A POLICY STATEMENT AND A FEW DEFINITIONS
CONCERNING THE VOCABULARY OF LEFT AND RIGHT

We begin this publishing venture by admitting to bias. We prefer the broad, flexible, democratic and moderate middle to the harsh exigencies of the Marxist Left (new or old) and the authoritarian Right. The parliamentary democratic middle is, as Winston Churchill advised, neither perfect nor all-wise, perhaps “... the worst form of government, except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.”

When we speak of the “mainstream middle” we will be speaking of those with continuing faith in constituted authority, willing to abide by established rules of the game. Those on the extremes of the far Left and Right have lost faith in America.

In the middle change is accepted, impatiently by some, reluctantly by others. The change sought on the far Left is revolutionary and total, a substitution of “scientific Marxism” for America’s mixed package of free enterprise and governmental regulation. The far Right’s militant resistance to change is usually accompanied by shrill cries of “subversion” directed against those with a differing viewpoint.

The middle employs name-calling and character assassination at times, but to the propagandists of Left and Right, name-calling and character assassination are a way of life, what academia calls “a constant of agitation”.

(continued on page 2)
POLICY STATEMENT (continued from page 1)

The middle’s quest, however groping, for the unity of all Americans, and the swelling tide of American history in the direction of first class citizenship for all citizens, fills us with a feeling of pride. We not only reject the Left’s attempt to pit class against class and the Right’s attempt to promote racial, religious, and ethnic bigotry, we avow to expose both.

The middle’s acceptance of complexity and ambiguity wins our hearty approval. The Left and Right’s “conspiracy view of history” brings to mind our participation in two weekend debates in Philadelphia a few years ago, the first with a revolutionary Communist, the second with an apologist for The John Birch Society. Their arguments were strikingly similar, their view of America strangely identical. Only the alleged architects of the “conspiracy” differed. The former found “conspirators” in “Wall Street”, the “evil establishment”, “monopolies” and “big business” working in the interests of “aggressive American imperialism”. The spokesman for The John Birch Society traced all of our ills to the “Communist conspiracy”.

Finally, we will continue to spurn the offers of “help” from highly emotional, but otherwise well-intentioned individuals who claim a kind of identity with us. Our mailbox and telephone lines are often cluttered with lengthy advice from such “principled” individuals. We speak here of parties who see nothing wrong with the separatist doctrines of the Black Muslims while simultaneously applauding our efforts at exposure of the white supremacist, separatist doctrines of the United Klans of America, Inc. And of those who insist that since Communist totalitarianism is an evil, anyone opposing it is automatically on the side of the angels.

We see the strengthening and extending of political democracy as the continuing challenge, preferring the advice offered seventy-one years ago by William James:

Democracy is still upon its trial. The civic genius of our people is its only bulwark, and neither laws nor monuments, neither battleships nor public libraries, nor great newspapers, nor booming stocks; neither mechanical invention nor political

adroitness, nor churches nor universities nor civil service examinations can save us from degeneration if the inner mystery be lost. That mystery consists in nothing but two common habits. One of them is the habit of trained and disciplined good temper toward the opposite party when it fairly wins its innings. The other is that of fierce and secret resentment toward every man or set of men who break the public peace.

... AND A FEW DEFINITIONS

Historian Clinton Rossiter believes that terms like Left and Right, liberal and conservative, “are not easily scrapped,” and that despite the “abuse that has been heaped upon them,” remain useful tools of political analysis and discussion “when properly handled”. 1 We agree, and trust that our understanding of these terms would meet with Rossiter’s approval.

When we speak of the American liberal we speak of one whose major emphasis is peaceful reform and orderly change within the framework of the Constitution. This emphasis is rooted in the liberal’s deeply held belief in the essential goodness of man.

The radical Left in the United States views reform as a vehicle for perpetuating a despised system. In vivid contrast to the liberal emphasis on peaceful reform and orderly change, the radical Left seeks total change — disruptive, disorderly, and revolutionary.

