

MASTER'S THESIS

M-1345

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AMERICAN POLITICAL EXTREMISM IN THE 1960's.

The University of Oklahoma, M.A., 1967

Political Science, general

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan



JOHN HERBERT GEORGE 1968

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

AMERICAN POLITICAL EXTREMISM IN THE 1960's

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

BY

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Norman, Oklahoma

1967

AMERICAN POLITICAL EXTREMISM IN THE 1960s

A THESIS

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

BY

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By the time I had finished with Feuerbach and State and Revolution, something had clicked in my brain which shook me like a mental explosion. To say that one had "seen the light" is a poor description of the mental rapture which only the convert knows (regardless of what faith he has been converted to). The new light seems to pour from all directions across the skull; the whole universe falls into pattern like the stray pieces of a jigsaw puzzle assembled by magic at one stroke. There is now an answer to every question, doubts and conflicts are a matter of the tortured past--a past already remote, when one had lived in dismal ignorance in the tasteless, colorless world of those who don't know.

Arthur Koesler in The God That Failed

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Gratitude is expressed to Professor Harry A. Holloway who, as chairman of the writer's thesis committee, was an inspiration in ways too numerous to mention.

Thanks are also given to Professors Walter F. Scheffer and Oliver E. Benson who served as thesis committee members, and to Professor John W. Wood who offered helpful suggestions.

Thanks also go to Professor Stanley E. Shively who first suggested the topic of this thesis.

Special appreciation is expressed to Josephine Soukup, an excellent typist and editor, who prepared the final manuscript.

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AMERICAN POLITICAL EXTREMISM IN THE 1960's

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In referring to political positions taken or political philosophies espoused by particular groups and individuals, the terms "left," "right," and "center" are commonly employed. The usage of these terms supposedly originated in the French Chamber of Deputies in the early 19th century. This legislative body was arranged in a semi-circular pattern with the speaker's rostrum front and center. To the left of the rostrum were the liberals, in the center were the conservatives, and on the right were the royalists and the reactionary elements. These terms have been modified in their usage over the years and have been applied to fit the political patterns of particular nation-states. In the United States the term left still refers to liberal elements, but the terms center and right have changed in usage and have come to refer to moderate elements and conservative elements respectively.¹

¹Seymour Martin Lipset uses the terms left, right,

The purpose of this thesis is to discuss in detail that social phenomenon in the United States which is commonly called political extremism. This will be done with attention to the following points:

1. What is extremism?
2. Characteristics of the extreme left and extreme right; similarities and differences.
3. A brief historical summary of extremism in the 20th century.
4. A classification of extremist groups with a brief discussion of factors involved in this classification.
5. Social origins of extremists--social class, ethnic factors, geographical distribution, etc.
6. Motivating factors.
7. General beliefs of extremists.
8. A discussion of several groups.

As used in this thesis the term "group" will include the term "publication," since even a one-man publication has a readership which constitutes a group. It is convenient to distinguish between groups that are overtly racist and/or anti-Semitic and those that are not. The term "non-racist" is used in reference to such groups as the John Birch Society and Christian Crusade which are not overtly racist or overtly anti-Semitic in their ideology.

and center in an entirely different way in Political Man (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1960), Chapter 5. His usage is based on class distinctions and does not apply in this thesis.

Much of the information used in this thesis was obtained through personal communication with extremists and through extensive reading of extremist publications. Personal contacts with leftists were made in New York and California, while rightist contacts were made in Boston, California, and throughout the Southwest. The bibliography gives a list of extremist periodicals that were examined and, in appropriate instances, the groups which publish them.

Perhaps the major contribution of this thesis is that an attempt is made to examine both the extreme left and right in detail and to show, among other things, that they are similar in many ways. It is believed that this is the first extensive attempt of its kind. A slightly similar but briefer work is a magazine article by Alan F. Westin² in which he points out similarities between the Communist Party U.S.A. in the late 1940's and such groups as the John Birch Society in the early 1960's.

Many of the conclusions herein were arrived at independently. This is especially true with respect to the chapters on extremist characteristics and motivating factors. When possible, quotations from recognized authorities in the fields of political science, sociology, and psychology are used to lend weight to these conclusions. For

²Alan F. Westin, "The Deadly Parallels: Radical Right and Radical Left," Harper's (April, 1962).

instance, such persons as Eric Hoffer, Gabriel Almond, and Hans Toch are quoted in order to back up personal observations concerning hatred, reasons for joining extremist groups, reasons for leaving such groups, etc.

CHAPTER II

WHAT IS EXTREMISM?

Outside the American liberal-conservative spectrum exists a number of people who feel so strongly that things are not as they should be that they are willing to resort to drastic measures in order to bring about the changes they desire. These persons are commonly referred to as extremists. They are neither liberals nor are they conservatives, although they make claims to the contrary. They differ from those who are legitimate participants in the United States liberal-conservative dialogue in several ways. Left extremists maintain that they are the most liberal people in existence, yet they do not usually favor suggested reforms and only occasionally support reforms as a short-term tactic. Lenin stated that to perceive the fight for the eight-hour day as anything other than a tactical move to enhance the party's power position was vulgar reformism.¹ Instead, they want the existing system of government destroyed and replaced with some form of Marxism. They look

¹Gabriel Almond, The Appeals of Communism (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Paperback, 1965), p. 17.

upon reforms as being supportive of a system which from their vantage point is decadent and outmoded and they feel that the sooner it is overthrown the better. Liberal spokesmen are constantly under attack from the extreme left. Those who are principal targets include President Johnson; Vice-President Hubert Humphrey; labor leaders Walter Reuther and George Meany; Negro spokesmen Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, and Martin Luther King; and formerly the late Ambassador Adlai Stevenson and the late President John F. Kennedy. Examples of such attacks will be given later.

Right extremists maintain that they are conservatives, but they seem much more interested in repealing existing laws than in conserving American values. Almost all are against social security and one organization, the Liberty Amendment Committee, has as its main purpose the repeal of the sixteenth amendment to the Constitution. Their crusade to abolish the income tax has the support of the John Birch Society and many other rightist groups. A number of right extremists seem to favor the repeal of most major legislation that has been enacted since the mid-1930's. They mount attacks on such known conservatives as Karl Mundt, Everett Dirksen, William F. Buckley, and Russell Kirk.

In examining factors which would mark an individual or group as extremist one must consider objectives and tactics. This does not mean simply stated aims and stated

methods of achieving these aims, although these are certainly important, but also objectives and tactics which are covert, since ideologies are sometimes nothing more than glittering generalities. For example, most left extremist groups make much noise about "world peace" and organize "passive" demonstrations. But "world peace" to them means a Communist world and their demonstrations are often far from passive. (These observations do not extend to such responsible peace groups as SANE and to their truly passive and orderly demonstrations.) One group, Youth Against War and Fascism, has a so-called Defense Guard which seems to be intent on more than just defense and has apparently attacked hecklers at the slightest provocation.² A young lady who is one of the leaders of this group stated, "If some fascist tries to give us trouble we make an example of him. We tell him, 'Come on, we're not pacifists. If you want trouble you'll get it.'" She illustrated this statement by doubling up her fists and looking determined.³ In a publication which is connected with this group such hecklers are referred to as "pro-war hoodlums" and "pro-fascists."⁴

Another example of why it is necessary to look deeper than stated objectives and tactics is evident when

²Personal communication with this group.

³Personal observation and communication.

⁴"Youth Assail Bombing; Defend Picket Line," Workers World (December 23, 1965), pp. 1 and 3.

one contrasts the stated aims of the John Birch Society with a few of the actions of that group. One of their principal stated tactics is the formation of fronts of all sizes, both temporary and permanent, much like those of the Communists.⁵ One of the Society's main aims is to ". . . drive on toward our higher goals of more permanent accomplishment; towards an era of less government and more responsibility; in which we can build a better world."⁶ There is nothing in either of these statements nor in other writings related to the Society which gives a hint of some of the other pursuits of this group such as:

1. Midnight phone calls to people who oppose them.
2. Pressure on library and school officials in relation to books and magazines.
3. Surreptitiously placing small cards in markets which sell products from Communist countries which say something like "Always buy your Communist products at this store" or "Thank you for supporting world Communism by shopping at this store." (In a case of this sort it would seem that a true conservative would write to his congressman rather than sabotage his grocer.)

In what other ways do extremists differ from liberals and conservatives? Both conservatives and liberals have a commitment to democratic ideals and accept the American consensus. Conservatives generally believe that man is

⁵Robert Welch, The Blue Book of the John Birch Society (Ninth Printing; Belmont, Massachusetts: Copyright by the author, 1961), pp. 86-94.

⁶Ibid., p. 174.

not necessarily a rational being, is not essentially good, and that he acts more knowledgeably when he acts in his own self-interest. Because of this belief the conservative prefers to limit the power of men over other men, i. e., he prefers to limit government. The conservative realizes that our system must change in order to have continued existence, but he is quite cautious regarding such changes and is not highly receptive to new ideas. He prefers to move slowly in such areas and feels that if something grows up over a long period of time there is probably a great deal of deep and careful thought connected with it.

Liberals generally believe that man is a rational being and that he is essentially good. The liberal is quite receptive to new ideas and believes that reforms are often needed in order to keep pace with a growing and changing society. He is not reluctant to use the power of the national government if a problem appears incapable of solution by any other institution. He wishes to reform within the existing system and is therefore supportive of that system.⁷

Thus there are two broad principal ways in which liberals and conservatives differ from extremists:

1. Both liberals and conservatives realize that innovations must take place within our system.

⁷A detailed discussion of liberalism and conservatism may be found in Clinton Rossiter, Conservatism in America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962).

The conservative is cautious with respect to these innovations, while the liberal is highly receptive. The right extremist not only opposes change, but quite often wishes to repeal many existing laws and "go back" to the way things were done at some time in the past. The left extremist does not want to bother with reforms, but wants to get rid of the system and replace it with another.

2. The conservative and the liberal seldom impute wicked motives to political opponents. They may question an opponent's judgment, sources of information, and even powers of reason, but not his motives. Extremists, on the other hand, accuse their opponents of conspiracy and treasonable acts and often indulge in character assassination.

As far as may be determined, definitions of political extremism are non-existent. This subject is not mentioned in dictionaries of political science or sociology. Nor do any of the books or articles on extremism give a definition. Generally these writings describe beliefs and some tactics. It has been shown that extremists differ greatly from liberals and conservatives and that they deviate from the political norms of American society. McCloskey⁸ found that among the general public there is at least agreement on the rhetoric of democracy, but extremists do not even seem to agree with this and evidently are not willing to accept the American consensus. With these ideas in mind, plus the fact that estimates of the total number of extremists in our nation are always less than 10 million,

⁸Herbert McCloskey, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," American Political Science Review (June, 1964).

the following definition, based on observed behavior of extremists, is submitted for use within the American context:

Political Extremism--A way of thinking or a course of action that is considered to be outside the political value system that is accepted by the great majority of that portion of the American public which possesses at least minimal political awareness.

CHAPTER III

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EXTREME LEFT AND EXTREME RIGHT: SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

All of the characteristics discussed do not apply to all groups, but most of them apply to all groups and all of them apply to most groups.

Similarities

Extremists are haters. The majority of them are permeated with a strong hatred for something or someone. "Hatred is the most accessible and comprehensive of all unifying agents. It pulls and whirls the individual away from his own self, makes him oblivious of his weal and future, frees him of jealousies and self-seeking. . . . movements can rise and spread without belief in a God, but never without belief in a devil."¹ Every person supposedly has the ability to hate, but extremists appear to exhibit hatred to a much greater extent than do other people. Both leftists and rightists feel great animosity toward those

¹Eric Hoffer, The True Believer (New York: Mentor Books, 1962), p. 44.

who strongly disagree with their ideas and generally look upon these people or groups not simply as opponents, but as enemies.

Extremists are absolutely sure that their positions are correct. "The fanatic is . . . mentally cocky, and hence barren of new beginnings."² The extremist gives the impression that he is a supreme egoist; that he has the truth and cannot possibly be wrong. A young New York Communist who is currently enamoured with the Red Chinese made the statement that there is a right side and a wrong side and "I am on the right side."³ Robert Welch, the founder and leader of the John Birch Society, stated in writing, "I defy anybody who is not a Communist himself to read all the known facts about his career and not decide that since at least sometime in the 1930s George Catlett Marshall has been a conscious, deliberate, dedicated agent of the Soviet conspiracy."⁴ The attitude in both cases mentioned here is this: "I am absolutely right. Anyone who disagrees with me is either very stupid or very evil and is a part of the conspiracy against all that is right and true which is what I stand for and represent." To the young admirer

²Ibid., p. 141.

³Personal communication.

⁴Robert Welch, The Politician (Belmont, Massachusetts: Privately printed, Copyright by the author, 1963), p. 15.

of the Chinese Communists, the "decadent capitalists" and "fascist bandits" really know that he is right, but they are very evil men and will not give up as they should. After all, history is against them, as it is against anyone who is an "enemy of the people." To Robert H. W. Welch, Jr., no one is nearly so capable of sorting out the facts and interpreting them as he, with the possible exception of some of the "well-informed patriots" who are in agreement with him. One such person who is in basic agreement with Mr. Welch is the Reverend Billy James Hargis who also seems to be absolutely sure of his correctness. In an interview with Pete Martin, Reverend Hargis was asked, "Don't you ever worry that you may be so carried away with your zest, fervor, and eagerness to show up subversives that you will make a mistake and point an accusing finger at the wrong man?" Reverend Hargis's answer to this question was, "I know what I'm saying is right."⁵

Rokeach⁶ found that all extremists scored high on his Opinionation and Dogmatism scales. Extremists of the right scored the highest, but Communists tested to be the most intolerant of those who disagree with them. A point

⁵Pete Martin, "I Call on Billy James Hargis," Christian Herald (February, 1967), p. 79.

⁶Milton Rokeach, The Open and Closed Mind (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1960). His Opinionation scale measures general intolerance, while his Dogmatism scale measures open and closed belief systems.

to be noted here is that Communists do not score high on the well-known "Authoritarian Personality" scales,⁷ since these scales are apparently designed to measure right authoritarianism. Many of the questions on these scales deal with antipathy toward minority groups which, due to his ideology, the Communist does not seem to possess to any measurable extent. Rokeach's scales, however, are designed to measure general authoritarianism. His findings strongly suggest that although extremists are highly dogmatic, opinionated, and intolerant, some persons who are liberals, moderates, or conservatives also exhibit these characteristics. The difference seems to be that only a very moderate percentage of individuals who are within the liberal-conservative spectrum have these characteristics, while virtually all extremists appear to have them. Whether a person is open or closed-minded rests to some extent on his ability to evaluate information and determine its truth or falsity on the basis of the material itself without any consideration of its source. Extremists appear unable to do this.

Extremists have little or no faith in the democratic processes. The extreme left feels that most elections offer only candidates who represent "imperialist and reactionary interests," since these candidates are committed to working

⁷Theodor W. Adorno et al., The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper and Bros., 1950).

within the "decadent existing system."

President Lyndon Johnson did receive indirect support from the Communist Party U.S.A. in 1964. A pamphlet published in September of that year gave the position of the Communist Party with respect to the presidential election:

Our Party will join with all democratic forces to defeat the ultra-Right Goldwater coalition, while at the same time we will not endorse the presidential candidate of the Democratic Party.⁸

Other left extremist groups either run their own candidates for purposes of gaining publicity for their organizations or they urge their followers and the general public not to vote.

The extreme right often feels the same way about elections. They frequently claim that they have no choice; that both candidates are "soft-on-Communism liberals." A portion of the extreme right favored Senator Goldwater in 1964; not because he agreed with all of their views, but because they found some of his ideas agreeable. Many rightists considered the Senator to be too far to the left, and some of the more "far out" groups maintained that he was a part of the "International Jewish Conspiracy which controls Communism."

A graphic illustration of some right extremists'

⁸Gus Hall, The Eleventh Hour--Defeat the New Fascist Threat (New York: New Currents Publishers, 1964), p. 21.

ideas concerning the democratic processes can be seen by examining a statement from the Minutemen publication, On Target:

On November 3rd, 1964, civilization stumbled across a threshold, as forty million Americans, simply by casting their ballots, fixed upon the world the seal of approval of government by madmen. The twenty-six million who supported the hard road back to sanity made no difference in the outcome. They were overwhelmed by the majority choice, which was apparently directed toward immorality, decadence and eventual slavery. Now two things remain: shall the defeated multitude . . . attempt to stem the tide running full current toward chaos. If so, how are we to do it?⁹

This same type of thinking is illustrated by the fact that after the 1964 presidential election, several extreme rightists in a Southwestern state agreed that the American people "are not capable of governing themselves. What we need is a well-chosen dictator."¹⁰

Extremists favor the denial of certain basic civil liberties to some of their fellow citizens. They seek to silence those who openly disagree with them. Right extremists maintain that Communists and pro-Communists (this term seems to include most people who have strongly criticized the extreme right) should not be allowed to speak in public places, on college campuses, etc. Robert Welch of the John Birch Society gives explicit instructions about

⁹"Madmen Rule the World," On Target (May, 1965), p. 2.

¹⁰Personal communication.

how to silence certain speakers. ". . . there are many of these birds racing around over the country, actually promoting Communism, by making the task of the anti-Communist more difficult, every night. And we could silence them with comparative ease."¹¹ He continues with an explanation of the tactics to be used in embarrassing and silencing Gordon Hall, a long-time lecturer on extremism. The tactics consist of having plants in the audience ask "embarrassing" questions which Mr. Welch evidently feels that Hall will be unable to answer to the satisfaction of the crowd. Welch then concludes with, "Let the barrage indicated go on for a few nights, during that period, and Gordon Hall may still be finding some other way to serve Communist purposes, but it will not be as a speaker, and probably not half as effective in its results."¹²

The attitude of the extreme left toward freedom of speech is the same as that of the extreme right. Gus Hall, a Communist Party leader, was questioned by a reporter:

Question: Do you believe the Bill of Rights should cover the John Birch Society?

