."

In the eyes of the Radical Right, this republic is imperilled on every front by a conspiracy which--it says--has been entrenched in Washington for at least thirty years, and which is softening up the country for Communist takeover. In its mythology, the "softening up" has resulted from the advocacy of Marxism in domestic policy, and sell-out and softness in foreign affairs.

I am not, in any sense, talking about political conservatives in the United States when I talk about the Radical Right. Fundamentally, one major difference between conservative and liberal is that the conservative is sensitive to dangers, the liberal sensitive to opportunities. But the true conservative cherishes all gains and seeks to retain them. He is neither irrational nor haunted by the spectre of conspiracy. And his statements are neither reckless nor irresponsible.

But I do think that the American conservative has not yet fully cleaned his house of the Radical Right in the same way that, long ago, American liberals cleaned their house of extreme left-wing elements. I have first-hand knowledge of that house-cleaning--and I know the liberals did a thorough job.

There are real problems, in abundance, facing this country. We have sought to spell them out in the course of this campaign. They concern human rights and poverty, the problems of education, of improving our cities and our farms, of retraining workers and caring for the aged. Throughout the world, we know

the twilight struggle will continue in one fashion or another for years to come. Fear and frustration will stalk us, for years to come. And those who seek quick and easy answers to the delicate problems of the cold war will continue to be drawn to the Radical Right, for their words seem to offer easy answers.

Tensions and alarm will continue to test us all. Our emotional health, our tolerance, our understanding and good-will in the future will be subjected to ordeals beyond imagination.

That is why I think the Radical Right now represents a real danger to this nation--and to both major political parties. It has a great potential for membership among the confused, the ignorant, the sad and lonely and troubled people of our times.

Members of the Radical Right offer answers to problems they only dimly understand. They use prejudice and fear to find scapegoats among the innocent and unwary people of good faith. They weaken our faith in our government, in the military, the clergy, our educational resources--and all the institutions of democracy which have served us so well. They belittle the dangers of nuclear war.

And they insult our intelligence.

Recently, members of one Radical Right group, the John Birch Society, brought chaos to the city of Amarillo, Texas. They instigated a drive to get rid of so-called Communist reading matter--including John Steinbeck's Grapes of Wrath, Mackinlay Kantor's Andersonville, and A. B. Guthrie's The Way West--all of these books, incidentally, Pulitzer Prize winners. They even attacked--and succeeded in getting removed from the shelves of Amarillo's libraries the great work of George Orwell, 1984--a book which, it is generally agreed, is the most devastating critique of life under Communism ever written. All these books, for a while at least, were removed from library shelves.



The Radical Right is not a political entity. But through its concerted propaganda drives it seeks to change the political climate of the United States. And we know that<sup>Y</sup> in some areas, for periods of time, as in Amarillo, by producing chaos and fear, it has profoundly affected the intellectual climate of a community and stifled freedom of expression and belief.

I believe that those who preach the conspiracy theory of history are weakening this nation by diverting us from the real problems that face us.

I believe that those who proclaim that this nation and its government are in the grip of a Communist political apparatus whittle away at the very concepts of the Republic they say they would save.

I believe that those who would deny equal opportunity to other Americans, no matter what their race or background--an implied but certain tenet of the Radical Right--are critically harming this nation, here and around the world.

There is no Communist conspiracy on the part of the United States government--and there never has been. This dangerous nonsense has, at times, had such impact that Presidents of the United States have had to modify actions which they knew would best serve the interests of the nation--lest they be accused of being soft on Communism.

Neither Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, nor John F. Kennedy ever sought to soften up the United States for the "Communist take-over." The notion is absurd and sick. I think we can all be non-partisan in answering such charges. One of the men most maligned by the Radical Right in the United States, a man charged with having been a willing tool of Communist conspiracy, is Dwight D. Eisenhower. I assure you that as Commanding General of the Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces--or as President of the United States for eight years--Dwight D. Eisenhower never wittingly or unwittingly served any interests but those of the United States.

There is an unreal quality--almost shame--in the fact that we feel the need to defend the records of such men. But still, defying logic and sanity,

the Radical Right persists and appears to grow.

