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**THE DEFENDERS OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION AND THE LEAGUE  
OF EMPIRE LOYALISTS: THE FIRST POSTWAR ANGLO-AMERICAN  
REVOLTS AGAINST THE "ONE WORLD ORDER"**

The belief that any participation in global institutions such as the United Nations poses a clear threat to national sovereignty has been a cornerstone of the Anglo-American far right stretching back to the 1950s. This study examines one of the earliest of such groups, the Defenders of the American Constitution (DAC), an organization of retired high ranking American military officers that was founded in 1953 and led by former Marine Corps Lieutenant General Pedro del Valle (1893-1978).<sup>1</sup> I also look at the DAC's British counterpart, Arthur Keith (A.K.) Chesterton's League of Empire Loyalists (LEL), which was founded in 1954. The DAC and LEL continually warned against what they claimed was an attempt by murky international conspirators to strip U.S. and U.K. citizens of all vestiges of national sovereignty and patriotic feeling in order to reduce them to helpless slaves of a vast police state administered under the banner of the United Nations. Anti-globalist arguments first developed by groups like the DAC and LEL in the early 1950s continue to resonate inside the far right militia movement today.

The DAC and LEL were equally obsessed with the notion that there existed an organized Jewish conspiracy intent on building a "One World Order." Although both groups were fiercely anti-Semitic, neither of them was "Nazi." Appeals – both overt and covert – to National Socialism were absent from their publications. The DAC and LEL existed in a twilight world that included far right military men, religious fundamentalists, Franco supporters, staunch segregationists and longtime anti-Semites. It is the core conspiratorial anti-Semitic belief structure of both organizations that places them well beyond the confines of conventional political discourse.

*Part One: Pedro Del Valle and the Creation of the DAC*

**WHO WAS PEDRO DEL VALLE?**

The stereotype of the American far rightist as a buffoonish figure with little sense of the outside world could not be less apt when looking at Pedro del Valle, the DAC's founder and leader until his death in 1978 at age 85.

Pedro Augusto Jose del Valle Barcay Muñoz was born on August 28, 1893, in San Juan, Puerto Rico, when it was still under the control of Imperial Spain. His father,

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<sup>1</sup> My work on the DAC is based on an examination of Pedro del Valle's archives held at the Knight Library at the University of Oregon at Eugene.

Francesco, a surgeon and former mayor of San Juan, had been educated at the University of Seville, the Sorbonne, and Johns Hopkins. In 1900 Pedro del Valle became an American citizen after his family relocated from Puerto Rico to Maryland. Upon graduation from the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, del Valle joined the United States Marine Corps (USMC). He first saw action in 1916, when he participated in the capture of Santo Domingo. In World War I he led a Marine Corps detachment on the *USS Texas* that deployed with the British Grand Fleet.

In the late 1920s del Valle was stationed in Haiti before becoming active in the war against Augusto Sandino in Nicaragua. He later reported that as a young officer, “I found everywhere evidence of Communist organization commencing with Sandino’s red bandits.”<sup>2</sup> He next served in Havana as an intelligence officer under Admiral Charles Freeman following the 1933 Cuban Sergeant’s Revolt. Del Valle was then assigned to Rome, where he served as an Assistant Naval Attaché in the U.S. Embassy from October 1935 to June 1937. He accompanied the Italian Armed Forces in the conquest of Ethiopia as a U.S. military observer and received the Order of the Crown of Italy, the Colonial Order of the Star of Italy, and the Italian Bronze Medal for Military Valor.<sup>3</sup> During his stint in Ethiopia, del Valle also became good friends with some of Fascist Italy’s top military officers.

Following his return to the United States to attend the Army War College, del Valle worked at USMC headquarters as an Executive Officer in the Division of Plans and Policies. During World War II, he led the 11<sup>th</sup> Marine Regiment of the First Marine Division in the defense of Guadalcanal where he earned the Legion of Merit. After a brief stint in Washington, del Valle again returned to the Pacific in April 1944, this time as Commanding General of the Third Artillery, Third Amphibious Corps, and fought the Japanese on Guam. His crowning achievement came when, as Commanding General of the First Marine Division, he played a critical role in the capture of Okinawa in June 1945 for which he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. After the war, he again returned to Washington serving first as the USMC Inspector General and – from 1946 to his retirement in 1948 – as Director of Personnel for the Marines.

After his retirement and in financial debt, del Valle turned to Sosthenes Behn, the head of ITT and an old friend of his father, for employment. Behn first chose him to represent ITT in the Middle East. From his office in Cairo, del Valle visited Istanbul, Damascus, Beirut and Athens. After a short stint at ITT’s Rome office, he relocated to Buenos Aires, Argentina, where he served as president of ITT for all South America.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> 11/10/1953 del Valle letter to Col. Samuel Griffith, USMC.

<sup>3</sup> Del Valle’s first book, *Roman Eagles over Ethiopia* (Harrisburg, PA: Military Service Publishing Company, 1940) detailed the Italian military campaign.

<sup>4</sup> Although he knew the Perons, del Valle labeled them “communists” because Peron’s economic policies included the nationalization of ITT assets without compensation.

## OVERTURES TO THE FAR RIGHT

Del Valle's ties to the radical right – ties that almost certainly existed during his Marine Corps days – continued unabated while he worked for ITT.<sup>5</sup> On 12/19/49, for example, he sent a letter of support to Conde McGinley, founder of *Common Sense*, one of the most notorious far right and anti-Semitic journals in America. Del Valle told McGinley, "If the Truman welfare state triumphs we shall lose our republic and emerge a very sad socialist oligarchy which will shortly be overthrown by a communist dictatorship." In another letter, del Valle reported, "I have warned Senator McCarthy because I know his life is in danger."<sup>6</sup> In an 8/8/50 missive to Captain J.M. Kimbraugh, del Valle claimed

Treason is everywhere about us and I do not believe that we have any chance unless some strong military person is able to seize power by means of a "coup d'etat" and take the Communist bull by the horns right at home.

In still another letter from Buenos Aires, del Valle said, "If the Truman government were not completely in the power of the Zionist-Marxist minority, we should not have any difficulty" in getting the United States to leave the UN as long as Russia remained a member.<sup>7</sup>

Del Valle's increasing public visibility, which included the insertion of his 1951 "Open Letter to President Truman" into the *Congressional Record*, made Behn increasingly uncomfortable. Nor did his position improve after ITT's Washington representative labeled him anti-Semitic. In late 1951 del Valle left ITT and returned to his home in Maryland.

## CLASHES WITH THE CIA

While still in Buenos Aires, del Valle regularly wrote letters to the Pentagon and CIA urging them to create a new organization under the command of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to wage guerrilla warfare behind Soviet and Chinese lines, an organization that he offered to lead.<sup>8</sup> Del Valle then received an invitation from Admiral Forrest Sherman,

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<sup>5</sup> Del Valle's archives only date back to 1949 so his previous political affiliations can't be known for sure.

<sup>6</sup> 5/26/1950 letter from del Valle to Raymond Armsby.

<sup>7</sup> 8/26/1950 letter from del Valle to H.F. Storck.

<sup>8</sup> In a 1/5/51 letter to Brigadier General G. C. Thomas at Marine headquarters in Quantico, Virginia, del Valle elaborated on his plan:

I am convinced that we should immediately create a general headquarters in the United States for the purpose of initiating immediate action by anti-Communist operating forces, not only in China and the Far East generally, but also in the Middle East, in Russia, in West Europe, Australasia, India and North and South America . . . There is a vast reservoir of refugees from all these places where the Politburo has its iron heel, who are constantly coming to our embassies all over the world trying to enlist in the anti-Communist cause. . . . Certainly if I were so fortunate as to be allowed to go back on active duty to organize such a movement and was able to pick a decent staff, we could begin making it hot for the rulers of Russia within three months and within a year I

Chief of Naval Operations, to visit Washington to discuss his ideas. After arriving in D.C, however, del Valle was told that Admiral Sherman was away but that Walter Bedell Smith, the new head of the CIA, wanted to meet him. One of Eisenhower's closest aides in World War II, Bedell Smith had just replaced Admiral Roscoe Hillenkoetter at CIA. Instead of discussing plans for guerrilla warfare, Bedell Smith told del Valle that "he had just the job" for him as head of the CIA station in Japan. He did so in the false belief that del Valle "had crossed swords" with General MacArthur during World War II and would therefore be willing to help "pull the rug out from under MacArthur." Del Valle promptly informed Bedell Smith that he considered MacArthur "the ablest general and statesman the country possessed."<sup>9</sup>

The confrontation between del Valle and Bedell Smith also echoed a longstanding dispute inside U.S. Intelligence dating back to World War II when General MacArthur prevented the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the precursor agency to the CIA, from effectively functioning in areas under his command. The CIA's reluctance to engage in aggressive "rollback" operations against the Soviet Union further angered hardliners.<sup>10</sup>

## **CREATING A POLITICAL/PARAMILITARY NETWORK**

Del Valle's clash with the CIA took place at a time when the predominantly Midwest-based isolationist wing of the Republican Party was coming under increasing attack from the internationalist branch of the Party. The internationalists' roots were largely in East Coast banking and industrial interests as well as in internationalist-oriented policy organizations like the Council on Foreign Relations and the Ford Foundation. Ivy League graduates from elite Eastern families also played a prominent role in organizations like the CIA. The struggle between the "isolationists" and the "internationalists" for the soul of the GOP reached a peak at the party's 1952 convention. Senator Robert A. Taft, the choice of the isolationists, entered the convention hall with an apparent clear majority of delegates, only to lose the nomination to former General Dwight D. Eisenhower after a series of questionable parliamentary maneuvers disqualified a number of key Taft delegates.<sup>11</sup>

Del Valle, for his part, set out to organize a network of hard right organizations to galvanize public opinion against the internationalist elite. In a 7/19/51 letter to an American rightist named Jane Graham, he argued, "We must organize the citizens in each state as vigilantes against sabotage and other forms of treason. Then link them up in some

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venture to predict they would be too busy at home to provoke any more wars of the kind we have been having since 1945.

<sup>9</sup> Pedro del Valle, *Semper Fidelis* (Hawthorne, CA: Christian Book Club, 1976), 119. In July 1953 del Valle went public with his story in an interview with the rightwing *Washington Times Herald*. Also see Andrew Tully, *The CIA: The Inside Story* (New York: Morrow, 1962), 30.