Answer: No, the John Birch Society is out to destroy the Bill of Rights.¹³

¹¹Welch, The Blue Book of the John Birch Society, p. 107.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, The Strange Tactics of Extremism (New York: Norton, 1964), p. 21.

Dr. Herbert Aptheker, a Communist Party theoretician, has similar views. He once stated that he favors free speech for "everyone except racists, fascists, and others with unscientific ideas."¹⁴ And the Workers World Party believes that ". . . a strengthening of freedom of speech for fascists inevitably means a weakening of freedom of speech for socialists. The crushing of fascism is a minimum requirement of ordinary democracy, not to mention communist liberation."¹⁵ These are not statements that would be made by persons who believe in civil liberties for all. Instead, they are typical of authoritarians who want to silence those whose viewpoints differ greatly from their own.

Dr. Arthur Schlesinger made the following statement in reference to extremist movements both past and present:

What did this series of extremist movements have in common? Their basic kinship lay in the purpose to deny to fellow citizens sacrosanct constitutional safeguards, whether freedom of religion, speech and association, due process of law, the right to suffrage or other guarantees.¹⁶

Extremists consistently indulge in irresponsible charges, name-calling and character assassination. The following are examples from the extreme left:

A cartoon in The Worker of October 17, 1965 (p. 1),

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵"No Forum for Fascists," Workers World (February 24, 1966), p. 2.

¹⁶Arthur Schlesinger, "Extremism in American Politics," Saturday Review (November 27, 1965), p. 24.

depicts President Johnson being very angry at the news he has just received from a messenger who has announced, "Mr. President, they're declaring peace all over the country." The implication here is quite evident. The president is an imperialist warmonger and wants to keep the Vietnam conflict going because it helps prop up the economy of the United States.

The headline of People's Voice of September 20, 1965, stated: "U. S. Imperialist Plot Uncovered! Revisionists Linked with C.I.A." The term "revisionists" refers to the Communist Party U.S.A. The accusation was made by the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), a recently formed (1965) group which follows the Chinese line. Thus, the extreme right is not alone in the charge that the C.I.A. co-operates with the Communist Party U.S.A. A more extreme Communist group also adheres to this idea.

Early in 1964 Senator J. William Fulbright expounded some new ideas concerning U. S. foreign policy. These ideas were looked upon as at least somewhat radical in many circles. The Progressive Labor Movement, a dynamic pro-China Communist group which has since become a party, had other ideas. Consider the following quote:

Senator Fulbright's much publicized 'new truths' and 'unthinkable thoughts' are, upon examination, nothing more or less than a continuation of the Kennedy 'soft-sell' of that same disreputable product --U. S. aggression and world domination--with more elegant and deceptive wrappings. (Progressive Labor, March, 1964, p. 10.)

It may be seen that Senator Fulbright's new suggestions on foreign policy did not impress the members of Progressive Labor. To them he is just a reactionary who uses the "soft sell."

The Workers World Party which leans strongly toward China and North Vietnam furnishes the following examples:

"L.B.J., Like Hitler, Uses Poison Gas; Wages Racist War Against Vietnam" (Workers World, March 25, 1965, p. 1).

There are many ways to criticize President Johnson's Vietnam policy, but to compare him with a Nazi seems quite irresponsible. An almost equally irresponsible charge was the headline of an April 17, 1965, special edition of Workers World: "Johnson Plots A Sneak Attack on China!" Either this charge is far off the mark, or else the United States is slow in carrying out sneak attacks, since this "expose" is over two years old.

The same edition of Workers World that compared President Johnson with Hitler carried the following statement by Mae Mallory in reference to the assassination of Malcolm X: "I saw the C.I.A. kill Malcolm. A black hand pulled the trigger, but it had a white C.I.A. brain behind it." Mrs. Mallory offered no proof of her statement, but many of the readers of Workers World believe her because she is on their side and they want to believe her, and also because they have a strong antipathy toward the C.I.A. and are ready to believe anything bad that is said about that

organization.

Workers World of October 6, 1966, referred to Vice-President Humphrey as a "racist and warmonger" (p. 3). Mr. Humphrey has always been in the forefront of the Negro struggle for equal rights, but to the Workers World Party he seems to be just another fascist.

The Communist Party publication, The Worker, of January 11, 1966, carried the following statement about Roy Wilkins, leader of the NAACP: "Roy Wilkins is to the Negro freedom movement what George Meany is to the labor movement." In the eyes of the CP George Meany is an enemy of the working class, therefore this is a very derogatory thing to say about Roy Wilkins.

The following are examples of irresponsible statements by right extremists:

The Batista government in Cuba was not, to be sure, a perfect government, but it probably was as good a government as one could ever reasonably expect to find in an island largely populated by mongrels.

This statement was made by Dr. Revilo P. Oliver during a speech before the State Convention of the Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution in March of 1959.¹⁷ Dr. Oliver was a member of the Council of the John Birch Society for more than seven years.

Westbrook Pegler, writing in the Shreveport, Loui-

¹⁷Copies of this speech are available from Richard Cotten's Conservative Viewpoint, Box 1976, Bakersfield, California.

siana, Citizens Council publication, The Councilor, made the following statement:

This country, indeed the world, is badly overstocked with Bobby Kennedy, whose total elimination from politics and the human race by violence similar and equal to that he inflicted on Oxford, Miss., would be a boon to the United States of America. My first meeting with Bobby gave me serene confidence that never was there a human being, if such he be, more easily to be hated. (The Councilor, July 12, 1966, p. 1.)

In his speech at the eighth anniversary of the founding of the John Birch Society, Robert Welch stated that the Vietnam War was a plot to help establish national price and wage controls and food rationing. He also stated that the United States is not fighting to win and that China does not have an atomic bomb. This speech was reported in the New York Times of December 10, 1966 (p. 25).

In a pamphlet entitled "The Truth in Time," which was reprinted from American Opinion of November, 1966, Mr. Welch states that the UN was conceived and founded by Communists, is controlled by Communists, and has always been used to carry out Communist purposes (p. 15). He further states that:

Since early in 1945 the most powerful single force in promoting Communism everywhere, and in turning one nation after another over to Communist tyranny . . . has been the help of the United States government to that end. The record to support this statement is absolutely clear to anybody who will give it objective study (pp. 15-16).

But perhaps the most astounding statement ever made by Mr. Welch may be found on page 227 of The Politician and con-

cerns both former C.I.A. Director Allen Dulles and former President Eisenhower: "Allen Dulles is the most protected and untouchable supporter of Communism, next to Eisenhower himself, in Washington." It is no wonder that many persons refuse to take Mr. Welch seriously, but these statements are typical of him and of many of his fellow Birchers.

Extremists believe that the United States is controlled by a conspiracy or covert ruling elite. The extreme left refers to "Johnson's bosses; the Wall Streeters; the fascist-racist cabal; the U. S. ruling classes; the Rockefeller family." The extreme right has spoken of "Eisenhower's Communist bosses; the Illuminati conspiracy; the Jew International Bankers; the Rockefeller interests."

In "The Truth in Time" Robert Welch speaks several times of the INSIDERS. Since this article seems to personify ideas concerning a conspiracy, several quotes from it follow.

1. We must hunt the first steps largely in the shadows rather than in the substance of history. For the conspiracy is deep rooted. Two hundred years ago, or during the last half of the Eighteenth Century there were in Europe many secret societies with grandiose dreams of overthrowing all existing human institutions and of rising out of the resulting chaos as the all-powerful rulers of a "new order" of civilization. Of these groups the Illuminati, founded in Bavaria by Adam Weishaupt on May 1, 1776, was undoubtedly the most important.

2. By 1789, the Illuminati were already strong enough to have had a great deal to do with planning and precipitating the holocaust known as the French Revolution. In that upheaval we find many elements of Communist strategy and purpose with which we are

familiar today . . . all of these objectives and methods, which sound like rehearsals for what is happening throughout the world today, had been specifically set forth by Weishaupt for his order of Illuminati, or were the practical applications of his program.

5. But the Communist movement is only a tool of the total conspiracy. As secret as the Communist activities and organizations generally appear, they are part of an open book compared to the secrecy enveloping some higher degree of this diabolic force. . . . evidence is strong and convincing that by the beginning of the Twentieth Century there had evolved an inner core of conspiratorial power, able to direct and control subversive activities which were worldwide in their reach, incredibly cunning and ruthless in their nature, and brilliantly farsighted and patient in their strategy. Whether or not this increasingly all-powerful hidden command was due to an unbroken continuation of Weishaupt's Illuminati, or was a distillation from the leadership of this and other groups, we do not know. Some of them may never have been Communists, while others were. To avoid as much dispute as possible therefore, let's call this ruling clique simply the INSIDERS.¹⁸

From the lengthy quotations above it may be seen that Robert Welch believes that the conspiracy of today may be traced back to the late 18th century. Actually, most right extremists believe this.

Related to the idea of a conspiracy or controlling elite is the extremist belief that the communications media are controlled by this ruling group. Otherwise, they maintain, the general public would know the truth. Both the far left and the far right actually seem to believe that the vast majority of the newspapers, magazines, and radio and

¹⁸Robert Welch, "The Truth in Time," reprinted from American Opinion (November, 1966), pp. 1-3.

television stations are controlled by the evil forces of the other extreme. Some examples of this belief follow:

Time, the New York Times, and other well-known mainstream publications are constantly attacked as "pro-Communist" by right extremists. One member of the John Birch Society who lives in a southwestern state remarked that "Time is as red as its cover."¹⁹ Robert Welch has referred to "the two great newspapers whose editorial points of view follow those of The Daily Worker most closely, the New York Times and the Washington Post."²⁰

Left extremists refer to these same publications as "imperialist," "fascist," the "voice of the Establishment," or as in the case of one of the leaders of the Spartacist League simply "bourgeois."²¹

In July of 1964, at the large rightist rally called the New England Rally for God, Family, and Country which was originated and is controlled by members of the John Birch Society, Father Andrew van Groll, one of the featured speakers, referred to the Saturday Evening Post as the "Saturday Evening Worker" and received loud applause for this remark.²² Two days later in New York City a member

¹⁹Personal communication.

²⁰Welch, The Politician, pp. 173-174.

²¹Personal communication.

²²Personal observation.

of the Workers World Party referred to the Saturday Evening Post as "a fascist magazine."²³

Both extremes attack the radio and television networks and especially their news commentators for aiding and abetting the other side.

Differences

Portions of the hatred projected by the extreme left and right are directed against different objects. The left hates the American system of government. They feel that it is an outmoded and decadent arrangement which is held together by exploiting the masses both at home and abroad. They think that reforms merely prop up this system and they are against these because they want to destroy the system and replace it with some type of Marxism. If this would ever come about, the particular type of Marxism decided upon would be the cause of much bitter argument and probable bloodshed, since Marx seems to have as many interpretations as the Bible.

The extreme right, on the other hand, vociferously speaks of love for the American system, but they claim that it has been perverted by evil men. In other words, what now exists is a perversion of the "better" system that existed in the past. Thus, the aim of the majority of rightists is to change the system back to what they imagine it

²³Personal communication.

was in times past.

Many rightists have a hatred for certain racial or ethnic groups; principally Negroes and Jews. This hatred is quite often overt as in the case of such groups as the National States Rights Party, Christian Nationalist Crusade, and Ku Klux Klan, but is covert in such organizations as the John Birch Society and Christian Crusade. The leaders of these latter groups profess no racism or anti-Semitism in their ideology and supposedly attempt to purge their organizations of persons who make overt anti-Semitic statements. They appear to be somewhat less than successful in this endeavor.²⁴ (See the discussion of the John Birch Society in relation to this subject in the chapter entitled "Discussion of Several Groups.")

In contrast to the attitudes of the rightists, the extreme left makes a big play for the support of minorities. They claim to be on the side of the "little man" and of groups often discriminated against such as Negroes and Jews. Extreme left ideas concerning internationalism and economic determinism tend to explain ethnic differences as unimportant. It should be pointed out, however, that such claims are often hypocritical and should not be taken at face value. For example, African students are not greatly pleased with the way in which they are accepted in various

²⁴Personal observation and communication.

Communist nations and several writers have demonstrated that American Communists have no real interest in the problems of the Negro people.²⁵ Concerning Jews, it should be noted that they have not exactly been objects of love and affection in the Soviet Union. Consider the following:

Throw the Jews out of commerce where they damage property and the people's wealth. We rescued them from the Germans who dealt more wisely with them. Our people is not as it used to be. It has been infected by the Jews.²⁶

This message was posted in hundreds of places in a Moscow suburb on October 4, 1959, by a group called the Beat the Jew Committee.

Although the extreme left cultivates a philosophy of brotherhood, many ex-Communists have stated that hatred was deliberately cultivated within the Party in order to keep members in a constant state of tension. An atmosphere of threat was created. Party members were made to believe that the outside world hated them. Thus it would be quite natural to retaliate in kind. On the Communist hate list capitalism and the moderate left were ranked highest, followed by fascism, renegades (ex-Communists), and conserva-

²⁵See: Morris Ernst and David Loth, Report on the American Communist (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1952); Wilson Record, Race and Radicalism (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1964), and The Negro and the Communist Party (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1951); and David A. Shannon, The Decline of American Communism (London: Stevens & Sons Ltd., 1959).

²⁶Alan Cranston, "Who's An Extremist," The Dixon Line (August 15, 1965), p. 5.

tives in that order.²⁷ Similarly, some right extremist groups publish lists of persons who are defined as "enemies" and are objects of hatred. As has been previously mentioned, these people may be "Communists or pro-Communists, Jews or Jewish Stooges," or in some cases they may be congressmen who voted for the civil rights bill or the test ban treaty.

With respect to religion it is easy to discern a difference in the extremists of the left and right. Although there are certainly exceptions, the majority of the extreme left is either areligious or anti-religious. Notable among the exceptions are the Catholic Worker, an anarchist-pacifist publication that claims to be Catholic with a large C and communist with a small c; the late Reverend A. J. Muste, a long-time pacifist and extreme left fellow traveler; the Reverend Stephen Fritchman, a regular Communist fronter and contributor to the pro-Communist magazine The Minority of One.

The extreme right, by way of contrast, has "got religion." There are a number of Protestant fundamentalists and traditionalist Catholics involved in right extremist activities. Protestant denominations which seem to have large representation include the Church of Christ, Southern Baptist, Nazarene, Lutheran, and some of the various Assembly of God groups. Several rightist leaders are minis-

²⁷Almond, op. cit., pp. 129-131.

ters. Prominent among these are:

Billy James Hargis - Christian Crusade
 Carl McIntire - Twentieth Century Reformation Hour
 Gerald L. K. Smith - Christian Nationality Crusade
 Kenneth Goff - Soldiers of the Cross and Patriotic
 Party
 Connie Lynch - National States Rights Party

On the Catholic side of the ledger, Advocates of Our Lady and Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary are anti-Semitic organizations which are supposedly led by priests, although the leader of the latter group has been excommunicated. The late Conde McGinley of the anti-Semitic Common Sense was a Catholic, as is Frank Capell of the Herald of Freedom. The John Birch Society estimates its membership at about 40% Catholic.²⁸

Notable exceptions to rightist ideas about religion are two atheistic groups, the Truthseeker Corporation and the Objectivists who are followers of Ayn Rand, the well-known author of such books as The Fountainhead, Atlas Shrugged, and The Virtue of Selfishness. The Truthseeker Corporation is both racist and anti-Semitic, while the Ayn Rand Objectivists are neither.

Two final points differentiate the extreme left and right. First, the left has essentially a Marxist orientation which leads to an internationalist outlook and a

28 For more information concerning Catholics and the extreme right, see: Seymour Martin Lipset in The Radical Right, ed. Daniel Bell (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1964); and J. B. Sheerin, "Catholic Right-Wing Extremists," Catholic World (March, 1962).

collectivist philosophy based on Marxian economic thought. The right is fervently anti-Marxian, quite nationalistic in outlook and generally holds a strong belief in individualism which is based to some extent on a very conservative, if not reactionary, economic philosophy.

Second, most of the left is ideologically aligned with foreign powers. Even groups which profess an independent ideology nearly always align themselves with another nation when that nation becomes involved in a dispute with the United States. The right is not aligned with foreign powers, although certain nations do have a favored status and their leaders are looked upon with admiration by various rightists. Among these favored nations are Spain, Portugal, South Africa, Rhodesia, Nationalist China, etc. During the period of the mid-1930's into the early 1940's much of the right was ideologically aligned with the fascist powers, Germany and Italy.

In summary it should be stressed that the extreme left and right are similar in that they exhibit strong hatred of opponents and are absolutely sure that they have the truth. Both have little or no faith in the existing system of government and little or no faith in the democratic processes (which include compromise and negotiation). These factors lead to a willingness to resort to undemocratic practices such as denial of certain basic civil liberties to opponents and indulgence in irresponsible

accusations and character assassination. These practices and others are justified because America is controlled by a conspiracy or covert ruling elite which is so evil and strong that any and all measures must be used to defeat it.

The extreme left and right are different in that the left hates our system of government and wants it replaced with a Marxian one, while the right professes to love the system, but maintains that it has been perverted and must be changed back to what it once was. The left is generally non-religious, but claims to be the defender of "oppressed" minorities, while the right is generally religious, but often promotes religious and racial bigotry, both overtly and covertly. The left has an internationalist outlook and is ideologically aligned with foreign powers, while the right has a nationalist outlook and is not aligned with foreign powers although it does favor the ideologies of certain nations.

The following table summarizes the main characteristics of extremists and of the liberal-conservative spectrum. It also lists representative groups which fit into each category.