It is not non-existent treason in high places that threatens the nation's security; it is ignorance and misinformation at the gutter level that threaten us. In a world of continuing problems, irritations and frustration, America's leadership must be guided by the lights of learning and reason. Those who would extinguish those lights would black out our future. If those who confuse rhetoric with reason--or slogans with common sense--ever become ascendant, this nation will have lost its honor, its humanity, its reason for being.

# EDITORS' NEWS SERVICE...

FOR IMMEDIATE USE  
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1964

DISPATCH # 257

## GOLDWATER CONNECTIONS WITH RIGHT WING DOCUMENTED BY REPORT OF GROUP RESEARCH

WASHINGTON, D.C., Oct. 22 (Special) -- A documented record of Senator Barry M. Goldwater's association with the organized right in American politics lists 134 Goldwater advisers, associates and supporters who have participated in radical right movements.

The 31-page study by Group Research, Inc., of Washington, D.C., also includes a chronological record of Senator Goldwater's association with the radical right, beginning in 1958 with the first Goldwater for President proposal.

Group Research states, in the opening paragraph of its report, that its purpose is to "highlight several key movements in Goldwater's behalf by the organized right wing ... choosing only those which Goldwater made significant by some kind of personal involvement rather than attributing to him any movements completely beyond his control or influence."

The report acknowledges the difficulty of pinpointing the exact date of the move to put Senator Goldwater in the White House, and notes that the Senator "became established" as the "leading spokesman for conservatism" in the late 1950's.

Group Research then traces the right-wing activities in Goldwater's behalf up to and including the 1960 Republican National Convention, through the Draft Goldwater movement of 1961 and 1962, and into the 1964 California Republican primary, which Group Research calls "a case study of the Radical Right in action."

With regard to Goldwater personnel and close supporters, the report lists 28 staff assistants, 19 advisers, 60 authorized boosters, and 27 "not necessarily authorized" boosters who have right-wing connections.

The staff assistants include Dean Burch, Republican National Chairman, John E. Grenier, executive director of the Republican National Committee, Karl Hess, Goldwater's main speech writer, Edward A. McCabe, research director of the Republican National Committee, and Jeremiah Milbank, Jr., assistant treasurer of the Republican National Committee.

-more-

Authorized Goldwater boosters listed with right-wing activity include John A. Stormer, president of the Missouri Federation of Young Republicans and author of "None Dare Call It Treason"; Mrs. Phyllis Schlafly, president of the Illinois Federation of Republican Women and author of "A Choice -- Not An Echo" and co-author of "The Gravediggers"; and Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, a National Advisory Board member of Young Americans for Freedom.

"Not necessarily authorized" Goldwater boosters include Gerald L. K. Smith, who endorsed Goldwater in his journal, "The Cross and The Flag"; Fred C. Schwarz of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade; Robert de Pugh, head of The Minutemen; and John Rousselot, public relations director of the John Birch Society.

Following is a synopsis of the Group Research report up to and including the California primary:

#### ORIGINS OF SUPPORT (1958-1959)

On July 1, 1959, the newspaper "Human Events" proposed that Senator Goldwater should be President. In its July 25, 1964, edition, the paper recalled this event and also printed a 1958 picture of Senator Goldwater flanked by the late Frank Hanighen, "Human Events" publisher, and James L. Wick "Human Events" executive editor. The picture's underlines say: "Wick said (to Goldwater) 'We would like to see you President of the United States.'"

The same "Human Events" article also notes that soon after the paper's 1959 endorsement, Senator Goldwater was persuaded to write "Conscience of a Conservative" by Leo Reardon. Reardon was a confidential adviser to Father Coughlin and is now vice president of the Manion Forum, a program on which Goldwater has "appeared several times," including a January 21, 1962, appearance that Group Research said was "well after Manion had been publicly identified as a National Council member of the John Birch Society."

The John Birch Society is also listed among the early Goldwater supporters. Group Research quotes Jack Bell, author of "Mister Conservative," as quoting Senator Goldwater as saying: "My sole criticism of the group has been wrapped up in Bob Welch's being head of it...." To which Bell himself added: "Senator Goldwater was unwilling to cut the Birchites off his list of potential supporters."



Group Research adds:

"No change occurred in that situation during the remainder of 1963 and into the campaign of 1964. In fact, Goldwater has repeatedly said complimentary things about the Society and its membership, and the Society leaders have kept up support for him for President."

The report also delved into Goldwater's association with two right-wing organizations:

-- The Committee Against Summit Entanglements.

