

I am extremely grateful to Bob Welch for giving me the opportunity to address this gathering of the Council in New York. New York is, for practical purposes, the ruling city of the world. It houses both the Council on Foreign Relations and the UN. It is the publishing hub of the nation and its intellectual center. It is here that the opinion molders mold the opinions, telling the rest of America what to think, what to wear, what to do, what to like, what to hate, what to want. It is here that the John Birch Society is weakest, and it is here that something must be done. But more about that later.

It is a great honor to address the Council of the John Birch Society because the Council is no ordinary body of men. It is not like the Editorial Board of National Review; or the Board of Trustees of Citizens for Freedom; or the Board of Directors of the Foundation for Economic Education. The difference between you and they is that you have taken risks; they haven't. What makes the difference? Well, when the signers of that radical right-wing document, the Declaration of Independence, put their signatures down where King George could plainly see them, they indeed pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to the cause of Freedom. Tom Anderson has written a magnificent editorial describing the trials and tribulations of those signers. They made good on their pledge. Their pledge and their bravery gave us this country. Your pledge and your bravery is preserving it.

Now I feel very comfortable in your company because when I talk to you I don't feel like an eccentric right-wing extremist. I simply feel like a human being who is telling you what he knows. Recently, I was in the company of several people from the National Review and the conversation turned to de Gaulle. While these people deplored what de Gaulle had done to Algeria, they were

delighted that he was standing up to the United States. What a great independent statesman de Gaulle was. Yes, of course they knew that de Gaulle had imprisoned the Army's best and most patriotic officers; yes, they knew he had betrayed the anti-Communists; but after all he was standing up to Kennedy and the State Department and that's all that mattered.

Well, I started to give these men my views on de Gaulle, and I can tell you it was like dropping a lead bomb. I was the kill-joy of the evening. They wanted to enjoy their illusions; I wanted to identify the enemy. They were reluctant to reconcile their contradictions; I was determined to harbor none. They preferred not to find out too many uncomfortable things to upset their preconceived notions; I had determined to find out the truth regardless of whatever preconceived notions I had had.

Why? Because that is what has to be done if one is seriously interested in defeating the enemy. The conspiracy we are fighting is like an iceberg. The visible portion of it is the least dangerous because it is the easiest to see; it is the invisible portion, of course, which is the most dangerous because its outline is not so easily detectable. Nevertheless, just as scientists have devised the means to study the invisible atom, we too are devising the means of identifying what, until now, has been largely unidentifiable. All of this requires an exacting process of research and integration--tasks which require men, time and money.

To my mind how successful we are in the task of identifying and understanding the nature of the enemy will determine whether we can win or whether we shall lose. A slight error of knowledge can be fatal. Let us take France as an example.

In France today the outward appearance of normalcy hides the intense struggle going on underground. Men are rotting in prison while political criminals

inhabit the government bureaus. How as it permitted to happen? How could an intelligent people permit themselves to fall under a dictatorship? How could intelligent officers and leaders permit themselves to become the victims of worthless political gangsters? Where had they failed?

The failure, of course, was in their failure to understand the nature of the enemy. I remember reading an interesting analysis of the political situation written by Jules Monnerot, one of France's best anti-Communists, after the Revolt of the Generals in Algeria in April 1961. Monnerot reasoned correctly that the FLN could not achieve victory in Aleria without the help of the French Army and the brutal suppression of the French Algerians by the French Government. Then he concluded that since the French Army would never help the FLN and the French government would never brutally crush the French Algerians, the FLN would never achieve victory in Algeria. Of course, as we now know, the French Army did help the FLN and the French Government did suppress the French Algerians by simply machine gunning them in the streets. What Monnerot had failed to realize was that Communist brutality or treachery knows no bounds or restraints even when it wears a traditional French uniform. He did not realize that Communists will take advantage of any show of good will or tolerance. Men of honor in France--governed by a moral code of which they expected other men to follow--went down to defeat. They simply did not know how to combat evil under those circumstances.