Table 1

PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MAINSTREAM AND THE EXTREMES

Left Extremism	Liberal-Conservative Spectrum	Right Extremism
Open hatred of opponents. Absolutely sure they have the truth. Little or no faith in the democratic processes which leads to such undemocratic practices as: Denial of certain basic civil liberties to opponents and Indulgence in irresponsible accusations and character assassination. Belief in a conspiracy or covert ruling elite. Favor destruction of existing system and replacement with some form of Marxism. Most favor revolution to bring this about. Generally non-religious. Generally internationalist in outlook and ideologically aligned with	Commitment to democratic ideals and acceptance of American political value system. Acceptance of gradual change within the existing system. Seldom question motives nor impugn the loyalty of opponents. Instead, question judgment, reasoning processes, sources of information, etc.	Open hatred of opponents. Absolutely sure they have the truth. Little or no faith in the democratic processes which leads to such undemocratic practices as: Denial of certain basic civil liberties to opponents and Indulgence in irresponsible accusations and character assassination. Belief in a conspiracy or covert ruling elite. Belief that true American system (individualistic capitalism and limited "constitutional" gov't) has been perverted and desire to go back to "better" system that existed in past. Generally religious, but often promote religious

Table 1--Continued

Left Extremism	Liberal-Conservative Spectrum	Right Extremism
foreign powers.		and racial bigotry. Generally nationalist in outlook and not aligned with foreign powers.
Representative Organizations	Representative Organizations	Representative Organizations
Socialist Labor Party <u>National Guardian</u> Communist Party USA DuBois Clubs of America Socialist Workers Party Spartacist League Workers League Workers World Party Progressive Labor Party Revolutionary Action Movement Communist Party USA (Marxist-Leninist)	American Medical Association NAACP Nat'l Ass'n Mfgs. Urban League AFL-CIO Chamber of Commerce League of Women Voters American Bar Association American Legion Nat'l Council of Churches	John Birch Society Christian Crusade Minutemen Citizens Councils Black Muslims Nat'l Socialist White Peoples Party Nat'l States Rights Party Christian Nationalist Crusade Advocates of Our Lady Ku Klux Klan

CHAPTER IV

BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

During the 20th century there have been in the United States four periods which were high points of the extreme right and three which were high points of the extreme left.

The periods of much rightist activity were:

1. Post World War I to the early 20's--Red Scare period, Palmer Raids, and strong resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan.
2. Mid-1930's to early 40's--Period of overt fascism. German-American Bund, Silver Shirts, Father Coughlin, Gerald L. K. Smith.
3. Early 50's--McCarthy Era.
4. 1960's--Period of resurgence of the extreme right sparked by appearance of the John Birch Society.

The periods in which left extremism was in the public eye were:

1. Post World War I to early 20's--Founding of the U. S. Communist Party; violence by anarchists; radical left aligned with and to some extent influential in labor movement.
2. Mid-1930's--Many intellectuals and writers joined the Communist Party U.S.A. or became fellow travelers during the depression years.
3. Middle 1940's--Communist Party more respectable because of wartime alliance with Soviet Union.

Some influence in labor unions until late 1940's.

Note that the first two periods of the right and the left are either concomitant or overlap, while the left has had small influence during the latter two periods of strong rightist activity.

The period immediately following World War I was one in which the social climate was conducive to the rise and spread of extremist thought and action. With the end of the war Americans looked forward to resuming the old pattern of life, but there was little idea or agreement upon just what this "old pattern" was. This was a factor which gave rise to alienation of many individuals, for "nostalgia had glorified peacetime living until it appeared much more attractive than it really had been."¹ During the war there had been strong social pressures favoring unquestioning loyalty and two independent agencies and one government sponsored group had aided in changing a great number of fairly reasonable persons into "super-patriots and self-styled spy-chasers by spreading rabid propaganda which maximized the dangers of wartime sabotage and sedition."² The two independent organizations were the National Security League and the American Defense Society. The government sponsored group

¹Robert K. Murray, Red Scare (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), p. 3.

²Ibid., p. 12.

was the American Protective League. By the end "of the war they . . . had become the repository of elements which were much more interested in strengthening a sympathy for economic and political conservatism than in underwriting a healthy patriotism."³ A mistrust and hatred of foreigners already existed and a large number of leftists were foreign born.

Under conditions such as these there was not a great deal of tolerance for such people as Communists, Anarchists, IWW members, or even socialists, and all were looked upon as potential "bomb-throwers." Indeed, some were, but they comprised a minority of the members of a group which was already a small minority. It was this "bomb-throwing" group that was responsible for bringing down even more wrath upon the left-wing radicals than they would have received under the prevailing conditions. The bombs were not always thrown. In several of the more spectacular instances they were sent through the mail. A total of thirty-six bombs were sent, but only two reached their destinations. The other thirty-four were discovered by postal authorities. Among the intended victims were Oliver W. Holmes, Jr., Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, the Postmaster General, the Secretary of Labor, two United States Senators, and John D. Rockefeller and J. P. Morgan. No bomb killed its intended

³Ibid.

victim, although one seriously burned an ex-senator's wife and caused her maid to lose both hands.

Newspaper headlines played up the idea of a Red plot, while the radical left publications spoke of a "frame-up" which was perpetrated in order to have an excuse to "get" radicals and labor leaders.

During this time a man named Ralph Easley, a well-known super-patriot, "persistently invented fantastic conspiracies and imminent bloody revolutions. . . . In the late spring of 1919, Easley ran a series of startling exposes on communism in the schools, press, churches, universities, and organized labor, and subsequently led a movement to scrutinize textbooks . . . for breaches of loyalty."⁴ These same measures are attempted today by right extremist groups.

The American Legion was founded in May of 1919 and had among its goals "to foster and perpetuate a one hundred per cent Americanism."⁵ (Whatever that means.) While the Legion could be called an extremist group during that period, it has evolved into a responsible conservative organization today, although in a few of its Posts extremists are in control.

The modern version of the Ku Klux Klan was estab-

⁴Ibid., p. 87.

⁵Ibid., p. 88.

lished in 1915 and grew to a very large size by 1920. Then, as now, it perpetrated a hatred of Negroes, Catholics, Jews, and foreigners. According to several reliable sources, including a congressional investigating committee, the Klan had about four million members in the early 1920's.

During late 1919 several hundred persons were deported because of their radical activities and in early 1920 raids were carried out in which several thousand leftists and suspected leftists were arrested. These arrests were made without the use of warrants and prisoners were held incommunicado and denied the right to legal counsel. Such was the temper of the time.

In the period of the 1930's the depression coupled with what some called "the success of the Russian experiment" caused a fair number of writers and intellectuals along with a few working-class people to become disillusioned with the American system of government and sympathetic toward Communism. In fact, it was during this period that someone coined the phrase "Marxism, the opiate of the intellectuals." This, of course, is a "take off" on Marx's statement, "Religion, the opiate of the masses." At any rate, such well-known writers as Richard Wright, Edmund Wilson, John Dos Passos, Howard Fast, etc., were either Communists or fellow-travelers.

At this same time, much overt fascism existed. Many groups and individuals had great admiration for Hitler

and Mussolini. Anti-Jewish attitudes were prevalent, and there was talk of building a "fascist America." Several books were written on the subject, the most prominent of which was "The Coming American Fascism" by Lawrence Dennis.

It was during the 1930's that the activities of several of our nation's better known right extremists came into the public eye. Among these were Gerald Winrod, Elizabeth Dilling, and Merwin K. Hart who are deceased, and Edward Hunter, Joseph Kamp, and Gerald L. K. Smith who are still active. Father Coughlin, who was also prominent during this period, is still living, but has not been very active for some time.

This period is especially interesting because some factions of the extreme left are still fighting the same ideological battles and using the same slogans of the 1930's. The extreme right of today, while being anti-fascist to some extent, is still using the writings of some of the pro-fascists of yesteryear. For example, Joseph Kamp's writings were distributed at the New England Rally for God, Family, and Country held in Boston in July of 1966. This rally is a "front" of the John Birch Society.

While World War II was in progress, the extreme right was relatively quiet except for the fact that several rightist leaders were tried for sedition. The extreme left, however, reached its greatest prominence during the middle 1940's. FBI estimates put Communist Party membership

at about 80,000 during this period, and at the end of the war about one-fifth of the CIO membership "was in unions controlled by Communists or pro-Communists."⁶ In addition, the Communist Party U.S.A. started planning the Progressive Party in 1945,⁷ and supported Henry Wallace's candidacy in every way possible during the 1948 campaign.

Starting in 1946 the Communist Party made some bad tactical moves which had the effect of beginning to isolate it from the general American public. In the first place they maintained strict adherence to the Soviet Union's line on foreign policy. Second, they did not maintain frequent contact with non-Communists after the war, and third, while the thinking of the general public shifted to the right ideologically, the Communist line shifted further to the left.⁸ Add to these things the fact that such dire Communist Party predictions as an impending depression did not come true, that people were caught spying for the Soviet Union, and that the United States economy was sound. This explains generally why Communism's appeal has declined in the United States since the 1940's.

The period from 1950-1954 is commonly called the "McCarthy Era" and is well known to Americans who are

⁶Shannon, op. cit., p. 45.

⁷Ibid., pp. 113-114.

⁸Ibid., p. 35.

politically aware. Senator McCarthy had a large following and as late as mid-1954 34% of a national sample expressed at least mild or qualified approval of him.⁹ His popularity declined greatly after he was censured by his fellow senators in late 1954.

The only period not discussed thus far is that of the 1960's and the remainder of this thesis focuses on that period.

⁹Samuel A. Stouffer, Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1955), p. 42.

CHAPTER V

CLASSIFICATION OF EXTREMIST GROUPS

It is difficult to fit all extremist groups into a classification scheme due to the many variables involved and it is readily admitted that any such classification will have faults. Factors which might be used in classification include the ideas of liberalism and conservatism, authoritarianism and equalitarianism, willingness to resort to violent tactics, and overt ideology.

The chapter entitled "What is Extremism" clearly established that extremists are deviant with regard to the American political value system and that they are neither liberals nor conservatives. Therefore, they cannot be classified with respect to liberalism and conservatism.

It has also been shown (in the chapter on characteristics) that extremists are authoritarian in that they are absolutely certain that they have the truth, have little or no faith in the democratic processes, and favor denial of certain civil liberties to those who oppose them. Because of this an authoritarian-equalitarian classification would have no meaning, since extremists would all be on the

authoritarian side.

Classification on the basis of willingness to resort to violent tactics is not practicable, since it is almost impossible to verify the extent to which most groups would resort to violence. It would seem, therefore, that the best criterion for classification of extremist groups is overt ideology. That is, these groups should be classified on the basis of what they openly maintain that they believe. Thus, most of the information used in constructing a classification was obtained through reading extremist publications.

The extreme left may be divided into four groupings, based on how closely the Soviet or Chinese line is followed or whether a Trotskyist or an independent line is followed. Groups with anarchist sympathies are considered leftist for the reason that they desire the destruction of the state even though they do not want to replace it with anything. If this could be brought about by a revolution they would welcome the outcome, although many anarchists are also pacifists and would take no part in the violence that would be necessary. Anarchists in the United States generally "rub shoulders" with Marxists of all varieties and find many kindred souls among them, and of course many anarchists accept much of Marx's thought.

In classifying groups of the extreme right the main criterion that is used is whether or not overt racism or

overt anti-Semitism are an integral part of their ideology. Research has failed to uncover any overtly anti-Semitic groups that are not also overtly racist, but several groups which are overtly racist are not overtly anti-Semitic, such as the Citizens Councils and Black Muslims.

This particular classification places the Minutemen in the same category with such groups as the John Birch Society. This may seem somewhat unrealistic, but it is well to remember that many extremists of both the left and right are armed. One Birch leader in a southwestern state is "armed to the teeth" and encourages others to arm themselves. He worries about the day that the FBI, under the direction of the United Nations, will come to take his guns away.¹ Advertisements for M-1 carbines are run in the National States Rights Party publication, The Thunderbolt. These state that inquiries are held confidential and that they are "Serving Patriots Only."² Various Ku Klux Klans and pro-Chinese Communist groups have also emphasized the arming of members. The only thing which seems to set the Minutemen apart from such groups as the Birch Society is that being armed is the main point which they stress. The socio-political thought of their founder, Robert DePugh, does not seem to differ appreciably from that of Birch

¹Personal communication and observation.

²The Thunderbolt (November, 1965), p. 12.

founder, Robert Welch, and the Minutemen publication, On Target, is not overtly racist or anti-Semitic. The following table illustrates classification of representative extremist groups.

Table 2
CLASSIFICATION OF EXTREMIST GROUPS

The Left

Closer to China Ideologically	Closer to Soviet Union Ideologically	Trotskyist Ideology	Independent Leftist Ideology
Communist Party U.S.A. (M-L)	<u>National Guardian</u>	Socialist Workers Party	Socialist Labor Party
Progressive Labor Party	Communist Party U.S.A.	Spartacist League	<u>The Minority of One</u>
Workers World Party	DuBois Clubs of America	Worker's League	World Socialist Party

The Right

No Overt Racism or Anti-Semitism	Overt Racism but not Anti-Semitism	Overt Racism and Anti-Semitism
John Birch Society	Citizens Councils	Christian Educational As- sociation
Christian Crusade	Black Muslims	National States Rights Party
Conservative Society of America	<u>White Sentinel</u>	Ku Klux Klan
Minutemen		National Socialist White Peoples Party

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL ORIGINS OF EXTREMISTS

Almond's studies of ex-Communists in four countries (U. S., Great Britain, France, and Italy) indicate that these people came principally from middle and lower income groupings, with a small percentage from poverty-stricken and upper-class homes. His findings were:¹

Upper class	7%
Middle class	52%
Lower class	30%
Poverty-stricken	10%
Unknown	1%

It is assumed that these figures are probably fairly accurate with respect to the extreme left in general.

Almond stated that a large number of persons in the Communist Party U.S.A. were either foreign born or were first generation Americans and suggested that for many of these persons membership in the party was a part of the process of assimilation.² He further stated that better than 50% of the party members came from homes where religion

¹Almond, op. cit., p. 186.

²Ibid., pp. 201-206.

was important and only 6% came from anti-religious homes. Furthermore, 23% were religious at the time that they joined the party, while 27% were irreligious and 30% were indifferent.³ In the area of American politics, 25% were from conservative homes, 22% from "other left" (probably non-Communist radicals) homes, 13% indifferent, 11% liberal, and 6% Communist. Twenty-three per cent reported their parents' political affiliations as "unknown."⁴

In considering age, it was found that 21% were involved in radical activities before the age of sixteen, 49% before the age of eighteen, and only 25% after the age of twenty-three.⁵ (These figures concerning age apply to respondents from all four countries, not just U. S. respondents.) Thus it may be seen that people become involved in left extremist activities at an early age.

There are a large number of people of Jewish background involved in extreme left activities in the United States. This seems to be due to several factors:

1. Belief in propaganda regarding Communist support of the Jewish people and other minorities.
2. Many foreign born and first generation Americans mentioned by Almond were Jews who were trying to assimilate. The party was one possible avenue of assimilation. (For Jews, alienation leads to radicalism and support of

³Ibid., pp. 210 and 213.

⁴Ibid., p. 222.

⁵Ibid., pp. 217-218.

socially disapproved third parties.⁶⁾

3. People of Jewish background are characterized by a reverence for learning. Communism claims to have a sort of mystical knowledge of the forces of history. This accounts for some attraction.
4. To some extent a left extremist group would take the place of the Jewish religion and culture for those who had fallen away.

The extreme left has always taken great pains to attract Negroes, but "American Negroes have for the most part ignored and resisted the Communists. . . ." ⁷ The attraction of the extreme left for Negroes seems to be due to the lip service they pay the Negro and does not seem to be related to theoretical ideas. In 1946 one-third of the Communist Party's new recruits were Negroes, but most did not stay. The Daily Worker in commenting on this remarked, "We attract the Negro people because of our militant fight on issues which concern them. But we have not yet found the medium to train and hold our new members."⁸

Although evidently much less important, there is another factor which would cause a Negro to be attracted to a left extremist group. This is that he is given more than an even break to rise in the organization. Nathan Glazer mentions this in his study of the Communist Party

⁶Robert Lane, Political Life (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959), p. 253.

⁷Shannon, op. cit., p. 60.

⁸Ibid., p. 96.

U.S.A. "A Negro who knew the party could see the simple fact that if a Negro became a true Bolshevik, there was no limit to the position to which he might rise in the party; indeed he might rise higher than a white of the same ability."⁹

Geographically, the majority of the extreme leftists are found in New York, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Boston, and on the West Coast. There are small numbers in places like Louisville, Kentucky, Williamsport, Pennsylvania, and other areas, but they are insignificant when compared to the over-all picture.

On the extreme right, the "non-racists" (recall that as used herein this term refers to groups that are not overtly racist or anti-Semitic) seem to be made up principally of persons from the middle and upper classes. The anti-Semites and racists appear to be of lower middle and lower class background.

As mentioned in the chapter on characteristics a large number of these people are either fundamentalist Protestants or traditionalist Catholics, although some of the more far out groups such as the Ku Klux Klan supposedly exclude Catholics. Also mentioned previously is the fact that the John Birch Society estimates its membership at 40% Catholic.

⁹Nathan Glazer, The Social Basis of American Communism (New York: Harcourt-Brace, 1961), p. 180.

Geographically, the extreme right is fairly well disseminated, but areas of strength are the South, Southwest (especially West Texas), and the West Coast (especially Southern California). In many areas the "non-racists" get aid and comfort from the local press. This has been true in Amarillo, Odessa, and Borger, Texas, Orange County, California, and in Cincinnati. The National headquarters of the John Birch Society are in Belmont, Massachusetts, but the local papers are not sympathetic.

A number of "non-racist" rightists are involved in what is commonly referred to as big business. The Allen Bradley Company of Milwaukee is one of the more active corporations and advertises in the John Birch monthly magazine, American Opinion. "The Allen Bradley Company, which constantly extols the virtue of free enterprise, was one of the companies convicted of collusive bidding and illegal price-rigging."¹⁰ Fred Koch, President of the Rock Island Oil and Refining Company, is a member of the Council of the John Birch Society. J. Howard Pew of Sun Oil Company is on the Editorial Advisory Board of the John Birch magazine, American Opinion, and is a long-time contributor to right extremist causes.

