

Teaching Anticommunism: Fred C. Schwarz, the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade  
and American Postwar Conservatism

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August 2011

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of requirements of the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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## ABSTRACTS

This study constitutes the contextualized and analytical biography of Frederick Charles Schwarz (1914-2009), an anticommunist figure who had a marked influence on American postwar conservatism. Born in Brisbane, Australia, and trained as a physician, Schwarz was a conservative evangelical layman who developed during the WWII years an antipathy for communism. Having acquainted himself with the basics of Marxist-Leninism, he became renowned for his sermons which combined fire and brimstone with scholarly exposés of communist theory. Invited to North America for a lecture tour in 1950, at the peak of McCarthyism, he settled permanently in the United States in 1953 and founded the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade (CACC), which he led until 1998. By the late 1950's, the Crusade had become one of the most important conservative organizations in America, notably due to the well-attended weeklong anticommunism "schools" it held in many cities. The Crusade also extended its activities worldwide to combat communism in several Third World countries. Despite the Crusade's decline from the mid-1960's on, Schwarz and his organization had, during their prime years, a discernable impact on American conservatism. The history of Schwarz and the CACC highlights many elements central to a better understanding of the evolution and durability of the American right to this day.

Cette étude constitue la biographie historique et analytique de Frederick Charles Schwarz (1914-2009), une figure anticommuniste ayant eu une influence notable sur le conservatisme américain de l'après-guerre. Né à Brisbane, Australie, et formé comme médecin, Schwarz est un Chrétien évangélique conservateur ayant développé durant la Seconde guerre mondiale une profonde aversion pour le communisme. Après une formation autodidacte sur les éléments essentiels du marxisme-léninisme, il développe une renommée pour ses sermons fusionnant prêches enflammés et exposés intellectuels sur la théorie communiste. Invité à effectuer une tournée de conférences aux États-Unis en 1950, alors que le Maccarthisme atteint son sommet, il y déménage de manière permanente en 1953 et y fonde la Christian Anti-Communism Crusade (CACC), qu'il dirige jusqu'en 1998. Vers la fin des années 1950, la Crusade est devenue l'une des organisations conservatrices les plus importantes en Amérique, connue pour ses populaires « écoles » anticommunistes qu'elle organise dans plusieurs villes. Parallèlement, la Crusade étend ses activités à l'échelle mondiale, combattant le communisme dans de nombreux pays du Tiers Monde. En dépit du déclin de la Crusade à partir du milieu des années 1960, Schwarz et son organisation eurent, durant leur apogée, un indéniable impact sur le conservatisme américain. L'histoire de Schwarz et de la CACC illustrent plusieurs dynamiques majeures mettant en lumière l'évolution et la durabilité de la droite américaine jusqu'à nos jours.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Looking back on the chain of events that led me to pick up the story of Fred Schwarz and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade as the subject of my doctoral thesis, I cannot avoid wondering whether my choice would have been the same had I been aware of the challenge it would involve. Under normal circumstances, a scholar wishing to conduct a study centered on a modern figure does what he or she can to get access to the archives where the papers and correspondence of the said figure are held -usually given upon retirement or death-. This was simply not possible in the present case, as this project was initiated at a moment when Dr. Schwarz was still alive, and his personal records -to the extent they survived the hazards of time- had not yet been given to any library or archival institution. The internal documentation of the Christian Anticommunism Crusade was either lost or untraceable. Moreover, only small pieces of primary source material relevant to this study were being kept by either the Schwarz family in Australia -who still kindly provided some useful information- or else relatives who could be reached. Dr. Schwarz never kept a diary and apparently did not retain many documents from his crusading career.

Due to this situation, this research involved visiting scores of different locations across North America, tracking down all conceivable collections containing any information whatsoever pertaining to Schwarz and the Crusade, notably the correspondence of those who knew and/or worked with Schwarz, or else commented on his work. My hope throughout this whole process was, and still is, that I have correctly reconstituted the pieces of the jigsaw puzzle. I take full responsibility for the inaccuracies this work might contain.

Of course, this project would never have seen the light of day without the help of all those who helped me in scores of libraries and archival centers; of those whose advice assisted me in structuring this work; of the many who welcomed me along my American voyage and who offered me logistical support. Essential were those who provided

encouragement, especially in difficult moments such as when when my car was wrecked in Nebraska on my way back to Montreal.

I would like to thank in alphabetical order: Douglas Allan & Lynette Adams of Toronto, Anne Bahde (San Diego State University), Gerry Baumgarten (ADL, NY), Chip Berlet (Political Research Affiliates), Andrew Bonnell (Queensland University), Christopher Buckley, Lynn Bycko (Cleveland State University), Peter Coleman (*Sydney Bulletin*-retired), Roger & Gwen Congdon from Portland, Don Critchlow (University of St. Louis), Brian Dickey (Flinders University), Darren Dochuk (University of Purdue), Michelle Doré (United Nations), Robert Eric Frykenberg (University of Wisconsin-Madison), Maxime Giroux (Université du Québec à Montréal), Janet Greene, Alan Jutzi (Huntington Library), Luc Lamothe, William LeFevre (Wayne State University), Vicky Lipsky (Jacob Rader Marcus Center), Sheilah Mann (American Political Science Association), Russell L. Martin III (Southern Methodist University), William Massa (Yale University), Lisa McGirr (Harvard University), Derek H. Meyers (M.D.- retired, Australia), Chris Naylor (National Archives and Records Administration), Marvin Olasky (King's College, NY), Gwendolyn Owens (McGill University), Stuart Piggin (Center for the History of Christian Thought and Experience, Sydney), the late Anglican Bishop D.W.B. Robinson of Sydney, Greg Robinson (Université du Québec à Montréal), the late Professor Edward Rozek, Wayne Sparkman (PCA Historical Center, Missouri), Phyllis Schlafly, John & Rosalie Schwarz and the Schwarz family, Harold Skousen and the Skousen family, Joost Sluis from Chicago, Yorick Small (Queensland University), Sylvia Stopforth (Trinity Western University), Helen Taylor (Australia) Brittany Trubody (MacArthur Museum of Brisbane), Robert Walker (Southern Methodist University), Pip Wilson from Australia, Ray Wolfinger (UC Berkeley-retired), Melissa Zajicek (Texas A & M University) and Steve Zeleny (International Church of the Foursquare Gospel).

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Stephen Holt who provided me with very useful information from Australia; to Don MacLeod whose advise and contacts were among the most valuable; to Bill Geerhart who shared with me some of his immense knowledge of Cold War popular culture; to my supervisor at McGill University Leonard J. Moore, who tolerated several years of discussing this topic with me; to Deb Pentecost from *Eagle Forum* whose kindness remains memorable; to my dear friend Tom Levitt,

who re-read the final product with great care and professionalism; and to Michelle Nickerson and her husband Ben, both of whom welcomed me in their Dallas home in the most helpful and charitable way. I also wish to thank the following institutions, the funding of which made this project possible: the *McGill Faculty of Arts*, the *Foundation for the Advancement of Protestant Education*, the *Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada* and the *Fonds de Recherche sur la Société et la Culture du Québec*.

Finally, this list would not be complete without mentioning the unwavering support I received from my family and close friends. This work is dedicated to my mom France and my dad Daniel.



## PROLOGUE

August 30, 1961. A beautiful evening marks this late summer season. The location is the Los Angeles Memorial Sports Arena, the largest covered auditorium in the United States<sup>1</sup>. For the first time since its opening two years before, all of the arena's 16,000 seats are filled. Thousands of unlucky people who could not get in have gathered outside, hoping to capture some of the inside excitement from loud speakers which had been rushed on to the spot<sup>2</sup>. Solemnity, emergency, fervour, collective dedication and apprehension are in the air. The atmosphere is that of a well-organized, large-scale, old-fashioned evangelical camp. Coming from all over South California, the crowd is mostly composed of well-dressed, middle-class people wearing their Sunday best, many of whom have brought their children. Scores of high school students representing more than thirty Southland cities are also present<sup>3</sup>. These young people are admitted free of charge, for this third evening of the weeklong "Southern California School of Anticommunism" is "Youth Dedication Night". Although the Memorial Sports Arena is normally used by the Lakers, the city's new basketball franchise, tonight's crowd has not come for sports. Rather it has come to proclaim its patriotism and its opposition to communism.

A Marine Color Guard enters the arena carrying the "Old Glory" over an organ prelude, thus generating from the audience a spontaneous ninety-second applause and a subsequent singing of the Star Spangled Banner. Following this, comes a rendition of the pledge of allegiance read by anticommunist star Herbert Philbrick, acting as master of ceremonies for the evening, as well as the singing of the Protestant hymn *-God of Our Fathers-* performed by a youth choir accompanied by the popular church band World Vision Quartet<sup>4</sup>. The night's first speaker discreetly walks on to the arena's center stage: Marion Miller, a local celebrity in West Los Angeles, whose story was popularized by a

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<sup>1</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe: One Man's Victory Over Communism, Leviathan, and the Last Enemy*, Washington D.C., Regnery, 1996, 209.

<sup>2</sup> An., "Anti-Red Youth Night Draws Overflow Crowd at Arena", *The Independent*, Thu., Aug. 31, 1961, A-4.

<sup>3</sup> The figure of 37 was actually given by an article from the Orange County Register, An., "Anti-Red Meet Stars Tonight", *The Register*, Wed., Aug. 30, 1961.

<sup>4</sup> An., "A Report on the Southern California School of Anti-Communism, August 28 – September 1, 1961", *Group Research Collection*, Columbia University Libraries, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Butler Library, (hereafter *GRC*), Box 299, F. "Sluis, Joost".

series of *Reader's Digest* articles. Her autobiography *I Was a Spy: The Story of a Brave Housewife*, tells of how she infiltrated, on a voluntary basis, a local left-wing group the activities of which were deemed suspicious by the FBI<sup>5</sup>. Flanked by her three children the housewife calls for a national program to educate Americans on the evils of communism. In implicit terms, she attacks the Los Angeles School board that recently decided, amid controversy, to keep in its archives a series of films about Russia and Red China.

Miller then gives up the stage for a much-cheered movie and television star. This is Ronald Reagan. With commanding oratory refined after years of spokespersonship for the General Electric Corporation, Reagan states that youth is now a priority for Communists: "You are a target. Communism will appeal to your rebellious nature... They will make you feel your patriotism is hollow. Then they will fill up the vacuum with their philosophy"<sup>6</sup>. The speaker decries the trend towards the welfare state and centralized government. He states that these are as dangerous for America as is communism: "These advocates of the welfare state fail to realize our loss is just as great if it happens on the instalment plan"<sup>7</sup>. After Reagan's short, effective speech, the audience gets on its feet to welcome star singer and Christian activist Pat Boone. He loses no time before singing a few numbers from his R&B-pop repertoire, and generates the audience's wildest reaction with the following words: "I don't want to live in a Communist United States. I would rather see my four girls shot and die as little girls who have faith in God than leave them to die some years later as godless, faithless, soulless Communists"<sup>8</sup>.

The outburst of emotion dies down. Master of ceremony Philbrick then takes the stage and delivers a didactic speech concerning Cold War politics. He berates the Defence Department for "muzzling" military leaders from speaking against the Red menace and calls for a congressional investigation on the issue<sup>9</sup>. The 3-hour rally continues with testimonies offered by stars like John Wayne, Roy Rogers, Dale Evans, and George

<sup>5</sup> Michelle Nickerson, "Politically Desperate Housewives: Women and Conservatism in Postwar Los Angeles", *California History*, Summer 2009, available at <[http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_hb1446/is\\_3\\_86/ai\\_n32105838/?tag=content;col1](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_hb1446/is_3_86/ai_n32105838/?tag=content;col1) > (accessed Sept. 4, 2009). In April 1955, five years after she had proposed the FBI to infiltrate the *Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born*, Miller testified against the said group before the U.S. Department of Justice's Subversive Activities Control Board. She remained a well-known name in LA for years and ran –unsuccessfully– in 1965 as the conservative candidate for the local school board. See Raphael J. Sonenshein: *Politics in Black and White: Race and Power in Los Angeles*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1993, 75.

<sup>6</sup> An., "Youth Prime Red Target, Reagan Says", *Los Angeles Examiner*, Thu., Aug. 31, 1961, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Louis Fleming, "Probe Into 'Muzzling' of Military Asked", *Los Angeles Times*, Thu., Aug. 31, 1961, B1.

<sup>8</sup> An., "A Report on the Southern California School of Anti-Communism, August 28 – September 1, 1961", *GRC*, Box 299, F. "Sluis, Joost".

<sup>9</sup> Louis Fleming, "Probe Into 'Muzzling' of Military Asked", *loc. cit.*, B1.

Murphy. These presentations are interspersed with songs such as *This is My Country* and the *Battle Hymn of the Republic*. Sporadic references to conservative heroes like General Douglas MacArthur or Senators Storm Thurmond and Barry Goldwater are welcomed by cheers.

And now, Fred Schwarz, 48-year old president of the Christian Anticommunism Crusade (CACC) appears. The coming of the Australian doctor-turned-professional anticommunist does not generate the same frenzy as do Reagan or Boone. However, the authority of the man who masterminded this anticommunist Woodstock shines through. Wearing his customary bow tie, the Australian is a dark-complexioned, middle-aged man with scant hair. His mostly expressionless, rigid and long-nosed face contrasts with eyes, which twinkle behind huge horn-rimmed glasses when he makes a point. His high-pitched, Australian twang could be a distraction for this audience. However it isn't since the good doctor's eloquence allows him to hold the audience's attention and melt away cultural barriers. As usual, Schwarz never uses notes when speaking. He sums up the evening's main points and reiterates as he often does that "the greatest need that confronts us today is that we have knowledge of the enemy that threatens to destroy us"<sup>10</sup>. In a lecture the delivery and efficiency of which has been proved tested countless times before, Schwarz outlines the Communist blueprint for world conquest by various means: military power, propaganda, demoralization, duplicity, and sympathy generated among youth and intellectuals. The anticommunist crusader wraps up his speech by a fiery proclamation of his faith that the final victory over communism will come through the assertion of the free world's most important assets: respect for authority, God, country and freedom<sup>11</sup>. The evening concludes with a Statue of Liberty candle lighting finale and the singing of *God Bless America*.

This event made a lasting impression on those who attended or participated, but also on many others throughout Southern California, since it was televised by the Times-Mirror-owned KTTV station, thanks to a sponsorship by the Richfield Oil company. A few days after this gathering, Times-Mirror Broadcasting Co. President Richard Moore

<sup>10</sup> An., "A Report on the Southern California School of Anti-Communism, August 28 – September 1, 1961", GRC, Box 299, F. "Sluis, Joost", 7.

<sup>11</sup> Video excerpts from the Southern California School of Anticommunism, including this speech, can be found on a videotaped version of KTTV's broadcast on *Hollywood's Answer to Communism*, TV Special 1961-10-16, University of California at Los Angeles, Film & Television Archive, 2 videocassettes of 2 (VHS), 180 min.

indicated in a letter to Republican Congressman Walter H. Judd that the public reaction surpassed everything he had seen in the station's twelve year-history, beating even popular shows of national corporations (CBS, NBS, ABC). "For instance", he wrote, "we had special audience surveys made on Wednesday and Thursday night and on both nights the anti-communism program topped everything on the air including major network entertainment programs"<sup>12</sup>.

In the following months, popular anticommunism manifested itself to an unprecedented level in Southern Californian. Civic clubs organized patriotic rallies in record numbers, businessmen invited anticommunist speakers to address their chambers of commerce luncheon talks. Suburbanites showed anticommunist films in their churches and joined anticommunist organizations. Conservative housewives formed anti-Red study groups in their kitchens and living rooms. Bill Becker, West Coast correspondent for the *New York Times*, wrote that conservatism "is marching in double-time in Southern California to the twin strains of anticommunism and pro-Americanism"<sup>13</sup>. For years, this grassroots anticommunist activity had been a common feature all across America, and especially in the Southwest, where anticommunist sentiment was strong. However, in late 1961, South California saw the upsurge of a popular anticommunism which expressed a particularly conservative, anti-collectivist and nationalist outlook. Some observers had considered that the demise of Senator Joe McCarthy in the mid-1950's had led to a decline in anticommunist grassroots activity throughout the nation. Clearly, they were wrong.

Many liberal thinkers expressed the fear that this bubbling movement carried the seeds of a threat to American democracy and values. Columbia University sociologist Daniel Bell and colleagues reedited the book they had published in 1955 on McCarthyism. In the now-titled *The Radical Right*, Bell stated that the 1950's-McCarthyism was not an organized movement, but rather "an atmosphere of fear". There were no "McCarthy movement" as such, while "the radical right of the 1960's has been characterized by a multitude of organizations that seemingly have been able to evoke an intense emotional

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<sup>12</sup> Richard A. Moore to Walter H. Judd, Sept. 5, 1961, *Walter H. Judd Papers*, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University (hereafter *WHJP*), Box 48, F. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Bill Becker, "Right-Wing Groups Multiplying Appeals in Southern California", *New York Times*, Sun., Oct. 29, 1961, 43.

response from a devoted following”<sup>14</sup>. For Bell, anticommunism schools and seminars “who adapted old revivalist techniques to a modern idiom”, and that were held all across the Midwest, Southwest and California, constituted a clear sign that a right-wing resurgence was taking place throughout the country<sup>15</sup>.

Worried by the situation, President John F. Kennedy traveled to Los Angeles where he addressed this issue on November 18, 1961 in a speech at the Hollywood Palladium, attacking “those fringes of our society who have sought to escape their own responsibility by finding a simple solution, an appealing slogan or a convenient scapegoat”<sup>16</sup>. As the president spoke, 3,000 people picketed outside the building, carrying such signs as: “Unmuzzle the Military”, “Veto Tito”, “Disarmament is Suicide”, or “CommUNism is Our Enemy”<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> Daniel Bell, “The Dispossessed (1962)”, in Daniel Bell, ed., *The Radical Right: The American Right, Expanded and Updated*, Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1962, 4-5. The two other indications of a right-wing resurgence for Bell were the ongoing controversy involving the *John Birch Society* and paramilitary fringe groups like the Minutemen.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Tom Wicker, “Kennedy Asserts Far Right Groups Provoke Disunity”, *New York Times*, Sun., Nov. 19, 1961, 1. A couple of days after, former President Eisenhower also publicly attacked right-wing extremism, declaring “I don’t think the United States needs super-patriots”. An., “Eisenhower Says Officers Should Stay Out of Politics, Assails Extremists In TV Interview”, *New York Times*, Fri., Nov. 24, 1961, 1.

<sup>17</sup> An. “Rightists Picket Kennedy Speech”, *New York Times*, Sun., Nov. 19, 1961, 54.

# 1

## INTRODUCTION

“We face a hostile ideology, global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose, and insidious in method” - President Eisenhower, Farewell Address, 1961<sup>1</sup>

### 1.1 The Sum of All Evils

This is a story about anticommunism. Its main character, an Aussie doctor-turned-anticommunist, has already been introduced. Its chronological setting is largely, though not exclusively, the era where the world was mobilized for an impending military conflict of unexampled proportions, clearly one that ultimately never came.

For a long time, the conceivableness of a Third World War resulted in an ongoing state of tension, a “Cold War” that affected American society in many ways. Lodged in the national consciousness by the late 1940’s was the conception that America was up against a foe like such as it had never faced before. This enemy was perceived as both an outside and inside threat; it took both the shape of powerful, nuclear-powered foreign armies, and a philosophy that rejected American core principles: individual freedom, belief in God, and private property. As author Cyndy Hendershot notes, the United States felt “its entire way of life in a state of siege, the enemy being communism and its potential spread”<sup>2</sup>. For a long time, opinion polls and studies showed that this sentiment was so widely spread across all political, religious or social boundaries that very few Americans actually needed to justify their anticommunism on philosophical or ideological grounds<sup>3</sup>. Anticommunism became an almost universally shared aspect of the national identity. Of course, the Cold War impacted especially on American culture through the 1950’s and 1960’s, but its various effects were felt far outside of the chronological boundaries of these two decades. “For nearly half a century”, Stephen Withfield points out in his study *The Culture of the Cold War*, “the geopolitical contest

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in An., “Farewell Message Has Sober Warning”, *The Spokesman-Review*, Wed., Jan. 18, 1961, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cyndy Hendershot, *Anti-Communism and Popular Culture in Mid-Century America*, Jefferson & London, McFarland & Company Inc., 2003, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Eugene R. Wittkopf, *Faces of internationalism: public opinion and American foreign policy*, Durham, Duke University Press, 1990, 168.

between the two superpowers haunted public life, pervading it so thoroughly that the national identity itself became disfigured<sup>4</sup>.

As opposed to other comparable periods of collective fear, such as the aftermaths of the Pearl Harbor attack of 1941 and the terrorist event of September 11, 2001, the Cold War angst was not linked to any actual physical mighty attack on America. Nonetheless the 1949-1954 period, when the Cold War was most intensely experienced in American life, remains the best example in American history of years dominated by a shared feeling of anxiety and vulnerability. Mid-20<sup>th</sup> century anticommunist mobilisation was the end-product of a long series of disturbing developments that took place in the immediate post-World War II period, such as the international spread of communism and American efforts to contain it, the development of the Soviet atomic bomb, as well as successive outbreaks of several Communist espionage scandals. The cumulative outcome of these events was to impress upon the American public the idea that Communist foes were stealthy undermining the United States from both within and without<sup>5</sup>. A wave of anticommunism, unbridled until the mid-1950's, took American society by storm, dramatically affecting and changing its direction. One of the most obvious and universally-recognized features of this anticommunism is how the climate of suspicion it fostered was exploited to the utmost by an opportunistic politician from Wisconsin who gave the era its name<sup>6</sup>. Joe McCarthy, in the words of his best biographer David M.

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<sup>4</sup> Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War*, Baltimore & London, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, 231. Whitfield's account is arguably the best account of Cold War culture, but other notable works include Les K. Adler and Thomas G. Paterson, "Red Fascism: The Merger of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia in the American Image of Totalitarianism, 1930s-1950's", *American Historical Review*, Vol. 75, No. 4, 1970, 1046-1064.; Nora Sayre, *Running Time: Films of the Cold War*, New York, Dial Press, 1982.; Peter Biskind, *Seeing Is Believing: How Hollywood Taught Us to Stop Worrying and Love the Fifties*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1983.; Whitfield, Stephen J., "The Cultural Cold War As History", *Virginia Quarterly Review*, Summer 1993, 377-392.; David Caute, *The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy During the Cold War*, Published by Oxford University Press, 2003.; Cyndy Hendershot, *Anti-Communism and Popular Culture*, op. cit.; Martin Halliwell, *American Culture in the 1950's*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2007.

<sup>5</sup> Apologists of domestic anticommunism campaigns (though they acknowledge its excesses) Harvey Klehr and John Earl Haynes are the best students of spy cases and Soviet espionage in the U.S., affiliated with the Communist Party or not. John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, *The American Communist Movement: Storming Itself Heaven*, New York, Twayne, 1992.; John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, *Early Cold War Spies: The Espionage Trials The Shaped American Politics*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006. See also Christopher M. Andrew and Oleg Gordievsky, *KGB: The Inside Story of Its Foreign Operations from Lenin to Gorbachev*, New York, Harper Collins Pub., 1990.; Christopher M. Andrew and Vasilii Mitrokhin, *The Sword and the Shield: The Mitrokhin Archive and the Secret Story of the KGB*, New York, Basic Books, 1999. ; Katherine A. Sibley, *Red Spies in America: Stolen Secrets and the Dawn of the Cold War*, Lawrence, University Press of Kansas, 2004. On individual spying cases, the more thoroughly research studies are Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton, *The Rosenberg File: A Search for the Truth*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1983.; David Halloway, *Stalin and the Bomb: The Soviet Union and Atomic Energy, 1939-1956*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1994.; Allen Weinstein, *Perjury: The Hiss-Chambers Case*, New York, Random House, 1997.; Kathryn S. Olmsted, *Red Spy Queen: A Biography of Elizabeth Bentley*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2002.; Amy Knight, *How the Cold War Began: The Gouzenko Affair and the Hunt for Soviet Spies*, Toronto, McLelland & Stewart, 2005.

<sup>6</sup> The most definite, acute and well-researched account on McCarthy is David M. Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy So Immense: The World of Joe McCarthy*, New York & Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1983. Other major works include Edwin R. Bayley, *Joe McCarthy and*

Oshinsky, “did not threaten our constitutional system, but he did hurt many who lived under it”<sup>7</sup>. To this day, Cold War domestic anticommunism remains widely remembered for how it unleashed massive encroachments on civil liberties, thus destroying the lives of thousands in all segments of American society<sup>8</sup>.

Nonetheless, the extent to which the anticommunist crusade changed not only individual destinies, but also the whole nation’s political culture, is lesser recognized. “Surprisingly”, writes McCarthyism specialist Ellen Schrecker, “despite the widespread recognition that the impact of McCarthyism extended far beyond the lives and careers of the men and women directly caught up in it, there has been no systematic attempt to catalogue those effects or assess their long-term influence”<sup>9</sup>.

This can be explained, among other things, by the considerable scale to which the nation was affected by this phenomenon, thus making the changes it wrought hard to observe. The most obvious example, asserts Schrecker, is how the American left was undermined (she uses the term “destroyed”) by it. Cold War anticommunism wiped out U.S. communism party and severely weakened the whole network of political groups, labor unions and cultural institutions constituting the armature of left-wing activism. As Schrecker observes, “we encounter a world of things that did not happen: reforms that were never implemented, unions that were never organized, movements that never started, books that were never published, films that were never produced”<sup>10</sup>. The U.S. Federal government was similarly affected, especially the State Department, heavily targeted by anticommunist investigations, and through it, the entire country’s foreign

*the Press*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1981.; Robert Griffith, *The Politics of Fear: Joseph R. McCarthy and the Senate*, Amherst, The University of Massachusetts, 1987.; Thomas C. Reeves, *The Life and Times of Joe McCarthy: A Biography*, New York, Madison Books, 1997.

<sup>7</sup> David M. Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy So Immense*, *op. cit.*, 507.

<sup>8</sup> The most thorough and comprehensive study of the general repression during the McCarthy years remains Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1998.; Other important studies are Harold William Chase, *Security and Liberty: The Problem of Native Communists: 1947-1955*, Garden City, Doubleday, 1955.; Allen Guttman and Benjamin Munn Ziegler, *Communism, the Courts, and the Constitution*, Boston, D.C. Heath, 1964.; David Caute, *The Great Fear: The Anti-Communist Purge Under Truman and Eisenhower*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1970.; Michal R. Belknap, *Cold War Political Justice: The Smith Act, the Communist Party, and American Civil Liberties*, Westport, Greenwood Press, 1977.; Stanley I. Kutler, *The American Inquisition: Justice and Injustice in the Cold War*, New York, Hill and Wang, 1982.; Peter L. Steinberg, *The Great “Red Menace”: United States Prosecution of American Communists, 1947-1952*, Westport, Greenwood Press, 1984.

<sup>9</sup> Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes*, *op. cit.*, 360.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 369. On the almost obliteration of American communism during these years, see Joseph R. Starobin, *American Communism in Crisis, 1943-1957*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1972.; Paul Lyons, *Philadelphia Communists 1936-1956*, Philadelphia Temple University Press, 1982. See also Larry Ceplair and Steven Englund, *The Inquisition in Hollywood: Politics in the Film Community*, Chicago, First Illinois, 1983.; Selma R. Williams, *Red-Listed: Haunted by the Washington Witch Hunt*, Reading, Addison-Wesley, 1993.; Griffin Fariello, *Red Scare: Memories of the American Inquisition*, New York, W.W. Norton, 1995.



policy<sup>11</sup>. Notably, the memory of McCarthyism and the wish to avoid accusations of being “soft” on communism were probably influential in inducing both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson to take a firm stand against communism in Southeast Asia<sup>12</sup>.

The Civil Rights movement, which was beginning to tear down legally-based racial segregation in the 1950’s, was also marked by anticommunism in many ways. The Cold War weakened the potential alliance between civil rights activists on the one hand, and Southern moderates, liberals and unions on the other. It created a climate in which several civil rights leaders found themselves targeted by anti-Red purges, especially those suspected of connections with the radical left<sup>13</sup>. Several scholars argue that anticommunism caused American liberals to drift away from beliefs in popular democracy, thus leading them to de-emphasize class conflicts and celebrate the virtues of corporate capitalism<sup>14</sup>. Some go further, claiming that anticommunism halted the drive towards the establishment of a European-style welfare state in America by weakening movements which were pushing for the expansion of the state’s social responsibility, notably reformers in the housing, labour and health sectors<sup>15</sup>.

However, while the impact of Cold War anticommunism on American liberalism and the left are well known, little research has been devoted to understanding its long-term influence on the American right, apart from the political opportunity it obviously gave Republican politicians to align themselves with public opinion and to champion uncompromising anticommunism from the time of McCarthy onwards. We know about the thousands of people who had their lives and reputations crippled by McCarthyism.

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<sup>11</sup> David M. Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy So Immense, op. cit.*, 507. ; Michael J. Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy: Senator Pat McCarran and the Great American Communist Hunt*, Steerforth, Hanover, 2004.

<sup>12</sup> Doris Kearns, *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream*, New York, Harper & Row, 1991, 252.

<sup>13</sup> Patricia Sullivan, *Days of Hope: Race and Democracy in the New Deal Era*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1996.; Stephen F. Lawson, “Debating the Civil Rights Movement: The View From the Nation”, in Stephen F. Lawson and Charles Payne, eds., *Debating the Civil Rights Movement, 1945-1968*, Lanham, Rowand & Littlefield, 2006, 7-10. On the effects of Cold War anticommunism on the Civil Rights agenda: Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*, Princeton & Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2000.; John T. McCartney, *Black Power Ideologies: An Essay in African-American Political Thought*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1992, 103-190.

<sup>14</sup> Athan Theoharis, *Seeds of Repression: Harry S. Truman and the Origins of McCarthyism*, Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1971.; Alonzo L. Hamby, *Beyond the New Deal: Harry S. Truman and American Liberalism*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1976.; Richard H. Pells, *The Liberal Mind in a Conservative Age: American Intellectuals in the 1940s and 1950s*, Middletown, Wesleyan University Press, 1989.

Mary Sperling McAuliffe, *Crisis on the Left: Cold War Politics and American Liberals, 1947-1954*, Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1978.

<sup>15</sup> Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes, op. cit.*, 383-384.; Michael Reisch and Janice Andrews, *The Road Not Taken: A History of Radical Social Work in the United States*, Philadelphia, Brunner-Routledge, 2001.

However less is known about scores of others, usually on the right-wing, whose lives were also transformed.

Of course, many conservatives simply used anticommunism to push their own respective careers or agenda: “Because dislike of communism was deep and broad among Americans”, historian John Haynes points out, “all sorts of groups with other agendas attempted to tie their programs to the anti-Communist cause”<sup>16</sup>. Yet, for many right-wingers, anticommunism grew into the constitutive element of their worldview. Some embraced it enthusiastically and engaged themselves into a lifetime of political activism; in rare cases, as in Schwarz’s, anticommunism became a full-time vocation. Available research on American conservatism confirms the perennial importance of anticommunism in forming the grassroots structure that supported the conservative movement from the 1950’s to the 1980’s. However, the nature of this dynamic has only started to be detailed more closely by recent studies that trace the social roots of the contemporary right, notably works by Lisa McGirr and Darren Dochuk. Locating the 1950’s Southern California as epicentre of an emerging conservative movement, McGirr identifies anticommunism as the anchor holding the region’s culture. It was the “symbolic glue that united conservatives with divergent priorities, concerns and interests, bringing social and religious conservatives together with libertarians”<sup>17</sup>. Anticommunism plays a similar role in Dochuk’s pioneering work which examines how the outmigration of Southerners between 1910 and 1960 sparked “the southernization of American religion and politics”<sup>18</sup> and led to the rise of conservatism at the national level outside the South. Identifying the essence of this phenomenon in the proliferation of Southern churches, preachers and parishioners in the Midwest and on Pacific Coast, Dochuk contends that while anticommunism helped to unite people of various ideological outlooks and “consolidate them into a broad-based conservative movement, (...) its importance was

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<sup>16</sup> John Earl Haynes, *Red Scare or Red Menace? American Communism and Anticommunism in the Cold War Era*, Chicago, Ivan R. Dee, 1996, 183.

<sup>17</sup> Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right*, Princeton & Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2001, 35-36.

<sup>18</sup> Darren Dochuk, “Evangelicalism Becomes Southern, Politics Becomes Evangelical: From FDR to Ronald Reagan”, Mark A. Noll and Luke A. Harlow, eds., *Religion and American Politics: From the Colonial Period to the Present*, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007, 300.

never as great as for Southern evangelical clerics operating in the diaspora, who used this campaign to gain political leverage within the emerging right”<sup>19</sup>.

Finally, whereas current historiography shows how Cold War anticommunism had enduring ideological repercussions on American liberalism, the way it shaped conservative thought remains to be fully assessed. Of course, American conservative ideas were transformed by the anticommunist crusade inasmuch as was the nation’s entire psyche. However, American conservatism was undoubtedly the most deeply impacted on. Despite considerable differences in agendas, rhetoric, ideas, tone, style, and influence, the multiple components of the American right were disposed to share for decades a common outlook which located communism as the sum of all evils. Of course, the absence of any sizable Communist movement in American life after 1950 made their rejection of communism more of a symbolic proposition than a concrete experience. Still, this opposition against the Red menace became a centrifugal force around which the whole spectrum of the American right coalesced throughout the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

By studying Fred C. Schwarz and his Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, this study will attempt to bring together more closely the evolution of Cold War anticommunism with the emergence of U.S. contemporary conservatism. It will examine how anticommunism resonated with conservatives in their overall movement towards recognition and mobilization after WWII. This study will also constitute be the first academic biography on the life and deeds of a professional anticommunist, evangelist and public educator whose influence on several right-wing leaders, as well as on countless of grassroots activists throughout America, made him one of the ill-known forerunners of American contemporary conservatism.

Historical importance aside, Schwarz’s personal life remains an interesting narrative with its funny and sad moments, one through something meaningful about U.S. and world history can be told. It is one that showcases a tail-blazing character, an international crusader driven by a bull-like determination to achieve what he considered to be right, regardless of the opinion of others. Schwarz’s career went unnoticed by the radar of existing scholarship, with the exception of a period extending roughly from the

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 306.

late 1950's to the mid-1960's. Schwarz's Crusade worked through local churches, civic organizations, study groups, as well as small villages and communities throughout America and the world. As social historians know, grasping the impact of individual lives and careers is not always an easy task. In an observation which definitely applies to the present work, historian Alan Brinkley points out about the difficulty of giving attention to the "emergence in the twentieth century of important forms of oppositional conservatism, increasingly alienated from many of the major institutions of American society and the cultural norms that have emerged to justify and support them"<sup>20</sup>. This study will be an attempt at understanding some of the various forces involved in what Brinkley referred to as "oppositional conservatism". The focus will be on a loosely-structured constellation of evangelical church pupils, anticommunist activists, small-town or suburban patriotic families, small or average businessmen and upper-class professionals for whom fighting the Red menace became the prime feature of their civic, political and ideological commitment<sup>21</sup>.

This work will also attempt to make a contribution to scholarship that emphasizes long-term elements that shaped the development of American conservatism. Aside from the works of McGirr and Dochuk, already mentioned, other studies taking the larger perspective can be listed. For instance, Jerome Himmelstein's 1990 *To The Right* traces how conservatives reconstructed their ideology and organization in the immediate WWII aftermath by articulating their opposition to New Deal liberalism along the central political assumption that collectivism, "the tendency for the state to organize and control all social life", was the "main problem facing America, and indeed all of humanity"<sup>22</sup>. Political scientist William B. Hixson's 1992 *Search for the American Right Wing* sees 20<sup>th</sup> century conservatism as the continuous persistence in American culture of late 19<sup>th</sup> century Victorian values, associated with Christian morality, the "golden age of small-town harmony, entrepreneurial freedom, and the vigorous assertion of American power in

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<sup>20</sup> Alan Brinkley, "Response to the Comments of Leo Ribuffo and Susan Yohn", *American Historical Review*, Vol. 99, No. 2, Apr. 1994, 451.

<sup>21</sup> To characterize this subculture, Don Critchlow uses the interesting term "grassroots conservatism" so as to "distinguish local activists from the Republican Establishment and conservative intellectuals and writers". Don T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Woman's Crusade*, Princeton and Oxford, 2006, 309, n. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Jerome L. Himmelstein, *To The Right: The Transformation of American Conservatism*, University of California Press, 1990, 6.

the world”<sup>23</sup>. Building on an extensive historiography on the race issue, Joseph E. Lowndes’ 2008 *From the New Deal to the New Right* shows how the conservative coalition that dominated late-20<sup>th</sup> century politics grew incrementally out of racial and economic affinities between Southern segregationists and conservatives elsewhere, initiated in response to their common opposition to certain New Deal policies<sup>24</sup>.

These works point out that current scholarship might be ready to explore new ways of explaining the resilience of conservatism in American history. In particular, this amount debunking the false idea that the 1960’s and 1970’s saw the appearance of a “new right”, which in some significant way was different from a preceding “old right”. Hand in hand with the awkward “new right”-“old right” distinction is the corresponding erroneous idea that post-1970’s conservative triumphs resulted from the gradual meltdown of liberalism, rather than the continuing vigour of conservatism in American politics and culture<sup>25</sup>.

A deliberate choice has been made to focus on Schwarz rather than the Crusade itself. The Crusade’s history is to a large extent undistinguishable from that of its founder, who remained until retirement, its leader, organizer, main writer and speaker, as well as its most publicized figure. Despite the absence of any archival collection containing either the Crusade’s or Schwarz’s records, it was possible to locate and retrieve an interesting body of correspondence many people had had with Schwarz, whereas the amount of existing Crusade documents that do not bear Schwarz’s imprint is limited. Also, Schwarz’s involvement in evangelical and anticommunist activities, both in Australia and in the United States, had been in full swing long before he founded the Crusade in 1953. Clearly it would be impossible to give an account on the organization’s history without addressing its origins, and through that, the path of its founder. Since this is the first academic work yet to be done on Schwarz, the author feels compelled to provide an extensive account of the crusader’s life and work in the case that other scholars -if they even present themselves- decide to undertake further research. Hence, the current work

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<sup>23</sup> William B. Hixson, *Search for the American Right Wing: An Analysis of the Social Science Record, 1955-1987*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1992, 323.

<sup>24</sup> Lowndes exposes for instance the extent to which appeals for the respect of states’ prerogatives pertaining to desegregation in the *National Review* were framed in a way to build support for the conservatism throughout the South. Joseph E. Lowndes, *From the New Deal to the New Right: Race and the Southern Origins of Modern Conservatism*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2008, 48-76.

<sup>25</sup> An interesting perspective on these alleged patterns of similarity/differentiation within the American right was put forward by Aaron Winter, “The “New” Right: Definition, Identification, Differentiation”, *Sociological Research Online*, Vol. 5, No. 1, available at <<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/5/winter.html>> (accessed August 15, 2009).; Leonard J. Moore, “Good Old-Fashioned New Social History and the Twentieth-Century American Right”, *Reviews in American History*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 1996, 563.

takes the form of a biography, albeit a highly contextualized one, in which the main character is far from being the sole focus.

## **1.2 Anticommunism and “New Right”**

Through the half-century or so that separated the 1961 Los Angeles anticommunist arena camp and its mastermind’s death in early 2009, America experienced the rise and the decline of a conservative movement that deeply shaped its society. It was most visible in politics, where it led the most important 20<sup>th</sup> century restructuring since the New Deal in the 1930’s. The Republican Party was largely overtaken by its right-wing, while at the same time the GOP won seven out of ten presidential contests held from 1968 on<sup>26</sup>. This period also saw the relative prevalence of conservative viewpoints on a wide array of issues: fiscal and military policies, individual responsibility, the fight against crime, civil rights and race issues, anti-war protest, youth culture, the role of religion and tradition, and related moral debates on topics such as sex education, abortion, pornography and homosexuality.

Explaining the shift that occurred between the age of Kennedy and the age of Reagan is more difficult than simply describing it. The story of how conservatives rose to cultural prominence and how they captured nation’s highest offices in 1980 (winning both the White House and the majority at the Senate) is often told through a narrative that starts with the turbulent 1960’s. This was the time where “conservative” and “liberal” self-identifications took root in the common language, a time that saw a “historical divide, a decade or turmoil with the future hanging in the balance”, as historian Bruce J. Schulman writes<sup>27</sup>. During this era, the so-called “liberal consensus”, i.e. the idea that supporting liberal democracy and its state-regulated economy was an assertion of Americanism against fascist and communist totalitarianisms, was cracking apart. It was challenged by vigorous social movements (Civil Rights, pacifist, feminist, countercultural) from the

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<sup>26</sup> In the 1992 reedition of their classic *The Real Majority*, political scientists Scammon and Wattenberg compared American politics to an quiet ocean that “but only rarely as an ocean with a tidal wave that washes across all before it, causing stark change”, the two waves of the 20<sup>th</sup> century occurring during the New Deal era and the 1960’s. Richard M. Scammon and Ben J. Wattenberg, *The Real Majority: The Classic Examination of the American Electorate – With a New Introduction for the 90’s*, New York, Donald I. Fine, Inc., 1992, ii.

<sup>27</sup> Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society and Politics*, Cambridge, Da Capo Press, 2002, 2.

left<sup>28</sup>. However, as Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin note in their account of the 1960's *America Divided*, what made this time so significant was the fact that the liberal consensus was “attacked just as loudly and strongly from the Right. A growing social movement of conservatives (...) tried to reverse much of what the New Deal and subsequent administrations in Washington had wrought”<sup>29</sup>. Whereas the 1960's were for long considered as an era marked primarily by the left, to the point where conservatives blamed the decade for “everything they felt noxious in subsequent life”, recent historiography has brought forth a more balanced view in which this era is more seen as one of increasing polarization<sup>30</sup>.

Senator Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign led to a crushing defeat at the hands Lyndon Johnson at the polls in November. However, his nomination, through an unprecedented grassroots effort by conservative activists, is often seen as the founding act of contemporary conservatism<sup>31</sup>. It established conservatism as a mass phenomenon which involved activists who invested their post-defeat energy in local battles that, in turn, increased their numbers and that allowed them to further refine their strategies. In sum, Isserman and Kazin assert, while the left stormed the 1960's, transforming American culture in the long run, especially regarding gender and race issues, the right “established itself as a unified and potent political movement during the same decade”<sup>32</sup>. By the late 1970's, the conservative coalition had become the country's dominating political force, a status it retained until the end George W. Bush's second presidential term. Up until this moment, polls demonstrated that “conservative” self-identification among American voters had more positive connotations than liberal self-identification<sup>33</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup> The term “liberal consensus” had many variants: “Cold War consensus”, “American consensus”, “Cold War liberalism”, or “Vital Center”... However, the concept and its various interpretations derived mainly from the 1949 work of Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom*. In the 1997 reedition's introduction, the author gives in a single sentence a definite explanation on the concept as he understood it, and explains at the same time what made it vulnerable to the rise of the new ideological wars that marked the 1960's: ““Vital Center” refers to the contest *between* democracy and totalitarianism, not to contests *within* democracy between liberalism and conservatism (...)”. Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom*, With A New Introduction by the Author, New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 1997, xiii.

<sup>29</sup> Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960's*, Oxford & New York, 2000, 206.

<sup>30</sup> James A. Hijiya, “The Conservative 1960's”, *Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 2, Aug. 2003, 202.

<sup>31</sup> Murray N. Rothbart, *The Betrayal of the Old Right*, Auburn, Alabama, Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2007. Justin Raimondo, *Reclaiming the American Right: The Lost Legacy of the Conservative Movement*, Wilmington, Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 2008.; Paul Edward Gottfried, *Conservatism in America: Making Sense of the American Right*, Basingstoke, U.K., Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

<sup>32</sup> Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided*, *op. cit.*, 206.

<sup>33</sup> This was notable, among other things, in the popularity of the conservative self-identification among young Americans. Still, it is still unclear how much of this phenomenon had to do with the actual stigmatization and negative connotation the word “liberal” had. See Allan S. Miller, “Are Self-Proclaimed Conservatives Really Conservative? Trends in Attitudes and Self-Identification among the

By the late 1970's, this phenomenon began to be called the "new right", usually using capital letters. Conservative historian and activist Lee Edwards attributes the first contemporary use of the term to political analyst Kevin Phillips, as he was discussing "social conservatives" and their increasing politicization in 1975<sup>34</sup>. As the expression became commonly currency, it sometimes had conflicting meanings, from one author to the other. This confusion reflected the uncertainty as to in which terms the "new right" could rightly be understood. By turns, writers perceived the "new right" as an ideological, social, institutional, cultural or economic phenomenon. However, this vagueness illustrated the duality inherent to American conservatism inasmuch as the expression was used both in reference to both grassroots and establishmentarian conservatism. As the Reagan era unfolded, the need to characterize the right-wing's rejuvenated strength fostered a generic meaning which brought together the various perspectives on the issue. Thus, the term "new right" is now used in reference to this unstable, yet strong conservative majority which was established during these years as the main alternative to American liberalism<sup>35</sup>.

However, in retrospect, the 1960's right-wing, and the Goldwater campaign in particular, were not the start of something new. Rather, they were the continuation of something that ran much deeper. Tracing the origins of this movement right after WWII, Isserman and Kazin noted with hindsight that conservatives "began building a mass movement earlier than did the New Left"<sup>36</sup>.

In fact, the ten year period that started roughly with the demise of Joe McCarthy, and which existing scholarship on the American right-wing has perhaps not scrutinized enough, was actually a pivotal one in the history of American conservatism. This era, during which Schwarz's Crusade was the most active and successful, was "the single

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Young", *Social Forces*, Vol. 71, No. 1, Sept. 1992, 195-196.; Adam J. Schiffer, "I'm not *that* Liberal: Explaining Conservative Democratic Identification", *Political Behavior*, Vol. 22, No. 4, Dec. 2000, 297-299.

<sup>34</sup> Lee Edwards, *The Conservative Revolution: The Movement that Remade America*, New York, Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1999, 184. This is strange insofar as Edwards himself used the expression as early as 1962 in the platform he wrote for the Young Americans for Freedom (YAFs) in the organization's periodical *The New Guard*. James Alfred Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism*, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1990, 4.

<sup>35</sup> The emerging synthesis of various meaning is permeable by the late *Reagan* era, see Rebecca Klatch, "Coalition and Conflict Among Women of the New Right", *Signs*, Vol. 13, No. 4, Summer 1988, 672. General introductory surveys on the subject now employ the term in this broad meaning. Taken as a whole, it includes the activity of religious and economic conservatives, neoconservative intellectuals, libertarians, "silent majority" backlashes of all sorts, conservative institutions (media, lobbies, single-issue groups), Republican politicians, and other minor sub-constituencies.

<sup>36</sup> Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided*, *op. cit.*, 206.



most significant period of the development of the American right wing”<sup>37</sup>, as William Hixson writes. Throughout this period, anticommunism was the cornerstone of American conservative activity, and understanding its “overriding importance”<sup>38</sup>, as historian Don Critchlow puts it, is essential to grasp the development of the modern right. When, in 1955, shortly after McCarthy’s downfall, a highly influential group of New York intellectuals gathered around Daniel Bell to publish the first version of the aforementioned book on McCarthyism *The Radical Right*<sup>39</sup>, the series of essays they produced attributed support for Joe McCarthy to a vaguely-defined “new American right” in relation to which the Wisconsin senator’s anticommunist crusade had to be understood. “He was the catalyst”, wrote Bell in 1955, “not the explosive force. These forces still remain”<sup>40</sup>.

During the following decade, as the present study shows, scores of Americans became active in local and national conservative politics, stirred up by their resolution to fight the Red menace and what they saw as its many expressions in American liberalism. In the midst of this process, hundreds of organizations and networks were created, the most effective of which remained active up to the Reagan era. Due to the fear of the Red menace, a dynamic of politicization evolving conservative evangelicals took place, way before later battles over so-called “culture wars”. Southern outmigration hit an all-time peak, reaching even higher levels than those seen during WWII. Millions of white Southerners moved to the suburbs mushrooming around new centers of economic growth throughout the Midwest and the Southwest, where they brought features of their traditional culture such as conservative evangelicalism, distrust for the eastern elites and the federal government, segregationism, anti-cosmopolitanism and anticommunism. Embarking on a mission to educate the American public on the evils of communism, various effective professional anticommunists like Schwarz, contributed to a thriving industry that brought the anticommunist message to the masses through lectures, TV and radio broadcasting, books and other promotional material. A small, conservative

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<sup>37</sup> William B. Hixson, *Search for the American Right-Wing*, *op. cit.*, xix.

<sup>38</sup> Don T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism*, *op. cit.* 63.

<sup>39</sup> Richard Hofstadter, David Riesman, Peter Viereck, Talcott Parsons, Nathan Glazer and Seymour Martin Lipset and Alan Westin. Quite interestingly the 1955 edition was titled *The New American Right*.

<sup>40</sup> In this era of triumphant Freudianism, this “new right” supporting McCarthyism was to be explained in the irrational anxieties felt by both socially descending WASPs of middling status, and socially ascending immigrant communities asserting their hard-fought Americanism. Daniel Bell, “Interpretations of American Politics (1955)”, in Daniel Bell, ed, *The Radical Right*, *op. cit.* 47-73.

intellectual community came into being. This group was highly diversified in its opinions with religious traditionalists working alongside antistatist libertarians. Nonetheless they were united in their staunch opposition to communism. Wealthy individuals and foundations began to fund anticommunist groups and institutions, sparking a movement of collaboration with conservative activists in a pattern that would become common by the late 1960's. A series of debates and local fights over education took place, opening a front that would prove critical to the assertion and growth of grassroots conservatism in the following decades. All these developments coalesced into the wave of support that eventually captured the GOP and propelled Barry Goldwater to the presidential nomination in 1964. In other words, the years preceding the Goldwater campaign "laid the foundations for everything that followed", as conservative lawyer and columnist William Rusher put it<sup>41</sup>.

Nonetheless, the respective historiographies on the "new right" and anticommunism tended to develop separately from each other. This phenomenon has been exasperated by a failure to distinguish McCarthyism -set in the 1950's, and involving a specific set pool situations and characters-, from anticommunism. As noted by Richard Fried, the abundant scholarship on Cold War anticommunism tends to "concentrate on McCarthy himself, on national rather than local politics, on political leaders rather than institutions, and on politics rather than culture"<sup>42</sup>. This leaves unanswered important questions as to the relationship between deeper trends in the American culture at play long before the Cold War, and anticommunism. Similarly, the historiographic focus on politics, episodes of political repression and on the impact of McCarthyism on various sectors and institutions such as the press, labor, universities or the film industry, has produced several pieces of high-quality scholarship. However this research may have left unfinished the task of grasping the social roots of American anticommunism. Also missing is a fresh perspective on the often-underestimated impact of the Cold War on the daily lives of those who lived through its more dramatic phases<sup>43</sup>.

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<sup>41</sup> William Rusher, *The Rise of the Right*, New York, Morrow, 1984, 161.

<sup>42</sup> Richard M. Fried, *Nightmare in Red: The McCarthy Era in Perspective*, New York and London, Oxford University Press, 1996, 223.

<sup>43</sup> Leonard J. Moore, "Good Old-Fashioned New Social History", *loc. cit.*, 563.

The death of Stalin in 1953, the relative easing of Cold War tensions and the demise of McCarthy's influence led several historians to conclude that anticommunism had been condemned to a steady decline after the mid-1950's, a view expressed by scholars such as M.J. Heale, Mokhtar Ben Barka or Richard Gid Powers, the latter having written in his important study on American anticommunism *Not Without Honour* that "the backlash against McCarthyism silenced anticommunism"<sup>44</sup>. However, this assessment should be nuanced. Admittedly, it is true that the general climate of fear and anxiety associated with McCarthyism softened. Also, the end of McCarthyism unquestionably coincided with a decline of militant anticommunism *among liberals*, as it was increasingly identified as a conservative attitude<sup>45</sup>. On this peculiar point, Gid Powers accurately noted that "McCarthyism irrevocably split the anticommunist movement left from right"<sup>46</sup>. However, despite this moderate decline, anticommunism very much remained a defining element of American culture and psyche after the mid-1950's. Richard Gid Powers reaches his conclusions that post-McCarthy anticommunism "was living on borrowed time"<sup>47</sup> largely due to an overemphasis on elite discourse, which leads him to overlook the degree to which anticommunism became rooted in many parts of the U.S., from the early 1950's on, as a living popular conservative subculture<sup>48</sup>.

The holding of events such as the Southern California School of Anticommunism in 1961 -more than seven years after McCarthy's downfall-, is clear testimony to this phenomenon. By the end of 1961, conservative columnist John Corlett noted the success of large organizations such as the Crusade, but also, with some surprise, the proliferation of grassroots anticommunist activity in small-time Idaho where he worked, especially the forming of anti-Red study groups by ordinary people: "Not since the heyday of Joe McCarthy has there been such interest in anti-communism. (...) The anti-communist movement today is one more solid ground than in the 1950's. The fight then was strictly

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<sup>44</sup> Richard Gid Powers, *Not Without Honour: The History of American Anticommunism*, New York and London, The Free Press, 1995, 272. Heale affirms that the decline of anticommunism was due largely to the reduction of class conflicts in the U.S. M.J. Heale, *American Anticommunism: Combating the Enemy Within, 1830-1970*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990, 192.; Mokhtar Ben Barka, one of the rare specialists of the American right in the French-speaking world, claims that one of the main difference between "old" and "new" right is that the old one made anticommunism its favourite warhorse, as opposed to the "new" one who acknowledged the decline of anticommunism and effectively turned to other issues. *La Nouvelle droite américaine*, Valenciennes, Presses Universitaires de Valenciennes, 1996, 25-29.

<sup>45</sup> Richard Gid Powers, *Not Without Honor*, *op. cit.*, 272.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> Even Gid Powers recognizes that after the downfall of McCarthy, "there were still areas where [anticommunism] remained healthy, even showed signs of growth". *Ibid.*, 274.

to stop the infiltration of Communists into the government (...)"<sup>49</sup>. A few months later, *Partisan Review* contributor Norman Birnbaum, from a liberal perspective, gave a similar assessment, but yet remarked that "the decline of anti-Communism among the intellectuals has been accompanied by a recrudescence of a popular anti-Communism which has assumed forms far more malignant than McCarthyism"<sup>50</sup>. Even later in the mid-1960's, at a time when political and social debates no longer focused on communism, but rather on antiwar, generational clashes, student unrest, rising crime rates, drug consumption, civil rights, desegregation, feminism, and race riots, Fred Schwarz's traveling anticommunist show continued to be welcomed by hundreds, sometimes thousands of people everywhere it went in America, mostly far from any major media attention.

In fact, it was not until the late 1960's that the Crusade and other anticommunist groups began to notice a clear erosion of their constituency, funding and appeal. By this time, many of those who had had experienced their political awakening through Schwarz's rallies, speeches and writings, had turned their attention to other issues that they considered more worthy of immediate attention than the anti-Red fight. Nonetheless they overwhelmingly remained convinced of its righteousness of the Crusade's cause. Many of them continued for instance to be financial backers. By the late 1970's, many of these conservative activists had risen to prominent social and political positions, and infused the national scene with a re-invigorated wave of anticommunism in a context where Cold War international tensions were once again on the rise. This contributed to a reversal of fortunes for Schwarz, whose organization increased substantially its activities throughout the Reagan era after years of decline.

Thus the story of Schwarz and the Crusade is a connecting point (among many) bringing together the respective historiographies of anticommunism and the "new right". The present work claims by no means to bring a radically new perspective on the "new right", neither does it attempt to dismiss the conclusions of existing academic trends. Rather it aims at highlighting some aspects of American conservatism during the second

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<sup>49</sup> John Corlett, "Communism May Be Top Issue in Elections", *Lewiston Morning Tribune*, Sun., Sept. 24, 1961, 4.

<sup>50</sup> Norman Birnbaum, "The Coming End of Anti-Communism", *Partisan Review*, Vol. 29, Summer 1962, 386.

half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It presents a perspective that is compatible with existing scholarship and interpretations.

Since the 1960's, a great number of works have appeared on contemporary conservatism. However one could argue that it was only in the 1990's that contemporary conservatism became one of the major subjects of current American historiography<sup>51</sup>. In a 1994 essay that generated an interesting debate in the *American Historical Review*, historian Alan Brinkley stated that the American right has not received anything like "the amount of attention from historians that its role in twentieth-century politics and culture suggests it would", prompting his peer Leo Ribuffo to reply that the problem is not the actual lack of scholarship on American conservatism, but rather the failure of the historical profession "to "mainstream" the copious good scholarship that already exists"<sup>52</sup>.

Today, this later problem does not exist. George W. Bush's presidential terms and the prospect of an indefinite era of Republican domination -conceivable during the 21<sup>st</sup> century's first decade, but ultimately unrealized- generated not only a general profusion of books on the subject, many of them of outstanding quality, but also won for the study of American conservatism a recognition attesting to its importance. Of course, some historiographic problems remain, but these are perhaps unsolvable. For instance, the assessment made by Hixson, in the early 1990's, that the academic material on the right wing is "disorganized", remains true in some respects, since the large amount of work of recent year often leads in conflicting directions<sup>53</sup>. Also, as Brinkley observes, American conservatism is not easy to characterize, as it encompasses "a broad range of ideas, impulses and constituencies, and many conservatives feel no obligation to choose among the conflicting, even incompatible impulses that fuel their politics"<sup>54</sup>.

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<sup>51</sup> Leonard J. Moore observed in 1996 that "American historians and the American Right have rediscovered each other", pointing out to the increasing number of publication, conferences and graduate students that focused on the issue. Leonard J. Moore, "Good Old-Fashioned New Social History", *loc. cit.*, 555.

<sup>52</sup> Alan Brinkley, "The Problem of American Conservatism", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 99, No. 2, Apr. 1994, 409. Pointing out to several works Brinkley did not mention, Ribuffo asserted: "The Right holds a historiographical place comparable to that allocated to industrial workers, African Americans, and women two decades ago." Leo P. Ribuffo, "Why is There so Much Conservatism in the United States and Why Do So Few Historians Know about It", *Ibid.*, 441.; Susan M. Yohn, "Will the Real Conservative Please Stand Up? or, The Pitfalls Involved in Examining Ideological Sympathies: A Comment on Alan Brinkley's "Problem of American Conservatism" ", *Ibid.*, 430-437.

<sup>53</sup> William B. Hixson, *Search for the American Right-Wing*, *op. cit.*, xx.

<sup>54</sup> Alan Brinkley, "The Problem of American Conservatism", *loc. cit.*, 414.

One of the major trends in “new right” studies stresses the issue of race and ethnicity. At the national level, race was an essential element of an antiestablishment backlash largely involving blue-collar whites against the federal government’s redistributive and racial policies. Note Alabama Governor George Wallace’s presidential bids, on which Dan T. Carter has compellingly written<sup>55</sup>. The most important and obvious impact of the race issue was to shift Southern states into the Republican camp, and provide a strong incentive for the rise of conservative suburban America, as U.S. white populations fled central cities into new racially homogenous peripheries where the principles of individualism and free market capitalism were strongly upheld. This aspect of the rise of the “new right” is the subject of several major works in recent historiography. In addition to the aforementioned book by Joseph Lowndes, the respective contributions of Kevin M. Kruse on the white flight in the region of Atlanta, Jason Sokol’s account of the way civil rights affected the daily lives of ordinary white Southerners, Joseph Crespino’s study on the rise of Republicanism in desegregating Mississippi and William Link’s portrayal of Senator Jesse Helm, all shine new light on the role played by racial politics in the emergence of the “new right”<sup>56</sup>.

Another important trend attempts to link the rise of the “new right” with “cultural wars”, which mobilized religious conservatives in supporting the Republican right’s agenda, notably the mostly-Protestant Moral Majority. Feminist scholars were among the first to stress, in the shift towards a “new right”, the importance of the emerging antiabortion, anti-sex education, antifeminist and anti-gai backlash coalescing around “pro-family” issues. In 1981 Rosalind Petchesky noted for instance that since both

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<sup>55</sup> As Dan T. Carter vividly showed in his excellent study of Wallace, the Alabama governor’s “rise to prominence coincided with a growing loss of faith in the federal government”, as show by Gallup poll numbers indicating that public trust in the federal government dropped from 80 to 20 percent in the three decades after 1964. Dan T. Carter, *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, The Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, 2000, 473. The racial explanation is also addressed in a rich body of academic works: Ronald P. Formisano, *Boston Against Busing: Race, Class, and Ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1991.; Thomas Byrne Edsall and Mary D. Edsall, *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and American Politics*, New York, New York, W.W. Norton & Company, 1992.; Stephan Leshner, *George Wallace: American Populist. Reading, Mass., Addison-Wesley, 1994.*; Dan T. Carter, *From George Wallace to Newt Gingrich: Race in the Conservative Counterrevolution, 1963-1994*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1996.; Amy Ansell, *New Right, New Racism: Race and Reaction in the United States and Great Britain*, New York, New York University Press, 1997.

<sup>56</sup> Kevin M. Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2005, 257-266.; Matthew D. Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2007.; Jason Sokol, *There Goes My Everything: White Southerners in the Age of Civil Rights, 1945-1973*, New York, Random House Inc., 2007.; Joseph Crespino, *In Search of Another Country: Mississippi and the Conservative Counterrevolution*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2007.; William A. Link, *Righteous Warrior: Jesse Helms and the Rise of Modern Conservatism*, New York, St. Martin’s Press, 2008.; Joseph E. Lowndes, *From the New Deal to the New Right*, *op. cit.*

Republicans and Democrats supported “aggressive defence-spending and tax-cutting program”, it was rather “sexual/reproductive” politics, i.e. “opposition to abortion and the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) which *identified* the New Right and its distinctive ideology”<sup>57</sup>.

The mass political mobilization of Protestants evangelicals in support of the GOP and their increasing cooperation with conservatives from other religious traditions -mainly Catholics and Jews- had major consequences. The religious vote, once segmented along denominational lines, became characterized by a deep liberal-conservative cleavage, a phenomenon labelled by sociologist Robert Wuthnow as the “restructuring” of American religion<sup>58</sup>. As the white evangelical vote became the most solid Republican base one election after another, the emergence of this so-called “new Christian right” took many scholars by surprise. Academic studies on this phenomenon gradually improved in quality, with the best works produced only from the 1990’s on through the works of Peter Berger, Gary Wills, William Martin, Christian Smith and Daniel K. Williams<sup>59</sup>. The greatest contribution of scholarship on faith-based conservatism has been to show, that

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<sup>57</sup> Rosalind Pollack Petchesky, “Antiabortion, Antifeminism, and the Rise of the New Right”, *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Summer 1981, 207. Early analysis from feminist scholars focused predictably on -one might say that they overstressed- gender issues and antifeminism as being the central ideology of the New Right. Zillah Eisenstein defined the New Right as “a coalition of political, religious, and antifeminist groups that hope to dismantle the welfare state and reconstruct the patriarchal family”. Zillah R. Eisenstein, “The Sexual Politics of the New Right: Understanding the “Crisis of Liberalism” for the 1980s”, *Signs*, Vol. 7, No.3, Feminist Theory, Spring 1982, 570. Feminists also scrutinized with a lot of interest, not to say with some abhorrence, the notable presence of women in New Right politics. See Rebecca E. Klatch, *Women of the New Right*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1987.

<sup>58</sup> White evangelical support for the GOP reached an all-time record of 78% during the 2004 presidential campaign. Scott Keeter, “Evangelicals and the GOP: An Update. Strongly Republican Group Not Immune to Party’s Trouble”, *Pew Research Center Publications*, Oct. 2006, available online at : < <http://pewresearch.org/pubs/78/evangelicals-and-the-gop-an-update> > (accessed on May 5 2008).

<sup>59</sup> Alan Crawford, *Thunder on the Right: The “New Right” and the Politics of Resentment*, New York, Pantheon, 1980.; Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Moralism: The New Christian Right in American Life*, Minneapolis, Augsburg Fortress Pub., 1981.; Jeffrey K. Hadden and Charles R. Swann, *Prime-Time Preachers: The Rising Power of Televangelism*, Reading, Addison-Wesley Pub., 1981.; Robert C. Liebman and Robert Wuthnow, eds., *The New Christian Right: Mobilization and Legitimation*, New York, Aldine Transaction, 1983.; Gilian Peele, *Revival and Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1984.; John C. Green and James L. Guth, “The Christian Right in the Republican Party: The Case of Pat Robertson’s Supporters”, *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 1, 1988, 150-165.; Matthew C. Moen, *The Christian Right and Congress*, Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 1989.; Steven Bruce, *The Rise and Fall of the New Christian Right: Conservative Protestant Politics in America, 1978-1988*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1990.; Gary Wills, *Under God: Religion and American Politics*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1990.; Erling Jorstad, *Holding Fast/Pressing On: Religion in America in the 1980s*, Westport, Greenwood, 1990.; Mark A. Noll, ed., *Religion and American Politics: From the Colonial Period to the 1980’s*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1990.; James Davison Hunter, *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America*, New York, HarperCollins Pub., 1990.; Mark J. Rozell and Clyde Wilcox, “Second Coming: The Strategies of the New Christian Right”, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 111, No. 2, Summer 1996, 271-294.; Bruce Kuklick and D.G. Hart, *Religious Advocacy in American History*, Grand Rapids, William B. Eerdmans Pub., 1997.; Christian Smith, *American Evangelicalism: Embattled and Thriving*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1998.; William Martin, “The Christian Right and American Foreign Policy”, *Foreign Policy*, No. 114, Spring 1999, 66-80.; Christian Smith, *Christian America: What Evangelicals Really Want*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2002.; Barry Hankins, *Uneasy in Babylon: Southern Baptist Conservatives and American Culture*, Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 2002.; Ruth Murray Brown, *For a “Christian America”: A History of the Religious Right*, New York, Prometheus Books, 2002.; Roger Finke and Rodney Starke, *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winner and Losers of Our Religious Economy*, New Brunswick and New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 2005.; Daniel K. Williams, *God’s Own Party: The Making of the Christian Right*, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010.

much of postwar American history has been the story of two tendencies. Brinkley writes: “One is the survival of fundamentalist private values among people who have in other ways adapted themselves to the modern public world. The second is the unprecedentedly vigorous assault on those values by liberal, secular Americans”<sup>60</sup>.

Another branch of American conservatism scholarship is mainly rooted in intellectual history. It emphasises the development of American conservative ideologies from the postwar era to the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. This approach tends to focus on the thoughts of individuals and groups of individuals, such as the *National Review* circle centered on William F. Buckley in the 1950’s, and all conservative intellectuals gathered under the generic label “neoconservatives” from the 1960’s on. The contribution of conservative intellectuals in enhancing the American right’s respectability and being its voice in academia and the media -television shows, newspaper columns- is undeniable. Here, the two classics are George Nash’s 1976 work on American conservative intellectuals after 1945 and Sydney Blumenthal’s 1985 account on the institutionalization of conservative ideas after the 1960’s<sup>61</sup>. The ascendancy of neoconservative intellectuals during the George W. Bush presidency, and the presence of some of these in administrative and policy advising positions, also led in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century to a proliferation of publications on neoconservatism and on the ideological roots of the American contemporary right-wing<sup>62</sup>.