<sup>10</sup> A retired U.S. Naval Officer named Homer Brett told del Valle years later that he had met Bedell Smith while working under Hillenkoetter and at the State Department's Office of Policy Coordination (OPC). Brett described Bedell Smith's "defeatist" announcement that the USSR was "here to stay" as a "stab in the back" to OPC. 9/30/1972 letter from Comdr. Homer Brett to del Valle.

<sup>11</sup> Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), 160.

national headquarters.” Del Valle initially placed his hopes in America Plus Inc., a Los Angeles-based group that operated in some fourteen states. In an 8/14/51 letter to America Plus leader Irvin Borders, del Valle stated

I am going to suggest that we have a body of Minutemen or vigilantes, which in fact all your members are. While your movement is entirely political, the vigilantes could in addition have a semi-military purpose in checking the violence and sabotage, which the enemy constantly perpetrates in our country.<sup>12</sup>

In an 8/27/51 letter he sent from Buenos Aires to General Douglas MacArthur in New York (with copies to leading right-wingers Merwin K. Hart, Conde McGinley, Major R.H. Williams, California Senator Jack Tenney and Lt. General A.C. Wedemeyer [Ret.]), del Valle called for the creation of The Minutemen of America. Its most important functions would include “Intelligence, Operations, Supply, Finance, Public Relations and Personnel.” The “central authority of the Minutemen” would

keep the members advised of sabotage, intended sabotage, and all subversive activities. At such times as appropriate, the necessary action will be taken to supplement the work of the FBI in bringing subversives to justice, and especially in forestalling them in their nefarious activity wherever possible.

When confronting “saboteurs,” particularly inside the labor movement, del Valle warned that “great resistance, and some violence, is to be expected.”

In his draft articles of incorporation for the Minutemen, del Valle said it would be organized with

one squad leader and four men each, at the smallest local level; into platoons of one platoon leader and two or more squads each at the next largest level; into companies of 100 men led by a centurion; commandos led by commanders of two or more companies; into legions of two or more commandos led by a legionary, and finally, at state level, into divisions led by a State Councilor.

Del Valle’s draft also included a denunciation of the supposed threat to U.S. sovereignty posed by the UN:

Further to corrupt, misinterpret and weaken our national fundamental political philosophy we have become a member of a huge international aggregation, known as the United Nations, into which the United States of America has surrendered a large part of its sovereignty into the hands of a heterogeneous conglomeration of representatives of all races, colors, and states of enlightenment, most of whom cannot properly “represent” their peoples because they did not select them, and none of whose interests exactly coincide with ours.

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<sup>12</sup> In a 10/3/51 letter to del Valle, Aldrich Blake, writing on behalf of America Plus, commented: “My own feeling is that so far as the semi-military training is concerned, the youth organization should be as secret as it can be kept.”

In the United Nations Christianity, the basis of our form of government, can only with difficulty make its voice heard in this modern Tower of Babel amidst the din and clangor of clashing materialistic interests, including those of Soviet Russia, our sworn enemy and protagonists of anti-Christ.

Americans, he argued, were especially threatened with proposed international agreements like the “so-called ‘Genocide Convention’” which would allow a U.S. citizen “without his consent, because he has caused mental discomfort to a certain minority, [to] be deported for trial in a foreign land by a foreign court” and thus be denied “our guarantees of free speech, trial by a jury, and habeas corpus.”

Del Valle elaborated on his belief that America was under siege in a letter to Marine Corps Colonel Samuel Griffith. He told Griffith: “should our own government unfortunately fall into the hands of the Communist Anti-Christ, I for one will follow my great-grandfather’s example [who fought with Wellington against the French in Spain – KC] and will take to the hills, gun in hand, until I am killed or they are driven out!”

## **LAUNCHING THE DAC**

After meeting in Washington’s Army-Navy Club in 1953, del Valle, Lt. Col. John H. Coffman, USMC (Ret.), and Lt. Col. Eugene Cowles Pomeroy (Ret.) formed the Defenders of the American Constitution with del Valle as president to spread the anti “One Worldist” gospel into the highest ranks of the U.S. military. Coffman, the DAC’s secretary and legal counsel, had seen action in Nicaragua, China, and Guadalcanal during his service with the Marines.<sup>13</sup> As for Pomeroy, he had served in World War I as well as on intelligence missions in the Far East.<sup>14</sup> An Executive Council also was established with Brigadier General Bonner Fellers (Ret.) as Chairman. Other members included Major General Claire Chennault, USAF (Ret.), one of the leading figures in the pro-Taiwan “China Lobby,” as well as a handful of right-wingers from civilian backgrounds.<sup>15</sup>

The DAC first gained public notice in December 1953 after Coffman filed a Habeas Corpus proceeding in the U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., against the Secretaries of State, Defense and the Army in the “Keefe Case,” named after Army Private Richard Keefe, who was serving with U.S. forces in France. After getting drunk one night and driving off from a bistro in a stolen cab, Keefe was arrested by local gendarmes. The French government then decided to put Keefe on trial instead of following the usual procedure of turning him over to American MP’s for an Army court-martial. The DAC turned the incident into a cause celebre and argued that the Senate ratification of a treaty placing U.S. servicemen in foreign countries under the jurisdiction of local authorities was an abrogation of their rights under the U.S. Constitution.

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<sup>13</sup> In July 1954, however, Coffman died. See Coffman’s obituary, *TF*, August 1954.

<sup>14</sup> See the 2/1962 *TF* for a tribute to Pomeroy.

<sup>15</sup> It should also be noted that the DAC later enjoyed the patronage of the wealthy Countess Rosalind Wood Guardabassi, who maintained homes in Massachusetts and Palm Beach.

The DAC further hoped the Keefe case would aid the Senate's passage of the proposed "Bricker Amendment" to the Constitution. The measure, introduced in 1951 by Ohio Senator John Bricker in the midst of the Korean War, would have dramatically reduced the power given to the President and Congress by the Constitution to negotiate and sign foreign treaties by making treaty ratification essentially dependent on the approval of the then 48 states. An article in the far right *News Bulletin* of the Cinema Education Guild, reprinted by the DAC, argued that the Bricker Amendment

will permanently curb those starry-eyed dreamers who are obsessed with the illusion that we can solve all of our problems and emerge into a shining new world by just eliminating all national governments . . . and having in their place one big super-duper dictatorship to *rule* "the brave new world."<sup>16</sup>

In April 1953 hearings before Congress, pro-Bricker congressmen mercilessly attacked Secretary of State John Foster Dulles over U.S. involvement in foreign treaties. An exasperated Dulles responded by insisting that the Bricker Amendment would have made even the creation of NATO impossible; an argument that failed to win many converts.<sup>17</sup> The Senate finally defeated the Bricker Amendment by a *single* vote.<sup>18</sup>

Taking advantage of the controversy surrounding the DAC, del Valle ran for governor of Maryland, only to fail miserably in the Republican primary. The DAC also began publishing its four page monthly newsletter *Task Force*, whose first issue appeared in May 1954. Its second issue prominently featured del Valle's "Open Letter to the American People," where he laid out the DAC's views on foreign entanglements:

We have seen the United Nations fail to promote peaceful intercourse between its member nations, and to become a dangerous international soapbox for the Kremlin. We have seen spies and saboteurs of the Kremlin penetrate almost every branch of our own government. It is reported that there are over five million illegally living in our country. . . . We have seen our every effort to support the real anti-communist nations, Nationalist China, South Korea, Germany and Spain sabotaged by foreign influences. . . .

The impotence of the sinister United Nations has been amply demonstrated. . . . Mere numerical majorities of peoples can override our will . . . and can, through the devious means of treaties and conventions forced upon us, open the way for the surrender of our precious Constitution and Bill of Rights. The Beast of the Kremlin sits in the highest councils, together with some of its puppets. Yet Spain, the one country which has defeated communism within its borders in a bloody conflict, is not invited to be a member.

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<sup>16</sup> Bryson Reinhardt, "Treaties to Destroy America," reprinted in *TF*, July 1954.

<sup>17</sup> Perlstein, 9-11.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* Eisenhower called the fight against the Bricker Amendment "the most important" of his career.

Del Valle was not alone in his fervent opposition to the UN. The September 1954 *Task Force* ran an article that quoted Indiana Republican Senator William E. Jenner, who memorably described the UN Charter as “the machine gun that looks like a baby carriage.” According to Jenner, the UN would abolish the Bill of Rights and replace it with “a body of . . . privileges and duties modeled exactly upon the Soviet Constitution.” North Dakota Republican Congressman Usher Burdick claimed that the “real purpose (of the UN) was to build a world government controlled by the Communists and their dupes in the United States.”

## THE CONTRADICTIONS OF A “SUPER PATRIOT”

Pedro del Valle appeared on the surface to be a somewhat unconventional military man turned super patriot who appealed to the heritage of George Washington and the Founding Fathers. An examination of his personal papers, however, provides a much more complex picture.

Although del Valle regularly denounced “big government” for limiting individual freedom – even calling for the abolition of both the IRS and the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) – he clearly admired Mussolini’s Italy. After the war del Valle maintained good ties with Italy’s “Black Prince” Junio Valerio Borghese, whom he had first met during the Ethiopia campaign.<sup>19</sup> A convicted war criminal, Borghese became one of Italy’s most powerful postwar far rightists as well as the first president of Italy’s neo-fascist Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI).<sup>20</sup> Del Valle also argued that America should back Eastern European governments-in-exile in order to encourage “so-called ‘fascist’ groups” to build a new “underground” should the Soviet Union overrun Europe militarily.<sup>21</sup>

Del Valle was also close to Franco’s Spain. In a 2/23/50 letter to Nevada Senator Pat McCarran, del Valle even offered to become the first U.S. Ambassador to Spain should America recognize Franco. Through his good friend, the Madrid-based Marques de Prat y Nantouillet, who headed a rightwing religious movement called Active United Christians, del Valle met Franco in 1952. He returned to Spain on other occasions, most notably in 1964 when he tried to help the Marques put together an anti-communist “worldwide Christian movement” with proposed financing from Arab nations and far right Texas millionaires. During this visit, del Valle also met with another good friend, General José Diaz Villegas, a member of the Spanish Army general staff who had a special interest in Africa.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> A personal photograph of a young Borghese appears in del Valle’s book, *Roman Eagles over Ethiopia*.