Man's primary tool of survival is his mind. His actions are determined by what he has in his head. No knowledge or wrong knowledge cannot possibly lead to right action--and the wrong action under present circumstances will lead to destruction. This was graphically illustrated in France when the anti-Communists were deceived into bringing de Gaulle back to power. Had they simply read Kerillis's book about de Gaulle, published in 1946, they would have realized

that under no circumstances should de Gaulle be brought back to power. This reminds me of a recent column of Bill Buckley's which astounded me. In it he conceived the idea of a Goldwater-Eisenhower Republican ticket for 1964 in order to produce the right team to beat Rockefeller with. Goldwater for President; Eisenhower for Vice President. And he wrote that column after the publication of The Politician. You see he doesn't believe in the Conspiracy theory. He thinks that knowledge is a matter of faith and that Robert Welch is having personal hallucinations like some sort of religious fanatic. Well, the sad reality is that the Conspiracy theory is not something you believe in. It is something you gradually learn to accept as the facts of reality begin to overwhelm you with their persistence and concreteness.

Now I haven't the faintest idea if this is deliberate evasion on the part of Mr. Buckley or just a kind of personal religious dogma he has. But he is not the only one on National Review with that attitude. The other day, for example, I was discussing the Kennedy assassination with a highly placed, knowledgeable member of the Draft Goldwater Committee. There was no question that he knew that there was a Conspiracy, and we were able to discuss it quite freely. However, I had called him primarily to suggest to him that the publishing company I headed might put together a magazine-size picture biography of Goldwater for sale at a dollar. He thought this was a good idea and suggested that I speak about it to Bill Rusher of National Review who is in charge of such projects. "By the way," he said to me in closing, "don't mention the Conspiracy to Rusher." Well you could imagine my surprise. Not that I didn't know that Rusher shared Buckley's views on the subject; but I hadn't realized that the subject was simply tabu. You see, if you don't talk about the Conspiracy then it doesn't exist.

Now you would have thought that a man of Mr. Buckley's education would have learned the fundamental law of philosophy: that is the law of identity-- that A is A, and that facts of reality exist regardless of how one feels about them. I personally would feel much better if the Conspiracy did not exist. Jack Kennedy, for example, decided it didn't exist either, but somehow the fact caught up with him in the form of a bullet through the head.

Now in France, the principle error of the anti-Communists was an error in knowledge--an error which was to cause over one million people to lose their homes and property; of thousands to lose their lives; and of endless numbers to lose their careers, their freedom, their livelihood. The same has happened to millions closer to us, only 90 miles from our shores. The Cubans too were victims of their own ignorance.

Knowledge is our greatest single weapon against the enemy, and knowledge is what we must get to the American people. And here I come to the heart of the subject which I wanted to discuss with you. I have spent the last two years finding out as much about the Communist conspiracy as possible. I have devoted hours to research in areas which have never been researched before. Most of this I have done on my own time and at my own expense. As the burden on my time and resources reached the breaking point, I realized that a good many other people could be doing the same thing if they were put to the task. The material is there waiting to be researched and assembled; the researchers and writers are there waiting to be put to work. The only thing that is lacking is the economic format through which all of this could be done. Now I am sure that you realized long before I did that the major problem of the anti-Communist movement is an economic one. There is no shortage of man power; there is no

shortage of brains. The major problem is the shortage of the wherewithal which can put these men and brains to work.

Now I have gone through the experience of organizing two voluntary committees--the American Committee for France & Algeria and the American Friends of Katanga--and I know the shortcomings and inefficiencies of such organizations. When I started, I had no idea what a Committee entailed. All I knew was that a Committee was needed. I had observed that the left wing had no end of Committees and that all of them had offices, stationery, literature, secretaries, mailing equipment, etc. I didn't realize then that they also had the backing of several multi-million dollar foundations.