Large publically-owned companies such as General Motors and American Telephone and Telegraph do not seem to

¹⁰Daniel Bell in The Radical Right, ed. Daniel Bell (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1964), p. 31.

support the extreme right. "The attitude of the major 'blue chip' companies was indicated by a leading corporate public-affairs newsletter in 1962 that lashed out at radical right groups . . . for taking money away from the Republican Party, trying to capture its local machinery, supporting primary candidates who endanger the position of conservatives, and giving President Kennedy the chance to associate the Republican Party and conservatism with extremism."¹¹

Rank and file oil company employees are often active in such organizations as the Birch Society and it is quite common for right extremist literature to be passed around the office for everyone to read and "become informed." The great majority of the employees in the division office of a major oil company in a southwestern state signed a petition to impeach Chief Justice Earl Warren.¹² Generally the rightist reading matter is of the "non-racist" variety, but occasionally one sees such anti-Semitic publications as The Cross and the Flag, Common Sense, and The Canadian Intelligence Service floating around oil company offices. One geologist who worked for a major oil company in New Mexico was quite impressed with an anti-Semitic book, The Federal Reserve Hoax, by Wycliffe Vennard, and was recommending it to fellow workers. He described it as "one of

¹¹Alan F. Westin in ibid., pp. 249-250.

¹²Personal observation.

those things that is so amazing that it is either all true, or there's not a word of truth in it." He thought it true.¹³

Doctors and retired military men are in evidence in rightist activities of all types, though most doctors tend to stay within the ranks of the "non-racists." Some ex-military, however, have been associated with anti-Semitic groups. Many persons seem to feel that all ex-military officers are right-wingers. According to one recognized expert on extremism, Gordon Hall, this has been greatly overestimated. The percentage of ex-military men involved in rightist activities, although proportionally greater than that of the general population, is not really overwhelming.¹⁴

¹³Personal observation and communication.

¹⁴Personal communication.

CHAPTER VII

MOTIVATING FACTORS

Psychological make-up and social situation are both important regarding a person's decision to become involved in an extremist movement. These two factors are closely related, since past social situations have had great influence in molding the current psychological make-up.

One of the more important elements related to psychological make-up appears to be the desire for recognition and notoriety. This desire seems to stem from frustration and boredom and according to several studies can be related to downward social mobility.¹ Thus, many people join an extremist group because they feel that it will cause a great and glorious (or at least interesting) change in their lives; it will put some excitement into their rather dull existence and perhaps make them well-known--at least within their own group. "A rising mass movement attracts and holds a following not by doctrine and promises, but by the refuge it offers from the anxieties, barrenness, and meaningless-

¹Almond, op. cit., p. 197.

ness of an individual existence."² Social misfits and persons with unhappy marriages are attracted to extremist movements due in great measure to frustration. "By embracing a holy cause and dedicating their energies and substance to its advancement, they find a new life full of purpose and meaning."³ Gabriel Almond made a similar statement: "The Communist militant merges himself in the corpus mysticism of the party, acquires a larger identity from it and even a sense of immortality."⁴

It should be remembered that psychological make-up also seems to have an effect in that if a person is predisposed toward conservatism he may be more easily led into a rightist group. If his predispositions are liberal or perhaps utopian in nature, he may be more easily influenced to join a leftist group, especially if an event in his life has caused him to be somewhat bitter toward the current governmental system.

There is some indication that situational causes, such as parental influence, peer group influence, influence of fellow employees, etc., may possibly be an even stronger factor than psychological make-up with respect to the actual joining of an extremist organization. "Although there un-

²Hoffer, op. cit., p. 44.

³Ibid., p. 54.

⁴Almond, op. cit., p. 272.

doubtedly exist some people whose personalities are so constituted that they become equally susceptible to almost every proposition they encounter, most people would feel responsive only to certain types of solutions at particular stages of their lives and in particular situations."⁵ A Chinese peasant is not "likely to find himself involved in a health fad or in the Christian Science Church."⁶ One detailed study of a religious movement found strong indication that the decision to join results from "a social or situational process rather than an individual or primary psychological event."⁷ Two examples of social situation follow:

1. A young man went to work for a major oil company. His parents were nominal Democrats who had voted for Roosevelt and Truman. His own political ideas were not well founded. Two men in the particular department where he worked were members of the John Birch Society and several others were sympathetic to Birch ideas. After two or three months of association with these persons, the young man became a Birch Society fellow traveler, if not a member, and began to purvey the Birch line regularly.⁸

⁵Hans Toch, The Social Psychology of Social Movements (Indianapolis, New York, Kansas City: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), p. 13.

⁶Ibid.

⁷John Lofland, Doomsday Cult (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966), advertisement.

⁸Personal observation.

2. Speaking of a young man who joined the pro-Peking Progressive Labor Party, Phillip Luce gives a good example of peer group influence. "He joined the Communist set because his friends were members, because it gave him a somewhat self-fulfilling role and because it was the 'cool' thing to do."⁹

What are some of the factors that would cause an individual to be attracted to a left extremist group? According to Almond¹⁰ emotional maladjustment and neurotic needs were high in people who joined the Communist Party in the United States, Great Britain, France and England. He found that most party members were not aware of the esoteric side of the party when they joined. They were not familiar with Communist writings. Some middle class intellectuals viewed joining the party as something exciting and dangerous. Although they did not know what the esoteric properties of the party were, they knew of the existence of these properties and were attracted to the idea of their existence.

One of the most important appeals of the party as perceived by joiners was militance (p. 127). This probably holds true for most leftist groups and many rightist groups.

⁹Phillip A. Luce, The New Left (New York: David McKay Co., 1966), p. 35.

¹⁰Almond, op. cit. The following discussion draws heavily on Almond's findings.

Many who joined "were persons with strong compulsive needs to attack authority and the established order. The American and British respondents in particular included a large proportion of emotionally maladjusted individuals who were seeking to solve their emotional problems by attacking society rather than face up to their personal inadequacies and conflicts" (p. 216).

Unconscious hostility in the neurotic person could be a major factor in influencing his decision to join the Communist Party. "In a normal individual experiencing a society or social situation which rejects him, which disqualifies him from certain kinds of roles and participations may create a readiness to join the party. . . . the neurotic person will join the party in response to the pressure of internal needs, and often in defiance of the model patterns of his social grouping. The normal person who has suffered some situational damage will join the party in response to the situation and often (but by no means always) in conformity with patterns prevailing in his social grouping" (p. 236). With these statements, Almond illustrates both psychological make-up and social situation as motivations.

Self-oriented interests were important to Communist Party joiners. Twenty per cent of Almond's respondents were influenced strongly by needs for group relationships. One American woman stated that her social life had been

quite unstable and the Communist Party offered group relationships around ethical themes (p. 238). Group related interests were also important to joiners. For instance, the Communist Party claimed to be the only organization truly interested in the Negroes as a group (pp. 239-240).

Ideological interests were quite important. The Communist Party was opposed to specific social ills and in favor of such goals as racial and ethnic equality, economic and social equality, internationalism, pacifism, and freedom from oppression. Almond comments that there were instances where ideological interests were merely rationalizations for personal motives, but in other cases these interests were genuine (pp. 240-241).

It has been mentioned that there is a connection between downward social mobility and extremism. Most studies have linked this with right extremism; however, there also seems to be a link between left extremism and downward social mobility with respect to persons of working class background. Regarding people of middle class background, social mobility does not seem to be a significant factor (pp. 197-198).

It has also been stated that many of the foreign born possibly joined the Communist Party as a part of the process of assimilation. This was probably done because they felt alienated from their parents' cultural patterns, yet at the same time rejected by their new environment

(pp. 201-206).

Why do people leave left extremist groups? J. Edgar Hoover gives six reasons why people leave the Communist Party U.S.A.:

1. The absence of freedom inside the Party.
2. The inability to live a normal life.
3. The Party's callous disregard of members' personal problems.
4. Discrepancy between Party practices and claims.
5. Communist tyranny in Russia and behind the Iron Curtain.
6. Communist opposition to religion.¹¹

To this should be added one other factor which not only suggests why people quit left extremist groups, but also why fewer people are joining such groups. This factor is that many of the ends of which leftists have spoken have come about through reform with no bloodshed, no loss of civil liberties and no suppression and subjugation of the upper classes. Of course this is a basic part of the American political system.

Almond found that ex-Communists' political attitudes varied to a fair extent, but that more than one-third eventually held "moderate left" opinions (probably this term means liberal). The spectrum of political attitudes was as follows:¹²

¹¹J. Edgar Hoover, Masters of Deceit (New York: Pocket Books Inc., 1961), pp. 113-116.

¹²Almond, op. cit.

	<u>At time of defection</u>	<u>At time of interview</u>
Convert or return to religion	3	5
Extreme right	-	5
Conservative	-	3
Moderate left	23	39
Extreme left	25	-
Trade union activity	19	15
Indifferent	11	17
Other	-	2
Unknown	19	14

On the extreme right a strong motivating factor which influences joiners is what Seymour Martin Lipset has referred to as "status politics" (also called "status tension") which is related to the desire to maintain or improve social status.¹³ This phenomenon is illustrated by attempts to keep the Negro and the Jew "in their place," moves to keep unions weak, etc., and is exhibited by persons who are undergoing both upward and downward social mobility. "[Since] right wing sentiments involve attacks on old-family liberals, revenge may play a part in attracting [upward-mobile] ethnics to the radical right; what better way to take advantage of one's new position than by turning on the old Yankees who patronized one's ancestors?"¹⁴

Many people who join rightist groups are opposed to almost all suggested innovations. They speak of "back when

¹³Lipset in The Radical Right, pp. 308-309.

¹⁴R. E. Wolfinger et al., in Public Opinion and Electoral Behavior: Essays and Studies, ed. E. C. Dreyer and W. A. Rosenbaum (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1966), p. 212.

the federal government didn't take everything away from a man."

Another very important point is the fact that many are overly "bugged" by the cold war. "After all," they tell themselves, "we're the strongest and greatest country in the world and we've got God on our side. Why don't we just clean out all the Commies?" The right extremists supply the answer--"Treason in our government!" This seems to make sense and fits with the rest of their ideas and so they join the group that gives such good answers. They seek simple answers to complex questions. They find them and live fretfully ever after. But they are doing something about it and therefore feel useful. "I joined the John Birch Society because it is the only organization that is really effectively combating Communism," stated a young man who was a member of the Society in a West Texas city.¹⁵

Many extremists seem to suffer from paranoia and megalomania. Dr. Richard Hofstadter has discussed "political paranoids" in his writings and speeches and has stated that, "We are all sufferers from history, but the paranoid suffers twice--first from real problems and second from his fantasies. He doesn't see social conflicts as problems to be mediated. He is not willing to compromise. The enemy is totally evil and so must be eliminated."¹⁶ Profes-

¹⁵Personal communication.

¹⁶Walt Murray, "Hofstadter Talks on Paranoia," The

sor Hofstadter also has said that the paranoid amasses "mountains of documentation [which] keeps him from considering other interpretations of history."¹⁷ It would appear that evidences of paranoid reactions are common in the writings of both the extreme left and extreme right. Robert Welch's "The Truth in Time" in which he discusses the plotting of the INSIDERS is one of many examples, as are the writings of the extreme left which speak of such things as "The Racist Masters of the U.S.A."¹⁸

Megalomania seems to be exhibited more often than just occasionally. A large number of extremist groups appear to view themselves as the only forces standing fearlessly between the United States and a take-over by Communists or fascists, or they seem to see themselves as very important in shaping the forces of history. For example, the Workers World Party which with their youth group included probably has no more than 500 members seems to think of itself as the most effective and principal force aiding Ho Chi Minh in America. The Spartacist League which also seems to consider itself a bastion of "progressive" thought, sent the following telegram to Ho:

Spartacist in fullest solidarity with defense
of your country against attack by United States

Dixon Line (November, 1966), pp. 1 and 2.

¹⁷ ibid., p. 2.

¹⁸ Workers World (February 25, 1965), p. 1.

imperialism. Heroic struggle of Vietnamese working people furthers the American Revolution.¹⁹

Commenting on this telegram Phillip Luce made a statement to the effect that it must be a great comfort to the leaders of North Vietnam to know that at least seventy American Trotskyites support them.²⁰

A good example of megalomania on the right is the following quotation from an undated one-page plea by the Patriots Legal Defense Committee, a front group of the Minutemen:

If we lose this case the very heart will be torn out of the Minutemen organization. Our "last line of Defense" may easily fall apart into separate ineffective groups--the Patriotic Party will falter--and the American people may ultimately be enslaved by Communism as a result.

Note that leaders of this group appear to feel that they alone stand between the United States and a Communist takeover.

Extremists believe the wild and unfounded charges made by their leaders because they want to believe them. They need something on which to blame their lack of personal satisfaction. They seek excuses and escapes. They want to be shown the way--the way to freedom from themselves. "Propaganda serves more to justify ourselves than to convince others; and the more reason we have to feel guilty, the more

¹⁹Luce, op. cit., p. 172.

²⁰Ibid.

fervent our propaganda."²¹ They are quite unhappy with the current state of political affairs and are certain that our nation is being taken down the road to Communism or fascism (depending on which extremist groups are considered) by those in power. As has been mentioned previously, extremists believe strongly in conspiracies. "In addition to providing a concrete target for tensions, conspiracies can simplify the believer's system of reasoning and his conception of social causation . . . causation becomes centralized (in that all events can be blamed on one group of plotters), and it is also integrated (because the plotters presumably know what they are doing and intend the consequences of their actions)."²²

Some persons on the extreme left have a real concern for the plight of underprivileged people. Their concern is often such that it turns into hatred of people who are well-off. They feel that the less fortunate cannot get any real help within our system and so their answer is revolution. A few leftists do constructive things which aid these less fortunate, but most do not involve themselves in this sort of activity. They are too busy getting out their publications and holding demonstrations.

In summary there is no one set of factors that can

²¹Hoffer, op. cit., p. 99.

²²Toch, op. cit., p. 52.

explain involvement in political extremist groups or even why these groups are chosen over other types of social movements. J. A. Broyles' study of the John Birch Society²³ illustrates some of the socio-psychological appeals that are probably applicable to almost all extremist groups, both left and right.

Broyles administered the Rokeach questionnaire to several leaders and rank and file members of the John Birch Society, and found that all "were high on general authoritarianism, very high on general intolerance, and therefore high in the more inclusive concept of dogmatic closed-mindedness of which the foregoing are components."²⁴ In discussing the appeals of the Society, he stated that a distinctive appeal is to be found in ideology and stressed four main points.²⁵

1. The base for certainty--"The ideology of the Society provides certainty of understanding because it is a fairly simple framework of interpretation through which to view world and national events."
2. The perception of self-righteousness--"This . . . serves to override any sense of guilt for personal sins by providing members of the Society with . . . assurance that they are on the right side on the 'really' important issues."

²³J. A. Broyles, The John Birch Society: Anatomy of a Protest (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965).

²⁴Ibid., p. 165.

²⁵The following discussion and quotations are from ibid., pp. 151-153.

3. The perception of superiority--Since they are on the "right" side, Birch members "can feel superior to opponents with higher educational attainment and higher social status."
4. Justified aggression--Broyles discusses Gordon W. Allport's frustration--aggression mechanism and points out that it runs thusly:

frustration--aggression--displacement.

"But the ideologically modified mechanism of the Birch Society runs as follows despite the nature of the object of frustration: ideological definition of frustration--aggression--ideologically 'justified' irrational conflict with the object of frustration."

Thus, according to Broyles, "The ideology of the Birch Society leads its members to express their aggressions directly against the sources of their frustration in the form of irrational conflict and in a mood of certainty, self righteousness and superiority. Therein lie its social-psychological appeals. Because of the psychological satisfactions offered by these appeals, it is almost impossible to 'wean' a member away from the logic tight and closed minded ideology of the Birch Society." These ideas would seem to be applicable to almost any extremist group.

CHAPTER VIII

GENERAL IDEAS OF AMERICAN POLITICAL EXTREMISTS

The extreme right maintains that the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency are controlled to a great extent by Communists, and some of the "far out" groups such as the National States Rights Party and the Ku Klux Klan feel the same way about the FBI. Many of the "non-racist" organizations such as the John Birch Society give lip service to the FBI and often quote J. Edgar Hoover. Since the right believes that the United States is being undermined by a Communist or Jew-Communist conspiracy, they feel that most of the actions of the national government serve the basic interests of world Communism and "unless we can stem the tide, the Republic will fall." Stemming the tide seems to involve stopping all reforms and starting to repeal laws. The right maintains that many persons in high places in our government are either part of the conspiracy or are sympathizers or dupes. Among the most evil of all men in high places are the Justices of the Supreme Court, especially Chief Justice Earl Warren who should be impeached because he has gone a long way toward undermining

basic American values and clearing the way for a Communist America. A few others who are "selling us out" are Lyndon Johnson, Hubert Humphrey, Walter Reuther, Dean Rusk, and Robert McNamara. From the rightist point of view liberals and moderates and even some conservatives are a great help to Communism because they are leading the United States down the road to socialism and the next step is Communism. It is interesting to note that where democratic socialism is strong, Communism is usually quite weak. Ebenstein¹ discusses this and gives as examples such countries as Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Great Britain, Australia, Belgium, etc.²

Right extremist groups seem to agree on most ideas, but there are two principal points which divide them. These are, of course, overt racism and anti-Semitism, especially the latter. The main split on the right, then, is between those who attribute everything with which they disagree to Communists and those who attribute these things to "Jew-Communists." The rightist groups that are not overtly anti-Semitic sometimes accuse the anti-Semites of being Reds themselves. The John Birch Society made such a statement about the National States Rights Party after the latter

¹William Ebenstein, Today's Isms (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1964), pp. 206-212.

²For more on this subject see Bruce Russett, World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), pp. 89-93.

had allowed the American Civil Liberties Union to defend them. The Birchers, displaying some ignorance, stated that the National States Rights Party was the only right wing group that the A.C.L.U. had ever defended and hence must be Communist dominated. A little checking would have revealed that the A.C.L.U. had defended many rightist groups and individuals, but the Birch people did not bother to do this. As a result, the N.S.R.P. filed a libel suit and Birch headquarters came out with an apology and a retraction of their statement.