In general, the American conservative rejects the liberal’s belief in the goodness of man. This is not to say that one believes in man while the other does not. The conservative is as ready as the liberal to acknowledge man’s capacity for goodness, but insists that man’s basic nature is contradictory. Evil, the conservative argues, is also a thrust of man, and therein lies the explanation of why the conservative puts as the first order of business, the limiting of the powers of state and federal government. Keep man from acquiring too much political power over the lives of other men, argues the American conservative, and our society will remain truly democratic and free.

The radical Right has scrapped parliamentary procedures and democratic processes without which any organization departs the conservative (or liberal for that matter) tradition in favor of authoritarianism, totalitarianism, and dictatorship. The organizations on the Radical Right are led almost without exception by a lone individual, and there is no machinery for change or the registering of disapproval.

When the American people grasp these basic distinctions, the fringe groups now flexing their muscles and making noise all out of proportion to their numbers will be seen in true perspective.

THE LAST BUS FROM LAWRENCE

By Gordon D. Hall

(LRC's editor knew Richard Levine for close to 20 years. Because Levine's story of thwarted ambition is typical of the lives of many extremist activists, we reproduce here a posthumous profile written especially for the North American Newspaper Alliance late last fall.)

Richard Levine hated being a nobody. It robbed him, he complained, of the individuality he considered the "most precious thing in life." On the free speech marts of Boston's famed Common, where he hawked the wares of his segregationist White Citizen's Council, he fancied himself the potential victim of powerful, ruthless "enemies." "Many are out to destroy me," he warned, "but no matter what happens to me, my ideas will live."

The end came for Richard Levine, age 44, a few days ago. His frail body, strewn across the darkened highway of Interstate 93 in Wilmington, Massachusetts, just 18 miles from Boston, was battered beyond recognition. In death as in life, anonymity clung to him. He was struck, the police say, by at least 11 unidentified hit-and-run drivers. He had been hitchhiking back to Boston following the distribution of handbills in the city of Lawrence, just north of Wilmington. He had missed the last bus home by a matter of minutes.

There were two identification cards found on the body. One was for Richard Levine, his real name and one he detested. The other for the "Reverend Richard Hamel", a name and title he had adopted and liked very much. He died in a black minister's suit and a clerical collar.

His last residence was on South Russell Street, a small, dark room in a nondescript boarding house on the back and ugly side of the otherwise beautiful and fashionable Beacon Hill in downtown Boston.

His housekeeper showed no emotion, politely fielding my questions of Richard's recent whereabouts, and discouraging interviews with other boarders. "Dick always kept to himself," the man explained, "and no one around here knew anything about him. I doubt the others even know he is dead. Only way I know, the police were here earlier."

The housekeeper said his rent was up to date and he seemed in good spirits before setting out for his last recruitment effort. He had reason to be, for on the day of his death two morning papers had carried his letters to the editor. They were on the stationery of the "George Wallace For President Movement," the latest of his far Right ventures.

Hamel seldom had luck with such letters. He wrote many because he loved to see his name in print, but he was regarded as a crank and a publicity hound by local newspaper editors.

The Reverend Hamel alias was really an exercise in self-hatred. He sought to obliterate the name Levine and all traces of a Jewish background. This was especially sad and wasteful because he didn't get to know many people and those he did knew that he was Jewish. Before moving to the back side of Beacon Hill, he lived a long time in Boston's tough "combat zone" in the midst of drug addicts, prostitutes, homosexuals, alcoholics and drifters. He is remembered there, ironically, as the "little Jewish fellow."

Hamel is vaguely remembered by those who saw him last, the patrons of taverns in Lawrence where he had been distributing his "George Wallace for President" handbills. But they remember more about the local headlines of the hit and run death, and less about the segregationist literature he distributed. A few of the patrons thought he had "acted like kind of a Communist or something."

He is remembered best by individuals with names like "No Face" and "Shorty", typical tabbies of the combat zone's all-night-cateries. They remember his long, informal lectures over coffee, but they remember without comprehension or understanding. Hamel spent years trying to build a political base among such people, never once grasping the obvious fact that these people gave him an ear because they were lonely and without real friends to pass the long evening hours with.