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<sup>60</sup> Alan Brinkley, “The Problem of American Conservatism”, *loc. cit.*, 427.

<sup>61</sup> The classic account of the rise of contemporary intellectual conservatism in America remains George Nash’s 1976 study, and its late nineties reedition: George H. Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945*, Wilmington, Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 1998.; Sydney Blumenthal, *The Rise of the Counter-Establishment: The Conservative Ascent to Political Power*, New York, Sterling Publishing, 2008.

<sup>62</sup> Some interesting studies were published on influential conservative thinkers: John B. Judis, *William F. Buckley, Jr.: Patron Saint of the Conservatives*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 2001.; Linda Bridges and John R. Coyne Jr., *Strictly Right: William F. Buckley and the American Conservative Movement*, Hoboken, John Wiley & Sons, 2007. The alleged influence Jewish political philosopher Leo Strauss had on the New Right, and especially neoconservatism, has fostered some works addressing the issue, unfortunately not always convincingly so: Shadia B. Drury, *Leo Strauss and the American Right*, New York, St. Martin’s Press, 1997., and Anne Norton, *Leo Strauss and the Politics of American Empire*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2004. Works on neoconservatism are plenty, and the quality greatly varies from one to another. Only the most relevant ones are mentioned here. The first attempt at synthesizing neoconservatism was Peter Steinfels, *The Neoconservatives: The Men Who Are Changing America’s Politics*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1979.; Claude Offe, “Democracy Against the Welfare State?: Structural Foundations of Neoconservative Political Opportunities”, *Political Theory*, Vol. 15, No. 4, Nov. 1987, 501-537.; Jay Winik, “The Neoconservative Reconstruction”, *Foreign Policy*, No. 73, Winter 1988-1989, 135-152. A broad summary of conservative intellectuals through the eighties is David Hoeweler, *Watch on the Right: Conservative Intellectuals in the Reagan Era*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1991. A very significant account of the role played by Catholic intellectuals in the coming of the New Right is Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals and Conservative Politics in America, 1950-1985*, Ithaca and London, Cornell, 1993. A classis study on neoconservative views on foreign policy is John Ehrman, *The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1995. See also Irving Kristol, *Neo-Conservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea: Selected Essays, 1949-1995*, New York, The Free Press, 1995.; Mark Gerson, ed., *The Essential Neoconservative Reader*, Addison Wesley Pub., Reading, Mass., 1997. Interesting books among the many -too much- appearing in the early 2000 years are Halper, Stefan and Jonathan Clarke, *America Alone: The Neo-Conservatives and the Global Order*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2004., and Jacob Heilbrunn, *They Knew They*



A smaller tradition is oriented towards economic and institutional analysis, and is influenced by social science, Marxist methodology or the so-called “organizational synthesis”. It has been useful in calling deserving attention in its study to some of the right’s most consistent sources of durability. This comes down to study the right’s ongoing access to funding by major figures and institutions of the corporate world, as well as the support it receives from the national-security bureaucracy (law-enforcement officials, military, intelligence agencies)<sup>63</sup>. The work of such writers as M. Patricia Marshak, J. Craig Jenkins, Alan Neustadt and Val Burris focus on the business elite, whose role was indeed pivotal in channelling huge sums of money which developed the organizational constellation of policymaking foundations, think tanks, political action committees and institutes spawned by conservative activists by the 1970’s onward. More recently, the work of Kim Phillips-Fein showed how much the conservative movement owed its development to the mobilization of wealthy businessmen against the New Deal, and subsequently against the expansion of the state’s economic responsibility<sup>64</sup>. These studies confirm that, aside from the role played by conservative politicians and intellectuals, the contribution of elites and establishmentarian figures, is central to the development and organization of conservative power in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>65</sup>.

Through the examination of Schwarz’s life and work, this study aims to better understand the relationship between anticommunism and American conservatism. Anticommunist activists and the general American public shared a basic rejection of

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*Were Right : The Rise of the Neocons*, New York, Doubleday, 2008. For an interesting perspective stressing the Jewish roots of neoconservatism, see Friedman, Murray. *The Neoconservative Revolution: Jewish Intellectuals and the Shaping of Public Policy*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2006.

<sup>63</sup> Wealthy individuals like Joseph Coors, David Koch or Richard Mellon Scaife played a major role in this process, as well as large foundations such as the Lily Endowment and the Pew Foundation. For points of view rooted in Marxist analysis, see J. Craig Jenkins and Teri Shumate, “Cowboy Capitalists and the Rise of the “New Right”: An Analysis of Contributors to Conservative Policy Formation Organizations”, *Social Problems*, Vol. 33, No. 2, Dec. 1985, 130-145.; Val Burris, “The Political Partisanship of American Businessmen: A Study of Corporate Political Action Committees”, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 52, No. 6, Dec. 1987, 732-744.; Alan Neustadt and Dan Clawson, “Corporate Political Groupings: Does Ideology Unify Business Political Behavior?”, *Ibid.*, Vol. 53, No. 2, Apr. 1988, 172-190.; J. Craig Jenkins and Craig M. Eckert, “The Right Turn in Economic Policy: Business Elites and the New Conservative Economics”, *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2000, 307-309. The classic survey of U.S. history by H. Zinn in his 1980 book and its multiple reeditions remain the typical leftist account of the New Right, seen as the simple continuation of capitalist elite dominance that characterized U.S. history since the colonial era: Howard Zinn, *A People’s History of the United States: 1492-Present*, New York, Harper Perennial, 2003. For an institutional view of the New Right outside Marxist interpretations, see Jerry W. Sanders, *Peddlers of Crisis: The Committee on the Present Danger and the Politics of Containment*, London, Pluto Press, 1983.; Thomas Byrne Edsall, *The Politics of Inequality*, New York, W.W. Norton & Company, 1989.; M. Patricia Marshak, *The Integrated Circus: The New Right and the Restructuring of Global Markets*, Kingston, McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1991.

<sup>64</sup> Kim Phillips-Fein, *Invisible Hands: The Making of the Conservative Movement from the New Deal to Reagan*, New York & London, W.W. Norton, 2009.

<sup>65</sup> See William B. Hixson, *Search for the American Right-Wing*, *op. cit.*, 67-73.

communism. Opinion polls from the 1930's, the only time communism rose to a relative cultural respectability in America, indicated how much anticommunism still prevailed: 54 percent of respondents to a Gallup poll in 1937 favoured padlocking places printing Communist literature. In 1946, "normalcy" returned amid the break-up of the wartime alliance between the Soviets and the West, with more than 69 percent of the American public supporting to outlaw the Communist Party<sup>66</sup>. Despite the fact that opinion surveys throughout the 1980's showed Americans to be divided in their approval of Reagan's handling of U.S.-Soviet relationships, it remains significant that in 1988, more than 70 percent of Gallup respondents nevertheless identified themselves as anticommunists<sup>67</sup>. These high levels of anti-Red sentiment illustrate to what extent anticommunism cannot be understood simplistically as a right-wing political strategy used to justify political repression, as some have claimed<sup>68</sup>. Granted, anticommunist activism declined amid the rise of new battleground issues for conservatives such as opposition to Vietnam, the "tax revolt", and "cultural wars". However, anticommunism as a feature of American culture did not disappear at all.

Mid 20<sup>th</sup>-century anticommunism in America was something new to the extent that it was a reaction to an unprecedented situation in American history, i.e. an ideological world struggle<sup>69</sup>. However, anticommunism was rooted in key elements of American culture in existence since the colonial era, such as the anti-radical tradition, nativism (which played a large role in the first Red Scare in 1919-1921), the deep commitment to religion and to individual freedom associated with the democratic, capitalist society, held even by the most underprivileged in United States<sup>70</sup>.

Also, anticommunism unified the various trends of American conservatism. It helped solidify an American right-wing which otherwise would have been deeply fractured along its various fault lines: traditionalists vs. libertarians, intellectuals and elitists vs.

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<sup>66</sup> Richard Fried, *Nightmare in Red*, *op. cit.*, 60.

<sup>67</sup> Also, the American public was moderately supportive of on the "Reagan Doctrine" emphasis on overt and covert American involvement in low-intensity conflicts throughout the world. For an interesting study on the variation of poll numbers, see Gordon L. Bowen, "Presidential Action and Public Opinion about U.S. Nicaraguan Policy: Limits to the "Rally 'Round the Flag" Syndrome", *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 22, No. 4, Dec. 1989, 793-800.; Doug Foster, "Backstage: Looking for MP", *Mother Jones Magazine*, Vol. 13, No. 7, Sept., 1988, 9.

<sup>68</sup> See Michael Rogin, *Intellectuals and McCarthy: The Radical Specter*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1967.; Joel Kovel, *Red-Hunting in the Promised Land: Anticommunism and the Making of America*, New York, Basic Books, 1994.

<sup>69</sup> Richard Gid Powers, *Not Without Honor*, *op. cit.*, 426.

<sup>70</sup> On the ethnic and racial aspect of the first Red Scare, see Theodore Kornweibel Jr., *Seeing Red: Federal Campaigns Against Black Militancy, 1919-1925*, Bloomington & London, Indiana University Press, 1998.; Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes*, *op. cit.*, 55-61.

populists, isolationists vs. internationalists, and right-wing politicians themselves divided between Eastern Republican elitists, Midwestern populists associated with Senators Joe McCarthy and Robert A. Taft, and Southern Democrats. As Mary C. Brennan points out: “No matter what they thought about the domestic situation, almost everyone on the right - indeed, most Americans- feared communism. Consequently, the anticommunist crusade created a broad spectrum of support and provided conservatives with heroes”<sup>71</sup>. The anticommunist career of Schwarz illustrates well the nature of this broad alliance. In the world of anticommunism, the Australian crusader was everything to every man. Across his career he was involved with activists from almost all segments of the American right. His co-crusaders ranged from rural or suburban grassroots types, to businessmen and suave, urbane conservative intellectuals, movie stars, high ranking officers and bureaucrats. This alliance, along an anticommunist agenda, proved to be the key of the success of the Crusade’s anticommunism schools in the late 1950’s and the early 1960’s<sup>72</sup>. This anticommunist front also cemented the broad-based Reagan coalition, many activists of which had initially underwent their political mobilization through anti-Red activism.

Moreover, in an important way, anticommunism helped unite American religious institutions, and through them, religious conservatives, thus proving one of the single most important force in de-segmenting American religion according to denominational barriers. The early postwar era in the U.S. saw a major popular resurgence of piety which affected almost all denominations. Church attendance rose to its highest levels in American history, involving two-thirds of the U.S. population by the second half of the 1950’s. This phenomenon was fuelled by the context of anxiety and dread created by the Cold War, thus explaining why this outburst of piety was coloured to such an extent by patriotism and anticommunism. As Sydney Ahlstrom wrote, “religion and Americanism were brought together to an unusual degree”<sup>73</sup>. The revivalist tradition, which had been kept intact by evangelical Protestants, re-emerged for the first time on the national scene

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<sup>71</sup> Mary C. Brennan, *Turning Right in the Sixties: The Conservative Capture of the GOP*, Chapel Hill & London, North Carolina University Press, 1995, 11.

<sup>72</sup> Even Richard Viguerie, author of the 1975 book *The New Right: We’re Ready to Lead* states that: “It’s true that the Old Right had emphasized economic issues and anti-communism while the New Right added social issues to the mix, but there wasn’t much outright disagreement between the two groups on issues”. Richard A. Viguerie and David Franke, *America’s Right Turn: How Conservatives Used New and Alternative Media to Take Power*, Chicago & Los Angeles, Bonus Books, 2004, 127.

<sup>73</sup> Sydney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 2004, 952, 954.

since the days of Billy Sunday, most markedly through the work of Billy Graham, who made, as did many other evangelists, no secret of his belief that communism was the work of Satan<sup>74</sup>. After McCarthy's downfall, the fundamentalist right assumed the mantle of militant anticommunism.

To an unprecedented degree, this context brought evangelicals of all stripes closer to their religious foes from the Catholic Church, which had, since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, been a worldwide vanguard of the anticommunist struggle. Due to their traditional anticommunism, American Catholics, spurred on by the Cold War climate, tended to identify their faith with America itself<sup>75</sup>. This dynamic created circumstances where new interdenominational networks were gradually established, long before contemporary interdenominational pro-life marches on Capitol Hill. Joe McCarthy, himself a Catholic, was highly esteemed by several of the most radical fundamentalist Protestant leaders despite their outright contempt for his church affiliation. Carl McIntire, whose role was pivotal in launching Fred Schwarz's crusading career, cooperated in many instances with McCarthy's staff throughout the 1950-1954 period, in spite of his frequent anti-Catholic rants<sup>76</sup>. McCarthy was also supported by a minority of anticommunist Jews -the chief example being Alfred Kohlberg, who also became one of Schwarz's most early and important supporters-, as well as having two Jews as his most notable aides<sup>77</sup>. Schwarz also exemplifies this anti-Red ecumenism. He was a highly conservative Protestant Baptist layman who started his crusading career in the U.S. after arriving from Australia in the early 1950's with the help of people like McIntire and Toronto Baptist fundamentalist leader T.T. Shields. As time unfolded, Schwarz came to collaborate on a frequent basis with conservative Catholics such as William F. Buckley, Fred and Phyllis Schlafly, as well as one of his most ardent financial backers, the Catholic businessman Patrick J. Frawley. In June 1962, Schwarz respectfully wrote to New York Cardinal

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<sup>74</sup> "My own theory about communism is that it is master-minded by Satan." Billy Graham, quoted in Irving D.S. Winsboro and Michael Epple, "Religion, Culture, and the Cold War: Bishop Fulton J. Sheen and America's Anti-Communist Crusade of the 1950's", *The Historian*, Vol. 71, No. 2, 219.

<sup>75</sup> As Patrick Allitt outlined, J. Edgar Hoover's FBI "recruited heavily at Catholic colleges; Catholic journals supported the search for "security risks" in government; and the most famous communist hunter of the era, Senator Joseph McCarthy, was himself Catholic" Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Intellectuals, op. cit.*, 20. David J. O'Brien, *American Catholics and Social Reform: The New Deal Years*, New York & Oxford, 1968, 96. See also Donald F. Crosby, S.J., "The Politics of Religion: American Catholics and the Anti-Communist Impulse", in Robert Griffith and Athan Theoharis, eds., *The Specter*, New York, Franklin Watts, 1974, 20-38., and Donald F. Crosby, *God, Church, and Flag: Senator Joseph McCarthy and the Catholic Church, 1950-1957*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1978, 6-15.

<sup>76</sup> Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Doomsday: Fundamentalists of the Far Right*, Nashville & New York, Abingdon Press, 1970, 49-58.

<sup>77</sup> Aviva Weingarten, *Jewish Organization's Response to Communism and to Senator McCarthy*, London, Valentine Mitchell, 2008.

Francis Spellman, requesting that the Catholic prelate give the invocation to his New York anticommunist rally<sup>78</sup>. Ten years before, this would have been inconceivable.

In a way, anticommunism says much more about the United States and its culture than it does about communism itself, be it actually existing or theoretical<sup>79</sup>. It became a trope in which millions saw their deepest fears: state authoritarianism, loss of collective liberties, godlessness, and hostility from a distant foreign power. In many cases, communism was perceived to be such an alien and incomprehensible reality that it became the convenient distorting mirror through which numerous Americans could project their cultural hatred for specific groups (Jews, Blacks, aliens, homosexuals, etc.). This phenomenon reached its apex in the South, where a belated Red Scare developed after the downfall of Joe McCarthy and raged until the late 1960's, providing a few more years of work for militant anticommunists<sup>80</sup>. The infusion of Cold War rhetoric allowed Southerners to reset their cultural struggle to maintain segregation into the broader framework of the nation's defence of the free world against totalitarianism. As George Lewis points out, it made possible to "remove race from the intellectual debates surrounding massive resistance altogether"<sup>81</sup>, as well as presenting the South as the last bastion of an embattled Americanism. Against the background of urban racial unrest that began in the mid-1960's, millions nationwide joined Southerners in believing in the Black-Red connection. Several polls conducted in the mid and late 1960's showed that a sizable share of the American public believed that the Reds were involved one way or the other in civil rights demonstrations and urban rioting<sup>82</sup>. Communism, though admittedly pushed aside to a degree by issues such as civil rights as a central issue in American politics, nonetheless retained a crucial role as the primary antagonistic force in the collective psyche. Talk about communism often became a coded way to address topics

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<sup>78</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Francis Spellman, Jun. 18, 1962, *Marvin Liebman Papers* Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, (hereafter *MLiebP*), Box B11, F. Fred Schwarz.

<sup>79</sup> Joel Kovel aptly writes that anticommunism was "primarily about its subject, United States, than its object, communism". Joel Kovel, *Red-Hunting in the Promised Land*, *op. cit.*, x.

<sup>80</sup> M.J. Heale, *McCarthy's Americans*, Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1998, 293-297.

<sup>81</sup> George Lewis, "White South, Red Nation: Massive Resistance and the Cold War", Clive Wells, ed., *Massive Resistance: Southern Opposition to the Second Reconstruction*, New York and London, Oxford University Press, 2005, 122.

<sup>82</sup> For instance, a Gallup poll showed that a combined 75 percent of respondents thought that Communists were either "a lot" involved in civil right demonstrations (48 percent) or "somewhat" involved (27 percent). Hazel Herskine, "The Polls: Demonstrations and Race Riots", *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 4, The Historical Study of Public Opinion, Winter 1967-1968, 664-665.

without actually addressing them by name. Unquestionably, here is one of the roots of contemporary “colour-blind” conservatism.

As shown in the next chapter, Schwarz’s personal background did not make him attracted at all to discourses rooted in racial prejudice (he always condemned racism in speeches and writings). Like most non-Southern conservative figures of the 1950’s and 1960’s, Schwarz actually showed little concern with race relations, which could obviously be seen as a lack of sensitivity for what was becoming the towering issue of American public life<sup>83</sup>. But as the gradual decline of liberal anticommunism after the mid-1950’s increasingly turned militant Red-baiting into a conservative attribute, Schwarz had to commit himself and his organisation to a base of support that included many Southerners. This does not mean that his Crusade became highly active in the South, Texas being in fact the only Southern state where the Crusade established a long-lasting presence. Yet, several transplanted Southerners were part of the grassroots anticommunist constituency in the Crusade’s home turfs of Southern California and in the Midwest. This is reflected notably in the survey studies done on Crusade supporters in 1962 and 1964, which show that a minority of them supported the Southern position on race issues. The majority, however, though being overwhelmingly white and being quite distrustful of the action of the Supreme Court and the federal state’s involvement in social and economic issues, disagreed with racial segregation and the Southern viewpoint in this regard. As it was for many conservative organizations, the supporters of which were primarily united by a hostility for collectivism (which had very different meanings from one activist to another), race was thus a divisive force among the Crusaders.

Sensing this its explosive nature, and probably unwilling to address what he and many other conservatives felt was a divisive distraction in the fight against communism, Schwarz skirted the race issue as much as he could throughout the 1950’s. Yet, his restraint on the race issue faded by the mid-1960’s, as a growing anti-civil rights backlash developed among the American public in a context of urban racial rioting. This made it natural for him to adapt his Red-baiting to the prevailing “law and order” rhetoric of the day. Also, the rise of radical Afro-American left-wing organizations such as the Black

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<sup>83</sup> Don Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism*, *op. cit.*, 62-63.

Panther Party -whose leaders espoused Communist doctrines- allowed him and other anticommunist activists, as well as conservative politicians and intellectuals, to substantiate the idea that foreign radical forces were fuelling racial discontent in America.

### **1.3 Fred C. Schwarz, Professional Anticommunist**

Throughout his crusading career, Fred Schwarz was the archetypal professional anticommunist, and as such is the best example of an important, yet almost un-investigated aspect of the Cold War culture. Professional anticommunists were those private individuals who had embraced anticommunism as a full-time commitment, and who made a living mostly or exclusively from it<sup>84</sup>. Very often, due to previous experience as Communists themselves, they had gathered an understanding of communism, which they shared to any institution willing to hire them on either a temporary or permanent basis. Some found policy-advising jobs in important governmental agencies such as the Defence or the State Department, became countersubversive advisors for law enforcement agencies like the FBI -one of the biggest employer of professional anticommunists until the mid-1950's-, or for Congressional Committees. Others were hired as private consultants on the Communist issue for various corporations, published books, or worked in the media.

More importantly, several, like Schwarz, embarked on the task of awaking the American public to the dangers of communism, thus becoming full-time educators. Significantly, the rising success of anticommunist educators from the mid-1950's onward took place in a context where education was increasingly seen as one of the most important Cold War battlefields between the Communist and free worlds. Rising concerns over education had major consequences. This fuelled a new multi-million knowledge business centered on mass anticommunist education. Also, conservatives and anticommunists began to mobilize in many communities (Pasadena in 1950, Houston in

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<sup>84</sup> Hubert Villeneuve, "Anticommunisme Inc.: Grandeur et déclin de l'anticommunisme professionnel aux États-Unis, 1945-1965", *Cahiers d'histoire, Altérité et anxiété : Actes du 15<sup>e</sup> Colloque de l'AEDDHUM*, Vol. 28, No. 1, Winter 2009, 61-70. Hoover did not make a living exclusively from anticommunism, but he published a very successful anti-Red book (*Masters of Deceit: The Story of Communism in America and How To Fight It*, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1958). McCarthy was very appreciated by Texas oilmen like Hugh Roy Cullen or H.L. Hunt, who frequently invited him to address their fundraising dinners and provided him gifts of all sorts (see David M. Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy So Immense, op. cit.*, 1983, 302-303.) But this study will try to outline the specific actions of those who used anticommunism as their exclusive vocation.

1953, Los Angeles in 1955) to defend American schools against the encroachment of progressive, liberal education, thus initiating a continuing series of school confrontations which proved itself an essential feature of the emerging right-wing mobilisation.

Fred Schwarz was the most important professional anticommunist educator of the late 1950's era. The Christian Anti-Communism Crusade was during this time the largest single-issue anticommunist organization in the U.S. From 1950 onward, through thousands of speeches, scores of recordings, writings, and the holding of anticommunist events that extended to the 1980's, Schwarz's message reached countless numbers of people who, in many cases, experienced as never before a political awakening, and who felt the need to become involved in anticommunist and conservative politics. In many places, especially in South California, Texas and Arizona, Crusade events of the late 1950's and early 1960's were for many great foundational moments that sparked lives of conservative activism<sup>85</sup>. "Darling of the Moral Majority" Phyllis Schlafly probably summed it up better than anyone in a 1998 letter to her old friend Fred Schwarz: "You were an indispensable factor in building the grassroots anticommunist movement, which became the conservative movement, which ultimately elected Ronald Reagan"<sup>86</sup>.

This mobilizing process is especially true for conservative evangelicals, who constituted an important part of Crusade audiences during the organization's first decade. Long before many of them underwent a process of political (re)awakening in the 1970's, the Crusade had been one of the few evangelical organizations that had sustained an interest in worldly affairs across the 1920's-1970's period, that is, when such interest had recessed. As scores of studies have shown since the 1970's, the 1925 Scopes Trial marked the beginning of a so-called "Great Reversal", a 50-year period where several signs indicated a certain evangelical withdrawal from politics and social involvement (for instance, conservative Protestants voted comparatively less than other Americans)<sup>87</sup>. Nonetheless, as a growing scholarship shows, conservative Protestants had never ceased

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<sup>85</sup> Historian Lisa McGirr conducted several interviews with Orange Countian activists, many of which attributed the "awakening" of the county's conservative mobilization to the *Orange School of Anticommunism* held in March 1961 by the *Crusade*. These findings are confirmed by those of the present study. Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 60-66, 294.

<sup>86</sup> Phyllis Schlafly, Undated letter addressed to Fred Schwarz, attached to fundraising letter addressed to CACC Newsletter readers, Jul. 1998, *Political Research Associates*, Archival Collections (hereafter *PRAA*). F. "Schwarz, Fred C."

<sup>87</sup> Robert C. Liebman and Robert Wuthnow, eds., *The New Christian Right*, *op. cit.*, 167-185, and see also Corwin Smidt, *Evangelicals and American Politics, 1976-1988*, Washington D.C., Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1993, 93.



to be engaged in American society and the world throughout these years<sup>88</sup>. By the post-WWII era, the issue of communism proved to be the one around which coalesced the political fears of many conservative evangelicals, from the more radical fundamentalists (Carl McIntire, and the American Council of Christian Churches), to the partisans of a softened conservative gospel (Billy Graham and the National Association of Evangelicals, or NAE)<sup>89</sup>. In fact, the Cold War and the way it created a *stimmung* marked by an impending apocalyptic terror allowed for conservative evangelicals to bring their subculture back to the American mainstream. As Angela M. Lahr's 2007 seminal study demonstrated, anticommunism established the groundwork for a renewed evangelical tradition whose Cold War linkage with American nationalism relocated it out of the political fringe: "As the early Cold War turned into the late Cold War and then the post-Cold War, conservative evangelicals found themselves in a stronger position to criticize certain aspects of secular American culture that they opposed"<sup>90</sup>.

Fred Schwarz appeared in this context, contributing substantially to the re-emergence of a worldly consciousness among conservative Protestants through call to anticommunist action. Armed with knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory and history that he acquired over years of study, he repeated his anticommunist message in countless churches and within the most important institutions of the American evangelical subculture. Seasoned by years of engagement with the academic world through his experience in the Inter-Varsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions in Australia, he was at the forefront of the postwar's "neo-evangelical" attempt to reclaim fundamentalism's neglected intellectual and scholarly heritage from the chasm of anti-intellectualism, though he was not involved himself in the resurgence of evangelical higher education which took place during this period. Hearing Schwarz speak on the campus of Tyndale College in 1954, future fundamentalist leader Norman Geisler, co-founder of North Carolina's *Southern Evangelical Seminary*, was thrilled: "When he spoke of his debates with Communists in universities, my ears perked up. I did not know that Christians could actually debate toe-

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<sup>88</sup> Leo Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1983.; Glen Jeanson, *Gerald K. Smith: Minister of Hate*, Baton Rouge & London, Yale University Press, 1988.

<sup>89</sup> George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism in American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925*, Oxford & London, Oxford University Press, 1979, 210.

<sup>90</sup> Angela M. Lahr, *Millennial Dreams and Apocalyptic Nightmares: The Cold War Origins of Political Evangelicalism*, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 2007, 203.

to-toe with unbelievers in a secular context. He was one of only two Christians I knew who could actually do this”<sup>91</sup>.

Moreover, Schwarz hammered home the anticommunist message in a way that established a clear link between atheism and the abandonment of all morality, truth and righteousness: “When [Communists] deny God, they simultaneously deny every virtue and every value that originates with God. They deny moral law. They deny absolute truth and righteousness”, he wrote<sup>92</sup>. Insofar as Schwarz identified the denial of God as the core of Communist philosophy and warned endlessly that communism was only the side effect of atheism, his message contributed to push fellow evangelicals back into worldly matters, so as to stand up against all manifestations of Godlessness in public life. Writing of hearing Schwarz for the first time in 1956, Focus on the Family founder James Dobson recalls: “He made quite an impression on me. I still recall he (sic) things he said, thirty years later, and they continue to influence my life”<sup>93</sup>. In a short article about his political awakening at the age of 14 (“I joined the conservative movement when I joined Fred Schwarz’s Christian-Anticommunism Crusade”)<sup>94</sup>, free market economist and prominent Christian fundamentalist activist Gary North summed it all up through the title: “It All Began With Fred Schwarz”<sup>95</sup>. When he published in 1987 *Healer of the Nations*, a book promoting Christian Reconstructionism, i.e. the idea that Christians should put their creed into action and seek to influence private and public life in order to rebuild society according to conservative Christian principles and Biblical law, North dedicated his book to Schwarz, “whose one-hour lecture got me started on all this over 30 years ago”<sup>96</sup>.

Amid this process of mobilisation, the Crusade became, despite its limited resources, one of the most active Christian anticommunist groups on the international level, establishing and maintaining a presence in India, Asia and Africa, using mostly local evangelical church networks. Schwarz had made his way in the Australian evangelical world before coming to the United States with almost no resources. He had an outsider’s

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<sup>91</sup> Quoted in David Noebel, “Frederick Charles Schwarz, January 15, 1913 – January 24, 2009”, *The Schwarz Report*, Vol. 49, No. 3, Mar. 2009, 2.

<sup>92</sup> Quoted in Brooks R. Walker, *The Christian Fright Peddlers*, *op. cit.*, 61.

<sup>93</sup> Quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, xviii.

<sup>94</sup> Gary North, “Eight Unbreakable Rules for Hard-Core Tea Party Activists (Or Any Other Special-Interest Coalition)”, Aug. 16, 2010, available online at < <http://www.garynorth.com/public/6827.cfm> > (accessed Nov. 12, 2010).

<sup>95</sup> *Id.*, “It All Began With Fred Schwarz”, *LewRockwell.com*, 16 Dec., 2002, available online at < <http://www.lewrockwell.com/north/north145.html> > (accessed Mar. 25, 2009).

<sup>96</sup> *Id.*, *Healer of the Nations: Biblical Blueprint for International Relations*, Forth Worth, Dominion Press, 1987, vi.

perspective on North American affluence; he knew how to do a lot with little. Schwarz's "creative" frugality sets apart the Crusade from other American anticommunist groups, who, though sometimes enjoying much greater levels of resources, were far less active internationally in supporting anticommunism. Finding absurd the prospect of circumscribing their action to America in a context where they saw the anti-Red fight as nothing less than a planetary struggle for human freedom, Schwarz and his collaborators provided their action with a internationalist perspective in spite of their clear support for American nationalism, which they accepted as a prerequisite to the success of their activities in America, as well as an effective bulwark against communism<sup>97</sup>.

This feature is inseparable from the evangelical outlook that deeply impregnated the Crusade. The Protestant evangelical culture has always constituted a transnational phenomenon blurring differences between its adherents across borders<sup>98</sup>. The Crusade became active at the international level in a context marked by two interrelated dynamics in the global religious economy. First: the growth of evangelical Christianity, which, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, extended beyond its traditional roots in the English-speaking world<sup>99</sup>. And second, the exceptional increase in missionary efforts on the part of North American conservative evangelicals, to the point where they started in the early 1950's -at the moment the Crusade was founded- to outstrip in vitality and sheer numbers the missionaries coming from mainline Protestant churches. By 1980, they constituted more than 90 percent of the world's Protestant missionary force<sup>100</sup>.

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<sup>97</sup> When asked whether he considered internal or external communism the most dangerous for the U.S., Schwarz often replied: "If you were on a ship that was sinking, such as the *Titanic*, which would be the greater danger, the water outside or the water inside?", Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, op. cit., 74.

<sup>98</sup> Sam Reimer, *Evangelicals and the Continental Divide: The Conservative Protestant Subculture in Canada and the United States*, Montreal & Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002, 6-9.. See also the excellent study from Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865*, Carlisle, U.K., 2007.

<sup>99</sup> David Martin, "Evangelical Expansion in Global Society", in Donald M. Lewis, ed., *Christianity Reborn: The Global Expansion of Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, Grand Rapids & Cambridge, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2004, 273-278.

<sup>100</sup> Joel A. Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism*, Oxford & New York, Oxford University Press, 1999, 184.

## 2 A CRUSADER'S TALE

“Wherever I went I carried a large Bible and was widely regarded as a religious fanatic.” - Fred C. Schwarz, 1996<sup>1</sup>

### 2.1 The Australian Frontier

Frederick Charles Schwarz was born on January 15, 1913 in Brisbane, Australia. His father Friedrich Schwarz (1883-1970) was an Austrian Jew who moved to England at the age of fifteen, converted to evangelical Christianity, changed his name for “Paulus” (like Paul the Apostle) and became an evangelical lay preacher in the Holiness tradition. At the age of twenty, anticipating the family vocation, Paulus Schwarz became missionary and medical helper. He moved first to Egypt, before migrating in Australia, apparently for health reasons, in 1905, where he worked notably among lepers in the quarantine station of Peel Island near Brisbane<sup>2</sup>. He met and married a Methodist church deaconess named Phoebe Smith, and the couple settled in Brisbane, in the state of Queensland, in the northeastern part of Australia. The Schwarzes had eleven children. With the same name his father originally had, Frederick was their fourth child, and the family’s first boy<sup>3</sup>.

The Schwarzes lived in Red Hill, a working-class, inner suburb of Brisbane<sup>4</sup>. By all standards, the family was very poor. Even when compared to the large families in Australia prior to the 1920’s, Paulus Schwarz’s family was much larger than average, making it quite hard to provide for<sup>5</sup>. Fred recalled in his late years that his brothers and sisters received an egg as a birthday gift, and the joy of being offered his first pair of shoes when he was six<sup>6</sup>. Although conditions gradually improved after the First World War, Schwarz once wrote that his father’s circumstances “could never have been classed better than moderate at anytime”<sup>7</sup>. Paulus Schwarz was a tireless worker who gave

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<sup>1</sup> Fred Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.; An., “Organizations: Crusader Schwarz”, *Time*, Vol. 79, No. 6, Fri., Feb. 9, 1962, 18.

<sup>3</sup> Fred Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 15-17.

<sup>4</sup> Kay Saunders and Helen Taylor, “The Reception of Black Servicemen in Australia During World War II: The Resilience of ‘White Australia’”, *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 3, Jan. 1995, 344.

<sup>5</sup> G.F. McCleary, “Australia’s Population Problem”, *The Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 1, Jan. 1942, 27-28.

<sup>6</sup> Fred Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 16.

<sup>7</sup> Fred Schwarz to Arthur G. McDowell, Jun. 23, 1962, *Marx Lewis Papers* Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University (hereafter *MLP*), Box 1, F. 2.

everything he had for his family, rejecting in the process any personal enjoyments besides fatherly care and the satisfaction of fulfilling his breadwinning responsibilities. He would sometimes arrive at home with “some unfortunate who was to be welcomed, warmed, and fed. Wherever there was an appeal for funds to help someone in need he was the first to respond”<sup>8</sup>. Across his career, Schwarz would tirelessly attack the idea that poverty generated communism, or at least fostered sympathy for it. Notwithstanding the truthfulness of this argument (or Schwarz’s rebuff), he spoke here with a first-hand knowledge of poverty. His social origins, as he said, were “pure proletarian”<sup>9</sup>. Of course, the Schwarz family was special insofar as no living conditions, even the worst and most abject, could ever have led them to sympathize with an atheistic and collectivistic philosophy. The enforcement of discipline, respect for authority, immutable resilience in the face of difficulties and a deep faith in God were the Schwarz home’s core values. This education cumulated to its logical outcome when he became a born again Christian in early adulthood.

The early 20<sup>th</sup> century Australia in which Paulus Schwarz arrived was a young country. It was young because it constituted, politically speaking, a very recent development: the Commonwealth of Australia was born in 1901, as a result of the union of the six self-governing British colonies of the Australian island<sup>10</sup>. But it was also young in both demographic and sociological terms. European colonization started during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, but large-scale immigration did not occur until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century gold rushes. The massive white settling of the island resulted in the dramatic vanishing of most of the country’s aboriginal peoples, whose number had shrunk to an all-time low by the late 1890’s, largely by reason of smallpox or typhoid epidemics<sup>11</sup>. The unification of Australia’s colonies into a federation had been prompted by a growing recognition of the importance of immigration and the need to grant responsibility over immigration policy to a centralized government. It also reflected a need for greater economic cooperation between Australia’s colonies after the depression of 1893 had devastated the island’s economy. This cooperation was seen as necessary in a context where the Australian

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<sup>8</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 495.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.*, “Dear Friends”, fundraising letter, Jul. 1, 1979.

<sup>10</sup> New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria and Western Australia.

<sup>11</sup> See Judy Campbell, *Invisible Invaders: Smallpox and Other Diseases In Aboriginal Australia, 1780-1880*, Carlton South, Vic., Melbourne University Press, 2002.

colonies demonstrated increased connectivity due to improvement in communication and transportation. By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the island's most important cities (Melbourne, Adelaide, Sydney and Brisbane) were connected by train<sup>12</sup>.

The Schwarz family history, an immigrant tale, was typical of the Australian reality of the era in several ways. Twenty-year old Paulus Schwarz reflected the young median age (22.5 years) of a booming country<sup>13</sup>. He arrived in Australia at a time where the country's population had grown, through immigration and natural increase, from three to four million in less than fifteen years<sup>14</sup>. He also came at a moment where first-generation immigrants such as him constituted a fifth of the whole population<sup>15</sup>. The deep fears related to ethnicity and race, which were present throughout the whole early-20<sup>th</sup> century British world, were certainly felt in Australia. Decades of clashes between whites and aboriginal natives, as well as the anxiety generated by the presence of Asians on the island -most notably Chinese, Japanese and Indians who arrived in large numbers to work in goldfields and sugar plantations- had led most white Australians to support the "White Australia Policy", which culminated in the "Immigration Restriction Act" of 1901, largely an attempt (and a fruitless one) at stopping Asian immigration<sup>16</sup>. Thus, Paulus Schwarz arrived in a context where the coming of Europeans, an overwhelmingly white group, was greatly encouraged by Australian authorities<sup>17</sup>.

As an Austrian-born, Paulus Schwarz belonged to the country's small German-speaking community. This had unfortunate consequences for his growing family. One year after his son Fred's birth, the outbreak of the First World War created a climate of intolerance for people of German ancestry, who were subject to grave prejudice. About 4,500 of the country's 25,000 first generation German-Australians, mostly people still subjects of imperial Germany, were interned (with a few hundred later deported), and

<sup>12</sup> A.G.L. Shaw, *A Short History of Australia*, New York & Washington, Frederick A. Praeger, 1969, 182.

<sup>13</sup> Guy Woods, Statistics Group "1901: A Socio-Economic Profile of Australia at Federation", *Parliament of Australia, Parliamentary Library*, Feb. 6, 2001, available online at < <http://www.aph.gov.au/library/Pubs/rn/2000-01/01RN23.htm> > (accessed September 12, 2009).

<sup>14</sup> Done before the coming of Schwarz, the 1901 Australian census revealed a population of 3,773,801 people, up from about three million in 1889. See "A Snapshot of Australia, 1901", *Australian Bureau of Statistics*, available online at < <http://www.abs.gov.au/Websitedbs/D3110124.NSF/24e5997b9bf2ef35ca2567fb00299c59/c4abd1fac53e3df5ca256bd8001883ec!OpenDocument> > (accessed September 12, 2009).

<sup>15</sup> Statistics Section, Business Branch, Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, Australia, *Immigration: Federation to Century's End, 1901-2000*, Belconnen, 2001, 16.

<sup>16</sup> A.G.L. Shaw, *A Short History of Australia*, *op. cit.*, 142-147.

<sup>17</sup> He was part of the largest body of immigrants to Australia, i.e. those coming from the United Kingdom (57 percent of Australia's foreign born in 1901). Statistics Section, *Immigration*, *op. cit.*, 18.

German immigration was not allowed again until 1925<sup>18</sup>. Being an Austrian native rather than a German one perhaps helped Paulus Schwarz to escape legal and administrative repression, but it couldn't stop personal harassment for him and his family. Throughout the war years he could barely find work to sustain himself and his growing number of children<sup>19</sup>. Paulus, recalled his son Fred, "was an object of suspicion and derision. He managed to provide the minimal requirements of life by work as a fishmonger and later as a stevedore"<sup>20</sup>. After the war, the family's conditions improved, as Paulus Schwarz made money in the war-surplus goods business<sup>21</sup>. Fred developed during his youth a deep resentment towards his father's origins, as these had brought rejection and shame onto their family. He mentioned with regret in his later years that during his teenage years, even long after the war had finished, his father's foreign accent remained an embarrassment for him, "and I was not kind and gracious to him"<sup>22</sup>.

Queensland's main features through the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century were, as historian Bradley Bowden explains, "its 'newness', its lack of enduring roots and its concentration in urban centres, the principal of which was Brisbane"<sup>23</sup>. Undergoing a dramatic growth resulting from government-assisted immigration programs, Brisbane doubled its population in about twenty years, growing from 145,000 people at the time Fred Schwarz was born, to 300,000 in 1933. The town had one of the most important harbours in eastern Australia, welcoming each year thousands of immigrants like Paulus Schwarz. It was also the principal shipping center of Queensland. Cattle, timber, metal, and wool produced in the state were shipped to other Australian states or throughout the world. Since the great strikes of the late 1880's and early 1890's, especially the ones involving the powerful Queensland Shearers Unions, Queensland, and particularly Brisbane, were major centers of labour activism. It was an expanding, thriving, yet also

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<sup>18</sup> An., "Wartime Internment", *Australian Government: National Archives of Australia*, available online at: < <http://www.naa.gov.au/whats-on/online/feature-exhibits/internment-camps/introduction.aspx> > (accessed September 12, 2009).

<sup>19</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 16. Few immigrants to Australia were of German ancestry (only about 4 percent in the 1901 census), and almost none came from Austria.

<sup>20</sup> *Id.*, "Dear Friends", fundraising letter, Jul. 1, 1979.

<sup>21</sup> An., "Organizations: Crusader Schwarz", *loc. cit.*, 18.

<sup>22</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 494.

<sup>23</sup> Bradley Bowen, "Transience, Community and Class: A Study of Brisbane's East Ward, 1879-1891", *Labour History*, No. 77, Nov. 1999, 164. See also the interesting study on Australia's German population: Jürgen Tampke, *The Germans in Australia*, Cambridge & New York, Cambridge University Press, 2006.

struggling society, marked by intense ethnic and social clashes, but also carrying the hopes and optimism of an ascending nation whose identity was not yet definite.

The sugar industry was particularly important in the region's economy. Queensland included the biggest cane growing areas of Australia, and Brisbane harboured several refining centers, sugar mills and shipping centers for raw sugar<sup>24</sup>. This industry, especially sugarcane field work, necessitated a huge working force, which resulted in the large immigrant communities present throughout the region. The area where Schwarz grew up in Red Hill was sometimes called the "Chinaman's Garden" in reference to the multiple garden plots owned by the area's Chinese<sup>25</sup>. By reason of their indispensable role in Queensland's economy, Asian workers continued to land unimpeded after the 1901 immigration law, despite the strong support given by labour unions and the general public to the "White Australia Policy". In several parts of the region, whites (either indigenous or European immigrants) were a small minority among thriving multiracial communities such as Broome, Darwin or Thursday Island, despite laws voted by the Queensland parliament in the early Commonwealth years restricting civil rights of non-whites, especially their voting rights and their access to some occupations<sup>26</sup>. Queensland had many times more non-European migrants than other states such as Victoria or the New South Wales, and also had Australia's largest Irish, Scandinavian, Italian, German, Greek, Japanese and aboriginal populations<sup>27</sup>. As Stuart McIntyre writes, this multiracial and multiethnic reality was quite different from that of the Australian south, where coloured minorities were much less present<sup>28</sup>. To be sure, racial diversity should not be interpreted as acceptance of multiculturalism; as Queensland historian Raymond Evans observes, interethnic contacts were based mostly on hierarchically-structured economic relationships, "where Europeans controlled labour conditions and workers were segregated both vertically and horizontally according to their perceived racial differences"<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> Clifford M. Zierer, "Brisbane – River Metropolis of Queensland", *Economic Geography*, Vol. 17, No. 4, Oct. 1941, 329-333.

<sup>25</sup> Many thanks to Brittany Trubody for the information (Feb. 7, 2011).

<sup>26</sup> A.G.L. Shaw, *A Short History of Australia*, *op. cit.*, 143-144.

<sup>27</sup> Southern Australians visiting Queensland actually often expressed how shocked they were at seeing so many non-whites. Raymond Evans, *A History of Queensland*, Cambridge & New York, Cambridge University Press, 2007, 131.

<sup>28</sup> A.G.L. Shaw, *A Short History of Australia*, *op. cit.*, 144.

<sup>29</sup> Raymond Evans, *A History of Queensland*, *op. cit.*, 132.



Hence, Schwarz grew up in a society that was a kind window onto the world, through its connexion with the international dynamics created by immigration and economic exchange. It was an environment characterized by quick change, social mobility, the spread of people and ideas, and well as social and ethnic struggles. It fostered Schwarz's typical 19<sup>th</sup> century frontier values: thrift, strength of character, entrepreneurship and individualism, all elements traditionally associated in the U.S. with small-town and Western lifestyle.

## 2.2 Faith

Along with Catholicism and Islam, Protestant evangelicalism is the largest and most "global" religious tradition. It has expanded worldwide since its 18<sup>th</sup> century inception, when it emerged on both sides of the English Atlantic world in church networks where a new generation of ambitious British and American religious leaders promoted a new kind of heartfelt piety, rooted in a progressive historical vision aspiring to establish the kingdom of God by way of the salvation of the greatest number<sup>30</sup>.

This international aspect of evangelicalism has increasingly been featured in recent academic trends marked by globalization studies. Globalization is usually understood as entailing the transnational circulation of ideas and concepts made possible by technological factors which took off during the modern era. Applied to religious studies, it highlights how religions are products and agents of globalization dynamics<sup>31</sup>. Whereas modernisation perspectives emphasized how evangelicalism promoted individual freedom in the evolution of societies from traditionalism to modernism, and neo-Marxist viewpoints perceived evangelicalism as a form of cultural oppression (or resistance thereof), globalization studies reoriented the debate from the 1990's on by emphasizing how evangelicalism thrives under the circumstances generated by globalization<sup>32</sup>.

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<sup>30</sup> On the beginning of evangelicalism, see especially George Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life*, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 2003, 141-145.; Mark A. Noll, "Revival, Enlightenment, Civic Humanism, and the Evolution of Calvinism in Scotland and America, 1735-1843", in in George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll, eds., *Amazing Grace, op. cit.*, 73-107.

<sup>31</sup> The first contemporary study of international evangelicalism Roy Wallis and Steve Bruce, "Sketch for a Theory of Conservative Protestant Politics", *Social Compass*, Vol. 32, No. 2-3, 145-161. It was followed by a few interesting works: Simon Coleman, "Conservative Protestantism and the World Order: The Faith Movement in the United States and Sweden", *Sociology of Religion*, Vol. 54, No. 4, 353-373.; Karla Poewe, ed., *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture*, Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1993.; Christopher J. Soper, *Evangelical Christianity in the United States and Great Britain: Religious Beliefs, Political Choices*, New York, New York University Press, 1994.

<sup>32</sup> This categorisation is taken out of cultural anthropologist André Droogers' discussion on globalization and Pentecostalism. André Droogers, "Globalisation and Pentecostal Success", in André Corten and Ruth Marshall-Fratani, *Between Babel and Pentecost*:

Fred Schwarz's religiosity was permuted by such a transnational sensibility. He was the son of a converted Jew. He underwent his formal "second birth" from the hands of William E. Booth-Clibborn, grandson of Salvation Army Founders William and Kate Booth, who preached in his native French, but also in German and English around the world. The Australian Holiness/Pentecostal networks in which Schwarz circulated had connections with all of the other English-speaking countries. When, in January 1950, Schwarz met the American Carl McIntire and the British-born Canadian T.T. Shields, both pastors seeking to build an international fundamentalist network and who invited the Australian for the first time in America, the three men belonged to a common subculture, which produced homogenizing effects beyond geographical or national boundaries. Their international evangelicalism provided them with a *habitus*: a common structure of thought, sensibilities and tastes, which to some extent was more influential than their respective national traits<sup>33</sup>. Their traditional moralism shaped their engagement with the broader culture, and invigorated the meritocratic, individualistic worldview they all shared. In some ways, Schwarz was a cosmopolitan in the service of Biblical values.

The future crusader was born towards the end of the Golden Age of Australian Protestantism, a time where more than 40 percent of Australians still attended church each Sunday. In the wake of the disestablishment of the Church of England (proclaimed in Queensland in 1860), the whole country had become a highly competitive religious environment in which thrived evangelical revivalism and voluntarism. Influenced by broader developments which affected the religious landscape of the entire English-speaking world, Australia was throughout the late 19<sup>th</sup> century a much favourable ground for evangelism. Some of the world's most prominent evangelical figures (Thomas Spurgeon, Howard Guinness, Reuben Torrey) visited the country, leaving behind them scores of groups and revivalist experiments<sup>34</sup>. Thus the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Australian setting showed similarities to that of the United States. Nonetheless, differences were

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*Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America*, Bloomington and Indiana, Indiana University Press., 2001, 41. In the globalizing setting, cultural anthropologist Droogers writes, "religions have played a major role in perforating cultural boundaries, in spreading their messages to people of cultures not previously associated with them". *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>33</sup> Pierre Bourdieu defined the *habitus*, a concept which he borrowed from Scholastic philosophy, as a system of "principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them". Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1993, 5.

<sup>34</sup> Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, Word and World*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1996, 49-58.

substantial. Religion did not motivate migration to Australia, and the country's Protestant tradition, long dominated by the Church of England, was more conservative and hierarchical, which made the practice of switching religious affiliation less common, at least until the 1960's. In addition, despite several evangelical revivals, Australia never underwent the intense kind of religious awakenings that marked American history<sup>35</sup>.

Nonetheless, the dominant Church of England in Australia was deeply influenced by the general climate of a colonial society in evolution. Australian religious historian Brian Dickey writes that "the process of open competition in the colonies has encouraged borrowing from other denominations, as have the imperatives of settling in a new land"<sup>36</sup>. Australia was thus characterized, to a greater extent than elsewhere, by inter-denominational influences between High and Low Church Protestantism. An eclectic evangelical tradition blossomed among Australian Anglicans by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, making it possible for several of them to work in parachurch institutions and agencies that were led by evangelicals from other traditions<sup>37</sup>. Schwarz, who came from a nonconformist background, befriended in the 1930's with D.W.B. Robinson, who later became Anglican archbishop of Sydney, and who became an important collaborator in Schwarz's religious activities before the crusader left for America.

As elsewhere, evangelicalism in Australia spawned among the Victorian middle-class an emphasis on urban reform. Deeply concerned by the ills of poverty and the loss of moral fibre associated with urbanization and immigration, middle-class reformers organized domestic organizations and international where the objectives of benevolence and evangelisation complemented each other: the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Traveler's Aid, the Young Men's (or Women's) Christian Association, the Benevolent Society, or the Biblewoman's Mission of Australia<sup>38</sup>. Schwarz's career was

<sup>35</sup> Hans Mol, *Religion in Australia: A Sociological Investigation*, Sydney, Thomas Nelson, 1971, 2.

<sup>36</sup> Brian Dickey, « Evangelical Anglicans Compared: Australia and Britain », in George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll, eds., *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States*, Montreal & Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994, 219.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 235-236.

<sup>38</sup> David Hiliard, "The South Sea Evangelical Mission in the Solomon Islands: The Foundation Years", *The Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 4, 1969, 41-64.; Brian Dickey, "Evangelicals and Welfare in Australia", *Zadok Papers (Zadok Institute for Christianity and Society)*, Paper S44, 1989.; William Lawton, *The Better Time to be: Utopian Attitudes to Society Among Sydney Anglicans, 1885-1914*, Sydney, University of New South Wales Press, 1990.; Margaret Dunn, *The Dauntless Bunch: The Story of the YWCA in Australia*, Clifton Hill (Vic.), YWCA of Australia, 1991.; Alison Holland, "Feminism, Colonialism and Aboriginal Workers: An Anti-Slavery Crusade", *Labour History*, No. 69, Nov. 1995, 52-64.; Patricia Grimshaw, "Colonising Motherhood: Evangelical Reformers and Koorie Women in Victoria, Australia, 1880's to the Early 1900's", *Women's History Review*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1999.; Margaret Allen, " 'White Already to Harvest': South Australian Women Missionaries in India", *Feminist Review*, No. 65, Summer 2000, 92-

undeniably a product of this voluntarism which prompted the believer to a personal, individual engagement in a specific cause (a Crusade...) expressing his willingness to reform society so as to help establish God's kingdom in this world. Characterized by its individual-centered approach, loose structures and theological flexibility, evangelical Christianity well fitted the modern changing early-20<sup>th</sup> century Queensland society. Schwarz's home state became a bastion for several forms of conservative Christianity, with more than five large-scale religious revivals sweeping the region over a period of four decades from 1870 onward<sup>39</sup>. Yet, Schwarz's hometown of Brisbane was somewhat an exception. Its population came mostly from the British Isles, and included an important number of Catholic Irishmen. The city's religious landscape was shaped accordingly. At the outbreak of the First World War, a small majority of Brisbaners were nominal Anglicans, with Catholics constituting an important minority<sup>40</sup>. Brisbane Anglicanism was overwhelmingly High Church and did not show evangelical influences. People such as the Schwarz family constituted therefore a minority who publicly displayed its faith with energy and conviction. Fred's father was a converted Jew in a society where interdenominational changes were uncommon. Schwarz's converter William E. Booth-Clibborn belonged to the marginal, fervent Salvation Army. All this contributed to young Schwarz being often perceived as a religious oddity, and even an extremist<sup>41</sup>.

By the 1870's, the success of Methodist and Holiness movements had led to massive urban revivals in Australian towns, especially among impoverished classes<sup>42</sup>. Holiness teachings, which swept world Protestantism, grew out of Methodism and reflected an increasing emphasis on autonomy, free agency and the idea on individual perfectibility.

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107.; R. Howe, "The Australian Student Christian Movement and Women's Activism in the Asia Pacific Region, 1890's-1920's", *Australian Feminist Studies*, No. 36, 2002, 311-324.; Kevin Blackburn, "Imagining Aboriginal Nations: Nineteenth Century Evangelicals on the Australian Frontier and the "nation" concept", *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 48, 2002, Available online at < <http://www.questia.com/googleScholar.qst?docId=5001936396>> (accessed 10 October 2009). As Stuart Piggin writes, Australian evangelicals "sought to forge a Christian nation through a wide range of means: political involvement and social reform; education, temperance and women's movements; evangelism and missions; conventions and revival". Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia*, *op. cit.*, 49.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>40</sup> Email from Stuart Piggin, Dec. 26, 2009.

<sup>41</sup> The Salvation Army remained a small group in Brisbane, despite having been established in the city since the 1890's, when it came as part of the relief effort after the devastating 1891 flooding -giving the denomination its first experience of large-scale Christian service in Australia, providing shelters and meals for the homeless-, and having provided assistance to unemployed during the subsequent economic crisis. David Woodbury, "From Mustard Seeds", *Hallelujah: From small Beginnings: The Story of the Salvation Army in the Western South Pacific*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring 2007, 32.

<sup>42</sup> James Jupp, "The Church of England", in James Jupp, ed., *The Australian People: An Encyclopaedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001, 323.

They came to Australia through the work of the Wesleyans, Primitive Methodists, the Salvation Army, as well as preaching influenced by the popular, entertaining gospel of American evangelist Dwight L. Moody's<sup>43</sup>. These teachings deeply influenced Schwarz, especially during his youth.

Taken as a whole, Holiness teachings are grounded in the idea that the Holy Spirit, manifested itself during the first Pentecost, as recorded in the Bible, Book of Acts 2. This theology sees modern times as corresponding to the high water mark of the Holy Spirit's flood in our world. Through the experience of free personal conversion testified by others, the believer was understood to be filled by the Holy Spirit and to experience the suppression of his or her sinful nature, thus paving the way for a life of arduous Christian service<sup>44</sup>. Holiness teachings led to different evangelical streams. Coming out of the Methodist tradition, radical Wesleyans emphasized the possibility of the total eradication of one's sinful nature, or "entire sanctification". Another strain, less influenced by Methodism, put forward a Reformed-inspired vision in which "sanctification was a continuing process rather than a distinct experience"<sup>45</sup>, and was expressed through a long-term "endowment for service". This school of thought eventually led to the forming of the Assemblies of God, which became the organization most commonly associated with world Pentecostalism. The aforementioned William E. Booth-Clibborn, who converted Schwarz during one of his evangelistic tours in Australia, was associated with this movement<sup>46</sup>. Pentecostalism was established almost exclusively among immigrant and working class people. Schwarz's family was poor indeed, but they were not Pentecostals. In the years following his conversion, Schwarz lived on the border of Pentecostalism though formally he was never of this creed. It was a Brisbane Methodist Church that granted him his first lay pastorship in 1931, at the age of eighteen (he was never ordained formally as a minister), thus demonstrating a disposition for denominational switches he inherited from his father. In his adult years he gradually moved towards Baptist churches and a tamer, more middle-class oriented evangelicalism.

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<sup>43</sup> One could also name the so-called Keswick teachings (named after the site in England where they were born).

<sup>44</sup> George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism in American Culture*, op. cit., 72.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>46</sup> It should be observed that Booth-Clibborn, as many other Pentecostals who believed on the theological doctrine of Oneness (the idea that God is a single entity which manifests itself in different ways) drifted away from the Assemblies of God in 1916 Thomas A. Fudge, *Christianity Without the Cross: A History of Salvation in Oneness Pentecostalism*, Parkland, Universal Publishers, 2003, 54.

### 2.3 Personality and Ethos

To the end, Schwarz's personal religious doctrine was among the most conservative one could find. Although "he doesn't press it upon you", once wrote Schwarz collaborator Arthur G. McDowell, "Schwarz considers himself a conservative in theology"<sup>47</sup>. He was a "fundamentalist", in the original early-20<sup>th</sup> century American sense, i.e. a strict believer in the truthfulness of Protestant theology's "fundamentals"<sup>48</sup>. In 1963, when submitted the list of traditional articles of belief characterizing Protestant fundamentalism, he assented to each of them, with the exception of a last one -not appearing in this list- related to the premillennial return of Christ, a point of doctrine on which he never took position<sup>49</sup>:

I. The Bible is the revealed Word of God, is without error, and must be understood literally.

II. Man is inherently sinful, his sin having been contracted by the disobedience of Adam in the face of God's commandment.

III. Men are either saved or they are not; there can be no ambiguity about the state of salvation.

IV. Men are saved only by faith in the risen Lord, who was crucified and suffered, spilling his blood in order to atone for man's sins.

V. There is a clear line between the evil and the good; hell is the certain punishment of the former, heaven the sure reward of the latter.

VI. Jesus of Nazareth arose bodily from the tomb and ascended bodily into heaven.

VII. Miracles are historical facts, as recounted in the Biblical narratives.

VIII. The virgin birth was a historical occurrence and, as an article of faith, is an altogether essential part of Christian doctrine"<sup>50</sup>

Schwarz also never kept secret his opposition to liberal theology, which he saw as a mere disguise for atheism. In a speech he delivered in Taiwan in 1981 for a Christian Thanksgiving rally to celebrate the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Republic of China, he made no

<sup>47</sup> Arthur G. McDowell to Stanley McNail, Jul. 18, 1962, *MLP*, Box 1, F. 2, General 1928-1986.

<sup>48</sup> George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, Grand Rapids, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1991, 57.

<sup>49</sup> Premillennialism (the belief that Christ would come back before -and not after- his thousand-year reign) went hand in hand in 20<sup>th</sup> century Protestant evangelicalism with the idea of separating history in different eras, or dispensations, where the God deals with men in different ways. Schwarz never showed interest in dispensationalism. See Ernest R. Sandeen, "Towards a Historical Interpretation of the Origins of Fundamentalism", *Church History*, Vol. 36, No. 1, Mar. 1967, 67-69; George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism in American Culture*, *op. cit.*, 48-55.

<sup>50</sup> This list was submitted to Schwarz by Unitarian Pastor Brooks R. Walker during an interview in North Hollywood, California, on Jul. 18, 1963. See Brooks R. Walter, *The Christian Fringe Peddlers: The Radical Right and the Churches*, Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, 1964, 56-58.

mystery that liberal theology “poisons theology and destroys the assurance of the Christian message. The clear statement, “Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou will be saved,” becomes, “Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and perhaps you will be saved”<sup>51</sup>. Schwarz associated liberal theology with the changes in cultural values and the breakdown of traditional morality. In his view, these phenomena and communism shared a common point of origin in 19<sup>th</sup> century philosophic and scientific materialism. The aim of the struggle against materialism was nothing less than the destiny of mankind itself. This cause demanded absolute commitment, thus creating a situation where little room remained for nuances: the struggle was expressed in moral absolutes, in accordance with the aforementioned list’s fifth article which clearly delineates good and evil. Schwarz’s militancy was thus characteristic of the fundamentalist attitude. George Marsden observes: “Fundamentalists are not just religious conservatives, they are conservatives who are willing to take a stand and to fight”<sup>52</sup>.

Though the influence of Holiness beliefs -especially the concept of sanctification through Christ- probably inspired the importance Schwarz always gave to the maintaining of a strict personal morality, he never believed, as did radical Wesleyans, in the possibility of sinlessness and infallibility of judgement. Rather, he always held an almost Calvinistic vision of human nature: “The more society changes, the more human nature remains the same. Allegories and fables written centuries ago to point out the weaknesses and inconsistencies of human nature are as up to date as today’s newspapers”<sup>53</sup>. Schwarz rejected the idea of indefinite progress based on either human goodness and/or technological and scientific development. “The root of evil in human nature has not been eliminated by education, affluence, sociology, or applied psychology”, he wrote. “Every utopian program for a society of happiness has foundered upon the rock of human nature”<sup>54</sup>. In sum, the simple, hard truth about Mankind was that “all of us are failures and we need to acknowledge it”<sup>55</sup>.

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<sup>51</sup> *Id.*, “How Atheism and its Followers Sabotage the Church”, *CACC Newsletter*, Feb. 1, 1982, 2.

<sup>52</sup> George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism*, *op. cit.*, 1.

<sup>53</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Dear Friends”, fundraising letter, Jan. 1, 1970.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Will the Kremlin Conquer America By 1973?”, *Freedom Forum Presentation*, Speech delivered at Freedom Forum XX, Searcy Arkansas, Apr., 20, 1959, Distributed by the National Education Program, 26.

Accordingly, he dismissed most projects aimed at improving, much less reshaping, human societies along collectivist or scientific lines. Of course, this applies first and foremost to communism. This “scientific program for the regeneration of mankind and the perfection of human society”<sup>56</sup> was the quintessence of humanely-conceived evil. Schwarz asserted that philosophic and scientific materialism is communism’s cornerstone: man is only matter in motion. His nature is informed solely by economic factors, thus implying that it could be reshaped at will through rational means<sup>57</sup>. For Schwarz, this Promethean enterprise was intellectual and spiritual fraud. Human nature was immutably rooted in sin, and could only be freed only through individual religious commitment. To that extent, Schwarz’s conservatism was far from limited solely to his theological views. While he grew tired during the 1960’s of being associated with the American far right, he could run from the “conservative” label -which he actually never clearly accepted-, but not hide very far, especially when one looks at his views.

By reason of his anti-collectivist outlook, Schwarz never put a great trust in the role of the state in human affairs. In private, he supported minimal state intervention in dealing with social ills, agreeing for instance with the idea of income tax or with the idea of gun control (“I don’t want a gun”, he once said)<sup>58</sup>. However his outlook remained rooted in the belief that only the addition of individual good deeds could make a possible improvement. The Christian Anti-Communism Crusade was motivated by the belief that the anti-Red struggle was most effectively fought at the individual level: “We must utilize the multiplicity of the motivations of a free people. (...) More and more I become convinced that we are not going to do this by mass movements. We will do it as we recruit, one by one, motivated people in the struggle for freedom”<sup>59</sup>.

Schwarz’s social and religious background generated traits that were idealized by much of 19<sup>th</sup> century literature, i.e. “Victorian” values: self-control, punctuality, orderliness, separated gender spheres, thrift, sobriety, delayed gratification, repressed

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<sup>56</sup> *Id.*, “Communism Training I”, *What is Communism? Part V-VIII*, Recorded lecture, Chantigo Records, 1965.

<sup>57</sup> *Id.*, “What is Communism: Lecture 5 – Communist Recruitment”, *CACC Newsletter*, Dec., 19, 1966, 5-6.

<sup>58</sup> Peter Coleman, “Crusader Fred Schwarz”, *The Sydney Bulletin*, Apr. 7, 1962, 18.; Donald P. Baker, “Old Pros of Anti-Communism Lecture on ‘Real Enemy’”, *Washington Post*, Sun., Jul. 2, 1972, B9.

<sup>59</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Will the Kremlin Conquer America By 1973?”, *op. cit.*, 31.



sexuality, and piety<sup>60</sup>. In the early 1940's, he studied full-time at Queensland University's medical school during the day, taught science evenings, attended and organized several evangelical groups, all the while raising a family. An early bird, he would usually get up around five or six in the morning and work until evening, with most of his leisure time only devoted to the reading of the Bible and poetry<sup>61</sup>. He never smoke nor danced, and considered teetotalism a Christian duty: "I did not need an alcoholic stimulus to remain cheerful. My Christian faith was a source of great enthusiasm and happiness"<sup>62</sup>. This stance later reflected in many Crusade activities where alcohol was banned<sup>63</sup>.

The same sense of discipline applied to marital and family life. Schwarz married his wife Lillian in December 1939, and they lived together for about thirteen years; after this he lived in America for forty-five years, visiting his family in Australia each year for short periods of time. However, by all accounts he was true to his wife, and she was content to raise the family in his absence<sup>64</sup>. "Lillian is the center of all the family activity", he wrote. "She fulfills the biblical promise, "Her family shall rise up and call her blessed. (Proverbs 31:28)" ". His views of womanhood were in accordance with the traditional gender role ascribed to women: "Motherhood is the birthright and fulfillment of womanhood. Any form of social organization that inhibits the right of a woman to bear and care for her child is essentially destructive. This function can only be adequately fulfilled in the shelter of the family"<sup>65</sup>. And further he observed that impeding women from caring for their children amounts to enslaving them: "America needs more mothers at home caring for their babies, rather than more child-care centers. Radical feminism has been the enemy of feminity"<sup>66</sup>.

However, according a passage of his memoirs, he did not consider all enjoyment bodily pleasures to be totally repressed for Schwarz: "Most human activity has been devoted to gratifying the senses of the human body. Consider the arts. They have been

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<sup>60</sup> This non-exhaustive list is taken from Stanley Coben's analysis of Victorianism in America. See especially the first chapter: Stanley Coben, *Rebellion Against Victorianism: The Impetus for Cultural Change in 1920s America*, Oxford & New York, Oxford University Press, 1991, 4. See the whole part devoted to the "Victorian Character", 3-35.

<sup>61</sup> Thanks a lot to Janet Greene for the information pertaining to Schwarz's day of work.

<sup>62</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 494.

<sup>63</sup> An., "Agenda" Mar. 1, 1979, *Mary Koenig Papers*, Manuscript Collections, Huntington Library (hereafter *MKP*), 1.

<sup>64</sup> All those who either knew and/or worked with Schwarz and met by the author, even those who never supported him, are unanimous regarding this point.

<sup>65</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Classism and Classicism", *CACC Newsletter*, May 15, 1972, 1.