The overt anti-Semites, on the other hand, sometimes accuse those groups that are not overtly anti-Semitic of not telling the truth about the International Jewish Conspiracy that is really behind Communism. A typical statement which graced the front page of the National States Rights Party publication, The Thunderbolt, of November, 1965, blared the news that "Communism is Still Jewish." This was possibly to assure the faithful that there had been no change in the past month, since this point is made in virtually every issue. The main basis for the idea that the Jews are behind Communism is a forged document entitled The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion. "The long-discredited 'Protocols' was a major weapon in the arsenal of Germany's fervent Nazis. The forgery purports to be the secret minutes of a plan for world conquest by leading Jews of the 19th Century."³

³Alan Cranston, "The JBS: A Soiled Slip is Show-

The extreme right is strongly opposed to civil rights legislation. The overt racists state that integration leads to race-mixing which they are almost fanatically against. The groups which are not overtly racist use the phrase "infringement on states rights" as their reason for opposition. All reform legislation is resisted on the grounds that it gives the national government more power which leads to restraints on what the extreme right calls free enterprise. Strong labor unions are bad because they are Communist dominated. Mental health and fluoridation of water are Communist plots to brainwash us and to render us helpless by putting some type of drug in our water supply.

Right extremist aims appear quite negative. Their actions usually involve trying to get an existing law repealed or a proposed bill defeated. Instead of a positive program there are many verbal pronouncements about rugged individualism, freedom from government controls, preserving our Christian heritage, 100% Americanism, getting tough with Communism, etc.⁴ The principal thrust of most of these groups seems to be to repeal the New Deal, Fair Deal, Eisenhower years, New Frontier, and Great Society. "What the

ing," The Dixon Line (August, 1966), p. 7.

⁴Additional ideas of the extreme right are discussed in the section on the John Birch Society in the chapter entitled "Discussion of Several Groups."

right wing is fighting in the shadow of Communism, is essentially 'modernity'--that complex of attitudes that might be defined most simply as the belief in rational assessment, rather than established custom for the evaluation of social change--and what it seeks to defend is its fading dominance, exercised once through the institutions of small town America, over the control of social change."⁵

The extreme left maintains that the State Department, Central Intelligence Agency, and FBI are fascist-controlled organizations whose main functions are to promote "U. S. Imperialism" abroad and suppress the "masses" at home. The United States is controlled for the most part by a fascist-minded ruling elite and the majority of government officials are sympathetic to the aims of this group. Most of the actions of the national government serve the basic interests of fascism, and unless action is taken our nation will become one hundred per cent fascist. Among the top leaders and stooges of the conspiracy are Lyndon Johnson, Hubert Humphrey, Walter Reuther, Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara, and the Justices of the Supreme Court. Liberals and moderates are a great help to the extreme right because, among other reasons, they oppose "progressive forces" (meaning the extreme left), and so-called "conservatives" are the extreme right. In fact, many so-called "liberals" are also

⁵Daniel Bell in The Radical Right, p. 16.

rightists. They only mouth liberal sayings in order to trick the masses.

Groups on the extreme left are ideologically split in many ways, but they are in basic agreement on several points:

1. Stop the war "against" Vietnam--To the left this is a struggle of an oppressed people who are trying to free themselves from their imperialist masters. All of the actions of the United States and their "puppet regime" in South Vietnam are wrong, since a victory by the National Liberation Front will bring "Socialism" (meaning Communism) to Vietnam and a war against "Socialism" is immoral by definition.

2. Support for Black Nationalism--Such groups get much lip service because the leftists feel that they are a possible source of revolution. A lot of propaganda was circulated concerning the assassination of Malcolm X who had quit the Black Muslims and started his own group which was not racist. There are suspicions that he was assassinated at the bidding of the Muslims, but many leftists maintained it to be the work of the C.I.A. Mae Mallory has been quoted in reference to this incident:

I saw the C.I.A. kill Malcolm. A black hand pulled the trigger, but it had a white C.I.A. brain behind it.⁶

⁶"Mae Mallory Speaks on Malcolm," Workers World (March 25, 1965), p. 4.

As has been previously stated, she offered no proof, but the people who seriously read Workers World and others on the extreme left believe her because she is on their side and they want to believe her. Although high praise is forthcoming for black nationalist groups, most leftists have only scorn for Negro leaders such as Roy Wilkins and refer to them as "Uncle Toms" and "Sellouts" who are merely tools of the ruling class.

3. Police brutality--This point is vastly overplayed. Any sensible person realizes that police brutality exists, but it would be almost impossible for it to exist to the extent that many left extremists claim. This great antipathy toward policemen stems from the fact that they represent constituted authority. They are the legal representatives--the law enforcers--the "hired lackeys" of the imperialistic big business interests and the fascist ruling order. It is they who bar the gate to revolution. They are the overt manifestation of the covert enemy, the conspiracy which crushes all of the attempts by the masses to free themselves. If one believes the left, there is no such thing as a cop who is not brutal. For examples of this type of thinking we turn again to Workers World:

Cops Help Fascists, Arrest Picket
(February 24, 1966, p. 3)

Gestapo-Cops Aid Fascist Hoods in Attack on Dubois
Club
(March 10, 1966, p. 1)

4. "Frame-up"--This is a real left extremist favorite. According to them, no leftist has ever committed a crime and on top of that neither has any leftist ever received a fair trial. All have been framed. Numerous rallies have been held to demand freedom for those who have been imprisoned, but thus far none of these demands has been granted.

5. "Hands off Cuba"--This is still an issue, although it has been pushed into a position of less importance by the foregoing points. "Fidel is the Lenin of Latin America," said one young man who is a member of the Progressive Labor Party.⁷ He had visited Cuba in the summer of 1963 and found the situation greatly to his liking. Most left extremist elements appear to feel the same way, although several groups are mildly critical. One such criticism is that Cuba is not really a true "Worker's State." A couple of groups that follow the Chinese line have denounced Castro because of his disagreements with China. In the early 1960's several groups were organized to defend Cuba. The best known was the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. This organization was supposedly started by persons who were not extremists, but was later taken over by extremist elements.

⁷Personal communication.

CHAPTER IX

DISCUSSION OF SEVERAL GROUPS

Discussion will attempt to cover organizations that are representative or novel. Strength and size were not factors in selection of groups discussed. It is not possible to cover all groups since there are about 150 on the extreme left and over 1,000 on the extreme right. Some of these are simply fronts for others, but they are often at least as active as their parent bodies. Others are nothing more than one-man publications, but the readership constitutes a group.

It has been estimated by extremist expert Gordon Hall that more than one million of our fellow Americans are involved in left extremist activities, while over seven million are involved in right extremist activities.

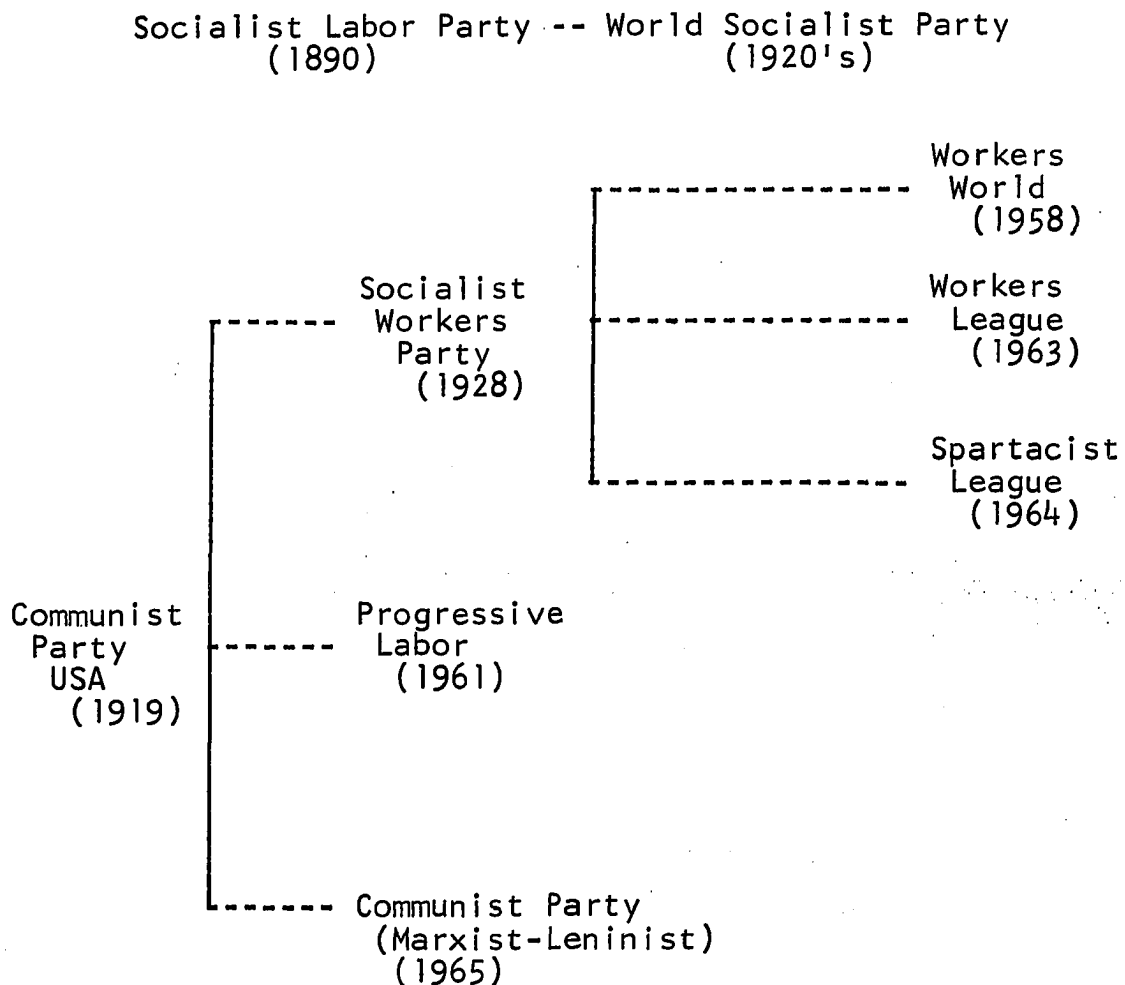
Extreme Left Groups

The following gives a brief sketch of the groups which will be discussed in some detail. Following that is an illustration showing which groups have split from others.

Representative Left Extremist Groups

- Socialist Labor Party --Independent group founded 1890. No connection with any other group. World Socialist Party split in '20's. About 2,000 members.
- National Guardian --Weekly newspaper started 1948 to support Henry Wallace for president. Circulation about 26,000.
- Communist Party USA --Founded 1919. Splinter groups: Socialist Workers Party 1928; Progressive Labor 1961; Communist Party USA (Marxist-Leninist) 1965. About 12,000 members.
- W.E.B. DuBois Clubs --Founded 1964. Unofficial Communist Party youth group. About 2,000 members.
- Socialist Workers Party --Founded 1938 by group expelled from CP in 1928. Splinter groups include: Workers World 1958; Workers League 1963; Spartacist League 1964. About 1,000 members including Young Socialist Alliance (youth group).
- Spartacist League --Expelled from SWP 1964 over organizational differences and ideological arguments over Cuba. About 200 members.
- Workers World Party --Split from SWP 1958 over issue of supporting a united front ticket which included democratic socialist candidates. No longer Trotskyist. About 500 members including Youth Against War and Fascism (youth group).
- Progressive Labor Party --Started by persons expelled from CP 1961. About 1,500 members.
- Communist Party USA
(Marxist-Leninist) --Founded 1965. Claims original CP revisionist and non-revolutionary. About 200 members.

Split Chart Showing Relationship of Principal Extreme Left Groups



Socialist Labor Party

The Socialist Labor Party is an example of a left extremist group that has an independent ideology. They do not seem to think any more of Communist nations than they do of the United States. This group was founded in 1890 and claims to be the "only bona fide party of Socialism in America"; and the only party that is true to the principles of scientific Socialism as developed by Marx, Engels, and

Daniel De Leon. Their symbol is the arm and hammer and their publication is the Weekly People. The members of this group refuse to belong to labor unions because they claim that these unions are only tools of capitalism. They refuse to study economics in college because to them the only true economics is Marxism (their particular interpretation). They strongly oppose all reforms on the basis that they only aid the capitalist system. They differ from most left extremist groups in that they state that they want to bring Marxism to the United States through the use of free elections. Their 1964 presidential candidate was Eric Hass who received 21,390 votes.¹ Shortly before the election, a full page ad in his behalf stated in part:

Thirty million Americans will waste their votes by staying away from the polls. Seventy million more will waste theirs by voting for Goldwater or Johnson.

The obvious message was that a vote for Eric Hass would not be wasted.

This group states that it has no connection with any other organization which calls itself "Socialist, Communist, or Labor." In fact, one of their pamphlets is an attack on the Socialist Party, Communist Party, and Socialist Workers Party. They also claim that they have done more to stop fascism than any other group in the United

¹The World Almanac, 1965 (New York: The New York World Telegram and The Sun, 1965), p. 44.

States because they attack fascism's cause which they maintain is capitalism. This claim stems from their belief that fascism comes from within rather than from without. This sounds very similar to the beliefs of many right extremist groups concerning Communism.

National Guardian

The National Guardian is a weekly tabloid that was started in October of 1948 to support the candidacy of Henry Wallace on the Progressive Party ticket. The Progressive Party was backed in every way possible by the Communist Party U.S.A. and as might be expected the National Guardian seems to follow the CP line most of the time, though occasionally taking an independent stand. The Guardian prints news about various activities on the extreme and sometimes not so extreme left. At one time it claimed a circulation of over 30,000 which was supposedly found to be a couple of thousand more than the number of copies their printer turned out. Circulation is probably in the neighborhood of 26,000.

On the inside back page of every issue there is a list of speaking engagements by various individuals, most of whom are left extremists and several of whom are members of the C.P.U.S.A. The January 15, 1966, issue advertised talks by the following CP members:

Victor Perlo	(in Boston)
Claude Lightfoot	(in Chicago)
John Abt	(in Cleveland)
Herbert Aptheker	(in Newark)

Among other announcements in this issue was a "Rally to Free Bill Epton." Mr. Epton, a leader in the Progressive Labor Party, was convicted of criminal anarchy for conspiring to overthrow the existing government of New York, but of course most Guardian readers consider it a frame-up. A related article was entitled "The Case of Bill Epton: Harlem Riot Scapegoat."

A special edition of the Guardian put out in late 1963 was devoted to proving the innocence of Lee Harvey Oswald. They, along with most other left extremist groups, maintain that Oswald did not shoot President Kennedy and that the assassination was planned and carried out by the extreme right.

Communist Party U.S.A.

The C.P.U.S.A. is of course the best known left extremist group. The Hungarian uprising and Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin were factors which played a large role in reducing the Party to a shadow of its former self (about 12,000 members according to Gus Hall). The CP is currently trying to make a comeback by attracting young people and seems to have gained a little influence via the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs which will be discussed later. An old tactic which is still in use is to infiltrate non-Communist organizations and try to influence their policies.

The most widely read CP publication is The Worker.

which is published twice weekly. Claimed circulation is 27,000, but this is probably high by 10,000 or so. The People's World is their West Coast paper. Political Affairs is their theoretical journal. Although many of the statements found in these publications are considered "way out" by most standards, they sometimes appear moderate when compared to those of Progressive Labor, Workers World, or People's Voice (publication of the C.P.U.S.A. Marxist-Leninist).

Although thousands of people have quit the CP, others remain year after year. Why? J. Edgar Hoover gives five reasons:

1. Fear of the F.B.I.
2. Fear of being a stool pigeon.
3. Fear of personal safety and reputation.
4. Fear of disgracing their families.
5. Fear of not being received as a loyal American.²

To this list should be added the truism that people do not like to admit that they have been wrong. They pass off the brutality and terror perpetrated in the name of Communism with the phrase "cult of the individual."³ Gabriel Almond, writing before Khrushchev's revelations and the Hungarian

²Hoover, op. cit., pp. 116-118.

³Howard Fast, The Naked God (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Inc., 1957), p. 57.

uprising, gave still another reason why people stay in the CP:

Because of the dangers of disbelief, the fully initiated Communist clings to the party even though he is deeply troubled by its actions. He escapes from risks by taking cover within the party's system of ethical and political perception, rejoices in the enormity of the evils of the world outside since it renders more bearable the evils of his own, fingers his ideological beads, and walks forward soberly cultivating the tactical virtues.⁴

The position of the CP concerning the 1964 presidential election has previously been mentioned. They did not care for Lyndon Johnson, but cared even less for Barry Goldwater. They supposedly plan to start a new "popular front" party called the "People's Party" in 1968.⁵

In the summer of 1966, the CP held its first national convention since 1959. The convention report hailed gains among youth, but voiced displeasure over the predominantly white membership. Kind words were directed toward the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, Students for a Democratic Society, and the DuBois Clubs, but "ultra-Left" groups such as Youth Against War and Fascism, Young Socialist Alliance, and Progressive Labor were taken to task, mainly on the grounds that they influence young people to take narrow and sectarian positions.⁶

⁴Almond, op. cit., p. 379.

⁵Victor Riesel, "U. S. Communists Plan to Launch 'People's Party' for '68 Voting," The Daily Oklahoman (February 8, 1967), p. 12.

⁶New York Times (June 24, 1966), p. 2.

Evidently the CP feels that they guide young people into broad and non-sectarian positions. Evidence points to the contrary.

W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America

The DuBois Clubs are named after the late W.E.B. DuBois, a respected sociologist who happened to be a Negro and who helped to found the NAACP. He later became pro-Communist, moved to Ghana, and renounced his American citizenship. At the age of ninety-three he joined the Communist Party.

The national founding convention of this group was held in June of 1964, but the Berkeley, California, DuBois Club had existed for about three years before this convention. Very instrumental in the founding were Terence and Mathew Hallinan who are better known by their nicknames, Kayo and Dynamite, which were gained because of their proficiency at boxing and brawling. Both supposedly have quick tempers and are apt to suddenly hit a person who argues too long against their point of view. They are the sons of Vincent Hallinan, a millionaire lawyer who ran for president on the Progressive Party ticket in 1952.