<sup>20</sup> Del Valle was said to be responsible for the U.S. Navy’s decision in 1962 to invite a notorious Italian far rightist and intelligence operative named Guido Giannettini to give a three-day lecture course at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis on “Opportunities and Techniques for Coups d’Etat in Europe.” See Jeffrey M. Bale’s 1994 University of California at Berkeley Ph. D. dissertation, “The ‘Black’ Terrorist International: Neo-Fascist Paramilitary Networks and the ‘Strategy of Tension’ in Italy, 1968-1974,” 177.

<sup>21</sup> 7/19/51 letter from del Valle to Jane Graham.

<sup>22</sup> Del Valle discusses his visits to Spain and meeting Franco in *TF*, Dec. 1975.

As a Hispanic Catholic, del Valle had little sympathy for Nordic racialism and Nazi ideology. His view of Nazi Germany, however, was peculiar to say the least. In an 8/9/1962 letter to J. Paul Thornton, a California organizer for the far-right National States Rights Party (NSRP), del Valle said:

I knew Mussolini personally and served with his forces in Ethiopia as U.S. observer. I never met Hitler but lived in Germany under his creation and believe he might somehow [have] fought free of his bosses and created a free world far better than the one we now live in. But let this be known! Hitler was sponsored and financed by the same House of Rothschild bankers who eventually liquidated him.

From the late 1950s on, del Valle maintained a friendly correspondence with American Nazi Party (ANP) leader George Lincoln Rockwell and he gave Rockwell occasional small financial contributions.<sup>23</sup> Del Valle's main disagreement with Rockwell seems to have been over the fact that the Nazis were anti-Christian.<sup>24</sup> Del Valle also had no hesitation in favorably citing a statement from Rockwell's Nazi successor in his memoir *Semper Fidelis*.<sup>25</sup>

#### **THE DAC AND “THE KNIGHTS OF MALTA”**

While working as an ITT executive in Buenos Aires in 1949, Del Valle became involved with a group called the Suvarov Union, an Argentine-based network of White Russian exiles. The Suvarov Union was led by General Boris Smyslovsky-Holmston, a former White Russian officer who had fought the Bolsheviks during the Civil War. He then joined the German Army as “Colonel von Regenau” and led a fierce guerrilla warfare campaign behind Soviet lines during World War II. Smyslovsky-Holmston told del Valle that he had some 10,000 supporters worldwide who were eager to open up offensive operations in Siberia with American backing should the Pentagon approve such an operation.<sup>26</sup> The Suvarov Union, along with a group of far right Russian monarchists based in New York and London, recognized the former Russian Grand Duke Cyril – a Nazi sympathizer who lived in France during the 1930s – as the true Czar.<sup>27</sup>

The DAC's involvement with the White Russian community led many of its members to join a far right pseudo-chivalric order known as the “Sovereign Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, Knights of Malta,” which was headquartered in the small town of Shickshinny, Pennsylvania. The Military Affairs Committee of the Knights at one point included an astonishing list of former generals and admirals, including del Valle,

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<sup>23</sup> A 6/12/65 letter from Rockwell to del Valle thanks him for a \$100 contribution.

<sup>24</sup> In a 9/24/63 letter to Rockwell, del Valle writes: “Your kind invitation to come speak to your young patriots is an honor and I shall be happy to confer with you and [retired Admiral] John Crommelin on the subject of united effort” before raising the issue of religion. I could find no evidence, however, that del Valle addressed Rockwell's storm troopers despite repeated requests.

<sup>25</sup> Del Valle, *Semper Fidelis*, 192.

<sup>26</sup> Del Valle's personal contact with Smyslovsky-Holmston and his followers may have inspired his proposal to the Pentagon to create a special organization devoted to war behind the Iron Curtain.

<sup>27</sup> Cyril's heir, the Grand Duke Vladimir, continued the claim in the 1950s and 1960s.

Gen. Lemuel Shepherd, Lt. Gen. George Stratemeyer, Maj. Gen. Charles Willoughby, Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers, Admiral Charles M. Cooke and Rear Admiral Francis T. Spellman among others. The “Shickshinny Knights” were led by Charles Pichel, a Nazi sympathizer in the 1930s who maintained murky ties to the White Russian community.<sup>28</sup> Pichel claimed that his Knights represented a branch of the Order that had survived in Russia under the Emperor Paul I after Napoleon had suppressed the main group. He further said he derived his order’s legitimacy from “Czar” Cyril himself.

### *Part Two: The DAC and Conspiracy Theory*

#### **THE DAC AGAINST “THE UNSEEN MASTERS”**

Although in outward appearance the DAC seemed to be an association of intensely anti-Communist former military men, Del Valle and his colleagues never truly believed that there was an independent threat to America from Russia. It is striking just how little information there is about Soviet-style communism in the pages of *Task Force*. There are no informed discussions about Politburo changes, Soviet foreign policy, the Sino-Soviet split, or the composition and deployment of Soviet military forces. This is because the DAC viewed the U.S.-Soviet conflict through an intense conspiratorial prism. The group argued that Russia itself was secretly controlled by a “one-worldist conspiracy” led by Jewish banking houses headquartered in New York City.<sup>29</sup> Jacob Schiff, Paul Warburg and Bernard Baruch – and not Vladimir Lenin, Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin – were the real power behind twentieth century Communism. The June 1955 *Task Force* claimed, “*the Communist regimes are weak and their people rebellious. The only strength they possess is the faction within the American government which puts the Soviet Union first.*” [Italics in original.] This mysterious “faction” was itself, of course, controlled by the Jews.

The DAC viewed contemporary world history in general as a massive conspiracy of shadow men, puppets and politicians controlled from behind the scenes by a small cabal of secret Jewish masters. DAC fear mongering came in two basic forms; the first downplayed the Hand of Zion while the second highlighted it. While *Task Force* perpetually alluded to the existence of a vast shadowy conspiracy, it frequently avoided directly accusing the Jews of being in charge and let the reader fill in the blanks.

One example of “Anti-Semitism Lite” comes in an article entitled “Regardless of Who Is Elected President, Invisible Rulers Govern United States” that appeared in the October 1955 *Task Force*.<sup>30</sup> In it we learn that top advisors to President Eisenhower – including his brother Milton and Nelson Rockefeller – exist “merely to transmit orders handed down from higher sources much as a messenger boy delivers a Western Union

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<sup>28</sup> Kevin Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day: Francis Parker Yockey and the Postwar Fascist International* (New York: Autonomedia, 1999), 598-615.

<sup>29</sup> In a May 1955 *TF* article denouncing the idea of an Atlantic Union, Bonner Fellers writes: “As early as 1930, the Kremlin, as well as other international plotters, had made plans of how the United States could be drawn into One World. Their penetrating study disclosed the difficulty. The barrier was our Constitution.”

<sup>30</sup> It was a reprint from the Fort Worth, Texas journal, *The Southern Conservative*.

telegram.” To see the “Unseen Masters” or “International Conspirators” as composed of “any one racial group as is so often charged” is wrong. But “to the extent that some racial groups’ representation in the World Conspiracy is greater” because “they are more astute at seizing opportunity than others, more avaricious in their greed for power, more skilled in the art of deception and intrigue and more adept in the pursuits which concentrate the bulk of the world’s wealth in their hands,” such observations were accurate. Whatever the racial composition of the conspiracy, “crack-brained” social scientists paid by wealthy foundations and international bankers were now hard at work pushing for “one universal government in which the industrial economy, religious beliefs and social customs of the human race” would be forced into a common mold resulting in “slavery for all men and freedom for none.”

The academic eggheads and bankers who used the UN to create the World Bank, the Mutual Trade Agreements Act, and the International Labor Organization were now ready to add on such “little frills as Human Rights, Genocide, UNESCO, the social mixing and inter-marriage of the white and black races” as well as “all the other queer little ideological touches so dear to the hearts of the boys with the tinted lips, mincing steps and high-pitched vocal equipment.” The UN’s proposed power to interfere in domestic legislation would especially wreck havoc with segregation and labor law. As an article in the February 1955 *Task Force* stated, “Our marriage laws and our laws with relation to employer and employee are no part of the United Nations.”

### **COLONEL POMEROY’S FAMOUS MAP**

In January 1955, *Task Force* revealed conclusive proof of the conspirators’ master plan for world domination in the form of a map. DAC vice president Colonel Eugene Pomeroy said that on a 1954 trip to London he had been given the map from a brave British woman patriot who had infiltrated the September 1952 London conference of the World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government (also known as the United World Federalists). The map, which divided up the world into a series of zones and regions with longitude and latitude lines duly noted, was the World Parliamentarians attempt to envision a rationally organized globe and not one split along preexisting national political lines.

The DAC, however, saw the map as the blueprint for One World domination that would commence once the UN began changing its Charter. The map split the U.S. into four zones, leading Pomeroy to warn that “a Mau Mau Chief” could rule the South “as Commissar” while the states from “the Atlantic to the Rockies quite likely would be under the dictatorship of Huk Filipinos while the Pacific Coast states in all likelihood could expect a Red Chinese as their overlord.” Because the conspirators desired the standard of living throughout the world to be uniform, they further planned to reduce the average American to “somewhere on a level of an Australian Bushman, and practically all American surplus production would be exported.” The One World economy would be built on “a deforested desert of America.” Pomeroy then warned,

The blueprint for One World will not tolerate control of immigration. The United States can expect that its West Coast will be inundated by hordes of Red Chinese coolies. The East and the rest of the country can expect to be overrun by millions from the Levant, India, Malaya, East Indies, Africa. The American branch of the white race will be another “lost race” and would take its place in history along with the Aztecs.

Of course to operate this global scheme, force, overwhelming force, is essential. This has been foreseen and every national unit as now existing must contribute recruits for an International Police. We can look forward to being policed by Turks, Hindus, African Tribesmen and Red Chinese distributed throughout the four regions.

Pomeroy concluded his article with the prediction that “by 1960, the United States as we know it, Constitution and all, will disappear from the Earth.”