-- We, The People!

The Committee Against Summit Entanglements bought full-page ads in 100 newspapers in August of 1959 to protest President Eisenhower's 1960 Paris summit meeting. Birch Society leader Welch described the Committee as "by far our most successful" national "front" organization. Goldwater was an executive committee member.

Three weeks later -- on September 20, 1959 -- Goldwater went to Chicago to address what Group Research called "one of the most extreme of the right wing political and economic organizations." This is We, The People!, a group whose recommended reading list included Gerald L. K. Smith's "The Cross and The Flag."

#### 1960 CONVENTION ACTIVITY

Group Research quotes M. Stanton Evans, author of "Report on the Campus" (Regnery, 1961, p. 94) as saying there were "four separate Goldwater committees ... on hand." These were:

-- Kent Courtney -- who, with his wife, Phoebe, runs the Conservative Society of America, and a far-right paper, "The Independent American" -- worked closely with Harry Everingham, top staff man of We, The People!, to stage the major Goldwater rally.

-- Youth for Goldwater for Vice President, which Group Research identifies as "the immediate forerunner" of Young Americans for Freedom.

-- Goldwater for President Coordinating Committee, whose co-chairman, Aubrey Barker, was on the platform at the Courtney-staged rally, according to the report.

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-- Americans for Goldwater, whose formation was announced by Reginald Mitchell, its press contact, who also has been the Washington press contact for Admiral Ben Morell's Americans for Constitutional Action, and General Bonner Fellers' Citizens Foreign Aid Committee. Co-chairmen of the committee were Clarence Manion and another Birch Society National Council member, Frank C. Brophy of Phoenix.

Group Research said of this organization:

"This appears to have been the major effort and the one to which the Senator lent his personal prestige."

The report pays particularly detailed attention to the Young Americans for Freedom, which many observers feel is the strongest right-wing group and the one with the most potential for the future. The report, quoting William Dunphy in "Commonweal" (April 14, 1961), says:

"Goldwater met with the Youth for Goldwater leaders right after the convention to thank them for their role in the demonstrations and suggested that they form a national organization for young conservatives. The result was the formation of Young Americans for Freedom. ...

"More recently, the energies of the YAF have been largely absorbed in the Goldwater drive. (The September, 1964, issue of "New Guard" tells about seven YAF leaders who have high positions in the Goldwater-Miller campaign.) ...

"The latest YAF announcement - September 21, 1964 -- tells of joining a new campaign group to be called Young Americans for Goldwater-Miller (YAF-GM), and assures members that this 'should not in any way diminish our constant activity in the conservative movement which will last long after the elections of 1964.'"

#### THE DRAFT GOLDWATER MOVEMENT 1961-62

This began with a secret meeting in Chicago on December 3, 1961, plans for which had been made on October 8. The details were explained in the August 11, 1964 issue of the "National Review" by publisher William Rusher in an article: "Suite 3505: the Inside Story of how, when and where the Goldwater candidacy was conceived and launched."

Group Research says "there is no complete agreement among published reports on the list of 55 who attended the secret meeting, but it is apparent that it was a mixture of the conservative wing of the GOP, mere observers, and active right wingers." Some were, Jeremiah Milbank, Jr., and William Middendorf, who, Group Research says, "became key money raisers and stayed on in that capacity after Goldwater was nominated"; Peter O'Donnell, Texas State Republican Chairman who became chairman of the Draft Goldwater Committee; Mrs. Patricia Hutar, who became assistant chairman of the Republican National Committee in charge of women's activities after Goldwater's nomination.

#### 1964 CALIFORNIA PRIMARY

This, says Group Research, was the "apparently decisive" battle in getting the Republican nomination for Goldwater.

"The coalition between the candidate and the far-right dated at least back to September, 1963," when Goldwater announced a 23-man advisory group to tell him whether or not to enter the primary, according to the report.

Named as members of this group are former Senator William F. Knowland; Walter Knott, an adviser to Billy James Hargis and treasurer of the income-tax-repeal organization, Liberty Amendment Committee of the USA; Joseph C. Shell, who opposed Richard M. Nixon for California's 1962 GOP gubernatorial nomination; Mrs. Joseph M. Crosby, identified in the report as "a paid field coordinator of the John Birch Society and organizer of the Network of Patriotic Letter Writers; and State Finance Chairman Henry Salvatori.