<sup>66</sup> *Id.*, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 479.

primarily concerned with pleasing sight and hearing through such media as painting, films and color television, and music”<sup>67</sup>. Nonetheless, self-indulgence was to be rejected since human nature, when unleashed without restraints, committed the worst bestialities: “Permissiveness promotes the insane cruelties and homicides of certain hippies rather than a climate of love and mutual support”<sup>68</sup>, he wrote in the wake of a debate over Herbert Marcuse’s theories in 1970. In fact, Schwarz was sociologist David Riesman’s classic “inner-directed” personality: a self-reliant, self-controlled, self-made man who moved across an ever-fluctuating world empowered by staunch parentally-induced principles, rather than the vagaries of other types of social influences<sup>69</sup>. His boundless sense of freedom was paradoxically indissociable from a puritanical moderation in relationship to the enjoyment of sensuous pleasure<sup>70</sup>. In many regards he was “the master of his destiny and the captain of his soul”. He was 19<sup>th</sup> century man in the 20<sup>th</sup> century context. In a significant 1981 text entitled “Morality, Communism and Politics”, Schwarz rejoiced over Ronald Reagan’s presidential victory, which he claimed was the expression of a “moral outrage” felt by millions of Americans who still believed in what their foes “refer to sneeringly as the Puritan Ethic”. The source of their anger, he wrote, was the feeling of powerlessness in the face of a culture that encouraged lifestyles based on the unshackled, undisciplined exercise of carnal instincts, as seen by the “legal slaughter of the unborn”, which is camouflaged by “the euphemism, “Freedom of Choice””. Another example was tax-supported sex education, which “breaks down the personal and social barriers to promiscuity which had been erected with such difficulty by civilized mankind on the arduous journey from savagery to civilization”. He also asserted that millions of Americans were infuriated like him at the growing acceptance of homosexuality, which

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<sup>67</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 494.

<sup>68</sup> *Id.*, “Debate on Marcuse”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jan. 15, 1972, 2. This actually helps to understand how much contemporary Christian conservatism has in common with -and can even be seen as a living fragment of- modernism. As William B. Hixson writes, these “modern” values -as opposed to “postmodern” ones based on relativism and the abandonment of the “intense self-discipline so characteristic of modernity can be understood as the same ones upheld by contemporary American social conservatives. For them, the important and noble virtue of individualism should never be identified with either expressions of unrestrained sexuality or a corrupting hedonism that threatens “the emphasis on self-control and the postponement of gratification so important to Victorian “modernizers””. William B. Hixson, *Search for the American Right-Wing*, *op. cit.*, 324.

<sup>69</sup> Taken from the classic work by David Riesman and Nathan Glazer, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950.

<sup>70</sup> A good reflection on this dichotomy can be found in Daniel Walker Howe, “Protestantism, Voluntarism, and Personal Identity in Antebellum America”, Harry G. Stout and D.G. Hart, eds., *New Directions in American Religious History*, Oxford & New York, Oxford University Press, 1997, 206-209.

he despised unashamedly. Homosexuality, he believed, ran against the “common sense, human well-being and Christian teachings”, as well as the teachings of all great religions:

“Homosexuality is against life itself. The stream of life is fed by the harvest that results from the union of a male and female. If homosexuality became universal, human life would cease. Homosexuality is an aberration, an excrescence; it is social pathology. At best the homosexual is deficient and crippled”<sup>71</sup>.

In sum, Schwarz’s ideal community -inasmuch as community could be ideal- would be one in which self-relying individuals freely shape their lives in the context of a rather severe Judaeo-Christian self-control.

Schwarz expressed himself much less on the topics of race and ethnicity -at least directly- during his life, but his views can be easily grasped through his writings and correspondence. He seems to have been free from racial prejudice, and his comments on racism and intolerance are unambiguous in this regard. “Racism should be eliminated entirely from human consciousness and conduct. Unfortunately, that situation has not been reached anywhere in the world, not even in the U.S.A.”<sup>72</sup>, he wrote in the mid-1980’s. In a 1963 interview, he claimed that in their denial of reality, those who rejected the House of Un-American Activities’ findings “are just like the Southerners who reject the Supreme Court’s ruling on segregation”<sup>73</sup>. The accounts of his various world travels found in personal correspondence and newsletters contain positive passages on several different cultures, and are void of any stereotyping elements. Clearly, being free from such beliefs was crucial to the international activities of the Crusade, which developed quickly after the mid-1950’s. In a typical Christian, way he would always refer to friends and sympathizers from any country as “brothers” notwithstanding their origin or colour. “Christianity”, he wrote, “is anti-racist. Christianity teaches that all men are sinners and are equal before God. Since all men are sinners, all races manifest these sinful characteristics and none can be trusted to exercise power over other races”<sup>74</sup>. Only twice did Schwarz arguably commit himself with bigotry, and in both cases (unquestionably among the lowest episodes of his half-century crusading career) he did not utter directly

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<sup>71</sup> Fred Schwarz, “Morality, Communism and Politics”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jan. 1, 1981, 1-2.

<sup>72</sup> *Id.*, “Bishop Tutu and His Message”, *Ibid.*, Jan. 15, 1985, 3.

<sup>73</sup> Kenneth Woodward, “What Qualifications for a Crusader? Fred Schwarz on communism”, *The Catholic Reporter*, Feb. 1, 1963, 15.

<sup>74</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Racism and Classicism – The Deadly Twins”, *CACC Newsletter*, Dec. 1, 1985, 1.

racist statements: the first time during a speech in 1952, and the second time when the Crusade organized two consecutive events in segregated Louisiana in 1961. Both episodes, however, remained unrepeated and went completely unnoticed by the Crusade's foes. The only serious incident involving insinuations of ethnic intolerance in Schwarz's life occurred during the 1962-1964 period when Schwarz was attacked for alleged anti-Semitic sentiments, but this criticism was never properly substantiated.

Early 20<sup>th</sup> century Queensland was an ethnic and racial patchwork, where a high degree of diversity coexisted with a high degree of prejudice. However, Schwarz never seems to have internalized this feature of his native region's culture. Why this was so can only be, to a degree, a matter of conjecture. He was an immigrant's son whose family had itself experienced stigmatization and intolerance during the First World War. Also, the evangelical subculture he grew up in oriented him towards a feeling of human universality as far as ethnicity was concerned. His religious creed, in line with Methodist and Holiness teachings quite typical of the Australian underprivileged classes, were much less affected by the imperialistic and nationalistic overtones that characterized much of early-20<sup>th</sup> century Victorian middle-class evangelicalism in Australia. Finally, it is likely that the scientific and medical background he acquired exposed him to the simple reality of human sameness notwithstanding racial differences. Despite raging anxieties over race and ethnicity that marked Australian society during the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the eugenic movement never had the impact on culture and public policy it had in many other countries, including the United States. Some members of the Australian medical profession adhered to eugenics between the 1910's and the 1930's but this movement had largely faded away when Schwarz entered medical school in 1940<sup>75</sup>.

The early-20<sup>th</sup> century Queensland racial culture might actually have inspired in Schwarz a deep resignation towards what he perceived as a regrettable, yet inextricable display of human deficiency. Beyond being an unfortunate phenomenon, racial hatred was simply the normal consequence of ethnic groups living together. Thus, we can surmise that growing up in an environment marked by intolerance oriented Schwarz

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<sup>75</sup> Before 1914, historian Stephen Garton wrote, "efforts such as those of New South Wales doctor and reformer Richard Arthur, to establish a Eugenics Society foundered on lack of interest." In 1930 sterilisation legislation was passed in Western Australia, but the law was defeated at the last moment. Stephen Garton, "Sound Minds and Healthy Bodies: Re-Considering Eugenics in Australia", *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 103, 163-164. See also Diana Wyndham, *Eugenics in Australia: Striving for National Fitness*, London, The Galton Institute, 2003.

neither towards hard-shelled racism nor towards sustained antiracism, but towards a reluctant passivity. Confronted early on with the reality of racial intolerance, he conceived racism as a flaw deriving from human imperfection: “(...) selfishness, aggression, and greed characterize human relations independently of race, creed, color or economic system. These qualities are inherent and not “programmed” by an economic system or racial doctrine”<sup>76</sup>, he wrote in 1970. Eradicating racism was theoretically possible, since race hatred “is not spontaneous; it is artificially created”<sup>77</sup>; yet, racist attitudes were usually integrated very soon in human behaviour, which made the task of eliminating them almost impossible. And since “race consciousness has its roots deep in human nature and not merely in the external economic environment”<sup>78</sup>, the only acceptable solutions to deal with it were grounded in individual, not collective solutions.

Here, Schwarz’s quietism inadvertently put him in harmony with many white American evangelicals on the race issue. As Michael Emerson and F. Russell Hawkins point out in their study on evangelicalism and race, the individualized theology most conservative Protestants adhere to (the idea that people are saved “one heart at the time”) creates a strong bias against the idea that social structural influence can be the determining factor to any given human problem: “The human problem is an individual’s broken relationship with God. Generalizing these cultural roots, the race problem consists of broken relationships between individuals”<sup>79</sup>. This is vividly demonstrated in interviews from the 2000 book *Divided by Faith* by Michael Emerson and Christian Smith. One Wesleyan pupil claims: “It’s human nature to be a sinner... not to be accepting of a black person”, and another from a Missionary church: “We don’t have a race problem, we have a sin problem”<sup>80</sup>.

Thus, in spite of supporting throughout the 1960’s the principle of providing decent employment, housing and opportunities for Black Americans -and being in this regard much more moderate than the great majority of figures from the American right-

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<sup>76</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Debate on Marcuse”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jan. 15, 1970, 2.

<sup>77</sup> *Id.*, “The Attractive Face of the United States”, *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 18, 1967, 1.

<sup>78</sup> *Id.*, “Communism and Race Riots”, *loc. cit.*, 1.

<sup>79</sup> Michael O. Emerson and F. Russell Hawkins, “Viewed in Black and White: Conservative Protestantism, Racial Issues, and Oppositional Politics”, in Mark A. Noll and Luke A. Harlow, eds., *Religion and American Politics: From the Colonial Period to the Present*, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007, 330-331.

<sup>80</sup> Michael O. Emerson and Christian Smith, *Divided by Faith: Evangelical Religion and the Problem of Race in America*, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 2000, 78.

Schwarz claimed that these collective solutions did not solve racial strife, especially since the debate on the subject was allegedly manipulated by radicals to further their agenda. He virulently opposed the idea of compulsory school integration through busing, which he saw as a frontal attack on the sacred right of free individuals to manage family matters as they please. This loss of control over their own children's lives turned parents into "secondary citizens" whose rights were "sacrificed upon the altar of the idol called "integration" " by appointed judges and liberals who enforced this policy, all the while often sparing their own children from busing by sending them to private schools<sup>81</sup>. In sum, as for other issues, individual effort constituted the only remedy. People from different groups simply had to realize that their own racial prejudice was an expression of their sinfulness, and should attempt to repress it through Christian love and discipline, no matter how difficult this may be. This was the only way to deal with any human flaw. Schwarz condemned racism, but human nature being what it is, he considered it impossible to vanquish. Time spent fighting it was likely to be time subtracted from the more important anti-Red struggle.

## 2.4 Early University Years

Apart from his father, Schwarz recalled never having met a Jew in his early years, nor did he enter a synagogue before the age of 40<sup>82</sup>. However, the Jewish heritage probably had one important impact by Schwarz's own admission: his father's deep concern for education. He recalled that his father "sacrificed, schemed, and begged in order that each child secures the best education possible"<sup>83</sup>. Young Fred was good enough at school to justify the sacrifices the family made on his behalf. He distinguished himself as an exceptional elementary student at Brisbane Grammar School<sup>84</sup>. At the age of 16, in 1930, he was accepted at the University of Queensland, unquestionably a privilege in times of economic depression. Having always performed remarkably well in mathematics in both elementary and secondary schools, he registered for a Bachelor's degree in Science. As

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<sup>81</sup> *Id.* "Morality, Communism and Politics", *loc. cit.*, 1.

<sup>82</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Paying My Debt to History", *CACC Newsletter*, July 1, 1996, 2.

<sup>83</sup> *Id.*, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 16

<sup>84</sup> In 1928 he was awarded a prize when coming at the 6<sup>th</sup> rank of his class with a result of 96 percent at the Sunday School examination conducted by the Young People's Department of the Queensland Methodist Conference. An., "Sunday School – Examination Results", *The Brisbane Courier*, Sat., Nov. 3, 1928, 26.

early as he could remember, Schwarz wanted to become a medical doctor. However, this was not possible in the early 1930's, as Queensland did not yet have a medical school. At the time, the country's two such institutions were located in Sydney and Melbourne, and the associated costs to send Fred there were too expensive for his family. On the other hand, Queensland University's Bachelor's program in science was for Schwarz a good way to acquire a scientific background which could be credited should he get accepted in medical school one day. Also, it opened the door for a teaching career in high schools.

Throughout his university years, Schwarz's youthful enthusiasm was committed to the twin goals of earning his degrees and Christian evangelism. He got involved in the Queensland University branch of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions (usually referred to as IVF), an interdenominational umbrella organization of university ministries<sup>85</sup>. The IVF was founded in 1928 in England with the intent of maintaining a Christian presence (or "student witness", as it was called) on university campuses, in a context where, since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the English-speaking academic world had gradually shifted from its original religious roots to become a bastion of liberal and secular thought<sup>86</sup>. The IVF network coordinated the efforts of student witness groups on universities, provided advice, literature and lecturers, in what they saw as a hostile environment pervaded by modernist ideas. The IVF quickly grew internationally, as its leaders were eager to establish Evangelical Unions "not only in every British university, but in every university of the British Empire", historian Stuart Piggin observes<sup>87</sup>.

The IVF fitted Schwarz perfectly: it rejected the liberalism and ecumenism which characterized the liberal Student Christian Movement. Rather it promoted "Bible study, personal evangelism by missions, and prayer meetings"<sup>88</sup>. Schwarz quickly became his local branch's leader, adding his sense of energy and resolution to the group's Bible

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<sup>85</sup> The IVF initially grew out of the Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (CICCU, pronounced Kick-U), founded in 1877, and which was itself a merger of smaller university Christian witness groups. In the 1910's and 1920's the CICCU experienced many tensions between its modernist and more conservative wings, and the IVF was originally a merger between the second group and other smaller similar groups. Keith & Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of the InterVarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A., 1940-1990*, Downers Grove, InterVarsity Press, 32, 56-59.

<sup>86</sup> As an increasing rift separated evangelicalism and universities, young conservative Christians willing to pursue a Christian post-secondary education had to rely on the emerging vocation institutions like Bible and missionary training schools, or the few remaining conservative schools providing Christian college education. For a view of this phenomenon from an American perspective, see Mark Noll, "The University Arrives in America, 1870-1930: Christian Traditionalism During the Academic Revolution", in Joel A. Carpenter and Kenneth W. Shipps, eds., *Making Higher Education Christian: The History and Mission of Evangelical Colleges in America*, Grand Rapids, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1987, 98-109.

<sup>87</sup> Stuart Piggin, "The Challenging but Glorious Heritage, Difficult but Joyful birth, and Troubled but Triumphant Childhood of the Melbourne University Evangelical Union, 1930 to 1940", Paper presented during the MUEV's 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary, 14 May 2005, 2-5.

<sup>88</sup> Ian Breward, *A History of the Churches in Australia*, New York & Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001, 255.

study meetings and campus evangelism. In Australia, the IVF had appeared through the work of dedicated evangelists like Howard Guinness, an Englishman who arrived in Sydney for the first time in January 1930 after having organized the IVF in Canada<sup>89</sup>. Returning to Australia in 1933-1934, Guinness witnessed in Melbourne, Sydney, Perth, Adelaide and Brisbane, the growth of small groups that had formed after his first visit, led by a new, young and energetic evangelical leadership which included Schwarz<sup>90</sup>. Reporting later on the Queensland University branch, Guinness wrote that “the leader of the Queensland Evangelical Union was Pentecostalist, and our Union was consequently regarded as extreme and fanatical”<sup>91</sup>. It was during his time that Schwarz revealed himself as a powerful speaker. His style combined spiritual fervour, didactic brilliance, and poetic cadence. He could deliver extemporaneous speeches that kept audiences captivated on any subject of his choosing. Schwarz’s entire political career -and thus the Crusade’s very existence- was an extension of his eloquence. Speaking always remained his favourite means to communicate, and even though he published lots of pamphlets and articles throughout his life, it was only in 1960, at the age of 47 and a little less than a decade after he had embraced the professional anticommunist career, that he published his first book.

Schwarz’s relative isolation from his peers due to his reputation as an extremist was deepened by the changing context of Australian religion throughout the depression years. The great age of Australian Protestantism had passed. Australian churches had overwhelmingly committed themselves in supporting the First World War in which more than 60,000 young Australians died, undermining the young nation’s idealism and fostering an age of cynicism that only deepened throughout the economic crisis. Controversies over liberal theology, which split Protestant denominations all over the world, had reached Australia, whose conservative evangelicals were, writes S. Piggin, “saddled with the negative overtones of fundamentalism: obscurantism, anti-intellectualism, intolerance, pietism, and separatism”<sup>92</sup>. But Schwarz aggressively kept on promoting his creed on the campus with the taste for confrontation that characterized

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<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>90</sup> An., “History”, *Australian Fellowship of Evangelicals* Online, available online at: <<http://www.afes.org.au/about/history>> (accessed September 12, 2009).

<sup>91</sup> Fred Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 17.

<sup>92</sup> Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia*, *op. cit.*, 80.



him. When he graduated in 1934, fellow students went into a sarcastic rendition of the hymn “Onward Christian Soldiers” as Schwarz walked up to be hooded: “It was good-natured yet not meant as a compliment”, he wrote. “But I accepted it as one”.

Schwarz’s Bachelor of Science was complemented by a year of study at the Queensland Teachers’ College, licensing him to teach mathematics and science. In 1935, twenty-two-year old Fred was assigned by Queensland’s Education Department to teach science at the high school level in Warwick, a small town south of Brisbane. There, his activities as teacher were paralleled by his involvement on the local evangelical scene. He formed a branch of the “Crusader Union”, an interdenominational Christian youth organisation devoted to reaching people of high school age, and which, like the Australian IVF, had been founded by Howard Guinness in 1930. It is quite likely that the Crusader Union’s name inspired that of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, although the use of the word “crusade” to characterize faith-based undertakings was very common in the evangelical world since the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Schwarz organized the Crusaders in the context of meetings, Bible study groups, summer camps and social activities such as picnics or sporting contests<sup>93</sup>. The Crusader Union was designed as a complement to the work of the IVF, insofar as the IVF depended on an influx of freshmen disposed to receive its message. Howard Guinness argued that high school “was the place to confront students with the living Christ before their attitudes hardened and spiritual truths were rejected in the name of reason or expediency”<sup>94</sup>. The Crusader Union’s doctrinal statement, akin to the IVF’s, was a standard fundamentalist text asserting the infallibility of the Bible, Christ’s virgin birth and physical resurrection, and the essential role of the Holy Spirit in the sinner’s regeneration<sup>95</sup>. Besides running The Crusader’s rallies, Schwarz also got involved the local Salvation Army and other evangelical groups weekend open-air meetings “in which a few of us preached the gospel to anybody who would listen”, quite typical in those days<sup>96</sup>. When Schwarz was transferred back to Brisbane to teach and lecture at the

<sup>93</sup> Fred Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 17-18.

<sup>94</sup> Howard Guinness, quoted in Joy Parker, *A Vision of Eagles: Fifty Years of the Crusader Union of New South Wales*, Sydney, The Crusader Union of N.S.W., 1980, 7.

<sup>95</sup> Stuart Braga, *A Century Preaching Christ: Katoomba Christian Convention, 1903-2003*, Sydney, Katoomba Christian Convention Ltd., 2003, 72.

<sup>96</sup> Fred Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 18.

Queensland's Teachers' College in 1940, after four years in Warwick, his growing reputation as a religious leader preceded him in Queensland. He was seen as an effective and enthusiastic leader whose staunch doctrinal conservatism and association with Pentecostalism did not impede his ability to address a broad base of evangelicals<sup>97</sup>.

Before returning to Brisbane, Schwarz married Lillian Morton, whom he had met in the train that led him to Warwick four years before. She was a few years younger than him and still attended the Warwick high school when they met. Lillian became secretary of Schwarz's branch of the Crusader Union's and continued to participate in the groups' activities after she returned to her hometown of Clifton upon completing her studies in 1937. As requested by tradition, the wedding took place in the bride's home parish in the Clifton Anglican Church in December 1939. Shortly after, the new husband and wife relocated in Brisbane in a small apartment near the Teachers' College where Schwarz taught evening classes. Their first child, named John Charles Morton, was born two years later in March 1942 and their second one, Rosemary Gay, in October 1944<sup>98</sup>.

## 2.5 Pastor and Scientist

In October 1936, Premier of Queensland W. Forgan Smith had inaugurated the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Queensland in response to years of badly inadequate infrastructures in a context of mounting public health problems<sup>99</sup>. The new faculty was located on a beautiful site in Herston just a few minutes of walk from the Brisbane General Hospital where new medical graduates completed their residency<sup>100</sup>. Since his evening teaching schedule at the Queensland Teachers' College left him free during the day, Schwarz registered and was accepted in 1940. Under normal circumstances, a medical student was required to go through six years of study in order to become a doctor. Yet, it only took Schwarz four years. His Bachelor's Degree in science

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<sup>97</sup> Prior to his return to Brisbane, a controversy erupted in 1938 when the Sydney-based leadership of the Australian Scripture Union - an interdenominational organization targeting children and young people- attempted to dismiss a Pentecostal girl which attended one of the Union's mission teams in Queensland. The Queensland committee which handled the mission, refused to do comply, notably by reason of Schwarz's much appreciated involvement with them for years, even though he was still seen as a Pentecostal at this time. John & Moyra Prince, *Turned in to Change: a History of the Australian Scripture Union, 1880-1980*, Sydney, Scripture Union of Australia, 1979, 113.

<sup>98</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 18-25.

<sup>99</sup> Beris Penrose, "Medical Experts and Occupational Illness: Weil's Disease in North Queensland, 1933-1936", *Labor History*, No. 75, No. 1998, 125-143.

<sup>100</sup> An. "The Medical School of the University of Queensland", *Science*, New Series, Vol. 91, No. 2362, Apr. 5, 1940, 331.

allowed him to get the program's first year credited, and the time required to complete the curriculum had been by shortened by a year due to emergency measures adopted after the outbreak of the Second World War. A good number (more than a third in 1942) of Australia's medical practitioners had been enlisted in the Armed forces, thus creating a dangerous shortage of health specialists<sup>101</sup>. Hence, Schwarz was not conscripted for military service and spent the war completing his medical training: "I was engaged in two occupations considered essential to the nation – science teacher and medical student"<sup>102</sup>. His case was probably unique in Queensland in that he completed the medical course while being a full-time employee for the state's Education Department.

Schwarz's work life was characterized by a slack kind of tension between his passions for evangelism and science. He had no particular problem in reconciling these two hemispheres of his psyche<sup>103</sup>. In 1997, Schwarz wrote: "Most of my adult life has been devoted to medical practice. (...) My fight against Communism was medical activity in the true sense."<sup>104</sup> Conceiving communism as a "disease", as he would often do, was perhaps a necessity so as to alleviate him from regret for having given up a medical practice for which he had sacrificed so much. Interestingly, Schwarz's depiction of communism as a pandemic appeared in his speeches and writings about at the same time as he committed himself to anticommunist crusading on a full-time basis (1952), superseding his comparison of communism to a religion, albeit a false one. The change was probably unconscious, but certainly not a coincidence. When Schwarz was a full-time doctor and a part-time pastor, he portrayed the Christianity-Communist confrontation as a religious clash. When he became a full-time pastor and left his medical career behind, he began to refer to communism as a disease, thus perhaps salvaging some meaning to all the years spent in medical study.

As already mentioned, the Australian's relentless crusading was rooted in the voluntarism that characterized the evangelical culture. But it also followed a tradition that

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<sup>101</sup> An. "The supply of practitioners for Australia", *The British Medical Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 4150, Jul. 20, 1940, 5.; An., "Editorial", *Trephine: The Journal of the Queensland Medical Students' Association*, Third Issue, Nov. 1942, 5. This even forced Australia to authorize reluctantly the medical practice of doctors from German ancestry. Peter Winterton, "Alien Doctors: The Western Australian Medical Fraternity's Reaction to European Events, 1930-1950", *Health and History*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2005, 71.

<sup>102</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 21.

<sup>103</sup> "Preachers" should be physicians in the realm of the spirit as medical men are in the realm of the body". *Id.*, *You Can Trust the Communists (to be Communists)*, Long Beach, Chantico Publishing Co., 1966, 123.

<sup>104</sup> *Id.*, "The Deadly Disease: Communism", *CACC Newsletter*, Dec. 1, 1997, 1.

had steadily emerged since the days of the Enlightenment: the social engagement of medical men, which, coupled with the rise and prestige of modern science, established the medical profession as one of the most influential, authoritative voices in public life. An extensive historical and sociological literature has scrutinized the process whereby the medical body in all Western societies -and their colonial peripheries- has used, since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, its scientific knowledge to bolster claims to privileged social status and assert its position in the shaping of dominant ideologies and policies<sup>105</sup>. In this regard, the Western medical profession gradually displaced religion from a social role it hitherto had monopolized, thus giving full meaning to Max Weber's characterization of modernity as the "disenchantment of the world". The sociologist's phrase refers to the emergence of a general comprehension of the existing universe in which mysterious and unpredictable powers such as supernaturalism and divine will are substituted by a scientific understanding in which all things "can be mastered through calculation"<sup>106</sup>. In this new paradigm, historian George Basalla writes, "scientists were idolised as the intellectual heroes of the day who would ultimately sweep away all human misery"<sup>107</sup>. This was especially true of modern medical science, the development of which had been inspired to large extent by the ideal of the indefinite prolongation of life. This secular aspiration ran against the Augustinian perception of death as "the wages of sin"<sup>108</sup>.

This establishment of medical men as new standard-bearers of the common good was completed amid times marked by the professionalization of medicine in the Western world, but also by several developments that called for a heightened role for health specialists in public affairs: emerging hygienism and bacteriology, the recognition that

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<sup>105</sup> Numerous examples exist here. E. Richard Brown's account (Marxist perspective) of how American physicians monopolized healthcare through the support of big business and heightened their status and income remains good example. E. Richard Brown, *Rockefeller Medicine Men: Medicine and Capitalism in America*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1979.; Jack Ellis' excellent monograph on medicine and politics in late 19<sup>th</sup> century France show how French doctors came to command considerable authority in the shaping of public policy. Jack Ellis, *The Physician-Legislators of France: Medicine and Politics in the Early Third Republic, 1870-1914*, Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 1990.; Ivan Waddington, "The Movement Towards the Professionalization of Medicine", *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 301, Oct. 3, 1990, 688-690.; Paul Weindling, "Bourgeois Values, Doctors and the State: The Professionalization of Medicine in Germany, 1848-1933", in David Blackburn and Richard J. Evans, eds., *The German Bourgeoisie: Essays on the Social History of the German Middle-Class*, London, Routledge, 1991, 198-223.

<sup>106</sup> Gilbert G. Germain, *A Discourse on Disenchantment: Reflections on Politics and Technology*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1993, 34.

<sup>107</sup> George Basalla, George William Coleman and Robert H. Kargon, eds., *Victorian Science: A Self-Portrait from the Presidential Address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, New York, Anchor Books, 1970, 5.

<sup>108</sup> Cécile Lafontaine, *La société post-mortelle*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 2008, 27-29.; Michel Vovelle, *La mort en Occident : De 1300 à nos jours*, Paris, Gallimard, 2000. The author would like to thank fellow friend and Maxime Giroux sociologist from UQAM (Université du Québec à Montréal) who allowed me to use his interesting M.A. thesis on this matter. Maxime Giroux, *La biopolitique hygiéniste: Généalogie du dispositif de sécurité hygiénique dans la France moderne (1750 à 1900)*, M.A. Thesis, Department of Sociology, Université du Québec à Montréal, 2009, 12-37.

public health hinged on environmental factors, or rising demographic concerns. It is no coincidence, historian Stephen Jacyna observes, that medicine's ascending cultural prominence occurred when Western political discourses were increasingly marked by the use of medical metaphors, as Schwarz often did<sup>109</sup>. Sociologist Jonathan B. Imber identified the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as "The Golden Age of Trust in Medicine": a period when the physician was perceived as practicing an almost "sacred vocation"<sup>110</sup>.

Seen in this light, Schwarz's dual vocation appears less as an expression of the conflict between science and religion, and more like the living expression of a transitional era where medical men were entrusted with qualities formerly given to men of the cloth. In Australia as elsewhere, physicians successfully monopolized scientific discourse in the realm of public health, but also asserted their dominant social and professional standing, a process achieved when branches of the British Medical Association (BMA) were established in Australian colonies by 1879, later to be organized into a national body in 1911<sup>111</sup>. As elsewhere, medical men were widely perceived as expressing "some of the highest values of Western civilization: scientific enlightenment, benevolence, and humanitarianism", Australian medical historian Milton James Lewis writes<sup>112</sup>. In Australia, however, the position of doctors was more prominent than it was in other Western societies by reason of the country's colonial status which ascribed major leadership role to its elites. Diana Dyason's study of the medical profession in Victoria until 1901 confirms to what degree members of the medical elite stood at the top of the colony's scientific, civic, political, and cultural leadership, figuring in "the development of most of the [colony's] scientific and cultural institutions" (universities, libraries, art galleries, the Royal Society...), being also present in church life, Masonic lodges, clubs, as well as in Australian parliaments<sup>113</sup>.

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<sup>109</sup> Stephen Jacyna, "Medicine in Transformation: 1800-1849", in William F. Bynum, Anne Hardy, Stephen Jacyna, Christopher Lawrence and E.M. Tansey, eds., *The Western Medical Tradition: 1800 to 2000, Vol. 2*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, 13.

<sup>110</sup> Jonathan B. Imber, *Trusting Doctors: The Decline of Moral Authority in American Medicine*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2008, 65-106.

<sup>111</sup> David Pier Thomas, *Reading Doctors' Writing: Race, Politics and Power in Indigenous Health Research, 1870-1969*, Canberra, Aboriginal Studies Press, 2004, 12-14.

<sup>112</sup> Milton James Lewis, "The 'Health of the Race' and Infant Health in New South Wales: Perspectives on Medicine and Empire", in Roy M. MacLeod and Milton James Lewis, eds., *Disease, Medicine, and Empire: Perspectives on Western Medicine and the Experience of European Expansion*, London, Routledge, 1988, 301.

<sup>113</sup> Diana Dyason, "The medical profession in colonial Victoria, 1834-1901", in *Ibid.*, 197.; A similar study by sociologist Kevin White shows how, in Australia, a doctor's position allowed him "to take up such posts as Protector of Aboriginals, Inspector under the Education Act, or Immigration officer, and to develop his social standing as well as a patronage network by treating the important and

The development of modern science was linked to the rise of classical liberalism, notably by the way it supported freedom of thought, rational thinking, education and secularization<sup>114</sup>. In Australia as everywhere, this modern outlook affected the emerging medical profession, the members of which were, by and large, personally and professionally committed to the ideals of liberal freedom, individualism and democracy. As Jacyna notes, medical men embodied in many ways the tenets of classical liberalism: “They were self-made professionals whose claims for status and remuneration rested not on birth or connection, but on ability, learning and personal endeavour”, a depiction that obviously does not take into account that many medical men came themselves from upper-class families, but which certainly applies to Schwarz’s case<sup>115</sup>. Although liberalism, as transplanted in Australia, was “distinctive in that the state had a large part to play in the constitution of the economy and society”, Kevin White writes, the Australian medical body generally remained, for most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century strongly, committed to the classical liberal ideals of progress and individual freedom, explaining in part the Australian BMA’s long-lasting opposition to state health regulations and its defence of private practice, which attracted a much greater proportion of local graduates than did public service<sup>116</sup>. Obviously this situation also applies to the United States, where un-coincidentally, the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade always attracted the support of numerous doctors and health specialists who expressed through anticommunist activism their deep adherence to the classical liberal ideals.

Still, the question as to how Schwarz reconciled his scientific vocation with his strongly a traditionalist religious belief should be raised. After all, this was the era where the clash between science and religion, especially on the boiling evolution issue, had produced controversies and rifts in the Protestant world. Yet, like most other Australian evangelicals Schwarz never joined the battle-cry of antievolutionism. The antievolution

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powerful”. Kevin N. White, “Negotiating Science and Liberalism: Medicine in Nineteenth-Century South Australia”, *Medical History*, No. 43, 1999, 176.

<sup>114</sup> George Gurvitch, *The Social Frameworks of Knowledge*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1971, 90. This was nowhere clearer than in the way most Western liberal thinkers, including the Founding Fathers in the U.S., were all strongly committed to the merits of scientific inquiry. See also the recent interesting book by Timothy Ferris, *The Science of Liberty: Democracy, Reason, and the Laws of Nature*, New York, Harper, 2010, 1-34. Ferris argues in a daunting thesis that “the democratic revolution was sparked -caused is perhaps not too strong a word- by the scientific revolution. (...) the freedoms protected by liberal democracies are essential to facilitate scientific inquiry, and that democracy is itself an experimental system without which neither science nor liberty can flourish”. *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>115</sup> Stephen Jacyna, “Medicine in Transformation”, *loc. cit.*, 13.

<sup>116</sup> Kevin N. White, “Negotiating Science and Liberalism”, *loc. cit.*, 180.; Milton James Lewis, *The People’s Health: Public Health in Australia, 1788-1950*, Westport, Praeger, 2003, 172.

controversies that split American churches in the 1920's did not affect the British world to a comparable level<sup>117</sup>. Battles about evolutionism and Biblical criticism had in fact already been fought a generation before<sup>118</sup>. Though he shared with many fundamentalists a distaste for the philosophic materialism implicit to the theory of evolution and held that evolutionism convinced many that man and society were in a sure path towards progress, Schwarz was careful to leave the evolution discussion to others, notably to these anti-evolutionist fundamentalists with whom he worked such as Carl McIntire<sup>119</sup>.

Despite not adhering to the strong faith in progress and human perfectibility, Schwarz was not radically anti-technological<sup>120</sup>. Rejoicing over the many signs of his times' scientific progress, he showed no nostalgia for an era only a century before him: "It was a nightmare of agony, haste, ignorance, dirt, germs, suppuration, and death. It was a world without electricity and all it brings (...). It was a world of ignorance, pain, hardship, disease, and premature death"<sup>121</sup>. Therefore he did not see his unbelief in modern rationalism's ideal of *indefinite* progress as putting him on the wrong side of scientific debates<sup>122</sup>. As most learned evangelicals of his time, Schwarz tended to conceive religion and science as two complementing spheres of a common universe created by an all-powerful God, in a way which derived from the old rationalist tradition of Francis Bacon. Faith without acknowledging the benefits of science was blindness; science without the restraints of faith was a dangerous delusion. Science was simply the "knowledge of the laws of nature"<sup>123</sup>, just as religion concerned the laws of the Almighty<sup>124</sup>. Yet, Schwarz's

<sup>117</sup> In England, this debate took place after the publishing of Darwin's *Origins of Species* (1859) and *Essays and Reviews* (1860). George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism in American Culture*, *op. cit.*, 222. See also an excellent survey of the controversy in Dominique Lecourt, *L'Amérique entre la Bible et Dieu*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1998, 33-96.

<sup>118</sup> Debates over evolution were quite moderate in Australia. Struggles on theological liberalism proved to have been more important, especially in the 1880's. Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia*, *op. cit.*, 74-78.

<sup>119</sup> However: "Evidence from human experience that sustained this belief [of progress] was selected while a mass of conflicting evidence was ignored. In reality, the belief was based on faith, not evidence. It is religious, not scientific in nature". Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 16. He also stayed away from the campaign which mobilized large segments of the American grassroots right in the 1950's against water fluoridation, seen by many as a Communist plot.

<sup>120</sup> This belief had been a common feature of modern thought since Descartes. Cécile Lafontaine, *La société post-mortelle*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 2008, 63.

<sup>121</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *The Heart, Mind and Soul of Communism*, Waterloo, Evangelize America Program, 1952, 10. Schwarz noted: "During the last century a tremendous transformation has been wrought in the material world. How many of us would be willing to return to the conditions of life enjoyed –pardon the word– by our great great grandparents of that era? Imagine what you would do when punished by a toothache – a visit to the barber who did his best with the assistance of a large pair of forceps and two or three strong helpers". From *Ibid.*

<sup>122</sup> *Id.*, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 46.

<sup>123</sup> *Id.*, *The Heart, Mind and Soul*, *op. cit.*, 11.

<sup>124</sup> From the 17<sup>th</sup> to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Baconianism was established as an important and enduring approach the natural sciences in the Western world, especially through its institutionalization in the realm of philosophy and Protestant theology by Scottish philosophers, notably John Witherspoon (1723-1794) who introduced it to America (hence the names "Scottish Common Sense Philosophy", or "Scottish Common Sense Realism", or "Commonsensusism"). Based on the possibility of grasping the design of God

scientific background prevented him from engaging into controversies intermingling faith and science<sup>125</sup>. For instance, he stayed away from dispensationalist theology, i.e. the idea of seeing history as a series of successive eras, or “dispensations” through which divine truths are revealed, which was common among fundamentalists<sup>126</sup>.

## 2.6 First Fights

Upon his return to Brisbane to attend medical school, Schwarz resumed his evangelical activism. He founded his own interdenominational group called the Christian Revelers, so named to emphasize the joy with which he associated Christian service. A hall rented on Anne Street was used for Saturday night rallies featuring singing and clapping: “If prominent Christian leaders came to town we invited them to speak, and many talented young people joined our ranks”<sup>127</sup>. Since the Schwarz home was near Victoria Park, where wartime U.S. Forces headquarters were located, American chaplains and servicemen often dropped by. Schwarz also resumed his involvement with the University of Queensland’s Evangelical Union that he had left six years before. Stuart Piggin writes that once again he made “an outstanding contribution to student Christian work”<sup>128</sup>. He organized prayer meetings, Bible study groups and tried to enforce upon his peers the kind of Christian-based ethic he deemed fit to the prestigious medical vocation. In April 1943 he intervened loudly at a meeting of the Queensland University Medical

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through the study of the laws of nature, Common Sense Philosophy became the most important approach the natural sciences in the evangelical academic culture until the domination of this worldview was challenged by the rise of evolutionism and biblical criticism, thus confining its remaining adepts (now labeled fundamentalists) to the fringe of the English-speaking academic and intellectual worlds by the 1920’s. George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism in American Culture*, *op. cit.*, 20-21.; Mark Noll, “Common Sense Traditions and American Evangelical Thought”, *American Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 2, Summer 1985, 232-236. However, it is likely that Schwarz did not come under Common Sense’s influence in academia, where it had already been rejected, but rather through personal readings and his experience in the evangelical world. See C.A.J. Coady, “Australia, Philosophy In”, in Edward Craig, ed., *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Volume 1*, New York & London, Routledge, 1998, 576. The author notes on the same page that Australian philosophy’s “Scottish origins ensured the influence of Scots thought, but the great days of the Scottish School of Common Sense were passed by the time philosophy began to be taught seriously in Australia”. Like a commonsensist philosopher Schwarz pleaded for “hypothesis and experimentation [as] the door to empirical knowledge”. Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 486. In a sermon he delivered at Los Angeles’ Foursquare Gospel Church in 1952, Schwarz proclaimed his faith in the virginal birth of Christ -one of the features of fundamentalist doctrine- and decried the fact that “in this modern day of apostasy”, the virginal birth had come under fire from the part of “advanced intellect, the clever people, these doctors of philosophy who are too clever to believe that anything supernatural could happen”. Fred C. Schwarz, “Births and Babies: Address Delivered in Angelus Auditorium, October 10, 1952”, *The Foursquare Magazine*, December 1952, Vol. 25, No. 12, 19-21, 23.

<sup>125</sup> In 1963, he stated: “Everybody needs a simple motivation for their lives, and I find mine in the Bible. (...) I’m a simple minded man who believes in the Bible”. Kenneth Woodward, “What Qualifications for a Crusader?”, *loc. cit.*, 16.

<sup>126</sup> George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism in American Culture*, *op. cit.*, 62-63. Young Schwarz found the answer to the faith/reason debate in the writings of British scientist Sir Arthur Eddington, one of his early scientific heroes. Rejecting the idea that science could provide evidence for the existence of God, he nevertheless argued in his 1929 lecture *Science and the Unseen World* that the advent of such developments as quantum physics could provide the basis for a new restructuring of the relationship between science and religion. Arthur S. Eddington, *Science and the Unseen World*, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1929, 16.

<sup>127</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 24.

<sup>128</sup> Email from Stuart Piggin, Dec. 12, 2007.



Society when it was suggested that graduation ceremonies include a ball. A student newspaper reported that “this suggestion drew forth a long spirited and castigating address from Christian Reveler Schwarz, who in no uncertain terms declared his aversion for extra-Christian terpsichorean revels, and demanded rejection of the motion”<sup>129</sup>.

Schwarz embodied a new attitude of self-confidence among young campus evangelical in many English-speaking countries, one that led them to abandon some of the anti-intellectualism that characterized fundamentalism. Around the same time, in 1944, several American evangelical academics gathered at the Plymouth Rock to form the “Plymouth Conference for the Advancement of Evangelical Scholarship”. From the war years on, universities in many countries were assailed by students whose earnest contemplation of issues of faith was furthered by the atrocities of war and the emerging atomic age<sup>130</sup>. During his medical school years, Schwarz continued with his ongoing work of sheltering evangelical students from the dangers of academic-based secularism. However, he now supplemented this rear-guard work by engaging the culture and challenging peers, notably by delivering lectures on intellectual and theological issues where the questions issues of science, rationality and knowledge were directly addressed from a faith-based perspective<sup>131</sup>.

Most importantly, for the first time he came in conflict with campus Communists. Australia had a tradition of left-wing radicalism and labour unionism since the great strikes of the 1890’s. This ferment had led to the founding of the Australian Labor Party (ALP)<sup>132</sup>. Initially promoting fundamental changes in the country’s economic structure from a socialist perspective, the ALP rapidly became a moderate, middle-class oriented mass party. It took power at the national level in 1908 and formed majority governments in several Australian states, such as in Queensland in 1915. Angered with what they considered a betrayal of socialist ideals, disenchanted ALP radicals formed the

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<sup>129</sup> An., “Shocking Bedside Manners: Meds at Variance”, *Semper Floreat*, Vol. 12, No. 4, Thu., Apr. 1, 1943, 3. Schwarz’s intervention generated a storm of argument, resulting in a motion being passed that a dance should be arranged, but its nature left to the organizing committee’s discretion (the actual outcome of the controversy is unknown)

<sup>130</sup> A. Donald Macleod, *C. Stacey Woods and the Evangelical Rediscovery of the University*, Downers Grove, InterVarsity Press, 2007, 17-21.

<sup>131</sup> For instance on May 11 1942 he delivered an open address on the topic “Science and Religion” in the University’s Law Room. Ad, *Semper Floreat*, Vol. 11, No. 7, Friday, May 8, 1942, 4.

<sup>132</sup> Louise Overacker, “The Australian Labor Party”, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 43, No. 4, Aug. 1949, 678-679.

Communist Party of Australia (CPA) in October 1920<sup>133</sup>. The party members quickly decided to affiliate themselves with the Moscow-led Communist International (Comintern), which put them in line with Soviet policies<sup>134</sup>. Since the Soviet Union had signed a nonaggression pact with Nazi Germany in August 1939 and thus reversed its antifascist position to become an informal and uneasy ally of its former enemy, the CPA found itself in an uncomfortable position when Australia declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939<sup>135</sup>. In accordance with Comintern policy, Australian Communists condemned and sought to derail Australia's war effort, calling it an "imperialist" conflict in which the Allies were the alleged aggressors. In spring 1940, the ruling Liberal Party (center-right) led by Prime Minister Robert Menzies banned the CPA under wartime national security regulation. In many Australian cities CPA offices and homes of party members were raided, assets were seized and several members detained<sup>136</sup>.

As in other wartime universities, Communists were very active on the Queensland campus. They organized scores of activities, conferences, rallies, and were especially involved in the University Student Union. Schwarz highly resented their activities. He was convinced that his family would have been victim of Nazi's anti-Jewish persecutions had his father not emigrated from Austria<sup>137</sup>. He was appalled to see Australian Communists, whose party had been outlawed, continuing their regular activities -notably calling Australian soldiers "Six-bob-a-day murderers"- simply by means of having removed the name "Communist"<sup>138</sup>. Having publicly affirmed shortly after his admission in medical School that he would challenge any Communist in a public discussion, he got a reply from a student named Max Julius through the student newspaper: "I would like to warn F.C. Schwarz that should any worthy exponent of dialectics be sufficiently

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<sup>133</sup> L.L. Shakey, "An Outline of Party History", in *Id. ed., An Outline History of the Australian Communist Party*, Sydney, Australian Communist Party, 1944, 17.

<sup>134</sup> Stuart Macintyre, "Dealing With Moscow: The Comintern and the Early History of the Communist Party of Australia", *Labour History*, No. 67, Nov. 1994, 130-133.

<sup>135</sup> This reversal was even more difficult for the CPA since it severely severed its ties to the ALP, which were vigorously established during the "popular front" period (1935-1939). David McKnight, "The Comintern's Seventh Congress and the Australian Labor Party", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 32, No. 3, Jul. 1997, 401-407.

<sup>136</sup> *Id., The Reds: The Communist Party of Australia from Origins to Illegality*, St. Leonards, Allen & Unwin, 1998, 389-411.

<sup>137</sup> "Nevertheless, by Hitler's standards, I was the inheritor of Jewish blood and therefore merited death in the gas chamber". Fred C. Schwarz, "The Greatest Murderers of Mankind - Adolf Hitler", *The Schwarz Report*, Vol. 38, No. 11, 2. However, a 1978 letter reveals that he opposed the Allies' military collaboration with the Soviets after Hitler invaded USSR in spring 1941: "The essential nature of communism was largely forgotten. The murderous tyranny of the communists in Russia was ignored and Stalin and his cohorts were glamorized". Fred C. Schwarz to Walter H. Judd, Aug. 14, 1978, *WHJP*, Box 226, F. 5. What he would have hoped once Hitler invaded USSR remains unclear.

<sup>138</sup> *Id., Beating the Unbeatable Foe, op. cit.*, 22.

provoked to accept the rash challenge to Marxian doctrines, Jehovah, and all the heavenly host will avail the said F.C. Schwarz nothing”<sup>139</sup>. Schwarz’s challenger came from a non-practicing Jewish Communist family. He was a law student, member of the CPA’s central committee, president of the University’s Student Union and editor of the Union’s student newspaper. A debate was finally organized between the two student leaders in the Men’s Common Room in May 1940, on the topic: “Is Communism a Science or a Religion?”<sup>140</sup>. The debate took place before a crowd of one hundred people, mostly members and supporters of the Evangelical Union.

Schwarz’s opposition to communism was rooted in this ideology’s atheism and its conception of God and man, rather than its economic and political doctrines. He explained why communism should be considered a religion: “It possessed a doctrine of God viz., atheism; it had a doctrine of man viz., an evolving animal; it had a doctrine of sin viz., capitalism; it had a doctrine of redemption viz., revolution and it had a doctrine of the end times viz., Communism”<sup>141</sup>. However, unexpectedly, his opponent swerved away from the debate’s proposed topic and rather launched a long, effective attack on the capitalist system, pointing out how it created war, poverty, social inequities and robbed workers from reaping the harvest of their labour<sup>142</sup>. Schwarz won the debate basically because the crowd was on his side before the exchange started. Yet, he was dissatisfied by the experience. Instead of keeping the spotlight on communism, he had handed over Julius control of the stage by allowing him to focus on the ills of capitalism. Fundamental to this blunder was his lack of understanding of communism. He thus decided to become an authority on Marxism-Leninism: “Each night I read from one of the large volumes that contain the teachings of the Communist founders”<sup>143</sup>. Before long he had absorbed enough Marxist-Leninist theory to develop a more solid critical perspective on it.

In June 1944 Schwarz and twenty-seven fellow medical students graduated as doctors in medicine during a small ceremony at the University’s Technical College Hall<sup>144</sup>.

<sup>139</sup> Editorial- Sez You?, “Abner Lets Hair Down”, *Semper Floreat*, Vol. 9, No. 5, Fri., May 3, 1940, 3.

<sup>140</sup> Ad, *Semper Floreat*, Vol. 9, No. 6, Friday, May 10, 1940, 3.

<sup>141</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “What Makes Students Susceptible to Communist Seduction?”, *The Schwarz Report*, Vol. 38, No. 6, 1998, 4.

<sup>142</sup> Upon completing his law degree, Julius was admitted to the Australian Bar in 1941 after an initial refusal because of his communist affiliation. He died from a heart attack in 1963 at the age of 42. John McGuire, “Julius, Max Nordau (1916 - 1963)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Volume 14*, Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1996, 593-594.

<sup>143</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 23-24, 135-136.

<sup>144</sup> The graduation took place on June 8<sup>th</sup>, 1944. A student newspaper observed that Schwarz was “noted for his sincerity and enthusiasm.” An., “Medical Graduation”, *Semper Floreat*, Vol. 13, No. 14, Thu., Jun. 15, 1944, 1.

Under the Queensland Medical Act of 1939, medical graduates needed to serve as Resident Medical Officers (RMO) for a year in a hospital approved by the Brisbane and South Coast Medical Board in order to acquire full registration. Most of Queensland University's medical graduates, including Schwarz, completed their residency at the Brisbane General Hospital, at the time one of the largest such institutions in the southern hemisphere.

Working conditions were poor. Brisbane Hospital RMOs were paid £200 per year, and worked excessively more than the usual 44-hour work week. When some residents attempted to gain better working conditions and wages in 1942, the Medical Board refused their demand on the ground that they were students, not employees<sup>145</sup>. Moreover, wages and working conditions had been frozen by a national law for the entire duration of the war, making hardly possible any improvement in this regard. As Schwarz recalled, RMOs worked for a “miserable pittance. It was not unusual for them to work for forty hours without sleep. Exhaustion took its toll on patients and doctors alike”<sup>146</sup>. These circumstances were the remnants of an age when hospitals were charitable institutions funded by private philanthropy. Yet, they also reflected the lack of a coherent healthcare policy in Queensland since 1917, when T.J. Ryan's Labour government was forced to bailout the state's collapsing private healthcare setup within the context of WWI. The nationalization of the Brisbane Hospital was, in the words of historian James A. Gillespie, initially “a pragmatic response to a sudden crisis, not the implementation of a far-reaching political programme”<sup>147</sup>. In 1934 Queensland Premier Forgan Smith's Labour government began setting in place one of the world's first universal and free public health care system, however with mixed results, and in the early 1940's, Queensland hospitals were still characterized by outdated management structures and methods. The prevailing working conditions made it almost impossible for RMOs to

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<sup>145</sup> RMOs were also required to get an experience in medicine, surgery and obstetrics, but this requirement was suspended for the time of the war. Ronald Wood, “Conflict, Conciliation and Conditions of Service: A Pioneering Medical Industrial Court Action in 1944”, in John Pearn, ed., *Some Milestones of Australian Medicine: A Centenary Book for the Queensland Branch of the Australian Medical Association*, Brisbane, Amphion Press, 1994, 60-62.

<sup>146</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 29. By comparison, the salary paid to a first year dentist after completing a less lengthy education was £466 per year for a 40-hours week. Memorandum quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, “Resident Medical Officers and the New Sociology”, *Trephine: The Journal of the Queensland Medical Students' Association*, Fifth Issue, August, 1944, 45.. An., “RMOs Demand Justice: Arbitration Only Solution”, *Semper Floreat*, Vol. 13, No. 21, Thu., Aug. 3, 1944, 1.

<sup>147</sup> James A. Gillespie, *The Price of Health: Australian Governments and Medical Politics, 1910-1960*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, 68-69.

marry if they wished to, even if their average age -24 years- was a few years older than the average age at which Australian men married at that time.

Since 1941 Schwarz represented the Queensland Medical Students' Association's general committee, and thus became acquainted with associative procedures and politics<sup>148</sup>. In August 1943, during a meeting where the association was dissolved into the new University of Queensland Medical Society (U.Q.M.S.), which integrated in a single body both students and RMOs, Schwarz made a compelling speech on the need to assist medical graduates. As reported by the student newspaper: "On this point Mr. Schwarz waxed voluble, and in an excellently phrased address, put forward a motion that the society explore and exploit the possibilities of an increased remuneration to graduates employed in the Brisbane Hospital"<sup>149</sup>. Schwarz suggested that the hospital and the Medical Board be approached directly. If fruitless, this action was to be followed by bringing the issue to the Queensland Health Minister. In the advent of another refusal, an appeal should be made to the Industrial Court of Queensland, the only body that had the authority to increase wartime wages.

Medical resident Ronald Wood recalled: "Schwarz (...) began to take a very active role in the affairs of medical students. He was a persuasive speaker who put his case well. His oratory had considerable influence on his audience"<sup>150</sup>. A subcommittee was formed with three medical students, Schwarz included, to prepare a memorandum on the RMO's conditions<sup>151</sup>. In March 1944, Schwarz was elected president of the U.Q.M.S. and the memorandum was distributed among students. It recommended a £500 annual salary, the 44-hours week and a few health and holiday benefits. Given the fact that it was already clear that appealing to the state's Medical Board and to the Health Minister would be of no avail, some students expressed apprehension about bringing the case to the Industrial Court. They were of the view that such a move would be foolhardy since the Court's decisions were final. Their proposed amendment was defeated by an enthusiastic majority after Schwarz left the president's chair to deliver a fiery speech opposing it. After a refusal by the Brisbane and South Coast Medical Board to receive a Schwarz-led

<sup>148</sup> His name appears on the committee's list as soon as November 1941. Ad, "List of office bearers, 1941", *Trephine: The Journal of the Queensland Medical Students' Association*, Second Issue, Nov. 1941, 5.

<sup>149</sup> An. "News from Herston: New Blood in U.Q.M.S.", *Semper Floreat*, Vol. 12, No. 20, Thu., Aug. 5<sup>th</sup>, 1943, 1.

<sup>150</sup> Ronald Wood, "Conflict, Conciliation and Conditions of Service", *loc. cit.*, 61.

<sup>151</sup> The two other students were Ronald Dark and Eugene Le Breton. The latter became U.Q.M.S.'s vice-president by in March 1944.

delegation of RMOs, Schwarz then met T.A. Foley, the recently appointed Queensland Minister of Health and Home Affairs<sup>152</sup>. Foley refused to intervene directly in the case, but, as Schwarz wrote shortly after, he “showed himself to be very sympathetic to our claims and outlined the policy of his government, which was Arbitration and conciliation”<sup>153</sup>. Armed with this informal support from the Health Ministry, the RMOs decided to bring the case before the Industrial Court.

As the date of the Court hearing got closer the case attracted an increasing amount of public attention, especially in Australian and British medical circles. At first, the RMOs had mistakenly thought it necessary for them to join a union in order to be heard before the Court. They considered affiliating with the Federated Miscellaneous Workers’ Union, a moderate and bureaucratically-oriented organization uniting workers from unrelated sectors<sup>154</sup>. The idea of doctors joining a union was seen by many as a strange development. When the *Sydney Telegraph* ran the story, Schwarz responded that RMOs constituted a group of workers “performing vital community tasks and feel no shame in associating with other workers”. Many in the Australian medical world feared the reaction from the conservative British Medical Association (B.M.A.) to which they belonged. Schwarz declared that “Doctors will cease to be members of the Union immediately [after] they cease to be employees. We maintain our full loyalty and allegiance to the B.M.A.”<sup>155</sup>. Shortly after the RMOs realized they did not need to be in a union to be heard by the court, thus putting an end to this project<sup>156</sup>. Still, the Queensland B.M.A. was not pleased at all with these developments. It had long fought against nationalized or socialized medicine, and the prospect of doctors being involved in such a labour conflict within a state-run institution was something which it viewed with distaste. Also, it is likely that the B.M.A. feared what was about to be publicly exposed at the

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<sup>152</sup> Foley helped establish the Queensland Health Education Council and the Queensland Radium Institute were established. Tim Moroney, “Foley, Thomas Andrew (Tom) (1886 - 1973)”, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, *loc. cit.*, 194-195.

<sup>153</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Resident Medical Officers and the New Sociology”, *loc. cit.*, 46.

<sup>154</sup> Ray Gietzelt, *Worth Fighting For: The Memoirs of Ray Gietzelt, General Secretary of the Federated Miscellaneous Workers’ Union of Australia, 1955-1984*, Leichhardt, 2004, 18-27.

<sup>155</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Resident Medical Officers and the New Sociology”, *loc. cit.*, 47.

<sup>156</sup> An., “RMOs Demand Justice: Arbitration Only Solution”, *loc. cit.*, 1. The Industrial Court bylaws allowed groups of twenty or more non-unionized people to be heard by the Court, which led to their quick disaffiliation. This was the only time Schwarz ever belonged, even ephemerally, to a trade union!

Industrial Court. A B.M.A. committee thus urged the RMOs to stop their action before the Court hearing, which they refused<sup>157</sup>.

On the morning of October 8, 1944, the Industrial Court of Arbitration of Queensland and its justices T.A. Ferry and W.J. Riordan heard the case before a crowded room after last-minute negotiations had failed. As president of the U.Q.M.S., Schwarz represented the RMOs, assisted throughout the hearing by H.M. Whyte, who had ironically been among those opposing bringing the case to the court. Medical Board representative J. McCracken first complained that Schwarz had refused a private hearing: “(...) there might be certain matters discussed and brought out in evidence here which is undesirable should [it] receive the publicity that may eventuate from this discussion”<sup>158</sup>. Schwarz reacted: “(...) we are doing something that is rather unprecedented in the medical history of Australia (...) and our action has been misinterpreted and misjudged by a section of the medical profession and I think now [there is] the opportunity for them to know the full facts of the case as we present it”<sup>159</sup>. He outlined how most Queensland University RMOs came from modest socioeconomic backgrounds, and calculated that the total cost of a medical education in Queensland topped the £2,000 mark. Schwarz pointed out that Brisbane Hospital’s working conditions and wages were based on the premise that RMO’s were single men, which prevented them from marrying. He related their cause to a “population problem”: “I do not wish to dwell on the sociological aspects of this problem, but at present there is widespread concern in Australia at the low rate of population increase”<sup>160</sup>. This was a very effective strategic move. The fear of population decline in Australia was higher than in any other Western country. Australia’s Prime Minister John Curtin -in office since 1941- had affirmed that the country, given high rates of Asian immigration and the impending threat of Japanese imperialism, needed a population of 30 million for its security<sup>161</sup>. In particular, the elites in the state of

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<sup>157</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 32.

<sup>158</sup> J. McCracken in “Resident Medical Officers of the Brisbane General Hospital v. Crown and the Brisbane and South Coast Hospital Board”, *Queensland State Archives* (hereafter *QSA*), Runcorn, Brisbane, TK1716, Box 496, 1944 ‘Mixed’, Item ID 7888360, SRS 4508 /4/496, 1.

<sup>159</sup> Fred C. Schwarz in *Ibid.*, 1. Schwarz got permission from judge Ferry to present the case in his own informal manner: “I am not a legal man, I am very inexperienced in these matters” *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, 7. Concerns over population problems reached an all-time high during the world wars and the interwar period. A.B. Wolfe, “The Population Problem Since the World War : A Survey of Literature and Research”, *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 36, No. 5, Oct. 1928, 529.

<sup>161</sup> Michael S. Teitlebaum, “Western Experiences with International Migration in the Context of Population Decline”, *The Japanese Journal of Population*, Vol. 12, No. 1, Mar. 2004, 30.

Queensland experienced during wartime anxiety over the breakdown of morals and the disintegration of traditional family<sup>162</sup>. In harmony with these concerns, Schwarz noted that it was to the “detriment of Australia” that very few residents were married. He further observed that the three among them who had families, including himself, had so “by reason of special economic circumstances”, i.e. other sources of income<sup>163</sup>. Schwarz summarized the RMOs’ working condition: by comparison to RMOs from other hospitals, the Brisbane Hospital’s were paid less than half for an even greater number of patients annually received; no by-law fixed the limit of working hours per weeks; RMOs performed all the basic medical duties performed by full-fledged doctors. Schwarz claimed the obsolescence of the system was due to it being rooted in the bygone conception of a hospital as charitable institution funded by philanthropic subscriptions<sup>164</sup>. McCracken submitted afterwards the Medical Board’s argument against the RMOs’ demands. He pointed out that residency constituted only a temporary apprenticeship, done by a graduate whose medical knowledge was only theoretical. He claimed that RMOs were privileged to work and learn with senior doctors and that they already had had a wage increase before the war<sup>165</sup>.

As the court was about to adjourn for deliberation, Schwarz got the clear upper hand over his opponent. During his presentation, McCracken attempted to undermine Schwarz’s position on the marriage issue by launching an ad hominem attack on his opponent: “I understand that only two on the present staff are married. One was married, I think, before he entered the medical course at the University, and consequently his marriage was not a desire created by his studentship at the University”<sup>166</sup>. Schwarz phlegmatically waited until the end of pleadings to reply:

“(…) I consider myself almost unique in Queensland in that I could undertake the medical course while a full-time employee of the Educational Department. My duties were in the evening, which allowed

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<sup>162</sup> Michael Sturma, “Public Health and Sexual Morality: Venereal Disease in World War II Australia”, *Signs*, Vol. 13, No. 4, Summer 1988, 725-728.

<sup>163</sup> Fred C. Schwarz in “Resident Medical Officers of the Brisbane General Hospital”, *op. cit.*, 7-8.

<sup>164</sup> “DR. SCHWARZ: (...) Such conditions no longer exist today; public hospitals are important social services, with all the resources of the State at their disposal, and medical service is not charity but [an] inalienable right or every man, woman and child in the community. (...) Surely in socially-minded Queensland, with its slogan “of equal opportunity for all”, this must be stopped”. *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>165</sup> J. McCracken in *Ibid.*, 19-31. McCracken pointed out that in addition to board and lodging, RMOs had full and unlimited access to the hospital’s laundry, giving the example of one who recently sent twelve shirts to be laundered in one week. Schwarz then replied: “Was there blood on the shirts?” No answer followed. *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>166</sup> J. McCracken in *Ibid.*, 28.



me to attend the University in the day-time. I desired as early as I can remember to become a doctor but that was rendered absolutely impossible because of the financial position of my parents. I was a member of a large family and my parents were not well-to-do, consequently, I went into the Teaching Service while some of my friends whose parents were well-to do went to Sydney and Melbourne and qualified as doctors. That indicates to me that the present position is loaded against the sons of poorer parents, and I believe one reason for this claim is that we should eliminate as far as possible any handicaps so that the Medical Profession will be open to worthwhile members of the community irrespective of the financial position of their parents or the size of their families”<sup>167</sup>.

A few days later, the Court finally the court granted Schwarz victory. The RMOs were given a £350 per annum salary and their work week was fixed at 54 hours. Work shifts could not anymore exceed 16 hours. The Queensland University student newspaper jubilantly headlined “Medical History Made”, reporting: “Its success is a personal triumph for Dr. Fred Schwarz who has been throughout the driving force behind the movement (...)”<sup>168</sup>. Schwarz had set an example that would be emulated in other Australian hospitals where RMOs demanded, and in several cases gained better working conditions. As Queensland doctor Derek H. Meyers wrote more than 60 years after: “Although this industrial action seemed scandalous to older doctors at the time, it is clear that every graduate of an Australian medical school since then owes a debt of gratitude to Fred”<sup>169</sup>. Even some conservative medical professionals were pleased with the prospect of improved hospital working conditions: J.G. Wagner, president of the Queensland B.M.A. sent Schwarz a letter of congratulations<sup>170</sup>.

## 2.7 Prominence

During the one-year campaign for better conditions at the Brisbane Hospital, conservative voices, both within and outside the medical community, had attributed the RMO’s demands to Communist influence at Queensland University, allegations which

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<sup>167</sup> Fred C. Schwarz in *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>168</sup> An. “Social Justice Triumphs”, *Semper Floreat*, Vol. 13, No. 27, Thu., Oct. 26<sup>th</sup>, 1944, 3.

<sup>169</sup> Derek H. Meyers, “Obituary: Frederick Charles Schwarz”, *The Medical Journal of Australia*, Vol. 190, No. 7, Apr. 6, 2009, 368. Despite the wage increase, the Brisbane Hospital RMOs’ working conditions did not change a lot in the case’s immediate aftermath. Ronald Wood noted that a fellow doctor told Schwarz that it was “impossible to implement “the hours part of the award” with the available staff”. From Ron Wood, “Conflict, Conciliation and Conditions of Service”, *loc. cit.*, 71.

<sup>170</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 32.

predictably infuriated Schwarz who denied them flatly<sup>171</sup>. In fact, Australian Communists were quite interested in Schwarz's handling of the case. Not only did the U.Q.M.S. receive letters of congratulations from them, but journalist Bill Wood, Communist and former foreign editor of the defunct *Labour Daily*, asked Schwarz to participate in programs to "promote peace"<sup>172</sup>. Schwarz was not interested: "I was well aware that to them, the word "peace" was a synonym for Communist victory, and I said so. Bill made no attempt to refute this, and he appeared disappointed".

Following this victory, Schwarz's public activities went into a two-year recess. Upon completing his term as RMO at the Brisbane hospital, Schwarz moved with his family a hundred miles north of Brisbane to the town of Gympie where he worked for the local hospital, before moving to Wentworth, a small town in the Australian southeast. Then, the Schwarz family made the move to the big city. The family's financial situation had improved since Schwarz was now a fully registered doctor who worked in both hospitals and in private practice<sup>173</sup>. Schwarz bought a house in North Strathfield, a peaceful suburb located about a half-hour drive of downtown Sydney. Located at 142 Concord Road, this superb 16-room home with a large backyard that eventually contained a pool, consisted in the entire southwestern side of a street corner at the intersection of Concord Road and Wellbank Street<sup>174</sup>. Dr. Schwarz also established a new office for his private medical practice. In the nearby city of Concord he purchased a former medical office which was a few minutes by car from his new home. Opened Monday to Friday as well as on Saturday morning, Schwarz's practice grew in the following years to become one of the busiest in Sydney's western suburbs<sup>175</sup>. "That was due to the care, the attention, and the humaneness, particularly, of Dr. Schwarz", recalled one of his patients and future Crusade collaborators Elton Wilson<sup>176</sup>. In 1949, just before visiting the United States, Schwarz evaluated that in U.S. value, his practice's gross income was about \$25,000, and

<sup>171</sup> An. "R.M.O.'s Case for Court", *Semper Floreat*, Vol. 13, No. 26, Thu., Oct. 20<sup>th</sup>, 1944, 5.

<sup>172</sup> Wood belonged to a family who already had a pacifist tradition. Greg Patmore, "The Right Wing Won't Write'1: "Labour History" in 1962", *Labour History*, No. 82, May 2002, viii.

<sup>173</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 33-34.

<sup>174</sup> Beautiful pictures of the house taken in 1961 can be found at Barry Newberry, "House of Dr. F.C. Schwarz, North Strathfield", Series 11616 & 11617, Nov. 30, 1961, Graphic Material, *Australian Photographic Agency (APA)*, Collection: Sydney People, Places and Events, 1953-1987. New South Wales State Library, Manuscripts, Oral History & Pictures. Available online at <<http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/search/SimpleSearch.aspx?query=Schwarz&sort=Rank&select=1&recordtype=1&retrieve=100+PERCENT>> (accessed January 5, 2010).

<sup>175</sup> Derek H. Meyers, "Obituary: Frederick Charles Schwarz", *loc. cit.*, 71.

<sup>176</sup> Elton Wilson, Obituary Speech at Fred C. Schwarz's Funeral Ceremony, Jan. 29, 2009, private DVD recording Sent to the Author by the Schwarz family.

his personal net income \$12,000<sup>177</sup>. In July 1948 the Schwarz family had their third and last child, David Frederick. Around these years, their eldest child John started attending school. He met another boy whose father had died during the war, also named John (Whitehall), who was informally adopted by the family. Whitehall became Fred Schwarz's foster son. The "two Johns" followed their father's vocation and became doctors and medical missionaries.