Far from repudiating Pomeroy’s extraordinary claims when 1960 came and went, del Valle embraced them. In an 8/30/63 letter to a California far rightist West Wuichet, del Valle wrote:

As to the projected sub-division of the USA by the UN, we have absolute proof of this from a fine British lady who became a United World Federalist for the purpose. *Task Force* has published this un-challenged three times. Make no mistake, this is part of the plan of the take-over. The race war is just the cover for the main operation and has fooled many otherwise intelligent White Christians.

Pomeroy’s magic map, a contemporary version of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, was so popular that *Task Force* reprinted it three times. The DAC also published the map – along with other documents from the September 1952 London conference of the World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government – as a special pamphlet.<sup>31</sup>

## **FROM THE KHAZARS TO THE PROTOCOLS**

Along with Anti-Semitism Lite, the DAC cognoscenti freely imbibed the harder stuff. A far right book entitled *Iron Curtain Over America*, which was published in 1951 by John Beaty, served as an ideological linchpin for the DAC. An English professor and former head of Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Beaty had been an Army Intelligence (G-2) officer in Washington from 1941 to 1947. Del Valle knew Beaty and, after Beaty’s death, his widow Josephine spent many years as the DAC’s Vice President.

Beaty argued in *Iron Curtain* that Communist Russia was really under the domination of the Khazars, a group originally from the South of Russia that had converted to Judaism in the early Middle Ages. According to Beaty, the Khazars had now

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<sup>31</sup> *TF*, April 1955.

taken control of *both* Russia and America. In his book *Religion and the Racist Right*, Michael Barkun summarizes Beatty's argument this way:

The reforms of Czar Alexander II, misguided in Beatty's view, gave the "Judaized Khazars" the ability to infiltrate and corrupt Russia as a whole. They did so with four aims in mind: the development of communism, the fomenting of revolution, the growth of Zionism, and the transfer of their numbers to America. Hence, he argued, they were able not only to seize control of Russia but to provide their conspiracy with an American base as a minority "obsessed with its own objectives which are not those of Western Christian civilization."<sup>32</sup>

Beatty further claimed that the Khazars – after more or less taking control over the Democratic Party – tricked America into war with Germany to kill off as many Aryans as possible. The Khazars were simultaneously the masters of Soviet Russia because "Stalin, Kagonovich, Beria, Molotov, and Litvinoff all have Jewish blood or are married to Jewesses."<sup>33</sup>

*Iron Curtain* went through an astonishing seventeen printings in the 1950s. Del Valle publicly endorsed it and helped Beatty distribute copies to select military officers. Other leading retired military men like General George Stratemeyer – himself a member of the Military Affairs Committee of the Charles Pichel-led Knights of Malta – publicly praised Beatty's opus. When asked by the Jewish Anti-Defamation League (ADL) to repudiate *Iron Curtain*, Stratemeyer refused to do so and instead publicly attacked the ADL.<sup>34</sup>

Del Valle's conviction that Russia was under Jewish control led him to a major clash with *Common Sense*, a hard right magazine famous for its obsession with Jewish power. A major patron of *Common Sense*, del Valle served as president of the journal's parent body, the Christian Educational Fund.<sup>35</sup> In its 6/5/1967 issue – around the time of the Six Day War – *Common Sense* broke with orthodoxy and ran a story suggesting that Joseph Stalin has actually saved Russia from a Trotsky-led Jewish takeover; an opinion

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<sup>32</sup> Michael Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 141. On Beatty and similar figures from the 1950s, see Frank Mintz, *The Liberty Lobby and the American Far Right: Race, Conspiracy and Culture* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 50-64.

<sup>33</sup> The DAC interpreted the discovery of Communists like Alger Hiss and others in high government posts not as the work of the Soviet Secret Service but rather as further proof of the Khazar cabal's power in both Washington and Moscow.

<sup>34</sup> See Joseph Bendersky's important book, *The "Jewish Threat": Anti-Semitic Politics of the US Army* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 405-412. Bendersky documents the remarkable influence of conspiratorial anti-Semitic thinking inside the U.S. military elite from World War I to the early 1950s.

<sup>35</sup> One of *Common Sense's* best-known broadsides was devoted to "The Coming Red Dictatorship" and was sub-headed "Asiatic [Khazars-KC] Marxist Jews Control Entire World as Last World War Commences, Thousands of Plotters Placed in Key Positions by Invisible Government, Few Were Even Elected." See John George and Laird Wilcox, *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen and Others on the Fringe* (Buffalo, New York: Prometheus Books, 1992), 300.

not entirely unknown inside the far right. Del Valle, however, was so outraged by the article that he broke his long-standing ties to the journal.<sup>36</sup>

Del Valle also had no qualms about citing from *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. In an April 12, 1961 speech before the United States Daughters of 1812, he repeatedly invoked *The Protocols* to prove the existence of an “Invisible Government” that was now hard at work plotting to reduce America to a province or set of provinces in a future World Government centered around the UN. Del Valle also used *The Protocols* to buttress his claim that “Communism and Socialism” were first introduced to Russia by the Invisible Government to destroy that nation.<sup>37</sup>

*Part Three: The DAC and the Paramilitary Right*

## **FROM THE CONSTITUTION PARTY TO GUERRILLA WARFARE**

In 1960 the DAC achieved new prominence inside the far right after Brig. General Merritt B. Curtis USMC (Ret.), the Secretary and General Counsel for the DAC, was chosen as the presidential candidate of the Constitution Party, a third party effort set up to compete in that year’s presidential election.<sup>38</sup> The DAC’s role in the Constitution Party seems to have served another purpose as well since there is evidence that the DAC attempted to organize “militia type” networks under the guise of electoral politics. Del Valle’s papers show that the former general played a role in the creation of a shadowy paramilitary network that divided up sections of the United States into four “zones.”<sup>39</sup> In a 7/23/1963 letter to Brig. General W.L. Lee, USAF (Ret.), del Valle said that it was agreed to organize everything “under cover of voter organization [for the Constitution Party – KC], which is not inconsistent with our being an effective state militia as well.” Del Valle explained his approach to organizing resistance in the “USSA (United Slave States of America)” this way:

My struggle is two-fold: 1. Strictly legal, constitutional, political efforts to restore constitutional government, and 2. alerting all White Christian Americans to the nature of the enemy within and urging that they use Article II of the Bill of Rights to arm and organize for the defense of their homes, families, community, state and country.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> See *Common Sense*’s Catherine Littig’s 11/19/1967 letter to del Valle where she tries to convince him that many rightists including Oswald Spengler, Francis Parker Yockey, Fred Weiss, Benjamin Freedman and others shared this view.

<sup>37</sup> *TF*, June 1961. Del Valle returned to the *Protocols* in a February 1973 *TF* article entitled “The Three Kings and the Protocols of Zion.”

<sup>38</sup> See *TF*, July 1960. General Curtis was a freemason and a member of the Board of Directors of the National Defense Masonic Club. His running mate, Bryan Miller, was also a mason. One of the founders of the DAC, John Coffman, was also a prominent mason. This may explain the absence of attacks on freemasonry by the DAC. It should also be noted that the Constitution Party’s chairman, Curtis Dall, would later serve as a leading figure inside Willis Carto’s Liberty Lobby, one of the most important far right groups from the 1960s until the 1990s.

<sup>39</sup> Arizona was “Zone II.”

<sup>40</sup> 8/30/63 letter from Del Valle to West Wuichet. He also told Wuichet his approach was in part modeled on the role played by the Guardia Civil in the Spanish Civil War.

From the 1950s on, del Valle was a featured speaker at countless far right gatherings that included representatives from the KKK, Christian Identity, the Minutemen, the Sons of Confederate Veterans and innumerable other far right splinter groups. He also developed his own information network to keep him abreast of developments inside the radical right.<sup>41</sup>

## COUP FEARS IN AMERICA

In an 8/12/1966 letter to the American rightist Mary Davidson, del Valle suggested that the solution to America's problems was clear: "the only way to cut the Gordian knot is by a military coup d'etat." Throughout the early 1960s, in fact, the fear of a coup d'etat from either the right or left was surprisingly commonplace.

On November 24, 1961, the prominent American syndicated newspaper columnist Drew Pearson published a story in the *Washington Post* about the increasing turn to the far right by high-ranking U.S. military men. Pearson singled out Major General Edwin Walker, head of the 24<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division in Germany, for politicizing his troops with rightwing propaganda.<sup>42</sup> Pearson highlighted a letter to one of Walker's military supporters, Arch Roberts, from the French rightist Hillaire du Berrier, who compared the Kennedy Administration's crackdown on Walker to de Gaulle's attack on the rebel French generals who led the O.A.S. The article also cited del Valle who, Pearson said, comes close "to urging armed insurrection" when he made statements calling for the "organization of a powerful armed resistance force to defeat the aims of the Usurpers and bring about a return to constitutional government."

The fear that American generals were thinking along O.A.S. lines helped inspire a series of liberal cultural icons from the early 1960s like *Seven Days in May* and *Doctor Strangelove*.<sup>43</sup> Nor can there be any doubt that far right groups like Robert De Pugh's Minutemen did in fact fantasize about fighting a guerrilla war against the establishment. Two books, *The John Franklin Letters* (by an anonymous author) and *Get Ye Up into the High Mountains* by the Reverend Dallas Roquemore, capture the mentality of many of these far right would-be Che Guevaras. *The John Franklin Letters* was premised on the idea that after the U.S. has been betrayed into the hands of UN bureaucrats, a civil war ensues that is led by a paramilitary group called the "Rangers."<sup>44</sup> According to *The John Franklin Letters*:

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<sup>41</sup> In a 6/20/1966 letter to a Southern far rightist named John Andrew, del Valle said: "My agents who attended various public gatherings report all of them are infiltrated by FBI, other government agencies, and even some obvious Jews. Thus it happens the enemy knows what we know and what we plan to do."

<sup>42</sup> For a brief discussion on how an Eisenhower Administration NSC directive unintentionally helped trigger the politicizing of the military, see Daniel Bell, "The Dispossessed," in Daniel Bell edited, *The Radical Right* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), 5-11.

<sup>43</sup> For a representative liberal book from this period, see Tristram Coffin, *The Passion of the Hawks: Militarism in Modern America* (New York: Macmillan, 1964).

<sup>44</sup> *The John Franklin Letters* appeared in 1959 and was distributed by The Bookmailer in New York City.