But by bit I began to realize that one of the greatest victories the Conspiracy has been able to achieve is the practical impoverishment of the anti-Communist opposition. I found myself asking, why does the left wing have so much money at its disposal and the right wing--which the Communists tell us is the home of all the reactionary millionaires--has so little? Well, I began to realize that the left-wing conspirators had done a fantastically good job of weaving a network of corporate control and leverage which gave them enormous power beyond their actual number and resources. The left-wing millionaires were organized. The right wing ones weren't. The left wing foundations were organized. The right wing ones weren't. Right wing talent and right wing money were wandering off in different directions. In fact, right wing talent in most cases was being employed by left wing enterprises. This is particularly true of right wing editorial and writing talent, much of which is scattered among left wing publishing houses and enterprises. Then, of course, there are also the thousands of talented writers, designers, editors, illustrators, etc. of no particular political leaning who work for liberal publishers churning out lovely

childrens books about the UN not because they want to but because that's their job. They would just as soon turn out a well illustrated book of patriotic poems if they were given the job, only they are never given the job. In other words, the left-wing can use the talents of many right wingers and apoliticals simply because they have the money to employ them and the business enterprises to make use of them. Of course, some of these conservatives who work during the day for liberal firms volunteer for right wing work in the evening. But the amount of anti-Communist work done is infinitesimal compared to what is needed. I have often heard the phrase: "If only I could earn a living doing this I would devote full time to it."

The necessity of having to earn a living has curtailed the right wing activities of many good anti-Communists. Of course, most people, by necessity are engaged in careers and businesses which have very little political relevance. Through these businesses and professions they can do some anti-Communist work. I know a dentist who preaches ~~and shows~~ the Blue Book to his captive audience. I know doctors who keep American Opinion on their waiting room tables. But the problem is to provide full-time jobs to anti-Communists whose professions would permit them to exercise their skills in service of the Americanist cause. This would go for writers, editors, publicists, illustrators, etc.

Now this war cannot be fought on a part-time, volunteer basis. The John Birch Society recognized this from the very beginning, and for that reason it maintains a paid staff and several self-sustaining branches. Here in New York particularly this war cannot be fought on a part-time, volunteer basis at all. Something more effective has to be done and can be done.

Now for the last year and a half word has gotten around the publishing business that I am a Bircher. This hasn't bothered me in the least, for I have learned that those people who work with me couldn't care less. Particularly, if

it is a business relationship the label doesn't upset anyone. In fact, I have discovered that in New York there are an endless number of people--unencumbered by Mr. Buckley's status or the timidity of the middle-of-the-road organizations--willing to collaborate with a known associate of The John Birch Society. Many of these people are, of course, friends and former associates who know me, but many are people I come in contact with doing business.

Now, I had had the idea of forming a publishing company long before I became aware of what was going on in the country. But as I began to learn more about what was going on and to participate in the right wing movement, the idea of creating a publishing company took a back seat in my efforts. I was prepared at one point to do whatever had to be done directly, make whatever sacrifices were necessary, go wherever I had to go to stop the country from moving any closer toward Communism. In the course of all of that activity I realized that the most important thing that had to be done was to simply inform people of the truth. This is what Robert Welch had discovered. This is what I had discovered through all of the frenetic work of impoverished voluntary committees. The practical problem of gathering information and distributing it became the real problem to be solved. And so I was right back where I started--at the idea of creating a publishing company--but now a publishing company with a difference. A publishing company adapted to the needs of the anti-Communist, Americanist struggle in New York. Now I have no hesitation in telling you that the company I had envisaged would be for all practical purposes a front for the John Birch Society in New York. Now we need this front because writers, editors and researchers in New York who want to collaborate with the John Birch Society and seriously get down to the business of exposing the conspiracy have no place to go. In addition, the John Birch Society itself has no working base in Manhattan where it can establish itself and take advantage of the enormous research facilities

here. The company I envisaged could do a great deal to facilitate the establishment of that base.

Now I have already formed the publishing company I am speaking of. It is called Coleridge Press and it is the result of three years of thinking, doing, contacting, and arranging. Its primary purpose is to provide us with a self-sustaining economic base in New York from where our work can be carried on. My colleagues, none of whom are members of the John Birch Society, know exactly what I have in mind and are all for it, which is a good indication of how many peripheral sympathizers can be brought into the fight if it is made a part of their economic life. This is the only means by which a working John Birch center can be created in the heart of New York.