"Thus," states Group Research, "the complexion of the Goldwater delegation from California, like the ranks of his grass-roots supporters, ranged from ultra-conservatives to outright Birchite. Indeed, both the candidate and his campaign manager, former Senator Knowland, refused to repudiate Birch support."

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## GOLDWATER RIGHT-WING AFFILIATIONS

Besides the Committee Against Summit Entanglements and We, The People! , the Group Research report says the Senator has been active in the American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters, has encouraged the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, was a member of the Committee of One Million (Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations), was a sponsor of the Conservative Book Club, and has endorsed the Americans for Constitutional Action. This, in addition to his several appearances on the Manion Forum and other programs and speaking engagements at right-wing meetings.

"In the 12 years that Senator Goldwater has been on the national scene," the report concludes, "he has made hundreds of appearances of all kinds and has joined several movements of significance to his position in the far-right spectrum."

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From Fair Comment  
October, 1964  
Volume I, No. 3  
Fair Campaign Practices  
Committee, Inc.

#### FOOTNOTES AND FANCY FREE

Editor's Note: The following is extracted, by permission, from a review published by the National Committee for Civic Responsibility, a non-partisan organization of Cleveland, Ohio. By its code of regulations, the organization takes no partisan position except where violence is advocated or practiced, or where calumny - the malicious use of falsehood - is used to intimidate or discredit.

The Committee's review is by far the best published treatment of Stormer's book. A research committee including six librarians, familiar with the in's and out's of the Congressional Record and committee hearings and reports, prepared the review.

Fair Comment deeply regrets that space limitations permit reprinting less than a fourth of the original review. An exhaustive effort, it doesn't lend itself to summary or condensation.

The full review was read into the Congressional Record on September 10, pages A4650 through A4653.

The New York office of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee will provide reprints of the review from the Congressional Record, at 10¢ each for single copies, and at cost for larger quantities, pro-rated from \$12.00 a thousand.

John A. Stormer, None Dare Call it Treason (Florissant, Missouri: Liberty Bell Press, 254 pp., 75¢).

Since this book contains 818 references supposedly substantiating the material contained therein, it gives the appearance of being the well-documented study which it claims to be. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Stormer relies heavily for his documentation on the Congressional Record and upon testimony given before committees of the Congress but in most instances he fails to give the name of the person whose testimony he relies upon or the name of the person who inserted the material into the Record.

Since the Congressional Record contains material on every conceivable side of every issue along with much extraneous material, and since hearings before congressional committees contain testimony from many unreliable sources, including Communists, it is necessary to know just who is saying what if one is to properly make an evaluation. Stormer seldom provides this information in his documentation.

If the reader does not understand the nature of the Congressional Record and if he cannot differentiate between testimony before congressional committees and the findings of those committees and so is led to believe that such "documentation" is in any way official or necessarily factual, the fault is not entirely Stormer's.

But the reader has a right to expect that references set forth by Stormer as documentation will at least say what Stormer claims for it. In case after case, the author has subverted those references to give a totally erroneous impression and even to say precisely the opposite of what his own reference claims.

Some examples:

Stormer, pages 169 and 170: "This becomes sharply clear in an article by

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Assistant to President Kennedy, which set forth the plan for achieving socialism in America" (Congressional Record, February 6, 1962, p. A881). Schlesinger outlines no such plan; in fact, Schlesinger's remarks, inserted in the Record by Representative Charles E. Goodell, of New York, February 6, 1962, pages A881-A884, said precisely the opposite:

Page A881: "The socialist state is thus worse than the capitalist state because it is more inclusive in its coverage and more unlimited in its power. Organization corrupts; total organization corrupts totally. The socialist state justifies itself on the ground that the concentration of power is necessary to do good; but it has never solved the problem of how you insure that power bestowed to do good will not be employed to do harm, especially when you remove all obstacles to its exercise."

Page A882: "The more varieties of ownership the better; liberty gets more fresh air and sunlight through the interstices of a diversified society than through the closeknit grip of collectivism. The recipe for retaining liberty is not nationalization but muddling through."

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The front cover of "None Dare Call it Treason" presents the claim that it is "The carefully documented story of America's retreat from victory." The back cover of the book calls it "a careful compilation of facts from hundreds of congressional investigations and dozens of authoritative books."