The beginning of the end comes in 1963, when the World Health Organization sends in a Yugoslav inspector, under powers granted by the President of the United States, to search any house he chooses. The Yugoslav discovers in the house of a good American a file of anti-Communist magazines, seizes them as deleterious to the mental health of the community, and is shot by the American, who escapes into the woods. But the infiltration continues. By 1970, the United States has become part of the World Authority dominated by the Soviet-Asian-African bloc, and this Authority suspends the country's right to govern itself because of the "historic psychological genocide" against the Negro race. United Nations administrators, mostly Red Chinese, are sent in to rule. Harlem, triumphant, arises and loots the liquor stores. The city proletariat, its sense of decency destroyed by public housing, begins to raid the suburbs. In short order, twenty million Americans are "done away with," while the people are subjected to torture by blowtorch and rock-n'-roll, the latter on television.

Meanwhile the good American begins to fight back. As far back as 1967, John Franklin and his friends had been stockpiling rifles. And now they act. Franklin describes in gory detail a total of fourteen patriotic murders: two by fire, one by hammer, one by strangling, two by bow and arrow, one by defenestration, one by drowning and the rest. These brave actions are sufficient to turn the tide – despite the atomic bomb, a huge invasion army, and absolute terror. By 1976, the people all over the world go into the streets, and everywhere Communism falls.<sup>45</sup>

Roquemore's *Get Ye Up Into the High Mountain* served as a training manual both for guerrilla warfare and survivalism and included advice on how to properly mutilate the dead body of the Communist enemy. Like *The John Franklin Letters*, Roquemore's book is also premised on a U.S. civil war breaking out sometime around 1970. Although distributed by the far right Liberty Lobby, *Get Ye* was produced by an extreme rightist organization called The Soldiers of the Cross led by Kenneth Goff. Goff reported that Roquemore, a Baptist Minister, had also worked "with our cadet groups for several years and had developed a corps of young people who can exist in the mountains under the most hazardous conditions."<sup>46</sup>

## THE PERILS OF "OPERATION WATER MOCCASIN"

While liberals fretted that the American military top brass was about to launch a rightwing coup d'état, the notion that the "Eastern Establishment" elite was conspiring to sell the nation out to the UN became an *idée fixe* inside the far right. Campaigning in the 1962 California Republican primary for governor, Richard Nixon found himself being bombarded with a pamphlet "with the United Nations insignia on the cover, Department

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<sup>45</sup>*The John Franklin Letters* as summarized in Bell, 11.

<sup>46</sup>On *Get Ye Up Into the High Mountain*, see an article by Mike Newberry in the 5/20/1962 issue of *The Sunday Worker*, published by the American Communist Party. Roquemore's name appears in del Valle's correspondence in a 2/4/1972 letter from R.A. Craighead, an instructor in unarmed self-defense combat, who reported that a Texan named Roy Brown said he intended to kill Roquemore and "take his place in Goff's underground religious organization."

of State Publication 7277.” The pamphlet was presented as proof “that the government was about to sign over America’s armed forces to a Soviet Colonel.” In reality it was a typical UN document outlining the idea of the creation of a UN Peace Force sometime in the distant future to help prepare for a world free from atomic weapons. As the current UN assistant general secretary was a Soviet colonel, however, the far right was convinced that the document *really* revealed a UN plot to disarm America and hand it over to the Russkies.<sup>47</sup>

A March 1963 *Task Force* story on a planned U.S. military maneuver codenamed “Operation Water Moccasin” helped launch another panic wave. According to the Army, Water Moccasin was a planned exercise in counter-insurgency involving 2,000 to 3,000 troops – along with “foreign military participation” – that was scheduled to take place over some 2,500 acres in the backwoods of Georgia. *Task Force* insisted that Water Moccasin was really a cover for “a crash program to disarm the United States of America and make us a province of the United Nations.” The scare set off by *Task Force* and other far right outlets forced the Army to dramatically limit the scope of the deployment after frantic calls began pouring in to Congressmen about Water Moccasin.

Nor was Water Moccasin the only plot against the Republic. The July 21, 1963 *New York Times* recorded a host of others:

35,000 Communist Chinese troops bearing arms and wearing deceptively dyed powder-blue uniforms are poised on the Mexican border, about to invade San Diego; the U.S. has turned over – or will at any moment – its Army, Navy and Air Force to the command of a Russian colonel in the United Nations; almost every well-known American or free-world leader is, in reality, a top Communist agent; a U.S. Army guerrilla-warfare exercise in Georgia, called Water Moccasin III, is in actuality a United Nations operation preparatory to taking over our country.<sup>48</sup>

Del Valle’s papers also provide rare glimpses into the underground world of the far right. He was in contact with the far rightist Col. William P. Gale (Ret.), whom he described as “a natural leader and a fighter and perhaps miscast in a purely political role.” Nonetheless, Gale was “doing a fine job of another sort out there, preparing for the inevitable clash between Christianity and the anti-Christians.”<sup>49</sup> Del Valle, however, had problems with Gale and other British Israelites like Wesley Smith. Smith, in particular, was seen as “wildly anti-Catholic.”<sup>50</sup> Gale, however, seems to have been considered

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<sup>47</sup> Perlstein, 167.

<sup>48</sup> Quoted in Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics* (New York: Knopf, 1965), 29.

<sup>49</sup> 8/24/1963 letter from del Valle to West Wuichet.

<sup>50</sup> A 12/2/63 letter from Frank Capell to del Valle mentions Swift, whom Capell described as “wildly anti-Catholic.” Capell, a rightwing Catholic, published his own one-man intelligence journal entitled *The Herald of Freedom*. In 1963 articles attacking British Israel appeared in rightwing Catholic papers such as *The Tablet* and *The Wanderer*. Del Valle’s archives include correspondence with Mrs. Helen Peters from the Muskegon, Michigan-based Defenders of the USA Republic. She followed British Israel doctrine closely and condemned it as part of the Jewish conspiracy.

indispensable. There is also a suggestion that Gale was acting on orders from some unidentified group above him.<sup>51</sup>

Exactly how much del Valle's paramilitary network operated in reality – as opposed to Walter Mitty-like fantasy – is hard to determine and many questions remain unanswered.<sup>52</sup> It seems undeniable, however, that the DAC was, in fact, committed to building an armed underground resistance movement to the “New World Order” even if the scope of such activity remains highly murky to this day.

#### *Part Four: The DAC and the League of Empire Loyalists*

### **FIRST OVERTURES**

The DAC and LEL were set up within a year of each other; the DAC sometime in mid to late 1953 and the LEL in October 1954. (The LEL's publication *Candour*, however, began publishing in late October 1953, almost simultaneous with the DAC's creation.) There were other intriguing similarities. Like the DAC, the LEL had some leading retired military men in its ranks, most prominently Field-Marshal Lord Ironside, who had headed up the British expedition to overthrow the Soviet government in 1919. Ironside was a member of the LEL's General Council, along with the Earl of Buchan, Lt. General Sir Balfour Hutchison, Brigadier A.R. Wallis and other retired military men.<sup>53</sup> Del Valle was also a friend of Admiral Charles Freeman (Ret.).<sup>54</sup> Freeman became the

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<sup>51</sup> In his 8/30/63 letter to West Wuichet, del Valle writes regarding Gale:

Your spy did a good job of reporting on Gale's activity but came to erroneous conclusions. Gale is charged with doing exactly what he is doing, even to the collection of donations. It does not follow that the money is for Gale, and to say so is a libel. The system as set up is to be self-financing, to prevent infiltration and control by the Bankers. Whatever measures can be taken to cover the process of preparing White Christian Americans to defend their country, their homes and their families against the now imminent Red takeover is up to local organizers, as the movement is completely autonomous within the premises postulated by the high command.

For more on Gale, see Daniel Levitas, *The Terrorist Next Door: The Militia Movement and the Radical Right* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002). Gale's leading role in the paramilitary California Rangers is discussed on pages 66-7. Also see *Para-Military Organizations in California* (Sacramento, CA: California Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation, 1965).

<sup>52</sup> One question involves the possible role of the International Services of Information Foundation (ISI) based in Baltimore, Maryland, and headed by an ex-OSS man named Ulius Louis Amoss. The foundation included on its board of trustees Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers, the head of the DAC's Executive Council. The ISI's mission, as outlined in the first issue of its privately circulated journal *INFORM*, was to keep “the eyes and minds of people open to the schemes, subversive ideas, plans and actions of Soviet Communism which is now preparing the last phrases of World War III and is arming for a possible World War IV.” The ISI used the term “leaderless resistance” to describe underground networks behind the Iron Curtain. In the early 1980s Texas KKK leader Louis Beam popularized the term to describe how he believed far right groups should operate to avoid detection.

<sup>53</sup> George Thayer, *The British Political Fringe* (London: Anthony Blond, 1965), 55.

<sup>54</sup> Del Valle became involved in intelligence work while serving under Admiral Freeman in Cuba in the 1930s. In the June 1961 *TF*, del Valle said that in 1933-34, “I participated in the special service squadron, under Admiral Freeman's command, in the operations concerned with the revolution which brought Batista

U.S. agent for Kenneth De Courcy's *Intelligence Digest* after the war. De Courcy, in turn, had extensive contacts with far-right British military and intelligence circles favored by the LEL.

The LEL's founder and leader Arthur Keith Chesterton (better known as "A.K.") was the cousin of the famous writer G.K. Chesterton. A one-time member of Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists (BUF), Chesterton broke with Mosley in 1938. During World War II, he supported England's efforts against Hitler and thus never had to face the charge of treason that haunted Mosley throughout his postwar career.<sup>55</sup> In the late 1940s, Chesterton even held a fairly prestigious job in Lord Beaverbrook's press empire.