Others who were present at the founding convention were such regulars of the C.P.U.S.A. as Alva Buxenbaum, Mike Zagarell, Eugene Dennis, Jr. (son of a former CP chairman who is now deceased), Marvin Markman, Bettina Aptheker,

and Carl Bloice who became editor of the DuBois publication, Insurgent. Bloice had previously written for the West Coast CP newspaper, People's World. Several known CP members were invited as observers. These included Douglas Wachter, Mickey Lima (chairman of the Northern California CP), Roscoe Porter, and Al Richmond, the editor of People's World. Despite the foregoing, the DuBois Clubs act as though they are independent of the CP. Phillip Luce comments on this:

. . . as a "voting delegate" at their founding convention I know that they are the youth arm of the CPUSA. . . . the undeniable fact is that they are controlled, financed and led by Gus Hall and his cronies. The DuBois Clubs are about as independent of Communist Party influence as the Buick Motor Car Company is of General Motors.⁷

At the end of the summer of 1965, four of the five top leaders of the DuBois Clubs participated in a meeting with several leading members of the CP including Gus Hall and Mike Zagarell. This meeting was supposedly secret. Hall criticized the DuBois Clubs for appearing to be nothing more than a CP youth organization and said that they should try to change their image by broadening their leadership and enlarging their membership.⁸

Socialist Workers Party

The Socialist Workers Party is the official Trotskyist organization in the United States. The Trotskyist move-

⁷Luce, op. cit., pp. 114 and 138.

⁸Ibid., p. 137.

ment was started by Leon Trotsky after he was expelled from the Soviet Union in 1929. This group seems to feel that although there are many things wrong with the Soviet Union, it is still fairly near to being a worker's state and should be defended against "reactionary forces." They are much more impressed with Cuba and praise that island country. They do not identify with the Trotskyists who have been persecuted and jailed by Fidel Castro.

One of their major premises seems to be that the U. S. working people and Negroes are ready for a revolution, but are held back by their leaders. Naturally the S.W.P. wants a revolution as soon as possible, since they feel that this is the only way to destroy capitalism totally.

The S.W.P. weekly newspaper is a tabloid called The Militant and it is well named. They also publish a quarterly called the Internationalist Socialist Review. Some typical articles in The Militant are:

Frame-Up Victims to Appeal Monroe "Kidnap" Conviction

(March 9, 1964)

Queries Still Continue on Oswald Case [This article suggests his innocence.]

(March 9, 1964)

Domestic Subversion By CIA Springs from "Anti-Communism"

(February 27, 1967)

The S.W.P. is one of the few left extremist groups that bothers to run candidates for office. It does this

mainly for publicity. Their 1964 presidential candidate was Clifton DeBerry who received 10,934 votes.⁹ He later ran for mayor of New York City. Typical of DeBerry's political thought is the following statement:

There is no difference in principle between the Democratic and Republican parties. They are both for a policy of aggression and exploitation abroad and a policy of gradualism here at home.¹⁰

The Young Socialist Alliance is the S.W.P. youth group. Their policies are those of their parent body.

Spartacist League

The Spartacist League is a recent split from the Socialist Workers Party. This organization was started by a group of less than fifty persons who were expelled for being somewhat undisciplined in their utterances. The Spartacist people maintain that the S.W.P. is not truly revolutionary and refer to themselves as "the revolutionary tendency expelled from the Socialist Workers Party."

The leader of the group and editor of the magazine, Spartacist, is Jim Robertson whose seeming delusions of grandeur have been previously mentioned. After the Gulf of Tonkin confrontation, the Spartacist League strongly criticized the Soviet Union for not giving North Vietnam nuclear weapons so that they could defend themselves against

⁹The World Almanac, 1965, p. 44.

¹⁰The Militant (March 23, 1964), p. 4.

the United States.

These people are quite concerned with theoretical political ideas of the Marxian variety (Trotsky as interpreted by Robertson) and as a result of this their magazine is one of the more uninteresting on the extreme left.

Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist)

The CP (M-L) was formed in mid-1965 and claims 1,500 members which is very doubtful. This is possibly the newest left extremist group and seems to follow the Chinese line straight away. Their weekly publication is People's Voice (The Voice of All the Oppressed and Exploited) which runs such articles as:

U. S. Imperialist Plot Uncovered
(September 20, 1965)

Mao Tse Tung on Guerilla [sic] Warfare
(September 20, 1965)

Marxist-Leninists Oppose Cuban Revisionism
(March 7, 1966)

In the article on "Cuban Revisionism" this group made the following statement:

The C.P.U.S.A. (M-L) . . . fully condemns the vituperative anti-China slanders of Castro's capitulation to revisionism reveals to the world a betrayal of Marxist-Leninist principles in the anti-imperialist struggle [sic].

The monthly publication of the CP (M-L) is Red Flag which is actually too expensive for the oppressed and exploited to afford. It costs \$1.00 per copy. Compare this with the Catholic Worker at 1¢.

Although it has a New York office, this group is originally Los Angeles based and evidently controls the Workers' International Bookstore. They urge readers to subscribe to Peking Review, Vietnam Courier, New Albania, and other journals from the pro-China block. Evidently the exploited worker is supposed to put aside a tidy sum each month so that he may subscribe to the proper periodicals.

The CP (M-L) spends some of its time in attacks on the original CP--"the revisionists"--which they claim is not a revolutionary party. M. I. Laski, the leader of the CP (M-L), made the accusation that the CP and the Progressive Labor Party believe that imperialism can be halted through the vehicle of free elections, while his organization feels that the only way to "change the nature of imperialism is thru proletarian revolution."¹¹

Progressive Labor Party

This group was formed as the Progressive Labor Movement in late 1961 and became a party in 1965. It appears to follow the straight Chinese line and therefore seems to be neither progressive nor connected with the labor movement. The "Founding Fathers" of this group were Milt Rosen and Mort Scheer who were kicked out of the C.P.U.S.A. after they had made an unsuccessful attempt to make the Party more radical. They now call the CP "a hopeless apologist

¹¹New York Times (November 27, 1966), p. 67.

for imperialism."¹²

PL, as they call themselves, is a dynamic group which is organized on many college campuses, has four offices in New York City, and evidently has a few wealthy "sugar Daddy types" supporting it. Their bi-monthly magazine, Progressive Labor, is perhaps the slickest magazine on the extreme left. The February-March, 1967, issue has 144 pages complete with photographs and well-done drawings. Their weekly (actually irregular) publications are Challenge on the East Coast and Spark on the West Coast. In both of these the last couple of pages are printed in Spanish.

PL was the main force behind the "student" trips to Cuba in 1963 and 1964 in defiance of a State Department ban on travel to that country. Three of PL's members were brought to trial for having prepared and led these trips. The Supreme Court ruled that their passports could be taken away, but that they could not be jailed for their actions.

This group was much in evidence during the Harlem riots in the summer of 1964. Left extremist groups refer to these riots as an insurrection or rebellion and attempt to give them a Marxist connotation such as "the black masses struggling against their imperialist oppressors," etc. The same is true of the Watts riots. As has been mentioned, Bill Epton, one of PL's leaders, was convicted of criminal

¹²Luce, op. cit., p. 85.

anarchy for his activities in connection with the Harlem riots. Several witnesses stated that they heard him advocate violence in these words:

. . . in the process of smashing this state we're going to have to kill a lot of these cops, a lot of these judges, and we'll have to go up against their army. We'll organize our own militia and our own army.¹³

This is allegedly part of a speech that Mr. Epton made about an hour before the riots began. He and PL deny that he ever said this, but it is apparent that his political philosophy certainly runs along this line. He speaks for himself:

This government is not fit to rule--not the Negro people in particular and not the American people in general. All of the major agencies are tools to suppress the Negro people. The Justice Department and the F.B.I. are in outright collusion with the fascist-minded K.K.K. and those that control the K.K.K. in the South. The F.B.I. is, and has always been, a secret police apparatus whose main function is not to protect, but to destroy any militant Negro organization or its leadership --Robert Williams is a case in point.¹⁴

Robert Williams is a pro-Communist who will have to stand trial for kidnapping if he ever comes back to the United States. At one time he did broadcasts from Cuba, announcing himself as the "Voice of Radio Free Dixie."

While heaping praise on such militant Negroes as Robert Williams, PL has nothing but scorn for such Negro leaders as Roy Wilkins (NAACP) and Martin Luther King and

¹³Ibid., p. 81.

¹⁴Bill Epton, "Black Self-Determination," Progressive Labor (March, 1965), p. 42.

puts these men in the "Uncle Tom" category.¹⁵ Wilkins is known as a strong anti-Communist and King demands non-violence from his followers. PL's opinion of King is illustrated by the following statement:

Martin Luther King in his book Why We Can't Wait does not tell us the reasons for the lack of progress in the movement for our freedom. He is a reactionary person who would like to be integrated into the corrupt society--so he could prosper from the misfortunes of his Black brothers, and later attempt to pacify them by preaching fatalism.

Comrades and friends we must beware! We must not collaborate with the Martin Luther Kings and his cronies and the imperialist press in condemning the Black rebellions. . . .¹⁶

Articles and cartoons in Progressive Labor try to convey the idea that every bad event which occurs in the United States is due to a direct order from some government official or labor leader. One series of cartoons depicted Uncle Sam saying, "A tool for every occasion--that's us." The cartoons show such things as a rifle "for Mississippi voter registrars." The rifle is called the De La Beckwith model. A vicious dog and a firehose are shown in a picture entitled "For Voters" and a pistol is shown "For Puerto-Rican Boys of the Year" (Progressive Labor, June, 1964, p. 13).

PL members are anything but non-violent and one of

¹⁵Bill McAdoo, "Notes on Black Liberation," ibid. (October, 1965), p. 55.

¹⁶J. Degia, "Socialism Not Fatalism," ibid. (February-March, 1967), pp. 143-144.

their leaders stated that "the only thing that can save the United States is Socialist revolution."¹⁷

Workers World Party

The Workers World Party is a small, but very militant group that is possibly as extreme, dogmatic, and authoritarian as any on the left. They seem to yell "fascist" as readily and make preposterous unfounded accusations as often as even the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist).

The Workers World group split from the Socialist Workers Party in 1958 because the S.W.P. supported a United Socialist ticket in the New York state elections of that year. The Workers World people maintained that they could not support a social democratic ticket. This split had started over the Hungarian revolution which the people who later formed the Workers World Party stated was led by social democrats and therefore Soviet intervention was certainly justified.

Workers World members aided the Brooklyn chapter of CORE in the "stall ins" at the opening of the World's Fair in 1964. When questioned as to whether they had ever aided CORE before, two Workers World people replied that they had not done so before because until the "stall ins," CORE had not had a project worthy of their considera-

¹⁷Personal communication.

tion.¹⁸ It is interesting to note that this chapter of CORE was kicked out of the national organization before the stall ins ever took place. James Farmer, who was then national director of CORE, told them that their plan was foolish and dangerous and ordered them not to carry it out. They announced that they were going to do it anyway and Farmer announced that they were out.

Workers World seems to feel that the Central Intelligence Agency controls almost everything within the United States and most things abroad. They even go so far as to link the C.I.A. with George Lincoln Rockwell, the Nazi--both have their headquarters in Arlington, Virginia, and according to Workers World this is significant.¹⁹ The C.I.A. often rates headlines in their publication Workers World:

Hand of C.I.A. in India War on Pakistan
(September 16, 1965)

The C.I.A. Was Behind the Coup in Ghana!
(March 10, 1966)

C.I.A. Suspected in Guatemala Liberation Leader's
Auto Death
(October 6, 1966)

These people should be a bit embarrassed by some of their predictions which do not even remotely hit the mark, but they do not seem to be bothered. Two examples are:

Johnson Plots A Sneak Attack on China
(April 17, 1965, Special Edition)

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

U. S. Readies Plan to Bomb China
(April 29, 1965)

As previously stated it seems that the United States is very slow about carrying out sneak attacks. At this writing their prediction is over two years old.

Currently Vice-President Humphrey is one of the main targets of Workers World abuse. Examples are:

200 Picket Humphrey in Cleveland
(February 24, 1966)

Cleveland Protestors . . . Greet Johnson's War
Salesman
(October 6, 1966)

Shortly after the death of Adlai Stevenson, the following editorial appeared in Workers World of July 29, 1965:

Adlai Stevenson

Stevenson may have had more personal good will toward mankind in general than many of his fellow capitalists. But his attitude to the working class was just as intransigent, his attitude toward workers' states and workers' revolutions just as deadly as his louder talking and clumsier colleagues . . . his defense of imperialism was a hundred times more important with the masses than, for example, Goldwater's sly compliments to Johnson. (Goldwater only compromised Johnson, while Stevenson gave him a passport to the "side of the angels!") This man who had been for peace in peacetime, became the most effective apologist for imperialist war in wartime.

This was the real role of Stevenson and the real reason the U. S. ruling class found it easy to unite in mourning for him.

The Workers World Party seems to prefer China over any other nation with the possible exception of North Vietnam. A cartoon which appeared in the September 30, 1965,

issue of Workers World clearly illustrates their attitude toward China and the United States. It depicts President Johnson dressed as a policeman. He is holding a club and has his foot on the head of a Negro child. He is saying to a man with CHINA written on his front, "Stop trying to change the world by force and violence." The Chinese man looks strangely like Mao Tse Tung and carries a sign which reads, "Freedom for all oppressed peoples." Bright rays of light are shining forth from the Chinese gentleman because he is going to free oppressed peoples.

Workers World's youth group, Youth Against War and Fascism, has been mentioned in connection with their numerous and non-passive demonstrations. Their publication is called The Partisan.

Extreme Right Groups

. . . The discordant voices of extremism are heard once again in the land. Men who are unwilling to face up to the danger from without are convinced that the real danger comes from within. They look suspiciously at their neighbors and their leaders. They call for a man on horseback because they do not trust the people. They find treason in our finest churches, in our highest court and even in the treatment of our water. Let us not heed these councils of fear and suspicion. Let us concentrate more on keeping enemy bombers and missiles away from our shores, and concentrate less on keeping our neighbors away from our shelters. Let us devote less energy to organized armed bands of civilian guerrillas that are more likely to supply local vigilantes than national vigilance. Let our patriotism be reflected in the creation of confidence rather than crusades of suspicion.

--PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY, 1963²⁰

²⁰John Carpenter, Extremism U.S.A. (Phoenix, Ari-

The John Birch Society

The John Birch Society, which was founded in late 1958 and became prominent in 1960, is probably the best known right extremist group. A Gallup Poll of February, 1962, found the following concerning the Society:

Favorable	5%
Unfavorable	26%
No opinion	27%
Have not heard of it	42%
	100%

Some of the appeals which the Society makes are related to patriotism, religion, antipathy toward minorities, distrust of intellectualism, and fear of Communism. In fact, when conversing with Society members one gets a strong feeling that these people have a real fear for their personal safety and the safety of their families.

The Society supposedly had a membership peak of 95,000 in mid-1965, but has now dropped to around 80,000.²¹ These are the Society's figures and are quite possibly high, especially when one considers the fact that the Society's monthly magazine, American Opinion, has a circulation of less than 45,000. This is a one-man organization

zona: Associated Professional Services Inc., 1964), from the back cover.

²¹James Phelan, "Mutiny in the Birch Society," Saturday Evening Post (April 8, 1967), p. 22.

which operates "under completely authoritative control at all levels."²² Robert H. W. Welch, Jr., is the man of authority. It is his club and he dictates policy. If members do not like it they can quit and part of their money will be refunded. "The John Birch Society is to be a monolithic body. A republican form of government or organization has many attractions and advantages, under certain favorable conditions. But under less happy circumstances it lends itself too readily to infiltration, distortion and disruption."²³ Mr. Welch further states that the people who join the Society "are going to be doing so primarily because they believe in me and what I am doing and are willing to accept my leadership anyway."²⁴ Thus, we see from the founder's own words what kind of organization the John Birch Society is and how it is run. What kind of man is this Mr. Welch that people are willing to follow? What are his opinions and upon what does he base them?

Mr. Welch wrote a book called The Politician in which he stated that a large number of our national leaders were either agents of the Communist conspiracy or "Comsymps" (a word which he coined). Among those named were Dwight and Milton Eisenhower, John Foster and Allen Dulles, Chester

²²Welch, The Blue Book of the John Birch Society, p. 159.

²³Ibid., pp. 158-159.

²⁴Ibid., p. 161.

Bowles, Charles Bohlen, Phillip Jessup, General George Marshall, and Arthur Dean. Birch Society members claim that this was not written for publication and was private correspondence. They miss the point which is that Robert Welch believes the things which he wrote in The Politician and he is the leader of the Society, "a monolithic body." Another point is that despite denials to the contrary many Birch members also believe these things.

Although the statement that "Dwight Eisenhower is a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy" does not appear in the later printings of The Politician, there are still some rather startling passages such as:

For many reasons and after a lot of study, I personally believe Dulles to be a Communist agent who has had one clearly defined role to play; namely, always to say the right things and always to do the wrong ones.²⁵

When questioned about this statement on NBC's "Meet the Press" (September 6, 1964), Mr. Welch refused to answer on the grounds that the statement was taken out of context. Those of us who have labored through The Politician know that the only context out of which the statement was taken is Mr. Welch's rather odd interpretation of history. Actually, this statement, along with others by Mr. Welch, seems fairly clear cut. He believes that John Foster Dulles was a Red--period.

²⁵Welch, The Politician, p. 223.

On this same program, Mr. Welch reiterated a statement which he had made previously and which is untrue. He stated that the American Civil Liberties Union does not reveal the number of members in their organization. Actually, the A.C.L.U. has been giving their total membership for years.

With ACLU membership now over 65,000, the Union has reset its sights on an enrollment target of 75,000. To start signing up new members, two hundred thousand letters will go out in March and April.²⁶

The November, 1965, issue of Civil Liberties stated on pages 4 and 5 that the Union then had 80,000 members. Whether Mr. Welch is purposely spreading untruth only he can say.