BUTT OF NAZIS

There were other facts he failed to grasp. It never dawned on him that the segregationist (continued on page 8)
REQUIEM for the WELCH FUSILIERS

According to Belmont’s Robert Welch, the tenth year of the John Birch Society finds it in “bounding good health.” But an independent consultant (who specializes in diagnosing both left- and right-wing extremism) concludes that the Society is bounding only as well as a condition of rigor mortis will allow.

by GORDON HALL

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY, celebrating its ninth anniversary this December, is in deep trouble. Membership is declining, income has fallen, and, more importantly, a stack of top level resignations has landed hard atop founder Robert Welch’s headquarters desk in Belmont, Massachusetts. Several who have resigned are convinced that many more will follow in the weeks ahead.

Income for the first six months of this year is down 40 per cent from a year earlier, according to Thomas J. Davis, the Society’s controller until his resignation a short time ago. Davis contends that 70 per cent of the Society’s 1966 budget of 2 million dollars was in the form of gift contributions. Although the figures for this year are not complete, Davis says monthly contributions are far below last year’s figures.

Maurice Lauzier, Jr., for two years a member of the headquarters staff, claims that membership has dipped to 60,000 from the high water mark of 75,000 set in the early months of 1965.

Lauzier, a one time organizer for the Society in southeastern Massachusetts, and a founder of the Fall River unit, left a few months ago. He calls himself a “defector traveling the long road back to political sanity.”

There is enough talent among the recently departed to begin an effective rival faction. In addition to Davis and Lauzier, two associate editors of the Society’s monthly magazine American Opinion have left, along with two men who served as circulation managers. Samuel Blumenfeld, the analysis editor of Review Of The News, another Society publication, has resigned to join a business publishing firm. A Society affiliate known as Robert Welch, Inc., has lost Michael McGavin, its administrative vice-president. McGavin also ran the Society’s speakers’ bureau. Another Tom Davis, this one the eastern seaboard director of public relations, has also resigned.

The most notable and the most surprising loss was John Rousselet, everybody’s candidate to succeed the aging Robert Welch. The former California Congressman who held the $30,000-a-year national public relations director post has accepted a job in private industry, adding that his resignation will enable him to gain “a fresh perspective” on the Society.

It is far more likely that Rousselet, encouraged by the success of his close friend Governor Reagan, will again be a candidate for public office. By divorcing himself from The John Birch Society now, Rousselet hopes to campaign later on a more respectable platform.

Welch says that Rousselet had “lost the fire for the job,” and that his departure won’t matter, but finding the right replacement will be difficult. In the face of impossible odds, Rousselet often succeeded in creating a favorable image for the Society. He was especially effective in fielding hostile questions from only partially informed newsmen, seizing on the slightest factual errors and turning them to his advantage.

It would not be stretching the truth to suggest that Rousselet had actually become Welch’s official interpreter, attempting to make palatable to the general public Welch’s grotesque, conspiratorial view of history.

Welch’s response thus far has been to minimize the importance of all the resignations and defections. Privately he is explaining that most of the departed were simply malcontents he “fired” as part of the regular process of “paring the deadwood from headquarters and the field.”

Readers of the Society’s regular publications are scarcely aware that a major internal shake-up has taken place. Beyond a few angry lines in the October, 1967, membership Bulletin (which Welch writes in its entirety) warning of the spreading of “... twisted tales of former associates and employees who are disgruntled now that they are no longer with the Society,” there has been no official recognition of the present crisis.

Those who have severed the ties tell, of course, a very different story. Slobodan Draskovich, a former associate editor of American Opinion, left because

Gordon Hall has been studying American political extremist movements for over two decades. He frequently interviews the leaders and the rank-and-file of these movements, and has conferred recently with a number of the individuals mentioned in the article.
of Welch's continuing inability to comprehend the nature of the Communist challenge. "When you start blaming the Illuminati," says Draskovich, "then you really are lost"—a reference to Welch's current charge that Washington and Moscow are controlled by a conspiracy originating with a Bavarian Masonic sect founded in 1776.

But Maurice Lauzier, in placing the blame for the present shake-up on the rigid, inflexible style of Welch's leadership, is much closer to the truth.

Lauzier explains it this way: "I admire Draskovich as a man and for pulling out before I did. And I resent Welch's telling others that his resignation was influenced by Communists.