From its inception, the LEL combined "rightwing Tory Empire loyalism and conspiratorial anti-Semitism."<sup>56</sup> Its members regularly heckled speakers and disrupted political meetings, most famously the 1958 Tory Political Conference in Blackpool that culminated in fist fights between League members and Tory stewards. (After that debacle, the Tories implemented strong measures against LEL sympathizers in its ranks.) The LEL also served as the

most important training ground for the next generation of British neo-fascists and extreme loyalists. It contained men like John Tyndall, Martin Webster, Colin Jordan and John Bean, men who, after leaving Chesterton and indulging in the Nazi fantasy, returned (with the exception of Jordan) to provide the leadership of the National Front. Chesterton was the focal point of 'respectability' around which these men circulated.<sup>57</sup>

The journalist George Thayer, who interviewed leading members of the LEL, summarized its program this way: 1) British sovereignty should be maintained at all cost; 2) instead of liquidating its Empire, England should continue to build it; and 3) Third World immigration to England must be stopped. For the LEL

Any tendency towards world government or international alliances that requires a partial relinquishing of British sovereignty is an anathema . . . The UN, NATO, SEATO, CENTO, and the Common Market are all "monster plots to rob Britain of her independence and strength."<sup>58</sup>

In November 1954 the DAC's co-founder Col. Eugene Pomeroy spent eight days in London where he held extensive talks with LEL leaders. Pomeroy told *Task Force*

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into power in that troubled country. Orders from Moscow and money from New York we again traced by our intelligence."

<sup>55</sup> Against Mosley's postwar Union Movement, the LEL saw England and its colonies as a united power bloc that should be maintained separate from an alliance with Continental Europe. Mosely, however, endorsed the idea of merging England into a new Continental Imperium that he called "Europe a Nation."

<sup>56</sup> David Baker, *Ideology of Obsession: A.K. Chesterton and British Fascism* (London: Tauris, 1996), 198. Baker, however, only devotes a few pages to Chesterton's postwar career.

<sup>57</sup> Baker, 197.

<sup>58</sup> Thayer, 56.

readers that the DAC and LEL “have in common the driving force of the same ideology.”<sup>59</sup> In a more candid 11/10/54 letter to del Valle, Pomeroy reported that the LEL felt that “the Jews seem to exercise even greater influence here over the British Parliament and politicians than they do at home.” The group was firmly convinced that Winston Churchill and his son Randolph (along with Anthony Eden) were “the abject slaves of Bernie Baruch.”

The LEL shared the DAC’s obsession with the “hidden hand.” One 1950s LEL pamphlet, *The Menace of World Government*, claimed

There is a hidden power, which only to close students of international politics is a revealed power, wielded by a known group of international financial interests, who brought into existence the UN and the International Bank as instruments to secure its further advance to world domination. It has openly declared war on nationhood and racial pride. It approves of every approach, direct or functional, which will render mankind defenseless against its cold war in the West and the hot war in Asia to stampede us into NATO, the European Union, and their projected Pacific counterparts. It uses dread of the H-bomb to try to secure acceptance of its full World Government. Once our sovereignty is abandoned, and we are completely at its mercy, it will drop its disguise as the foe of Russian aggression and betray us to the Soviet conspiracy as surely as it betrayed us at Yalta through the incredible simpleton Roosevelt and his incredible adviser, Alger Hiss. Hiss, let it be known, was only a fugleman. His protectors were powerful men who constituted – and still constitute – the effective hidden government of the United States.

## **FROM THE NEW UNHAPPY LORDS TO THE NATIONAL FRONT**

The LEL’s polemics against the “one world order” culminated with the 1965 publication of Chesterton’s book, *The New Unhappy Lords (NUL)*. In *NUL*, Chesterton set out to document a conspiratorial plot by “Money Power” to establish “world tyranny” by using both “Communism and Loan Capitalism as twin instruments with which to subdue and govern, not the British nations alone, but all mankind.”<sup>60</sup> *NUL* quickly went through several editions and it continues to be sold today. Its success led Chesterton’s biographer to remark that A.K.’s “extremely doubtful privilege” is “to go down in modern history as the man most responsible for keeping alive, spreading, and developing the British tradition of conspiracy thinking.”<sup>61</sup>

Writing in seemingly reasonable tones, in *NUL* Chesterton attacks British foreign policy for the loss of the Suez Canal and other former colonies as well as for the government’s support for Third World immigration. He also criticized British involvement in a “Federated Europe,” the European Common Market, the Treaty of

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<sup>59</sup> See the December 1954 *TF* for a report on Pomeroy’s visit.

<sup>60</sup> A.K. Chesterton, *The New Unhappy Lords* (London: Candour Publishing, 1965), 19.

<sup>61</sup> Baker, 198.

Rome, and any attempt to implement a NAFTA-like “Free Trade Area” that would bring Britain’s tariff policies into line with the Common Market:

This would have meant joining the British economy to competitive economies, and the reservations intended to safeguard the British farmers and overseas producers must soon have been jettisoned, the complementary economy covered by the Imperial Preference system would have been abandoned and the British market flooded by products from Common Market countries with a lower standard of living.<sup>62</sup>

Chesterton, however, used his critique of what he saw as specific failures by the British establishment to prove that “Money Power’s” hidden hand now pulled England’s strings. His attacks on such elite groups as the Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA), the American Council of Foreign Relations (CFR), and the Bilderberger Society as well as on organizations like NATO and the UN, served a larger narrative goal; namely, proving the existence of a vast Jewish conspiracy. In a chapter entitled “Is the Conspiracy Jewish?” he claims that “the major Zionist objective” is no less than “One World.” “Moscow and Peking” were “no more than branch headquarters of the conspiracy” whose “supreme headquarters” for the “overthrow of the West” was actually based in New York. According to A.K.,

World Jewry is the most powerful single force on earth and it follows that all the major policies which have been ruthlessly pursued through the last several decades must have the stamp of Jewish approval.<sup>63</sup>

Indeed, “when Hitler rebelled against the Money Power,” World Jewry decided to “smash him and his barter system.”<sup>64</sup>

Not long after the publication of *New Unhappy Lords*, Chesterton LEL’s played a pivotal role in the 1967 founding of the National Front (NF), England’s most significant postwar far-right party. The NF was established out of a merger of the LEL, the British National Party, the Greater Britain Movement, and the Racial Preservation Society. Chesterton served as the NF’s chairman for its first four years.<sup>65</sup> Unlike the DAC-backed Constitution Party, the NF was a real political force until the late 1970s when Margaret Thatcher’s Tory Party stole much of its anti-immigrant thunder and the group spiraled into rapid decline.

## **DEL VALLE AND CHESTERTON**

Del Valle and Chesterton maintained regular contacts for two decades. In 1962, for example, Chesterton asked del Valle to supply him with contact addresses for

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<sup>62</sup> Chesterton, 138.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 204.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 208-9.

<sup>65</sup> Baker, 197. In 1971 Chesterton abandoned the NF when it turned to violent street protests and Hitler nostalgia among some of its followers. Chesterton died on August 16, 1973.

American rightists who might be willing to help *Candour* out of some serious financial problems.<sup>66</sup> After Del Valle sent Chesterton some names, Austin Brooks, the LEL's number two man, then visited the United States in 1963 on a fundraising tour.<sup>67</sup> A.K. also sent del Valle updates on his trips to South Africa and Rhodesia.

In 1966 Chesterton asked del Valle to write an introduction to a proposed American edition of *NUL* that the Chicago-based rightwing publisher Henry Regnery had agreed to issue. Regnery, however, backed out of the deal at the last minute. Chesterton next approached another American conservative publisher, Devin Adair, but it too rejected the book.<sup>68</sup> At Chesterton's request, del Valle searched for yet another American publisher. Through Josephine Beaty, the DAC Vice President and widow of *Iron Curtain over America* author John Beaty, del Valle found OMNI Press/Christian Book Club located in Hawthorne, California.<sup>69</sup> When OMNI's edition of *NUL* appeared, it included a short introduction by del Valle that praised Chesterton for bringing the reader "face to face with the fact that a conspiracy to rule the world does exist and that it is rapidly approaching its goal." *NUL* also showed that "the powerhouse of this conspiracy resides not in Moscow, nor in London, but in New York." For del Valle, *The New Unhappy Lords* was "a treasure house of facts which patriots of all nations can use in the struggle against the Satanic power of the Conspiracy."

## SAMOVARS AND SPOOKS

The DAC and LEL were also linked to the same White Russian network that del Valle first encountered when he was an ITT executive in Buenos Aires.<sup>70</sup> *Task Force's* special London correspondent George Knupffer embodied these connections. Born in Saint Petersburg, Knupffer was a leading figure in the White Russian monarchist community in London. He published his own newsletter, *The Plain Speaker*, while also contributing occasional articles to *Candour*. Knupffer first met Colonel Pomeroy in London in November 1954 as a representative of "His Imperial Highness" the Grand Duke Vladimir, the son of the late Grand Duke Cyril. Knupffer also helped lead Mladorossy (Union of Young Russia), a far-right and extremely anti-Semitic political organization that maintained a quasi-military wing known as the Russian Revolutionary

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<sup>66</sup> The financial troubles arose due to a dispute over the will of *Candour's* major financial backer; a wealthy British expatriate named R. K. Jeffery who had made a fortune in Chile mining nitrate.

<sup>67</sup> 4/26/62 letter from Chesterton to del Valle asking for support. See the 5/9/62 letter from del Valle to Chesterton giving him some names. On Brooks' tour, see Thayer, 64.

<sup>68</sup> See the 2/4/66 letter from Chesterton to del Valle asking him to contact Devin Adair on his behalf, as Chesterton hadn't heard from the firm about its decision on *New Unhappy Lords*.

<sup>69</sup> Joseph Serpico, a devout Catholic and former Marine, headed OMNI, which published books denouncing Vatican II (such as *The Plot Against the Church*) and tracts such as a pamphlet denouncing British Israel. Chesterton raised funds in England to finance OMNI's edition of *NUL* after it became clear that it would be cheaper to reprint the book than to ship the English version to America. OMNI later published del Valle's memoir, *Semper Fidelis*.

<sup>70</sup> Del Valle established contact with other White Russian exiles in America like Prince Serge Belosselsky of the Russian Anti-Communist Center in New York. See the 12/14/1950 letter from Belosselsky to del Valle.