Other statements which reveal the character and beliefs of Mr. Welch are:

In France during 1945 Stalin's long time agent, Charles de Gaulle, established himself in dictatorial power without a shred of legal authority.
...²⁷

Joe Pyne:

Don't you ever, when you go to bed at night, say, Dammit, I wish I hadn't said that about Eisenhower?

Robert Welch:

No, I don't.²⁸

²⁶"Membership Goal is Moved Up to 75,000," Civil Liberties (March, 1963), p. 3.

²⁷Welch, The Truth in Time, p. 17.

²⁸Phelan, op. cit., p. 24.

For other utterances which illustrate the thought of Robert Welch, refer to the chapter on characteristics of extremists.

To people who say that Mr. Welch is an extremist, but the Birch Society is a good thing, one can only answer with the words of Alan Cranston, California State Controller:

I find it hard to suppress a smile when a Birch member admits to me that Robert Welch may be wrong and just a trifle intemperate in labeling Eisenhower and Dulles and NATO and the CIA as Communist agents, but fervently declares that the Society itself is just great.

To me, it's like a Communist saying he thinks Marx was a nut, but that the party is just fine.²⁹

Much to the chagrin of the Society, it has been attacked by persons who are known to be quite conservative in their views. Included among these are William F. Buckley, Russell Kirk, Senators Tower and Goldwater, and the late George Sokolsky. Senator Goldwater assailed the Society and warned Republicans to keep power out of Birch hands. Then he said, "I tell you, the worst job of politics is done in districts run by the Birch people. If you give them control of the state organization, you wouldn't have a Republican candidate elected in this state."³⁰ Senator Tower has urged conservatives to reject the "terribly misguided leadership

²⁹Alan Cranston, "Who's An Extremist?," The Dixon Line (August 15, 1965), p. 5.

³⁰New York Times (September 27, 1966), p. 13.

of the John Birch Society."³¹ Mr. Buckley was asked if the Society were not better than nothing as a rallying point against Communism. His answer was, "No, it is worse than nothing."³²

Writing in the October 19, 1965, issue of his magazine, National Review, Mr. Buckley made the following statement concerning the Society:

One continues to wonder how it is that the membership of the John Birch Society tolerates such paranoid and unpatriotic drivel.

For his magazine's criticism of the Society, Buckley received a large amount of correspondence. Of the first 200 letters only two agreed with his point of view. One letter asked, "What zionist-Jew wrote this article? . . . I have known Bob Welch for over fifteen years. I think he told the truth about Eisenhower." This letter was from James Oviatt who was dropped from the Society after his anti-Semitic activities became a matter of public record. Buckley concluded that the majority of Birch members "sanction the imputation of treasonable motives" to our national leaders.

Anti-Semitism is an issue that has bothered the Society since its early days. Mr. Welch is not an anti-Semite; the stated policies of the Society are not anti-

³¹Ibid. (February 17, 1962), p. 20.

³²Phelan, op. cit., p. 22.

Semitic; and there are an estimated 900 Jewish members (probably a high estimate). It should be noted, however, that anti-Semitism permeates the Society. The late Merwin K. Hart was the leader of Chapter 26 in New York City. Hart's pro-fascism and his previous fascist connections are a matter of record.³³ His National Economic Council publication put out the following message while he was still living:

. . . Is it not likely that many of these six million, claimed to have been killed by Hitler and Eichmann, are right here in the United States and are now joining in the agitation for more and more support for the State of Israel--even if the American Republic goes down?³⁴

Dr. Revilo P. Oliver, a former Birch Council member, has had his writings pushed by Common Sense and other anti-Semitic publications and Oliver himself gave a complimentary review to the anti-Semitic book World Revolution by Nesta H. Webster, a long-time admirer of fascism. This review appeared in the January, 1965, issue of American Opinion, the official Birch magazine. Dr. Oliver resigned from the Society in the summer of 1966 due to pressures upon him in connection with an anti-Semitic speech which he delivered

³³See John Roy Carlson [Avedis B. Derounian], Undercover (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1943), and The Plotters (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1946). See also Henry Hoke, It's a Secret (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1946); Arnold Forster, The Troublemakers (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1952).

³⁴Economic Council Letter (April 15, 1961), p. 4.

at the New England Rally for God, Family, and Country. According to Oliver, Mr. Welch tried to get him to resign from the Council, but remain in the Society and continue to write for American Opinion. In fact, Oliver claims that Welch offered him \$5,000 to update a 1960 article for a 1967 issue and also asked him to sign a letter stating among other things that he "adored Robert Welch . . . and that [he] was so distressed to think that anything said by a member of the Birch Society could be commented on unfavorably. . . ." ³⁵ Oliver did not sign the letter.

While on the subject of Dr. Oliver's writings it should be mentioned that his best-known article is "Marxmanship in Dallas" (American Opinion, February, 1964) in which he stated that the late President John F. Kennedy was killed by the Communists because they were afraid that he was about to "turn American." Mr. Welch has described this article as "superb commentary." ³⁶

Omni Publications have advertised in American Opinion. Omni has published materials stating that the Soviet Union is a Jew-Masonic run state and its main beachhead in the United States is the Federal Reserve System. ³⁷

Various Birch bookstores around the country sell

³⁵Phelan, op. cit., p. 25.

³⁶New York Times (August 16, 1966), p. 23.

³⁷H. K. Thompson, "A Survey of the Right Wing," The Independent (August, 1962), p. 9.

anti-Semitic books and pamphlets and two such books by Nesta H. Webster are advertised in their official book list.³⁸ For further discussion of anti-Semitic literature sold in Birch bookstores see: Benjamin Epstein and Arnold Forster, Report on the John Birch Society 1966 (New York: Random House, 1966), pp. 31-34.

The Society has several martyred heroes besides the late John Birch and in the forefront is the late Senator Joseph McCarthy. They maintain that the Senator was doing such a good job exposing Communists in high places in government that the word went out from party leaders to "get him" and a smear campaign was started. Was McCarthy really a threat to domestic Communists? The facts indicate that he was not. Herbert Philbrick, the counterspy who rose higher in the Communist Party than any other infiltrator thus far revealed, made the following statement concerning Senator McCarthy:

According to the leaders of the Communist Party, McCarthy has helped them a great deal. The kind of attacks he has made do three things the comrades like: They add greatly to the confusion, putting up a smokescreen for the party and making it more difficult than ever for people to discern just who is a communist and who is not; they make the party appear a lot stronger than it is; and they do considerable damage to some of the "stupid liberals" whom the party hates.³⁹

³⁸Book List (Belmont, Massachusetts: American Opinion Libraries, n. d.), p. 41.

³⁹Jack Anderson and Ronald May, McCarthy: The Man, The Senator, The Ism (Boston: Beacon Press, 1952), pp. 244-

Mr. Philbrick's famous book, I Led Three Lives, is recommended by the Birchers, but it becomes readily apparent that those who recommend it have not read it very carefully, for it stresses points that are diametrically opposed to Birch thinking, and even criticizes a group in which they claim to have much faith--the House Un-American Activities Committee:

Blanket condemnations such as those of the House Un-American Activities Committee, which black list entire organizations because of the presence of a few Communists, frequently harm innocent persons. Guilt by association merely strengthens the hand of agitators in their attacks upon the infringement of civil liberties . . . countless loyal citizens were caught in a trap when the House Un-American Activities Committee listed the Progressive Citizens of America as Subversive.⁴⁰

"The House Committee? Bah!" Manny Blum would say. "How much more we are helped than we are harmed? What can they do? . . . Going before the House Committee is a chance for winning as many friends as we can to the party, and creating as many enemies of the American Congress as possible. . . ."⁴¹

J. Edgar Hoover is supposedly admired by the Society, although a Massachusetts member claims that Mr. Hoover is a Communist.⁴² The attitude of most Birch members seems to be that Mr. Hoover is in agreement with their ideas. This is extremely doubtful. Mr. Hoover has condemned the extreme

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⁴⁰Herbert A. Philbrick, I Led Three Lives (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952), pp. 249-250.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 186.

⁴²Personal communication.

right on several occasions and has said that amateur anti-Communists should leave the Red hunting to experts. In the June 9, 1947, issue of Newsweek, pp. 30-31, Mr. Hoover wrote in part:

We can defeat the Communist attempt to capture the United States by fighting it with truth and justice, implemented with a few Don'ts:

Don't label anyone a Communist unless you have the facts.

Don't confuse liberals and progressives with Communists.

Don't take the law into your own hands.

Don't be a party to a violation of the civil rights of anyone. When this is done you are playing right into the hands of the Communists.

Don't let up on the fight against Fascist, K.K.K. and other dangerous groups.

The facts indicate that the John Birch Society has been guilty of violating the first two "Don'ts" time and time again. In answer to this charge they would probably say that they have the facts and that liberals and progressives are "Comsymps" anyway. It is fortunate that the majority of Americans believe that Mr. Hoover knows a little more about Communism than Robert Welch, his Birch Society, and "Birchsymps." Mr. Hoover has made several enlightening statements concerning the extreme right. Two of these are:

Today far too many self-styled experts on Communism are plying the highways of America giving erroneous information.⁴³

⁴³New York Times (February 16, 1962), p. 16.

I have no respect for the head of the Society,
Robert Welch.⁴⁴

The Society is constantly at work trying to improve its image. In the process, it spends hundreds of thousands of dollars on films, records, tapes, radio time, and the printed word. Advertising Age reported that the Society spent \$305,475 for advertising space alone in 1964.⁴⁵ Full page ads entitled "What is the John Birch Society? The Truth May Surprise You" were placed in most of the nation's leading newspapers during 1965. An expensive sixteen page Sunday Supplement was placed in several papers also. This supplement played down the wild charges made by the Society and attempted to project the image of responsible conservatism.

Books and pamphlets which agree with their general philosophy are distributed by the Society. Among such publications are:

None Dare Call it Treason by John Stormer--A completely discredited book which makes use of half truths, out of context quotes, and quotes which are either untrue or cannot be traced back to their source. An example of this latter is a supposed statement by the late Senator Robert Taft which condemns the UN and suggests that the United States withdraw (p. 208). No evidence has been produced to the effect that Taft ever made this statement.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ibid. (November 19, 1964), p. 28.

⁴⁵Benjamin R. Epstein and Arnold Forster, Report on the John Birch Society 1966 (New York: Random House, 1966), p. 58.

⁴⁶Julian Foster, None Dare Call it Reason (N. p.:

A Texan Looks at Lyndon by J. Evetts Haley.

A Choice Not an Echo by Phyllis Schlafly, an Illinois lady who was recently (May, 1967) defeated for the presidency of the National Federation of Republican Women. Although she now denies Birch Society membership, Robert Welch had previously referred to her as a member.

The 100 Million Dollar Blackjack--A pamphlet denouncing the 1964 civil rights bill and urging its defeat.

Among other things, Birch propaganda emphasizes the following:

1. "Get the U. S. out of the U. N. and the U. N. out of the U. S." To the Birch mind the U. N. is a Communist plot which will aid in the ultimate takeover of the U. S. by the forces of international Communism. They have distributed reams of printed information about this. Bumper stickers which read "Get US Out" are also popular.

2. "Impeach Earl Warren." Not only pamphlets and bumper stickers are in evidence, but large billboards with this message may be seen in various cities throughout the United States. The reason he should be impeached is the fact that a large percentage of his decisions have been pro-Communist according to the Society. They actually seem to think that they will eventually be successful in this venture. Robert Welch has stated, "If we can't impeach Warren, there is no hope of saving this country."⁴⁷ It is

Copyright by the author, 1964), p. 1. Available from Box 233, Placentia, California.

⁴⁷Phelan, op. cit., p. 23.

quite possible that the Birchers may be "Johnny-come-latelys" with respect to their Earl Warren campaign. Gerald L. K. Smith, the long-time anti-Semite, has stated, "It was my honor to be the first to organize a campaign to impeach Earl Warren and his pro-Communist Supreme Court."⁴⁸

3. "The civil rights movement is Communist inspired." This has been emphasized from the very beginning of the Society and is still being stressed. Robert Welch's Letter to the South and Manning Johnson's Color, Communism, and Common Sense are still pushed along with a newer book by Alan Stang entitled It's Very Simple. This latter book takes the same old line that the civil rights movement is a social revolution which is trying to destroy capitalism. Among the newer Birch weapons against civil rights are the TACT (Truth About Civil Turmoil) Committees. These are set up on a local basis and feature speakers from the American Opinion Speakers Bureau (a Birch front) such as Stang, Edward Griffin, and Julia Brown, a Negro lady who is billed as an ex-F.B.I. "informant." These speakers stress the same line as does the Society's printed matter, i. e., the Reds are in control of the entire civil rights movement. Much of the information put out by the speakers comes from old Communist Party booklets which were written in the late twenties and early thirties. At this point it is instructive

⁴⁸The Cross and the Flag (February, 1966), p. 13.

to note that J. Edgar Hoover has stated that it is absurd to suggest that Negro aspirations for equal rights are Communist inspired. At the same time he warned that civil rights groups must "remain constantly alert to attempts by Communists to influence their activities, take over their programs, and corrupt their ranks."⁴⁹

4. Halt all trade with Communist countries.

5. Fight against registration of firearms and

6. Oppose police review boards. Both of these

points are greatly desired by the Communists, according to the Birchers.

Mr. Welch claims that the Society is truly an effective force against world Communism. If this is so, and the Communists are as well entrenched in the American government as the Society believes, why have not the Communists assassinated Mr. Welch? It has been humorously suggested that the John Birch Society is nothing more than a plot to sell books.

Christian Crusade

Christian Crusade is headed by the Reverend Billy James Hargis who has claimed around one hundred thousand followers and several hundred thousand circulation for his monthly magazine, Christian Crusade. Actual circulation is about 75,000. He also puts out The Weekly Crusader.

⁴⁹New York Times (December 5, 1963), p. 23.

Christian Crusade sponsors a "National Anti-Communist Leadership Training School" in Tulsa, Oklahoma, which is an annual affair and usually lasts one week. The ideas put forward at this school and in this group's publications appear no different from those of the John Birch Society and it is common knowledge that Billy James Hargis and Robert Welch are quite friendly and keep in contact.

Reverend Hargis greatly aided in putting the Chicago rightist organization "We the People" back on its feet. Attending an organizational meeting of this group were known anti-Semites Merwin K. Hart and Elizabeth Dilling (a defendant in the "Mass Sedition Trials"), both of whom are now deceased.⁵⁰ "Hargis has also accepted support from . . . anti-Semites Allen Zoll and Wickliffe Vennard."⁵¹ He also wrote a foreword to Vennard's anti-Semitic book The Federal Reserve Hoax and aided in writing one of the chapters.

Major General Edwin A. Walker has been a member of Christian Crusade for some time. In addition to General Walker's irresponsible statements, he is currently on the staff of the American Mercury which at one time was an overtly anti-Jewish hate sheet. Its anti-Semitism is now somewhat disguised.

⁵⁰Thompson, op. cit., p. 3.

⁵¹Ibid.

David Nobel, assistant to Reverend Hargis, is the author of a recent book entitled Rhythm, Riots and Revolution. This is the book which received some national publicity because among other things it stated that the Beatles are a part of the Communist influence in music. Nobel claims that this type of music is "played and sung by people whose avowed purposes are the degeneration, demoralization and de-Christianization of their listeners."⁵²

The Minutemen

The Minutemen could be described as a para-military organization. They are well armed. Their founder is Robert DePugh who was recently sentenced to four years in prison and is currently free on bond pending appeal. His offense was unlawful possession of machine guns. He has resigned his position as National Co-ordinator of the Minutemen and has stated that a known leader would handicap underground operations.

On Target is their monthly publication and it bears the motto "Words Won't Win--Action Will." This group evidently feels that they can win a guerrilla war after the Communists take over. It was a group of Minutemen who were arrested in October of 1966 before they could blow up three camps where leftists often gather. They evidently felt that they could strike a blow for freedom by getting rid of a

⁵²Christian Crusade (June, 1966), p. 13.

few old leftists who are probably more of a threat to themselves than to the United States government.

In the summer of 1966, DePugh, who is not an overt anti-Semite, joined forces with two who are to form the Patriotic Party. These are Kenneth Goff and Richard Cotten. Present at the first national convention of the party were representatives of Christian Crusade, Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Twentieth Century Reformation Hour, the John Birch Society, Young Americans for Freedom, and other such groups, according to a party spokesman. This was reported in the Washington Post of July 5, 1966, page B5.

The F.B.I. has seemingly done a good job of keeping the Minutemen under surveillance. When referring to the F.B.I. the Minutemen resort to the term "parasites."

Black Muslims

The Black Muslims are a Negro racist group who look upon Christianity as the white man's religion and have adopted the religion of Islam. They want to separate, not integrate and want the United States government to give them two states of their own and a sum of money to help make up for the way the "Black Man" has been treated. They scorn the word "Negro" as a word originated by Caucasian slave masters.

Elijah Muhammad is commander-in-chief of this organization and the late Malcolm X was his right hand man until

he broke with the Muslims to start his own group. (His assassination has been mentioned previously.) Malcolm had changed many of his views, especially with respect to racism and black supremacy, and was trying to build an organization for all Negroes.

Although the Muslims are not overtly anti-Jewish, George Lincoln Rockwell, leader of the American Nazi Party, was a guest speaker before a crowd of 5,000 at the 1962 convention of the Muslims in Chicago. Although his references to Hitler were booed by some, he was generally well received. This was not terribly surprising since he and the Muslims are in agreement with respect to the existence of a superior race. The disagreement is, of course, which race is superior? Rockwell has had many kind words for the Muslims.

The Muslim newspaper is Muhammad Speaks which is published bi-monthly. The headline of the October 8, 1965, issue reads "Black Leadership Opposes Truth." This refers to such leadership as the NAACP, the Urban League, and Martin Luther King, not the Muslims. These groups are wrong and oppose truth because they want to mix with the "White Devils."

Elijah Muhammad's views are a big hit with racists and several of them are in contact with him.

Citizens Councils

The Citizens Councils cannot accurately be described

as a whole, since their policies vary to some extent from place to place. They usually do not refer to themselves as "White Citizens Councils" though several non-affiliated groups bear that name.