Now I want to emphasize the need for doing our work in the context of self-sustaining business enterprises. There is no reason why we who love free enterprise and are its principle defenders should not apply the organizational possibilities of free enterprise to our purposes. This is particularly applicable in the area of financing. When I started Coleridge Press the original idea was to persuade twenty or thirty individuals to finance the company. I was advised, however, that offering stock to that many investors would be construed by the SEC as a public offering and that we had better file with the SEC for such a public issue. We therefore drew up an offering circular containing all the pertinent data giving it a neutral color so that our political intentions were no more obvious than they had to be. When one is dealing with bureaucrats one has to act accordingly.

Now it took us approximately a year to complete this process of organizing the ingredients, creating our own underwriting company, drawing up the circular, submitting it to the SEC, getting it back for revisions, resubmitting it, getting it back for more revisions, and submitting it again. I am happy to say that

the process was completed at the end of October, and now we have a company permitted to sell its stock to the public at our disposition. This is almost as good as having a tax-free foundation.

Now the goal we set out with this offering was to raise \$250,000 and to offer shares in the company at \$5 per share. This immediately opened a new and interesting means whereby the right wing could finance its activities. When I had organized the two voluntary committees, many patriots contributed money to the cause. They were general small amounts, of course. But the essential drawback was that once the money was spent, that was the end of it. One had to ask for more money if one wanted to sustain the effort. The contributions were not tax deductible and that made it doubly hard to solicit funds. Now, however, with a public company at our disposal through which we could do virtually the same kind of work--that is inform the public through books--we could give the conservative contributor--who would now become an investor--more for his money. One, he would have ownership in the enterprise; two, the enterprise would be self-sustaining and make no additional financial demands on him; three, he might even collect dividends; four, in the event of growth and expansion his investment would increase in value; five, in case of loss he could write his contribution-investment off his income tax. Clearly, this offered advantages the voluntary political organization could never offer.

The idea occurred to me that through this public offering of Coleridge Press we could organize a pool of right-wing investors--small and large--who would be ready to invest in other self-sustaining right wing enterprises. By so doing, we could in a relatively short time, with a network of self-sustaining business units, what we are now doing on an inefficient volunteer basis.

For example, after Coleridge Press was properly financed the next logical step would be to organize a conservative book club in cooperation with several other conservative publishers and publications. Members of the investors' pool would also participate in this enterprise and share in its ownership.

The next logical step would be to create a mass-market paperback company which would put into cheap paperback editions the voluminous number of anti-Communist, free enterprise, Americanist books of all kinds which have never been reprinted. This field is virtually untouched and unlimited. We would also publish reprints of general interest which would increase the company's scope and earnings. This company could be financed in the same manner as the book club, through the investment of other interest companies and individuals from the investors pool.

The next logical step would be to organize a distribution company to handle the national distribution of our mass-market paperback company, as well as the distribution of American Opinion, American Opinion/Dollar reprints, Human Events, and other right wing publications. This company, too, could be organized in the identical manner as the previous ones--through a combination of interested companies and individuals from the investors pool.

The next step would be to organize a chain of retail bookstores ~~franchises~~ so that we have an outlet in each of the major metropolitan centers--stores to be located in high traffic locations in which right wing books and periodicals would be stocked and get the featured space and be prominently displayed. These bookstores, would, of course, carry the products of all publishers, but would promote the books that we want promoted. Each one of these stores could also have a department exclusively devoted to the merchandising of patriotic articles; such as small busts and portraits of the founding fathers, handsome reproductions

of the Declaration of Independence, date calendars with patriotic motifs, patriotic greeting cards, in short, whatever the imagination and ingenuity of patriots could produce. This chain of stores would, of course, be financed in exactly the same way as the other enterprises in this group.

There is no limit to the enterprises which could be created once this network of self-sustaining complimentary organizations was established. In some instances there may be no need to start a new enterprise from scratch. We may find it to our advantage to buy an already existing enterprise and convert it to our needs.

One project which I have discussed with Bob which could also be set up in conjunction with these other operations, is a company to produce an **Americanist Encyclopedia**, which would straighten out the mess the Communists have made of American and world history for the last 50 years. The power of such an encyclopedia would be incalculable, and its creation should definitely be one of our goals.