Settling down allowed Schwarz to resume his religious activities. Schwarz contacted the Sydney University's Evangelical Union. Until his departure for America, he appeared several times to the Union meetings, giving lectures and offering advices on Christian outreach and organization. He met John Drakeford, Baptist preacher and psychology student who would become one of his lifelong friends, and who eventually baptized Lillian Schwarz by immersion, bringing her formally to the evangelical faith<sup>178</sup>. Schwarz quickly made a name for himself in the Sydney area's most important churches, especially by reason of his knowledge of communism. Donald W.B. Robinson, at the time Anglican bishop who knew Schwarz since the late 1930's, introduced him to Howard Mowll, the conservative Anglican Archbishop of Sydney, who opened the doors of his community to Schwarz<sup>179</sup>.

Sydney Anglicans constituted the largest evangelical Anglican community in the world, and had, since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a tradition of cooperation with evangelicals of all persuasions<sup>180</sup>. Schwarz was thus welcomed and widely popular among them during this period. He lectured on several occasions at the Moore Theological College, a strongly conservative seminary of the Sydney diocese. He was also invited to address the Annual Conference of Anglican Clergy<sup>181</sup>. Having developed a background in psychiatry in the

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<sup>177</sup> In 1965, he estimated that inflation included, his medical income would have rose to at least \$20,000, much more than the \$5,000 and \$5,400 annual wages he and his wife Lillian respectively got from the Crusade by then . From "Questions and Answers on KHJ-TV, Los Angeles, Monday, March 22", *CACC Newsletter*, Apr. 1, 1965, 2.

<sup>178</sup> Drakeford's life (1914-2004) parallels that of Schwarz in some ways. He grew up in Sydney and experienced Christian conversion during teenage years, becoming pastor upon completing Seminary studies at the New South Wales Theological College. In 1954, he came to the U.S., where he completed his PhD in psychology at the Southwestern Theological Seminary (a conservative Baptist institution). Claude Douglas Ryan, *A Descriptive Study of the Life and Work of John William Drakeford*, Ph. D. Thesis, Department of Psychology and Counseling, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1986, 23-67.

<sup>179</sup> Mowll was elected Archbishop of Sydney in 1933 "as the candidate of conservative evangelicals fearful of another leader tolerant of liberal tendencies". Brian Dickey, "Mowll, Howard West Kilvinton", in Timothy Larsen, David Bebbington and Mark. A. Noll, eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals*, Downers Grove, Inter-Varsity Press, 2003, 455-456.

<sup>180</sup> Lesley Hicks, "The History of the Sydney Diocese", *Sydney Anglican Network Portal: Diocese of Sydney*, 1994, Available online at < <http://www.sydneyan Anglican network.net/images/historyofsydneydiocese.pdf> > (accessed January 5, 2010), 13.

<sup>181</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 39-40.; On Moore Theological College, see Marcia Cameron, *An Enigmatic Life: David Broughton Knox, Father of Contemporary Sydney Anglicanism*, Brunswick East, Acorn Press, 2006, 93-182.

years following his residency, he was appointed “Honorary Psychiatrist of the Marriage Guidance Clinic” at Anglican St. Andrews Cathedral<sup>182</sup>. A 1948 newspaper clip even refereed to him as “a Strathfield physician and Anglican lecturer”<sup>183</sup>. In reality, he was not an Anglican. He had become member and deacon of Haberfield Baptist Church, located a few miles from the Schwarz family home. Continuing his activities as lay pastor, he was also appointed in 1947 director of evangelism by the Baptist Union of New South Wales, probably at John Drakeford’s instigation, who was the Union’s youth director. When he sent a few biographical notes to introduce himself to the American Council of Christian Churches in 1950, he called himself a Baptist<sup>184</sup>. This, in addition to his entrance in Sydney Anglicanism’s upper spheres and Lillian’s baptism, shows how much Schwarz had drifted away from lower-class Queensland evangelical nonconformism he had been long associated with. He had moved into a more temperate, middle-class evangelicalism that reflected the upward social mobility he had experienced.

By the late 1940’s, Fred C. Schwarz had become a respected leader in his community, whose oratorical talent who could switch from quoting Bible verses to Karl Marx, making him a highly in-demand lay pastor among all denominations in his country’s largest city. He was a happy family man and his medical practice was successful. Yet, sometimes fulfilling dreams create new ones.

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<sup>182</sup> Jack Murray, “Newsrelease: The Beloved Physician. Dr. F. C. Schwarz, B.A., B. Sc., M.B., B.S.”, Undated, *T.T. Shields Papers* Jarvis Street Baptist Church Archives (hereafter *TTSP*), Box 7, 1950, F. “S”.

<sup>183</sup> An., “Another Debate Proposed on Communism”, *The Canberra Times*, Sat., Sept. 25, 1948, 4.

<sup>184</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Carl McIntire, 16 Apr. 1950, *Carl McIntire Papers* Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey, (hereafter *CMP*), F. ‘Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvalea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia’, (accessed November 13, 2008, unprocessed at the time of the research).

### 3 COLD WAR

“I’m never alone with Fred. He always has Karl Marx along.” - Lillian Schwarz, 1962<sup>1</sup>

#### 3.1 Dialectics

Schwarz’s foundational understanding of Marxism-Leninism was established during the WWII years. He read widely from the fundamental texts on Marxism-Leninism, notably with editions made available in the English language by the Communist International’s publishing house and, after 1952, by Beijing’s Foreign Language Press. Writings included Karl Marx’s *The Capital*, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Vladimir Lenin’s *The State and the Revolution*, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, *Religion, Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Joseph Stalin’s *Problems of Leninism*, as well the writings of those philosophers such as Hegel or Feuerbach who had inspired Communist theoreticians. After the Communist takeover of China in 1949, he read works by Asian Communist thinkers such as *On Contradiction* by Mao Tse-tung’s and *How to Be A Good Communist* by Liu Shao-Chi.

From the 1950’s on, he also became an intense reader of English-language Communist and/or left-wing publications throughout the world: the *Daily Worker*, *Beijing Review*, *Workers Vanguard*, *Soviet Life*, *The Militant*, the *World Marxist Review*, etc. By the late 1950’s, he admitted the only non-Communist journal he read with some consistency was the *U.S. News and World Report*, the remainder of his reading time being devoted to Communist publications<sup>2</sup>. In the U.S., the Long Beach Crusade office received each week more than 30 Communist and left-wing periodicals to which it subscribed. These publications became the basic source of information for the CACC newsletter. Schwarz claimed reading and writing about communism was sometimes difficult “since Communist “propaganda” is often cloaked in Marxist-Leninist jargon which needs to be

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in An., “Organizations: Crusader Schwarz”, *loc. cit.*, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Kenneth Woodward, “What Qualifications for a Crusader?”, *loc. cit.*, 15.

translated into simple understandable English”<sup>3</sup>. This assiduity in trying to be kept informed on all developments of Marxism-Leninism definitely set him apart from other anticommunist conservatives in the U.S., whose knowledge on the subject was often scant. It is no surprise that Schwarz once stated that American right-wingers “never taught me anything. I learnt all I know about communism in Australia”<sup>4</sup>.

The Communist *Manifesto* is unquestionably a masterpiece of rhetorical clarity; however, a good deal of Marxist-Leninist writings is arcane and not easy to grasp. Schwarz’s professed goal was to shine light on this obscurity. He claimed himself that his objective was to “provide information and analysis which is worthy of the greatest universities, but which can be understood by all thoughtful and intelligent readers”<sup>5</sup>. Yet, to this end, it seems to be the case that he never availed himself to the vast amount of academic writing on the subject. His writings were thus sometimes castigated as anti-intellectual and overly simplistic, especially by foes from the academic and intellectual worlds<sup>6</sup>. Schwarz’s critical analysis of Communist theory, especially his critique of Marxist-Leninist dialectic, shows some similarities with that of Austrian-born jurist Hans Kelsen (1881-1973), but he only could have read Kelsen’s writings while in America in the 1950’s, and there is no indication that he ever did. As far as his understanding of communism theory is concerned, it remains likely that Schwarz was almost entirely self-taught.

One of the only books that clearly influenced his take on communism was not an academic work, but rather the autobiography of Whittaker Chambers, a former Communist whose testimony was the cornerstone of the sensational 1949 Alger Hiss trial. Schwarz was deeply moved by *Witness* (1952), “the best book on communism ever written”, which Arthur Schlesinger Jr. once hailed as one of the greatest American autobiographies<sup>7</sup>. Indeed a beautifully-written book, Chambers’ autobiography became

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<sup>3</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Deeds and Vision”, *CACC Newsletter*, Nov. 15, 1982, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Peter Coleman, “Crusader Fred Schwarz”, *loc. cit.*, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Deeds and Vision”, *loc. cit.*, 1.

<sup>6</sup> For instance, he never seems to have read the works of R.H. Tawney, Reinhold Neibuhr, Hannah Arendt or Ludwig von Mises.

<sup>7</sup> Peter Coleman, “Crusader Fred Schwarz”, *loc. cit.*, 18.

the blueprint for all of Schwarz lectures and writings pertaining to the manner in which Communist converted young idealists to their cause<sup>8</sup>.

For Schwarz, communism was primarily anchored in the denial of God's existence. He always substantiated this axiom by quoting Lenin's writings on religion, such as the 1905 text *Socialism and Religion* where the Bolshevik leader claimed: "Our Programme is based entirely on the scientific, and moreover the materialistic world-outlook. (...) Our propaganda necessarily includes the propaganda of atheism"<sup>9</sup>. Schwarz's emphasis on the atheism-communism connection was almost always drawn from the writings of Lenin, whose atheism was more virulent than that of either Marx or Engels<sup>10</sup>. However, theory aside, Schwarz's emphasis on the atheistic aspect of communism was also strengthened by the concrete experience of Soviet communism. During the 1920's and 1930's, the Soviet purge of organized religion contributed to turn scores of devout Christians like Schwarz around the world into zealous anticommunists. While knowledge pertaining to human rights violations in the Soviet Union remained fragmentary in the West, the picture was already unambiguous enough during the interwar years to those who had access to the available facts, especially those Christians throughout the world which had connections with churches in the former Russian Empire<sup>11</sup>. It is significant that the awakening of Schwarz's anticommunist praxis in 1940 took place at a time when the Soviet regime was still fully committed to Lenin's virulent antireligious policy (elimination of the clergy, teaching of atheism in schools, seizure of churches, full-blown hate campaigns against religious belief in the Soviet press), which had been maintained by Stalin. In 1941 only about 500 Orthodox churches remains in the Soviet Union, down from 54,000 during WWI years, in addition to persecutions targeting other religious

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<sup>8</sup> Chambers argued that no Communist ever became one simply by reading books by Marx or Lenin. The real impetus for Communist recruitment, he argued, was either the desire to eradicate war or economic crises. Whittaker Chambers, *Witness*, New York, Random House, 1952, 191. Ronald Reagan credited it for igniting his transformation from New Deal Democrat to conservative Republican. Doug Linder, "The Trials of Alger Hiss: A Commentary", *University of Missouri-Kansas City (UMKC) School of Law Webpage*, 2003, Available online at < <http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/hiss/hissaccount.html> > (accessed January 2, 2010).

<sup>9</sup> Vladimir Lenin, "Socialism and Religion", in *Id.*, *Religion*, Briston, Burleigh Press, 2007, 14.

<sup>10</sup> For some authors, the virulence of Lenin's atheism resulted less from ideology than the power struggle between the Soviet state and the Russian Orthodox Church after 1917. Thomas J. Blakeley, "Scientific Atheism: An Introduction", *Studies in Soviet Thought*, Vol. 4, No. 4, Dec. 1964, 279-280.

<sup>11</sup> The existence of Soviet state's antireligious persecutions was widely certified by the wealth of information provided by Christian churches throughout the world. A good example is this detailed article on the issue published in 1930 by a staff member of the YMCA Russian press: Nicholas Klepinin, *The War on Religion in Russia*, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 8, No. 24, Mar. 1930, 514-532.

groups<sup>12</sup>. Despite the June 1941 Nazi aggression, which compelled the Soviet state to enlist the Orthodox Church's support, therefore temporarily lifting the massive antireligious repression, Schwarz and many other faith-based anticommunists throughout the world never forgot the traumatic experience of Christians in interwar USSR, and never believed their Communists worthy of any trust regarding religious organizations.

Accordingly, for Schwarz, atheism was communism's cornerstone. Through the Communist assault on religion, an "entire civilized code of moral and ethical values is destroyed so that they are free to erect in their place new moral and ethical standards as the occasion demands"<sup>13</sup>. On this point, Schwarz was in total agreement with Dostoevsky's notorious saying in *The Brothers Karamazov*: "If there is no God anything is permissible". Liberal Protestant churchman Brooks R. Walker criticized Schwarz in 1963 for placing undue emphasis on atheism in the Communist context: "To suggest, as Schwarz does, that there is an intimate connection between atheism and the repudiation of ethics and morality is to impugn the good names and ethical standards of a multitude of persons who are atheists and, at the same time, ethical and moral". Moreover, Walker observed that while atheism was essential to Communist philosophy, "it is scarcely the touchstone of Communist morality", and that while scientific materialism was indeed important to communism, not all Communists believed that human beings were only matter in motion<sup>14</sup>. Schwarz replied in his memoirs that he never claimed Godlessness directly caused communism, but rather that it created favourable conditions to its inception. He also acknowledged that atheists could be anticommunists since communism "conflicts with some of their other convictions such as devotion to individual liberty"<sup>15</sup>. However, long before Walker's objections, it seems that Schwarz had been aware that his animus towards communism, based as it was on this doctrine's atheism, tended to unfairly devalue the ideas that had a much greater importance in the writings of Communist theoreticians than atheism did, such as those about economic theory, party organization and historical development. To balance things out, he usually

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*; The statistic pertaining to the number of churches is from Ihor Y. Gawdiak, "Chapter 4: Nationalities and Religion", in Raymond E. Zickel, ed., *Soviet Union: A Country Study*, Washington, Federal Research Division: Library of Congress, 1989, 198. See also Paul Gabel, *And God Created Lenin: Marxism vs. Religion In Russia, 1917-1929*, New York, Prometheus Book, 2005.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in Brooks R. Walker, *The Christian Fright Peddlers*, *op. cit.*, 61.

<sup>14</sup> Brooks R. Walker, *The Christian Fright Peddlers*, *op. cit.*, 62.

<sup>15</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 310.



tried not to overemphasize the atheism-communism connection (even if it remained at the core of his analysis), except when addressing church audiences. In sum, he understood he had to encounter Communist theory on its own ground.

Schwarz thus centered his main critical analysis of communism on the concept of “dialectical materialism”, which Stalin once described as “the soul of Marxism”<sup>16</sup>. In the tradition of German idealism, Hegel dialectic assumes that contradiction is an essential part of reality, and that history is an evolving phenomenon wherein contradictions propel society towards the absolute. History is pervaded by ongoing conflict, which according to the notorious Hegelian “thesis-antithesis-synthesis” paradigm, leads to inexorable progress amid apparent chaos<sup>17</sup>. This progressive paradigm found its perennial expression in the emergence of the state, which Hegel identified as “God’s march through time”<sup>18</sup>. Under the influence of German philosopher Ludwig Feuerbach, Marx gave Hegel’s idealist system a materialist, atheistic and scientific twist<sup>19</sup>. Criticizing the “mystification which the dialectic suffers in Hegel’s hands”, Marx transposed its logic into hard economic reality<sup>20</sup>. In his classic account of the origins of revolutionary thinking, James H. Billington shows that whereas Hegel’s progressivism attributed an abstractly-conceived “universally liberating mission” to the state, Marx centered his analysis on the state as it existed from the 1840’s on, and conceptualized it primarily as “the agent of venal interest rather than of any universal mission”<sup>21</sup>. Marx rejected Hegel’s philosophical idealism, which had, in his words, the dialectic “standing on its head”.

Therefore, dialectical materialism, Marxism-Leninism’s philosophical foundation, was Hegel’s thought rendered into pure matter. Deriving from it was the idea of historical materialism, an outlook which finds its classic formulation in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Historical materialism was, in the words of Frederick Engels,

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<sup>16</sup> Joseph V. Stalin, “The Right Deviation in the C.P.S.U. (B.): Speech Delivered at the Plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U.(B.) in April 1929 – Verbatim Report”, *Works*, Vol. 12, Apr. 1929-Jun. 1930, Available online at < <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1929/04/22.htm> > (accessed January 2, 2010).

<sup>17</sup> Hans Kelsen, *The Communist Theory of Law*, London, Stevens & Sons Limited, 1955, 49.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in James H. Billington, *Fire in the Minds of Men: Origins of the Revolutionary Faith*, New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 2009, 264. Originally published in 1980, the book has had eight printings by the time of this thesis’ writing.

<sup>19</sup> This process was very well-explained in Robert C. Tucker, *Philosophy & Myth in Karl Marx*, Third Edition, New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 2001, 100-129.

<sup>20</sup> This was in the postface of the second edition of Marx’s *Capital*. Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Toronto, Penguin Classics, 1990, 103.

<sup>21</sup> James H. Billington, *Fire in the Minds of Men, op. cit.*, 264.

“destined to do for history what Darwin’s theory has done for biology”<sup>22</sup>. It put forward the idea that the whole of human evolution was shaped in a deterministic way by material forces, i.e. the modes of economic production. Controlling these modes was the key to shaping human character, culture and society. Of course historical materialism hinged from the scientific -the idea that science has precedence over other interpretations of life- and atheistic outlook of Marxism. Human thought is thus conceived as deriving from material conditions, void of any dynamic or force that could transcend it from either a spiritual or supernatural point of view. For faith-based anticommunists such as Schwarz, this was obviously an erroneous, even obscene scheme.

Moreover, Marx and his followers attempted to use the Hegelian concept of permanent contradictions to explain the evolution of society and even of the physical world. Hans Kelsen observes that according to Marx, “dialectic as a method of thinking “reflects” only the dialectic process in reality. The dialectic method must be used in order to grasp the dialectic of society”<sup>23</sup>. In other words, nature itself is dialectic. The Marxist interpretation of dialectical progress became a theoretical hotchpotch that would dominate the thinking of Communist politicians, leaders and theoreticians throughout the world for about a century and a half. Inasmuch as any given historical fact can be interpreted either as the thesis, the antithesis or the new synthesis expressing the juggernaut of advancing human progress, dialectical materialism could in fact be twisted to any purpose<sup>24</sup>.

As Schwarz pointed out, Marxism was a system rooted in the appealing prospect of deducing directly from history the appropriate political action required for the advancement of human progress. It carried both the legitimacy of empiricism and an almost-metaphysical certitude that the project of establishing a classless society based on rational principles would come to inevitable fruition, a scheme the key player of which was the proletariat, according to Marx. Yet, this ideology was also malleable, as showed

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<sup>22</sup> Engels wrote this in the 1888 preface to the English edition. Frederick Engels and Karl Marx, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Old Chelsea Station, Cosimo, 2009, 20.

<sup>23</sup> Hans Kelsen, *The Political Theory of Bolchevism: A Critical Analysis*, Clark, The Lawbook Exchange Ltd., 2007, 19.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* This is nowhere more apparent in the writings of Marx himself, whose theories were not exempt of contradictions rooted in pure dialectic logic. Marx could claim that the state was in times a tool of exploitation and in times one of emancipation; that the proletarian state was both democratic and dictatorial; that he could present communism on the one hand as the fulfillment of individual liberty and on the other as the expression of absolute collectivism. Even more contradictory is Marx’s assertion that belief in objective science is fallacious, while presenting the scientific program of communism as a truism. Hans Kelsen, *The Communist Theory of Law*, *op. cit.*, 50.

by the ease with which it was pragmatically adapted by Lenin, who exposed “new” series of dialectical contradictions to fit the revolutionary needs of pre-industrial countries which Marx had thought unready to undergo the final contradictions that were supposed to bring down capitalism. Lenin filled one of the gaps in Marx’s theory by providing the means for immediate action through the agency of the Communist party, whose members acted as the proletariat’s brain, a revolutionary vanguard elite destined to accelerate the dialectical and scientifically-established course of history. Schwarz acknowledged that this idea of being the Subject of history was a “wonderful vista for the human mind”<sup>25</sup>, and had empowering effect on its converts<sup>26</sup>. Communism carried the almost-millenarian promise of a new orderly society built on scientific principles, and the dawn of which over mankind was ineluctable. Schwarz himself, who considered the communist project a dangerous delusion, nonetheless recognized it as the most attractive vision of hope offered to mankind since the birth of Christ. Even Schwarz’s foe, Brooks Walker, stated:

“If Schwarz misses the mark in his attack on atheism, he is nonetheless discerning when it comes to identifying one of Communism’s main appeals: It has a program to change human nature. It proclaims that the old human nature will die with the passing away of bourgeois society. (...) He perceives the flaw in Soviet utopian idealism because his Christian faith maintains that sinful human nature may be transformed, but only in Christian liberty”<sup>27</sup>.

Marxist dialectics became indeed, in the hands of Communist leaders, a convenient device in the name of which any policy, flip-flop, success, failure, political purge or repression could be justified, something Schwarz and other anticommunists never failed to point out. Lenin used it to explain Russia’s modest return to capitalism during the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921; Stalin used it to scrap the same program in 1928, explaining in his essay *Dialectical and Historical Materialism* that an uncompromising collectivization program was necessary, “not a compromiser’s policy of the “growing of capitalism into socialism”. Such is the Marxist dialectical method when applied to social

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<sup>25</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *You Can Trust the Communists*, *op. cit.*, 29.

<sup>26</sup> Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm explains that the absolute faith of the generation of Communists to which he belonged derived from the way Marxism gave its proponents a universal, almost millenarian hope for human future. Eric J. Hobsbawm, *L’Âge des extrêmes : Le Court Vingtième Siècle, 1914-1991*, Paris, Éditions Complexe, 1994, 107.

<sup>27</sup> Brooks R. Walker, *The Christian Fright Peddlers*, *op. cit.*, 65-66.

life, to the history of society”.<sup>28</sup> As Schwarz observed, Marxist dialectics can justify any action deemed necessary to secure and maintain political power: “One obvious conclusion from the Communist adherence to the dialectic is that the Communist goal can never be perceived by observing the direction in which the Communists are moving”<sup>29</sup>. For him, communism is first and foremost characterized by total flexibility; economic, political, cultural and scientific programs are mere expedient tactics to further the goal of world domination in the name of a dangerous, inefficient and unrealistic ideology pretending to regenerate mankind. However, dialectical materialism assures that its proponents cannot be considered guilty of dishonesty: “Any lie that advances Communist conquest is, by definition, not a lie but the Marxist-Leninist truth. The maturity of a Communist can be judged by the extent to which he can divorce himself from the evidence of his senses and totally identify himself with the verdict of the Communist Party”<sup>30</sup>. Hence the title of his best-selling book *You Can Trust the Communists (to be Communists)*. Schwarz could thus portray Communists as being ideologically-induced to an opportunistic attitude that gave them total latitude to adopt any stance, support any cause and say whatever fit their immediate interests. Communism was a force committing the crime of manipulating, almost brainwashing millions for a cause in the name of which the worst bestial instincts of human nature were revealed. In sum, he suggested that Communists’ psychology could be understood and their moves predicted throughout the study of Marxist-Leninist theory. The foundational quality of these writings, Schwarz and many other anticommunists asserted, was validated by the uniform nature of Communist regimes. They all evolved into autocratic dictatorship guilty to various degrees of infringements on human rights and freedoms. They all eventually suffered from grave internal structural problems (corruption, economic inefficiency) that crippled their functioning. The Communist cannon looked like a genetic blueprint.

In emphasizing the ideological essence of communism, Schwarz undeniably was on to something. Since Communist regimes were indeed founded on an ideological goal presented as their *raison d’être*, the Marxist-Leninist canon was central to their fate. The

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<sup>28</sup> Joseph V. Stalin, “Dialectical and Historical Materialism”, *Problems of Leninism*, Peking, Foreign Language Press, 1976, 844.

<sup>29</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 48.

<sup>30</sup> *Id.*, *You Can Trust the Communists*, *op. cit.*, 8.

“ideology-stressing analysis”<sup>31</sup>, established as a major school in Western academies during Cold War’s earliest days and constituting the root of American sovietology, never lacked examples proving that Communist countries were undeniably marked by their Marxist-Leninist origins. From the outset of 20<sup>th</sup> century Communist history, Lenin’s theory of the necessity of revolutionary violence to eliminate class enemies and consolidate revolutionary state power -which he applied unapologetically from 1917 on- undoubtedly legitimated a culture of terror and brutality in the USSR and Soviet-inspired regimes<sup>32</sup>. Once Stalin became general secretary of the Soviet Union’s Communist Party, his rise to absolute authority was due largely to the authoritarian nature of the Party, notably its alleged role as the vehicle of history, making decisions taken by its leadership impossible to challenge, even by powerful Soviet leaders such as Trotsky or Bukharin<sup>33</sup>.

Marxist-Leninist theory, especially in its emphasis on the collective ownership of means of production, is central to understand the social and economic policies of Communist countries, including the most infamous projects: USSR’s policy of land collectivization in the 1930’s, Red China’s 1958-1961 “Great Leap Forward” and the Red Khmers’ 1975-1979 irrational experiment in social engineering<sup>34</sup>. Soviet foreign policy, especially its aim to internationalize the class struggle, was undoubtedly permeated by the regime’s philosophy. Communist ideology inspired the creation of the Comintern, the support given by Communist regimes throughout the world to their ideological fellows. The Cold War was unquestionably an ideological conflict<sup>35</sup>.

Yet, assigning the entire development of Communist regimes to their official belief system overlooks important aspects of their experience. A world of mundane dilemmas

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<sup>31</sup> David Dinsmore Comey, *Studies in Soviet Thought*, Vol. 2, No. 4, Dec. 1962, 302. In the 1950’s, examples of this viewpoint could be found in Carew Hunt, “The Importance of Doctrine”, *Problems of Communism*, Vol. 7, Mar.-Apr. 1955, 10-15.; Zbigniew Brezinski, “Communist Ideology and International Affairs”, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 4, September 1960, 266-291. More recent works include Richard Pipes, *Communism: A History*, London, Modern Day Chronicles, 1994.; Fred Coleman, *The Decline and Fall of the Soviet Empire: Forty Years that Shook the World, from Stalin to Yeltsin*, New York, MacMillan, 1996.; Stephen Kotkin, *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970-2000*, New York, New York and London, Oxford University Press, 2000.

<sup>32</sup> “The proletariat needs state Power, the centralized organization of force, the organization of violence, both to crush the resistance of the exploiters and to lead the enormous mass of the population –the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, the semi-proletarians- in the work of organizing socialist economy”. Vladimir I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, Whitefish, Kessinger Publishing, 2009, 22. See also Stéphane Courtois, “Pourquoi?”, in Stéphane Courtois, Nicolas Werth, Jean-Louis Panné, Andrzej Paczkowski, Karel Bartosek and Jean-Louis Margolin, eds., *Le livre noir du communisme: crimes, terreur, répression*, Paris, Robert Laffont, 1999, 862-868.

<sup>33</sup> Martin Malia, *La Tragédie soviétique: Histoire du socialisme en Russie, 1917-1991*, Paris, Seuil, 1995.; Tom Casier, “The Shattered Horizon of How Ideology Mattered to Soviet Politics”, *Studies in East European Thought*, Vol. 51, No. 1, Mar. 1999, 35-38.

<sup>34</sup> On the ideological aspect of Soviet economics, see Patrick McNally, “Marxist Ideology and the Soviet Economy”, *Studies in Soviet Thought*, Vol. 12, No. 3, Sept. 1972, 255-269. On this view of Cambodian communism, see Jean-Louis Miguelin, “Cambodge: Au pays du crime déconcertant”, in Stéphane Courtois and al., *Le livre noir du communisme, op. cit.*, 737-743.

<sup>35</sup> Zbigniew Brezinski, *Ideology and Power in Soviet Politics*, New York, Praeger, 1967.; Julius Braunthal, *History of the International*, New York, Praeger, 1967.

often laid behind the ideological smokescreen of Communist states. Political scientist and *National Review* contributor Edward J. Rozek, who participated in some of the Crusade's Schools of Anticommunism, affirmed that Schwarz had a commanding understanding of Marxist-Leninism that even impressed some academic specialists, but that the crusader was wrong when discounting the fact that the Soviet Union was largely a world of its own, and to which Marxism was often not applicable<sup>36</sup>. Questioned on the evolution of the Soviet world since the years of Lenin and Stalin in 1967 by William F. Buckley on the *Firing Line* television show, the crusader showed an unwillingness to divert even in the slightest way from his ideology-stressing analysis. Even when he acknowledged, as Buckley prompted him to do so, that the Soviet Union had largely toned down its aggressive rhetoric towards the West since the post-Stalin era, he refused to recognize that this resulted from the slow languishing of the Soviet state and its economy, as it actually did<sup>37</sup>. "Ideology", as once wrote political scientist Peter Beckam, "claims to provide guidance about appropriate behavior. Therefore ideologues have a great incentive to insist that whatever is done is in fact *inspired* by ideology"<sup>38</sup>. Where Schwarz saw this opportunistic flexibility as the straightforward exercise of applied dialectics, others saw nothing but pure *realpolitik*, exempt from any direct connection to some larger ideal.

The contribution of the "realistic" school in U.S. foreign policy was to bring attention of how much the Soviet Union's and China's foreign policies were in many ways based on pragmatic evaluations of their respective interests<sup>39</sup>. Diplomat George Keenan, whom Schwarz criticized more than once, notoriously asserted that the USSR had no interest in a worldwide crusade to expand communism; that a large part of this country history, notably its appalling record of political violence until Stalin's death in 1953 was already rooted to a degree in the long and brutal history of tsarist Russia<sup>40</sup>. Similar analysis could be made regarding the history of China<sup>41</sup>. Hence, Schwarz might have overstressed the

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<sup>36</sup> Information provided by Edward Rozek to the author before his death.

<sup>37</sup> Quoted in *Firing Line*, Episode 062, "The Decline of Anti-Communism", Recorded June 29, 1967, Guest: Fred C. Schwarz,

<sup>38</sup> Peter R. Beckman, *World Politics in the Twentieth-Century*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1984, 124.

<sup>39</sup> Samuel L. Sharp, "National Interest: Key to Soviet Politics", *Problems of Communism*, Vol. 7, Mar.-Apr. 1958, 15-21.

<sup>40</sup> David Mayers, *George Kennan and the Dilemmas of U.S. Foreign Policy*, New York and London, Oxford University Press, 1988, 101. An analogous view can be found in Bertram D. Wolfe for whom despite the clear "drives and preconceptions" of the intensely held Marxist-Leninist ideology, USSR foreign policy shares the same objectives and dilemmas than that of the tsars prior to 1917: land power, access to the sea, the permanent threat posed by surrounding enemy powers on all sides. Bertram D. Wolfe, "Communist Ideology and Soviet Foreign Policy", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 41, No. 1, Oct. 1962, 153-157.

<sup>41</sup> See Richard Shek, "Sectarian Eschatology and Violence", in Jonathan N. Lipman and Stevan Harrell, eds., *Violence in China: Essays in Culture and Counterculture*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1990, 87-109.

importance of ideology when claiming that the “murder of millions in Russia was not the excess due to a barbaric past; the liquidation of millions proceeding apace in China is not an example of Oriental cruelty. (...) Anglo-Saxon Communism will be just as scientifically ruthless, just as dehumanized (...)”<sup>42</sup>. Other scholars note that Marxism-Leninism’s ascendancy over the Soviet economy steadily eroded throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century as it became clearer that the application of planned economy created more problems than it solved<sup>43</sup>. The same could obviously be said of China, which reintroduced market capitalism by the late 1970’s.

However, as time passed and the impact of Marxist-Leninist ideology decreased on the policies of Communist regimes, ideology retained its place in the mind of the political left in capitalist democracies. Even in times when the Soviet foreign policy was grounded in pure *realpolitik*, the Soviet state, essentially through the Comintern -followed by the Cominform from 1947 on- continued to inject ideology in its policy injunctions to both affiliated Communist parties and all those whom it had identified as its natural allies in the capitalist world. This impacted on the capitalist world in various ways, notably by creating important rifts between the Communist and non-Communist political left, as well as fuelling fears of internal Red subversion that led to encroachments on civil liberties, most notably in the U.S. during McCarthyism, but also in numerous non-democratic countries. It remains a paradox that Communist regimes’ commitment to spread their political gospel played into the hands of militant anticommunists, even the more realistic among them who, like Schwarz, downplayed the threat of possible internal subversion in the U.S. Throughout the myriad of debates opposing him with Communists over a few decades, Schwarz usually got the upper hand by cornering his opponents into admitting that no matter what slogan they used or immediate cause they endorsed, their ultimate goal remained the establishment of worldwide communism, and that Communist regimes, despite their flaws, were their main source of inspiration in this endeavour.

Through his emphasis on dialectics, Schwarz had developed a form of anticommunism the sophistication of which was uncommon among U.S. anticommunist conservatives,

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<sup>42</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *The Heart, Mind and Soul of Communism*, *op. cit.*, 122.

<sup>43</sup> Morris Bornstein, “Ideology and the Soviet Economy”, *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1, Jul. 1966, 74-80. See also Robert V. Daniels, *Is Russia Reformable? Change and Resistance from Stalin to Gorbachev*, Boulder, Westview, 1989.; Michael E. Urban, *More Power to the Soviets: The Democratic Revolution in the USSR*, Brookfield, Edward Elgar Pub., 1990.; Stephen F. Cohen, “Was the USSR Reformable?”, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 63, No. 3, Autumn 2004, 459-488.

with the exception of the few intellectuals acquainted with Marxism in the 1950's and 1960's such as Edward Rozek or Stefan Possony. However, the criticism that Schwarz levelled against communism could be deemed as self-conflicting, as it tried to have it both ways. On the one hand, Schwarz located the essence of communism in its classic texts, which he conceived as statements of purpose to be taken into serious consideration. On the other hand, Schwarz also conceived Communist doctrines, and particularly dialectical materialism, as being such a flexible intellectual toolbox that as an ideology it was almost meaningless. Of course, Red-baiters throughout the world since the 19<sup>th</sup> century always lamented over the alleged deceitfulness of Communists to further their interests, but Schwarz went much further by suggesting that apart from its ultimate goal of a classless society, communism did not have any genuine political or economic program: "Communism has no economics. Economic programs are merely temporary tactics designed to enable the Communist Party to conquer and retain power"<sup>44</sup>. In sum, Schwarz's approach bears the mark of ambivalence: he took Marxist-Leninist theory at face value, at the same time that he considered it to be a tapestry of self-serving slogans. Yet, this equivocation had a practical advantage, as it allowed him at one and the same time to slam the Reds for their duplicity, and to substantiate his suspicion by citing Marxist-Leninist writings themselves.

### **3.2 Australia and the Global Power Struggle**

By 1948, increasing polarization between the United States and the Soviet Union had led to the impending threat of another world war. The chain of events was marked by a series of pivotal dates. In spring 1946, both George Kennan's "long telegram" to the U.S. government, as well as Churchill's famous "Iron Curtain" speech expressed the Western world's growing apprehension of the Soviet Union. This sentiment mirrored the USSR's conviction that capitalist powers were untrustworthy, as illustrated the same year by the telegram sent in September by Soviet ambassador in Washington Nikolai Novikov<sup>45</sup>. In March 1947, the announcement of the Truman doctrine affirmed U.S.'s resolution to

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<sup>44</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 66.

<sup>45</sup> Less known diplomatic documents expressing the beginning of the Cold War were the cables sent by British ambassador to Moscow Frank Roberts that warned the Foreign Office of the Soviet-British incompatibility. See Kenneth M. Jensen ed., *Origins of the Cold War: The Novikov, Kennan and Roberts Long Telegrams' of 1946*, Revised Edition with Three Commentaries, Washington, United States Institute of Peace, 1993, 33-68.



contain communism on a global scale, and was followed in June by the USSR's refusal to cooperate with U.S. Secretary of State George Marshall's program for European economic recovery. This confirmed Europe's division between East and West. In June 1948, the inception of the Marshall plan marked the arrival of the United States in Europe as a decisive power. The eleven-month Berlin crisis, which began at the same time, indicated that a decisive point had been reached. The deadlock between the world's two superpowers was now established, the duration and outcome of which remained dramatically uncertain.

Since the early months of 1948, Australia was well into the new world conflict. Despite emerging on the victorious side of WWII, the British Empire was in shambles and virtually bankrupted. The integration of Australia into the U.S.'s strategic orbit was initiated during the war, and increased as the country needed a new protector within the new bipolar world<sup>46</sup>. At the same time, the growing cultural and economic influence of the United States substituted for the former British ascendancy<sup>47</sup>. This had major consequences over Australian politics; the entire first decade of the postwar era was largely defined by the Cold War and Australia's role as the Pacific stronghold of the Western alliance. In this, Australian Cold War history shows striking parallels with the United States', as the most important public debates of postwar Australia took place against the background of this bipolar conflict<sup>48</sup>.

These were troubled times for the Australian left, and particularly for the Australian Labor Party (ALP), which ruled the country since October 1941. The foreign policy of Premier Ben Chifley, in office since July 1945, was increasingly under attack for strongly supporting the newly-established United Nations and for refusing a perspective of world

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<sup>46</sup> Bruce Grant, *The Crisis of Loyalty: A Study of Australian Foreign Policy* (A.I.A.A. Problem Series), Melbourne, Angus & Robertson, 1972, 2.

<sup>47</sup> J.A. Camilleri, *Australian-American Relations: The Web of Dependence*, Melbourne, MacMillan Co. of Australia, 1980, 17-18.; L.G. Churchward, *Australia and America, 1788-1972: An Alternative History*, Sydney, Alternative Pub. Cooperative, 1979, 165-195.

<sup>48</sup> As in the U.S., contemporary interpretations of Australia's role in the Cold War reflect the divisions that erupted through this era. David McKnight, "Rethinking Cold War History", *Labour History*, No. 95, Nov. 2008, 185-186. Conservative, nationalist historians emphasize the reality of the Communist threat and the necessity of national security initiatives in the context of Cold War espionage. This interpretation has gained momentum when the search in former Soviet archives revealed the secrets of the "Verona" cables. See David McKnight, "The Moscow-Canberra Cables: how Soviet Intelligence Obtained British Secrets Through the Backdoor", *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1998, 159-170. ; Bruce Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy?: Catholics and the Anti-Communist Struggle in Australia*, Sydney, University of South Wales Press, 2001, 397. Liberal historians often emphasize, as Labor-affiliated historian Stuart McIntyre writes, how the fear of communism, "permeated almost every aspect of public life, at once impelling the government to improve the welfare of citizens and inhibiting the opportunities for critical dissent and creative innovation". Stuart McIntyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, New York & Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, 204.

affairs based on Cold War polarization<sup>49</sup>. By 1948, a reinvigorated Liberal Party (center-right) led by Robert Menzies, lamented over “the pattern of coming dictatorship”, and mounted a campaign against each one of the proposals of the Labor’s social and economic agenda<sup>50</sup>. Before its final defeat in 1949, Premier Chifley’s plan to nationalize banks faced for two years an intense and well-organized lobbying campaign, in which public opinion, especially that of the middle-class, was mobilized by business sectors and conservatives in opposition to the project. In May 1948, the Labor government’s plan to implement price and rent control was defeated by referendum.

Throughout the postwar era, Australian medical doctors were overwhelmingly opposed to the Labor’s health policy. Upon adoption of the Pharmaceuticals Benefits Act (PBA) in 1947, which intended to provide a limited number of free medicines to patients listed in a formulary the use of which was compulsory for doctors, the BMA urged Australian doctors to boycott it, which they almost all did<sup>51</sup>. In October 1949, the BMA appealed successfully to the Australian High Court, which invalidated governmental measures aimed at forcing doctors to apply the PBA. An even bigger fight took place over the National Health Service (NHS), adopted in December 1948. This plan covered some medical services at government expense. Both Menzies’ Liberal Party and the BMA launched a campaign against what they perceived as a dangerous step towards the implementation of socialized medicine. Australian doctors closed ranks in opposition to the dual prospect of competition between private practice and state-financed clinics, as well as the imposition of state control over the payment of medical services. Until December 1949, the BMA organized a very effective one-year boycott of the NHS, putting its case forward in newspapers and in letters to its members. The BMA’s General Secretary J.G. Hunter wrote a pamphlet called *Socialised (sic) Medicine Bedside Book*, in which he linked the Labor’s plan to Lenin, who “once proclaimed socialised medicine

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<sup>49</sup> David Lowe, *Menzies and the “Great World Struggle”: Australia’s Cold War, 1948-1954*, Sydney, University of New South Wales Press, 1999, 11.

<sup>50</sup> Quoted in Graham Freudenberg, “Victory to Defeat: 1941-1949”, in Stuart McIntyre, ed., *True Believers: The Story of the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party*, Crowns Nest, Allen & Unwin, 2001, 87.

<sup>51</sup> Hans Löfgren and Ken Harvey, “The Pharmaceuticals Benefits Scheme”, in Eileen Willis and Louise Reynolds, eds., *Understanding the Australian Health Care System*, Chatswood, Elsevier, 2009, 72.; Schwarz did not take a public stance on the issue. It would be interesting to know if his name was on the ridiculously short list of 117 practitioners (across Australia!) who challenged the BMA’s call for non-compliance with the government’s program, but the list remains undisclosed to this day. J Derek H. Meyers, “The absence of Many Voices in Protest”, *Medical Journal of Australia*, Vol. 186, No. 7, 2007, 384.; J. Hansen, *The Regulation of Australia’s Pharmaceutical Industry*, M.A. Thesis, University of Melbourne Faculty of Law, 1993, 110.

‘the keystone of the arch of the Socialist State’<sup>52</sup>. In spite of its professed non-political stance, the BMA not only crippled the government’s reforms, but also contributed to the general atmosphere of anticommunism. The organization was an important informal ally to the Menzies’ Liberals in the late 1949 federal election campaign<sup>53</sup>.

Schwarz was highly preoccupied by the situation. Like most conservatives, he perceived his country as being on the edge of a downward spiral towards socialism. Yet, he did not join of his fellow physicians in the public outcry over the Labor Party policies. Rather, he was preoccupied by the Reds themselves, whom he saw as the dire threat<sup>54</sup>. Despite its insignificant size -about 30,000 members at its peak just after WWII-, and the impotence to which it was condemned, the CPA was, as historian Coral Bell observes, “at the time Stalinist, strongly ensconced in some powerful and militant trade unions, and connected with a KGB spy-ring operating in Canberra”<sup>55</sup> (although this last point was unknown at the time). In particular, Communists were powerful out of proportion to their real numbers by being in control of the policies of labour unions “in every basic industry except agriculture”<sup>56</sup>.

In 1948-1949, Schwarz became progressively more active as an anticommunist. The lectures he delivered in institutions like churches and schools earned him the nickname “the pathologist of communism”<sup>57</sup>. Meanwhile, he was now seen debating publicly with

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<sup>52</sup> Quoted in Robin Gollan, *Revolutionaries and Reformists: Communism and the Australian Labour Movement*, Surrey, The Richmond Publishing Col., 1975, 221.

<sup>53</sup> In 1952, after the Liberal Party’s triumph to the polls in late 1949, the same J.G. Hunter wrote in the *British Medical Journal*: “After six years of resistance the medical profession in Australia assured its freedom against the then (Labour-Socialist) government, whose admitted “ultimate object,” (...) was complete nationalization of medical services. The present (Liberal-Country Party) Government intends no interference with the freedom of doctors”. J.G. Hunter, “Australia’s National Health Service”, *The British Medical Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 4756, Mar. 1, 1952, 74.

<sup>54</sup> The social and professional circles Schwarz moved in, as well as most of the positions he expressed on political issues across his lifetime, definitely placed him at odds with the Australian Labor and closer to the Liberal Party. One of his friends, Max Bushby, war correspondent in Korea, lay preacher, president of several church organizations and a steadfast anticommunist, was for twenty-five years state senator for Tasmania for the Liberal Party. Bushby claimed his decision to enter politics was motivated by anticommunism, and Schwarz wrote that Bushby “expressed gratitude to the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade for nurturing his understanding”. In a 1975 letter Schwarz wrote to friend and fellow M.D. Walter H. Judd -two weeks after Australia’s first universal healthcare system had been introduced amid great opposition-, he slammed in no uncertain terms Premier Gough Whitlam’s Labor government policies: “The political situation there is verging on chaos. The Labor Socialist Government enacted policies that prompted inflation and unemployment and delighted the communists. It now appears to be in the process of disintegration (...)”. David Bushby, “David Bushby: Senator for Tasmania: First Speech”, Wednesday, Dec. 19, 2007, *Parliament of Australia: Senate*, Available online at < [http://www.aph.gov.au/senate/senators/homepages/first\\_speech/sfs-hll.htm](http://www.aph.gov.au/senate/senators/homepages/first_speech/sfs-hll.htm) >, (Accessed March 4, 2010).; Fred C. Schwarz, “Tragedy and Triumph”, *CACC Newsletter*, Oct. 1, 1994, 7.; Fred C. Schwarz to Walter H. Judd, Jul. 16, 1975, *WHJP*, Box 226, F. 5.

<sup>55</sup> Coral Bell, “Review”, *The International History Review*, Vol. 23, No. 1, Mar. 2001, 202.

<sup>56</sup> Donald C. Gordon, “Schism in Australian Labor”, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 74, No. 3, Sept. 1959, 373. Schwarz was also concerned by the CPA’s infiltration of Labor Unions. During his time as RMO at the Brisbane Hospital, he had witnessed the non-medical union, affiliated to the anticommunist Australian Workers’ Union, being led by a fanatical Communist who made himself quite appreciated by his peers -despite his politics- by standing up for their rights with the utmost energy. Despite acknowledging that the Communist leader worked “assiduously and courageously”, Schwarz lamented that “workers served by such men saw only the dedication, not the ultimate goal”. Fred C. Schwarz, “Control the Unions”, *The Schwarz Report*, Vol. 40, No. 12, Dec. 2000, 3.

<sup>57</sup> Eric Bodin, “One Man’s Victory Over Communism”, *The Citizen- Raleigh*, Vol. 4, No. 4, Apr. 28, 1997, 10.

Communists and their sympathizers. During a 1948 series of lectures he delivered at the St. Andrews Anglican Cathedral, he challenged in debate L.H. Gould, member of the CPA's Central Committee and director of the "Marx School"<sup>58</sup>. The following year, during an evangelistic mission he ran with John Drakeford, Schwarz debated with the secretary of South Australia's Communist Party. In 1949, in Adelaide, Schwarz and Drakeford debated with Alf Watt, the secretary of the Communist Party of South Australia<sup>59</sup>. In 1950, Schwarz had lectured or debated on communism in the most important universities of his country: Queensland, Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide<sup>60</sup>. Schwarz also passed the occasional Sunday afternoon sparring with the Reds on the Sydney Domain (a 34-hectares open space in downtown Sydney), where weekly Communist meetings were held<sup>61</sup>.

As time went by, his name became one with which Australian Communists had to reckon. Schwarz took pleasure in telling the anecdote about a time he once lectured on dialectical materialism to an astonished CPA chairman who had no real idea about the concept itself. In September and October 1955, two years after he had founded the Crusade, Schwarz returned to Australia for a rest with his family. He took this rare opportunity to resume his anticommunist life in Australia, delivering lectures in Sydney and Melbourne. In the later city, he was eager to debate publicly with an Australian Communist. A meeting was thus arranged with J.J Brown, Communist head of the Australian Railway Union. But 24 hours after accepting the challenge, Brown cancelled it. Several other Communist leaders were contacted, with similar results. "It seems", Schwarz said with some pleasure, "a central directive was issued that they should not debate with me"<sup>62</sup>.

The Red issue became a burning one in Australia as the 1940's ended. By May 1948, the Cominform -which had replaced the Comintern as the main body coordinating international revolutionary efforts- had adopted a new position that prompted Soviet-affiliated Communist parties throughout the world to denounce the United States and its allies as agents of imperialism. Also targeted was Australia's Labor government, which

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<sup>58</sup> An. "Another Debate Proposed on Communism", *loc. cit.*4.

<sup>59</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Carl McIntire, 16 Apr. 1950, *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 39.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, "Fred C. Schwarz M.D. – Managing Director", *CACC Newsletter*, Nov., 1955, 1.

according to the CPA, was composed of “reformist betrayers” whose inability to successfully implement their social and economic reforms simply demonstrated how much real power eluded Labor<sup>63</sup>. The CPA’s policy was to reach out directly to workers in an effort to lead them away from the ALP, and prompt them to an immediate militant struggle that would pave the way to a people’s front. With some chance and good organization, the goal of substituting the CPA for the ALP as the workers’ party could be achieved. On June 27, 1949, amid a harsh Australian winter, the Communist-led Australian Miners’ Federation went on general strike in New South Wales, later joined by most of the other workers of the coal industry<sup>64</sup>. Since the country has no oil or natural gas, the effects of this strike were quickly felt. As historian Philip Deery notes, Australians experienced during that winter “conditions that resembled those of the Great Depression. Industrial and commercial activity had ground to a halt, unemployment had soared to half a million and economic distress and personal privation were widespread”<sup>65</sup>.

Schwarz was utterly outraged by the situation. The strike, he deplored, had been called against all established rules pertaining to the settling of labor disputes. Unions called the strike in even before any ruling from the arbitration authorities came out, a detail that especially shocked him given his own positive experience before the arbitration court in 1944<sup>66</sup>. A year after the strike, he explained the consequences brought upon millions by what he described as a small minority applying a well-crafted revolutionary program:

“And so we have seen the first two steps of the program - infiltration of trade unions and industrial strike. Now the industrial strike becomes a political strike. I mean not as getting benefits for the workers but I mean at causing hardship and suffering and chaos. We had hardship and suffering and chaos. In the middle of winter one bulb, and one bulb alone, was allowed on the night. No heating appliances of any make whatsoever were allowed, except on a Doctor’s prescription. Cooking was allowed for one hour in the morning and one hour in the evening, and the gas was turned off at other times. Hospitals everywhere had to close down their operating theatres, to cease accepting patients. They could not carry on. A considerable number of elderly people died, were gassed, in effect were

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<sup>63</sup> Robin Gollan, *Revolutionaries and Reformists*, *op. cit.*, 212, 232-233. See also Philip Deery, *Labour in Conflict: the 1949 Coal Strike*, Sydney, Hale and Iremonger, 1978, 25-35.

<sup>64</sup> The Miners’ demands were a \$3-a-week wage increase, a 35-hour working week and a three-month paid holiday each three years. Tony Griffiths, *Contemporary Australia*, London, Croon Helm Ltd., 1977, 29.

<sup>65</sup> Phillip Deery, “Chifley, the Army and the 1949 Coal Strike”, *Labour History*, No. 68, May 1995, 80.

<sup>66</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Control the Unions”, *loc. cit.*, 3.

murdered, because they would ignore the restrictions and go to bed with their gas fire in their room”.

What especially struck him was how Communists had masterminded the strike, despite the fact that most of the strikers were part of the constituency of the ALP. It showed that “the vast bulk of the Union membership is helpless, where all the decisions, at the critical moment when they are important, are made by the executive membership (...). Every Union with a communist secretary supported the Communists, and every one without one opposed them”<sup>67</sup>. The strike was exceedingly unpopular among Australians. Under extreme pressure to act, the ALP government launched a campaign denouncing the strike as Communist-inspired and adopted emergency measures. Bank accounts from the CPA and the striking unions were frozen, their offices raided and their leaders imprisoned when refusing to submit the money they had withdrawn before the strike. On August 2, the Army reopened the coal mines, and nine days later the Australian Miner’s Federation voted the end of the strike.

The coal strike weakened the Australian left considerably. The ruling ALP found itself struggling with parts of its own constituency, while being at the same time criticized by the right for having let Communist influence among unions grow over the years. Australian communism suffered even more, losing almost everything in its bid to contest the ALP’s influence on labor. It was “diminished, isolated, and on the defensive”, having wasted its reserve of public sympathy and was eventually eradicated from nearly all key trade unions<sup>68</sup>. A more radical anticommunist attitude entrenched itself in public opinion. Calling Communists “unscrupulous opponents of religion, of civilized government, of law and order, or national security”, Liberal Party leader Robert Menzies openly declared that if elected, he would introduce legislation to outlaw the CPA<sup>69</sup>. In December 1949, after a bitter campaign dominated by the Red issue, Menzies led his party to a victory at

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<sup>67</sup> *Id.*, “The Communist Blueprint for the Conquest of Canada: A Sermon by Dr. F. C. Schwarz, Preached at Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, Sunday Evening, September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1950 (Electrically Recorded”, *The Gospel Witness and Protestant Advocate*, Vol. 29, No. 23, Sept. 28, 1950, 7-8.

<sup>68</sup> Phillip Deery and Neil Redfern, “No lasting peace? Labor, Communism and the Cominform: Australia and Great Britain, 1945-1950”, *Labour History*, No. 88, May 2005, 63-72.

<sup>69</sup> Quoted in Leicester Webb, *Communism and Democracy in Australia*, New York, Praeger, 1955, 23.

the polls. The new Premier introduced within a short time a Communist Party Dissolution Act, the goal of which was to make the CPA illegal<sup>70</sup>.

It was in this heated context that Schwarz had his last important debate with a Communist in Australia. The crowd, wrote one journalist, was composed of “prominent Communists and prominent churchmen”, with support “of the two contestants evenly divided”. The burning question of the day -the legal ban of the Communist Party- made this contest a rather fiery one. L. Aarons, Newcastle District Secretary of the Communist Party, said the idea of banning the CPA would fail, since “such previous efforts to ban a movement which represents the progress of humanity have failed”. This prompted Schwarz to slam the Communist concept of progress, which he asserted meant violent revolution and class warfare according to Communist theorists themselves. Schwarz also called Communist hypocrites for their call to “keep the trade unions free” in light of Red stranglehold over trade unions, and the fact that Communist countries themselves do not allow trade unions<sup>71</sup>. Schwarz deplored that in spite of Menzies’ electoral victory due to his “promise to drive the Communists underground”, the bill to prohibit the Communist Party had been in the following months “weakened by Labor amendments and at present is stymied”<sup>72</sup>. That Schwarz supported the ban is hardly surprising. He never showed particular leanings for civil libertarianism. He scorned many times in the U.S. “pseudo-liberals” who stubbornly defended the presumption of innocence and the use of the U.S. Constitution’s Fifth Amendment as far as Reds were concerned. “I believe that nobody is entitled to go into a private home without a warrant”, he once said. “But, if the house is on fire, I’d be prepared to forgive the fire brigade when they did it”<sup>73</sup>. He also strongly opposed allowing Reds to teach in schools and universities. In 1962, Schwarz debated at Berkley University on this issue with William Mandel, left-wing journalist and Slavic studies specialist, notorious for his dismissal from Stanford University during McCarthyism. Mandel made a passionate plea for academic freedom, and hailed Communists for having “fought for the equality of Negroes when nobody else would

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<sup>70</sup> Charles H. Seldon, “Public Opinion and High Courts: Communist Party Cases in Four Constitutional Systems”, *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 2, Part. 1, Jun. 1967, 353.

<sup>71</sup> An. “No Decision in Debate on Communism”, Newspaper clip (unsp. source), *CMP*, F. ‘Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvalea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia’.

<sup>72</sup> An., “Australian Tells Reds’ Progress ‘Down Under’”, *Los Angeles Times*, Wed., Jun. 14, 1950, A13.

<sup>73</sup> Quoted in St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee, *Communism on the Map (Complete text of the tape-film strip) and The Greater St. Louis School of Anti-Communism – April, 1961 (Selected Quotations)*, St. Louis, 1962, 18-19.

touch the subject”. Schwarz tried to ridicule Mandel’s logic, which “would have allowed Nazis to teach at U.C. while Jews were being fed to the gas chambers”. A Communist in a university, he said, was “a soldier dedicated to destroy this institution (...) and in favor of the enslavement of all mankind”<sup>74</sup>.

For Schwarz, the 1949 strike had transformed communism into a clear and present threat. It had demonstrated the danger of Lenin’s prescription for seizure of power through strategies of social and political unrest that could be initiated by a small clique of dedicated fanatics. A year after the crisis, he wrote: “The Communists are a group of faithful believers. We have here, not a large group, but a compact group; every single one of them fundamentally believing in their creed, in every paragraph of that creed, and no deviation, even by a hair’s breadth is allowed from that position of conviction, faith and belief”<sup>75</sup>. Thanks to Leninist instructions, in one generation, Schwarz observed, “the Communists have conquered more people than Christians have even told about Christ in nearly two thousand years”<sup>76</sup>. Schwarz’s apprehension was understandable given that in August 1949, the Soviet Union tested successfully its first atomic bomb. In October, Mao Tse-tung formally established the People’s Republic of China on the Chinese mainland. The year 1949 had been the one where the Reds’ effectiveness had been conclusively demonstrated.

### 3.3 The Proposal

It was against this background that in early 1950, two important figures of North American Protestant fundamentalism visited Australia. Carl McIntire, 44, was pastor of the Bible Presbyterian Church of Collingswood, New Jersey. Thomas Todhunter Shields, known as “T.T.”, McIntire’s elder by over thirty years, had been since 1910 pastor of Jarvis Street Baptist Church in Toronto, Canada. McIntire was leader of the American Council of Christian Churches (ACCC), a fundamentalist parachurch agency founded in opposition to the U.S. Federal Council of Churches of Christ (FCCC), which regrouped since 1908 most of the larger, mainline Protestant American churches. Despising the FCCC’s “left-liberal political pronouncements and its monopoly over Protestantism’s

<sup>74</sup> An., “Schwarz and Mandel in Quiet Debate”, *Oakland Tribune*, Sat., Jan. 27, 1962, 1, 3.

<sup>75</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “The Communist Blueprint for the Conquest of Canada”, *loc. cit.*, 8.

<sup>76</sup> *Id.*, *You Can Trust the Communists*, *op. cit.*, 36.



public representation”<sup>77</sup> in America, McIntire led in 1941 a group of fundamentalists in organizing their own parachurch council, which became the ACCC.

In August 1948, representatives of 147 churches, including all of the world’s largest Protestant ones, met in Amsterdam to form the World Council of Churches (WCC). McIntire and other hard-shelled fundamentalists in a few countries (U.S., Canada, Switzerland, Sweden) replied by founding the International Council of Christian Churches (ICCC), launched in defiance also in Amsterdam a few days before the establishment of the WCC<sup>78</sup>. Looking forward to expand the ICCC, which at this point simply amalgamated ACCC churches (in America) and some small conservative ones abroad, McIntire announced the holding of the ICCC’s second conference in Geneva in August 1950. He arrived in Australia with T.T. Shields in January 1950 to run talks about a possible ICCC affiliation with small fundamentalist denominations, notably the Australian Free Presbyterian Church.

The circumstances under which McIntire and Shields met Schwarz remain unclear. Schwarz once wrote that those arranging the two visitors’ itineraries experienced difficulties, and “I was asked to help as I had friends in all evangelical circles. I cooperated willingly and well remember my visit to the Anglican Primate of Australia, Archbishop Mowll, on their behalf”<sup>79</sup>. Schwarz later said in a speech that it was his privilege “to sit on the platform with, and chair one or two meetings, and to sit around the supper table” with the two men<sup>80</sup>. The meetings were probably quite informal, as the two visitors did not hear Schwarz preach, yet they quickly learned of his reputation as both a prominent medical practitioner and “conspicuous Christian leader”<sup>81</sup>. Shields and McIntire presented to Schwarz “convincing evidence of the Communist influence in the National and World Councils of Churches”<sup>82</sup>. They were much impressed with the extent of Schwarz’s self-education on communism and his success in debating Australian Reds.

<sup>77</sup> Joel A. Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, *op. cit.*, 145.

<sup>78</sup> Carl McIntire, “History of the ICCC”, *International Council of Christian Churches Online*, Available online at < <http://www.iccc.org.sg/> > (accessed January 12, 2010). Liberal Protestants were at the time extremely optimistic about the significance of the WCC’s founding. An author claimed it was described by some “as the most significant event in church history since the Reformation”. E. Philip Eastman, “The Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches and an International Legal Order”, *The International Law Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 4, Winter 1948-1949, 674.

<sup>79</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “A Fateful Visit”, *CACC Newsletter*, March 1, 1978, 2.

<sup>80</sup> *Id.*, “What Shall the End Be?: According to Joseph Stalin, A Sermon by Dr. F. C. Schwarz, Preached at Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, Sunday Evening, Jul. 16, 1950 (Electrically Recorded)”, *The Gospel Witness and Protestant Advocate*, Vol. 29, No. 13, Jul. 20, 1950, 7.

<sup>81</sup> T.T. Shields, “Dr. F.C. Schwarz and Mrs. Clarice Inglis in Jarvis Street Last Week-end”, in *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>82</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 42.

McIntire hailed the Australian doctor as an “amazing Aussie communist hater” and invited his new Australian friend to speak in ACCC-affiliated churches in America, as well as to attend the ICCC Geneva conference in August 1950<sup>83</sup>. After a month in Australia and New Zealand, McIntire and Shields returned to North America, leaving Schwarz in preparation for his departure in May. Schwarz was very excited by the whole project: never before had such an opportunity to conduct mass evangelism presented itself. This was also an opportunity to leave Australia for the first time of his life: “I was eager to see America and the world”<sup>84</sup>. However, two problems appeared. Schwarz, McIntire and Shields had agreed that the ICCC would provide Schwarz coverage for his trip from America to Switzerland, but that Schwarz would need to pay his round-trip fare from Australia to America. This was initially beyond Schwarz’s means, despite the improvement of his financial situation since his medical practice had opened. Intercontinental air transportation was still in its earliest stages in 1950, as the transfer of the jet engine technology to the commercial aviation sector, which allowed the development of long range commercial airliners and cheaper flights, only took place in the mid-1950’s<sup>85</sup>. To make the trip, Schwarz was forced to sell his car<sup>86</sup>.

In April 1950 Schwarz happily wrote McIntire that the Annual Conference of the New South Wales Churches of Christ in Australia had narrowly voted disaffiliation from the WCC and had applied for ICCC affiliation under a new name (the Bible Union of Australia), making it possible for Schwarz to attend the Geneva congress not as an observer, but as representative of the new affiliated body<sup>87</sup>. “This is a direct result of your visit to Australia; God be praised”, Schwarz wrote McIntire. Around the same time the decision was also made that Lillian would accompany her husband during this tour. A young family friend was ready to take care of the Schwarz kids during the parents’ absence, and a hired doctor (a “locum”) was chosen to hold the fort at the medical

<sup>83</sup> Quoted in Stephen Holt, “American Anti-Communist: Fred C. Schwarz”, *The Schwarz Report*, Vol. 42, No. 6, Jun. 2002, 1.

<sup>84</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 42.

<sup>85</sup> In August 1950, the ICCC could only offer a very limited number of free trips to pastors interested in attending the Geneva conference. The cost of the round trip was \$375, which in 2010 value is worth \$3,431, using a reliable online inflation calculator. Available online at: < <http://www.dollartimes.com/calculators/inflation.htm> > (accessed January 20, 2010).

<sup>86</sup> Carl F. McIntire, “To Whom It May Concern” (letter of introduction for the U.S. customs), Dec. 18, 1950, *CMP*, F. “Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvalea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia”.; At this point the ICCC had already sent him \$600 to cover his first expenses in America. Fred C. Schwarz to Ruth Trato, 12 May 1950, *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Carl McIntire, Apr. 13 1950, *CMP*, F. “Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvalea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia”. A pastor from the Bible Union, Rev. Leghorn, was initially supposed to come with Schwarz as representative, too, but he did not. The reason remains unknown.

practice. Perhaps as a way to make the American tour more appealing to pastors and audiences, Schwarz also suggested McIntire inviting a well-known Australian soprano church singer named Clarice Inglis, who traveled with her husband Bob, an evangelical businessman who was in a position to provide for most of his and his wife's expenses<sup>88</sup>.

According to the agreement reached between Schwarz and McIntire, the Australian's honorariums as lecturer in ACCC churches would cover most of the accommodation costs for Schwarz and his wife in America. McIntire guaranteed that he would advertise the tour, pressure ACCC-affiliated churches to book the Australian visitors and cover any potential financial loss. McIntire's religious newspaper *The Christian Beacon* promoted the upcoming tour on its front page during the months prior to May, mentioning that engagements could be made to fill the schedule of an Australian whose "visit to our land ought to do much for the cause of Christ here"<sup>89</sup>. No established honorariums were agreed upon for each one of Schwarz's lectures at the tour's outset. The lecturing fee was to be fixed between the visitor and his hosts, who were to simply pay what seemed reasonable within available financial means.

This strategy was risky in that there was no way to know how many churches would accept to welcome the Australians. McIntire was nonetheless pretty upbeat about the whole project: "I am sure the only expense that you would need to care for would be the plane because so far as accommodations and entertainment, that would be all cared for along the line at various places where you would be speaking"<sup>90</sup>. The idea of a self-financed tour fitted the meritocratic values held dear among conservative evangelicals. Still, it was also a convenient way for McIntire's organization to spare the ICCC's scarce resources. During its first year of existence (1948-1949) the organization's receipts totaled \$26,020, while disbursements were \$25,347, resulting in a very small surplus of a few hundred dollars that did not allow for extravagant expenses<sup>91</sup>. In the 1950s, setting up an international organization was an arduous enterprise. The internet and the fax did not

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<sup>88</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Carl McIntire, 4 Apr. 1950, *CMP*, F. "Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvalea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia".

<sup>89</sup> Stanley Allen, "Australian Party to Begin American Tour", *Christian Beacon*, Vol. 15, No. 13, Thu. May 25, 1950 1.

<sup>90</sup> Carl McIntire to Fred C. Schwarz, Mar. 27, 1950, *CMP*, F. "Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvalea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia".

<sup>91</sup> "International Council of Christian Churches: Notes on exemption appin files at IRS – inspected 7/7/68 by Tucker and Segal", *GRC*, Box 212, F. "Rev. Carl McIntire – International Council of Christian Churches".

exist, and long-distance calls were highly expensive<sup>92</sup>. The ICCC regrouped affiliates with very limited financial resources from a short list of countries<sup>93</sup>.

On May 28, 1950, Schwarz left Australia aboard a propeller-driven DC6B plane, accompanied by his wife and the Inglises. The next day, they arrived in Honolulu, where addresses were scheduled in two local fundamentalist congregations, the Kaimuki Community Church and Honolulu's First Baptist Church. After Schwarz's sermons, the chairman of the reception committee lauded Schwarz as "truly a great blessing", and "a wonderful speaker"<sup>94</sup>. Schwarz lost no time to pick on the WCC. During this stay in Hawaii, the visiting Protestant lecturer John C. Bennett, associated with the WCC, had publicly argued no particular element of the Communist creed "is, by itself a 'great evil'"<sup>95</sup>. Schwarz replied in a letter sent to Hawaiian newspapers that he found it strange that a minister could assert that both atheism and violent, destructive revolution could not be considered as evil. McIntire published the letter in his *Christian Beacon* and was clearly pleased. This first stop showed that the Australian was both successful with ACCC congregations and also willing to challenge those WCC apostates McIntire so much loathed. ACCC executive and McIntire collaborator Jack Murray wrote T.T. Shields shortly after, urging him to invite the Australian to Toronto, even if the tour initially only included U.S. stops<sup>96</sup>. Shields accepted, and his own newspaper, the *Gospel Witness and Protestant Advocate*, celebrated Schwarz's speaking skills in spite of the fact that Shields had not yet heard him preach: "Dr. Schwarz is an outstanding preacher. He is not tied to notes and gives an enthusiastic straight-from-the-shoulder performance. His enthusiasm is contagious (...)"<sup>97</sup>.