"But irresponsibility is not the big reason for the breakdown at headquarters. If this were the issue then the resignations would have started years ago when Welch called Eisenhowa a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy. I actually believed that nonsense. The disillusionment comes when you finally have to admit to yourself that Welch is not the Society, and that the Society is Welch.

Lauzier also points out that the strife within has been a year or more in the making. The Society's internal documents strongly support him on this. On page one in the August, 1966, membership Bulletin for example, Welch posted these storm signals: "...For the past week, by swearing in lines at standby counters of the overcrowded airlines that was not on strike, I have been fighting my way from one city to another where acrimonious debates were raging among our members."

By October, 1966, Welch was again in full control of the situation. The "trouble makers" had been purged, and the time had come to give the membership a full report. He devoted the better part of the first four pages of that month's Bulletin to what he called a "concise clarification" of what he had published in August.

That "concise clarification" was, however, simply a sharp about-face, the kind of rewrite job Welch normally as-sails as "Communist" in style. The "sweating in lines" at crowded airline counters, while "fighting my way from one city to another," was changed to a routine "field trip" Welch had made "across the country."

The "acrimonious debates" raging extensively "among our members," suddenly were reduced to three scattered incidents of a strictly personal nature, not related in any way to the "policies or program of the Society itself."

Welch is following the same pattern in the current crisis. Only one paragraph suggesting further treatment of the tales of ex-members and staff personnel appeared in the November, 1967, Bulletin. The rest of the 24 pages contained optimistic reports of the "bounding good health" of the Society.

The announcement of the Society's fifth "Birthday Party," scheduled for the New York Hilton Hotel on December 8th, filled the entire back page. Predictably, Welch boasted that "nearly twice" as many reservations as last year have been made.

For Welch, there is great risk in pretending that what amounts to a palace revolution is no more serious than a spate of angry resignations from several members in the boondocks unwilling to follow policy directives from Belmont headquarters. The men who recently departed were, for the most part, the big guns, and several of them are talking quite candidly to reporters.

Draskovich told the Wall Street Journal on September 29th that he now "doubts the John Birch Society can be saved." The same paper quoted former public relations official Davis as no longer knowing "of anything that would make the John Birch Society again rise to any position of importance."

Maurice Lauzier is shopping about for the right market to tell his story in detail. And he told me he is going after the 50 odd individuals he brought into the Society. "Before I'm finished," said Lauzier, "I'm going to try to get every one I recruited out of the Society."

Undoubtedly, repercussions of the shake-up at headquarters will be felt for a long time. Meanwhile, with no strong personalities left to challenge bossman Welch, the Society's descent into total political apathy is virtually certain. An indication was provided in mid-October in the John Marshall Hotel in Richmond, Virginia. There, in a press interview before addressing 500 of the faithful, Welch stated that Barry Goldwater could not have won the Republican presidential nomination in 1964 if the "Communists in the GOP had not desired it."

The wonder is that there are even 500 of the faithful left anywhere.

The House That Hiss Built

Accompanying illustrations show the tenor of Birch Society's contributions to the American political forum.

SUPPORT THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

SET FIRE TO YOUR COMMUNITY

LRC Newsletter, January, 1968
THE AMERICAN NAZI PARTY – POST ASSASSINATION REPORT

By Gordon D. Hall

(Received from Linda Soundwell, June 1967. Inquiries continue to flow into LRC's offices concerning the present status of the American Nazi Party. The article below reports on the Party's prospects for 1968)

In early September of last year, Henri Bolduc, a twenty-year-old organizer for the American Nazi Party, told me during an interview in his Ashby, Massachusetts home that "the American Nazi Party won't last long now that Commander Rockwell is gone."

In Bolduc's view, "Rockwell was the Party, and the Party was Rockwell". Developments since the murder of Rockwell four months ago support this view. Party recruitment, a struggle at best, is at a standstill. Rockwell's violent death and the subsequent conviction of former aide John Patler have frightened away all but the fanatical hard core. The membership, never more than a few hundred, has been reduced to an infinitesimal figure.