In addition, the eventual creation of a weekly national newspaper representing Americanist views should also be one of our goals. Can you imagine the impact of such a weekly paper giving the news straight--with weekly feature columns by Tom Anderson, Reville Oliver, Westbrook Pegler, Dan Draskovich and a signed editorial by Robert Welch? What homogenized liberal weekly could compete with it? I think Americans would lose fifty percent of their interest in sex if such a newspaper existed.

Now this is the barest outline of what could be done via this public method of financing. The initial investment required to get this whole thing underway is small in comparison to what it would require to do and sustain all of this voluntarily via contributions. The drawback with the volunteer is that his work is only commensurate with his dedication, and dedicated men are always hard to

come by, and some of that dedication must be devoted to keeping wives and children fed. But here we have a way of putting many of our people to work in the cause of Freedom and the means to enable them to earn their livelihoods while doing so.

Let me dwell for just a moment longer on the unavoidable limitations of volunteer work by giving you a personal example. I service two major newsstands in New York with American Opinion on a voluntary basis. Now, these newsstands are in a high traffic area and the magazines sell well. Each month I take out records and deliver the magazines. Sometimes I can't get to the newsstands for a week. Recently, when I was out of town for ten days, the newsstand complained that he could have sold many more copies had the magazines been delivered earlier. On some occasions when he ran out of copies early in the month he wanted more, but I didn't have them. On another occasion he had a request for 10 copies from a customer but didn't know how to locate me. This same newsstand also has an insatiable appetite for Dollar reprints. But I have neither the stock in New York nor the facilities to be able to service him adequately. In other words, this one newsstand could triple its business with Belmont publications, if it could be professionally serviced. I had to abandon the idea of getting American Opinion on other newsstands all together, since I had my hands full with just this one. Now, in New York there are enough newsstands and shops in New York to absorb at least a thousand or more American Opinions a month if only these outlets could be properly serviced. There is no telling how many Dollar Reprints could be sold in this manner also. What has happened is that we have created the demand but not the means of satisfying that demand. The distribution company I described would help solve this problem.

Now, of course, this overall plan involves many long-range goals, but there are many benefits which could accrue to The John Birch Society almost immediately if Coleridge Press could begin full operation. For example, the time is now ripe for an informal, full-length biography of the Society's Founder to be published. Since Bob has been bearing the brunt of the assault on the Society, it is important that we undercut the fatuous argument used by so many conservatives that the Society is okay but watch out for its Founder. Therefore, this is a project I would like to get underway as soon as possible. A second book which could be of immense public-relations benefit to the Society is a picture and text history of The John Birch Society, put together in a colorful large format; the kind of production Life magazine would do if it were on our side. Now you don't have to be as big as Life magazine or have as much money in order to bring out a book which esthetically and physically matches their product. The virtue of the book publishing business is that a small publisher has as much access to good design and good printers as the large publisher; in addition, both large and small publishers use the same suppliers, the same printers and the same binders. For example, Coleridge Press's first book is a biography of Lillian Nordica, America's first great internationally famous opera star. It was printed by the same company which prints books for Harpers', Macmillan, Random House, Harcourt Brace, etc. As you can see, it looks as good, if not better, than anything put out by the standard publisher. Now there is no reason why our books about the John Birch Society could not be as esthetically pleasing as the best that's on the market. The physical appearance of a book has a considerable psychological effect on its beholder--and in the realm of public relations it can make all the difference. It would take no coaxing

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In the area of quality reprints we could bring out such books as Frank Chodorov's book on the Income Tax; Flynn's The Roosevelt Myth; Witness by Chambers; works by Von Mises, etc. I would also love to see a book published entitled Impeach Earl Warren! which would describe the reasons for and progress of the movement to impeach Warren.

In the area of children's books we have an unlimited field with no competition whatever. We could do a Boy's life of John Birch; stories of our Founding Fathers and the signers of the Declaration of Independence; the story of our Constitution, etc. One can, at a very early age, begin teaching the principles of less government, more responsibility and a better world through books which set the example. Now I know that conservative parents want these books but can't get them.

Now if Colaridge Press can be properly financed in a short period of time, the next step will be to organize the book club. I have already spoken to Devin Garrity about this, and he is anxious to participate in this project which he has given much thought to. You can imagine the impact of this book club would have if it offered The Politician along with Eisenhower's Mandate for Change so that the member could read both and compare. In any case, there are many good conservative, anti-Communist books which could be distributed through a book club of this kind--one which has ~~long~~ long been needed.