The research committee of the National Committee for Civic Responsibility finds that it is neither carefully documented nor factual and that the word "authoritative" does not apply to many of Stormer's sources.

\* \* \*

In 12 instances, Stormer cites as his authority books which comprise the John Birch Society packet "One Dozen Candles."

In at least 35 other instances Stormer has used as his authority such documentation as the "Dan Smoot Report," the "National Education Program," the bulletin of the John Birch Society, "America's Future," and other biased rightwing publications.

Such publications can, in no sense, be considered "authoritative." They cannot do much more than attest to the fact that someone else in rightwing circles shares Stormer's views.

In 66 instances, Stormer gives as his authority "hearings" before congressional committees, and in most instances gives no indication as to who is testifying. This is no documentation at all since many persons testify with opposing viewpoints and, in fact, this is the purpose of hearings. To cite testimony given at hearings as being somehow "authoritative" or "official" is unjustified.

In 65 instances Stormer cites the Congressional Record as his authority. As is the case with congressional hearings, Stormer often fails to identify the person inserting these things into the Record. The Congressional Record contains all views and opinions of all Congressmen and much other material as well. The only thing official about the Congressional Record is that it is a record of everything that goes on in the Congress and whatever other material Congressmen choose to insert. Certainly no case can be made for using the Congressional Record as an "authority" upon which to document anything, for by doing this, one could "prove" his case on either side of any controversial issue or on both.

\* \* \*

Stormer's pretensions to scholarship and documentation might easily deceive many high-minded and intelligent but largely inexperienced people and undermine their patriotism by creating doubts about our political, social and economic system.

To the average reader, his documentation seems impressive and few will take

the time to discover for themselves that it cannot withstand even the most cursory examination.

The nature of the Congressional Record and testimony before congressional committees being what they are, surely research would have provided Stormer with accurate references which would tend to concur with whatever assertion he wishes to make. That Stormer did not even bother to do such research and so led any careful reader directly to material which refutes his allegations, would seem to presuppose that he did not write the book for the careful or well-informed reader. For the very nature of some of Stormer's charges would insure that such a reader would check the documentation and, once that is done, Stormer's game is up.

The many and obvious distortions of fact, historical and otherwise, are not within the province of the National Committee for Civic Responsibility's concern, but since this is done to prove a pattern of treason within the United States, some examples would seem to be in order.

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Reference 29 in chapter 8, in which Time magazine is accused of lying about the affiliations of Gustavo Duran in order to discredit Senator Joseph McCarthy, refers to the Congressional Record for November 14, 1951. Congress was not in session on November 14, 1951, consequently, there is no Record for that date.

In summary, the subject book is, at best, an incredibly poor job of research and documentation, and at worst, a deliberate hoax and a fraud. This conclusion has been reached without giving any consideration whatsoever to those things which Stormer presents as a matter of his own opinion or that of others. Matters of that kind must properly be left to partisan debate.

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SECRETS OF THE SCISSORS

Bewildering Tale of Party Betrayal

By William Randolph Hearst, Jr.  
Editor-in-Chief  
The Hearst Newspapers  
(Written for Fair Comment)  
Phyllis Schlafly, A Choice Not An  
Echo (Alton, Illinois: Pere Marquette  
Press, 126 pp. 75¢)

I have just put down, with a bewildered sigh, a book of fantastic political indictments. It is called A Choice Not an Echo. Confusing as the title at first glance, it becomes the more so as one plods through a monotonous reiteration of purported conspiracies by which, since 1936 and through 1960, Republican Presidential nominations allegedly have been contrived by an arrogant coterie of New York based "kingmakers."

I have long stood on a step ladder, pad and pencil in hand, gazing down on the political scene. The view sometimes has revealed shenanigans varying in intensity from immaterial to dangerous.

In her venturesome compilation of supposed incidents, largely conjectures based on clippings scissored from newspapers and periodicals, Phyllis Schlafly has composed a structure of war mongering, "America last" plots that left your reviewer totally unconvinced.

In this free-spoken democracy, which tolerates and sometimes accepts, vilification, we have bred many cynics eager to suspect their public figures and gleeful if their skepticism seems verified by an authoritative finger of accusation. Mrs. Schlafly will be regarded by these as an authority. She has long been prominent in Illinois Republican politics, attending national conventions as a delegate, and twice seeking a Congressional seat. She is research director of an anti-communist radio program.