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<sup>92</sup> The first direct-dial transcontinental telephone call was made on November 10, 1951, between Mayor Leslie Downing of Englewood, N.J., and Mayor Frank Osborne in Alameda.

<sup>93</sup> U.S., Canada, The Netherlands, France, Sweden, as well as one denomination from Nanking, China, with which communications ceased upon the Communist seizure of Nanking in April 1949. The organization's headquarters in the Netherlands had two full-time employees. "International Council of Christian Churches, 15 Park Sow, New York T., N.Y. - Statement of receipts and disbursements - New York, U.S.A.", *American Council of Christian Churches & International Council of Christian Churches Collection*, Manuscript Collections, Presbyterian Historical Center, St. Louis, Missouri (hereafter *ACCC-ICCC Col.*), RG Box 466 B, File 8 Second Plenary Congress, August 1950, F. 1. One of the ICCC's employees in the Netherlands, Henry Pol, was himself highly controversial, and became a problem for the organization when it was known that he had pretended having a degree he did not have. W. Gordon Brown to Carl McIntire, Oct. 17, 1949, *TTSP*, *op. cit.*

<sup>94</sup> Quoted in An., "Australian Visitors Welcomed in Hawaii", *Christian Beacon*, Vol. 15, No. 17, Thursday, Jun., 8, 1950, 1-7.

<sup>95</sup> An. "John C. Bennett of New York's Union Seminary Speaks in Hawaii on Communism: Dr. Schwarz of Australia Sends Answer to Newspaper", *Christian Beacon*, *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>96</sup> Jack Murray to T.T. Shields, May 30, 1950; T.T. Shields to Jack Murray, Jun. 8, 1950, *TTSP*, Box 7, 1950, F. "S".

<sup>97</sup> T.T. Shields, "Australian Party in Jarvis Street Saturday and Sunday July 15 and 16", *The Gospel Witness and Protestant Advocate*, Vol. 29, No. 8, Jun. 15, 1950, 14.

### 3.4 T.T. Shields and Carl McIntire

T.T. Shields was born in 1873 in Bristol, England, son of a Baptist preacher. He grew up in southwestern Ontario, where he developed without any formal theological training preaching gifts allowing him to become pastor of Jarvis Street Baptist Church of Toronto, then the largest Baptist church in Canada, where he stayed until his death in 1955<sup>98</sup>. During WWI, he had the opportunity to speak at the late Charles Spurgeon's Tabernacle Church in London in replacement of the current minister, which earned him the nickname of the "Canadian Spurgeon". Shields's influence in the growing fundamentalist movement increased throughout the 1920's as he was elected president of the Baptist Bible Union, designed to "purge modernism from all Baptist churches, colleges, seminaries, and missionary organizations"<sup>99</sup>. The Toronto pastor also supported the fight against selling and consumption of liquor, dancing, movie-going, etc. Ardent separatist, Shields promoted his conservative theological view through an implacable and unrelenting pugnaciousness. In the late 1920's, his two-year presidency of Baptist Des Moines University ended abruptly when his attempts to change the curriculum and fire the entire faculty resulted in a student riot, the wreckage of the university's building and the closing of the institution<sup>100</sup>. Shields also crusaded unabashedly against Roman Catholicism, an apostate force he felt was threatening Christianity and manipulating Canadian politics behind closed doors. This led him to found the anti-Catholic Canadian Protestant League over which he presided until 1950<sup>101</sup>. Shields was a polarizing figure. Canadian Prime Minister McKenzie King, whose Liberal Party's longstanding grip on the federal state hinged on Canada's Catholic vote, declared having "nothing but contempt" for Shields, while his admirers often praised him as a new Calvin or Wesley<sup>102</sup>.

In late 1949 Shields was voted out from the Union of Regular Baptist Churches, which he had presided over since 1927, after he had failed at purging it from his foes. Carl

<sup>98</sup> Randall Balmer, "Shields, T(homas) T(odhunter) (1873-1955)", *Encyclopedia of Evangelicalism*, Louisville & London, Westminster John Knox Press, 2002, 524.

<sup>99</sup> Elliott, David R., "Knowing No Borders: Canadian Contributions to American Fundamentalism", in George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll, eds., *Amazing Grace, op. cit.*, 364-365.

<sup>100</sup> For a good survey of the whole story see George S. May, "Des Moines University and Dr. T.T. Shields", *Iowa-Journal of History*, Vol. 54, No. 3, 1956, 193-232.

<sup>101</sup> Tarr, Leslie K., *Shields of Canada: T.T. Shields (1873-1955)*, Grand Rapids, Baker Book House, 1967, 131-139.

<sup>102</sup> Douglas A. Adams, "The Battling Baptist": T.T. Shields of Canada", *The Gospel Witness: A Ministry of Jarvis Street Baptist Church*, Available online at < [http://www.gw.ca/documents/adams\\_d/ttshields.htm](http://www.gw.ca/documents/adams_d/ttshields.htm) > (accessed January 17, 2010). It should be noted that a satisfying biography of Shields has yet to be written.

McIntire, with whom Shields had founded the ICCC in 1948, was one of the very few fundamentalists Shield could stand. McIntire asked Shields to accompany him on his January 1950 Australian trip where both would meet Schwarz. McIntire may have wished to comfort his ICCC peer, having been informed of his ousting from the Union of Regular Baptist Churches<sup>103</sup>. McIntire convinced 77-year old Shields that his presence in Australia was essential to the ICCC's fortunes: "(...) you are held in the highest esteem by the brethren there and your place of leadership through these many years against modernism and apostasy will be most commanding (...). We simply cannot let these World Council men tie up the whole world for their monopoly and apostasy"<sup>104</sup>.

Carl McIntire's contribution to the development of Protestant political and ideological conservatism in America is vital. In one of the first and most important analysis of the fundamentalist resurgence in 1970, historian Erling Jorstad asserted that more than any other individual, McIntire "would establish the ideology, the tone, and the momentum for fundamentalism of the far right. His leadership would become paramount"<sup>105</sup>. Born in 1906 in Ypsilanti, Michigan, Carl McIntire was the son of a Presbyterian minister who divorced from his wife when their four children were still young. Raised by his single mother, McIntire graduated from Parkville College, Missouri in 1927, where he showed talents for oratory, debating and extempore speaking. He entered the Princeton Theological Seminary the following year<sup>106</sup>. He was soon under the ascendancy of his teacher and mentor, fundamentalist scholar J. Gresham Machen, who was expelled from Princeton when the Presbyterian Church placed the institution under a liberal governing board in 1929<sup>107</sup>. Machen and his sympathizers, including McIntire, left Princeton and founded the fundamentalist Westminster Seminary in Pennsylvania, from which McIntire graduated in 1931<sup>108</sup>. In 1933, the Presbyterian Church of America appointed him pastor

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<sup>103</sup> W. Gordon Brown to Carl McIntire, Oct, 17, 1949, *TTSP*, Box 6, 1949, F. "B".

<sup>104</sup> "Carl McIntire to T.T. Shields, Nov. 3, 1949, *TTSP*, *op. cit.*

<sup>105</sup> Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Doomsday*, *op. cit.*, 27.

<sup>106</sup> Edward Reese, "The Life and Ministry of Carl McIntire", *Christian Hall of Fame Series*, Glenwood, Fundamental Publishers, 1975, 4-5.

<sup>107</sup> D.K. Larsen, "McIntire, Carl", in Timothy Larsen, David Bebbington and Mark. A. Noll, eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals*, *op. cit.*, 394.

<sup>108</sup> Machen walked out from Princeton with twenty students and three other faculty members. This break marked the definite end of the fundamentalist grip on the Princeton Theological Seminary. C. Allyn Russell, *Voices of American Fundamentalism: Seven Biographical Studies*, Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, 1976, 155-156.

of the 1,000-member Collingswood Presbyterian Church in New Jersey, a strongly conservative community which seemed fit for this energetic 27-year old fundamentalist.

But soon McIntire showed a fundamentalist trait to which he was particularly inclined: he was uncompromisingly confrontational. He loudly castigated his Church's liberal missionaries, and responded to each criticism through his radio broadcasting, bringing his Church's disputes onto the public square. In June 1936, the Presbyterian Church's General Assembly suspended him from ministry, which did not impede him from remaining his congregation's *de facto* pastor, thanks to the support of his pupils. He then broke with his former mentor Gresham Machen over doctrinal issues<sup>109</sup>. Upon Machen's death, McIntire founded with his followers his new Church: the Bible Presbyterian Church of Collingswood. In 1938, as the new denomination lost its legal battle with the Presbyterian Church over parish property, an amazing episode took place: McIntire walked out from the Collingwood's gothic building where he had preached for five years, followed by the whole congregation of 1,200 members, all proceeding to a nearby site where a huge tent had been set up, later to be replaced by a million-dollar building where he preached for the next sixty-six years. McIntire's operations expanded in many directions in the years that followed, but the new Collingswood church remained the nucleus of his activities. In 1936, he had begun publishing a weekly newspaper, *The Christian Beacon*, in which he made full use of his taste for sensational and aggressive writing. The broadcasting of his worship services would also evolve by the mid-1950s into the popular fundamentalist radio program *The 20<sup>th</sup> Century Reformation Hour*, which became his tool for rallying support for his causes.

McIntire was a dynamic and enterprising sparkplug, a common feature of evangelical leaders. Yet, he was also a permanently-battling wave maker driven by personal and ideological bitterness. George Marsden observes that he was "constitutionally unable to play any other role than chief"<sup>110</sup>. In the words of Heather Hendershot, McIntire was the

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<sup>109</sup> McIntire believed in dispensational premillennialism, while Machen supported premillennialism but was suspicious of dispensationalism. He also criticized Machen for his belief that modest alcohol drinking was acceptable. Randy Oliver, "Defender of the Faith: The Life of J. Gresham Machen. Part 2: The Battle for the Presbyterian Church", *IIM Magazine Online*, Vol. 3, No. 15, Apr. 9 to Apr. 15, 2001, 15-16. Available online at < [http://www.thirdmill.org/newfiles/ran\\_oliver/CH.Oliver.Machen.2.pdf](http://www.thirdmill.org/newfiles/ran_oliver/CH.Oliver.Machen.2.pdf) > (accessed January 18, 2010).

<sup>110</sup> George M. Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism*, Grand Rapids, William B. Eerdmans, 1987, 49.

“über-fundamentalist, largely incapable of agreeing even with other fundamentalists”<sup>111</sup>. McIntire was indeed ruthlessly obstinate on every issue. He insisted first and foremost on a doctrinal separatism grounded notably in the Biblical verse “Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, said the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing and I will receive you” (2 Corinthians 6:17). Not only did he separate from the Princeton Theological Seminary, from the Presbyterian Church and from Gresham Machen’s orbit, but he would later be ousted from his own denomination in 1954, though he kept control of the Collingswood congregation. In 1968, he was ousted from the ACCC which he had founded, and his career came full circle in 1999 when he was thrown out of his own congregation due of his refusal to retire. This prompted the 92-year old McIntire to hold Sunday services in his living room. He died in 2002.

McIntire was a good hater. Throughout his long career, he would target all signs of moral decay as fundamentalists understood them (drinking, dancing, jazz music, movie theatres), but also the Civil Rights movement, the revised version of the Bible, Roman Catholics (whom he once called “fascists”)<sup>112</sup>, the U.N., the U.S. Post Office, Gandhi and the Indian Congress, sex education, water fluoridation, socialized medicine or labor unions<sup>113</sup>. He also attacked relentlessly fellow fundamentalists who were not part of his denomination, or of the ACCC, which obviously included quite a lot of people<sup>114</sup>.

McIntire’s work was one of the cornerstones on which self-asserting right-wing fundamentalism developed throughout the 1940’s and 1950’s. At almost the same time McIntire had established the ACCC, America’s most important conservative Protestant leaders and institutions rejected this organization’s extreme separatism and united to form the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE). The NAE’s main figures -Billy Graham, Carl F. Henry, Harold J. Ockenga- symbolized conservative Protestantism’s turn towards a more moderate outlook (“neo-evangelicalism”) which would soften its image of

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<sup>111</sup> Heather Hendershot, “God’s Angriest Man: Carl McIntire, Cold War Fundamentalism, and Right-Wing Broadcasting”, *American Quarterly*, Vol. 59, Nov. 2, 2007, 375.

<sup>112</sup> Quoted in Mark A. Noll, *American Evangelical Christianity: An Introduction*, Oxford-Malden, Blackwell, 2001, 113.

<sup>113</sup> Stephen D. Crocco and Robert Benedetto, “Carl McIntire: Creeds, Councils, and Controversies”, *Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Theological Library Association*, Kansas City, Jun. 18, 2004, 4.

<sup>114</sup> Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Doomsday*, *op. cit.*, 34. Nonetheless, his most intense diatribes aimed at communism and its alleged influence over American mainstream Protestant churches. More than any other fundamentalist, McIntire embodied the “parasitic symbiosis” scheme once formulated by Ernest E. Sandeen, i.e. this intricate and mutually beneficent intercourse between fundamentalism and the object of its opposition from which it gets its meaning and energy. Ernest E. Sandeen, “Fundamentalism and American Identity”, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 387, The Sixties: Radical Change in American Religion, Jan. 1970, 61.



intolerance and bigotry. NAE leaders believed in Biblical inerrancy and in dispensational premillennialism, as did McIntire and Shields. However, as Leo Ribuffo notes, the demands of mass evangelism quickly pushed these “neo-evangelicals” towards pluralism and ecumenism, i.e. a moderate position which Billy Graham could claim as the “theological vital center”, opposed “by extreme fundamentalists from the right and extreme liberals from the left”<sup>115</sup>. As opposed to fundamentalist right-wingers like McIntire, neo-evangelicals displayed a certain moderation in worldly matters. While most figures of Protestant doctrinal conservatism undeniably stood ideologically right-of-center from the 1930’s to the 1950’s -Billy Graham himself and his praises of Joe McCarthy and Richard Nixon being good examples-, the political realignment that saw American evangelicals becoming the GOP’s core constituency had not yet taken place<sup>116</sup>. Many of them did not vote at all, hoping separation from a corrupt world, or -especially in the South and Midwest- traditionally supported Democrats in both presidential and midterm elections, in even much greater proportions than mainline Protestants<sup>117</sup>.

But for their part, McIntire and his followers rejected what they considered the neo-evangelical hypocrisy. They emerged in the postwar era as champions of a fundamentalist faith that unashamedly and outspokenly incorporated an ultraconservative political ideology. Raised in a Democratic family, McIntire quickly evolved into a conservative Republican whose engagement with worldly matters was in full swing by the end of WWII. McCarthyism and the deep change it brought in the national mood in America boosted his (until then small) influence by the late 1940’s. It also confirmed to both him and his pupils how prescient he had been to construct a political ideology on the structure of his conservative theology. Already in 1945 in *The Rise of the Tyrant: Controlled Economy vs. Private Enterprise*, McIntire had stated that America would soon be struggling for her survival in the context of a spiritual clash between free and controlled economy: “This thesis is that the Bible teaches private enterprise and the

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<sup>115</sup> Leo Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right*, *op. cit.*, 259.

<sup>116</sup> Billy Graham’s defences of McCarthy remains quite an overlooked aspect of the pastor’s career. He praised in 1953 those who “go loyally on in their work of exposing the pinks, the lavenders, and the reds who have sought refuge beneath the wings of the American eagle”. William Martin, *With God On Our Side*, *op. cit.*, 34-35.

<sup>117</sup> The exceptions here are the three presidential elections from 1952 to 1960. In 1952 and 1956, Eisenhower respectively got 63 and 60 percent of the evangelical Protestant vote, and Nixon got 60 percent as well in 1960. Lyman Kellstedt, John Green, Crowin Smith and James Gutb, “Faith Transformed: Religion and Politics from FDR to George W. Bush”, in Mark A. Noll and Luke A. Harlow, eds., *Religion and American Politics*, *op. cit.*, 272.

capitalistic system, not as a by-product or as some side line, but as the very foundation structure of society itself in which men are to live and render an account of themselves and to God”<sup>118</sup>. As Thomas J. Gunn observes, McIntire employed “the rhetoric of war, enemies, death and destruction”, an aggressive blend of conservative theology and economics which “remains familiar well into the twenty-first century”<sup>119</sup>. Stressing the superiority of capitalism in religious terms, and in this regard going much further than Billy Graham’s appraisals of the free market, McIntire to that end employed the non-religious and intellectual language of Friedrich von Hayek’s *The Road to Serfdom*, a book “which every American ought to read”<sup>120</sup>. In sum, McIntire fused fundamentalism’s loathing of atheistic, materialistic communism with economic libertarianism<sup>121</sup>.

Yet, had it been only for McIntire’s amalgamation of fundamentalist theology and conservative politics, his role would have been modest at best. After all, despite their scarcity, other personalities that blended fundamentalism with right-wing politics existed in the postwar era, and sometimes diffusing their Gospel on a larger scale. But Carl McIntire had something else: an ability for discovering new talent. During the fifteen years following WWII, McIntire recruited and launched the careers of several future conservative evangelical figures. Some would gain national prominence. Edgar C. Bundy, former Air Force officer ordained Baptist minister in 1942, was employed by McIntire in 1949 as a public relations man and researcher. Bundy made a name for himself by being the ACCC’s prime anti-Red hunter in American churches when McIntire began collaborating with Joe McCarthy to that end. This allowed Bundy an appearance before a congressional committee that made him name famous in conservative circles. He became leader in 1956 of the Church League of America and collaborated with McIntire’s own initiatives throughout the rest of his career<sup>122</sup>.

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<sup>118</sup> Carl McIntire, *The Rise of the Tyrant: Controlled Economy and Private Enterprise*, Collingswood, Christian Beacon Press, 1945, xiii.

<sup>119</sup> Thomas Jeremy Gunn, *Spiritual Weapons: The Cold War and the Forging of An American National Religion*, Westport, Greenwood Publishing Group, 2009, 121.

<sup>120</sup> Douglas Sturm, “You Shall Have No Poor Among You”, in Michael G. Long, ed., *The Legacy of Billy Graham: Critical Reflexions on America’s Greatest Evangelist*, Louisville, 2008, 72.; Carl McIntire, *The Rise of the Tyrant*, *op. cit.*, 25. In this brand of fundamentalist economics, which asserted that limiting private enterprise amounted to “massacre freedom”, gone were all trace of the “common good”, “peace” or “harmony” emphasis that had characterized the Social Gospel. See for instance Matthew Avery Sutton, *Aimee Semple McPherson and the Resurrection of Christian America*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2007, 187-188.

<sup>121</sup> On his detestation of “collectivism”, see Carl McIntire, *Author of Liberty*, Collingswood, Christian Beacon Press, 1946, 101.

<sup>122</sup> Gary Clabaugh, *Thunder on the Right: The Protestant Fundamentalists*, Chicago, Nelson-Hall Company, 1974, 110-112.

Billy James Hargis was a 25-year old Baptist pastor from Tulsa, in Oklahoma, who, from 1947 on, led the “Christian Crusade”, which he had founded to “launch a mass movement of resistance to the trend in American life to world government, apostate religion, and appeasement with satanic ‘isms’ such a communism”<sup>123</sup>. Hargis was propelled to prominence in the early 1950’s when McIntire’s ICCC helped him with his project to launch thousands of balloons from Western Europe attached with Bibles to fly across the Iron Curtain. Throughout the 1950’s and 1960’s, the Christian Crusade became one of the most important organizations of the fundamentalist right-wing.

Verne Paul Kaub, former public relations consultant for a Wisconsin electricity company had been involved in several marginal right-wing anti-Semitic organizations and newsletters throughout WWII. In 1950, McIntire helped him launch *How Red is the Federal (National) Council of Churches*, making Kaub and his new organization, the American Council of Christian Laymen, famous. Before dying in 1964, he turned over his organization to McIntire’s ACCC<sup>124</sup>.

Schwarz was the last major figure who owed his career to McIntire. Compared to Bundy, Hargis and Kaub, he stayed only for a brief period of time in the Collingswood pastor’s orbit. Nonetheless, had McIntire not brought Schwarz into the limelight at such a fine moment, it is highly unlikely that Schwarz would have developed a successful American career. “In the second wave of radical right anticommunists”, religious historian Martin E. Marty writes, “Dr. Fred C. Schwarz posed as the respectable leader, leaving evangelist Billy James Hargis to be the rough-and-tumble exemplar”<sup>125</sup>. Indeed, among McIntire’s discoveries, Schwarz was the one who distanced himself the most from the conventional fire-and-brimstone fundamentalism. By doing so, he was also unquestionably the one among those whose careers McIntire helped start that had the greatest impact on American secular conservatives.

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<sup>123</sup> Fernando Penebaz, *Crusading Preacher from the West*, Tulsa, Christian Crusade Press, 1965, 54.

<sup>124</sup> Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Doomsday*, op. cit., 51, 76-79.

<sup>125</sup> Martin E. Marty, *Modern American Religion, Volume 3: Under God, Indivisible: 1941-1960*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1996, 371.

## 4

**“DOORS OPEN WIDE”: 1950 AND 1952 TOURS**

“America could well afford to subsidize Dr. Schwarz and keep him here to speak to every kind of organization.” - Harold B. Link, Manager of the Los Angeles Breakfast Club, 1950<sup>1</sup>

**4.1 The American Setting**

On June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1950, with his wife Lillian, Schwarz arrived at the San Francisco International Airport and began the first of two speaking tours (1950 and 1952). The success of both tours was essential to Schwarz’s decision to give up his medical career and embrace full-time anticommunism. While the first trip was limited to churches and institutions affiliated with McIntire’s ACCC, the second one in 1952 saw Schwarz extending his lecture to secular audiences, prompting him to sever his ties to McIntire.

Schwarz’s success was due to his competence as a pastor and as a speaker. However, it was also due an auspicious conjunction of external factors. As mentioned before, Schwarz and his new American evangelical peers shared a common global subculture that often made national differences irrelevant<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, Schwarz’s first tours in the U.S. took place at a moment where the popular demand for faith reached levels unprecedented in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The anxiety of an age where mass destruction was a real possibility strengthened the collective need for spiritual leverage. In September 1949, two days after President Truman had announced the first Soviet atomic test, evangelist Billy Graham opened the tent revival in Los Angeles that turned him into a national celebrity. Boosted by the support of W.R. Hearst’s media empire, Graham’s sermons effectively tapped into popular fears over the new atomic age. Hundreds of thousands turned out to repent during Graham’s eight-week crusade<sup>3</sup>. In late January 1950 Truman authorized the research on the hydrogen bomb, with the support of more than 69 percent

<sup>1</sup> Harold B. Link to Rev. Clark Kennedy, Oct. 20, 1950, *CMP*, F. “Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvalea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia”.

<sup>2</sup> David Bebbington’s interesting comparative study of conservative evangelicalism in the American and English worlds proved the two varieties to be far more similar than different. Both emphasize Biblicism, active conversionism, both share the same cultural setting rooted in the Enlightenment, Romanticism, Common Sense philosophy, the presence (at varying degrees) of the same popular theological beliefs (millennialism, Holiness teachings), roughly the same denominations. David W. Bebbington, “Evangelicalism in Modern Britain and America: A Comparison”, in George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll, eds., *Amazing Grace, op. cit.*, 211.

<sup>3</sup> Cecilia Rasmussen, “Billy Graham’s Star Was Born at his 1949 Revival in Los Angeles”, *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Sept. 2, 2007, Available online at: < <http://articles.latimes.com/2007/sep/02/local/me-then2> > (accessed February 10, 2010).

of the American public according to a Gallup poll. This revealed the prevailing attitude, that in the context of the Cold War, “and repeated assertions of Soviet aggressiveness and perfidy, bigger American bombs seemed to many the only hope”. Thus Paul Boyer writes<sup>4</sup>. Times were appropriate for a faith providing immediate salvation before WWII, but also one that would appease collective needs for patriotic assertion. Through these years, church attendance became a way to profess one’s commitment to the American way of life, as well as providing proof that one was free from any subversive influence: it “seemed understood”, Sydney Ahlstrom writes, “that a church member would not be a serious critic of the social order”<sup>5</sup>.

Other developments fuelled the postwar religious revival. Whereas in 1930 most Americans were living in small-towns or in the countryside, by 1950 more than 59 percent were now living in a metropolitan area (100,000 or more people). The nation saw the rapid expansion of its suburban population, as millions flocked from villages and small towns to a new lifestyle based on mass culture. Meanwhile, the country’s economic structure was reshaping around the numerical increase of the suburbs’ new prominent population, the white collared salaried professionals. Collective strains over upwardly-mobile adaptation made American churches “the sort of family institution that the social situation required”<sup>6</sup>. The suburbs became a “vast new mission field”, Ahlstrom notes. Amid these changes, churches and synagogues provided communal stability, and “functioned as gathering and meeting places for entire neighbourhoods of newcomers”, Ethan Diamond writes in his study of postwar religion in America<sup>7</sup>. All American churches, Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, as well as smaller religious communities and sects, underwent a period of remarkable increase that went uninterrupted until the late 1950’s. The year Schwarz arrived in America, church affiliation had reached a 55 percent of the total population, up from 49 percent in 1940<sup>8</sup>. Never before or after had it been

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<sup>4</sup> Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb’s Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1985, 337-339.

<sup>5</sup> Sydney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, *op. cit.*, 952.

<sup>6</sup> Leo F. Shnore, “Municipal Annexations and the Growth of Metropolitan Suburbs, 1950-1960”, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 67, No. 4, Jan. 1962, 406-407.

<sup>7</sup> Ethan Diamond, *Souls of the City: Religion and the Search for Community in Postwar America*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2003. 2-3.

<sup>8</sup> Sydney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, *op. cit.*, 952-953.

high as it was in the 1950's<sup>9</sup>. Even if the postwar revival affected all American religious groups, conservative Protestants constituted the cutting edge of the phenomenon. Between 1941 and 1961, the conservative wing of American Protestantism grew at a much higher pace than mainline churches. Conservative Presbyterian churches increased by 70 percent, Methodist ones by 60 percent, Lutheran ones by almost 90 percent, Baptist churches by about 95 percent and Reformed branches by more than 100 percent<sup>10</sup>. By the early 1950's, more than a quarter of the world's Protestant career foreign missionaries were now conservative evangelicals coming from the United States and Canada. For conservative churches, these were "extraordinary times". Congregations were expanding, and so were financial resources. Through the founding of numerous Bible institutes, colleges, parachurch institutions and journals, the renaissance of an evangelical theology and social ethic was under way. Also, evangelicals felt that they were overcoming the stigma of obscurantism and cultural backwardness associated. Joel Carpenter writes: "A place had opened up for these religious outsiders in the main hall of American public life"<sup>11</sup>.

Finally, Schwarz arrived at a time when the anticommunist issue in the collective psyche of the American people was about to reach its apex. By the time the first Berlin crisis broke out in 1948, it became obvious to most Americans that communism had now replaced fascism as the great totalitarian threat. President Truman's appeal for support for his "containment" policy, the establishment of loyalty-security programs in the government, as well as J. Edgar Hoover's mobilizing of the federal security apparatus against the Red threat showed Americans that their government was taking measures in the new struggle. From 1948 on, a series of spy cases underlined the idea of Red

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<sup>9</sup> Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War*, *op. cit.*, 83.; The increase of interest in spirituality also led to the emergence of the "psycho pop" phenomenon, the greatest representative of which was Rev. Norman Vincent Peale, asserted the *Power of Positive Thinking* (1952) as the remedy to anxiety, distress and personal problems. See Sarah Forbes Orwig, "Business Ethic and the Protestant Ethic: How Norman Vincent Peale Shaped the Religious Values of American Business Leaders", *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol. 37, No. 1-2, "At Our Best: Moral Lives in a Moral Community", Jun. 2002, 81-89. *The Power of Positive Thinking* was probably the biggest-selling nonfiction book of the decade, according to Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War*, *op. cit.*, 84.

<sup>10</sup> Dean M. Kelley, *Why Conservative Churches are Growing: A Study in Sociology of Religion*, New York & London, Harper & Row Publishers, 1972, 17-36. On explanations for the growth of conservative churches and the parallel decline of mainline ones, see James Davison Hunter, *American Evangelicalism: Conservative Religion and the Quandary of Modernity*, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1983.; Louise J. Lorentzen, "Evangelical Life Style Concerns Expressed in Political Action", *Sociological Analysis*, Vol. 41, No. 2, 144-154.; Ann Page and Donald Clelland, "The Kanawha County Textbook Controversy: A Study of the Politics of Life Style Concern", *Social Forces*, Vol. 57, No. 1, Sept. 1978, 265-281.; Dean M. Kelley, *Why Conservative Churches are Growing*, *op. cit.*, and Laurence Iannaccone, "A Formal Model of Church and Sect", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 95, 1988, 241-268.; Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, "Demographics of Religious Participation: An Ecological Approach, 1850-1980", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 28, 1989, 45-58.; Roger Finke and Rodney Starke, *The Churching of America, 1776-2005*, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> Joel A. Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, *op. cit.*, 185-232.

infiltration: the Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White and Judith Coplon cases, as well as the arrest in July of twelve leaders of the U.S. Communist Party (CPUSA), followed by a sensational nine-month trial for sedition. In May, more than 77 percent of Gallup respondents approved the mandatory registration of Communists with the government<sup>12</sup>. In January 1949, Beijing fell to the Mao's armies; in September the first Soviet atomic bomb exploded. The year 1949, Richard Fried notes, was the year where "anti-communism planted itself squarely into the nation's political consciousness"<sup>13</sup>. By early 1950, the Communist issue dominated daily newspaper headlines. Alger Hiss was declared guilty of perjury in January. In February, the arrest in Britain of scientist Klaus Fuchs led to the arrest of atomic spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Meanwhile, Joseph R. McCarthy delivered in Wheeling, West Virginia, the speech that started a Red-hunting career that dominated American national politics for the next four years. On June 25, three weeks after Schwarz's arrival to the U.S., Kim-Il sung's troops invaded the Republic of South Korea. By this time, an overwhelming majority of Americans declared in public opinion surveys that communism was a direct threat to their way of life<sup>14</sup>. In August 1950, a Gallup poll reported that 57 percent of respondents affirmed that their country "was actually in World War III"<sup>15</sup>.

#### 4.2 A Sea of Faith: The 1950 Tour

On June 4 1950, Schwarz spoke in Oakland at the First Independent Baptist Church and later that day at First Presbyterian Bible, initiating a tour across the U.S. "by plane and by car in a zigzag path from west to east"<sup>16</sup>. On August 12, 1950, Schwarz ended his tour at the Bible Presbyterian Church of Collingswood addressing McIntire's own congregation, two days before their departure for Geneva. By this time, he had delivered

<sup>12</sup> Then, the presidential campaign of 1948 gave some the impression that concerns for the issue were somewhat falling since the Republicans did not exploit the issue as much as they could have. Jeff Broadwater, *Eisenhower and the Anticommunist Crusade*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1992, 11. In fact, as Richard Fried convincingly showed, one of the reasons of Republican Thomas Dewey's defeat in 1948 was in fact his reluctance to exploit the Red issue. Richard Fried, "Operation Polecat": Thomas E. Dewey, the 1948 Election, and the Origins of McCarthyism", *The Journal of Policy History*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 2010, 1-2.

<sup>13</sup> Richard Fried, *Nightmare in Red*, *op. cit.*, 87.

<sup>14</sup> Eugene R. Wittkopf and James M. McCormick, "The Cold War Consensus: Did it Exist?", *Polity*, Vol. 22, No. 4, Summer 1990, 630-631.

<sup>15</sup> M.J. Heale, *American Anticommunism*, *op. cit.*, 155.

<sup>16</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 43. Upon arriving in America, Schwarz received from McIntire a cable: "Welcome to the United States. Much prayer for your journey throughout churches. Daniel 11:32". Carl McIntire to Fred C. Schwarz, May 29, 1950, *CMP*, F. 'Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvalea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia' – The verse from Daniel indicates: "And such as do wickedly against the covenant shall he corrupt by flatteries: but the people that do know their God shall be strong, and do exploits." – King James Version.

forty-five paid church sermons in thirteen different states, plus an unknown number - somewhere between ten and twenty- of unpaid lectures in churches, but also in civic clubs and schools where meetings had been arranged on the spot. Including the few times when he and his wife rested and on-the-road days, he averaged one lecture each 24 hours. Sometimes they spent, like old-time evangelists or jazz orchestras of the time, entire days on the road: interstate highways were built only a few years later. He was also on the local radio at least three times<sup>17</sup>. In addition, his lecture at Shelton College, at the time a small Christian seminary in New York, was broadcasted. Seven lectures were given in churches belonging to the McIntire's Bible Presbyterian denomination, making it the largest denominational group of visited churches. The remainder was composed mostly of independent churches (mainly Baptist), with typical names such the "Church of the Great Commission" in Oregon, or the "Independent Calendar Memorial Church of Pittsburgh".

All visited churches were affiliates of McIntire's ACCC<sup>18</sup>. In 1950, the ACCC comprised about 40,000 uncompromising fundamentalists (including 12,000 members in McIntire's own denomination), very far from the 750,000 mark reached at the time by the NAE<sup>19</sup>. Schwarz recalled himself that most meetings "were held in small Bible-believing churches"<sup>20</sup>. The "visit card" sent by the ACCC's head office to its affiliated churches proudly indicated that the academic background of the "Beloved Physician" did not orient him towards secularism: "Dr. Schwarz has been actively linked with the evangelical movement among students and has resisted modernism with brilliance of scholarship and saintliness of character (...)"<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> Carl McIntire, "Dr. Schwarz- Income", *CMP*, F. 'Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvalea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia"; *Id.*, "Dr. Schwarz – Expenses", in *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> The ACCC's bylaws asserted the basics of fundamentalist doctrine: Biblical inerrancy, the Trinity of God, Son and Holy Spirit, the reality of Christ's bodily resurrection and his miracles, the depravity of man through the fall, etc. "Constitution and By-Laws of the American Council of Christian Churches", *ACCC-ICCC Col.*, RG 01, Box 466 A, F. 1 "American Council of Christian Churches – Constitution and By-Laws, 1941", 1-2.

<sup>19</sup> McIntire and ACCC officials always declined requests to participate in denominational yearbooks, or gave unrealistic figures, as when the Collingswood pastor claimed a total of 254,070 ACCC church members in 1965. Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Doomsday*, *op. cit.*, 51, 171. The ACCC entry in the 1953 edition of the national yearbook only indicates "Information: declined". Benson Y. Landis, ed., *Yearbook of American Churches: Information on All Faiths in the U.S.A.*, 1953 Edition, New York, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1953, 9. On McIntire's Bible Presbyterian Church, Frank S. Mead, *Handbook of Denominations in the United States: Their History, Doctrines, Organization, Present Status*, Nashville, Pierce & Washabaugh, 1956, 183.

<sup>20</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 43.

<sup>21</sup> Jack Murray, "Newsrelease: The Beloved Physician. Dr. F. C. Schwarz, B.A., B. Sc., M.B., B.S.", Undated, *TTSP*, Jarvis Street Baptist Church Archives, Box 7, 1950, F. "S".



Congregations were taken by this preacher whose sermons and lectures on Marxist-Leninist dialectics gave theological and ideological meaning to daily Cold War headlines. After the first lectures in California, ACCC's California executive Rev. Stanley Allen wrote McIntire: "Every person in America ought to hear Dr. F.C. Schwarz (...). [He] is a captivating speaker, with wit and humor, clarity of thought. We in California have enjoyed him tremendously (...). No amount of effort and publicity to make their meetings largely attended will be regretted. Pastors can go 'all out' (...)"<sup>22</sup>. He added in a letter sent to the *Christian Beacon* team in Collingswood that those inquiring about the quality of Schwarz's performances should not be worried: "If we can assure pastors that Dr. Schwarz can really produce -and he can!- then they will not be reluctant to go all out in publicizing his meetings"<sup>23</sup>.

With the inception of the Korean War in late June, the secular press also began to show some interest. In Grand Rapids, Michigan, a local paper covered his visit with the headline: "He 'foresaw' the Korean War". In fact, Schwarz was no psychic. But he was good at taking past declarations by Communist leaders and relating them to current events in such a manner as to deeply impress audiences. "Korea is no accident", he said. "Trouble there was planned by Stalin 25 years ago when, in a lecture at Sverdlov university [in 1924], he stated that revolution in Korea and China would join hands with Russia for an inevitable clash with 'imperialist' powers of the West"<sup>24</sup>. In the same interview, he observed China's Kuomintang collapsed in large part not because some U.S. betrayal, but because of corruption, thus running against a standard U.S. right-wing position ("who lost China?"). Having seen the Australian Labor government crush the Australian Communist Party, he also warned that communism and socialism should not be lumped into one single group. Nevertheless, another article, this time from the Camden *Courier-Post* (N.J.) found him a few days later expressing more typical ACCC attitudes. "The churches of America need a great housecleaning to rid them of communists", he said, observing that the Red infiltration of Australian churches was

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<sup>22</sup> Stanley P. Allen, quoted in Carl McIntire, "Schwarz-Inglis Party Praised in California", *Christian Beacon*, Vol. 15, No. 19, Thu., Jun. 23, 1950, 1, 8.

<sup>23</sup> Stanley P. Allen to the *Christian Beacon* team, Jun. 14, 1950, *CMP*, F. 'Dr. F. C. Schwarz - Alvalea - 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia',

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in An., "He 'Foresaw' Korean War: Australian Visiting Here Crusades Against Reds", *Grand Rapids Press*, Fri., Jul. 7, 1950, republished in the *Christian Beacon*, Vol. 15, No. 23, 1950, 2.

already quite preoccupying<sup>25</sup>. Despite the limited coverage the Australian could get amid the Korean crisis, this attention was considerably more than what could gather McIntire, whose relationship with the press had always been terrible, could gather. A few positive press releases were enough for the ACCC leader to rejoice over the “splendid news coverage” received by Schwarz by a “particularly gracious” U.S. press<sup>26</sup>.

On virtually the same day the Korean War started in late June, Schwarz arrived in the Midwest. For three days the “Schwarz Party”, as it was now called, was welcomed in Iowa, by Dr. William E. Pietsch, pastor of the Walnut Street Baptist Church in Waterloo and the ACCC’s main representative in the Midwest. Pietsch invited Schwarz to his “Rev. Pietsch’s Hour” broadcasted each day on radio KXEL<sup>27</sup>. On the air for the first time in America, Schwarz connected current events in Asia with the fundamental aggressive, murderous and destructive nature of communism. He traced the essence of communism back to its atheistic, materialistic nature. In Schwarz, Pietsch discovered a spirited evangelical whose discussions on worldly geopolitics were validated by a scientific background: “As I sat and listened to these messages, they were an inspiration to me to go on more faithfully than ever (...). Dr. Schwarz placed the emphasis on the remedy for Communism which is the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ”<sup>28</sup>. This encounter was significant: Pietsch was in May 1953 co-founder of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, and remained for years one of Schwarz’s most important collaborators. Moreover, Pietsch’s church served as office to the organization until it moved to the West Coast in 1956. A few days after Schwarz’s stay in Iowa, he visited two other Midwestern evangelical hotbeds. On July 5, 1950, near Chicago, in “the evangelical capital of the U.S.A”, he delivered a sermon at the Church of Wheaton College, whose most famous alumni was Billy Graham<sup>29</sup>. Three days later, moving in the neighbouring state of

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in An. “Australian Asks Church to Clean Itself of Reds”, *Courier-Post*, Jul. 13, 1950, republished in *Ibid.*; An., “Time Favours the Russians, Australia Authority Says: Schwarz Calls Outlook Gloomy”, *The Pittsburgh Press*, Thu., Jul. 20, 1950.

<sup>26</sup> Carl McIntire, “Australia Team Receives Splendid News Coverage in U.S. Papers”, in *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> An., “Australian Tells Reds’ Progress ‘Down Under’”, *loc. cit.*, A13.; An., “Schwarz Party in West Start Towards Midwest”, *Christian Beacon*, Vol. 15, No. 18, Thu., Jun. 15, 1950, 1.; Ad, “Favorite Radio Programs Over Three Major Networks”, *The Oelwein Daily Register*, Jul. 12, 1947, 9.

<sup>28</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *The Heart, Mind and Soul*, *op. cit.*, 4.

<sup>29</sup> Joel A. Carpenter, “Fundamentalist Institutions and the Rise of Evangelical Protestantism, 1929-1942”, *Church History*, Vol. 80, No. 1, 1980, 62. One of the last old-time Christian colleges from the 19<sup>th</sup> century -where the “Christian faith and Christian morality influenced every aspect of the collegiate experience”, William Ringenberg wrote-, it had survived the academic revolution and the secularisation of education during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was most important strongholds of separatist fundamentalism. William C. Ringenberg, “The Old-Time College, 1800-1865”, in Joel A. Carpenter and Kenneth W. Shipps, eds., *Making Higher Education*

Michigan, Schwarz delivered his message for a Youth for Christ (YFC) rally in Grand Rapids, as well as to three other churches in following days in the same area.

The “Schwarz Party” then proceeded to T.T Shield’s congregation in Toronto for what Schwarz described later as “the great thrill of our tour”<sup>30</sup>. As overflowing crowd of 1,700 gathered in the largest Baptist church of Toronto to listen to Schwarz deliver extemporaneously one of his most effective sermons<sup>31</sup>. “What Shall the End Be?: According to Joseph Stalin” covered the Australian’s usual themes. But the intense training provided by weeks of speaking, as well as the increasingly critical situation in Korea -where Communist troops were steadily pushing back U.N. troops to the extreme southeast corner of the peninsula- gave the lecture gravity and a suspenseful edge. Schwarz drew on his usual tricks. He explained the perilousness of the world situation and related it to aggressive quotes from Communist leaders, in this case Stalin’s aforementioned 1924 speech, thus demonstrating the aggressive, uncompromising essence of communism: “The man on whom the peace of the world depends has spoken; the Communist press is openly publishing what he has declared. Joseph Stalin has declared that there will be no peace. The answer is war!”<sup>32</sup>.

The speech then moved into a long description of nuclear warfare. Drawing on his scientific background, Schwarz explained the principle of fusion reaction and how it accounted for the existence of stars, but also its role in creating lethal radioactivity. Then, Schwarz raised the prospect of the creation of hydrogen bombs (which would be developed only two years after), “one million times as powerful as the atomic bomb”, and which could theoretically be developed by both Russia and the U.S.: “The scientists of the world, not the preachers, are saying that the world faces its own annihilation; the very possibility of universal suicide is facing the world today (...)”<sup>33</sup>. The orator then switched back to a purely religious sermon, ending his presentation with a parabolic story about a man and his son drowned by the Deluge and recalling that Christian faith is the only glimpse of hope in an age of darkness. Schwarz added geopolitics and science to a two

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*Christian, op. cit.*, 82.; *Id.*, *The Christian College: A History of Protestant Higher Education in America*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed., Grand Rapids, Baker Book House, 2006, 170.

<sup>30</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to T.T. Shields, Jul. 22, 17, 1950, *TTSP*, Box 7, 1950, F. “S”.

<sup>31</sup> Jarvis Church had 1,258 seats, but could accommodate up to 1,700 people.

<sup>32</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “What Shall the End Be?”, *loc. cit.*, 9.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

hundred year old formula dating back to George Whitfield: the sermon starts with current events, describes Hell in a terrifying manner, and concludes on a salvational message of hope that reasserts the importance of faith in the Almighty. Schwarz's twist was to introduce the Cold War and to present the mushroom cloud in eschatological terms.

Shields rejoiced and devoted to Schwarz the headline of his publication *The Gospel Witness*: "We are not easily swayed, and we confess that we are not easily satisfied with the content or manner of much modern public speaking, but Dr. Schwarz surpassed all our expectations"<sup>34</sup>. He pressed on: "But fine as was the character of his speaking, the content of his messages was still more extraordinary. We regard him as the most brilliantly intellectual man we have had the privilege of meeting in many a day"<sup>35</sup>. More importantly, Shields devoted an entire section of his appraisal to publicly urging Schwarz to give up his medical practice and embrace a new career:

"We have no doubt of the eminence and efficiency of Dr. Schwarz's medical proficiency, but we half believe that perhaps there are others who could render medical services of such equal quality, but surely Dr. Schwarz ought to be free as a lecturer and preacher on these tremendous matters so that he might touch through the multitudes the intelligence and the conscience of mankind"<sup>36</sup>.

Upon receiving the edition of *The Gospel Witness* where he was hailed by the notoriously hard-nosed Shields, Schwarz knew he now had the best business card in the fundamentalist world. He had copies quickly sent to a short list of people, mostly pastors who would welcome him for the rest of the trip. Among them was his future Crusade collaborator Rev. W.E. Pietsch in Iowa<sup>37</sup>.

A few weeks later, Schwarz was wrapping up his tour with East Coast presentations. Having publicly issued a challenge "to debate any communist or communist sympathizer"<sup>38</sup>, Schwarz found at least one man up to the challenge: Philip Frankfeld, chairman of the Communist Party of Maryland. Frankfeld was a dedicated Communist who had been sent to the USSR in 1931 while a member of the CPUSA's Young

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<sup>34</sup> T.T. Shields, "Dr. F.C. Schwarz and Mrs. Clarice Inglis in Jarvis Street Last Weekend", *The Gospel Witness and Protestant Advocate*, Vol. 29, No. 13, Jul. 20, 1950, 1.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> T.T. Shields to Fred C. Schwarz, Jul. 17, 1950, *TTSP*, Box 7, 1950, F. "S"; Fred C. Schwarz to T.T. Shields in *Ibid.*, Jul. 24, 1950.

<sup>38</sup> Jack Murray, "Newsrelease: The Beloved Physician. Dr. F. C. Schwarz, B.A., B. Sc., M.B., B.S.", Undated, *TTSP*, Box 7, 1950, F. "S".

Communist group. In the boiling anticommunist context of 1950, he was among the few CPUSA leaders who had not been convicted amid the wave of arrests that had started in 1948. In fact, it had simply not happened yet: one year later, he would be convicted of subversive activity under the Smith Act and sentenced to five months in prison<sup>39</sup>.

The ACCC obtained permission from the University of Maryland to use its Coliseum. The debate was booked for the evening of August 8, 1950, on the theme “Is Communism A Friend of America?” But in an unexpected twist, the debate was cancelled on the eve of the scheduled date. The reason: Democratic Maryland Governor William P. Lane’s last-minute intervention urging the University president to withdraw permission to use the institution’s facilities. Denying that he was against freedom of speech, the politician argued: “With Americans being shot down on the battlefields of Korea in defense of our way of life against insidious forces of communism, I cannot and I will not permit the representatives of this malevolent conspiracy the freedom of the University of Maryland campus”. Frankfeld was outraged, calling the governor a “bigot”, and so was Schwarz, who was denied the opportunity to display of his hard-earned debating skills: “I could have answered Mr. Frankfeld’s arguments easily. I could have wiped up the floor with him. I could easily have shown the stupidity and weakness of the communist program. Ignorance plays into the hands of communism”<sup>40</sup>.

When Schwarz ended his two-month tour on August 12 by addressing McIntire’s congregation in Collingswood, he had earned \$3,060 for an average of \$67 per lecture. That lecturing fees were left to the inviting congregation’s discretion explains the enormous gap between the tour’s lowest fee -\$10, for lecturing at Oakland’s First Independent Baptist Church- and the highest -\$500, from T.T. Shield’s Jarvis Street Baptist Church in Toronto-<sup>41</sup>. Shields held Schwarz in such high esteem that he invited him back in early fall of 1950 upon the Australian’s return from Geneva. In 1952, Shields told McIntire that he “could not bring Dr. Schwarz without a good honorarium”, despite

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<sup>39</sup> The only available information on Frankfeld’s bio were found in the trial transcript: 198 F.2d 679 Frankfeld v. United States; 198 F.2d 679; FRANKFELD et al. v. UNITED STATES. No. 6437. United States Court of Appeals Fourth Circuit. Argued July 1, 1952. Decided July 31, 1952. Rehearing Denied September 8, 1952. Available online at: < <http://openjurist.org/198/f2d/679/frankfeld-v-united-states> > (accessed January 20, 2010).

<sup>40</sup> An., “Communism Debate at U.M. is Cancelled: Lane Requests Byrd to Withdraw Permission for Auditorium”, Newspaper clip (unsp. source), Aug. 8, 1950, pages 18 & 28, *CMP*, F. ‘Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvalea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia”.

<sup>41</sup> Carl McIntire, “Dr. Schwarz- Income”, *CMP*, F. ‘Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvalea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia”; *Id.*, “Dr. Schwarz – Expenses”, in *Ibid.*

the fact that Schwarz always accepted being paid much less than the high fee Shields gave him<sup>42</sup>. When calculated by using the 1950 annual net income figures, Schwarz, an absolutely unknown name in the U.S., netted in two months of lectures more than an American family physician averaged for the same period of time<sup>43</sup>.

Admittedly, the costs associated with multistate travelling were such that most of the money grossed by Schwarz was spent during the trip. Expenses amounted to \$2,749, thus resulting in a \$310 surplus before Schwarz boarded for Geneva. He had covered his wife Lillian's expenses, and across the tour spent more than \$447 to Claris Inglis, the Australian signer who accompanied them, covering notably two long-distance calls she made to Australia from St. Louis and Toronto that alone cost respectively \$35 and \$48<sup>44</sup>. The day-by-day account Schwarz submitted of his expenses to McIntire upon the end of his trip indicates very little expenses for lodging, which means that the four people composing the Schwarz party were welcomed in most towns by private citizens<sup>45</sup>. All in all, this tour proved a clear demonstration that a potential lecturing career in America could be financially viable for Schwarz. He could only have understood at this point that should he tour alone in the U.S., with a greater amount of publicity -and maybe a less controversial sponsor than McIntire-, he would be able to turn his anticommunist vocation into a sustainable full-time commitment.

On August 14, 1950, Schwarz, McIntire and other ICCC officials took the plane for Geneva. T.T. Shields was initially supposed to come with them on this trip, but he made it clear to McIntire in early June that he would not attend, for both financial and health reasons<sup>46</sup>. After short stops in Belfast and London, they all arrived in Geneva on to participate in a weeklong event that united a few hundred fundamentalists, most from the

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<sup>42</sup> Note joined to a letter received by Shield from Schwarz dated May 5, 1952, about a phone conversation between Shields and McIntire on 06-20-52, *TTSP*, Box 9, 1952, F. "S".

<sup>43</sup> Janis Wright, "Ending a Celebration Year With Thanks", *American Family Physician*, December 15, 2000, 1. The average annual income for a U.S. family physician in 1950 was \$12,480.

<sup>44</sup> Carl McIntire, "Dr. Schwarz- Expenses", *CMP*, F. "Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvlea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia", Another \$362 was spent to buy plane tickets for San Francisco for both Inglis and his wife Lillian after their return from Geneva.

<sup>45</sup> Letters addressed to him by Shields after his Toronto stay were sent to McIntire's house. Also, a letter Schwarz sent Shields after his departure from Toronto contains the addresses of several of his next itinerary stops, which included private homes where he planned to stay, including those of several ACCC-affiliated pastors. Fred C. Schwarz to T.T. Shields, undated, "Australian Party Itinerary", *TTSP*, Box 7, 1950, F. "S".

<sup>46</sup> Shields mentioned financial reasons for refusing to go to Geneva, and then for health reasons. T.T. Shields to Carl McIntire, Jun. 8, 1950 & T.T. Shields to Carl McIntire, Jul. 15, 1950. *TTSP*, Box 7, 1950, F. "McIntire". Schwarz had tried himself to convince Shields to come in Europe, and his showed disappointment when learning that the ICCC congress would take place without the Toronto pastor. Fred C. Schwarz to T.T. Shields, Aug. 4, 1950; T.T. Shields to F.C. Schwarz, Aug. 8, 1950; Fred C. Schwarz to T.T. Shields, Aug. 12, 1950; *TTSP*, Box 7, 1950, F. "S".

U.S. or Western Europe countries, requiring that the proceedings be translated into several languages. The armature of the ICCC consisted in a few hundred religious leaders that were on the Congress' committees and commissions (among them was also Francis Schaeffer, whose would be instrumental in mobilizing evangelicals on the abortion issue in the late 1970's)<sup>47</sup>. Schwarz was part of the "International Affairs Commission" and as such was in charge of the ICCC's platform pertaining to communism<sup>48</sup>. He was in fact the only delegate who had a genuine understanding of Communist theories and writings. But no matter how burning the Communist issue might have been in this summer of 1950, the lecture he delivered before ICCC delegates was not, by his own admission, "a roaring success"<sup>49</sup>. The Geneva proceedings were dominated considerably more by talks about organization rather than doctrine and policy statements. Schwarz was an unknown figure to non-American delegates, and his late evening lecture, "Communism and the Bible" was ill-attended<sup>50</sup>. Schwarz's only influence on the Congress ended up being in helping the ICCC to draft its platform on communism, which reflected his imprint in its references and description of the dialectic.

The Geneva Congress was a success in term of organization, despite the almost complete absence of press coverage. It helped the ICCC build a more coherent, viable international structure. The Congress positioned the organization, despite its limited resources, as the fundamentalist alternate voice to the dominant mainline World Council of Churches. In the wake of the Congress, ICCC-affiliated denominations increased from 61 to 83<sup>51</sup>. The ICCC now had a constitution and McIntire was reconfirmed in its

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<sup>47</sup> Francis Schaeffer, who had been alumni from Westminster Theological Seminary, was like McIntire, a former student of Gresham Machen. Like Schwarz, Schaeffer would become one of these "forgotten grandfathers" of the contemporary Christian Right whose names, largely unknown by the general public, are nonetheless often mentioned as influences on evangelical leaders. Schaeffer produced *How Should We Then Live?: The Rise and Decline of Western Thought and Culture* (1976), *Whatever Happened to the Human Race?* (1978), and *A Christian Manifesto* (1981). Several conservative evangelicals such as Tim LaHaye or Randall Balmer, as well as authors promoting Christian "reconstructionism" were affected by this message. See William Martin, *With God On Our Side*, *op. cit.*, 159-160, 194-197; Barry Hankins, *Francis Schaeffer and the Shaping of Evangelical America*, Grand Rapids, William B. Eerdmans, 2008, 160-227.; Frederick Clarkson, "Christian Reconstructionism: Theocratic Dominionism Gains Influence", in Chip Berlet, ed., *Eyes Right! Challenging the Right Wing Backlash*, Boston, South End Press, 1995, 59-80.

<sup>48</sup> An. "The following report, presented by the nominating committee, was unanimously accepted by the Second Plenary Congress of the International Council of Christian Churches, August 23, Geneva, Switzerland", *ACCC-ICCC Col.*, RG 01, Box 466 B, File 10 "International Council of Christian Churches – Second Plenary Congress, August 1950", F. 3.

<sup>49</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 44.

<sup>50</sup> In his speech the Australian tried to draw on his American tour experience to outline how most people standing against communism did not even know the reason for their opposition. *Id.*, "Communism and the Bible: An Address by Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, Christian Physician, Sydney, Australia", *International Council of Christian Churches: Second Plenary Congress, Geneva, Switzerland, August 16-23, 1950*, *ACCC-ICCC Col.*, RG 01, Box 466 B, File 8 "International Council of Christian Churches – Second Plenary Congress, August 1950", F. 1.

<sup>51</sup> D. Hedegard, *De Oecumenische Beweging en de Bijbel*, Amsterdam, Internationale Raad van Christelijke Kerken, 1959, 197-201.

presidency. Moreover the great amount of contributions received at the congress allowed the ICCC to net a small surplus<sup>52</sup>. Schwarz wrote T.T. Shields: “The Geneva Congress was all that could be desired but for one thing – the absence of T.T. Shields: Your inability to come was regretted intensely on all sides but by no one more intensely by myself”<sup>53</sup>.

Schwarz and Lillian returned to America on August 24, 1950. His wife took the plane back to San Francisco, and then Australia, but her husband did not. Schwarz had so much enjoyed his pre-Geneva touring experience that he decided to prolong his American stay indefinitely. Schwarz was invited once again to Jarvis Street Church in Toronto, where this time he sojourned an entire week. One of the sermons he delivered was titled “The Communist Blueprint for the Conquest of Canada”<sup>54</sup>. This presentation introduced the format which he would use again and again across his career. It involved adapting the theme of Red world domination to any specific geographic locality. Thus, from 1953 on, Schwarz lectured frequently on “The Communist Blueprint for the Conquest of the United States”<sup>55</sup>. In 1965, in Australia, he delivered a lecture on “The Present Communist Strategy for the Conquest of Australia”<sup>56</sup>.

Schwarz left Toronto after a weeklong holiday spent in the Canadian backwoods where he “caught and ate numerous bass”, and took his leave from Shields, whom he would never see again, and returned to Pennsylvania, staying once more at McIntire’s home<sup>57</sup>. He left a few days later for a new tour, this time heading westward, visiting once again small churches, and community institutions. This new segment of Schwarz’s American adventures was much less structured than what went before. Thus, little documentation exists pertaining to this phase which unfolded between mid-September and November 1950. Schwarz was learning how to sustain an independent lecturing career. In his memoirs, he explains: “Some who were members of secular organizations

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<sup>52</sup> “International Council of Christian Churches, 15 Park Sow, New York T., N.Y.- Statement of receipts and disbursements – New York, U.S.A. October 1, 1949 – July 31, 1950”, *ACCC-ICCC Col.*, RG Box 466 B, File 8 Second Plenary Congress, August 1950, F. 1.

<sup>53</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to T.T. Shields, *TTSP*, Box 7, 1950, F. “S”.

<sup>54</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Blood Transfusion: A Sermon by Dr. F. C. Schwarz, Preached at Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, Sunday Evening, September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1950 (Electrically Recorded”, *The Gospel Witness and Protestant Advocate*, Vol. 29, No. 20, Sept. 10, 1950, 1-4.; *Id.*, “The Communist Blueprint for the Conquest of Canada”, *loc. cit.*, 5-9.

<sup>55</sup> An., “Red Conquest Blueprint to Be Discussed”, *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, Saturday, Apr. 18, 1953, A5.

<sup>56</sup> Flyer for conference at the Poinsettia Room, Canberra Hotel, Edward & Ann Streets, Brisbane, Thursday, Jul. 29, 7:45 p.m., 1965.

<sup>57</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to T.T. Shields, 16 Sept. 1950; T.T. Shields to Fred C. Schwarz, Sept. 18, 1950, *TTSP*, Box 7, 1950, F. “S”.



in the audiences invited me to speak to their groups. A chain reaction started, where one lecture led to another and then another”<sup>58</sup>. Before Schwarz left for a last series of lectures in Seattle, one of his contacts received from the Los Angeles Breakfast Club a letter that anticipated hundreds of others in years to come: “We are still getting calls from our radio listeners wanting to book him for talks (...) before he gets away. We are accustomed to good speakers, but Dr. Schwarz held our crowd from his first word to his last”<sup>59</sup>.

### 4.3 Twisting One’s Rubber Arm

Schwarz returned to Australia in late November 1950. Upon resuming his medical practice, he wrote McIntire: “My visit to your country was at once an education, a challenge and an inspiration. Issues vital to the Church of God are so much more clearly drawn in your country than over here”<sup>60</sup>. He was doubly thrilled since the last part of the tour, which he did alone at little traveling expenses, allowed him to earn \$2,350, which he gave to the ICCG. The organization thanked him by having a new Plymouth car shipped to Australia at the cost of \$2,720 in January 1951, which compensated for the one Schwarz had sold before the trip<sup>61</sup>. But the new car came with many appeals from McIntire: “I think Dr. Shields has a real point, Dr. Schwarz, and I think that you should consider it seriously before the Lord. Is the Lord calling you into full-time Christian service? You have a ministry, a gift, a message, and all this has now been gloriously confirmed by the blessing of God”<sup>62</sup>.

For Schwarz, returning to daily life was anti-climatic, and world events in 1951 only increased this sentiment. In Korea, Australian troops had arrived in late September 1950 to join the U.N. force in Pusan. After a successful military offensive that pushed back North Korean armies north of the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel, the U.N. forces found themselves confronted in November to a Chinese intervention in the conflict which forced them to a retreat in the winter of 1951. In Australia, the Menzies government moved forward in the fall of 1950, as promised, with legislation that formally prohibited the Australian CPA.

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<sup>58</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 105.

<sup>59</sup> Harold B. Link to Rev. Clark Kennedy, Oct. 20, 1950”; Fred C. Schwarz to C. Howard Oakley, Telegram, Sept. 20, 1950. *CMP*, F. ‘Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvalea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia.

<sup>60</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Carl McIntire, Dec. 12, 1950, in *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> Carl McIntire to Fred C. Schwarz, Dec. 15, 1950, in *Ibid.*

But in early March 1951, Australia's High Court ruled the legislation invalid, judging wartime the only constitutionally acceptable circumstance justifying the prohibition of a political party<sup>63</sup>. Menzies replied by calling a federal election, held in late April, where the opposing Labor Party was handicapped by its apparent soft anticommunist stand, allowing conservatives to retain power in a context where polls showed that more than 80 percent of Australians supported banning the CPA<sup>64</sup>. By the time the election was called in March, McIntire jubilantly informed Schwarz that the NBC Corporation had just allowed the ACCC thirty minutes of free time to discuss the question of "socialism in the Church", and expressed his wish to reach out to labor unions, civic institutions, businessmen and the medical profession: "Boy I wish you were here in this country! Would you be at all interested (...) in giving yourself in to full time service in the ministry of the International Council of Christian Churches? It would mean, of course, giving up your medical practice, but giving the rest of your life to the promotion of the work of the Lord on a world-wide basis"<sup>65</sup>.

Almost as soon as Schwarz arrived back in Australia, he was thinking of getting back to the United States: "Since returning home I have been overwhelmed with the duties of the practice and have realized how impossible it is to serve two masters adequately". Lamenting on his situation, he pressed on: "At this critical juncture in the history of the world, when I have a contribution to make in the great struggle against Communism it scarcely seems appropriate that my time should be consumed with tonsillitis, peptic ulceration and female neurons". Though he hesitated becoming an ICCC spokesman, Schwarz felt the calling of this potential role as "great awakener", in which he would alert America to the impending threat of communism: "I could live by lecture fee etc., and envisage staying for one year. (...) I could then consider bringing my family across the Pacific"<sup>66</sup>. This pleased McIntire, who promised Schwarz the biggest crowds he could find in America, giving the example of his collaborator Ed Bundy, whose career as religious leader was also having a good start at the same moment. He then twisted the

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<sup>63</sup> John Murphy, *Imagining the Fifties: Private Sentiment and Political Culture in Menzies' Australia*, Sydney, University of South Wales Press, 2000, 99-101.

<sup>64</sup> Charles H. Sheldon, "Public Opinions and High Courts: Communist Party Cases in Four Constitutional Systems", *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 2, Part 1, Jun. 1967, 353-354.

<sup>65</sup> Carl McIntire to Fred C. Schwarz, Mar. 2, 1951, *CMP*, F. 'Dr. F. C. Schwarz - Alvalea - 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia'.

<sup>66</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Carl McIntire, Mar. 27, 1951, *Ibid*.

Australian's rubber arm by reminding of his duty before the Almighty: "I think you have a real responsibility to Christ and the whole Christian church when He has given you such gifts and such information concerning the issues confronting the church (...)"<sup>67</sup>. He also invited Schwarz to participate in the ICCC Congress scheduled in Manila, Philippines, in November 1951, putting the Australian on the Council's "Commission on International Affairs" and invited him deliver a keynote address on communism.

By the fall of 1951, Schwarz had decided to give up medical practice, at least for some time, since it was "(...) impossible to carry on the duties of a full-time doctor and give the time and energy to the great issues of the day"<sup>68</sup>. The world situation looked to him endlessly critical. Through the whole Spring New Zealand was shaken by a social crisis comparable to that of Australia's in 1949 when the Communist-dominated Waterfront Workers' Union decided to go on strike, bringing the country's wharves to a complete standstill and generating massive shortages that were felt by the Australian economy<sup>69</sup>. The New Zealand government reacted by declaring a state of emergency and used troops to load and unload ships, prompting Schwarz to write that a Communist overthrow of the New-Zealand government was possible, even if the government "is showing what firm action can do"<sup>70</sup>.

In Australia, the Menzies government was about to organize a referendum on the legal ban of the CPA. The dismissal by President Truman of Gen. McArthur for insubordination led to a firestorm of protest in America, but also in Australia where the WWII general was considered a hero. Schwarz already imagined himself crossing the Pacific in his support: "The dismissal of General MacArthur has certainly revealed where a large number of people stand, and I can imagine the openings in the U.S. to such addresses as: 'An Australian appreciation of Gen. MacArthur and his policy' "<sup>71</sup>. On

<sup>67</sup> Carl McIntire to Fred C. Schwarz, Apr. 2, 1951, *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Carl McIntire, Oct. 2, 1951, *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> Michael Bassett, *Confrontation '51: the 1951 waterfront dispute*, Reed, Wellington, 1972.; Just like in Australia, the strike ended on a union defeat that weakened the Communist influence in the country, although to a lesser extent than in Australia. Alexander Trapeznik and Aaron Fox, *Lenin's Legacy Down Under: New Zealand's Cold War*, Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 2004, 25-26.

<sup>70</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Carl McIntire, May 5, 1951, *CMP*, F. 'Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvalea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia'.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*; In late May he reacted publicly to a new statement issued by the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia that "repudiated communism in its basic aims and physical manifestations", while recognizing that it "enshrines the principle of growth and to this extent is in harmony with the principle of Christianity". For Schwarz, this declaration not only justified, but also glorified communism, in spite of the evidence that associated the Reds with "concentration camps, with the rule of the knout and the bayonet, with atheism, with the slavery of women and children, with lowered living standards, lying, murder, and unhallowed death (...)." Fred C. Schwarz, Letter sent to the Editor of the Sydney Morning Herald, 27 May, 1951, in *Ibid.*

September 22, after several months of a bitter campaign that saw one of the largest opinion swings in Australian politics, the Australian electorate narrowly rejected (by a 50.5 percent margin) the Menzies government's proposal to ban the CPA. Schwarz's native state of Queensland provided the biggest support for the proposal (55.76 percent) but large urban areas like New South Wales and Sydney were tiebreakers in favor of the "No". While Americans seemed to understand the gravity of the Red threat, Australians were hopeless. "Australians", Schwarz once wrote "are, generally speaking, complacent and confused. This serves the communist purpose exceedingly well"<sup>72</sup>.