I think I have given you a good idea of what can be done and how it can be done. Never before will the need for immediate, precise knowledge be as great as it will be in the days and months ahead. The assassination of President Kennedy is an ominous sign of things to come. The plan to assassinate the President was made long before it was executed, and you can be sure that the Conspiracy has planned its post-assassination follow up carefully. The Conspiracy has never been more confident nor arrogant even though it is confronted with

the greatest challenge to its power since McCarthy's time. For example, while members of the Right Wing have tended to be on the defensive since the assassination, the Left Wing has entered a period of great offense. Read the Worker or the National Guardian and note the tenor of the attacks.

The attack on the Right Wing is reaching a ferocity which can only lead to violence. As you know, immediately following the assassination there was a great outcry against the Right Wing. But even after Oswald's Communist background was thoroughly exposed, there wasn't even the faintest outcry against the Left. In fact, on the day following the President's funeral, the National Guardian held its big anniversary dinner at the Astor Hotel, with all the left-wing notables on the dais and 1,200 people in attendance. But in Garden City, the hotel there counselled Gen. Walker's forthcoming appearance because of threats made to the hotel--and Garden City is supposed to be Right Wing territory.

Obviously, the Communists will stop at nothing to keep an anti-Communist from getting the Republican nomination. The Communists want to turn the masses so-to-speak against the Right Wing, and since they control the mass media press and TV they can do so. But we must not go on the defensive for a moment; we must regroup and hit back hard, hit the conspiracy where it hurts most--and this can be done with constant, relentless exposures of what the conspiracy is doing.

I have presented a plan whereby this battle can be waged in New York. The Conspiracy has its Achilles heel, and we can crack it wide open if the precise weapon needed to do the job can be forged. But this requires outside help.

I can't imagine a more advantageous time than now to put the plan I have outlined into motion. Nor can I guarantee that we shall be able to do this later if we don't do it now. The SEC has been agitating for much more stringent

controls on public stock offerings than the stringent ones they already have. They want to set up the kind of minimum standards which would make it impossible for a new enterprise to finance itself in this manner. We have no way of knowing when Congress will act on the SEC's recommendations. In any case, we can begin organizing this right wing investors pool this very weekend. With enough capital to begin with, and with your recommendations and leads I can visit whomever you and proceed to create this base for our work in New York.

Now I am going to pass out to you the Offering Circular we put through the SEC. It is the SEC's idea of a full disclosure, but it discloses nothing of what I have just told you. The SEC has its own idea as to what investors should know and it has a language all its own for saying it. Now if there is anything in the Circular--anything at all, whether it be stock distribution, the Editorial Advisory Board, projected salaries, the backgrounds of the officers, control of the company, or any other item which raises a question in your mind--please don't hesitate to ask me about it. Everything was done with a purpose. Only one change has been made since the Circular was ~~be~~ cleared and that is Mr. Nash has been replaced on the Board of Directors by Mr. McLaughlin. Mr. Nash withdrew from the Board because of a conflict of interest with the LaSalle Extension University of which he is a vice president. An amendment is being made to that effect.

In closing, let me emphasize that the need for a self-sustaining John Birch Society front in New York is ~~more~~ crucial. We in New York, associated with the Society and its views, are placed in a very tight squeeze between the National Review's anti-Birch conservatism and the 'modern' Republicanism of the Rockefeller-CFR mafia--not to mention the opposition from the liberals and Communists. We have no base of operation, no platform for our views, no showcase for our products. Yet we have a good nucleus of people around whom a larger

circle of sympathizers could be organized and put to work. The plan I have outlined is a means whereby this can be accomplished. It remains up to you to give it the necessary initial impetus. Thank you.

Concerning control of the company, the John Birch Society can maintain control if its members or sympathizers purchase an equivalent of 40% of the stock, or about 35,450 shares at a cost of \$162,250. Thirty (30) persons participating could buy that many shares at an investment of approximately \$5,400 each. If 60 persons participated, the individual investment would be cut in half.