Mrs. Schlafly does not hurl epithets. But her accusing finger is constantly busy. It points at a succession of nominees as either cooperative connivers or, as she makes clear as to Eisenhower, "a political amateur," innocent victims of the "kingmakers." President Johnson is virtually passed over and President Kennedy even less considered. The book is not as concerned with Democrats, though leaders of the party are described as having been in cahoots with the Republicans.

The author hero is Barry Goldwater for whose nomination the book excitedly plugged. Her hope was achieved. Nelson Rockefeller, Scranton and other alleged actors in the "kingmakers" drama did not prevail.

Mrs. Schlafly's premise is bluntly stated: "A few secret kingmakers based in New York have selected every Republican Presidential nominee since 1936 and successfully forced their choice on a free country."

Mrs. Schlafly recounts our foreign policy setbacks. There is no quarrel with that. Everybody has a hand at it. She has a word to say about Bobby Baker and some others, and here, too many will nod understandingly. Then, tearing into her own party leaders, she demands:

"How did it happen that, in four major Presidential campaigns, Republicans were manoeuvred into nominating candidates who did not campaign on the major issues? It wasn't any accident. It was planned that way. In each of their losing Presidential years, a small group of kingmakers, using hidden persuaders and psychological warfare techniques, manipulated the Republican National Convention to nominate candidates who would sidestep or suppress the key issues.



"The Kingmakers do not want the New-Deal-New Frontier foreign policy--in which they have a vested interest--debated, investigated or submitted to the voters.

"The secret kingmakers have made common cause with the Democrats who had everything to gain and nothing to lose if the Republicans made a weak campaign. One of the favorite tricks of the Democrats is to try to get the Republicans to pass over their strongest candidate and nominate instead a candidate who will be easy to beat."

(How about that, Senator Goldwater?)

And so:

"When Landon was buried in 1936 under an avalanche, the kingmakers breathed a collective sigh of relief that the Republican Party had escaped passing into control of the midwest."

In 1940, says Mrs. Schlafly, Thomas Lamont, senior Morgan partner, and British Ambassador Lothian, at a select dinner party, urged immediate American entry into World War II to help Britain with Wendell Willkie "all out for war...as our duty" and Senator Robert A. Taft, "a man of high principle" to whom "the plot was pretty clear" refusing to fall for it. So, the "kingmakers" had their man. Were they bothered that he lost against Franklin Roosevelt? Read:

"Their objective was that, if by chance a Republican should win, he would be a man the secret kingmakers could control."

In 1944, says the book, Thomas E. Dewey refrained from spilling the beans: that "Roosevelt had invited and encouraged the Pearl Harbor attack" and (the Japanese code having been broken) knew in advance of the impending assault. Mrs. Schlafly says Dewey later became one of the "powerful" kingmakers. Dewey's 1948 defeat "did not bother the kingmakers at all." All they wanted was a candidate on both tickets who would rubber-stamp their "American Last" foreign policy, says Mrs. Schlafly.

Came 1952 and the "big steal" in which Eisenhower, completely unaware of sordid tactics of the "kingmakers" received the nomination that Senator Taft believed he had in hand. And so it went later with Nixon as candidate and Rockefeller as aspirant, the pages continue.

Forsaking clippings, the author tells of a 1957 mysterious cloak-and-dagger secrecy meeting on a Georgia island, the purposes and conclusions of which she does not relate, or may not know. Participants? Eugene R. Black, McGeorge Bundy, Arthur H. Dean, Thomas E. Dewey- oh a goodly list, including Fulbright, Hoffman, C. D. Jackson, George F. Kennan, McGill, Nitze, David Rockefeller, Rusk, among them.

There were present, says the book, some eminent foreigners, leaders of business and state, headed by Prince Bernhard, of the Netherlands.

And the book brings in many others who says Mrs. Schlafly, were associated one way or another with goings on of mysterious and conspiratorial nature. Particularly Republicans.

It all makes me wonder on two counts. If Mrs. Schlafly knew all this, why did she hold silence through the years, the while she was flying the Republican banner and trying to be a Republican Congresswoman?

And what, in proof, does she have other than the clippings indicated by the back page reference list? When one puts scissors to article, there's a matter of context that can make a difference.



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