Forces (RRF). A former intelligence officer himself,<sup>71</sup> Pomeroy used his visit to London to seek out contacts with East European exiles such as General Wladyslaw Anders, a Polish military leader who wanted the West to back a Polish exile army.<sup>72</sup> Captain Henry Kerby, the man who arranged Pomeroy's meeting with Anders, was a former MI6 officer and Russian expert turned Tory parliamentarian. Kerby, in turn, maintained longstanding close ties to Knupffer.<sup>73</sup>

In his first article for *Task Force* in December 1955, Knupffer claimed that New York banking houses like Kuhn Loeb were behind the Bolshevik Revolution. He then argued that Russia was no longer completely under the control of the "conspiracy" that had its roots in a two-thousand year old clash of "two Messianisms"; namely, the Christian world view that looked to the "world beyond the grave, of life everlasting" and the messianism that focused on "this world of material power and possessions." The Russian Communist regime, Knupffer said, was now being forced "slowly but surely" to adjust itself "to the wishes and needs of the Russian people." Since Moscow "is no longer an effective tool for the achievement of world domination by the materialistic messianists,"

if we continue to see only the enemy in Moscow, we will be stabbed in the back by the enemy in New York, who wants to lead us. But that enemy, like the one in Russia, is only using America as a base.

Knupffer concluded that *both* Russia and America were "victims of a subtle and powerful subversive force which they have not recognized in time."<sup>74</sup>

In 1956 the DAC touched off a heated controversy after *Task Force* reprinted a lengthy attack on a Russian exile group known as the National Alliance of Russian Solidarists (NTS) by Peter J. Huxley-Blythe, then a protégé of Knupffer.<sup>75</sup> The article, "Insecure Security," accused the CIA of financing the NTS that Huxley-Blythe claimed was really under KGB control. Knupffer and other White Russian monarchists especially despised the NTS because it had collaborated with CIA plans to balkanize the former Russian Empire by supporting an independent Ukraine.<sup>76</sup> Huxley-Blythe's piece so enraged the Solidarists that *Task Force* was forced to print a rebuttal by NTS's Washington representative to avoid a lawsuit.

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<sup>71</sup> See *TF's* February 1962 tribute to Pomeroy that states that he spent many years in the Far East on intelligence assignments for the U.S. government.

<sup>72</sup> See *TF's* September 1957 issue for del Valle's article calling on the US to recognize anti-Communist governments-in-exile.

<sup>73</sup> For more on the murky 1950s world of the White Russians, the intelligence community, the far right, and Knupffer, see Coogan, 598-615, and Stephen Dorril, *MI6: Inside the Covert World of Her Majesty's Secret Intelligence Service* (New York: The Free Press, 2000), especially chapters 20 and 21.

<sup>74</sup> Knupffer based his views on the idea that the CIA, acting at the behest of Wall Street Jews, was committed to balkanizing Russia. The White Russian right associated with the Grand Duke Cyril argued for maintaining the territorial integrity of the old Russian empire.

<sup>75</sup> *TF*, August-September 1956. On Huxley-Blythe, see both Coogan and Dorril.

<sup>76</sup> After Colonel Pomeroy met Knupffer on 11/6/1954, he sent del Valle a detailed report from Knupffer attacking NTS. Knupffer had also sent an earlier letter to Pomeroy on 5/25/1954 critical of NTS.

Knupffer and del Valle also tried to develop a far right network around the globe that included a proposed “World Committee for Truth and Liberty.” In a 6/26/1967 letter to del Valle, Knupffer reported that he had visited Rhodesia, South Africa, Portugal, and Spain to seek backing for the committee.<sup>77</sup> In his 7/3/1967 letter replying to Knupffer, del Valle noted:

There already exists a measure of cooperation between our nationalists and those of other countries, especially yours. Coordination would increase our effectiveness. Chesterton and I have helped one another in a small way . . . I too was in Spain in May and I believe I have good sympathetic contacts there. You may be certain I understand that the sources of help must not be mentioned. I’m sure [Wickliffe] Vennard, Oliver [R.P. Oliver, a leading American far rightist] and [Frank] Serpico [OMNI’s publisher] understand the need for discretion.

Finally, both Del Valle and Knupffer became entangled in the weird “Knights of Malta” group headed by Charles Pichel and Del Valle’s continued ties to Pichel, whom Knupffer despised, would eventually end their collaboration.<sup>78</sup>

*Part Five: Conspiracy Theory, Globalization, and the Contemporary Right*

## **THE PERSISTANCE OF CONSPIRACY THEORY**

Even as British National Front flourished in the 1970s, the American right populist third party movement led by Alabama Governor George Wallace collapsed in the wake of the Nixon Administration’s “Southern Strategy” and the attempted assassination of Wallace. America’s defeat in Vietnam – combined with the Watergate crisis – led to a further weakening of the right. The 1970s also saw a dramatic decline of the DAC, although *Task Force* continued to publish and del Valle grew closer to the far-right Liberty Lobby.<sup>79</sup> After del Valle’s death on April 28, 1978 at age 85, however, the DAC ceased to exist.

The DAC’s addiction to conspiracy theory never waned from its founding to its demise. A conspiratorial mentality, in fact, seems endemic to the American far right. In

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<sup>77</sup> Knupffer claimed he had an especially important contact with the Duke of Montrose, Rhodesia’s Minister of Defense and Foreign Affairs.

<sup>78</sup> This strange story starts in the mid-1960s and involves Colonel Michel Goleniewski, a high-ranking defector from Polish intelligence who had given the CIA invaluable information about Soviet “moles.” Pichel declared Goleniewski the Shickshinny Knights’ “Grand Master” after Goleniewski (a hemophiliac) announced that he was really the last remaining Czar of All Russia, Alexi Romanov. His claims flew in the face of the Grand Duke Vladimir’s assertion of his right to the throne. Knupffer, not surprisingly, declared that Goleniewski was an imposter. As for Pichel, Knupffer – a genuine specialist on chivalric orders – stated that anyone “who had any dealings with this mentally deranged and obviously criminal type (I mean this quite literally)” should abandon the Shickshinny Knights. Del Valle, however, ignored his advice. Del Valle’s friend and fellow “knight,” Frank Capell was especially taken with Goleniewski’s claim that Henry Kissinger was a Soviet agent who had been recruited in Germany in 1946 under the codename “Bor.” Capell’s book, *Henry Kissinger: Soviet Agent*, received wide notice in rightwing circles. On Goleniewski, see Guy Richards, *The Hunt for the Czar* (New York: Doubleday, 1970).

<sup>79</sup> The Liberty Lobby, for example, sponsored a celebration of del Valle’s 80<sup>th</sup> birthday in 1973.

the late 1950s, for example, the John Birch Society (JBS) arose as the preeminent group on the far right. Although the JBS rejected anti-Semitism, it proved incapable of abandoning a conspiratorial mindset. JBS founder Robert Welsh even famously accused then President Dwight D. Eisenhower of being a conscious agent of the Kremlin.<sup>80</sup> In the 1960s a more popular version of the idea that the “Eastern elite” was engaged in weakening America for the benefit of Communism was promulgated in a series of rightwing best sellers; most famously John Stormer’s *None Dare Call It Treason* and two Phyllis Schlafly books, *A Choice Not an Echo* and *The Gravediggers*. Activists from Barry Goldwater’s 1964 presidential campaign spread these and similar writings across the country.<sup>81</sup>

During the early 1980s, the militia movement rediscovered arguments first advanced by groups like the DAC. Contemporary militia polemics about “UN invaders” on American soil, for example, recycle myths first developed in the 1950s. These fantasies were updated to include – among other things – plots involving UFOs, weather control, Satanic cults, the Trilateral Commission and Y2K. We have also seen charges that Bill Clinton murdered one of his close White House advisors and dumped his body in a federal park; Hillary Clinton is a lesbian witch; George Bush Sr. used the phrase “new world order” to speak in code to his Masonic-Illuminati cronies; and that Yale’s Skull and Bones fraternity secretly runs America on behalf of the Illuminati. Although the militia movement covers a wide variety of individuals and organizations, the seemingly endless proliferation of wild conspiracy theories remain central to it.

## THE RADICAL RIGHT

As events have shown, the “hidden hand” model – far from being obsolete – possesses a remarkable ability to mutate with circumstances. The hidden hand model resembles a basic plot narrative or fable that exists in a perpetual state of endless mutation of characters and sub-plots while never losing its major themes.<sup>82</sup> Understanding the way rigidly prefabricated worldviews function as internally consistent interpretative systems may usefully supplement more conventional “cause and effect” social science attempts to understand the radical right. Because revolutionary utopian groups frequently derive their identity from a hyper-ideological outlook that does not neatly map onto conventional political logic, we must take this reality into consideration.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> After being publicly ridiculed, the JBS went on to adopt the notion that the “conspiracy” was most likely run by the Illuminati.

<sup>81</sup> Avoiding wild anti-Semitism, more mainstream rightwing tracts attribute the failure of the Eastern elite to naïve do-gooders, ivory tower intellectuals, the influence of the British Fabian Society, Communist penetration of elite institutions, fear of military confrontation with the Russians and the like.

<sup>82</sup> TV shows like *The X-Files* play with conspiracy theory almost as a literary genre.

<sup>83</sup> Of course by so doing, I do not want to deny the real existence of conspiracies in history (such as the existence of the P2 Lodge in Italy, the role East Germany played in aiding the “Carlos” network, or the role the CIA played in covertly aiding the Contras in Nicaragua). On these issues, see Jeffrey M. Bale, “Do Paranooids Have Actual Enemies? Bogus ‘Conspiracy Theories’ vs. Real Covert and Clandestine Politics,” in *Hit List*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (June/July 1999) also available in an updated form on the web.

One fundamental question – for me anyway – when looking at anti-globalization movements from both the left and the right is the degree to which they are committed to what is essentially a skeptical (as opposed to Jacobin) Enlightenment view of humanity that posits parliamentary politics as part of a continual debate over the nature of the good. Groups that reject such an approach are frequently predisposed to conspiratorial interpretations of history – no matter how divorced such theories may be from material reality. They can also have a potential “revolutionary” dimension whether or not they function on the far right, far left or in the garb of religious movements/New Age sects. Extremist groups frequently view pluralistic discourse, parliamentary government, and civil society itself – in the form of democratic capitalist, democratic socialist, or even moderate theocratic or monarchic forms – as intrinsically evil. In such a view, the persistence of civil society obfuscates

- 1) the machinations of a monolithic ruling class for the far left;
- 2) the domination of evil international Jewish bankers and their Illuminati cohorts for the far right; and
- 3) the relentless spread of godless atheism for fundamentalist Christians, fanatical Jews, Muslim zealots or New Age millenarian sects.<sup>84</sup>

In all these cases the fundamental target of critique is, for lack of a better word, the “system” itself. As we have seen in the case of both the DAC and LEL, what such oppositional groups may perceive as an adverse result of globalization – which for the far left could be the increase in the power of multinational corporations, for the far right the rise of foreign immigration, and for the domestic religious right the introduction of competing religious ideologies (all of which are not in themselves intrinsically irrational observations) – are simply used to prove the existence of the larger hidden hand conspiracy.