During the few days he spent in the Philippines for the ICCC Congress in Manila in late 1951, Schwarz showed renewed enthusiasm. He delivered talk after talk to four different radio stations and sharpened attacks on communism before local delegates. "Dr. F.C. Schwarz was active night and day. (...) He is keen and quick, accurate and unanswerable. The illustrations from the medical world slay the World Council's Goliath"<sup>73</sup>. Prior to Schwarz's keynote address, Elpidio Quirino, the bitterly anticommunist Philippines president who was himself battling against a Communist insurgency in the archipelago, received the ICCC delegates. For his address Schwarz resorted to a boiling speech in order to avoid the disappointing experience of Geneva. His address was supposed to be one of the Congress' highlights, and was advertised as such in McIntire's *Christian Beacon*<sup>74</sup>. Communism, he asserted, is fascism (Lenin "was the teacher of Hitler in Party organization"); it is a baited hook ("distribution of land, honest administration" to gain control of power); it is malignant ("It infiltrates, erodes and grows, activated by an inner compulsion"), and it means war ("war must terminate in brutal communist victory")<sup>75</sup>. Among the delegates was Timothy Pietsch, son of William E. Pietsch whom Schwarz met during his American tour in 1950. Timothy Pietsch, who had been commissioned to Japan in 1936 by the Southern Baptist Church of the United States, had stayed in Japan after the war, and according to a 1952 article "worked in cooperation with Gen MacArthur's program of establishing Christian principles in

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<sup>72</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Fred Schwarz, M.D. – Managing Director", *CACC Newsletter*, Nov., 1955, 1.

<sup>73</sup> An., "Manila Conference Gives Testimony to the Faith: Christian Manifesto Adopted", *Christian Beacon*, Vol. 16, No. 44, Thu., Dec. 13, 1951, 8.

<sup>74</sup> An., "Australian Lay Leader to Give Message at Manila", *Christian Beacon*, Vol. 16, No. 35, Thursday Oct. 11, 1951, 1-8.

<sup>75</sup> Quoted in An., "Communism Defined by Schwarz at Manila", *The Christian Beacon*, Vol. 16, No. 44, Dec. 13, 1951, 5 and 8.

occupied Japan”<sup>76</sup>. He became one of the country’s foremost Protestant leaders, hosting an evangelical radio program in Tokyo and founding the Tokyo Bible Church<sup>77</sup>. He invited Schwarz for a ten-day tour in Japan visiting missionaries and church congregations. Schwarz accepted and sent his wife the following cable: “Going on to Japan; don’t know when I will be home; arrange for the practice. Love, Fred”<sup>78</sup>.

#### 4.4 The 1952 Tour

In 1952, Schwarz did a second tour in America. More than the official founding of the Crusade in May 1953, the 1952 tour marked the real beginning of his “new” crusading life. This new adventure took place while McCarthyism was still in full swing. This was a U.S. presidential election year and Harry Truman announced on March 29 that he would not seek re-election, paving the way for the presidential contest between former Illinois Governor Adlai E. Stevenson and General Dwight D. Eisenhower, relieved in April as Allied Supreme Commander. The U.S. detonated the world’s first hydrogen bomb, and its first supersonic-guided missile. The Korean War came to a frustrating stalemate.

During his stay in Manila in late 1951, Schwarz and McIntire apparently agreed that the Australian would return to Sydney for Christmas of 1951, and then leave for a new ICCC-sponsored U.S. tour in March 1952. Among other things, he was to participate in a 30-minute block of radio airtime given to the ICCC by the NBC. He was also supposed to attend the ICCC’s regional conference in Edinburg, England, in July of 1952<sup>79</sup>. As last time, the Schwarz kids were to be taken care of by a family friend, while a hired doctor ran the medical practice.

But after his arrival to the U.S., plans changed. The Australian accepted to speak at ACCC churches and anywhere else McIntire and his network ended up book him. He also accepted to go on the air at NBC, and he attended the Edinburg conference in July. However, Schwarz revolted against the idea of anything resembling a pre-planned

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<sup>76</sup> An., “Plan 2-Day Marion Bible Conference: Iowa Pastor Will Speak at Emanuel Baptist Church”, *The Marion Star*, Saturday, Jan. 5, 1952, 2.

<sup>77</sup> Otto Christopher Grauer, *Fifty Wonderful Years, Missionary in Foreign Lands*, Scandinavian Alliance of North America, 1940, 173. Gordon W. Prange, Donald M. Goldstein and Katherine V. Dillion, *God’s Samurai: Lead Pilot at Pearl Harbor*, Potomac Books Inc., 2003, 212. This later reference indicates that Pietsch helped to convert to Christianity Mitsuo Fuchida, the aviator who led the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941.

<sup>78</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 71.

<sup>79</sup> An., Manila Conference Gives Testimony to the Faith: Christian Manifesto Adopted”, *loc. cit.*, 8.

itinerary. Further, the tour would no longer be an ICCC-sponsored event. Schwarz could dispense with ICCC sponsorship because from day one, he found himself riding a wave of success. On April 20, 1952, shortly after he arrived in the U.S., the Australian was in San Francisco's NBC studios. He spoke during the block of free airtime the ICCC had been granted during the Sunday show *Faith in Action*. The NBC received so many requests for copies that it thought it more convenient at some point to send the original tape to McIntire so that the ICCC could make its own duplicates<sup>80</sup>. The show generated such a popular response that Schwarz's schedule was quickly filled with proposals for speaking engagements. As he noted with jubilation: "I am discovering here that as soon as I have the opportunity to speak doors open wide including Press, Radio, Television, American Legion, United Pictures Assn., Kiwanians and many church bodies"<sup>81</sup>.

For the next two months, Schwarz toured across Southern California without any clear schedule, speaking on the average three or four times a day. In many regards, this was a rehearsal for what became his life after the Crusade's founding in 1953. Schwarz's policy was to accept any invitation to speak, even if no honorarium was offered. Churches and religious institutions apart, the greatest demand came from civic organizations: service clubs such as the Lions, Kiwanis and Rotary, and veterans organizations such as the American Legion. Schools were also interested, as well as private businesses and chambers of commerce. McIntire's office lost track of Schwarz's whereabouts. "He will (...) spend at least a month on the west coast. His itinerary beyond that has not yet been made definite"<sup>82</sup>, McIntire's secretary replied a to Pennsylvania pastor who wanted to hire Schwarz. Three weeks later, with still no news from Schwarz, she wrote the same pastor: "We are still waiting on word from Dr. Schwarz as to just when he will be on the East. I do not believe he will be here before the end of May and I think it quite likely that he could come to you for the weekend of June 22<sup>nd</sup>"<sup>83</sup>. Schwarz finally wrote McIntire's office so as to postpone his coming to the East: "The probability is we will arrive in your area about mid-June via New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, Ohio, etc. We have just

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<sup>80</sup> Doris Corwith to Carl McIntire, Apr. 24, 1952, See also Arthur G. Slaght to Ruth Trato, Apr. 29, 1952 & May 13, 1952, *CMP*, F. 'Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvalea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia'.

<sup>81</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Ruth Trato, May 22, 1952, *Ibid*.

<sup>82</sup> Ruth Trato to Rev. Myers L. Wenger ; Ruth Trato to Rev. Fred Stroud, Mar. 27, 1952, *Ibid*.

<sup>83</sup> Ruth Trato to Rev. Myers L. Wenger, Apr. 21, 1952, *Ibid*. Schwarz in fact came to Rev. Myers L. Wenger's church in Phoenixville, Pa., on Jul. 6, 1952., Rudolph Schmidt to Rev. Myers L. Wenger, Jun. 21, 1952, *Ibid*.

commenced a week's meetings in Pasadena with 200 as a start, we hope to grow. Pray for us. Doors are opening everywhere"<sup>84</sup>.

Schwarz realized that traveling extensively and spending entire days on the road in order to reach a few remote locations was fruitless. Rather than tiring himself for nothing, he understood that maximizing the potential offered by each visited area was more effective. By word-of-mouth, one lecture led to another. For instance, after leaving California in spring 1952, Schwarz addressed a Rotary club in Portales, New Mexico, where he met Floyd D. Golden, district governor of the local Rotarians and president of the University of Eastern New Mexico. Impressed by the Australian, Golden arranged speaking engagements for him for an entire week in Albuquerque. This week was later described in a letter of introduction Golden wrote for Schwarz: "Dr. Schwarz spoke twenty some-odd times to service clubs, civic organizations, our University Assembly, special groups at the University, churches, and a few times in the neighboring communities. In addition he spoke a number of times before the radio"<sup>85</sup>. In effect, Schwarz updated an old American religious tradition: the travelling preacher, who had its Golden Age during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. This character was well-adapted to the huge distances and remote locations of the American continent. He preached wherever he could, admitted new members to the fellowship, and often relied of the hospitality of the faithful for food and shelter<sup>86</sup>. When successful, unscheduled touring was cheap, efficient, allowed for the presenting of several lectures a day and created a large pool of local contacts. To be sure, Schwarz knew that playing the wandering preacher would deal a blow to his collaboration with McIntire, to whom he wrote: "The idea is not to concentrate in American Council Churches, but to get the American Council message to as wide a circle as possible"<sup>87</sup>. Upon learning Schwarz's intent, McIntire was disappointed since he knew this meant the loss for the ICCC and ACCC of the sensational Australian recruit: "With a plan such as you are thinking of you would only have about 10 cities in which to operate", he wrote. But he respected the decision: "Every

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<sup>84</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Ruth Trato, Apr. 28, 1952, *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> Floyd D. Golden, "To Whom it May Concern", Jun. 25, 1952, *CMP*, F. "Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvalea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia"; An. "Golden Opportunity", *The Rotarian*, Jul. 1948, 53.A

<sup>86</sup> See Christine Leigh Heyrman, *Southern Cross: The Beginning of the Bible Belt*, Chapel Hill & London, The University of North Carolina Press, 1997, 68-93.

<sup>87</sup> Quoted in Carl McIntire to Rev. Lionel F.S. Brown and Rev. Claude Bunzel, Mar. 11, 1952, *CMP*, F. "Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvalea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia".

man knows his own way of operating and we want you to have all the liberty you possibly can, and the Lord certainly have ways of going ahead of you as He has so definitely indicated”<sup>88</sup>. McIntire even offered to provide Schwarz with ICCC literature and help.

Schwarz began to drift from the orbit of both McIntire and the ACCC-ICCC’s. As Erling Jorstad wrote, “he had separated himself from the separationists”<sup>89</sup>. Schwarz did not need McIntire; he had become logistically and financially independent. He had found a better way to spread his message, one which allowed him to reach beyond church networks and to extend his activities to a paraphernalia of institutions which were out of McIntire’s reach. To be sure, the Australian’s support for the ICCC and its fundamentalist, hard-shell separatist positions was genuine. Prior to his departure for his first tour in 1950, Schwarz’s correspondence with McIntire makes it clear that he rejected the World Council of Churches (McIntire’s lifetime nemesis)<sup>90</sup>. Upon returning from his first tour in 1950, he wrote McIntire: “I return with one conviction in my heart, the stand of the I.C.C.C. and the American Council is right. It is not expedient; but obedient; it is not cozy; but costly; it is the pathway not of compromise, but of promise. God must bless that stand”<sup>91</sup>.

Nevertheless, as his anti-Red picked up momentum, he carefully muted and severed his association with the ACCC and ICCC. He “avoided any discussion of total separation; he made no direct appeal to fundamentalists although he affirmed his loyalty to their basic doctrines; he made no direct connection between God’s will and America as the Chosen Nation (...)”, Jorstad writes<sup>92</sup>. Probably more out of respect for McIntire than anything else, Schwarz remained a member of the ICCC’s Commission on International Relations. His last recorded appearance as such was in 1954, when he participated in the ICCC’s Third Plenary Congress at the Faith Theological Seminary in Philadelphia<sup>93</sup>. In

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<sup>88</sup> Carl McIntire to Fred C. Schwarz, 22 Apr. 1952, *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Doomsday*, *op. cit.*, 70.

<sup>90</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Carl McIntire, 13 Apr. 1950, *CMP*, F. “Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvalea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia”. In this letter Schwarz rejoiced over the decision from the Annual Conference of the New South Wales Churches of Christ and the Queensland Baptist Assembly to reject WCC affiliation.

<sup>91</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Carl McIntire, 12 Dec. 1950, *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Doomsday*, *op. cit.*, 70-71.

<sup>93</sup> “The International Council of Christian Churches: Third Plenary Congress, Faith Theological Seminary, Elkins Park, Philadelphia, Pa., August 3-12, 1954. Election of officers, executive committee, and commissions”, *Peter J. Stram Papers*, Manuscript Collection, Presbyterian Historical Center, St. Louis, Missouri (hereafter *PJSP*), RG 01, Box 409, File 39, 1-2.



1960, the Crusade held a school of anticommunism at the Adelpia Hotel in Philadelphia. Though a mere 40-minute car ride from the Collingswood Presbyterian Church, McIntire was not solicited to participate, nor invited to attend the event<sup>94</sup>.

The drift away from McIntire highlights several key differences between Schwarz and many American fundamentalists. As he had done in Australia from his university years onward, Schwarz was willing to engage the secular culture and society in a way McIntire and his followers could never do. McIntire was an indefatigable institution-builder. Nonetheless, he remained primarily interested in battles over doctrine, theology and church structures. In contrast, despite his doctrinal conservatism, the Australian's academic and scientific background led him to a greater degree of knowledge and acquaintance with the non-religious aspects of society. Hence his reluctance to adopt the anti-intellectual rhetoric of several fundamentalist leaders, even if Schwarz himself would criticize intellectuals in no uncertain terms throughout his crusading career. Schwarz eventually collaborated on a frequent basis with intellectuals, to the point where some schools of anticommunism looked more like academic conferences than religious or patriotic rallies. Jorstad thus observes accurately that Schwarz "had moved more directly into the conservative camp, engaging Ivy League university professors for his conferences and associating with persons the ACCC-ICCC considered apostate (...)"<sup>95</sup>.

Schwarz assented to the ICCC's conservative and separatist doctrine, but he was undoubtedly put off by the bigotry which characterized the organization<sup>96</sup>. Coming from the Australian religious environment, where levels of interdenominational cooperation were higher and where he himself had moved across different church groups from his youth to his adult years, Schwarz was unaccustomed to the separatist bitterness he found among McIntire and his associates. Just prior to learning of Schwarz's decision to go on his own, McIntire wrote to his collaborators: "Dr. Schwarz sees the ICCC position 100 percent; he is a member of our Commission on International Affairs. He has no sympathy

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<sup>94</sup> Henry F. May to Herbert Philbrick, Nov. 1, 1960, *HPP*, Box 3, "General Correspondence" Series, F. 7, Nov.-Dec. 1960.

<sup>95</sup> Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Doomsday*, *op. cit.*, 70.

<sup>96</sup> The 1950 ICCC Congress's declaration that the WCC "is undoing the work of the Protestant Reformation" and is "totalitarian and in some countries pro-communistic in emphasis" was clearly not written by him. An, "Statement on the World Council", *PJSP*, RG 01, Box 409, File 36, 1-3.

for the NAE position”<sup>97</sup>. In fact, as the future showed, Schwarz was much closer to the NAE and the “neo-evangelical” position than the ACCC’s. NAE leaders could only have appeared more promising in terms of helping Schwarz open doors to a wide variety of religious and secular institutions. It is likely that McIntire’s frequent rants against Billy Graham, whom he charged as being a compromising apostate, were no small factors in Schwarz’s distancing himself from the ACCC-ICCC<sup>98</sup>.

#### 4.5 The China Lobby Man

On May 31, 1952, Schwarz addressed a Youth For Christ rally at the Church of the Open Door Auditorium<sup>99</sup>. Before the meeting took place, he notified McIntire’s office that “such remarkable opportunities are presenting in this area that I (...) will be remaining here until June 8, leaving for the University of New Mexico and churches of the district on June 9”<sup>100</sup>. Southern California was fertile ground for Schwarz<sup>101</sup>. Requests for the Australian lecturer came from everywhere. “My desperate need is a manager as opportunities are open to an unlimited degree”, he wrote. In late May he addressed an afternoon church rally and a Sunday evening service in San Diego, before coming back to the Los Angeles region for another series of lectures<sup>102</sup>. On June 7, 1952, Schwarz spoke at a stadium rally for Youth for Christ in Inglewood, marking the end of a two-month presence in South California where he had planted the seeds of what became decades of Crusade presence in the region.

Leaving the West, Schwarz proceeded eastward. After stays in Texas and Oklahoma, he arrived on the Eastern seaboard. He was still scheduled to attend the ICCC meeting in Edinburg. However, new opportunities had been opened by a letter he received prior to his departure from California from Alfred Kohlberg, an importer from New York City who ran “Alfred Kohlberg Inc. – Chinese Textiles: “If not too late now”, Kohlberg

<sup>97</sup> Carl McIntire to Rev. Claude Bunzel and Rev. Lionel Brown, Feb. 27, 1950, “CMP, F. ‘Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvalea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia”.

<sup>98</sup> Billy Graham’s father-in-law L. Nelson Bell, angrily wrote McIntire in October 1952: “I hereby express my own utter revulsion at your attitude and make this protest, futile tho (sic) it may be.” L. Nelson Bell to Carl McIntire, Oct. 29, 1952, Lemuell Nelson Bell Papers, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Illinois, (hereafter *LNBPA*), Box 39, F. 20, “McIntire, Carl”, 1.

<sup>99</sup> An.”Rally to Hear Red Foe”, *Los Angeles Times*, May 31, 1952, 5.

<sup>100</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Ruth Trato, May 22, 1952, *CMP*, F. “Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvalea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia”.

<sup>101</sup> A reporter from the *Pasadena Independent* noted after attending eight of Schwarz’s lectures: “During the past years I have covered hundreds of similar meetings. I state without reservation that Dr. Schwarz is by far the best-informed man on this subject to whom I have ever listened”. Lewis W. Brown, Letter of recommendation, May 3, 1952, *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Ruth Trato, May 22, 1952, *Ibid.*

wrote,” I would appreciate it if you would set an evening, and I will give a dinner for you here in New York, inviting a great many of the people who are on our side and have the ear of the public”<sup>103</sup>. The elusive Kohlberg’s name was widespread among West Coast conservatives. He was known as a successful businessman who funded numerous Republican politicians, anticommunist leaders, organizations and publications. Schwarz wrote Kohlberg: “I know the time is short but if even a few people could be gathered I would count it a real privilege to pass on to them my contribution in this battle”<sup>104</sup>. In late June 1952, Schwarz arrived in New York, but Kohlberg had unexpectedly left the city to attend the Republican National Convention in Chicago. The Australian heard again about Kohlberg, who apologized for his absence, just prior to his departure for Edinburg<sup>105</sup>. The two men agreed that Kohlberg would organize for Schwarz a small, private reception with a roster of selected guests in New York upon the Australian’s return from Europe. After a few lectures in fundamentalist churches in Pennsylvania, Schwarz flew in mid-July to the Edinburg congress, where he seemed to have played almost no role<sup>106</sup>. Schwarz came back to the U.S. in early August and conducted another series of lectures on the East Coast, before he finally got to meet Kohlberg. In early September 1952 the businessman prepared for him the dinner they had discussed at New York’s prestigious Metropolitan Club on Sixtieth Street. Kohlberg sent to his impressive list of contacts an invitation outlining how much the Australian’s understanding of communism “has been a revelation to me, in spite of my many years study of these activities”<sup>107</sup>.

Alfred Kohlberg was nothing less than one of the most important and influential behind-the-scenes man in the world of American anticommunism. This short, bald, mild-mannered and unassuming 65-year old man was known among conservatives and in the import-export business, but not much beyond these networks. Kohlberg never finished college, nor did he have a political standing. He had never held elected office and had

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<sup>103</sup> Alfred Kohlberg to Fred C. Schwarz, Jun. 9, 1952, *Alfred Kohlberg Papers*, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University (hereafter *AKP*), Box 155, F. “Fred C. Schwarz”, -1955.

<sup>104</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Alfred Kohlberg, Jun. 17, 1952, *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Alfred Kohlberg, Jun. 23, 1952; Alfred Kohlberg to Fred C. Schwarz, June 24, 1952, *Ibid.*; Ad, “America in Peril: Hear Dr. Fred Schwarz from Sydney, Pennsylvania”, *Lebanon Daily News*, Saturday, Jun. 21, 1952, 3.

<sup>106</sup> The only known aspect of this trip was an anecdote he later liked to use in speeches and writings. He ran once into a group of Scottish Communists who were conducted an outside meeting and started arguing with them. When one told him he would like to cut Schwarz’s throat, the Australian replied: “Do you really mean that?”, the man said “I certainly do”. Fred C. Schwarz, *The Heart, Mind and Soul of Communism*, *op. cit.*, 21.

<sup>107</sup> Alfred Kohlberg, “Invitation”, Aug. 29, 1952, *AKP*, Box 155, F. “Fred C. Schwarz”, -1955.

never been appointed to any position by a governor or mayor. He did not appear in *Whos' Who in America* until his name popped up in a few newspaper clippings in 1950 about the Tydings Committee at the U.S. Senate, where it was said that he fed Joe McCarthy with information on Owen Lattimore and the Institute for Pacific Relations<sup>108</sup>. Still, Kohlberg was the main driving force behind the so-called “China Lobby”, a coterie supporting Chiang Kai-shek’s Republic of China established in Taiwan. The China Lobby pushed for the hardest possible U.S. stance towards Red China. It was an odd coalition which included politicians, businessmen, scholars, religious people and institutions (especially those with links with pre-Revolutionary China), military leaders, anticommunist Chinese Americans and Chinese agents of Taiwan’s Kuomintang government. For years, it successfully spread the idea that people active in the U.S. government, especially the State Department, had “lost” China to Mao Tse-tung. Moreover, it effectively lobbied against the People’s Republic of China’s entry to the United Nations and its formal diplomatic recognition by the United States during the 1950’s and 1960’s<sup>109</sup>.

The China Lobby embodied several elements of the American nationalist psyche since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The most important was its westward gaze, both metaphorically and geographically<sup>110</sup>. Since the early Republic era, U.S. nationalism and the reality of westward expansion fed each other to the point of becoming an integrated scheme, shaping the whole American experience, and breeding major features of U.S. exceptionalism: the Manifest Destiny, the mythology of the West and the importance of the frontier<sup>111</sup>. Upon the end of continental expansion by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Asia and the Pacific became the new focus of U.S. expansionism, which looked still further west, supported by the conviction of many that overseas expansion, be it economic or

<sup>108</sup> Joseph Keeley, *The China Lobby Man: The Story of Alfred Kohlberg*, New Rochelle, Arlington House, 1969, 10-11.

<sup>109</sup> I Tsung Chi, “From the China Lobby to the Taiwan Lobby: Movers and Shakers of the U.S.-China-Taiwan Triangular Relationship”, in Peter H. Koehn and Xiao-huang Yin, eds., *The Expanding Roles of Chinese Americans in U.S.-China Relations: Transnational Networks and Trans-Pacific Interactions*, Armonk, M.E. Sharpe, 2002, 107-108. In a 1971 letter to a detractor, GOP congressman Walter H. Judd, claimed that such a network never existed and affirmed that its alleged members were simply Americans concerned with Communist expansion in Asia. Yet, Kohlberg himself used it unashamedly. Walter H. Judd to Steve Bride, Mar. 19, 1971, *WHJP*, Box 59, F. 1. ; Alfred Kohlberg to Ralph de Toledano, Mar. 16, 1955, *Ralph de Toledano Papers*, Howard Gottlieb Archival, Research Center, Boston University (hereafter *RDTP*), Box 19, Correspondence Series, F. “K”.

<sup>110</sup> Thomas Bodenheimer and Robert Gould observe, this disposition was essentially present in the China Lobby’s political and economic base, which united “the classical triad of frontier expansionism: the entrepreneur, the soldier, and the missionary”. Thomas Bodenheimer and Robert Gould, *Rollback: Right-Wing Power in U.S. Foreign Policy*, Boston, South End Press, 1989, 68.

<sup>111</sup> Marie-Jeanne Rossignol, *Le ferment nationaliste: Aux origines de la politique extérieure des États-Unis: 1789-1812*, Paris, Belin, 1994, 329-330.

territorial, was necessary to the nation's prosperity and freedom<sup>112</sup>. China in particular ("our natural customer", once claimed Senator Albert J. Beveridge), became a perennial element of American expansionist imagination<sup>113</sup>.

By 1900, in the context of the Philippine-American War and the China Open Door policy, the Republican Party led by William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt, embraced this constitutive aspect of American nationalism. "From that day to this", wrote Bernard Fensterwald Jr. in 1958, "there has been something of a tradition in the Republican Party to face away from Europe and towards Latin America and the Far East"<sup>114</sup>. A more precise formulation would be to state that fixation on China and Asia became a tradition within the Republican right, i.e. largely based in the Midwest and the growing West, and which formed a distinct ideological faction from the GOP's "moderate" Eastern wing, the foreign policy outlook of which was more sympathetic to the U.N., the Marshall Plan and NATO. Historian Michael Miles argues for his part that the nationalist right endorsed a "Pacific First" foreign policy outlook "as a part of a general defence of a lost world - lost in the sense of national dominance but still hegemonic in specific areas of the country. The central issue was to recover national power and re-establish the folkways of the American Way of Life throughout the land". During WWII, one of the main objects of partisan bickering in the U.S. was about the priority given by the Allies to Europe, as the Republican right strongly lobbied for a "Pacific First" strategy, arguing that the foundation of America's foreign policy should be directed at China<sup>115</sup>. Hence, it comes as no surprise that the China Lobby constituted in the early 1950's a largely Republican line-up: Senators Kenneth Wherry, Joe McCarthy, William Jenner, William Knowland, Gen. Claire Chennault and

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<sup>112</sup> J.A. Thompson, "William Appleman Williams and the 'American Empire' ", *Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1, Apr. 1973, 96.; Westward expansionist mythology coalesced with widespread concerns over the nation's economic growth, but also often with racist, imperialistic conceptions or the need to evangelize non-Christian peoples. Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917*, New York, Hill and Wang, 2000, 3-9, 111-147.

<sup>113</sup> Joseph A. Fry, "From Open Door to World Systems: Economic Interpretations of Late Nineteenth Century American Foreign Relations", *The Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 65, No. 2, May 1996, 288-293.; Thomas J. McCormick, *China Market: America's Quest for Informal Empire, 1893-1901*, Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1967, 125.

<sup>114</sup> Bernard Fensterwald Jr., "The Anatomy of American "Isolationism" and Expansionism", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 2, No. 4, Dec. 1958, 303.; David M. Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy so Immense, op. cit.*, 228.; see also Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism, op. cit.*, chap.2. Historian David Reinhard hypothesized that the Republican right's ties to the Far East and China were strengthened by the fact that American missionaries in the Orient "largely had been recruited from and reported back to the Republican Midwest". David M. Reinhard, *The Republican Right Since 1945*, Lexington, Kentucky University Press, 1983, 67.

<sup>115</sup> Michael W. Miles, *The Odyssey of the American Right*, New York & Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1980, 71-118.

Representative Walter H. Judd (the “Asian Firsters”).<sup>116</sup> It also applied to publisher Henry Luce, born in China of Missionary Parents, and whose *TIME Magazine* had featured on its cover more than seven times each such heroes of the Republican right as Gen. Douglas MacArthur and Chiang Kai-shek<sup>117</sup>.

Alfred Kohlberg’s grandparents were German Jews who had settled in San Francisco during the Gold Rush in 1849. Originally involved in the printing business, he discovered China in 1915 during the Panama Pacific Exposition, where he was impressed by the quality of Oriental textile products. “Earlier than most”, writes Robert Herzstein, “he realized that American capital, if invested in inexpensive raw materials and cheap labor, could produce goods for a large American market”<sup>118</sup>. For almost twenty-five years, Alfred Kohlberg Inc. would buy Irish linen and ship it to cottages in southeastern China, where female workers transformed it into handkerchiefs sold on the U.S. market. Kohlberg became very close to the Kuomintang elite, including Chiang Kai-shek, whom he counted as personal friend. The Depression did not halt Kohlberg’s rise, but WWII forced a shutting down of activities, which resumed after 1945, and then closed again in 1949 after the Communist takeover of China. During the war, Kohlberg underwent his “conversion” to militant anticommunism when he grew increasingly furious over American criticism of the Kuomintang regime on the part of American liberals. Already in 1944, Kohlberg had located one of its chief targets: the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR), a private international body of national councils interested in Asian affairs. The IPR, according to Kohlberg, was infiltrated by Communists and Communist sympathizers who tried to influence American foreign policy in favour of the Communist Party of China<sup>119</sup>. In early 1950, as the “who loss China?” agitation ran at its height, the IPR, and especially Owen Lattimore editor of the IPR’s magazine *Pacific Affairs*, became the object of Joe McCarthy’s attacks during the Tydings Committee<sup>120</sup>. Since McCarthy’s

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<sup>116</sup> Kohlberg’s American-China Policy Association had an overwhelmingly Republican, conservative membership. Jack Samson, *The Flying Tiger: The True Story of General Claire Chennault and the U.S. 14<sup>th</sup> Air Force in China*, Guilford, First Lyons Press, 1987, 302-303.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 94-95. Kohlberg was a Taft Republican. In 1948 he contributed to Dewey’s campaign in spite being disappointed by the lack of focus on China and anticommunism in the GOP platform.. Joseph Keeley, *The China Lobby Man*, *op. cit.*, 219-224.

<sup>118</sup> Robert Herzstein, “Alfred Kohlberg: Global Entrepreneur and Hyper-Nationalist”, *Paper presented at The Historical Society Conference “Globalization, Empire, and Imperialism in Historical Perspective*, Chapel Hill, Jun. 3, 2006, 3.

<sup>119</sup> Lattimore had already been attacked by Kohlberg in an October 1945 article of *China Monthly*. Robert P. Newman, *Owen Lattimore and the “Loss” of China*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1992, 142-143.

<sup>120</sup> By its complete name the Subcommittee on the Investigation of Loyalty and State Department Employees.

charges against Lattimore appeared to be unsubstantiated, Kohlberg came to his rescue. He fed the Wisconsin Senator information he had amassed on Lattimore, notably his past defence of the Moscow Trials and his condemnations of U.S. policy towards Chinese Communists, whom he merely described as agrarian reformers<sup>121</sup>. McCarthy and Kohlberg remained friends until the former's death in 1957.

The reception Kohlberg organized in September 1952 for Schwarz at the Metropolitan Club, an elite institution founded by J.P. Morgan in 1891, allowed Schwarz to meet several figures active in both anticommunist networks and the China Lobby. Among attendees were two well-known journalists: Ralph de Toledano, conservative intellectual and writer for *Newsweek*, as well as Irene Kuhn, contractual columnist, former director at the NBC Corp. and former press relations head for Thomas Dewey's 1944 campaign<sup>122</sup>. Present also was Louis Budenz, a professional anticommunist who had helped Kohlberg in feeding information to McCarthy during the Tydings committee and was then seen as the nation's leading expert on communism. Joe McCarthy had just praised him in his book *The Fight for America* as the man who "testified in practically every case in which Communists were either convicted or deported over the past three years"<sup>123</sup>. There was also Edna Giesen, from the Columbia Lecture Bureau, which became in the following years one of the leading agencies sponsoring anticommunist educators, and Ogden Reid Jr., son of publisher Ogden Mills Reid who owned the *New York Herald Tribune*, future American ambassador to Israel and New York Republican Representative<sup>124</sup>.

Schwarz's speech before this crowd was an effective encapsulation of his favourite themes: dialectical materialism, godlessness as the root of communism, the grave ignorance of people as to the real theory and nature of communism is, and so on. Schwarz said he had lectured to "meetings of hundreds, civic meetings, Rotarians, Kiwanis, church groups, university gatherings", and yet had noticed a frightening unawareness and incomprehension of communism everywhere<sup>125</sup>. Schwarz mentions in the speech that he

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<sup>121</sup> Joseph Keeley, *The China Lobby Man*, *op. cit.*, 102.; David M. Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy So Immense*, *op. cit.*, 136-138.,

<sup>122</sup> Westbrook Pegler, "It Doesn't Seem to Have Taught Us Much. Pegler: Columnist Sees Intolerance", *The Desert News*, Tue., Aug. 21, 1946, 3.

<sup>123</sup> Joe McCarthy, *The Fight for America*, New York, Devin-Adair, 1952, 112.

<sup>124</sup> An., "Talk Isn't Cheap", *The Tuscaloosa News*, Sun., Aug. 20, 1967, 3.

<sup>125</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Portions of speech by Dr. Fred C. Schwarz of Sydney, Australia at New York, Sept. 5, 1952", *AKP*, Box 155, F. "Fred C. Schwarz", -1955.

has left medicine. At the same time, he compares communism to a disease. In effect, he is counting on the authority of his medical background in making such a statement:

“I left my practice because I am concerned about this disease, the disease of Communism. Probably it is going to kill more people in this country in the next ten years, than cancer will kill. It is a very very serious disease. Whenever the medical profession wants to combat a disease, the first thing that it does is embark on an expensive, extensive campaign of investigation of the cause of the disease, the laws of its origin, its mode of spread, and what conditions are favorable to its growth”<sup>126</sup>.

The “pathological” aspect of communism would become one of Schwarz’s favorite subjects. He often claimed seeing himself as a pathologist “who researches and reports the nature of that disease”<sup>127</sup>. Delivered in all seriousness by a medical man with a preacher’s eloquence, this message always proved effective. It surely worked before the Metropolitan Club’s crowd. Former NBC executive Frank E. Mason, who worked for the magazine *The Freeman*, published by the libertarian Foundation for Economic Education, thanked Kohlberg: “Rarely in recent years have I had as intellectually stimulating an evening as last Friday night”<sup>128</sup>.

Kohlberg now proved an invaluable ally. Schwarz described the China Lobby man as a “freedom-loving American Jew”, a friend and collaborator<sup>129</sup>. When Schwarz came back to New York weeks after the meeting, Kohlberg arranged for him a meeting with Clark Getts, a New York lecture agent who was interested in Schwarz. Also, Kohlberg sporadically fed the Australian information on communism from the anticommunist press. He sent letters of introduction and extracts of Schwarz’s speech to powerful people in the anticommunist world<sup>130</sup>. Schwarz was introduced by Kohlberg to nobody less than Chiang Kai-shek’s wife. In early 1953, she received a letter from the China Lobby man presenting the Australian, with a speech enclosed. “Dr Schwarz”, wrote Kohlberg to Taiwan’s first lady “has the ability to make the philosophical basis of Communism

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<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*; Communism is a threefold disease, he claimed: a bodily disease “because it kills”, a mental disease “because it is associated with systematized delusions not susceptible to rational argument”, and a spiritual disease “because it denies God, materializes man, robs him of spirit and soul, and, in the last analysis, even of mind itself and reduces him to the level of a beast of the field”. *Id.*, *Communism: A Disease!*, Houston, Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 5.

<sup>127</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 111.

<sup>128</sup> Frank E. Mason to Alfred Kohlberg, Sept. 9, 1952, *AKP*, Box 155, F. “Fred C. Schwarz”, -1955.

<sup>129</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 74.

<sup>130</sup> Alfred Kohlberg to Fred C. Schwarz, *AKP*, Oct. 8 1952; Oct. 15, 1952; Jan. 20 1953; 23 Jan. 1953, *Ibid.*



simple. I think you will find the condensation of his speech of interest”<sup>131</sup>. When Schwarz traveled a few years later to Taiwan, he was able to meet the presidential couple and found on the island networks that allowed him to establish a local branch on the Crusade.

As the end of 1952 drew near, Schwarz crossed the U.S. westward with plans to spend Christmas in Australia. He stopped in Iowa and met again Dr. Pietsch, who invited him to deliver a series of lectures at KXEL radio<sup>132</sup>. These lectures became the core of Schwarz’s first booklet in America, published by Pietsch’s “Evangelize America Program”: *The Heart, Mind, and Soul of Communism*. During this visit, the two men agreed to form the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. Schwarz had organized this second tour in the classic ad hoc fashion of the wandering preacher. However, he needed a more structured *modus operandi*, one that would allow people to reach him more easily on the road; one in which somebody would be in charge of advanced bookings; one that would print and distribute literature; one that would allow the potential inclusion of other lecturers sharing Schwarz’s vision, especially if he needed substitutes in cases when he was unavailable, and one that would allow the raising of money. In other words, he needed more than an agent; he needed an organization. Pietsch had all the appearances of a reliable partner. He was himself a good organizer and had plenty of contacts in the evangelical radio and church networks. He had a high opinion of Schwarz. His Walnut Street Baptist Church in Waterloo would provide a temporary headquarters for the organization. “Come back and we’ll form an anti-Communist movement”, Pietsch told him<sup>133</sup>.

The man with whom Schwarz chose to found the Crusade was a 61-year old who was originally a commercial traveler from Los Angeles. Pietsch began his religious career in the 1920’s by being associate pastor for the Church of the Open Door in Los Angeles, founded by evangelist R.A. Torrey, who also founded the Bible institute that eventually became BIOLA University. Like many traditionalists who deemed tasteless and obscene her flashy, ostentatious revivalism, Pietsch despised local competitor Aimee Semple McPherson, who reached the apex of her popularity in the late 1920’s. Pietsch made a

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<sup>131</sup> Alfred Kohlberg to Madame Chiang Kai-shek, *AKP*, Jan. 23, 1953; Madame Chiang Kai-shek to Alfred Kohlberg, Feb. 8, 1953, Box 28, F. “Generalissimo & Madame Chiang Kai-shek”.

<sup>132</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *The Heart, Mind and Soul*, *op. cit.*, 9.

<sup>133</sup> An., “Crusader Against Reds: Fred Charles Schwarz”, *New York Times*, Fri., Jun. 29, 1962, 5.

name for himself in evangelical circles when, in 1928, he flew to London prior to an evangelistic tour by Sister McPherson and appointed himself as her “press agent” before describing her in front of a puzzled Londonian press crowd as a “twentieth century Jezebel. She is as dangerous as a man who goes to a school house to sell poisoned candy”<sup>134</sup>. In the 1930’s, Pietsch became Executive Secretary of the Independent Fundamental Churches of America (a small fundamentalist group) and traveled extensively on missionary tours, while becoming known for his radio lectures where his theological creed supported a conservative interpretation of world politics (he once claimed the increase in chain stores was perhaps “Preparing the Way for the Mark of the Beast”; Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini and Roosevelt were “all working towards one end, that of absolute power vested in one man, an international dictator (...) We will have an anti-Christ in this international hook-up and then there will be the second coming of the real Christ”)<sup>135</sup>. During the war, Pietsch settled in Iowa and became pastor of Waterloo’s Walnut Baptist Church, where he started publishing his publication *Pastoral Call*. He associated with McIntire and became the ACCC’s main Midwestern representative<sup>136</sup>. Admittedly, Pietsch had McIntire’s limitation of not appreciating secular reality. However, he shared with Schwarz an interest in active anticommunism. Also, Schwarz probably sensed that his personality had indulgent qualities lacking in McIntire.

In late 1952, Schwarz was back in Southern California, where he was offered a \$100 honorarium for a televised evening talk at the First Congressional Church in Los Angeles<sup>137</sup>. He returned to Australia on December 16, 1952. He had established a strong foothold in America. The time had now come to, as he wrote Kohlberg, “return early in the New Year to carry the fight – bringing my family”<sup>138</sup>.

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<sup>134</sup> John Steele, “Enemy of Old Flays Aimee in London Pulpit: The Rev. Pietsch Scoffs at ‘Desert Story’”, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Thu., Sept. 27, 1928, 6.; An. “He Denounced Aimee”, *The Bismarck Tribune*, Thu., Oct. 11, 1928, 3.; An., “Evangelist Coming to Highland”, *The Hammond Times*, Thu. Feb. 20, 1936, 3.; An. “Bible Teacher Is Speaker At Meeting Here Thursday”, *The Sheboygan Press*, Fri., February 19, 1937, 11.; An. “Burton Avenue Baptist”, *Waterloo Daily Courier*, Fri., Oct. 7, 1938, 16. During WWII, the “Great Yellow Peril” of Japan was seen through the lens of Biblical prophecy. An., “Tent Meeting Continue”, *Waterloo Daily Courier*, Fri., Jul. 16, 1943, 6.

<sup>135</sup> An., “Evangelist Comes Sunday”, *The Hammond Times*, Fri., Sept. 8, 1933, 14.;

<sup>136</sup> An. “Bible Conference to be Held Here During Week-End”, *The Times Record of Troy*, Fri., Feb. 4, 1944, 10.

<sup>137</sup> Jacob D. Allen to Fred C. Schwarz, Oct. 30, 1952, letter reproduced in Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, op. cit. 204.

<sup>138</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Alfred Kohlberg, Nov. 29, 1952, *AKP*, Box 155, F. “Fred C. Schwarz”, -1955.

## 5 THE CHRISTIAN ANTI-COMMUNISM CRUSADE

“In the midst of all this, however, we are faced with a peculiar situation. Everywhere we find opposition to communism in the western world, but there is an amazing ignorance as to what communism is, what it believes, how it works, what it purposes to do, and the source of power which has led it to the present position throughout the world. I sincerely believe that every Christian should make it his business to study communism from stern to stern that we may have some understanding as to the nature of this great world-wide force.” - Billy Graham, 1951<sup>1</sup>

### 5.1 Professional Anticommunism

By abandoning his medical career and by settling permanently in America in early 1953, Schwarz became a professional anticommunist. For a long time, he disliked the expression, as he was of the view that it implied the idea of embracing Red-baiting out of personal financial interest. However, with time he made his peace with the concept of the professional anticommunist. He once told William F Buckley in 1967: “I didn’t know that there was anything particularly wrong with the word “professional”. If you go to a surgeon for a delicate operation, you prefer to go to a professional rather than an amateur, I presume”<sup>2</sup>.

A few professional anticommunists became famous. However, most were unknown to the general public. Their function was essential to the formulation, shaping and execution of policies aimed at curbing communism in the United States. Most federal and state governmental agencies active in the anti-Red fight by the late 1940’s had on their payroll these individuals whose unique characteristic was to make a living mostly or exclusively through the knowledge (real or alleged) that they had acquired on communism, and which they sold to anyone willing to pay them. Nonetheless, many like Schwarz were interested in educating and alerting the nation on the malevolence of communism. During the decade following WWII, the professional anticommunist “market” was dominated by informers, a subcategory featuring ex-Communists in leading roles. Ellen Schrecker observes that “the most important recruits to the anti-Communist cause during this period

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<sup>1</sup> Billy Graham, *Christianity vs. Communism*, Minneapolis, The Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, 1951, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in *Firing Line*, Episode 062, “The Decline of Anti-Communism”, *op. cit.*

were former fellow travelers and ex-Communists”<sup>3</sup>. In fact, Richard Gid Powers does not exaggerate when writing that during the height of their popularity in the 1930’s, the CPUSA and its fronts “became schools for anticommunists”, in that many officials expelled from the party, and others who broke from it, ended up becoming champions of McCarthyism<sup>4</sup>. In the late 1940’s, as the machinery of political repression got under way, former Communists offered their knowledge on American communism in the context congregational committee hearings, anticommunist trials and deportation proceedings<sup>5</sup>.

Luis Budenz, for whom Schwarz acted once as substitute lecturer in 1957, was a good example. Former union man and *Daily Worker* editor, he broke with communism in 1945 under the influence of Catholic bishop Fulton Sheen. He published a best-selling autobiography titled *This is My Life* in 1947 and became one of the FBI’s and HUAC’s most cherished witnesses, spending about 3,000 hours detailing the CPUSA’s internal functioning, as well as being the most in-demand expert witness on Communist theory in anticommunist trials. In 1953, he said he had earned about \$70,000 over a period of a few years for his expertise<sup>6</sup>. J.B. Matthews’s path was similar; engaged in a pacifist, pro-Soviet group in the 1930’s, his subsequent break with communism left him with much correspondence and letterheads with thousands of people, which became the foundation of “a lucrative career as consultant for clients ranging from Joe McCarthy to the Hearst Corporation”<sup>7</sup>. There was also Benjamin Mandel, formerly active in the New York City’s Teachers Union and managing editor of the *Daily Worker*, expelled from the CPUSA for right-wing deviationism in 1930. In the late 1930’s, he started a lucrative career as researcher and consultant for such clients as HUAC, the Federal State Department, and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee<sup>8</sup>. His anti-Red career spanned three decades.

Of course, there were also people, like Schwarz, who became professional anticommunists without ever having been Communists. Walter Steele’s knowledge of communism had been entirely self-taught. Steele ran a federation of patriotic

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, *The Age of McCarthy: A Brief History With Documents*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed., New York, Palgrave, 2002, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Gid Powers, *Not Without Honor*, *op. cit.*, 93.

<sup>5</sup> Ellen Schrecker, *The Age of McCarthy*, *op. cit.*, 16. During a meeting in 1947, FBI executives realized they knew too little on the CPUSA, resulting in the inclusion of several ex-Communists on the agency’s payroll. Professional anticommunist Benjamin Mandel was hired at this moment. Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes*, *op. cit.*, 42-43.

<sup>6</sup> Herbert L. Packer, *Ex-Communist Witnesses: Four Studies in Fact Finding*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1962, 124.

<sup>7</sup> Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes*, *op. cit.*, 44.

<sup>8</sup> John W. Finney, “Senator Oppose White House Curb; Balk at Limiting Authority to Make Commitments”, *New York Times*, Thu., Nov. 2, 1967, 9.; Ad, “Benjamin Mandel” (Obituary), *Ibid.*, Aug. 10, 1973, 34. Mandel retired in 1967 and died six years later at 82.

organizations and for years had compiled thousands of names he had picked up in left-wing publications. In 1938, he appeared before HUAC with a list of 640 organizations he had identified as Communist, including the American Civil Liberties Union, the Boy Scouts of America and the Camp Fire Girls (he later was among those accusing actor Charlie Chaplin of being a Red)<sup>9</sup>. He later became a regular name on FBI and several agencies' payrolls<sup>10</sup>. Among professional anticommunists, Herbert Philbrick was the top celebrity. His career became closely linked with Schwarz's. Philbrick was a 25 year-old advertising executive from Boston when, in 1940, he attended meetings of a pacifist group which he quickly realized was Communist-controlled<sup>11</sup>. He told FBI staffers about the situation, who suggested he might become an informant, which he did. In the next eight years, he ascended in the CPUSA and fed the FBI internal information about the party. The FBI decided to use him in April 1949 to testify at the Dennis trial, where twelve CPUSA leaders accused of seditious conspiracy.

The Dennis trial, taking place from January to October 1949, was one of the main highlights in the history of the anticommunist profession. In a context where the evidence to support the charge of seditious conspiracy was pretty scarce, Marxist-Leninist theory, and especially Lenin's most fiery passages, became quite useful for the prosecution<sup>12</sup>. The task assigned to Budenz, Philbrick and other ex-Communists was to demonstrate that Communist writings, especially calls to revolutionary violence, should be taken at face value. At the same time, it was important to show that Communist calls to peace and non-violence were only deceitful attempts to conceal the revolutionary objective. In sum, the prosecution wished to show that Reds cannot be trusted, no matter what they say or do. As previously mentioned, Schwarz attributed this duplicity to applied dialectics; Louis Budenz, for his part, spoke of to the Leninist use of the so-called "Aesopian language". The strategy worked: the whole CPUSA leadership was declared guilty. Philbrick published a best-selling autobiography, *I Led Three Lives*, which was adapted for the

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<sup>9</sup> Charles J. Maland, *Chaplin and American Culture: The Evolution of A Star*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1989, 262.

<sup>10</sup> Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes*, op. cit., 43.

<sup>11</sup> James Stuart Olson, "Philbrick, Herbert", *Historical Dictionary of the 1950's*, Westport, Greenwood Press, 2000, 223.

<sup>12</sup> Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes*, op. cit., 196-200.

screen, ran 117 episodes between 1953 and 1956, and was one of the 1950's most popular TV shows. By 1960, Philbrick had earned more than \$264,000 with the show<sup>13</sup>.

During their heyday, professional anticommunists were supported by the public and government alike. Also, they “got each other jobs and found financial backing for one another’s projects”, writes Schrecker<sup>14</sup>. Many of them shared a common experience as disillusioned idealists; others felt their lives were destined to be devoted to a personal anticommunist crusade. Regardless of their differences, professional anticommunists were of one mind that Communist writings were the key to grasping communism. Needless to say, their approach was tainted by their bias. As the Dennis trial shows, their eagerness to take Communist theory at face value stood in an ambiguous relationship with their eagerness to see Communist theory as a coded language. The approach they took ultimately depended on circumstances.

On his first and second tours in the U.S., Schwarz made a niche for himself as an anticommunist educator. He was one of the first of such public teachers whose numbers grew considerably in the following years. The growth of public anticommunist education corresponded with a slackening of Cold War tensions. Prior to this, making a living out of anticommunism usually involved employment in an intelligence division, or as an expert witness on some Congressional committee. It was only when tensions began to subside (around late 1952) that professional anticommunists began to drift into the realm of public education. In the fall of 1952, the GOP’s presidential victory put the drive for hunting Reds in the government in an uncertain position, since it was no longer an essential means for angry Republicans to take back power in Washington. Earl Latham summarized the Republican view: “The frustrations of twenty years had been eased”<sup>15</sup>. After Eisenhower took office, McCarthy grew increasingly isolated in his own party. Spring 1954 marked the collapse of both his influence on national politics and his grab on

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<sup>13</sup> Cyndy Hendershot, *Anti-Communism and Popular Culture*, *op. cit.*, 117-118. The figure on Philbrick’s royalties is taken from ZIV Television Programs, Inc. to Herbert Philbrick, “Statement of Commissions due for Quarter Ended December 31, 1959, Per Contract Agreement”, *Herbert Philbrick Papers*, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., (hereafter *HPP*), Box 18, “I Led Three Lives – Financial Statements, 1954-1964”, F. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes*, *op. cit.*, 45.

<sup>15</sup> Earl Latham, *The Communist Controversy in Washington*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1966, 400.; David M. Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy So Immense*, *op. cit.*, 258. It is also noteworthy that the issue of Red domestic infiltration never had the traction at the popular level many think: only twice between 1951 and 1954 did Gallup polls show that more than 10 percent of the American public thought it was the nation’s most important problem David P. Thelen, “The Public Against the Historians: The Gallup Poll, 1935-1971”, *Reviews in American History*, Vol. 4, No. 4, Dec. 1976, 616.

daily headlines. A few months later, Democrats regained control of the Congress, after a midterm campaign where, for the first time in five years, the Red issue did not dominate national political debates<sup>16</sup>. Meanwhile, the military conflict in Korea stalled, and the American public was increasingly dissatisfied with U.S. participation in the war<sup>17</sup>. In summer 1952, the Marshall Plan officially ended, leaving Western Europe's infrastructures, economies and industries rebuilt and ready to assume more responsibilities in the Western Alliance, thus relieving the U.S. from part of its burden in terms of communism containment. On March 5, 1953, Joseph Stalin died, initiating a two-year power struggle in the Soviet Union to succeed him<sup>18</sup>. Upon Stalin's death, Soviet foreign policy went into a phase of reassessment<sup>19</sup>.

By the mid-1950's, the expression "peaceful coexistence" had appeared. The concept raised the prospect of an uneasy, indefinite state of global stability between two competing world blocs. The mere idea of coexistence was rejected by most anticommunist activists, who persisted in wishing to "liberate enslaved nations" and "defeat communism". While Schwarz always emphasized the need to defend free peoples rather than aggressively liberate the unfree behind the Iron Curtain, he also affirmed that any idea "that we can "negotiate" or "coexist" or "compromise" with this cancer is plainly symptomatic of the mental illness on which [the Communists] depend for their ultimate success"<sup>20</sup>. Nonetheless, coexistence became a factual and undeniable reality everybody had to live with. This new geopolitical state of affairs was confirmed in August 1954, when the Taiwan Strait Crisis over the islands of Quemoy and Matsu quickly ended as it became clear that both sides were unwilling to take military action. As Walter Lippmann wrote at the time, the new balance of power and the appearance of nuclear weapons "made the cost of war prohibitive to all belligerents", and "the two great coalitions have no alternative to a policy of co-existence"<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> Jeff Broadwater, *Eisenhower and the Anticommunist Crusade*, *op. cit.*, 163.

<sup>17</sup> In August 1950, 65 percent of Americans polled by Gallup considered the war was worth fighting for, while only 20 said otherwise. In the summer of 1953, at the moment a ceasefire treaty was signed, ending the fighting in the Korean peninsula, the trend was completely inverted, with only 27 percent claiming the fighting had been worth it and 62 saying otherwise. Eugene R. Wittkopf and James M. McCormick, "The Cold War Consensus: Did it Exist?", *loc. cit.*, 645.

<sup>18</sup> William Thompson, *Khrushchev: A Political Life*, New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 1995, 142.

<sup>19</sup> Roger Buckley, *The United States in the Asia-Pacific Since 1945*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, 118.

<sup>20</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, quoted in Paul Harvey, "Slow Boat to Siberia by 1973 Unless We Shake Off Torpor", *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 8, 1958. Document sent to the author from the Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>21</sup> Walter Lippmann, "'Prohibitive Cost of Nuclear War Forces Acceptance of Coexistence", *St. Petersburg Times*, Wed., Dec. 22, 1954, 6.

Changing circumstances brought changing attitudes. As coexistence set in, there was growing demand for information pertaining to communism. The Red menace was now perceived as a permanent reality that would not be militarily eradicated in the foreseeable future. Understanding communism became an important feature in grasping world reality as a whole. “Apparently a major shift in public thinking appeared at that time [the mid-1950’s]” Jorstad noted. “Instead of worrying about the contamination of one’s mind as a result of reading on communism, now ultraconservatives were stating that if Americans knew their enemy, they could the more easily defeat him”<sup>22</sup>.

By the mid-1950’s, the anticommunist “educational” sector (i.e. the opportunity to earn money by educating the public) gradually grew in importance, while employment opportunities -especially blacklisting- shrunk elsewhere. For most of those who had spent years as informers and expert witnesses for anticommunist prosecution teams, the time had come to find a new way to make a living. By 1955, HUAC, the FBI and other government institutions began to run low on targets. The CPUSA no longer existed as a viable political entity<sup>23</sup>. The U.S. Supreme Court, took a sharp turn towards civil liberties after the 1954 appointment of Chief Justice Earl Warren. The prosecutorial apparatus established in the 1930’s, initially targeting Communists but also used during WWII against pro-fascist groups, was severely weakened between 1956 and 1958 by a series of rulings invalidating its most important laws<sup>24</sup>.

Some professional blacklisters retained employment for a few more years. HUAC continued its work under the leadership of a new chairman, Representative Francis Walter from Pennsylvania, nominated after Democrats regained the control of the Congress, and whose tenure extended until 1963. Disappointing several liberals, Walter tried to maintain the committee’s Red-baiting zeal. As McCarthyism was fading nationally, it developed in the South amid the political and social turmoil produced by the

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<sup>22</sup> Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Doomsday*, *op. cit.*, 64.

<sup>23</sup> From its 1938 peak of 100,000 members, it had been reduced to not more than 3,000 members in 1958 -many of them informants-, and its newspaper *The Daily Worker* had ceased publication. Ceaseless repression by public authorities, years of extremely bad publicity, as well as the storm of disillusion that swept its membership when Nikita Khrushchev’s 1956 “secret speech” denounced Stalin’s atrocities and the Soviet invasion of Hungary the same year: the long plight of the party had taken its toll. Shannon Granville, “American Communist Party”, in Kenneth F. Warren, ed., *Encyclopaedia of U.S. Campaigns, Elections, and Electoral Behavior*, Vol. 2 Thousand Oaks, SAGE Publications, 2008, 29.

<sup>24</sup> Supreme Court decision names in brackets: Fifth Amendment dismissals (Slochower), state sedition laws (Nelson), investigation of beliefs and affiliations (Sweezy), the Smith Act (Yates), the FBI-informer system (Jencks), the power of congressional investigation (Watkins) and the possibility for professional groups to block admissions based on alleged radicalism (Schware). David Caute, *The Great Fear*, *op. cit.*, 156.



breakdown of the racial status quo after 1954. A handful of blacklists thus found professional opportunities there, since authorities in Southern states were eager to discredit civil rights organizations by tying them to communism and the CPUSA. J.B. Matthews, former HUAC chief investigator who had been forced to resign as Joe McCarthy's aide after claiming that Protestant clergymen were the largest single group supporting communism in America, was used as an expert in Arkansas, Mississippi and Florida to attest to the thesis of Communist infiltration in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)<sup>25</sup>. Manning Johnson, formerly involved with HUAC since 1949, became star witness for Southern investigative committees to whom he frequently expressed his contention that "many African Americans had become pawns of the Kremlin"<sup>26</sup>.

By the second half of the 1950's, most of the professional anticommunists still active had taken the educational turn. They became lecturers, advisors for educational departments, school book writers, contractual columnists for newspapers, or expert advisors for any institution or corporation willing to hire them. Herbert Philbrick exemplifies the shift. Transformed into a national celebrity by the Dennis trial and the popularity of the TV show *I Led Three Lives* between 1953 and 1956, Philbrick embraced a lucrative lecturing career, as his career as expert witness wound down<sup>27</sup>. He spent following two decades delivering speeches before civic clubs, patriotic rallies, schools, churches and seminars. Throughout the second half of the 1950's, writes Jorstad, almost all major institutions in America "had at least one ex-Communist, or former F.B.I. agent, or retired military leader to write or lecture the customers on Marxism-Leninism, Soviet foreign policy, or internal subversion"<sup>28</sup>.

By the late 1950's, education on communism had become a multi-million dollar industry. Any citizen willing to acquire knowledge on communism had an embarrassment

<sup>25</sup> Numan Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South During the 1950's*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1997, 187-188.

<sup>26</sup> Jeff Woods, *Black Struggle Red Scare: Segregation and Anti-Communism in the South, 1948-1968*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana University Press, 2004, 98-99.

<sup>27</sup> Philbrick's time as blacklister extended until 1953. The two most notorious instances of people identified as Communists by Philbrick were a Pennsylvania librarian by the name of Mary Knowles, named by Philbrick as a member of a Boston Communist cell in 1953, and Dr. Dirk Struik, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Professor, who attended several Communist meetings and was suspended by the MIT in 1950. He was reinstated by the institution in 1956. William Edwards, "Quiz Librarian on \$5,000 Gift by Ford Group" *Chicago Tribune*, Sat., Jul. 30, 1955, B10.; An., "Struik Again Questioned", *Christian Science Monitor*, Tue., Dec. 18, 1956, 7.; An., "Education: Report Card", *Mon.*, Oct. 15, 1956, Available online at < <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,865536,00.html> > (accessed February 28, 2009).

<sup>28</sup> Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Doomsday*, *op. cit.*, 64.

of riches: well-edited, affordable accounts on any dimension of communism were readily available. This literature was to be found in bookstores or distributed in civic clubs, corporation meetings, churches and patriotic rallies. Anticommunist lectures were accompanied by the sale of educational material. “Usually”, Jorstad writes, “the speaker and his associated would also offer a complete line of books, pamphlets, tapes, films, records, and other materials suitable for the anti-Communist education at most age levels”<sup>29</sup>. “There’s a difference”, Schwarz said about the Crusade, “between the educational and the police function. We’re not an investigative organization – people ask, “How many Communists have you uncovered?” None – none at all – that’s not what we try to do”<sup>30</sup>.

## 5.2 The CACC: Structure, Early Finances

When Schwarz returned to America in January 1953, he planned to resume his lecturing, reconvene with Pietsch and found the anticommunist organization he had in mind. Lillian and the family would join him later in the year, and the Schwarz clan would settle permanently in the U.S. On February 9, 1953, he was to deliver the only speaking engagement which had scheduled before his arrival. This talk, “The Heart, Mind and Soul of Communism” (printed into a booklet by Pietsch) took place at the L.I.F.E. Bible College of Angeles, training ground for preachers and missionaries of the Foursquare Gospel Church<sup>31</sup>. As on the previous two tours, a chain reaction started. A businessman and foreign missions enthusiast named Carl Williams invited Schwarz to address a meeting of Christian Businessmen in Long Beach the day after<sup>32</sup>. Williams contacted the Rev. James D. Colbert, executive director of the Long Beach Youth for Christ (YFC) organization, who had already seen Schwarz on television, and who had been trying to contact the Australian. Colbert invited Schwarz to address the Long Beach YFC Saturday

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> Richard Steele, “Schwarz – Historian, Not Red-Baiter”, *Minnesota Tribune*, Sun., Apr. 4, 17.

<sup>31</sup> Although this detail was unmentioned by Schwarz, this was not his first, but his second stop to sister Aimee’s church, since he had already come in October 1952 to address the Angelus Auditorium. Fred C. Schwarz, “Births and Babies”, *loc. cit.*, 19-21.; An., “NEWSFRONT- Convention”, *Foursquare Magazine*, Feb., 1953, Vol. 26, No. 2, 17.

<sup>32</sup> *Id.*, “The Great Challenge”, *loc. cit.*, 1.

rally. Colbert wrote of Schwarz: “When I heard him I was impressed with his fascinating eloquence, clear cut logic, deep conviction and Spiritual dedication”<sup>33</sup>.

In Colbert, Schwarz had found a formidable organizer who, along with Pietsch, formed the Crusade’s original triumvirate. A California native, Colbert was a handsome, John-Wayne-looking man in his late thirties, tall and with a sportsman’s physical attributes<sup>34</sup>. He had been for some years a self-employed truck driver before embracing Baptist ministry. Trained in BIOLA and the Los Angeles Baptist Theological Seminary, he had been pastor in a church in Pedley, Southern California. He was then recruited by the YFC movement, the fundamentalist response to the emergence of the “high-school age culture”, and which proved immensely popular in the postwar years. Colbert became YFC’s Long Beach branch director in the early 1950’s. Under Colbert’s leadership, Long Beach’s YFC grew into one of the most active units on the West Coast. Colbert excelled at organizing the flashy YFC meetings, which “catered to teenage audiences with snappy choruses, instrumental solos, magicians, and Bible trivia contests”, and where frenzied teenagers could see stars such as Billy Graham, singing cowboy Stuart Hamblen or humorist Bob Ringer<sup>35</sup> Schwarz told Colbert about his project for a new Christian, anticommunist educational organization. Before Schwarz left Colbert, his new collaborator managed to get him a series of bookings in churches in Phoenix, Arizona.

After few weeks later, Schwarz returned to Long Beach, where he spent a month lecturing, and where his new friends (Williams and Colbert) could accommodate him. He began to see the opportunities this coastal town offered<sup>36</sup>. In 1956, the Crusade’s expanding resources permitted moving the headquarters from Pietsch’s church in Iowa to Long Beach. Ravaged by an earthquake in 1933, Long Beach had been rebuilt the following decade amid the 1940’s boom and had evolved into a typical Western booming

<sup>33</sup> James D. Colbert, “Director of Missions”, *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 1958, 5.

<sup>34</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “The Life and Death of Rev. James Colbert, 1914-1996”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jul. 1, 1996, 1-2.

<sup>35</sup> Larry Eskridge, ““One Way”: Billy Graham, the Jesus Generation, and the Idea of an Evangelical Youth Culture”, *Church History*, Vol. 67, No. 1, Mar. 1998, 85. While juvenile delinquency emerged as a national problem in America in the postwar era, YFC rallies enjoyed their greatest expansion, allowing notably young flashy evangelist Billy Graham to become a star between 1945 and 1947. Jon Pahl, *Youth Ministry in Modern America: 1930 to the Present*, Peabody, Hendrickson Publishers, 2000, 58.; An., “Hamblen to Star in Youth Rally At Auditorium”, *Long Beach Independent*, Mon., Feb. 12, 1951.; An., “Billy Graham Calls Long Beach to Christ”, *Ibid.*, Sat., Feb. 17, 1951, 10.; An., “YFC Slates Pilgrimage Play Film”, *Ibid.*, Sat., Mar. 24, 1951, 11.; An., “YFC Rally Tonight”, *Ibid.*, Sat., Nov. 17, 1951, 6.; An., “Youth for Christ Rally Set Tonight”, *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, Wed., Dec. 26, 1951, A-5.; An., “YFC Bible Conclave in Second Session”, *Ibid.*, Thu., Dec. 27, 1951, B-13.

<sup>36</sup> Ad, “Kiwanis Club of Long Beach”, *Independent Press-Telegram*, Wed., Apr. 8, 1953, C9.; An., “What Ministers Say in Long Beach Pulpits”, *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, Sat., Apr. 11, 1953, A5.; An., “Australian to Speak at Breakfast Forum”, *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, Tue., Apr. 14, 1953, B2.; An., “Communism Like Cancer in Workings, C of C Told”, *Press-Telegram*, Wed., Apr. 15, 1953, B2.; An., “Red Conquest Blueprint to Be Discussed”, *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, Sat., Apr. 18, 1953, A5.

area, with an annual growth rate exceeding 10 percent<sup>37</sup>. In the early 1950's, this community of about 250,000 souls enjoyed the mild Mediterranean-type climate which characterized Southern California, but with a southwest breeze that gave substantially better air quality than most of the region's cities<sup>38</sup>. After the Crusade's founding, Schwarz rented a cottage in Long Beach and Lillian and the kids came over. However, seasonal differences resulted in the family's eldest son John (then aged 11) being enrolled in a class that was a year and a half below his level. Schwarz was constantly absent from home, as he had been in the last three years. Dissatisfied, Lillian and the children moved back to Australia after only one year in America<sup>39</sup>. In 1955, Schwarz's medical practice in Sydney, which had remained open until then, officially closed. Lillian and the kids returned to North Strathfield, Australia. For the next four decades, Schwarz's life would take place in the U.S., broken by trips back to Australia. "There has never been any doubt in my mind that what my father was doing was important and that it was right", once said Schwarz's elder son John, who nonetheless found demanding the absence of his father for long periods of time. "I must say that, in truth, it was quite difficult. It was difficult for all the family, but possibly more so for my younger brother and sister"<sup>40</sup>.

By May 1953, Schwarz embarked on a Midwestern tour that marked the official beginning of the CACC. In Waterloo, Iowa, he reconvened with Pietsch, and with the help from Leonard Bosgraf, Chicago attorney from Fisher, Bosgraf & MacKenzie, they incorporated on May 12, 1953, the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. Schwarz was the CACC's only full-time employee, with the official function of main lecturer and "executive director". In the first years, this title was used interchangeably with that of "managing director", often found in newsletters and letterheads. Two weeks later, the organization received its charter from the state of Iowa<sup>41</sup>. Pietsch informed his radio audience that a group of faithful Christians had just founded a new organization dedicated to informing the public on the danger of communism. "God", he announced,

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<sup>37</sup> Gerald D. Nash, *The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War*, Lincoln and London, University of Nebraska Press, 1985, 56.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>39</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 109. It remains unclear when was the exact moment Schwarz's family moved back to its native country. However, the Crusade newsletter for November 1954 shows that it was already done by the fall of that year. W.E. Pietsch, "Dear Fellowship Member", *CACC Newsletter*, Nov. 1954, 1.

<sup>40</sup> Quoted in *CACC Newsletter*, Apr. 15, 1990, 7.

<sup>41</sup> An., "To Incorporate Anti-Red Group", *Waterloo Daily Courier*, Wed., May 27, 1953, 30.

“has raised up Dr. Fred Schwarz from Sydney, Australia, as a special messenger on this vital subject”<sup>42</sup>. Pietsch officially became president, with part-time duties as radio lecturer and speaker. James Colbert became part-time organizational manager, and was hired on a contractual basis. Robert Sackett, a man from Waterloo who owned a small printing business, was in charge of printed material. The CACC’s articles of incorporation stated that the organization’s first purpose was:

“To combat communism by means of lectures in schools, colleges, civic clubs, servicemen’s organizations and other similar organizations and through radio and television broadcasts and by providing courses for missionaries and others to be used in Bible schools and seminaries, and the holding of religious and evangelistic services in churches, and through the publication of books, pamphlets and other literature and by all other appropriate means”<sup>43</sup>.