The Party's new "Commander", thirty-three year old Matthias Koehl, appears ill at ease in his new post. A dedicated member since the fall of 1962, the quiet, colorless Koehl served the Party as general secretary from late in 1963 until Rockwell's death.

Koehl is having particular difficulty keeping the Party's scattered regional units intact. The New England unit, for example, very active in the first six months of 1967, is now moribund. Henri Bolduc and his brother Raymond, prime agitators in this unit, have left the Party. Henri applied for a passport abroad in the early fall, listing West Germany, Spain, and Portugal as his itinerary. Raymond, 24, is presently a race track handicapper. The unit has closed the two post office boxes it had employed for Party correspondence.

Nothing has come of a dramatic bid by the Bolduc brothers to "construct a gas chamber" on the family's seven acre site facing Turnpike Road in Ashby. On July 20, 1967, Henri sent a formal letter to the town's Board of Selectmen, requesting an interview to "discuss the final plans and the cost of a building permit" for a gas chamber capable of handling "500 Jews per hour". Bolduc cautioned the Selectman not to dismiss the letter as a "crank" adding "I fully intend to press for my right to have a Gas Chamber." The murder of Commander Rockwell a month later led the Bolducs to abandon their grisly plans.

Rockwell's death also ended any chance for the Party to follow through on their announced plans to open a New England regional headquarters. Willis Corson, a strong Party sympathizer had offered a small building on his Londonderry, New Hampshire property to Rockwell.

I visited Corson at his home on May 28th. Surprised and upset, he refused to discuss the transfer of part of his property to the Nazis. "I get their literature sometimes", Corson said, "but I don't know anything about any plans for headquarters around here." Later the same day Corson traveled to the Presidents' City Motel in Quincy, Massachusetts for a secret conference with a dozen members of the Party's New England unit.

Two other "big" announcements failed to produce much in 1967. The first one involved changing the Party's name to the "National Socialist White People's Party". Rockwell announced that this change would "represent a

(continued on page 8)
One of the most interesting psychological phenomena of our time is the attraction communism exerted, particularly during the Nineteen Thirties, upon a minority of literary intellectuals. Sympathetic commentators are fond of reminding us of the circumstances at that time, a world-wide depression and the menace of fascism. But such circumstances do not explain the majority of intelligent human beings who did not applaud one variety of totalitarian tyranny because they detected another. There must have been peculiar and powerful reasons driving our modern Gadarines awe into the Communist precipice. An attempt to describe the state of mind of "we the Communists," he says with some truth, "are the only people on your side who know what it is all about."

Ignazio Silone grew up in the Abruzzi, one of the most backward and impoverished regions in Italy. As a boy in his teens he became convinced that he had only one choice: to become a rebel against injustice or its accomplice. He became a militant Socialist, and soon afterward a Communist. But on trips to Russia he found out what communism was really like and how it was run. "Liberty," he explained to an editor in the Soviet publishing trust, "is the possibility of doubting, the possibility of making a mistake, the possibility of searching and experimenting, the possibility of saying 'no' to any authority—literary, artistic, philosophic, religious, social and even political."

"But that," the horrified editor replied, "is counter-revolution."

An Unmasking in America

Richard Wright became a convert when he was on public relief in the Black Belt of Chicago. Since communism had no color bias, his enlistment was more an emotional protest against racial discrimination than anything else. He soon discovered the pathological nature of some of his comrades and the fawning subservience to party decisions demanded of them all. His story is nearly as interesting and lively as Mr. Koestler's. The other three chapters of "The God That Failed" are less interesting. André Gide felt guilty about social inequalities and admired communism until he went to Russia and saw it in action. He had no time for authority. As soon as he was informed he acknowledged his error and protested.

That is more than Louis Fischer did. As a correspondent he lived in Russia for years and knew all about secret police, slave labor, informers, etc. But "seeing did not interfere with believing." He, too, did not complete his cure until after the Russian-German pact.

Stephen Spender's flirtation with communism was brief. His case seems to have been one of idealistic befuddlement. It is interesting to note that it does not seem to have occurred to any of these six heretics that Communist tyranny in Russia could be, in part, a natural development from Socialist organization of government and economics.