## **THE JANUS FACE OF THE ETHNOCRATIC RIGHT**

For purposes of this analysis, I would distinguish between two kinds of groups on the right as “ideal types”; namely, the traditional conservative, either in the Edmund Burke Anglo-American vein or the Christian Democratic Continental tradition on the one hand, and the revolutionary groupuscular right on the other.<sup>85</sup> Populist right movements such as Jean Marie Le Pen’s Front National, Gianfranco Fini’s Alleanza Nazionale, Jörg Haider’s Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs and similar formations fluctuate between both poles. They may even embrace an ostensible commitment to a “long march through the institutions” while holding on to a conspiratorial way of seeing the world.<sup>86</sup> Roger Griffin describes new right populist political parties that accept Enlightenment discourse to some

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<sup>84</sup> Some American Christian fundamentalists, for example, believe that the Brussels headquarters of the European Union is actually the literal home of the Anti-Christ.

<sup>85</sup> On the issue of rightist groupuscules, see *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (2002), which devotes its entire issue to this subject.

<sup>86</sup> As the American right has shown itself incapable of crystallizing into a significant third party source, I leave it out of this analysis. It should also be recalled that the lack of a parliamentary system in America dramatically increases the difficulty of successful third party formations, from the Greens to the Reform Party.

degree (as opposed to merely mimicking pre-war fascist ideology) as being based on “ethnocratic liberalism” which he defines as

a type of party politics which is not technically a form of fascism, or even a disguised form, for it lacks the core palingenetic vision . . . Rather it enthusiastically embraces the liberal system, but considers only one ethnic group full members of civil society . . . This contaminated, restrictive form of liberalism poses considerable taxonomic problems because, while it aims to retain liberal institutions and procedures and remain economically and diplomatically part of the international liberal democratic community, its axiomatic denial of the universality of human rights predisposes it to behave against ethnic out groups as violently as a fascist regime.<sup>87</sup>

To my way of thinking when examining such hybrid formations, one size simply does not fit all. Nor are all these parties frozen in time and incapable of mutation. Griffin’s definition may be more apt in regard to France’s Front National, Germany’s Partei die Republikaner, and Belgium’s Vlaams Blok but such parties, it should be noted, also have a long history of fascist (or Vichy) nostalgia. But does this same model also apply to Norway’s Fremskrittspartei, Holland’s Lijst Pim Fortuyn, Italy’s Lega Nord or Denmark’s Dansk Folkeparti? Do these parties “axiomatically” deny the universality of human rights just because they object to illegal immigration, high taxes, or full integration into the EU? And where does one place more ambiguous parties like the AN that modeled its own turn away from fascist nostalgia and towards the center-right on the example set by Italy’s Communist Party?

While traditional leftist “watchdog” groups often operate on the basis of a 1930s paradigm in which the rise of the populist center-right is invariably prelude to a seizure of power by the far right, this way of thinking may prove as misguided as that of those 1930s American rightists who were convinced that the growth of Roosevelt’s New Deal was paving the way for the Bolshevik takeover of the United States. We may even see the growth of European right parties that mimic more American themes involving low taxes, law and order, small government, and even certain libertarian tendencies rather than more orthodox fascist positions. After all, the right populist parties in Denmark and Norway first arose as popular movements against high taxation, a model that also played an important role in the 1970s America right electoral revival.<sup>88</sup> Even the widespread popularity of former New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani inside an increasingly crime-infested urban France may be indicative of this broader trend.

As elements of the European right pass from “groupuscularity” to mass politics at least *some* groups (or some fractions inside them) may feel increasingly inclined to abandon a commitment to conspiratorial thinking when dealing with issue of globalization. Against this, I would posit the continuing influence of a more marginal and

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<sup>87</sup> Roger Griffin, “Interregnum or Endgame? Radical Right Thought in the “Post-fascist Era,” In *The Journal of Political Ideologies*, Vol. 20, and available on the web at Griffin’s home page at Oxford Brookes University.

<sup>88</sup> A reexamination of the Poujadist movement might be of some interest in this context.

frequently violent fringe right that still inhabit a crepuscular world somewhere between Adolf Hitler and Madame Blavatsky.<sup>89</sup> This world – where conspiracy theory easily blends with racial determinism and rampant anti-Semitism – continues to hold high the banner of fascist revolution.

One could view the history of the 1970s British NF – which suffered a series of bruising factional struggles between more conventional orthodox Tory-leaning elements and the core fascist nostalgia clique of John Tyndall, Martin Webster and their skinhead supporters for control over the party – in this light. It was in fact the NF's inability to purge fascists and anti-Semites like Tyndall and Webster from top leadership positions that dramatically contributed to its political marginality in spite of its popular views against immigration. In that sense the NF may have been the result of two outside bodies of political gravity, the hard groupuscular right and the right Tory establishment, covertly fighting each other for the future direction of the party. The same may be true in regard to the fights between Le Pen and Bruno Mégret in the FN and between Fini and Pino Rauti inside the old MSI.

A rough model that incorporates the groupuscular right, the right populists, and the establishment right might look something like this:

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<sup>89</sup> On this vast subject, see Richard Webb, *The Occult Establishment* (La Salle, Illinois: Open Court Press, 1976); Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism and the Politics of Identity* (New York: NYU Press, 2002); and Eduard Gugenberger, Franko Petri, Roman Schweidlenka, *Weltverschwörungstheorien* (Vienna: Deuticke, 1998).

Right Radical Groupuscule	Right Populist Party	Established Conservative Party
Strong tendency to conspiracy theory, Hatred of conventional parliamentary politics Strong ideological commitment the main force holding the group together	Fluctuating influence of conspiracy theory and ideology, waivers between parliamentary and groupuscule practices and worldviews	Rejects conspiracy theory Parliamentary Practice Tendency to pragmatically moderate ideology in order to maintain power
Prone to deadly factionalism inside rigid internal structure	Frequently has both authoritarian/charismatic leader as well as strong factional opponents willing to split from the party	Marked by internal faction fighting within context of broader unity and willingness to compromise
Base frequently from fringe bohemian elements of society / Pagan, atheist, extreme Christian	Marginalized elements of established religious groups (Lefebvre Catholics/Ulster Protestants) and small businessmen	Backed by established religious and business tendencies
Examples: Unite Radicale/Young Europe/National Alliance	Examples: Front National, Alleanza Nazionale/1970s British National Front	Examples: Tory Party Christian Social Union Christian Democrats

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There may well exist fuzzy (and at times not so fuzzy) crossovers between elements of the Janus-face “ethnocratic” right and the more “groupuscular” radical right, including a shared interest in conspiracy theory. However, political formations from the right may also continue further down the parliamentary path just as the Italian Communist Party did from the left.<sup>90</sup> One possible way to determine where the actual center of political gravity lies inside such parties would be to seriously examine both the extent to which a particular party’s literature and rhetoric either actively promotes or panders to variations on the hidden hand conspiracy theory in explaining issues related to globalization as well as how influential and widespread these views are among the group’s members.

### *Conclusion*

Looking back on the DAC and LEL, it is clear that they were among the first radical right groups to operate in an “interdependent world” and with the multinational institutions – the United Nations, the World Bank, NATO, SEATO, and the European Common Market – that helped shape it. Far from being “isolationists” in the case of the

<sup>90</sup> The PCI’s official abandonment of its support for the “dictatorship of the proletariat” symbolically underlined this shift.

DAC – or “anti-American” as the LEL is sometimes described – both groups saw themselves as part of a worldwide “counter-conspiracy” against their imagined enemies. Using conservative rhetoric and patriotic images, they actually expressed deeply radical views directed against the established political, cultural and economic elites of their time. The ferocity of their fervor against the “one world order” strongly suggests that they didn’t simply react to the creation of groups like the UN or the World Bank in a cause and effect way. If anything, I would argue that it was their pre-existing conspiratorial ideology that allowed them to see such institutions as demonic in the first place. Because this was so, their views were largely immune to logical refutation, as the case of Colonel Pomeroy’s famous map so vividly demonstrates.

Yet an unswerving commitment to a rigid conspiratorial worldview can easily doom a group to political marginality. In the case of the DAC, it is clear that it first emerged not from the streets but from former high-ranking U.S. military officers who mirrored beliefs held in broader layers of society.<sup>91</sup> At its inception, the DAC maintained ties to important sections of the Republican Party just as the LEL included sympathizers from the Tories. Yet as anti-Semitism continued to be further and further discredited in the 1950s – while the threat of Soviet Communism increased – the DAC and LEL remained incapable of ideologically adapting to the new reality. As a result, they quickly went from being influence peddlers on the fringe of well-established parties and institutions and entered into a shadow world of political and social marginality from which they never returned. Their very marginality, paradoxically, led them to play an ideologically – and at times organizationally – significant role in the rise of new radical populist tendencies from the right.

Finally, a more careful examination of the complex role that conspiracy theory plays both within the far right and the larger community as a whole may, I suggest, give us further insight into predicting how such groups will respond to broader issues related to globalization. The power that conspiratorial thinking of the most virulently anti-Semitic and anti-Western form now holds in large sections of Muslim societies further reminds us that the issues addressed in this paper are far from being limited to either the United States or Europe.<sup>92</sup>

An investigative journalist, Kevin Coogan is the author of *Dreamer of the Day: Francis Parker Yockey and the Postwar Fascist International* (New York: Autonomedia, 1999).

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<sup>91</sup> For a deeper exploration of the entrenched rightwing and anti-Semitic culture inside the U.S. military elite, see Bendersky. As for more contemporary models, it is not hard to imagine the popularity of such views inside military elites in Argentina and the former Soviet Union to cite just two examples.

<sup>92</sup> See Daniel Pipes, *The Hidden Hand: Middle East Fears of Conspiracy* (New York: Saint Martin’s Press, 1996) for a rare English-language attempt to explore this phenomenon.