These groups are overtly racist and are concerned with keeping the "Nigras" in their places. When the movement was just starting, a list of recommended literature included Gerald L. K. Smith's The Cross and the Flag. Now, the Citizens Councils are attempting to suppress the list and are trying to make friends with rabbis in the South. One of their pamphlets is entitled "A Jewish View of Segregation" and supposedly shows that Southern Jews are segregationists. (Some may be. What does that prove?) At any rate, this group's leadership is being very careful to avoid overt anti-Semitism.

Their monthly publication is The Citizen, but some local Councils have publications of their own. Prominent among these is The Councillor of Shreveport, Louisiana. Westbrook Pegler has written for this publication and has been quoted earlier in this thesis concerning his hatred for Senator Robert Kennedy. The Citizens Councils of Greater New Orleans have issued pamphlets against buying records by Negro artists because they are a corrupting influence on youth. Another of their pamphlets stated that southerners should stop buying Fords, since the profits are used to push integration.

National Renaissance Party

The National Renaissance Party sends out pamphlets which have stamped on them:

You are being BRAINWASHED by a pro-Communist, Jew-controlled press; New York Times--New York Post--Time--Life--Look--Coronet and Radio--TV--and decadent Hollywood Movies.

This very small group is headed by James Madole whose main supporter is his mother. This has interesting psychological implications. The N.R.P. was about the first neo-Nazi organization to appear after World War II and at one time received a large amount of publicity. Then the discovery was made that more than a few of its members were agents of various investigative groups--governmental, Jewish, journalistic, and private. They still get occasional publicity due to their vociferous and showy demonstrations which evidently often get out of hand, since Madole has been convicted of riot and conspiracy to riot. He has also been convicted of criminally possessing firearms and a switch-blade knife.⁵³

The National Renaissance Bulletin is their irregular publication and in it they have given indirect support to the Soviet Union on the grounds that it is anti-Jewish and the Jewish Conspiracy is trying to start a war against it. This is of interest, since probably no other right extremist group would agree with this line of thinking. The

⁵³New York Times (February 16, 1966), p. 87.

N.R.P. also has close Arab connections and is pro-Nasser which is also a bit out of line with the thought of most rightist groups.

Nationalist Socialist White People's Party

Formerly the American Nazi Party, this group is headed by George Lincoln Rockwell who is a former Navy commander. There are supposedly about fifty members, but also several thousand supporters and Rockwell received over 6,000 votes when he ran for governor of Virginia.

Commander Rockwell is a tall, good-looking fellow with rosy cheeks, but while his body looks healthy, his mind appears to be quite sick. He is not a stupid man, however, and is a good tactical debater; two of his main tactics are an utter disregard for truth and constant interruption of his opponent.⁵⁴ At one time he worked as a commercial artist and an advertising executive. This shows up in the cartoons and articles in the supposedly twice monthly publication, The Stormtrooper, and in the Rockwell Report. Both publications appear at irregular times. The technical quality of the work in these two publications is better than most on the extreme right except for occasional incorrect spelling and grammar.

Rockwell is one of the few right extremists that

⁵⁴Personal confrontation with Rockwell, January, 1966.

has a sense of humor, albeit a sick one. He calls President Johnson "Lyndon Baker Jenkins" and one of his pamphlets is entitled "Nigger! You too can be a Jew." This can be done through the "New Sammy the Kosher Coon Correspondence Course," obviously in reference to Sammy Davis who is of the Jewish faith. Another creation of which Rockwell seems proud is "The Diary of Ann Fink" which is a series of pictures of people in concentration camps who have been starved. Comic strip balloons show the victims saying "funny" things. This pamphlet is almost nauseating and will not be discussed further.

In every issue of The Stormtrooper the Commander advertises his autobiography, This Time the World. It sells for ten dollars which seems an outlandish price, and claims to be an "expose of the Jew-Communist-Zionist-Race-mixing conspiracy and complete plans for victory by White Christian Americans." Seemingly more of a bargain is How to Get Out and Stay Out of the Insane Asylum which costs fifty cents. This is the story of Commander Rockwell's battle against the "Jew Mental Health Attack."

Some observers have classified Rockwell as a bad joke. It seems that he is more. His manner can be quite convincing to uninformed persons who are already predisposed toward his type of thought. This, coupled with his disregard for truth, makes him a pied piper of hate.

Christian Educational Association

The Christian Educational Association is not well known, but its publication Common Sense is. Circulation at one time was in excess of 90,000. In 1966, however, it was under 20,000. The founder of this group was the late Conde McGinley. His son now follows in his footsteps. Common Sense is blatantly anti-Semitic and pushes such writings as The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion. The November 1, 1966, issue had an article entitled, "Chinese Communism? Yes, But it was Jewish When it Started." In the October 15 issue Robert Kennedy was referred to as "a brazen exponent of Marxism." Many of the books and articles advertised are the same ones recommended by the John Birch Society and other "non-racist" groups.

Christian Nationalist Crusade

The Christian Nationalist Crusade is headed by Gerald L. K. Smith who was once a member of the Nazi organization the Silver Shirts, as was his wife. Mr. Smith has been in the anti-Jewish business about as long as anyone who is still operating. Because of this he seems to feel qualified to offer advice to other "patriotic" organizations. One such example of advice appeared in the September, 1966, issue of his publication The Cross and the Flag. On page 9 he mentions that Mr. Welch has warned Birch members to have nothing to do with him and then he counters with,

"Mr. Welch knows that my followers make up a substantial portion of his membership. People who are alert to the Jewish question are in every segment of the John Birch Society. . . . All honor to Robert Welch and all honor to the John Birch Society, but as a veteran in this fight may I admonish the officers of the John Birch Society not to panic in their attempt to escape the scorn of the Jew."

Mr. Smith's magazine is well put together and he is reputed to be an excellent speaker. These two things appear to be the main factors related to his organization taking in over \$300,000 in one year.⁵⁵ That Mr. Smith claims to be the first to organize a campaign to impeach Earl Warren has been previously mentioned.

National States Rights Party

The National States Rights Party is possibly the most comical organization on the extreme right. Whereas George Lincoln Rockwell tries to be funny, the N.S.R.P., as they call themselves, is often funny while trying to be serious. That is, their publication, The Thunderbolt, can be quite humorous after one gets used to reading it. It is something for which one must acquire a taste, however, for upon first reading it it is common for the average American to become outraged and a typical reaction is, "How can they print this trash in America?"

⁵⁵Cranston, The Dixon Line (August, 1966), p. 5.

In addition to the classic headline "Communism is Still Jewish," which has already been mentioned, other thought-provoking articles which have appeared in The Thunderbolt are:

Is Mrs. Katzenbach a Negress? (February, 1966)

Jew is New "Daily Worker" Editor (February, 1966)

These "well informed Commie fighters" do not seem to be aware that the Communist Party paper is The Worker and has not been a daily for about nine years.

Communist Jew Leads Illegal Delegation to North
Viet Nam (January, 1966)

In connection with this article is a picture of Herbert Aptheker's daughter, Bettina, who is described as a "typical repulsive Jewess."

FBI Agents Lead Selma March--Not King (May, 1965)

Jesus Christ Not a Jew (September, 1964)

Negroes Have Diseased Blood (August, 1963)

Gerald Smith Reports New Evidence on Katzenbach Being a Jew (September, 1965)

Evidently considerable time is spent in trying to prove that persons they do not like are crypto-Jews. Two crypto-Jews thus far "exposed" are Douglas Dillon (an Episcopalian) and Gus Hall (an atheist who is of Scandi-

navian descent).

In most issues there is the full page which N.S.R.P. regulars must eagerly await from month to month, "Jews in the News."

The N.S.R.P. appeals are directed (probably unknowingly) toward the lower-middle and lower classes. These appeals are not only such things as religion, patriotism, etc., but also preservation of the "Southern Way of Life."

Advocates of Our Lady

Advocates of Our Lady is almost beyond belief. It is not only anti-Jewish, anti-Negro, anti-Liberal, and anti-Communist, but also anti-Mason and anti-Protestant. Chicago based, this militant group is dedicated to "the complete return to Catholic Religious, Political, and Social Order."⁵⁶ They state that at first the task seemed almost hopeless, but has succeeded beyond expectation thanks to "the Grace and Protection of Christ and Our Lady."⁵⁷

The government of Spain in about the year 1940 seems close to the type of rule they want for America and they state that once in power they will deal harshly with all Catholic clergymen who have co-operated with the enemy. Unfortunately, their definition of "the enemy" leaves much to

⁵⁶From a small, undated pamphlet put out by this group.

⁵⁷Ibid.

be desired and seems to include all Jews, most Protestants, and quite a few Catholics.

Alerte! is their irregular periodical and it is not dated, but is numbered. They seem to reprint everything that remotely agrees with their point of view. Alerte! #33 reprinted an article entitled "The Anti-Christ Has Come" by Fulton J. Sheen. Another article in this same issue was "The Plot of the Freemasons, Jews, and Ecclesiastics." They are extremely bitter that the Ecumenical Council absolved the Jews of guilt with respect to the death of Jesus and as far as they are concerned the Jews are not absolved. To their way of thinking it was a plot. Evil elements have infiltrated into high places in the Church and one of these elements seems to be Cardinal Bea. As one might suspect they bring out evidence that Cardinal Bea is a Jew.

They print statistics on illegitimate births, broken homes, and children on relief among Negroes. But best of all is what is probably the "real scoop" to their way of thinking. This is the Masonic Pyramid which shows how the conspiracy fits together. This structure includes such sinister forces as the Illuminati, B'nai B'rith, Communism, The 300, the Council of 13, Rotary, Elks, YMCA, while at the top and base are the Anti-Christ and Protestantism-Liberalism respectively. Anything which opposes the ideas of Advocates of Our Lady is to their minds controlled by the Anti-Christ.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

One of the principal aims of this study was to show that extremists of the left and right exhibit many common characteristics. So far as may be determined, this is the most extensive attempt of its kind.

To undertake this study it was necessary to utilize a definition, but, surprisingly enough, none could be found in the literature. Because of this it was necessary to formulate an original one which is based on the observed behavior of extremists. This definition emphasizes the fact that extremists deviate from the accepted American political value system and is for use within the American context:

Political extremism--A way of thinking or a course of action that is considered to be outside the political value system that is accepted by the great majority of that portion of the American public which possesses at least minimal political awareness.

The chapter on characteristics pointed out that ex-

tremists of the left and right are similar in numerous ways and different in a few. These were discussed in some detail. Among the principal characteristics which it was maintained that both extremes hold in common are: overt hatred, absolute certainty that they have the truth, little or no faith in the existing form of government and the democratic processes, a willingness to deny civil liberties to opponents, consistent indulgence in irresponsible accusations and character assassination, and belief in a conspiracy or covert ruling elite.

The extreme left and right differ in three principal ways:

1. The left is essentially Marxian and wants to destroy the existing system of government. The right is strongly anti-Marxian and claims to favor the existing system, but maintains that it has been perverted and should be returned to an individualistic capitalism and "limited constitutional government."
2. The left is generally non-religious, but claims to love the "oppressed masses." The right is generally religious, but often promotes religious and racial bigotry.
3. The left is generally internationalist in outlook and is ideologically aligned with foreign powers. The right is generally nationalist in outlook and not aligned with foreign powers, although certain nations such as Spain, Rhodesia, and Nationalist China are looked upon quite favorably.

An examination of 20th century extremism revealed that there have been three periods that were high points of the left and four that were high points of the right.

The 1960's form the fourth period of strong rightist activity. A few individuals who began their careers in the 1930's are still operating today and the writings of some of the right extremists who started during that period are still circulated.

The social origins of extremists were discussed with emphasis placed on such elements as social class, ethnic factors, religion, and geographical distribution. The majority of the extreme left seems to come from the broad middle class. On the extreme right the "non-racists" are generally from the middle and upper classes, while the anti-Semites appear to be from the lower-middle and lower classes. Persons of Jewish background are over-represented on the extreme left, while fundamentalist Protestants and traditionalist Catholics permeate the extreme right. The John Birch Society claims to be 40% Catholic and many rightist leaders are ministers. Geographically, the extremists of the left are generally found in large cities. The rightists are fairly well disseminated with areas of particular strength being the South, Southwest, and Southern California.

In considering motivations both predispositions and social situation were stressed as important in relation to joining an extremist organization. As to the latter, a person who is suddenly thrust into an environment where extremist views prevail will tend to conform to the norms of this sub-group instead of those prevailing in the dominant

society. If this person has little or no preconceived political outlook and is not particularly well-informed, he may end up as a member of an extremist organization.

The conclusion was reached that no one set of factors can explain involvement in extremist movements. However, J. A. Broyles'¹ discussion of the appeals of the John Birch Society sums up ideas that may be applied to the great majority of extremist groups, both left and right. According to Broyles the Society provides a "simple framework of interpretation thru which to view world and national events." A member gains a self-righteous attitude which partially negates his own feelings of guilt because he is on the "right side on the 'really' important issues." This allows him to feel superior to those who oppose the Society's views and justifies any aggression against these opponents.

Certain motivating factors seem more related to one extreme than the other. Concerning rightists, S. M. Lipset and others have stressed the idea of "status politics" (or "status tension") which is related to improving or maintaining status and is therefore exhibited by persons who are experiencing both upward and downward social mobility. Concerning leftists, discussion leaned heavily on the writings of Gabriel Almond who stressed such motives for involvement as compulsive needs to attack constituted authority, self-

¹Broyles, op. cit., pp. 151-153.

oriented interests, and ideological appeals. Almond also stated that there is a relationship between downward social mobility and left extremism with respect to persons of working class background. He did not find this relationship with respect to persons of middle class background.

Some of the general ideas of extremists were briefly examined and a number of groups were discussed. These particular groups were chosen because they were either representative or quite novel. Strength and size were not necessarily factors in this selection.

In conclusion, emphasis should be placed on the fact that many persons have expressed great concern over the impact of extremism on American society and some even fear an extremist takeover of our nation. It should be noted that in the over-all picture of American socio-political thought extremists have only small to moderate influence at best. One reason for this is that to some extent they have a built-in self-defeating mechanism, since they generally spurn compromise and stand on the principle that they are absolutely right. Thus, our national government is in little danger of an extremist takeover, as are most state governments; but city governments, school and library boards, and such organizations as the P.T.A., American Legion, and Veterans of Foreign Wars have been taken over in various towns throughout the United States. Where successful, this may lead to control over public school curricula and the

banning of certain books from libraries. Extremist groups also foster authoritarian thinking in the community, since extremists are basically contemptuous of the democratic processes and are willing to use undemocratic tactics. Often they play on potential prejudices of the population and rouse bigoted attitudes toward such minority groups as Jews and Negroes. In areas where extremists have some control those persons who openly oppose them are subject to harassment via the telephone, the mails, and at times through physical violence. It is fairly common knowledge that if one lives in Orange County, California, and does not particularly enjoy midnight phone calls, he had best not denounce the John Birch Society openly. And at times even persons who are not residents of a locality where extremists are numerous are subject to harassment. Concerning the hate letters that he received from left extremists because of his stand on the Vietnam War, John P. Roche, former National Chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, stated, ". . . not since I denounced the John Birch Society in print some 5 or 6 years ago have I received the kind of hate mail that has been coming in lately. . . ."2

Extremists may be successful in clouding and muddying the waters of public debate. Their vociferous behavior sometimes confuses public officials and leads them to be-

²John P. Roche, "Why I Oppose Vietnam Critics," Congressional Record (January 27, 1966), p. A396.

lieve that the voice of extremism is the "voice of the people." Due to modern mass media and to the fact that people who deviate in some manner from accepted norms are usually newsworthy, extremists receive considerable publicity. Their actions and beliefs, coupled with their strident voices, damage the image of the United States in the eyes of the rest of the world.

Since this endeavor has considered extremism within the context of the norms of the cold war, it should be noted that a crisis could conceivably change norms to a significant extent. In such conditions there is an increase in irrationality.³ Three types of crises come to mind:

1. A prolonged cold war incident similar to the Cuban crisis, but greater in duration. (The Vietnam War could conceivably escalate into such a crisis.) Since the enemy would be Communist, this type of crisis would aid the extreme right. During such a period a larger number of people than usual would be willing to accept the far right's irrational assessment of the nature of Communism and the "evil forces at work" within institutions of the United States government.

2. An all-out hot war. How this would effect norms and which extreme it would aid would depend entirely on the nature of the enemy and the allies. During World War II

³See Robert Lane and David Sears, Public Opinion (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964), Chapter 7.

domestic opposition to Communism lessened because the Soviet Union was our ally, while opposition to fascism was strengthened because the fascist powers were the enemy.

3. A depression. This would aid both extremes in that it causes a tremendous increase in dissatisfaction and irrationality on all sides. During the depression of the 1930's both the far left and right were quite vociferous.

Thus, it may be seen that during times of crisis tensions may become such that some otherwise responsible citizens are willing to resort to extremist tactics. This can even become institutionalized. A case in point is the treatment of Japanese-Americans during World War II. Large numbers of these citizens were placed in detention camps without benefit of trial and even without specific charges being made against them.

Any discussion of the dangers posed by both extremes raises the question as to how extremism is to be countered. Since extremists are quite willing to violate the civil liberties of others, some citizens who oppose them would fight fire with fire to the extent of violating the civil liberties of extremists. This is a temptation that should be resisted. If one adopts their tactics, it usually serves their cause. Every person who believes in the democratic processes should feel obligated to defend the civil liberties of all citizens, no matter how distasteful this sometimes becomes. The American constitution does not state

that all have freedom of speech, assembly, etc., except Communists and Birchers. It states that all have freedom of speech, assembly, etc. Thus, extremists should be met with vigilance and disclosure. It is important that citizens be aware of who they are, what they wish to accomplish, and what tactics they intend to use. Often, simple exposure and free discussion are effective methods of countering their attacks. Citizens should become informed concerning the nature of the American system of government. They should learn to recognize extremists by their characteristics (consistent indulgence in irresponsible charges, character assassination, etc.) and be able to ascertain the difference between extremists and those who are responsible participants in the liberal-conservative dialogue.

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