In addition, the articles of incorporation included a statement of faith, which was an exact replication of the ACCC’s. It proclaimed among other things the “plenary Divine inspiration of the Scriptures in the original languages, their consequent inerrancy and infallibility”, Jesus Christ’s sinless nature, his birth of the Virgin Mary, his substitutionary, expiatory death and resurrection and the necessity of maintaining “the purity of the Church in doctrine and life”<sup>44</sup>.

Schwarz thought up the organization’s name, which he claimed was in harmony with his beliefs and goals: “We believed that God existed; that Christian doctrines were true while Communist doctrines were delusional; and that the Communist danger was real”<sup>45</sup>. The name came to be a source of a few problems. It led the organization to be often confused with Billy James Hargis’ Christian Crusade. This misperception was made worse by the fact that both were anticommunist organizations whose respective leaders had ties with McIntire. By the late 1950’s, as the CACC began to move into the mainstream, some claimed the name pigeonholed the organization as fundamentalist. Others thought the name excluded non-Christians, or even implied that they were pro-

<sup>42</sup> Stephen Holt, “American Anti-Communist”, *loc. cit.*, 1.

<sup>43</sup> “Articles of Incorporation of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – A Corporation not for Pecuniary Profit” – Incorporation Form, Approved May 12, 1953 by Melvin D. Synhorst, Secretary of State, Iowa, *Internal Revenue Service – Exempt Organizations Determination* (hereafter *IRS-EOD*), Form 4506-A Request – Requested July 30, 2008.

<sup>44</sup> “By-Laws of Christian Anti-Communism Crusade” - *Ibid.*; “Constitution and By-Laws of the American Council of Christian Churches – Article II, Doctrinal Statement”, *ACCC-ICCC Col.*, RG 01, Box 466 A, F. 1 “American Council of Christian Churches – Constitution and By-Laws, 1941”, 2.

<sup>45</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 106.

Communist<sup>46</sup>. Schwarz's own collaborators often suggested changing the name, but the crusader remained stubbornly opposed to any such idea. For him, the CACC's name summed up his whole approach. Always committed to the individualistic cultural paradigm that located the best form of social action as rooted in personal motivations, he stated:

“My personal motivation is a Christian motivation. I am a narrow-minded, Bible believing Baptist. I am not ashamed of it. I tell everyone everywhere I go. (...) What we need is multiplicity, not unity. It is foolish to cancel out the Protestant motivation, the Catholic motivation, and the Jewish motivation in a helpless unity. Let each come to this struggle against Communism with his own personal motivation”<sup>47</sup>.

The Crusade logo was designed by an unknown artist. It consisted of the organization's slogan, “Evangelistic, Educational, Dedicational” written in a ring. In the center of stood an armoured knight blowing an antique trumpet and holding a Bible. In the crest of his Roman-style helmet was written the word “Salvation”. The words “Righteousness” and “Truth” were written on his armour. This kitschy image remained the CACC's logo until it was gradually replaced by a more sober symbol composed of the entangled Crusade acronym's letters.

The Crusade was originally conceived as an institutional apparatus through which an anticommunist mass organization could be built and expanded on. When incorporated, the CACC's by-laws created a board of directors. Members of the organization were to meet once a year “for the purpose of electing directors and for the transaction of our other business as may come before the meeting”<sup>48</sup>. Members were also to organize CACC activities on their own at the local level, thus propagating anticommunism wherever they might live. They were free to organize whatever activity they wished, providing it was in accordance with the CACC's principles and followed a formal written notification to the organization's leadership<sup>49</sup>. Though membership fees were not indicated in the incorporation documents, the Crusade's first newsletters show that a \$10 annual

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<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Id.*, “Will the Kremlin Conquer America By 1973?”, *loc. cit.*, 24.

<sup>48</sup> “Articles of Incorporation of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – A Corporation not for Pecuniary Profit” – Incorporation Form, Approved May 12, 1953 by Melvin D. Synhorst, Secretary of State, Iowa, *IRS-EOD*, Form 4506-A Request – Requested July 30, 2008, 4.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

membership fee was established by 1955 and the possibility of a life membership for \$100<sup>50</sup>. As in other such organizations, members became the Crusade's logistical spine. They received and diffused the newsletter or other promotional material, provided financial support, fed the central office with information pertinent to the good fight, and formed the core of volunteers who helped set up CACC events.

Yet the Crusade, like other enterprises centered mainly on a single individual, was never renowned for the quality of its membership life. CACC membership did not confer any privilege besides the right to vote for members of the board of directors, and there is not a single instance in several decades of Crusade history where it seems that members held a reunion. From the mid-1960's onward, Crusade literature and promotional material ceased to solicit membership affiliations. By then, both Crusade officials and supporters probably realized that membership gimmicks were not essential since Schwarz remained the one who ultimately called all the organization's important shots; moreover, membership was not necessary to receive the CACC newsletter, attend its events or make financial contributions. Members and sympathizers alike were always free to belong to whatever other group suited them, and Schwarz, albeit sometimes privately critical of other groups and leaders, never imposed a ban on any organization to his members.

The Crusade never developed into a solid, durable mass organization akin to the John Birch Society, with its sophisticated, hierarchical national apparatus, tight networks of local chapters, secret membership and heavy emphasis on recruitment. Of course, the Crusade had a strong logistical impact on the American right, as its most successful schools of anticommunism constituted an important training ground for grassroots conservatives. However, these schools were made possible by the participation of hundreds, in some cases thousands, of grassroots militants, the overwhelming majority of whom were not CACC members. In 1962, in a confidential memo sent to Schwarz, short-lived adviser Marvin Liebman suggested that the Australian develop a more coherent approach aimed at building a serious mass organization. Liebman described the CACC as a "barnstorming" operation that educated, stirred up, and urged citizenry to collaborate with any group that appeared useful in the anticommunist fight. "I would suggest",

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<sup>50</sup> W. E. Pietsch, "Dear Friend and Member", *CACC Newsletter*, Jan. 1955, 2.

Liebman wrote, “that this is not quite sufficient and that a continuing organization -no matter how informal- should be in existence to continue educational work which would stimulate broader action”<sup>51</sup>. However, organizational concepts such as those promoted by Liebman were outside of Schwarz’s needs. The reality was that the Crusade remained primarily a vehicle for Schwarz’s lectures. The Australian was unwilling to sacrifice his position as the leader, the driving force, in order to build a mass membership. Of course, the Crusade’s loose, informal structure allowed its leadership more latitude in relationships with members, and the organization was seldom embarrassed by local actions taken by supporters. Yet, the failure to build a national organization made the Crusade more vulnerable to controversies, bad press coverage and attacks from opponents, since in bad times, it could not rely on a core pool of members from whom absolute dedication could always be demanded<sup>52</sup>. This explains in part why the CACC suffered more than other groups when American grassroots conservatism groups came under attack in the early 1960’s.

The CACC’s first tax report submitted to the IRS in May 1954, and detailing its first year of activity, showed a total income of \$18,862, of which 72 percent (\$13,608) was composed of “offerings”, which was a term denoting both donations and lecturing fees<sup>53</sup>. These usually went hand in hand: any lecture was an opportunity for a fundraising pitch. During these first years when CACC activity was still centered on the religious world, church audiences constituted the spine of the organization’s finances. “The primary means of support”, Schwarz later wrote, “came from offerings taken after speaking to church groups. (...) While most gifts were small, they enabled the Crusade to survive and grow”<sup>54</sup>. The selling of promotional material, including the CACC’s first four booklets, netted \$4079.00.

Like most any other newly-created enterprise, the Crusade required immense efforts from its staff, especially since both Pietsch and Schwarz decided to apply a “pay as you

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<sup>51</sup> Marvin Liebman to Fred C. Schwarz, Apr. 5, 1962, *MLiebP*, Box B11, F. Fred Schwarz.

<sup>52</sup> Here, the Crusade might exemplify the “strictness” theory of organizational vitality, already advanced by several theorists on religion for whom stricter requirements produce higher levels of commitments from members’ part. See Dean M. Kelley, *Why Conservative Churches are Growing*, *op. cit.*; Laurence Iannaccone, “A Formal Model of Church and Sect”, *loc. cit.*, 241-268, Christian Smith, *American Evangelicalism*, *op. cit.*, 71-73.

<sup>53</sup> George Rucker, “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – Notes on Tax Exemption Application File – Inspected by Rucker 10/17/62”, *GRC*, Box 364, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial”, 3.

<sup>54</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 106.



go” policy. This freed the Crusade from debt, but demanded much time, energy and financial involvement (Pietsch gave for instance \$300 from his own pocket to the organization)<sup>55</sup>. During the Crusade’s first two years, Schwarz had a full-time position but no salary. The Crusade covered only his important traveling, eating and lodging expenses. The decision to bring the Schwarz family back to Australia put a strain on the Crusade’s finances. The family transportation return cost of \$1856 (paid by the Crusade), to the organization only netting a small surplus of \$1040<sup>56</sup>. But while Schwarz did not need a salary and was happy with virtually nothing, Lillian and the three kids needed some financial support. The solution was the founding of a CACC “Australian office”, with Lillian Schwarz becoming secretary. It absorbed in two years more than \$12,057, an unknown proportion of which was directly paid to Lillian as an annual salary (in the following years, her annual wage was established at \$5,400). In the early 1960’s, the IRS suspected that this Australian branch was for the most part a means to provide a decent living to the Schwarz family. From the beginning it consisted mostly of Schwarz’s relatives, friends and admirers. The branch organized radio programs, disseminated literature and held anticommunist events<sup>57</sup>. The Australian CACC was never financially self-sufficient and depended on the central U.S. branch<sup>58</sup>.

Schwarz’s relentless touring paid off: in its second fiscal year, the CACC’s income had almost doubled, rising to \$34,155, of which \$20,272 (60 percent) was brought in through Schwarz’s lecturing fees. Book sales had reached \$4,927, and private contributions \$8,628. Higher revenues allowed the hiring of part-time field workers who could substitute for Schwarz and also the hiring of booking agents (\$1,550). Once again, neither Pietsch nor Schwarz accepted a salary, but their expenses were reimbursed by the organization. Pietsch, worked mainly in the CACC’s Waterloo headquarters and handed administrative duties, promotional work, and did some radio lectures (\$3,500 in

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>56</sup> George Rucker, “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – Notes on Tax Exemption Application File – Inspected by Rucker 10/17/62”, *GRC*, Box 364, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial”, 3.

<sup>57</sup> Elton Wilson, “Dear Christian Friend”, Fundraising letter, Oct. 27, 1962. Elton Wilson, who became Director of the Australian CACC, was one of Schwarz’s friends since 1946.

<sup>58</sup> In a fundraising letter from 1965, Aussie CACC Director Elton Wilson, one of Schwarz’s personal friends, lamented that “the ordinary American people, who are our main supporters in the United States, are subsidizing the Australian Crusade’s attempts to keep Australia free.” *Id.*, “Dear Christian Friend”, Fundraising letter, Sept. 28, 1965. Wilson, a businessman, knew Schwarz since 1946. *Id.*, Obituary Speech at Fred C. Schwarz’s Funeral Ceremony, Jan. 29, 2009, private DVD recording. Sent to the Author by the Schwarz family.

expenses). Schwarz's expenses were obviously much higher: 7,780\$ in travel and lodging alone<sup>59</sup>. The CACC's doubling increase in income in 1954-1955 coincided with Schwarz rising popularity among secular institutions, which were better placed to pay more than small churches.

Early 1954 saw the creation of the Crusade newsletter, sent to any person or institution showing receptiveness to the Crusade's message<sup>60</sup>. The costs of printing and distributing the newsletter cannot be gauged exactly since they were included in the broader expenses pertaining to printing and advertising (\$3,792 in the second year). Schwarz always remained the newsletter's main contributor. Still, it often included texts from other collaborators. Until the 1960's it usually came out every second month. By then, the publication appeared on a regular, bi-weekly basis, and the format improved. In its first years, the CACC newsletter devoted most of its space to accounts of lecture tours by Schwarz, with some space granted to other speakers. Schwarz wrote material which he sent to Pietsch in Waterloo, who usually added some reflections of his own. The whole thing was printed by Robert Sackett's local printing service -later replaced by Morris printing, from Indianapolis- and mailed out<sup>61</sup>. The irregular rhythm of the 1950 issues attests to the difficulty of producing such a publication with a small staff. Nonetheless, the newsletter was well worth the expense in time and money. At this time, newsletters were indispensable means to reaching pools of supporters scattered across multiple states. Any newsletter subscriber was a potential financial supporter to whom appeals for funds could be made, and as time went by, the newsletter became an important means of spreading the Crusade's message. During its first year of publication alone, the newsletter allowed the Crusade to gather 1,441\$ in contributions<sup>62</sup>.

During the third and final year of the "Waterloo" period, the Crusade increased its revenues yet again (\$57,806), albeit at a slower pace than before. Its third tax report was

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<sup>59</sup> George Rucker, "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – Notes on Tax Exemption Application File – Inspected by Rucker 10/17/62", GRC, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial", 4.

<sup>60</sup> First issues of the newsletter were unfortunately unrecoverable for the present research.

<sup>61</sup> Apart from the newsletter, four booklets were published by Sackett's printing business during the Waterloo period: *The Broken Wall*, by Helen Birnie, the *Heart, Mind and Soul of Communism* and *The Communist Interpretation of Peace*, and *The Christian Answer to Communism*, by Schwarz.

<sup>62</sup> George Rucker, "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – Notes on Tax Exemption Application File – Inspected by Rucker 10/17/62", GRC, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial", 4.

submitted in December 1956 rather than in May, thus covering an additional half-year<sup>63</sup>. This longer period largely explains the increase<sup>64</sup>. Still, this shows an increase of revenue by 20 percent in spite of the \$5,000 expense incurred by the May 1956 move from Waterloo to Long Beach. In service of this operation, the Crusade, for the first time, made an urgent appeal for funds to its supporters in various states<sup>65</sup>. Income from meetings reached \$38,421, an impressive doubling in less than three years. This amount probably includes the income amassed by field workers other than Schwarz, but, once again, lectures by the Australian could only have constituted the largest contribution to this figure. Book sales increased to \$5,190, and other contributions to \$12,583.71, showing the importance radio and newsletter fundraising appeals<sup>66</sup>. Nevertheless, the organization ended its third fiscal exercise with a loss of \$2,337. This left \$6,801 in cash assets, up from only \$1,000 two years and a half ago. The third year involved larger expenses. The move to Long Beach involved substantial money. Schwarz's own expenses increased sharply, reaching the \$16,000-mark. The Crusade now officially had a salaried staff. Pietsch had a \$1,375 annual wage, and Schwarz a \$2,800 one. The organization also had a new, part-time secretary, Ella Doorn, a petite lady and former school teacher from Wisconsin who would remain Schwarz's secretary over the next four decades. Colbert joined Schwarz as the other Crusade full-time employee. His salary was \$6,600, making him the highest paid CACC employee. He became Schwarz's closest collaborator up until his 1996 death<sup>67</sup>. He was the advance man, often arriving at a given location a few days before Schwarz<sup>68</sup>.

### **5.3 Of Benefits and Pitfalls: The Tax-Exempt Drive**

One of the most important objectives of the CACC's founders was to obtain for the organization a tax-exempt status, allowing contributions to be tax-deductible. According

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<sup>63</sup> "Extract from I.R.S. – Form 990A : Tax Year Ending 12-31-56 – Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, P.O. 890, Long Beach, California", *Ibid*.

<sup>64</sup> CACC Tax reports would always from this point be submitted by the end of each year.

<sup>65</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Dear Christian Friends", Undated fundraising letter, attached to the May 1955 CACC Newsletter.

<sup>66</sup> "Extract from I.R.S. – Form 990A : Tax Year Ending 12-31-56 – Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, P.O. 890, Long Beach, California", *GRC*, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial".

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>68</sup> "Jim would go to a chosen city and exchange a five-dollar bill for nickels, the contemporary cost of a phone call, and sit in a hotel lobby with a phone book, tracking down the program chairmen of listed clubs". Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 108.

to the Internal Revenue Service's (IRS) regulations, non-profit corporations operating strictly for educational and religious purposes were eligible to exempt status on behalf of its 501(c)(3) code section -whence the name "501(c)(3) exemption". But such an organization was not allowed to reflect the opinions of a single individual on a specific issue, as it was to a large extent the CACC's case. A month after incorporation, Pietsch applied for an exempt status, but was told that the new corporation would have "to operate for approximately one year before a determination concerning its status could be made"<sup>69</sup>. A second request submitted in July 1954, was denied on the grounds "that the organization was engaged to a substantial extent in promoting the circulation of books of an individual setting forth his view on a particular subject" and did not operate exclusively for educational purposes<sup>70</sup>. A year later, Pietsch's application for exempt status was again refused. Schwarz and Pietsch were disappointed, all the more so since they had made efforts to include speakers other than Schwarz, such as James Colbert, John Drakeford or Guy Archer Weniger (a fundamentalist pastor based in San Francisco Schwarz had befriended) all of whom became part-time field operatives in 1954 and 1955.

The most significant newcomer during this period was Helen Wood Birnie, whom Schwarz met in the fall of 1953. This frail 40-year-old woman first appeared alongside Schwarz during an YFC rally organized by Colbert in Long Beach<sup>71</sup>. Raised on a poor Minnesota dairy farm and afflicted with polio at the age of three, Birnie was a young idealist who dreamt of becoming novelist when, in 1932, in Montana, her talent for public speaking and propaganda attracted the attention of local Communists who recruited her. For some time, she worked for the CPUSA's legal arm, known as the International Labor Defence (ILD), for which she was assigned to handle the defence of embattled ethno-cultural minorities that the Party was targeting for recruitment<sup>72</sup>. Her break with the CPUSA took place shortly after in 1934, upon realizing that the Communists "were only

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<sup>69</sup>Mitchell Rogovin to Harold T. Swartz, "In Re: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade", Oct. 27, 1965, *William Simon Papers*, Lafayette College Archives, Easton, Pennsylvania (hereafter *WSP*), File "Internal Revenue Service Study of Ideological Organizations, December 31, 1965", F. "G", 2.

<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup>An., "Asia Sees Korea as Victory for China, Says Red Expert", *Long Beach Independent*, Saturday, Sept. 3, 1953, 6.

<sup>72</sup>Having successfully handled the defence of a young African-American man involved in a race riot in Des Moines, she raised thousands of dollars for the Defence Committee organized by the Party in support of the nine Black boys accused of rape in a highly controversial and publicized case in Scottsboro, Alabama. Helen Wood Birnie, *The Story of Helen and Kate: A Story in Contrast*, Tulsa, Christian Crusade, 1965, 4-5.

interested in exploiting racial differences in order to further their objective of a demoralized, disunified America (...)”<sup>73</sup>. As in the case of most ex-Communists, Birnie’s break with the party left her alone, ruined and demoralized. After an 18-year hiatus, she decided in 1952 to publicly denounce her former comrades. However, she subsequently lost her job at the Nebraska Historical Society by reason of her past Communist affiliation. Thereupon, she headed for California, where she embraced evangelical Christianity. She settled in Long Beach and met Schwarz and Colbert<sup>74</sup>

Birnie was gradually included in the CACC’s part-time staff worker, and given equal billing with Schwarz when they shared the same stage in effective dual appearances<sup>75</sup>. Her duties were similar to Schwarz’s: lecturing in civic clubs, American Legion posts, churches and schools. “Of all the ex-Communist speakers I have heard in the U.S.”, Schwarz once said, “she is far and away the best speaker”<sup>76</sup>. In July 1954, in addition to sponsoring her lectures, the CACC financed the publishing of Birnie’s story in a well-designed, 80 page booklet<sup>77</sup>. Birnie never had an exclusive contract with the Crusade, and pursued an anticommunist lecturing career on her own<sup>78</sup>. An 1960 editorial of the Communist newspaper *People’s Voice* stated that: “The effectiveness of this woman should not be underestimated according to many who have heard her. She has a dramatic and commanding manner”<sup>79</sup>.

Nonetheless, Birnie posed a clear problem that risked complicating the Crusade’s bid for tax-exempt status: she could not refrain from the unrestricted use of the overtly conspiratorial tone that consistently permeated the anticommunist imagination. One opponent observed: “In general, she is clever as to her manner of hitting the emotions, but she is inconsistent with her facts, and upon being challenged by the audience, or

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<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>74</sup> The dialectic mind of the Communist reveals the answer. For, plainly, Communism is a religion of *promise*, according to Dr. Schwarz. And those of us who have been associated with it know that it is true.” *Id.*, *The Broken Wall*, Waterloo, Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1955, 41.

<sup>75</sup> George Rucker, “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – Notes on Tax Exemption Application File – Inspected by Rucker 10/17/62”, *GRC*, Box 364, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial”.

<sup>76</sup> “Information on Helen Wood Birnie, Ex-Communist Party Leader of Long Beach, California”, Undated flyer, *GRC*, Box 37, F. “Birnie, Helen Wood”. In early 1954 Birnie appeared before HUAC and delivered a detailed testimony on her experience among Communists, including what she claimed was her involvement in Communist efforts to infiltrate the farm areas of the United States through a Communist front called the Farm Holiday Association. Committee on Un-American Activities, *Investigation of Communist Activities in the Chicago Area – Part 2*, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 83<sup>rd</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, March 16, 1954, 4231-4243.

<sup>77</sup> Helen Wood Birnie, *The Broken Wall*, *op. cit.*

<sup>78</sup> An., “AntiCommunist Group Sponsors Two Speakers”, *Waterloo Courier*, Sunday, Mar. 28, 1954, 13.

<sup>79</sup> An., “A Political Profile”, *People’s Voice*, Mon., May 2, 1960, 21.

questioned, she has different answers for different times”<sup>80</sup>. She once claimed that there were “900 million Asiatics being scientifically educated and prepared to be the executioners of the boys and girls of America”<sup>81</sup>. She also affirmed that many primary and high school teachers “were strategically placed there by the party in order to capture the minds of little children”<sup>82</sup>. In another speech, she declared that the Boy Scouts of America were infiltrated by Communists, and that the nation’s 64 million non-churchgoers were “possible atheists and therefore likely to be communists”<sup>83</sup>.

Worst problems appeared during the winter of 1955, when both she and Schwarz blitzed her native state of Minnesota. Schwarz’s tour was met with great success in the Twin Cities area<sup>84</sup>. Meanwhile, Birnie toured in the state’s rural northeastern part, but experienced difficulties. The Minnesota Farmers Union (MFU) officials did not appreciate the suggestion she made in a speech that their organization was Communist-infiltrated<sup>85</sup>. Birnie had her facts wrong: the MFU, as many other farmer’s unions, took a hard stance towards communism by the late 1940’s on, and had begun expelling most of its Red elements<sup>86</sup>. By the 1950’s, only a handful Reds<sup>86</sup> remained in the upper Midwestern farmer’s unions. The MSU thus reacted with anger and challenged Birnie to substantiate her charge, which she could not do<sup>87</sup>. The encounter between Birnie and the MSU generated an encounter between controversy between the MSU and the Minnesota Farm Bureau, a competing, more conservative union that had sponsored some of Birnie’s appearances. The Bureau was accused by a MSU representative of having brought Birnie

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<sup>80</sup> Ed Christianson to Mr. Patterson, Nov. 18, 1959, *GRC*, Box 37, F. “Birnie, Helen Wood”

<sup>81</sup> Alan McIntosh, “Asiatics Being Trained As Executioners of U.S. Boys and Girls, Says Anti-Red Fighter”, *Minnesota Farms Bureau News*, Vol. 34, No. 7, Apr. 1955, 1.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> An., “Ex-Communist Slurs Farmers and Boy Scouts”, Press Clipping, Spring 1955, *GRC*, Box 37, F. “Birnie, Helen Wood”.

<sup>84</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Fred C. Schwarz, M.D.: Managing Director”, *CACC Newsletter*, Apr. 1955, 1.

<sup>85</sup> An., “Farm Union Attacks Farm Bureau As Sponsor of Anti-Communism Crusade; Here is Typical List”, Press Clipping, Spring 1955, *GRC*, Box 37, F. “Birnie, Helen Wood”.3.

<sup>86</sup> During the 1948 election, some of the National Farmer’s Union (NFU), to which the MFU was affiliated, had broken with the Democrats and supported liberal candidate Henry Wallace, but the Minnesota Union stood with the NFU’s president James Patton who had supported Truman and, as many other labour leaders, decided to embrace anticommunism and adopt a more conservative stance during the Cold War year. Michael W. Flamm, “The National Farmers’ Union and the Evolution of Agrarian Liberalism, 1937-1946”, *Agricultural History*, Vol. 6, No. 3, Summer 1994, 54-55.; William C. Pratt, “The Farmers Union, McCarthyism and the Demise of the Agrarian Left”, *The Historian*, Vol. 58, 1996, 336-341.

<sup>87</sup> She had already accused in February 1954 on the NBC radio show “Last Man Out” that NFU organizer Fred Stover of being Communist involved in the infiltration of agriculture, but Stover -never proved to have been actually Communist- had already been expelled from the NFU when Birnie made her charge. “Fred Stover”, Biographical data, *University of Iowa Libraries*, Special Collections & University Archives, Available online at < <http://www.lib.uiowa.edu/spec-coll/msc/ToMsC200/MsC165/StoverFredPapers.html> > (accessed March 9, 2010). Untitled Press Release, *GRC*, Box 37, F. “Birnie, Helen Wood”, 4.

“to the rural areas in an attempt to further discredit the Farmers Union program”<sup>88</sup>. Angry MSU supporters disrupted one of her meetings in Bernadotte, forcing its cancellation<sup>89</sup>. Granted, the brawl generated further publicity, which raised the attendance of her tour’s later meetings, notably in New Ulm, where hundreds gathered to hear her speak. But Schwarz was compelled to defend her, writing about how heartening it was to see that “whenever she has been under attack, the Christian friends of the Crusade have rallied most warmly to her support and the enemy has been utterly overwhelmed and defeated”<sup>90</sup>.

When the exempt status was denied to the Crusade in 1954 and again in July 1955 for Crusade, Pietsch wrote the IRS in protest: “We want to make it crystal clear that this work is not centered around one man, but he is a splendid worker in this as well as Mrs. Birnie”<sup>91</sup>. Pietsch turned to Kohlberg for advice, asking the China Lobby man “your point of view on this so we could use your letter as a testimony that we are entitled to tax exemption. At great personal sacrifice, Dr. Schwarz is in this country (...)”<sup>92</sup>. Kohlberg replied that he could not write such a letter, being himself “President of the Jolles Foundation, Inc., from which tax exemption was recently taken by the same people to whom you would have to appeal (...)”<sup>93</sup>. However, Kohlberg recommended to Pietsch his own law firm (Meleney, Monson & Dick of New York) to deal with the issue. A few months later Pietsch sent another protest letter to the IRS, forwarding again numerous testimonial letters by individuals impressed by Schwarz.

Though Pietsch neglected in this later letter to document the work of Colbert, Drakeford and Birnie as he should have done, it nonetheless was the case that the Crusade received tax-exempt status in September 1956<sup>94</sup>. The IRS letter read that “it is our opinion that you are entitled to exemption from Federal income tax as an organization

<sup>88</sup> Quoted in “Farm Union Attacks Farm Bureau”, *loc. cit.*, 3.

<sup>89</sup> An., “Jammed Hall in New Ulm’s Answer When Anti-Communism Crusader Is Refused Hearing in Bernadotte”, *Minnesota Farms Bureau News*, Vol. 34, No. 7, Apr. 1955, 10.

<sup>90</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Fred C. Schwarz, M.D.: Managing Director”, *loc. cit.*, 1.

<sup>91</sup> George Rucker, “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – Notes on Tax Exemption Application File – Inspected by Rucker 10/17/62”, *GRC*, Box 364, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial”. Perhaps Pietsch should have been careful, in order to reach his objective, not to forward to the IRS numerous testimonial letters about the CACC’s work (from American Legion posts, Michigan State University, Bible institutes) that were exclusively in fact addressed... to Schwarz

<sup>92</sup> W. E. Pietsch to Alfred Kohlberg, Jul. 9, 1955, *AKP*, Box 33, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade”.

<sup>93</sup> Alfred Kohlberg to W. E. Pietsch, Jul. 12, 1955, *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.* This is especially surprising inasmuch as Pietsch seemed aware that overemphasizing Schwarz’s importance in the Crusade’s activities was counter-productive. He ended his letter to Kohlberg requesting a testimony letter with this P.S.: “If you write this letter, we would appreciate having it made out to the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and not to Dr. Schwarz personally”. W. E. Pietsch to Alfred Kohlberg, Jul. 9, 1955, *AKP*, Box 33, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade”.

described in section 501(c)(3) of the Code as it is shown that you are organized and operated exclusively for religious and educational purposes”<sup>95</sup>. From this point on, the Crusade was allowed to accept contributions that were tax-deductible for the donors, and was no longer required to file tax income returns. The effect on the Crusade’s finances were not immediate, but two years after the granting of the exempt status, the Crusade’s receipts doubled each year, and the categorizing of the Crusade as a “religious and educational” institution now laid at the core of its fundraising strategy.

In April 1956, Birnie made her last recorded appearance alongside Schwarz during a rally in Waterloo organized by local churches and the areas’ YFC<sup>96</sup>. The granting of the exempt status to the CACC coincides with the removal of Birnie’s name from the organization’s documents. She had been the Crusade’s main asset to convince the IRS that the Crusade was more than Schwarz’s one-trick pony, but the crusader and his collaborators probably found her to be over the top. Birnie pursued lecturing career of her own, but remained associated with other local controversies, like when she claimed - again without substantiation- in 1960 that the University of Iowa was heavily infiltrated by Communists<sup>97</sup>. In her later years she was recruited by Billy James Hargis’ Christian Crusade. She disappeared from the public eye in the mid-1960’s.

The Crusade’s hard-fought tax-exempt status came at a price. This warning accompanied the IRS letter brining the good news in September 1956:

“(…) your exemption will be revoked if any substantial part of your activities consists of carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation, or if you participate in, or intervene in (including the publishing or distributing of statements), any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office”<sup>98</sup>.

In plain English, the IRS banned tax-exempt organizations from all forms of partisan political activity. At the same time, it put limitations on the production and distribution of “propaganda”. However, the IRS did not elaborate on its conception of propaganda, nor did it explain the limitation thereof. The word “propaganda” could be theoretically and

<sup>95</sup> Harold T. Swartz to Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Sept. 18, 1956, *IRS-EOD*, Form 4506-A Request – Requested July 30, 2008, 1.

<sup>96</sup> Ad, “Christian Anti-Communism Rally: Local Churches – Youth for Christ- Citizens Cooperating”, *Waterloo Daily Courier*, Fri., Apr. 2, 1956, 9. Schwarz delivered for the occasion a speech titled “Communism in Relation to Kinsey’s Book on Sex Behavior”.

<sup>97</sup> James E. Milton to Ralph E. Owings., Jan. 19, 1960, *GRC*, Box 37, F. “Birnie, Helen Wood”.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.



legally interpreted in a very broad way. Schwarz had always had a careful way of expressing himself. He habitually projected the image of a man staying above the fray of mundane debates. But after 1956, this tendency became an obsession. Communism, he said, was not a liberal or conservative issue, but rather one which concerned the whole free world. Still, the problem was that it was also a hotly political one. Along these lines, Schwarz had to manoeuvre carefully, since addressing political questions was unavoidable for the Crusade given its *raison d'être*. He was aware that an exempt status removal would have dealt a blow to the organization's entire fundraising strategy.

Even during his Australian days, Schwarz had avoided open political partisanship. In America, when solicited by friends and foes alike to take stands on partisan issues, the crusader had the option of evoking his non-American status. On September 6, 1960, after years of visa petitions submitted to the U.S. Immigrant and Naturalization Service, Schwarz was admitted for permanent residence, a status he kept until retirement in the late 1990's. By 1965, he was entitled for citizenship application, but never applied for it<sup>99</sup>. When asked in 1963 if he was interested in U.S. citizenship, he simply eluded: "Not particularly. I am very happy to be an Australian, I go back twice a year to see my wife and family"<sup>100</sup>.

Whereas IRS regulations forbade participation in political campaigns, the prohibition of "propaganda" did not mean that tax-exempt organizations could not take stands on policy matters. As of today, most tax-exempt organizations had the freedom, within perimeters, to address issues related to their educational or religious missions. For decades, Schwarz dealt in length in his speeches and writings with international politics (at least when it concerned communism): such statements were unchallengeably in the realm of the Crusade's anticommunist vocation. Also, the Crusade meddled in the domestic politics of several countries as its international activities developed from the late 1950's on. However, Schwarz tended to be more selective and cautious regarding American domestic politics. Here, his statements risked being interpreted as partisan

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<sup>99</sup> Raymond F. Farrell, Commissioner of U.S. Dept. Of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, to Senator Philip Hart, Jan. 15, 1965, *GRC*, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial".

<sup>100</sup> Quoted in Irving Leibowitz, "Dr. Schwarz Takes the Stand", *Indianapolis Times*, Wed., Oct. 2, 1963, 17.

politics<sup>101</sup>. Nonetheless, from the mid-1960's on, Schwarz began commenting more regularly on domestic issues (especially cultural and moral ones) in a context marked by race riots, student unrest and sexual liberation. With the IRS apparently easing off its intense scrutiny of tax-exempt right-wing groups in the late 1960's, Schwarz's comments on domestic politics became common. For instance, his rants against abortion, sex education and homosexuality became the norm in any Crusade newsletter from the late 1970's on.

There are some indications that Schwarz would have invested himself more in politics had it not been for IRS regulations. A speech he made in September 1952, at a time when he still had the freedom to speak his mind without any constraint, makes it clear. The speech took place against the background of that year's presidential election, which many observers described as one of the dirtiest to date<sup>102</sup>. Before the strongly Republican audience that composed the Rev. James Fifield's Freedom Club of Los Angeles, Schwarz delivered red meat in a way that would have been unthinkable once the Crusade began requesting its tax-exempt status from 1953 on. *How Long 'Til Joseph Stalin is President of the United States?* was a detailed exposé of Stalin's biography, interspersed by comments on America's politics and foreign policy in which the lecturer echoed many theories popular among the American right-wing. Schwarz argued that Roosevelt had been "seduced" in 1933 by Soviet diplomat Maxim Litvinov "into granting the recognition of Russia by the American nation"<sup>103</sup>. In a rare blacklisting moment, he then implied that Communists had infiltrated U.S. governments and institutions, including the China Lobby's favourite target, the Institute for Pacific Relations ("Through their influence the American nation was convinced that nothing should be done while the East was being conquered, even though it was to be followed by the overthrow of the West")<sup>104</sup>.

Amid the darkest days of the Cold War, he said, one man did see the threat clearly: "He had the courage to do something about it, but the forces of Communist agents were

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<sup>101</sup> In one of the few academic studies published on the Crusade, political scientist Clyde Wilcox erroneously stated that the organization supported Barry Goldwater and opposed Medicare. No evidence backs these claims. Clyde Wilcox, "The Christian Right in Twentieth-Century America: Continuity and Change", *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 4, Fiftieth Anniversary Issue: Religion and Politics, Autumn 1988, 666.

<sup>102</sup> Quoted in David M. Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy So Immense, op. cit.*, 242.

<sup>103</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "How Long 'Til Joseph Stalin is President of the United States?", *Freedom Club News*, Oct. 1952, 3.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

so strong that that man, General Douglas MacArthur was humiliated, so that the program of Stalin and World Conquest could go its victorious way”<sup>105</sup>. Schwarz then turned against Red China and resorted to scare tactics that appealed to the West Coast’s anti-Asian bigotry. He asserted that China also had fifth columns in every country where the Chinese diaspora was present; it had a “ready-made army in every country of the East... with the exception of Australia and New Zealand. This army is already fighting for her in most countries. (...). The Chinese colonists are all subjected to influences”<sup>106</sup>. Moreover, Red Chinese propaganda on the mainland, rammed through “the minds of every growing Chinese in a scientific manner”, was a “body of hatred directed against this country that will one day be loosed in an avalanche of destruction and death that will deluge you and your family and children into the nightmare of catastrophe and darkness”<sup>107</sup>. Admittedly, this speech remains singular in Schwarz’s catalogue, and was of the kind the crusader never allowed himself to deliver once he had to comply to IRS regulations prohibiting “propaganda”.

Also, while the Crusade could not endorse politicians, politicians could well endorse the Crusade. Several elected officials appeared at Crusade events, and, until the early 1960’s, Schwarz was on several times invited until to speak before congressional luncheons, state congresses and political meetings. As long as openly partisan rhetoric was avoided, the Crusade was free to express agreement or disagreement with elected officials and their ideas. Examples abound. In 1964, the closeness between the Crusade and the Goldwater movement was such that the Crusade’s professed neutrality was purely theoretical. Schwarz proudly noted that during George Murphy’s 1964 successful Senate campaign, or Ronald Reagan’s gubernatorial bid of 1966, both men announced at the peak of their campaigns “that they had been pleased to be associated with our school of anticommunism and with me”, despite Democratic attacks against both candidates’ for their association with the “radical right”.

Schwarz had his share of public brawls with political foes like Democratic Senators J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, or Stephen Young of Ohio. He criticized both Eisenhower and Kennedy’s respective foreign policies as being anticommunist, “but not

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<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

effective enough”<sup>108</sup>. He was especially critical of Kennedy’s containment efforts, including his actions during the Cuban missile crisis<sup>109</sup>. Schwarz initially strongly supported Nixon’s foreign policy and denounced the “campaign of harassment and vilification” against him “which is awesome in its deliberate dishonesty and mighty in its service to communism”<sup>110</sup>. But only a few months later, as most anticommunist activists, Schwarz and his collaborators were utterly outraged by Nixon’s new China Policy<sup>111</sup>.

Schwarz was almost mute regarding the work of Joe McCarthy. It seems that privately he did not have a negative view of McCarthy. In June 1954, when the hearings on Red infiltration in the Army were gradually lowering’s McCarthy’s position in public opinion, Kohlberg publicly defended him in letters to newspapers and in public addresses<sup>112</sup>. Schwarz wrote Kohlberg in an ironic tone: “ (...) I could hardly hold back the tears at the thought of the intellectuals so desperately tortured by the black, fascist hand of McCarthyism, at this moment”<sup>113</sup>. By November 1954, McCarthy was offstage, and some congressmen who had made anticommunism their hobby-horse were defeated during the midterms (Senators Joe Meek in Illinois, or Homer Ferguson in Michigan)<sup>114</sup>. Schwarz lamented on how “leading anti-Communists have been silenced. The investigation into Communist activity by the McCarthy Committee has been effectively stopped. Many of the other leading anti-Communists have been defeated in the recent election”<sup>115</sup>. In 1960, Schwarz brought Robert Morris on board as a Crusade school “faculty” member. Morris had been one of McCarthy’s friends and former chief counsel of the Senate’s Internal Security Subcommittee. Still, by the late 1950’s, the crusader had become well-aware that McCarthy’s name was a controversial among the general public. Asked about his take on

<sup>108</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Walter H. Judd, Oct. 28, 1966, *WHJP*, Box 226, F. 4.

<sup>109</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “American Public Opinion”, *CACC Newsletter*, May 15, 1971, 4-5. Jim Wright, *Balance of Power: Presidents and Congress from the Era of McCarthy to the Age of Gingrich*, Nashville, Turner Pub, 1996, 96.

<sup>110</sup> *Id.*, “Vietnam Perspective”, *CACC Newsletter*, Apr. 15, 1971, 5. Years after Kennedy’s assassination, he gave credence to the theory attributing JFK’s 1960 small margin victory to Khrushchev’s strategic decision not to free American spy plane pilot Gary Powers, captured in 1959, and the release of whom would have resulted in a Nixon victory in 1960.

<sup>111</sup> “The jaws of a trap are ready to close upon the United States. (...) It has set in motion a chain of events which can upset the strategic balance of Asia and lose all that has been gained in 25 years of patient, arduous and sacrificial work”. *Id.*, “The New China Policy”, *CACC Newsletter*, Nov. 15, 1971, 1. Interestingly, Schwarz also slammed Australian Premier Malcolm Fraser for visiting China in 1976. *Id.*, “Australian Prime Minister Visits Communist China”, *Id.*, Aug. 15, 5.

<sup>112</sup> Dana Adams Schmidt, “McCarthy Called Feared in Europe”, *New York Times*, Sun., Jun. 14, 1954, 10.

<sup>113</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Alfred Kohlberg, Jun. 8, 1954, *AKP*, Box 155, F. “Fred C. Schwarz”, -1955.

<sup>114</sup> Also, anti-McCarthy GOP Representative Clifford Case won the election in New Jersey. See Robert Griffith, *The Politics of Fear: Joseph R. McCarthy and the Senate*, Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1987, 306. See also Roger Biles, “Paul H. Douglas, McCarthyism, and the Senatorial Election of 1954”, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society (1998-)*, Vol. 95, No. 1, Spring 2002, 52-67.

<sup>115</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *CACC Newsletter*, “Dear Friend and Member”, Nov. 1954, 2.

McCarthy in 1962 during an interview with Australian journalist Peter Coleman, Schwarz replied: “Oh, he was an anarchist. Here, have a soft drink”<sup>116</sup>.

Thus the crusader walked a thin line between the “controversial” and “uncontroversial” for most of his career. As leader, part of his work was to moderate controversy. Schwarz’s professed policy was to leave complete freedom of speech to other Crusade workers. In reality, the Crusade was compelled to sometimes let a speaker go, as was the case with Helen Birnie.

#### 5.4 New Friends

The Crusade’s first expansion phase came as Schwarz met new buddies that helped him carrying on the good fight. In 1955-1956, most of the money the Crusade raised through meetings and donations (\$51,004 at all) consisted of contributions of \$100 or less. Only 49 contributions consisted of a \$100 or more, and most of these were between \$100 and \$200. These figures clearly indicate that the Crusade’s financial base was initially almost entirely grassroots<sup>117</sup>.

In June 1955 Schwarz was invited to address a dinner meeting of engineers in Flint, Michigan. There, Schwarz met 75-year old Charles Stewart Mott, former Flint Republican mayor and founding member of General Motors<sup>118</sup>. “Mr. Flint”, as Mott was often referred to, gave a \$1,000 check to Schwarz from the C.S. Mott Foundation, becoming the first big-business name to ever back the Crusade. The Mott Foundation was the important private philanthropy dedicated to educational, anti-poverty cause Mott had founded in 1926<sup>119</sup>. As time unfolded, a significant proportion of the Crusade’s large contributions came from private foundations. To be sure, these were not always major foundations like the Mott Foundation. In the same year that the Crusade received Mott’s

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<sup>116</sup> Peter Coleman, “Crusader Fred Schwarz”, *loc. cit.*, 18. Fundamentalist right-wing leader Gerald K. Smith expressed his outrage in a letter he sent to William Buckley: “If he said that McCarthy was an “anarchist”, then all hopes of philosophical tolerance with his Crusade is forfeited as far as we are concerned”. Gerald K. Smith to William F. Buckley, Jun. 4, 1962, *Gerald K. Smith Papers*, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan (hereafter *GKSP*), Box 55, F. “B”.

<sup>117</sup> “Extract from I.R.S. – Form 990A : Tax Year Ending 12-31-56 – Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, P.O. 890, Long Beach, California”, *GRC*, Box 364, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial”.

<sup>118</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 108.

<sup>119</sup> The C.S. Mott Foundation was founded with 2000 shares of GM stock. Its assets quickly made it one of the country’s largest ones. In the 1950’s it was especially active in Michigan and the Flint region. An., “Education: Mr. Flint at Work”, *Time*, Mon., Sept. 22, 1952. Available online at < <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,822502,00.html> > (accessed March 20, 2009).

first check, it also received \$100 from the Raleigh A. Smith Foundation of Houston, Texas, a small organization founded to support conservative causes<sup>120</sup>.

Since the 1970's, funding from conservative foundations has constituted one of the right-wing's most consistent sources of power and support in America. It allows the channeling of hundreds of millions of dollars each year towards a multitude of groups, institutions and projects committed to various types of conservative political and policy change<sup>121</sup>. The inception of this phenomenon is easily overlooked, especially when conservative foundations are almost exclusively studied within the context of the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>122</sup>. However, way before the age of "new right", organizations like the Crusade were already getting sums of money from private foundations established for charitable or educational purposes. As Kim Phillips-Fein writes: "The early mobilization of conservative businessmen helped give life to the cultural and intellectual institutions of the conservative movement. Although the donations they gave were small in comparison to the total profits of their corporations, they were of great importance in building the movement"<sup>123</sup>. For the Crusade, the C.S. Mott Foundation was the first source of such philanthropy.

The other \$1,000 gift received by the Crusade in 1955-1956 came from an insurance broker from Houston by the name of William P. Strube, Jr. This was more than a mere financial contribution: it became the first step of a long commitment to the cause of the Crusade. Born in Missouri in 1923, Bill Strube was the living incarnation of Southern culture's blend of folksy traditionalism, energetic anticommunism, commitment to the spirit of free market capitalism and conservative evangelicalism ("I am a Bible-reading, Christ-honoring Christian who believes the Bible and Jesus are exactly what they say they are")<sup>124</sup>. Navy man during WWII, founder of the Mid-American Life Insurance Company, this member of the fundamentalist, non-denominational Berarach Church of

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<sup>120</sup> Extract from I.R.S. – Form 990A : Tax Year Ending 12-31-56 – Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, P.O. 890, Long Beach, California", *GRC*, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial".

<sup>121</sup> John S. Saloma, *Ominous Politics: The New Conservative Labyrinth*, New York, Hill and Wang, 1984, 4. Saloma and his followers especially paid great attention to the most important conservative foundations and its various corporate backers (Lynde and Harry Bradley, John M. Olin, Sarah Scaife or Carthage or Smith Richardson Foundations are good examples).

<sup>122</sup> For instance, see Sally Covington, "Moving Public Policy to the Right: The Strategic Philanthropy of Conservative Foundations", in Daniel R. Faber and Deborah McCarthy, eds., *Foundations for Social Change: Critical Perspectives on Philanthropy and Popular Movements*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield, 2005, 90.

<sup>123</sup> Kim Phillips-Fein, *Invisible Hands*, *op. cit.*, 58.

<sup>124</sup> Saul Friedman, "Crusade Against Commies Grows: Scores Spreading Message To Other Cities and States", *Houston Chronicle*, Tue., Jul. 5, 1961, 1-14.

Houston had first heard Schwarz in Redondo Beach, Southern California in 1952. He told a reporter that upon hearing the Australian's speech then, "I shivered and shook for ten minutes, took a towel of apathy and went about my way"<sup>125</sup>. Two years later, he wrote, "here in Houston, the message began to penetrate into the frontal lobe of my brain. Many of the predictions of the first message had already become a reality"<sup>126</sup>. When Schwarz toured in Houston in the spring of 1955, Strube ran into the good doctor and considered this encounter to be a sign. He offered the check, and within a few months found himself "Executive Secretary" of the Crusade. In 1958, Strube founded the Houston branch of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. Strube had Schwarz's energy, but a more down-to-earth sense of organization. Over the next years, Strube reached out incessantly with his fiery anti-Red gospel. He gave talks by the hundreds, and then by the thousands, and flooded the Houston area with anti-Red propaganda. In the Crusade, Strube was the field worker who, apart from Schwarz, went the furthest along his own path.

In early 1953, Kohlberg had sent a copy of Schwarz's September 1952 speech at the Metropolitan Club to his friend H.L. Hunt in Dallas. "Have you heard of him?", he wrote Schwarz, "He is running something he calls "Fact Forum"<sup>127</sup>. The Texas oil Tycoon, founder of Hunt Oil Company, described by *Time* in 1948 as America's wealthiest man, was perhaps better known for his business than his politics. But he was an ardent conservative who defined anticommunism "in terms of free enterprise, racial segregation, the open shop and Christian fundamentalism", David Oshinsky writes<sup>128</sup>. In the early 1950's, Hunt turned his attention increasingly towards politics, convinced that, more than ever, America was seriously threatened by communism. He led the "MacArthur for President Movement" in 1952, and reportedly put \$150,000 into the initiative<sup>129</sup>. In 1951, he founded the Facts Forum, an educational organization that published and disseminated anticommunist literature as well as producing television and radio broadcasts. By 1956, the Facts Forum had cost him \$3,5 million already. Among other things, the Forum endorsed the McCarthy's anti-Red campaign of Joe McCarthy. In 1955 and 1956,

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<sup>125</sup> Quoted in Willie Morris, "Houston's Superpatriots", *Harper's*, Oct. 1962, 52.

<sup>126</sup> William P. Strube, "W.P. Strube, President, Mid American Life Insurance Company, Houston, Texas", *CACC Newsletter*, Sept., 1956, 2.

<sup>127</sup> Alfred Kohlberg to Fred C. Schwarz, Jan. 20, 1953, *AKP*, Box 155, F. "Fred C. Schwarz", -1955.

<sup>128</sup> David M. Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy So Immense, op. cit.*, 303.

<sup>129</sup> Dorris Clayton James, *The Years of MacArthur: Triumph and Disaster, 1945-1964*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1985, 649.

whenever Schwarz was in the Dallas-Fort Worth region, Facts Forum advertised his schedule and published extracts of his booklets in the *Facts Forum News* sheet<sup>130</sup>. Schwarz was also interviewed on the radio for the Forum. The interviewer was Dan Smoot, a former FBI agent who resigned in 1951 to become the Forum coordinator, and evolved into one of the most well-known figures of Southern conservatism during the 1950's and 1960's<sup>131</sup>. He left Hunt's orbit in 1956 to start his own anticommunist, conservative newsletter, the Dan Smoot report, one of the only such publications to be granted the five-star rating by John Birch Society leader Robert Welch who said that it was "just right for putting in doctors' and dentists' waiting rooms"<sup>132</sup>.

In May 1955 and May 1956, Schwarz was invited to participate twice in the Freedom Forum held on the campus of Harding College in Searcy, Arkansas. The Freedom Forum was the magnum opus of George S. Benson, whose name remained associated with Schwarz's until the late 1970's. Benson had heard of Schwarz through Kohlberg. Benson was involved in the China Lobby, and like Kohlberg, he had lived in pre-revolutionary China. In the 1950's, Benson and his right-hand man at Harding college, the Rev. James D. Bales, were on the list of pro-Nationalist China supporters Kohlberg regularly fed with information on Communist advances in Asia, or internal subversion in the U.S.<sup>133</sup>.

Born on a small Oklahoma farm and raised in a family of strict Disciples of Christ, Benson had been a missionary in China between 1928 and 1936, until he was called to assume presidency of Harding<sup>134</sup>. Returning from China, he was shocked to discover that Americans "had lost their Christian convictions and their sense of moral purpose and were listening to all manner of false prophets"<sup>135</sup>. In a few years, through the support of prominent citizens in the American business community, Benson had completely transformed this small, undistinguished institution associated with the Disciples of Christ

<sup>130</sup> Untitled, *Facts Forum News*, Apr. 1955, 36-40.; An., "Cross reference – File-Christian Anti-Communism Crusade", *GRC*, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial".

<sup>131</sup> An., "Spends His Money Trying to Get People to Think, Talk", *The Southeast Missourian*, Wed., Sept. 24, 1952, 3.; Heather Hendershot, "Cold War Right-Wing Broadcasting: H.L. Hunt, Dan Smoot, and the Unravelling of Consensus Culture" *Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Studies Association*, Oakland, Oct. 12, 2006.

<sup>132</sup> Quoted in Jerome Tuccile, *Kingdom: The Story of the Hunt Family in Texas*, Washington, Beard Books, 2003, 261.

<sup>133</sup> Benson's correspondence is not yet available for research; but Kohlberg's reveals interesting exchanges between the Harding College president and the China Lobby man. In 1952, Kohlberg warned Benson of possible Communist sympathies even among the financial backers of Harding, like the head of General Electric International. Alfred Kohlberg to George S. Benson, Aug. 13, 1952; James D. Bales to Alfred Kohlberg, Feb. 24, 1954, *AKP*, Box 76, F. "Harding College".

<sup>134</sup> Paul D. Haynie, "George Stuart Benson, 1889-1991", *The Encyclopaedia of Arkansas History and Culture*, < <http://www.encyclopediainarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=3495> > (accessed March 21, 2009).

<sup>135</sup> Quoted in Mark Sherwin, *The Extremists*, New York, St. Martin's, 1963, 83.



into one of the country's leading centers of conservative propagation. From a Disciples of Christ tradition of political non-engagement, sympathy for labor and support for the underprivileged segments of society, Benson introduced free market capitalism advocacy, anticommunism, and Christian nationalism<sup>136</sup>. Such ideas were the staple of the syndicated column he published in tens of newspapers across the country.

In the early 1940's, Benson launched the National Education Program (NEP), designed to "promote Americanism, patriotism, and the free enterprise system", with a personal grant of \$300,000 from Alfred P. Sloan, chairman of General Motors as well as the financial help of several other businessmen associated with Gulf Oil, Republic and United States Steel Corporations<sup>137</sup>. The NEP's most effective organ was the Freedom Forum, which was held for the first time in February 1949. Held three or four times a year, the event welcomed a cross-section of conservative types (business execs, politicians, clergy, grassroots conservatives and others)<sup>138</sup>. The NEP's Freedom Forums, Darren Dochuk writes, "left an enduring mark on postwar conservatism"<sup>139</sup>. The message remained consistently the same. Americanism was "based on belief in God, the worth of the individual and the belief that freedom is God-given". Attending employers were urged to educate their employees on the benefits of free market capitalism, and the threat posed to freedom by socialism and the overextension of the state; NEP documentary films were showed; local patriotic organizations like the American Legion or Daughters of the American Republic helped organizing the event.<sup>140</sup> From the height of McCarthyism onward, the NEP's printed material, films and Freedom Forum agendas moved towards aggressive anticommunism, often based on a "conspiratorial mindset",

<sup>136</sup> Richard Thomas Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith: The Story of Churches of Christ in America*, Grand Rapids, W. B. Eerdmans, 1996, 156.

<sup>137</sup> Benson's "education" program turned him into one of the nation's most active speaker, averaging between 1941 and 1963 two hundred speeches a year. Paul D. Haynie, "George Stuart Benson, 1889-1991", *loc. cit.*; William B. Hixson Jr., *Search for the American Right Wing*, *op. cit.*, 69.

<sup>138</sup> The first one in 1949 was held with 110 business executives from 40 cities in 25 states (figures that grew fast in following years). Freedom Forums were most often held on Harding College Campus, but sometimes on other locations across the country. An., "Workers Get Easy Course on Economics: Campaign Teaches American System", *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Thu., Dec. 1, 1949, C7.; An., "Socialism Can Wreck U.S., He Warns", *Southdown Economist*, Sun., Jun. 19, 1949.; An., "Santa Maria Hosts Forum on Freedom", *Los Angeles Times*, Tue., Jul. 12, 1949, 20.; An. "Socialism's Threat to U.S. Pictured", *Ibid.*, Tue., Jul. 12, 1949, A1.

<sup>139</sup> Darren Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt: Plain Folk Religion and Grassroots Politics in California's Southland*, Ph. D. Thesis, History, University of Notre-Dame, 2005, 474.

<sup>140</sup> An., "Negligence of Citizens Blamed on Subversives", *Ibid.*, Wed., Jul. 13, 1949, A6.; An., "'Secrecrats' Peril Related at Forum", *Ibid.*, Thu., Jul. 14, 1949, A6.; An., "Oak Park G.O.P. Women to Hold Freedom Forum", *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Sun., Oct. 15, 1950, W8.; An., "Kenilworth Women Will Stage Forum to 'Sell' Freedom", *Ibid.*, Sun., Oct. 22, 1950, N6.; Charles McCune, "The Human Thing To Do", *Walla Walla Union Bulletin*, Mon., Oct. 29, 1949, 4.; On a regular basis Benson proudly used his syndicated columns to promote his Forum, its expanding scope and highlights. *Id.*, "Looking Ahead", *Ibid.*, Thu., May 15, 1952, 14.; *Id.*, "Looking Ahead", *Ibid.*, Thu., May 15, 1953, 14.

historian L. Edward Hicks writes<sup>141</sup>. Before long professional anticommunists were invited to attend Freedom Forums; Luis Budenz made highly remarked appearances at the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> Forums in October 1951<sup>142</sup>. Herbert Philbrick was invited for the first time in 1954, becoming a regular participant of the Forum over the next decade. He was followed shortly after by J.B. Matthews.

Schwarz appeared for the first time at the 16<sup>th</sup> Freedom Forum in May 1955, delivering his usual lecture about Communist propaganda and the seduction of youth and intellectual<sup>143</sup>. The response was very good, as “an overwhelming reception was accorded the message I was privileged to bring”, the speaker noted<sup>144</sup>. “For conferees”, historian L. Edward Hicks observes in his study of Benson’s deeds, “Schwarz effectively combined militant anticommunism, Christian faith and homespun prescriptions to avoid socialism. Such Freedom Forum exposure helped catapult Schwarz into the rightist mainstream”<sup>145</sup>. Benson was impressed. Schwarz’s speech was reproduced in the NEP newsletter with a short hagiographical section on this man who “left his practice of medicine and surgery to dedicate his life to a personal crusade against the growing power of international communism”<sup>146</sup>. Benson devoted more than three syndicated columns to Schwarz<sup>147</sup>.

On April 27, 1956, as keynote speaker to the 20<sup>th</sup> Forum, Schwarz delivered his speech *Communism: America’s Mortal Enemy*. Gone were the images of the mushroom cloud and hordes of Chinese or Russian Reds storming America’s suburbs. Rather, Schwarz reconceived the Communist threat in the form of a gradual geostrategic encirclement of the U.S. in the context of a series of coups and undeclared wars like in Korea, coupled with general apathy on the part of the American public. The new paradigm put Communists in the position of winning the Cold War by eroding American determination to keep fighting<sup>148</sup>. Though not yet present in the speech, Schwarz eventually synthesized his thoughts into a simple equation that became his favourite

<sup>141</sup> L. Edward Hicks, *Sometimes in the Wrong, but Never in Doubt: George S. Benson and the Education of the New Religious Right*, Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1994, 57.

<sup>142</sup> George S. Benson, “Looking Ahead”, *The Evening Independent*, Wed., Oct. 31, 1951 15.

<sup>143</sup> The fee is indicated in an invitation letter Philbrick received in 1957: “We will pay you a \$200 honorarium and take care of your travel and incidental expenses, Herb, for each of these assignments”. Glenn A. Green to Herbert Philbrick, *HPP*, Box 2, “General Correspondence” Series, F. 5.

<sup>144</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Dear Friend and Member”, *CACC Newsletter*, May 1955, 6.

<sup>145</sup> L. Edward Hicks, *Sometimes in the Wrong*, *op. cit.*, 61.

<sup>146</sup> George S. Benson, “The Truth About Communism”, *National Program Letter*, Jun., 1955, 1.

<sup>147</sup> *Id.*, “Looking Ahead”, *Evening Independent*, Wed., May 25, 1955, 35.; *Id.*, “Looking Ahead”, *Ibid.*, Thu., Jun. 9, 1955, 24.; *Id.*, “Looking Ahead”, *Ibid.*, Wed., Jun. 15, 1955, 22.

<sup>148</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Communism: America’s Mortal Enemy*, Long Beach, Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1956, 1-29.

mantra: “External encirclement, plus internal demoralization, plus thermonuclear blackmail, equals progressive surrender”<sup>149</sup>. In sum, Communists no longer proceeded by taking out countries, but rather struck from within. They did not so through espionage, but rather through infiltrating and manipulating the social, cultural and political system. As Rick Perlstein notes, coexistence-era Communists were increasingly perceived as wishing to slip “the noose over a people through steady and subtle propaganda, colonizing their very minds”<sup>150</sup>. As coexistence prolonged itself through the late 1950’s, this perception of the Red menace became dominant among the American right.

The only solution to counter Communist schemes, Schwarz asserted, was to block Communists at the outset of their master plan. Reaching out to the youth in the U.S. and every possible country before Communists could do so was the key to successful containment: “Let’s instil into them a passion, a fervour, a love for their own civilization and its destiny, a loyalty to their own country and their heritage. They can form the basis of a dedicated movement to create a moral fibre and basis of strength and integrity that can resist the Communist program (...)”<sup>151</sup>. For the rest of his career, Schwarz would continue to support hard military measures against communism, but made it clear that such measures could not counter a Communist strategy based on propaganda and student outreach. Therefore, if the U.S. government did not step up its international propaganda initiatives, the Crusade would have no choice but to try to fill the gap on its own. This conviction led to the emergence of the CACC’s foreign projects by 1956 onward. Education, not guns, was the strategy to successfully contain communism. Benson was delighted by Schwarz’s performance. He sent a copy of the speech to Kohlberg, who bought distributed it to the most important names on his mailing list<sup>152</sup>. Kohlberg hailed Schwarz “magnificent job”, and warned him that his speech would be circulated, “so if you see some of your ideas turning up elsewhere, don’t wonder whether it is plagiarism,

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<sup>149</sup> The first instance this exact axiom was used (without the “plus thermonuclear blackmail” passage) was in a speech at the University of California at Berkeley on March 23, 1966. *Id.*, “A Visit to the University of California at Berkeley”, *CACC Newsletter*, Apr. 4, 1966, 2. In fact, this was almost derived from an alleged prophecy from Lenin: “First, we will take Eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, then we will encircle the United States which will be the last bastion of capitalism. We will not have to attack. It will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands”. Paul F. Boller and John George, *They Never Said It: A Book of Fake Quotes, Misquotes, and Misleading Attributions*, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989, ix.

<sup>150</sup> Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus*, New York, Hill and Wang, 2001, 115.

<sup>151</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Communism: America’s Mortal Enemy*, *op. cit.*, 28.

<sup>152</sup> Alfred Kohlberg to George S. Benson, Jul. 31, 1956, *AKP*, Box 155, F. “Fred C. Schwarz”, 1956-1957.

or not. The answer will be “yes”, in a good cause”<sup>153</sup>. While Schwarz’s conservatives confreres did not all pick his ideas about the importance of youth, they were in harmony with his sense that the battlefield had, to a degree, moved inward.

As new friends appeared, old ones were leaving. In June 1955, Kohlberg had two heart attacks. He wrote to Schwarz a few weeks after his stroke: “I am living more or less like a hermit, as I am allowed only one visitor a week”<sup>154</sup>. Kohlberg eventually got back to work. He retained some of his activities as head of the China Lobby, but shut down most of his business duties. Until his death in 1960 he continued to lobby for U.S. support for Taiwan. In March 1959 Schwarz planned a two-week trip to New York and wrote his friend Kohlberg, asking if he could help book him before “as many groups as possible”; Kohlberg replied he was unable to help: “As you know, I have been very inactive for several years and have lost contact to some extent”<sup>155</sup>. William Pietsch, for his part, suffered in 1955 a severe stroke that put him into a prolonged rest. “Dr. Pietsch”, wrote Schwarz, “is feeling the burden of his years and his labor for the Lord very much”<sup>156</sup>. Two months later, the old Waterloo pastor was ready to resume his activities. Until his death he remained an important part of the Crusade’s staff, but his duties were increasingly crippled by diminishing health. Pietsch’s declining role went hand in hand with the Crusade’s move towards more secular and mainstream anticommunism. On February 2, 1959, William E. Pietsch passed away after a stroke at the age of 68<sup>157</sup>.

### 5.5 Southern California

Pietsch’s first stroke in 1955 made it even more urgent to the Crusade to secure a more suitable location for its headquarters, as it became clear that the man who had been its official host in America since 1953 would not be able to carry on the fight indefinitely. Also, the Walnut Street Baptist Church building was no longer appropriate to harbour an expanding organization. Bill Strube, who had taken over some of Pietsch’s managerial duties from his Houston office, explained the situation in a letter to Walter Judd,

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<sup>153</sup> Alfred Kohlberg to Fred C. Schwarz, Jul. 31, 1956, *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> Alfred Kohlberg to Fred C. Schwarz, Jun., 28, 1955, *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Alfred Kohlberg, Mar. 4, 1959; Alfred Kohlberg to Fred C. Schwarz, Mar. 18, 1959, *AKP*, Box 155, F. “Fred C. Schwarz”, 1958-1960.

<sup>156</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Fred C. Schwarz, M.D. – Managing Director”, *CACC Newsletter*, Apr. 1955, 3.

<sup>157</sup> An., “Dr. Pietsch Goes “Home” ”, *CACC Newsletter*, Mar. 1959, 3.

outlining that “the Crusade is beginning to gather momentum”, which necessitated to “combine the West Coast operation and the Waterloo facilities into a more efficient, economical, and business-like activity”<sup>158</sup>. Pietsch decided to dedicate his last years to the Crusade. He left Waterloo and moved to Long Beach, where he died<sup>159</sup>.

The Christian Anti-Communism Crusade settled in May 1956 in its new central office, located on 124 E., 1<sup>st</sup> Street in the heart of downtown Long Beach. The new office was only a half-mile from the Pacific coast and three miles from the imposing Long Beach Naval Complex, one of the world’s biggest. The office was only some twenty miles away from the Los Angeles International Airport, a convenient factor for Schwarz who frequently had to depart for either touring or flying back to Australia. The move proved being a wise one. Ever since Schwarz’s second tour in 1952, Southern California had been the most welcoming region to his message. In the early 1960’s, when the Crusade was at its height, Southern California was where a little less than half of its supporters lived nationwide, and also where more of its financial support came from. Southern California, the region where the contemporary American right-wing came into being and took its classic form, was thus the Crusade’s heart, and where Schwarz’s greatest triumphs took place.

From 1900 on, Southern California experienced quick growth. A steady stream of Americans relocated to California, seeking both employment opportunities and a single-family house on a distinct lot<sup>160</sup>. The discovery and drilling of oil near Santa Barbara brought new comers as the economy developed beyond the agricultural and citrus industries. The Depression did not halt growth. Over a million jobless Southerners, often Dust Bowl Refugees from the West South, moved to the Golden State during the economic crisis. Between 1900 and 1920, Southern California’s population increased from 304,211 to 1,347,050, and then more than doubled to reach 3,572,363 on the eve of WWII, a tenfold increase in forty years<sup>161</sup>.

Like the rest of the American West, Southern California was transformed by WWII and the changes it brought to the nation’s social and economic structures. The area’s

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<sup>158</sup> William P. Strube to Walter H. Judd, May 18, 1956, *WHJP*, Box 224, F. 4.

<sup>159</sup> He reported in the Crusade newsletter that “we are now established, carrying on our activities from the central office.” William E. Pietsch, “W.E. Pietsch, D.D., President”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jul.-Aug. 1956, 9.

<sup>160</sup> David G. Lawrence, *California: The Politics of Diversity*, 5<sup>th</sup> Ed., Belmont, Thomson Wadsworth, 2007, 9.

<sup>161</sup> Carey McWilliams, *Southern California An Island on the Land*, Salt Lake City, Peregrine Smith Books, 1973, 14.

location on the Pacific coast during the war against Japan accelerated the industrialization that had been kicked off before the war by the establishment of oil and aircraft industries<sup>162</sup>. The Golden State thus became an industrial power marked by the rapid development of its manufacturing sector and the emergence of a scientific-technological complex. “Suddenly”, as Gerald D. Nash notes, “various areas of the West developed industries such as steel, shipbuilding, aircraft, manufactures, aluminum, textiles, machine tools, and atomic energy”<sup>163</sup>. California won most of the billions in war contracts awarded to the West. Forty-five percent of the new plants built on its soil. In Southern California alone, a thousand new industrial plants appeared during wartime<sup>164</sup>.