Reprinted by permission.
THE LAST BUS (continued from page 3)

literature he distributed would appeal largely
to racial and religious bigots. Two years ago,
for example, he found two dozen American
Nazi Party members at the door of his grubby
apartment in the combat zone.

These were local Nazis in search of a min-
ister to serve as a "unit Chaplain." Hamel was
just starting to organize the local White Citi-
zen's Council. The meeting ended early, for
Hamel's masquerade as a minister was quickly
discovered. He found himself the butt of the
cruel anti-Jewish jokes of the Nazi hoodlums.

Hamel reached the extreme Right by way of
the extreme Left. He joined the Young Com-
munist League in his teens, left in his early
twenties. "Communist leadership pays no at-
tention to the rank and file," he complained. "I
was ignored so I was dissatisfied."

Like many ex-Communists, he shifted his
energies and loyalties to the extreme Right
without casting a glance at the democratic mid-
dle. The first of his far Rightist ventures, the
American Fascist Union, was formed in 1950.

His quest for public recognition was of the
soap-box variety, but on occasion he moved his
floating political road show indoors. He rented
a hall in the Boston's Hotel Touraine in April,
1966 for the public launching of his White
Citizen's Council, but for some inexplicable
reason placed the advertising in out-of-state
newspapers rather than the Boston dailies. Only
11 people turned out, and no one signed up.

F. B. I. TRACE

The one time he actually sought anonymity,
he was not only found out, but received a great
deal of unfavorable publicity. He mailed
taped messages recorded in a phony foreign ac-
cent to a number of Boston residents. The mes-
sages were violent and threatening. The two
sent to me were no exception. They suggested
that I was to be a victim of a "necktie party",
a trite euphemism for a lynching.

The F. B. I. traced the recording to Hamel
and a Federal Grand Jury indicted and con-
victed him. A compassionate Judge, mindful
of the background of the defendant, wisely re-
commended a three-year probationary sentence
and psychiatric counseling. He was serving that
sentence when all those autos dismembered his
body last weekend.

Richard Hamel will soon be forgotten. The
housekeeper has probably rented the empty
room on South Russell Street by now. And
Shorty and No-Face will soon be sitting over
coffee with another "good talker" offering pan-
aceas for the world's ills.

— NANA —

QUOTE OF THE MONTH

(LRC believes the extremist mentality is divorced
from reality. This monthly department is designed
to dramatically illustrate the point.)

"In response to a question regarding the
call for a world meeting of Communist
and Worker's parties, Gus Hall, general
secretary of the Communist Party,
U.S.A., stated Monday:

"The initiative for a world consultative
meeting of Communist and Marxist
parties is a reflection of three central
factors.

"(1) It is a responsible fighting response
to the growing need for a more united
struggle against world imperialism and
U. S. policies of imperialist aggression.

"(2) It is in response to, and a reflection
of, the growing unity in the ranks of the
world forces of anti-imperialism.

"(3) It is in response to, and a reflection
of, the growing unity of the World Com-
munist and Marxist movement."

The Worker, organ of the
Communist Party, U.S.A.,
December 3, 1967, page 3

THE AMERICAN NAZI PARTY

(continued from page 6)

major milestone in the advance of National So-
cialism in the United States". He issued a di-
rective boasting that the new name would
surely "widen the Party's mass appeal", adding
that the "old name lacked suitability for a seri-
ous political movement which had matured be-
ond the initial shock phase".

The second big announcement was the crea-
tion of a tabloid sized newspaper entitled
White Power to service "the White Revolu-
tion". The newspaper is already in deep trouble for
its format relied heavily on the art work of
John Patler, sentenced to twenty years in prison
for the murder of George Lincoln Rockwell. The
Party now desperately needs a competent ar-
tist to draw the large anti-Jewish, anti-Negro
cartoons so appealing to the sullen, anti-social
types attracted to the bigotry and violence of
the Nazi movement.

Neither Koehl nor any of the present crop of
subordinate officers can hope to fill the void
created by the murder of Rockwell. The new
Commander can consider 1968 a success if he
does little more than keep his small band of
fanatical Hitler-worshippers from committing
acts of violence on one another as well as upon
innocent strangers.