Most significant to the region’s economic, social and cultural transformation was the formation of its massive military-industrial complex. Taking advantage of Southern California’s strategic location, local elites (businessmen, politicians, real estate speculators) incited the U.S. military to establish army, air force and naval facilities in the area. In Orange County, the Santa Ana Army Air Base, Seal Beach’s Naval Ammunition Depot and El Toro’s Marine Corps Air Station were established. Los Angeles County, transformed like no other city into one of the nation’s foremost industrial powerhouses, now harbored in its San Pedro and Long Beach ports the headquarters of the U.S. Pacific Fleet. It also saw the appearance of scores of new military facilities such as the San Bernardino’s Army Air Field or Glendale’s Grand Central Air Terminal<sup>165</sup>. Long Beach, exemplified the “military facility” town. It was location of the U.S. Naval Drydocks (the largest dry dock on the West coast) and the Donald Douglas, Lockheed Martin and Boeing (the areas’ largest employer) facilities<sup>166</sup>.

Following the trend established during the war, California’s defense sector continued to grow during the postwar era, thanks to the coming of the Cold War and the coordinated effort of Californian elites (business, labor, politicians) who pushed for a

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<sup>162</sup> David G. Lawrence, *California, op. cit.*, 31. The aircraft industry appeared during the WWI years, when the Lockheed Brothers and Donald Douglass established manufacturing plants in the Los Angeles region.

<sup>163</sup> Gerald D. Nash, *The American West in the Twentieth Century: A Short History of An Urban Oasis*, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1977, 200.

<sup>164</sup> Carey McWilliams, *Southern California, op. cit.*, 71.

<sup>165</sup> On Los Angeles during WWII, see Arthur C. Verge, “The Impact of the Second World War in Los Angeles”, *The Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 63, No. 3, Fortress California At War: San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland and San Diego, 1941-1945, Aug. 1994, 289-314.

<sup>166</sup> Manuel Perez and Richard A. Watson, “The Long Beach Story: A California City Repositions Itself”, in Jack Francis Williams and Richard A. Watson, eds., *International Urban Planning Settings: Lessons of Success*, Oxford, Elsevier Science Ltd., 2001,132-133.

continuation of defense spending. The implications for Southern California went way beyond the imposing presence of tens of thousands of military personnel in the area; it also meant the establishment of several defense-related industries attracted by the proximity of military installations, by the region's modest rates of unionization and its large numbers of technical and scientific workers<sup>167</sup>. In 1953, California topped New York in military investments, creating the biggest military-industrial complex in the United States<sup>168</sup>. This development of astonishing proportions resulted from federal spending and had transformed the West, which had been largely underdeveloped before the war. This can be seen as a very effective form of wealth redistribution<sup>169</sup>. Yet, despite the government-induced nature of Southern California's development, the region's unprecedented prosperity only intensified its conservative dispositions, already present before the war. Lisa McGirr explains this phenomenon by asserting that for many who embraced the region's strong anti-statist and anti-collectivist outlooks, the relationship between their upwardly-mobile status and the state was indirect "since they made their fortunes in private businesses, in construction, and as professionals serving the new communities", while others might have simply connected their personal prosperity to the region's conservative culture<sup>170</sup>. In any case, the presence of thousands of military personnel and employees of defense plants undoubtedly contributed to the region's hawkish, defense-oriented and anticommunist tendencies.

Obviously, this economic growth paralleled a rapid population increase. More than one million people migrated to California during the war, including 660,000 settling in the Southern part of the state. In 1945, Los Angeles' metropolitan region included three out of four of Southern California's 4 million inhabitants, and in the immediate postwar era it would become the U.S.'s fastest-growing area<sup>171</sup>. A whole suburban world mushroomed around Los Angeles, the entire geography of which was in due course transformed. Witnessing the expansion of this "gigantic improvisation" where virtually

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<sup>167</sup> David G. Lawrence, *California*, 27-31.

<sup>168</sup> Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 26.

<sup>169</sup> Roger W. Lotchin, *Fortress California, 1910-1961: From Warfare to Welfare*, Champaign, Illinois University Press, 2002, 335-336.

<sup>170</sup> Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 29-30.

<sup>171</sup> Gerald D. Nash, *The American West in the Twentieth Century*, *op. cit.*, 193.

everything was imported (plants, water, power, people, even the soils), author and lawyer Carey McWilliams observed in 1946:

“Perhaps the most thoroughly urbanized region of America, it is made up of a network of cities and towns stretching from Santa Barbara to San Diego, from Santa Monica to San Bernardino. All of these cities and towns are, in a sense, suburbs of Los Angeles. No region in America (...), is dominated by one city to the extent that Los Angeles, with its 450 square miles of territory, dominates South California. The *Los Angeles Times* is the newspaper of the entire region, almost as widely read in the outlying communities as in Los Angeles proper. The whole region is closely tied together by a network of roads and highways, electrical transmission lines and aqueducts, islands within an island dominated by Los Angeles”<sup>172</sup>.

With respect to new urban development models, Southern California became the pinnacle of the American West, “an aggressive innovator, first to develop life-styles that, for better or for worse, in later years were to be widely copied throughout the United States, and eventually, in many portions of the world”, Gerald Nash observes<sup>173</sup>. In the early 1950’s, more than the two-thirds of the region’s dwelling units were fully detached, thus leading by far the nation in the proportion of single family houses, way ahead of Chicago (28 percent) or New York City (20 percent). The Los Angeles area also led the country in its dependence on the automobile, making necessary from 1942 the regular meetings of businessmen and elected officials so as to plan the development of the nation’s largest freeway network<sup>174</sup>. Southern California was a laboratory where the new suburban life, which made the American dream available to every hard-working citizen, could be fulfilled on a scale unparalleled elsewhere. From this emerged a mode of societal organization encouraging individualistic attitudes and the celebration of free market capitalism. The idea that this new suburban life, where consumption becomes the principal concern of existence, fostered conformist inclinations, was a customary theme

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<sup>172</sup> Carey McWilliams, *Southern California*, *op. cit.*, 12.

<sup>173</sup> Gerald D. Nash, *The American West in the Twentieth Century*, *op. cit.*, 191. Once again, the Federal state had an important role in these developments. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA-created in 1934) guaranteed low-interest, long-term home loans by financial institutions, thus allowing small-income workers to buy houses. Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 39.; Becky M. Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2002, 188-189.

<sup>174</sup> Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*, New York & Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1985, 250-251.



of much of 1950's social science literature<sup>175</sup>. This assertion was hyperbolic insofar as scores of other communities in the U.S. emulated this model of development and yet did not evolve into rightist strongholds. But it was surely true of Southern California, which expressed the cutting edge of American individualism, as John W. Meyer describes: "There all of society (...) is rationalized around individual ends. History and tradition have no standing and the community is simply the negotiated product of individuals who choose to "get it on" together"<sup>176</sup>.

As any booming area, the region's culture was also shaped by the experience of migration. In 1967, reflecting on Ronald Reagan's recent gubernatorial victory, political scientist James Q. Wilson noted that the Southern Californian electorate's views were "shaped by the kind of people who went to California", mentioning that "they came from the Midwest, from the border states and the 'near South' "<sup>177</sup>. Current historiography seems to support the thesis that conservatism in Southern California was fortified by the large portions of migrants to the area from regions which harboured "strong strains of Protestant individualism, unbending anticommunism, and hostility towards the presumed national dominance of eastern elites", as Lisa McGirr writes<sup>178</sup>. Between the 1920's up to the 1960's, some of the largest migration groups came from the Midwestern states. About twice as many settled in the south as in the northern part of the state. In the first serious study on the issue in the late 1960's, political scientist Ray Wolfinger hypothesized that the greater proportion of Midwesterners in Southern California, compared to Northern California, was responsible for the much lower number of Catholics to be found in the state's southern part (24 as opposed to 40 percent). He connected this phenomenon to Southern California's much stronger Republican affiliations<sup>179</sup>. This was a plausible theory inasmuch as some of the states which supplied the most immigration also had

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<sup>175</sup> See James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974*, New York & Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996, 333-340.; David Riesman and Nathan Glazer, *The Lonely Crowd*, *op. cit.*; *Id.*, *Abundance for What?*, New York, Doubleday & Co., 1964.; William H. White, *The Organization Man*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1956.; C. Wright Mills, *The White Collars*, *op. cit.*

<sup>176</sup> John W. Meyer, "Myths of Socialization and Personality", in Thomas C. Heller and Christina Brooke-Roose, eds., *Reconstructing Individualism, Autonomy, Individuality, and the Self in Western Thought*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1986, 210-211.

<sup>177</sup> James Q. Wilson, "A Guide to Reagan Country: The Political Culture of Southern California", *Commentary*, May 1967, 38. However, the first extensive analysis covering Californian politics from 1890 to 1966 published by Michael Paul Rogin and John L. Shover in 1970 attributed only a secondary importance to the background of migrants. Rather, it emphasized how specific features of Southern California's cultural environment gradually shaped the outlook of its inhabitants. Michael Paul Rogin, "Southern California: Right-Wing Behavior and Political Symbols", in Michael Paul Rogin and John L. Shover, eds., *Political Changes in California: Critical Elections and Social Movements, 1890-1966*, Westport, Greenwood Pub., 1970, 153-212.

<sup>178</sup> Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 46.

<sup>179</sup> Raymond E. Wolfinger and Fred E. Greenstein, "Comparing Political Regions: The Case of California", *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 63, No. 1, Mar. 1969, 83-84.

relatively low, or at best moderate Catholic presence (like North Dakota or Kansas), and comparatively long traditions of conservative Protestantism<sup>180</sup>.

Schwarz collaborated with several transplanted Midwesterners in California throughout his career. A good example is Guy Archer Weniger, hard-shell Baptist, graduate from William Bell Riley's Northwestern Bible School in Minneapolis, and pastor since 1942 of the Foothill Boulevard Baptist Church of Oakland, one of the most important fundamentalist churches of the suburban region of San Francisco<sup>181</sup>. Schwarz met him in 1954 and Weniger became an occasional CACC staffer. In the late 1950's, he helped the Australian to organize his schools of anticommunism. Another one was Iowa-born Robert H. Schuller, who turned in 1955 a drive-in movie theatre in Garden Grove (Orange County) in one of California's most rapidly expanding churches<sup>182</sup>. After attending one of Schwarz's lectures in the late 1950's, he engaged himself for a brief period of time in anticommunist politics and served as chairman of the religious committee of the Crusade's school of Orange County in 1961. By the mid-1970's on, Schuller's "The Hour of Power" became one of America's most popular Christian television broadcasts<sup>183</sup>.

One of the most important among these transplanted Midwesterners Schwarz met was another churchman, the Rev. James W. Fifield, pastor of Los Angeles' First Congregational Church, which Schwarz met during his tour of 1952. Born in Detroit in 1899, raised in Kansas and Missouri and ordained as Congregational minister in 1924, he pastored for about a decade in the evangelical hotbed of Grand Rapids where he attained widespread prominence as an effective church organizer. Fifield was a strong believer in the virtues of free market capitalism and their total compatibility with Christian Gospel. He saw it as a duty to resist the New Deal and the trend towards the welfare state. This led him in 1935 to found Spiritual Mobilization, dedicated to arousing clergymen against

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<sup>180</sup> In her doctoral thesis, historian Denise S. Spooner (University of Pennsylvania, 1992, unpublished), showed that Midwestern migrants to Southern California mostly originated from the North Central Census division: Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North and South Dakota, Nebraska and Kansas. Denise S. Spooner, *The Political Consequences of Experiences of Community: Iowa Migrants and Republican Conservatism in Southern California, 1924-1964*, Ph. D. Thesis, History, University of Notre-Dame, 1992, 9-10. On Upper Midwest Protestant fundamentalism, see William Vance Trollinger Jr., *God's Empire: William Bell Riley and Midwestern Fundamentalism*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1990, 109.

<sup>181</sup> Mark L. Ward Jr., "A Guide to the Papers of Guy Archer Weniger", *J.S. Mack Library Website* – (Bob Jones University), Available online at: <[http://www.bju.edu/library/collections/fund\\_file/weniger.html](http://www.bju.edu/library/collections/fund_file/weniger.html)> (accessed March 9, 2010).

<sup>182</sup> An., "Worshippers (sic) Take Part in Rites From Car", *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Nov. 20, 1960, OC14.

<sup>183</sup> Robert H. Schuller, *Prayer: My Soul's Adventure With God – A Spiritual Autobiography*, New York, Doubleday, 1995, 143.

“the trend towards pagan stateism”<sup>184</sup>. He was appointed pastor of Los Angeles’ First Congregational Church which he transformed into the world’s biggest Congregational church with thousands of new members<sup>185</sup>. In 1949, Spiritual Mobilization was attracting contributions from leading businessmen such as J. Howard Pew (Sun Oil), Frank Drake (Gulf Oil) or B.E. Hutchinson (Chrysler Corp.). Its magazine *Faith and Freedom* was mailed to about 100,000 people nationwide<sup>186</sup>.

Migrants from the South were perhaps more important to the areas’ culture, although smaller in numbers from migrants from the Midwest. Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Southerners were constantly leaving their native region. Between 1940 and 1960, more than 5 million Southerners, mostly whites, outmigrated, many towards California<sup>187</sup>. When Schwarz arrived in California in the early 1950’s, more than 1,367,720 natives from the West South (mostly Oklahomans, Arkansans, Texans and Missourians) were living in California, forming more than 12,9 percent of the state’s population<sup>188</sup>. Earlier than other communities, Southerners experienced in California the upward social mobility created by opportunities in the wartime and postwar job market. Historian James N. Gregory shows that during the postwar suburban boom, Southern whites in Detroit and Los Angeles “were even more inclined to spread out, proving to be the most eager suburbanites of that suburban age”<sup>189</sup>. Yet, despite their assimilation to the Californian middle-class, Southerners retained some aspects of their subculture, which contributed to bolstering up conservative, traditional values in the state. As Darren Dochuk Southern migration came with a “proliferation of southern churches, preachers and parishioners”<sup>190</sup>. As elsewhere in the country amid postwar suburbanization, finding a church represented a first step to a migrant’s settling in South California. Southern

<sup>184</sup> Quoted in Ralph Lord Roy, *Apostles of Discord: A Study of Organized Bigotry and Disruption on the Fringes of Protestantism*, Boston, The Beacon Press, 1953, 286.

<sup>185</sup> Royal Davis, “21: The Fifield Decades: 1935-1967”, *Light on a Gothic Tower*, History of First Congregational Church of Los Angeles, *The Tin Type Shop Website*, Available online at < <http://www.thetintypeshop.com/church/Library/Davis/chapters21to25/chapter21/chap21.htm> > (accessed February 16, 2009).

<sup>186</sup> Ralph Lord Roy, *Apostles of Discord*, *op. cit.* 286. As other liberals, theologian Reinhold Niebuhr criticized harshly Spiritual Mobilization quite harshly, calling it “the worst forms of religious rationalization of a class viewpoint that we have had in American history”. From Reinhold Niebuhr, “21. Spiritual Mobilization”, *Love and Justice: Selection from the Shorter Writings of Reinhold Niebuhr*, Louisville, Westminster/John Knox Press, 1957, 113.

<sup>187</sup> See James N. Gregory, “The Southern Diaspora and the Urban Dispossessed: Demonstrating the Census Public Use Microdata Samples”, *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 82, No. 1, Jun. 1995, 111-134.

<sup>188</sup> *Id.*, *American Exodus: The Dust Bowl Migration and Okie Culture in California*, New York & Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991, xiv-xv.

<sup>189</sup> *Id.*, *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners Transformed America*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2005, 85.

<sup>190</sup> Darren Dochuk, “Evangelicalism Becomes Southern”, *loc. cit.*, 301.

churches were already established in the region and received thousands of new migrants. Equally important were the thousands of Southern whites who flocked, by the early 1950's on, were flocking into nondenominational "megachurches" which were flourishing in Los Angeles' suburbs.

In late May 1952, Schwarz was invited to speak at Los Angeles' Trinity Methodist Church, of the city's largest congregations. Its pastor, local heavyweight Robert "Fighting Bob" P. Shuler, was California's most important Southern-born fundamentalist. Born in Virginia's Blue Ridge Mountains in 1880 and ordained as a Southern Methodist, he had preached "old-time religion" across the South. In 1920, he was invited to Trinity Methodist, which was one of his denomination's outposts in Los Angeles. "Shuler shook things up", writes James Gregory, "turning Trinity into a center of controversy while adding huge numbers of new converts, many but not all newcomers from the South"<sup>191</sup>. In 1926, Shuler started his own "Civic Talk" radio show, which he transformed into the West Coast's main fundamentalist broadcast, where he decried immorality, bootleggers, Jews, Catholics, William Randolph Hearst, public schools, Aimee Semple McPherson, jazz music, movies, and so on. He reached the height of his influence in the late 1920's, when his congregation numbered thousands and when he tipped Los Angeles' 1929 mayoral election in favor of his candidate John C. Porter, a Ku Klux Klan supporter<sup>192</sup>. Increasingly bedeviled by anticommunism, he ran in 1942 as a Republican against Democratic Representative Jerry Voorhis, whom he accused of being soft on communism. With Shuler's help, this charge was repeated with success in 1946 by young GOP candidate Richard Nixon<sup>193</sup>. Schwarz, said Shuler in 1952, "delivered one of the most illuminating, practical and convincing messages on the plan and purpose of communism that it has ever been my privilege to hear". Shuler wrote for him a letter of recommendation. "This man", the letter read, "is a winsome speaker, very highly educated and one of the best read men I know anything about", added Shuler who urged

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<sup>191</sup> *Id.*, *The Southern Diaspora*, *op. cit.*, 225.

<sup>192</sup> Michael E. Engh, "A Multiplicity and Diversity of Faiths": Religion's Impact on Los Angeles and the Urban West", *The Western History Association*, Vol. 28, No. 4, Winter 1997, 487.

<sup>193</sup> James N. Gregory, *The Southern Diaspora*, *op. cit.*, 226. In 1949, the triumph of North Carolina native Billy Graham's crusade in Los Angeles drew notably from the Shuler's endorsement, a definite must for any revivalist undertaking in the city. Steven P. Miller, *Billy Graham and the Rise of the Republican South*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009, 15.

people “to get behind this man and use him to the fullest advantage for the cause that all liberty loving people hold dear”<sup>194</sup>.

With Shuler’s seal of approval, Schwarz’s tour was met with success among other Southern congregations. Shortly after his appearance at Shuler’s congregation, Schwarz addressed a Youth for Christ rally at the Open Door Auditorium before a few thousand people. Since 1949, this immense fundamentalist church was led by pastor J. Vernon McGee, Texas-born popular preacher who brought to Los Angeles his Southern populist anticommunist sermons. “When looking for inspiration and direction in the fight against the red menace”, Dochuk writes, “McGee intimated his congregants would be wise to look to the farms of Georgia and Texas rather than the grand foyers of Washington and New York”<sup>195</sup>. Still, McGee’s sermons also resulted from studying right-wing literature such as the *Manion Forum* or the *American Mercury* in order to flesh them out with the latest in-vogue conservative viewpoints. McGee re-invited the Australian to preach a few times at the Church of the Open Door in the following years<sup>196</sup>. In 1956, McGee joined the Crusade’s leadership by becoming member of its Advisory Council. Among those who attended the Crusade’s anticommunism schools in the early 1960’s, a sizable share was composed of expatriated Southerners.

By the summer of 1956, Schwarz had made a reputation for himself as one of America’s most eloquent professional anticommunists. The CACC was expanding; churches, schools, and civic institutions were using its material. From its new Long Beach headquarters, the organization was poised for greater things, all the more so since Southern California was particularly open to the CACC’s cocktail of evangelicalism and anticommunism. It was not just Schwarz’s organization which was expanding, but growing also was a new suburban-based political culture. By supporting the Crusade and other such anticommunist organizations, a silent minority began to assert itself. The Crusade provided an ideological language which made its contribution to its gathering empowerment.

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<sup>194</sup> Robert P. Shuler, “To Whom it May Concern”, Apr. 28, 1952, *Ibid*.

<sup>195</sup> Darren Dochuk, “Evangelicalism Becomes Southern”, *loc. cit.*, 307.

<sup>196</sup> An. “Missionary Student to Be Heard at Rally”, *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Oct. 4, 1953, 35.; “2 Anticommunist Meetings, Sunday May 1 & 8, 2:00 pm”, CACC Pamphlet, 1964, *Freedom Center Collection* University Archives & Special Collections Unit, California State University, Fullerton (hereafter *FCF*).

## 6 ENDLESS TOURING

“My home here is a hotel room in whatever city I happen to be” - Fred C. Schwarz, 1961<sup>1</sup>

### 6.1 “As Thy Day, So Shall Thy Strength Be”

Schwarz’s crusading vocation was consumed by lecturing. From the time he set foot on American soil, Schwarz lectured. With the founding of the Crusade in 1953, his lecturing intensified and continued almost hourly until 1960, when new circumstances - his growing celebrity, the organization of anticommunism schools- caused him to move on to other things. Across this seven-year period, he basically lived out of a suitcase, with short stays in Long Beach. Schwarz also returned sporadically for longer stays in Australia to see his family. In the summer of 1954, Schwarz returned to down under for a period of three months so as to help his family relocate back home, and he returned to the U.S. in September<sup>2</sup>. He was back in Australia in August 1955, but he did not return to Australia before the fall of 1956. “I will not have seen my children for fifteen months”, he wrote a month before leaving, “and my arms and heart are hungry for them”<sup>3</sup>. By 1956 on, Schwarz had settled on the habit of a summer and a Christmas visit.

During his U.S. stays, Schwarz became something akin to a politician running a permanent campaign. Everyday life was constituted of formal and informal lecturing, rallies, debates, radio addresses and the selling of promotional material. Schwarz once estimated that he traveled more than 100,000 miles annually<sup>4</sup>. There is no doubt Schwarz found great pleasure in this existence. “I don’t consider myself a martyr”, he said, “I’m enjoying it up to the hilt”<sup>5</sup>. He claimed finding inspiration in the Biblical verse: “As Thy Day, So Shall Thy Strength Be” (Deuteronomy, 33:25).

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Charles Grutzner, “Reports of Dr. Schwarz’s Anti-Communist Crusade Show \$1,273,492”, *New York Times*, Sun., Jun. 24, 1962, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Alfred Kohlberg, Jun. 8, 1954; Fred C. Schwarz to Alfred Kohlberg, undated (handwritten note from Hotel Southland, indicating Schwarz return date to the U.S. in 1954), *AKP*, Box 155, F. “Fred C. Schwarz”, -1955.

<sup>3</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Alfred Kohlberg, Jun. 25, 1955, *Ibid.* ; Fred C. Schwarz, “Fred Schwarz, M.D. – Executive Director”, *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 1956, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Grutzner, “Reports of Dr. Schwarz’s Anti-Communist”, *loc. cit.*, 9.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in Brooks R. Walker, *The Christian Fright Peddlers*, *op. cit.*, 59.

Due to the Australian's wide use of unscheduled touring, as well as his readiness to speak to anybody who might listen to him, a day could well include three or four lectures. Private correspondence and Crusade literature contain many examples. On February 9, 1955, he spoke in the morning at Hamline University of Minnesota on the subject "Can We Outreach, Outlive, and Outdie the Communists?" At noon he spoke before a few hundred people at the St. Paul Masonic lodge. Later, he went back again at Hamline auditorium for a public discussion on communism, and he ended up his evening addressing a rally sponsored by the Northwest Nurses Association and Allied Health Groups. "It is amazing", Schwarz wrote, "that my voice has been standing up to a schedule of meetings most people would consider impossible"<sup>6</sup>. Three months later on May 3, 1955, he addressed the State Assembly of California in the morning, the assembly of the Sacramento Junior College at noon, the Senate of California in the afternoon, and finished the day addressing a rally in a high school auditorium<sup>7</sup>. Later, he went to Hawaii and delivered more than 24 lectures in six days: "We spoke to every public high school and most of the private ones on the most populous Island of Oahu; to a radio network audience every evening, and to many of the Civic Clubs and in the Churches"<sup>8</sup>.

Unscheduled touring does not mean that the crusader worked without any prepared itinerary. Most of his tours were in fact planned weeks or months in advance. Schwarz preferred travelling to a given area with a plan. However, a single engagement was enough reason for him to travel to a region. Often, he announced the itinerary in his newsletter and asked his supporters for help: "Throughout November, I will be working in Kansas City, Missouri, and surrounding areas. (...) I will be delighted to hear of any openings or contracts in these areas"<sup>9</sup>. Arriving on location, he would also solicit the help of a local contact, hoping that word-of-mouth suffice to fill the lecturing schedule's remaining empty slots. For instance, a few weeks before Schwarz's visit to Philadelphia in spring 1959, Jim Colbert contacted oil millionaire J. Howard Pew, whom Schwarz had once met, to "enlist your cooperation in making this visit count to a maximum degree in

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<sup>6</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Fred Schwarz, M.D. – Managing Director", *CACC Newsletter*, Feb., 1955, 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*, "Fred Schwarz, M.D. – Managing Director", *Ibid.*, Nov., 1955, 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.; Lawrence M. Judd to Fred C. Schwarz, Oct. 11, 1955, reproduced in Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 207. Also look at Fred C. Schwarz, "Fred Schwarz, M.D. – Managing Director", *Ibid.*, Apr., 1955, 1. Available online at < <http://www.schwarzreport.org/> > (accessed March 14, 2010).; *Id.*, "Fred Schwarz, M.D. – Managing Director", *Ibid.*, Apr.-May. 1956.

<sup>9</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Anti-Communism School", *CACC Newsletter*, Oct. 1957, 6.

the cause of Christian liberty”<sup>10</sup>. Predictably, the Australian quickly found himself booked in many of Philly’s local churches and civic clubs<sup>11</sup>. Pew also managed to book Schwarz for a talk before students of Villanova University, and came close to getting the Australian the opportunity to address Temple University’s spring convocation. Pew had called the University’s president Robert L. Johnson three weeks before the event, but this proved to be too short-notice<sup>12</sup>.

The absence of clear archival records from the Crusade and Schwarz’s use of unscheduled touring -where many of engagements are quickly settled on with a handshake- makes it impossible to calculate with exactitude the number of lectures he delivered between May 1953 and July 31, 1960. Naturally, what remains possible is to identify those engagements which were explicitly described, mentioned, or acknowledged in the available documentation: newspapers, advertising, Crusade newsletters, private correspondence and reports from other organizations’ respective archives. There is evidence for 587 lectures the dates and locations of which were clearly identifiable (see Appendix 1) over the seven-year period covered. Clearly, this sample does not constitute the total amount of presentations which he gave during the discussed period. Nonetheless, they can only constitute a representative sample. The list does not include Schwarz’s numerous debates, and it probably tends to include presentations before more prestigious audiences. In all logic, the Crusade paid to advertise its events only when it deemed it possible and appropriate. Schwarz was more likely to speak of a state legislature lecture date than a talk before forty people in a church basement. However, the latter talk could have well found itself announced in the newsletter. All in all, this sample offers in all likelihood a reasonable cross-section of Schwarz lecture work.

More than 47 percent of Schwarz’s talks (275 occurrences) were given in faith-based institutions or settings: Churches, Bible institutes, seminars or colleges, and evangelical gatherings. Twenty percent (117 occurrences) were civic institutions. This category includes lectures in service clubs: Rotary, Lions and Kiwanis Clubs, as well as several smaller community clubs such as Breakfast Clubs, Sertoma Clubs, Parents & Citizens

<sup>10</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to J. Howard Pew, Mar. 28, 1959, *JHPPP*, Box 3, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, 1959”.

<sup>11</sup> Jim Colbert to J. Howard Pew, Apr. 10, 1959; “Itinerary for Dr. Schwarz, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 28, 1959, through May 12, 1959”, *Ibid*.

<sup>12</sup> J. Howard Pew to E. K. Daly, Apr. 3, 1959; E.K. Daly to J. Howard Pew, Apr. 13, 1959; Robert L. Johnson, Apr. 13, 1959, *Ibid*.



Clubs. It also includes the American Legion and other veterans' associations. Seventeen percent (101 occurrences) of the lectures were given in secular educational institutions such as high schools, colleges and universities. These three groups together account for more than 84 percent of the sample. The remainder consists of meetings before professional associations, private businesses' staffs (excluding lectures before clergymen and teachers' associations, both respectively classified in the religious and educational subgroups)<sup>13</sup>, and lectures before chambers of commerce (4.5 percent at all)<sup>14</sup>. Lectures before state institutions, including government agencies, public servants and elected officials in bipartisan contexts constituted 4.5 percent of the sample (26 occurrences), and those in the context of political or partisan meetings, 4.3 occurrences (25 occurrences)<sup>15</sup>.

An interesting comparison can be drawn between Schwarz and fellow professional anticommunist Herbert Philbrick in terms of targeted audiences. During the very same period covered by the aforementioned sample of Schwarz's engagements (May 1953-July 1960), Philbrick delivered 199 talks, at least when including only those he made with the Columbia Lecture Bureau, with which he had an exclusive contract<sup>16</sup> (while Schwarz accepted invitations to speak as much as he could, Philbrick charged an average of \$600 per contract, and turned down most of the requests during the second half of the 1950's)<sup>17</sup>. Philbrick's clientele shows some similarities to Schwarz's: 68 percent of his audiences were situated in religious, civic and in educational institutions, as compared to 84 percent for Schwarz. In Philbrick's case, educational institutions account for 21 percent, in contrast with Schwarz's 17 percent. But whereas Schwarz's religious audiences constituted 47 percent of his engagements, the pious only constituted 3.5

<sup>13</sup> Account for 21, or 3.5 percent of all lectures. For examples of professional associations: before the St. Paul Business and Professional Women's Association (Jan. 27, 1955); Northwest Nurses Association and Allied Health Groups (Feb. 9, 1955), or the Northern California Counter-Intelligence Association, regrouping retired intelligence officials (Apr. 29, 1955). For examples of lectures before private employees: Lockheed Aircraft in Georgia and Temeco Aircraft in Texas, in March 1956; several times before employees of Allen-Bradley Corporation in February and April 1958.

<sup>14</sup> Account for one percent of all lectures. For instance: before the Wisconsin Junior Chamber of Commerce (Oct. 20, 1953); the Long Beach Chamber of Commerce (Dec. 2, 1953); The Junior Chamber of Commerce of Dallas (Mar. 16, 1955); The Junior Chamber of Commerce of Houston (Mar. 29, 1955).

<sup>15</sup> The rest of the sample consists of unclassifiable engagements (2.7 percent).

<sup>16</sup> Copies of Philbrick's lecturing engagements contracts while his speaking career was managed by the Columbia Lecture Bureau (from 1952 to 1965), are included in the Philbrick papers available at the Library of Congress' Manuscript Division. Columbia Lecture Bureau contracts, *HPP*, Box 236, "Speeches and Writings" Series, F. 5 to 7, "Contracts". This collection is a gold mine providing an insight view on the career of a successful professional anticommunist.

<sup>17</sup> Donald T. Critchlow, *The Conservative Ascendancy: How the GOP Right Made Political History*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2007, 37. A life of endless touring had not been always been Philbrick's prime project. With six children from his first marriage, he settled in Rye, New Hampshire, and bought a general store in 1954, but disappointing but bad sales forced him to close the business by the late 1950's. An. "Philbrick, Now Leading Fourth Live", *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Jun. 10, 1956, C6.; Herbert Philbrick, Nov. 7, 1960, *HPP*, Box 185, "General Correspondence" Series, F. 1, "Strube, William P. - General, 1959-1973".

percent of Philbrick's listening public. The bulk of Philbrick's speaking contracts were with civic institutions (43.5 percent), more than twice Schwarz's proportion<sup>18</sup>. In sum, compared to Philbrick, Schwarz did the churches and lectured much more for much less.

## 6.2 Stirring Up the Pupils: Religious Institutions

More of half of the talks Schwarz delivered in religious settings were given in churches. Despite continuing efforts on the part of Schwarz to diversify as much as he could his pool of supporters in more secular directions during the 1950's, churches and other religious institutions, especially conservative ones, formed the core of his clientele. Discussing a 1964 a survey conducted by the Center for Political Studies at the University of Michigan Clyde Wilcox states that knowledge of the Crusade "was significantly higher among respondents who attended evangelical, fundamentalist, or Pentecostal denominations, among those who believed that the Bible is the inspired word of God, and among those who attended churches in which elections were discussed". Moreover, among these same groups, awareness of the Crusade was proportional to church attendance, confirming, as Wilcox notes, that "church networks were a source of information about the Crusade"<sup>19</sup>.

During the Cold War, American evangelicals were beginning to form what Angela Lahr calls "a new relationship with the larger American culture"<sup>20</sup>. Figures like Schwarz were key in helping evangelicals embrace American nationalism, voicing Biblical or millenarian interpretations of the Cold War angst, as well as calling Christian believers to a renewed involvement in this world. In his groundbreaking study *The Restructuring of American Religion*, sociologist Robert Wuthnow notes that anticommunism among American Protestants across the 1950's found its most intense support not in major evangelical churches bordering on the mainstream of American religious life, but rather in small independent churches "who had already made a strict break with mainstream culture and who expected the wrath of God to descend on America at any moment in the

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<sup>18</sup> Philbrick gave far more lectures than Schwarz before professional associations and chambers of commerce.

<sup>19</sup> Clyde Wilcox, *God's Warriors: The Christian Right in Twentieth-Century America*, Baltimore and London, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992, 72-73.

<sup>20</sup> Angela M. Lahr, *Millennial Dreams and Apocalyptic Nightmares*, *op. cit.*, 12.

guise of communism”<sup>21</sup>. This assessment seems especially true in light of the Crusade experience during these years. In a few instances, Schwarz’s lectures were delivered before major churches with large congregations, understood here as having memberships numbering at least one thousand: the Church of the Open Door in Los Angeles (October 1953), the Moody Church in Chicago (January 1954), the Foothill Baptist Church of Oakland (March and September 1954), or the First Baptist Church of Dallas (March 1955). Schwarz also participated in mass evangelical rallies such as the Winona Bible Lake Conferences or Youth for Christ rallies, with crowds numbering thousands<sup>22</sup>. Yet, he spoke mostly before small congregations: The Evangelical United Brethren Church of Long Beach; the Grand Avenue Alliance Church of Oakland; the First Covenant Church of Minnesota; the Hansberger Memorial Methodist Church of Columbus, and so on. The Crusader wrote that most of the churches which welcomed him were “evangelical and small”:

“I welcomed any opportunity to preach – morning and evening services, special church groups, such as adults Sunday school classes, and gathering of women, men, or youth. Most of these churches were eager to expand their ministry, and the possibility that a message on Communism would attract non-church-goers appealed to many ministers”<sup>23</sup>.

It was in the context of these gatherings that Schwarz most influenced Americans evangelicals. The crusader brought his message to many of those who had not yet been reached by the neo-evangelical call to reengage the culture. In late 1954, Schwarz visited the Detroit Bible Institute, later renamed William Tyndale College. College’s president Roy L. Alldrich affirmed that the Australian offered the “most stimulating picture that I have ever known to be presented” on the theme of communism<sup>24</sup>. This talk by Schwarz impressed future fundamentalist leader Norman Geisler, co-founder of North Carolina’s Southern Evangelical Seminary. In December 1956, in Pasadena, twenty-year old expatriated Southerner James C. Dobson, heard Schwarz. “I was”, wrote the future

<sup>21</sup> Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1987, 183.

<sup>22</sup> YFC meetings were held in Long Beach with his friend Colbert, but also in Oakland, Cleveland, Dallas, Brentwood (Mo.) and Spokane. Held respectively on Sept. 5 and Dec. 7, 1953; Jan. 9, 1954; Jan. 21, Mar. 12, 1955; Apr. 28 1956; May 11 and 18, 1957; Feb. 21, 1959.

<sup>23</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 107-108.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, “Fred C. Schwarz, M.D. – Managing Director”, *CACC Newsletter*, Nov. 1954, Available online at <<http://www.schwarzreport.org/>> (accessed March 14, 2010).

founder of Focus on the Family, “deeply impressed and influenced by his words that day. I still remember that compelling speech, which nudged me towards a conservative point of view”<sup>25</sup>.

Schwarz’s conviction that the root of communism laid in its atheistic nature, and the manner in which he demonstrated this relationship were particularly effective. As he put it: “When [Communists] deny God, they simultaneously deny every virtue and every value that originates with God. They deny moral law. They deny absolute truth and righteousness”<sup>26</sup>. It might come as a surprise that this emphasis on atheism as the root of the Red evil was not common in the evangelical world before the late 1950’s. Communism was initially rejected not so much because of its atheistic roots but rather because of its totalitarianism, which was conceived as bringing economic solutions to spiritual needs. “It represented”, Wuthnow writes, “a collapse of the essential biblical distinction between ultimacy and the mundane, between creator and created; it identified ultimate authority with the state, a concrete social institution”<sup>27</sup>. Communism was seen as offering material solutions to spiritual problems. Schwarz’s twist was to identify obsessively the Godless nature of this materialism. Communism, he said, had three laws in need of being rejected by all Bible-believing Christians: atheism -the most important one-, materialism (the idea that man is entirely an evolutionary product with “no soul, no spirit, no significant individual value, no continuity of life”) and economic determinism (the idea that human “intelligence, personality, emotional and religious life merely reflect the economic environment”)<sup>28</sup>.

Moreover, Schwarz’s relentlessly emphasised the strong link between atheism on the one hand and the repudiation of ethics and morality on the other. Communism was caused by the abandonment of religion and moral virtues, it was not created by poverty. Admittedly, atheists could be anticommunists to the degree that this creed conflicted with “some of their other convictions such as devotion to individual liberty”<sup>29</sup>. But atheism was communism’s source, and as such had to be militantly combated as much as communism itself. This identification opened the door for an extension of

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in “Frederick Charles Schwarz, January 15, 1913 – January 24, 2009”, *The Schwarz Report*, Vol. 49, No. 3, March 2009, 2.

<sup>26</sup> Quoted in Brooks R. Walker, *The Christian Fright Peddlers*, *op. cit.*, 61.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion*, *op. cit.*, 52.

<sup>28</sup> Quoted in Brooks R. Walker, *The Christian Fright Peddlers*, *op. cit.*, 61-62.

<sup>29</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 310.

anticommunism to different spheres of society. Schwarz thus contributed to an awakening among conservative evangelicals to the need to engage directly in public life so as to struggle against communism and its roots.

During the early 1960's, America saw the earliest manifestations of the rise of a fundamentalist political right evolving more or less alongside the more secular conservative movement. One of the first observers of this dynamic, David Danzig, noted the central role played by communism in this mobilization. The conflict with communism, "is not one of blocs, but of faiths, part of the unending struggle between God and the devil. The danger of communism, therefore, is from within -from the corrosion of faith by insidious doctrines (...)"<sup>30</sup>. Danzig also observed the appreciation several new fundamentalist leaders had for the work of Schwarz. In 1962, Gerri von Frellick, a lay Southern Baptist leader who founded Christian Citizen, an early Christian right political group which sought to help "evangelical Christians to control the local, state and Federal Governments". He praised the Crusade as a "terrific" organization, "doing a fabulous job"<sup>31</sup>.

As opposition to communism emerged as a basic feature of the evangelical worldview, denominational strife among evangelicals waned, paving the way for Schwarz and other conservative preachers to carry their gospel across borders within American Protestantism and sometimes beyond them. Of Schwarz's religious lectures, 35.4 percent were delivered in churches or institutions of his own Baptist affiliation (97 out of 275). However, the remainder of his presentations were given in a wide array of denominations: Methodist (13 occurrences), Pentecostal (9, including Assemblies of God and Foursquare Gospel churches), United Brethren (7), Disciples of Christ (7), Lutheran (4), Churches of the Nazarene (4), Presbyterian (4), Salvation Army (2) and various smaller denominations Schwarz visited once, such as the Christian Missionary Alliance or the Society of Friends<sup>32</sup>. These findings are consistent with those of a survey the Crusade conducted itself in a later period of its history (1969). Schwarz inquired in a

<sup>30</sup> David Danzig, "The Radical Right and the Rise of the Fundamentalist Minority", *Commentary*, Apr. 1962, 292.

<sup>31</sup> Quoted in John Wicklein, "Christian Group Aims at Politics: Conservative Protestants to Work at Precinct Level", *New York Times*, Thu., Feb. 1, 1962, 23.

<sup>32</sup> Almost all these churches, either denominationally-affiliated or not, underwent a great expansion in members throughout the 1950's. Assemblies of God had 2,000 new congregations, resulting in an 18 percent membership increase in the ten years following 1952. The Church of the Nazarene expanded with 1,000 congregations and 37 membership increase. The Southern Baptist Convention alone experienced a rise of 4,000 new congregations and an astonishing 2 million new members. Figures from *Ibid.*, 183.

questionnaire about the denominational affiliation of the churches which received the Crusade newsletter. Over 308 replies, 111, or 36 percent, were Baptist, with the rest of the sample constituted by a wide array of different traditions: Lutheran (26), Methodist (24), Pentecostal (15), Presbyterian (14), and so forth. The only noticeable difference was the presence of a Catholic group (33 occurrences), reflecting an age of rising ecumenism<sup>33</sup>.

The Crusade's interdenominational approach illustrates how from the Cold War on, American religion underwent a "restructuring" process, wherein ideological differences, rather than denominational ones, gradually became the main polarizing force within churches. Divides over the Red issue were the first visible signs of this new dynamic. Evangelical churches became increasingly characterized by their common strong opposition to communism and "the threat to godliness posed by communists at home and abroad"<sup>34</sup>, Wuthnow writes, while mainstream churches went in the opposite direction. In late 1958, several hundred clergymen and laymen from mainline Protestant churches met at a conference sponsored by the National Council of Churches' Department of International Affairs. This gathering recommended that the U.S. should support the inclusion of Red China in the United Nations. This controversial resolution deeply divided the NCC and was ultimately not considered as the organization's policy statement. Nevertheless, it exposed the deepening rift over the Red issue among American Protestant churches. It was seen as by conservative Protestants as another sign of the hazards of liberal Protestantism, "an ominous development", as described by NAE figure and *Christianity Today* editor L. Nelson Bell in a letter to Henry Luce<sup>35</sup>.

During a tour in Northern California in the spring of 1955, Schwarz faced an unexpected opposition on the part of several Christian community leaders, three of them Methodist ministers, who wrote to the dean of the Sacramento Junior College in protest against his inviting of Schwarz to lecture before the college's students. In times when "calm judgements" were needed, "I can not feel that bringing in a paid professional rabble rouser is in that interest", Wesleyan Methodist minister Correll M. Julian wrote,

<sup>33</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "The Churches and Communism", *CACC Newsletter*, Feb. 1, 1969, 6.

<sup>34</sup> Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion*, *op. cit.*, 182-183.

<sup>35</sup> An., "Red China Recognition Proposal Draws Fire", *The Hartford Courant*, Sun., Nov. 30, 1958, 38A.; Fulton Lewis Jr., "Washington Report", *Reading Eagle*, Fri., Dec. 5, 1958, 10.; L. Nelson Bell to Henry Luce, Dec. 20, 1958, *LNB*, Box 38, F. 33, "Luce, Henry, 1958-1963".

adding that his own survey among Methodist ministers of Sacramento “convinces me that you will have the ill-will of many churchmen, altho (sic) of course you will have the support of a certain wing of the church”<sup>36</sup>. Another minister, Hillis Culver of the Asbury Methodist Church, wrote: “We do not need our blood stirred up with hatred towards communism anymore than it has been done already”<sup>37</sup>. Galen Lee Rose, Secretary of the Sacramento Council of Churches (NCC-affiliated) pointed out that inviting the crusader was a bad idea considering the “approach which Dr. Schwarz makes and being familiar with the spirit of some of those in the Midwest who are promoting his appearance”<sup>38</sup>. The talk at the Sacramento Junior College was maintained as scheduled, but Schwarz wrote a reply in his newsletter. This was, he noted, “indicative of the extent to which sympathy towards godlessness has penetrated the official Christian churches”. This liberal opposition, he added, wished to “slander and smear with all the evil attitudes and prejudices, pre-formed judgement, and complete contempt for both truth and Christian charity”<sup>39</sup>. A similar episode took place in 1958, as Schwarz was about to address students of a state college in the context of a “Religious Emphasis Week” program. The visit was cancelled on short notice by the church body overseeing the program. The cancellation letter indicated that after a close study of Schwarz’s material, “your message is not sufficiently grounded in the spiritual strength of liberal Christianity to justify its presentation at a Religious Emphasis Week program”<sup>40</sup>. “I cannot say I am surprised”, the crusader wrote, “as I have had previous experience of the illiberality of the so-called liberals in religious as well as other realms”<sup>41</sup>.

### **6.3 The Politics of Networking: Civic Institutions**

As noted, civic institutions comprise 20 percent (117 occurrences) of Schwarz’s lecturing clientele. The world of U.S. grassroots anticommunism during the Cold War would be impossible to understand without taking into account the role of civic institutions that provided a sense of community and belonging in times of accelerated

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<sup>36</sup> Correll M. Julian to Russell C. Azzara, Apr. 27, 1955, letter reproduced in *CACC Newsletter*, May 1955, 2-3.

<sup>37</sup> Hillis Culver to Russell C. Azzara, Apr. 27, 1955, letter reproduced in *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>38</sup> Rev. Galen Lee Rose to Russell C. Azzara, Apr. 30, 1955, letter reproduced in *Ibid.*, 4-5.

<sup>39</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>40</sup> Undated Letter, Reproduced in Fred C. Schwarz, “Semantic Sabotage”, *CACC Newsletter*, Nov. 1958, 1-3.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

suburbanization and social change. American society has for long been characterized by its proliferation of voluntary organizations. Arthur M. Schlesinger once called his country a “Nation of Joiners”. Tocqueville remarked that Americans “constantly form associations”<sup>42</sup>. Max Weber for his part considered the United States “association-land par excellence”<sup>43</sup>. In 1955, a high-sample survey showed that more than 36 percent of American adults were members of a voluntary association (excluding churches and unions)<sup>44</sup>.

The great majority of civic institutions which constituted the professional anticommunists’ bread and butter belonged to two categories: patriotic veterans’ associations, and service clubs. Both types of civic institutions began showing interest for Schwarz’s lectures early on. In early May 1952, he addressed the American Legion for the first time at Hollywood Post, n. 43. Its local leader, Commander Frank P. O’Brien, hailed the Australian’s for his “great service acquainting people not alone of the menace of Communism but regarding the malevolent people directing its movement”<sup>45</sup>. From the beginning, service clubs were also part of his circuit: “We are having a great time at the University of Eastern New Mexico and in surrounding cities speaking approximately four times daily; Radio, University, Rotary, Lions, Churches, etc.”, he wrote in 1952<sup>46</sup>.

It seems to be the case that the crusader’s momentum among these institutions slowed down upon his 1953 return to America to found the Crusade. Only eight lectures before civic institutions are identifiable between May 1953 and December 31, 1954. A turning point transpired during Schwarz’s campaign in the St. Paul-Minneapolis area in early 1955. In a single week, Schwarz addressed the St. Paul downtown Lions Club, the Minneapolis Business Forum, the St. Paul Kiwanis, an American Legion post, the St. Paul Rotary and the Six O’clock Club of Minneapolis. In the previous 18 months, the crusader had addressed civic institutions eight times (at least in the sample here used). In

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<sup>42</sup> Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, New York, Knopf, 1961, 141.

<sup>43</sup> Max Weber, quoted in Jose C. Moya, “Immigrants and Associations: A Global and Historical Perspective”, *Journal and Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 5, 836.

<sup>44</sup> Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, “Voluntary Associations and American Adults Evidence From National Sample Surveys”, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 23, No. 3, Jun. 1958, 287. In this study, Jews were the most assiduous religious group in terms of voluntary associations, with 55 percent of them part of at least of association, followed by Protestants with 36 percent and Catholics with 31 percent. Black Americans were comparatively less inclined to belong to a voluntary association (27 percent) than Whites (37 percent).

<sup>45</sup> Frank P. O’Brien, Adjutant, to Fred C. Schwarz, May 8, 1952, *CMP*, F. ‘Dr. F. C. Schwarz – Alvalea – 142 Concord, North Strathfield, Australia’.

<sup>46</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Carl McIntire, Jun. 12, 1952, *Ibid.*



the following 18 months, he addressed such gatherings 48 times. Schwarz himself noted the change in his newsletter, indicating that the Minnesota tour in early 1955 had been characterized by the “most remarkable schedule of secular meetings. The response of secular groups to the ministry has been phenomenal, and some of the meetings must be well-nigh unique in the history of Christian preaching”<sup>47</sup>. As the Crusade was about to relocate in California in May 1956, its popularity among veterans’ associations and service clubs had reached a plateau that remained relatively unchanged until 1960. This success among both veterans’ associations and service clubs opened him the doors of huge, nationally-entrenched associations that proved one of the Crusade’s most consistent source of contacts and revenues.

The American Legion belongs to an array of national patriotic institutions the contribution of which to the anticommunist crusade has been the object of little historical research, along with such groups as Daughters of the American Revolution and the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW)<sup>48</sup>. The American Legion was founded in March 1919 by a group of high-ranking officers from the WWI American Expeditionary Force, with the financial help of several Wall Street institutions such as J.P. Morgan and Company. Schrecker writes that the Legion was anticommunist “from birth”<sup>49</sup>: one of its objectives was to shelter American soldiers from the “revolutionary unrest that was sweeping the Old World”<sup>50</sup>. In the following years, the Legion became the country’s most important veteran’s organization, adopting an agenda where the defense of veterans’ interests -the American Legion was essential to the creation of the Department of Veterans Affairs-coalesced with nationalism, anticommunism and nativism. The Legion took active part in the first “Red Scare” (1919-1920), as its members felt “that their service in defense of America gave them a special responsibility to stamp out subversive thoughts before they could take root”<sup>51</sup>, historian Thomas B. Littlewood observes. The Legion helped police authorities to repress Communists, “Wobblies” and other radicals and remained throughout the 1920’s and 1930’s at the forefront of conservative patriotic organizations,

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<sup>47</sup>Fred C. Schwarz, “Fred C. Schwarz, M.D. – Managing Director”, *Ibid.*, Feb. 1955, 2.

<sup>48</sup> Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes*, *op. cit.*, 61-62.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> Thomas B. Littlewood, *Soldiers Back Home: The American Legion in Illinois, 1919-1939*, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 2004, 118.

notably through its campaigns to Americanize immigrants and eradicate subversive activity from American institutions<sup>52</sup>. “The American Legion”, said its 1923-1924 National Commander Alvin M. Owsley, “is fighting every element that threatens our democratic government – soviets, anarchists, I.W.W., revolutionary socialists and every other red”<sup>53</sup>.

In the early 1950’s veterans’ associations experienced a Golden Age with the replenishment they received from WWII and the Korean War. In 1950, the Legion had about 2.5 million members, and the Veterans of Foreign Wars had one million<sup>54</sup>. These organizations were unmistakably an essential ingredient of Cold War anticommunist activism at the grassroots level. In all American states, they gathered information on Communist and/or left-wing activists; they collaborated with the local police, FBI and congressional investigators to fight the Red menace. They also coordinated, animated and organized the anticommunist cultural life in scores of communities, M.J. Heale explains: “The veterans’ groups sponsored local antiradicalism seminars, presented public and college libraries with anticommunist literature, and supported such enterprises as the All-American Conference to Combat Communism, an annual event of the 1950’s”<sup>55</sup>. In May 1950, the American Legion, aided by professional anticommunist Ben Gitlow, staged a mock Communist takeover in the small town of Mosinee, Wisconsin. The local police chief was theoretically “shot”, and the mayor was dragged from his bed into the snowy streets where he was denounced as an “enemy of the people”. Restaurants offered “Communist” meals (potato soup and black bread) and stores inflated their prices to reflect living costs in Red countries. The experiment was brought to an unfortunate end when the mayor died from a heart attack a few hours after the beginning of the drill<sup>56</sup>.

From early 1955 on, Schwarz’s routinely included always stopovers in Legion posts. In each community the Legion was one of the most trusted and prestigious local forum.

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<sup>52</sup> William Pencak, *For God and Country: The American Legion, 1919-1941*, Boston, Northeastern University Press, 1989, 265-276. The vigilante excesses of the Legion’s involvement in the first Red Scare -including the infamous shooting of the 1919 Armistice Day in Washington- led its members to try adopting a more positive image by the 1920.

<sup>53</sup> In the same interview Owsley also stated: “Do not forget that the Fascisti are to Italy what the American Legion is to the United States”. Interview with the *National Education Association*, 1923, quoted in Charles Bufe, ed., *The Heretic’s Handbook of Quotations: Cutting Comments on Burning Issues*, Tucson, Sharp Press, 2001, 118.

<sup>54</sup> M.J. Heale, *American Anticommunism*, *op. cit.*, 172-173.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 173.

<sup>56</sup> Richard Gid Powers, *Not Without Honor*, *op. cit.*, 254.; AP Correspondent, “Wisconsin Town Goes Red for Day”, *Eugene Register-Guard*, Mon., May 1, 1950, 1.; An., “Wisconsin Mayor Has Heart Attack After Red ‘Coup’”, *The Evening Independent*, Tue., May 2, 1950, 3.

Each presentation in such a place almost guaranteed several bookings elsewhere, as legionnaires allowed Schwarz to use their numerous contacts in the surrounding community among political, business or civic leaders, as well as among fellow legionnaires spread out across the nation. Becoming a protégé of the Legion was a lecturer's dream. Schwarz had carte blanche to slam the Reds as virulently as he wanted<sup>57</sup>. The Legion paid good honorariums and treated its guests like stars.

After the Legion sponsored a huge rally organized for Schwarz at Minneapolis' Lyceum Theater in January 1955, Legion members unexpectedly asked him to speak at another rally in Texas the following day and chartered a plane to fly him directly to the Sunbelt South overnight<sup>58</sup>. In May of the same year, in one of Schwarz's typically hectic lecturing days, the Legion chartered another plane so as to bring the Australian from Sacramento to Indianapolis, where he was asked to be the evening guest speaker for the National Commander's Banquet for the executives of the Legion. Schwarz then received nothing less than a police escort, thanks to Legion contacts among local law-enforcement authorities, so that the good doctor would arrive in time to a plane back to the West Coast for another series of lectures<sup>59</sup>. By the end of the same year he was again invited to address the American Legion Auxiliary at its National Convention in Miami, all expenses covered. On still another occasion, Schwarz was in Detroit when he flew to Austin after receiving a proposal to address the American Legion Women's Auxiliary, a Legion offshoot founded in 1944 and which included the female relatives of legionnaires or servicemen who died during the war<sup>60</sup>. Schwarz attended the Bluebonnet Girls State, a patriotic summer program put together by the Auxiliary in which young girls organized the political life of a mythic "51<sup>st</sup> state" so as to teach a practical experience in the lessons of citizenship and government. He described the presentation he made before four hundred girls averaging 17 years old as "one of the most fascinating and interesting

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<sup>57</sup> Addressing the Hugh A. Carlisle Legion Post of Albuquerque, New Mexico, he said: "One third of the people of Albuquerque would be done-away with if the Communist (sic) took over the United States". An., "Reds Would Slay Throngs, Visitor Tells Legionnaires", *Albuquerque Journal*, Nov. 21, 1952, 28.

<sup>58</sup>*Id.*, "Dear Friend and Member", *Ibid.*, Feb. 1955, 2.

<sup>59</sup>*Id.*, "Dear Member and Friend", *Ibid.*, May 1955, 6.

<sup>60</sup> *Id.*, "Fred Schwarz, M.D. - Managing Director", *Ibid.*, May, 1955, 2.; William Pencak, *For God and Country: The American Legion, 1919-1941*, Boston, Northeastern University Press, 1989, 296. In the 1950's, the event was still in its first years, but grew rapidly under the energetic leadership of its Director Frances Goff. Schwarz was one of many high-profile speakers Goff managed to schedule for the Girls State camps. It also included Barbars Jordan, George Bush, Lloyd Bentsen and several governors of Texas. See Nancy Beck Young and Lewis L. Gould, *Texas, Her Texas: The Life and Times of Frances Goff*, Austin, Texas State Historical Association for the Center for American History, 1997.

things which I have ever experienced”<sup>61</sup>. The Legion, Schwarz noted after a successful tour, “has identified itself very warmly with the work of the Crusade. My heart was warmed that they should sponsor me, an alien civilian”<sup>62</sup>.

The service club constituted the other important type of civic institutions<sup>63</sup>. Throughout the 1950’s, these clubs were overwhelmingly local branches of one of about twenty national and international organizations that had formed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. More than 90 percent belonged to the “big three”: Kiwanis International, Rotary International and the International Association of Lions<sup>64</sup>. Present in all U.S. towns and cities, they allowed the gathering of any given community’s most prominent citizens, overwhelmingly old stock American Protestants until the 1940’s<sup>65</sup>. Once a week, in most American communities, local doctors, bankers, lawyers and other prominent citizens met for lunch, socialized, conducted business and set up community service initiatives<sup>66</sup>. Service clubs were driven by the contradictory dynamics of the middle-class. They drew their numbers primarily from white-collars embracing values of progress and corporate capitalism. Yet they wished to protect community life and local business from the effects of big business, bureaucratization, and state expansion. Historian Jeffrey Charles writes that many of the clubs’ activities were imbued by traditionalism and moralism. They constituted “attempts to inculcate character in youth, to strengthen their home towns against outside influences, and to restore simplicity and Christian values to their business transactions”<sup>67</sup>. Losing some traction among the middle-class during the Depression years, service clubs benefitted from the subsequent economic boom and suburban sprawl, where they profited from the widespread desire to emulate small-town community<sup>68</sup>.

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<sup>61</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Fred Schwarz, M.D. – Managing Director”, *loc. cit.*, May, 1955, 3.

<sup>62</sup> *Id.*, “Dear Members and Friends”, *Ibid.*, Feb. 1955, 2.

<sup>63</sup> Mirroring the situation pertaining to the American Legion, service clubs have been left almost unstudied by the current historiography, the only exception here being Jeffrey Charles’ 1993 monograph on the issue.

<sup>64</sup> Jeffrey A. Charles, *Service Clubs in American Society: Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions*, Campaign, University of Illinois Press, 1993, 4. Differences between each organization were more symbolic than genuine: Lions were somewhat more present in smaller communities, while Rotary was allegedly more upper-class oriented. Jeffrey Charles thus treated them altogether as one big group in his monograph.

<sup>65</sup> Alan R. Raucher, “Dime Store Chains: The Making of Organization Men, 1880-1940”, *The Business History Review*, Vol. 65, No. 1, Small Business and Its Rivals, Spring 1991, 155.

<sup>66</sup> Elisabeth Ginsburg, “Service Clubs Rallying to Reverse Their Slide”, *New York Times*, Oct. 4, 1992, Available online at < <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/10/04/nyregion/service-clubs-rallying-to-reverse-their-slide.html?pagewanted=all> > (accessed February 16, 2010).

<sup>67</sup> Jeffrey A. Charles, *op. cit.*, 6.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.; Daniel E. Sutherland, “Southern Fraternal Organizations in the North”, *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 53, No. 4, Nov. 1987, 592.

Service clubs constituted a macrocosm. They were present in each and every community. They invariably regrouped community leaders, making them highly useful for any publicity-seeking lecturer. Due to their voluntary spirit, their honorariums were relatively low<sup>69</sup>. However, they offered Schwarz much influence. Invariably, news of Schwarz travelled along the various organizations' grapevines<sup>70</sup>. Schwarz's reputation among service clubs reached its height in the late 1950's. In March 1959, the New Hampshire Lion Clubs and the state's five major veterans' organizations organized a rally for Schwarz. In the audience of 1,500 people were Republican governor Wesley Powell and most of New Hampshire's political elite. The public admitted free of charge "because the sponsors feel everybody should hear Doctor Schwarz and his vital message"<sup>71</sup>. Earlier that day, the crusader had addressed the state's legislature. Shortly after, the New Hampshire Lions published in their newsletter a cartoon in which a soviet commissar asks a colleague about the new "secret weapon" designed by capitalists. He receives the reply: "Da, da, Commissar, she is call Schwarznick"<sup>72</sup>.

#### 6.4 Cold War and Education: Schools

Secular educational institutions composed 17 percent of Schwarz's lecture audiences. This category includes talks delivered to school board officials and professional educators' associations. Schwarz began cracking into the secular educational sector early on. In 1953 and 1954, schools constituted, along with churches, the first set of institutions showing interest in the Australian's expertise. This demand came primarily for talks in high schools. From May 1953 to May 1956, 35 of 47 of Schwarz's identified speaking engagements in educational settings took place in high schools. Drawing effortlessly on

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<sup>69</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 108.

<sup>70</sup> An example among others: shortly after an appearance before the Los Angeles Breakfast Club in late 1955 a member of the audience contacted University of California Chancellor Rufus von Kleinschmidt, who asked Schwarz to appear twice on a television program he moderated, the *Teleforum*, which in turn produced another short-notice-invitation, this time to address the Institute of World Affairs organized by the University of Southern California., "Untitled", *CACC Newsletter*, Jan.-Feb. 1956, 6-7.; Meetings in civic clubs had also more important consequences at the local level due to their members' statuses. In March 1955, Schwarz arrived in the Dallas-Fort Worth area where he toured for over a month, delivering notably speeches at the local Legion post and the Dallas Lions Club. A few days after his lecture to the Lions Club, a controversy erupted when both the American Legion and the Lions Club decided to protest before the Dallas Museum of Fine Arts because of the alleged Communist nature of paintings exposed by the institution. It remains unclear if the Schwarz lectures played a role in these events, but the proximity of his lectures with these events is striking. Helen Bullock, "Psychiatrist Says: Food Poor Ally Against Marxism", *Dallas Morning News*, Sat., Mar. 12, 1955.; An., "More Groups Enter Art Museum Dispute", *Dallas Morning News*, Tue., Mar. 22, 1955. Both documents unpagged, from *AKP*, Box 155, F. "Fred C. Schwarz", -1955.

<sup>71</sup> Maurice McQuillen, "N.H. Vets Endorse Schwarz Rally", *Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader*, Tue., Mar. 31, 1959, 10.

<sup>72</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 108.

his own teaching experience for the Queensland Education Department, the good doctor knew how to capture young audiences' attention. As he did in other contexts, he made wide use of self-deprecating humor, joking notably about his accent. "Invariably", he wrote, "the students were interested and responsive. Question-and-answer periods were fascinating. Questions from junior high school students were direct and straightforward, but those from high school students were somewhat more sophisticated"<sup>73</sup>. During the Waterloo period, he also delivered a few lectures in higher education institutions such as the University of Minnesota, Hamline University (twice), Baylor University, the University of St. Thomas, the University of Southern California, and the Michigan State University<sup>74</sup>. "We rejoice to report that more and more frequently we are being heard in top educational centers", he wrote at the end of 1954<sup>75</sup>.

Lecturing in high schools required the formal approval of local or state educational administrations. The Australian excelled at this task, and in various instances he established peer-like relationships with educational professionals, thanks to his own background as teacher. A superintendent of Berkeley Public Schools wrote Schwarz after a lecture delivered to an audience composed of the entire teachers, supervisors and principals of Berkeley: "We want all our teachers to have a sufficient background on this subject so that they will be in a position to help children to learn something of the lives of people living under Communism as compared to the wonderfully privileged lives we live in the United States"<sup>76</sup>. In May 1955 Schwarz's tour in Sacramento schools was officially sponsored by the Sacramento Junior College and the Superintendent of Schools<sup>77</sup>. In October of the same year, Governor of Hawaii Samuel Wilder King proclaimed an "Education for Freedom Week", and the Crusade got a contract to be the official sponsoring agent for the information drive in public high schools<sup>78</sup>. A few months later, Schwarz was again in Hawaii, where he got collaboration from the superintendents of

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<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>74</sup> The Minnesota address was given at the convocation of the School of Agriculture. Interestingly the address at the Michigan State University was also given in the Fall of 1955 at the Management Conference of the Department of Agriculture. Baylor University was classified here as an educational institution, rather than a religious one, since it was already a research university by 1954-1955.

<sup>75</sup> *Id.*, "Dear Friend and Member", *CACC Newsletter*, Jan. 1955, 4. Later during the decade Schwarz made addresses at the San Jose State College, Tulane University, University of California at San Francisco, the Montana State College, the University of San Diego, Loyola University, Baylor University.

<sup>76</sup> Quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, "Dear Friend and Member", *loc. cit.*, Jan. 1955, 4.

<sup>77</sup> *Id.*, "Dear Friend and Member", *Ibid.*, May 1955, 2.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

education of the four Hawaiian Islands so as to conduct a new tour of high schools<sup>79</sup>. The crusader saw this as one of the most important aspects of his deeds: “Many people have been deluded that the foundation of Communism rests in the labor unions. This is untrue. The vast majority of Communist leaders throughout the world became Communists as students, atheistic in outlook”<sup>80</sup>.

Regardless of the speaking talent Schwarz, Philbrick and others, their success in American schools during the 1950’s reflected broader trends. “No man flying a warplane, no man with a defensive gun in his hand, can possibly be more important than a teacher”<sup>81</sup>. This sentence by President Eisenhower captures well the growing concern for educational issues in America during the postwar era. In contrast to the two world wars, where the key to U.S. victory was its military and industrial potential, education during the Cold War was often perceived as the single most important factor in the struggle over communism. The U.S. and the Soviet Union clashed as “self-proclaimed vanguards of rival new world orders, a confrontation that required superior methodologies for instilling values consistent with their respective planetary visions”, Andrew Hartman writes<sup>82</sup>. The U.S. system of public education, writes historian Julia L. Mickenberg, became infused with a great amount of the Cold War angst regarding future generations, and by the early 1950’s, it was increasingly invested with the mission of propagating patriotism and American values<sup>83</sup>. In 1950, the Truman administration created the Federal Civil Defense Administration (FCDA) aimed at propagandizing children, while also teach basic emergency preparation<sup>84</sup>. By 1952 the FCDA had been implemented in more than 88 percent of American schools. In 1955, Fred Schwarz was invited, like other professional anticommunists before and after him, to address FCDA staffers<sup>85</sup>.

This concern for education was most intensely felt by American conservatives. Since the 1930’s many of them had attacked progressive education, which they saw as a

<sup>79</sup> *Id.*, “Hawaii”, *Ibid.*, April-May 1956, 2.

<sup>80</sup> *Id.*, “Dear Friend and Member”, *loc. cit.*, Jan. 1955, 4.

<sup>81</sup> Quoted in William R. Conklin, “Eisenhower Says Farewell to Columbia University: Eisenhower Takes Leave on Columbia”, *New York Times*, Sat., Jan. 17, 1953, 1.

<sup>82</sup> Andrew Hartman, *Education and the Cold War: The Battle for the American School*, New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2008, 2.

<sup>83</sup> Julia L. Mickenberg, *Learning from the Left: Children’s Literature, the Cold War, and Radical Politics in the United States*, New York & Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006, 134.

<sup>84</sup> Andrew Hartman, *Education and the Cold War*, *op. cit.*, 71-72. This was the program that contained the infamous “duck and cover” drill popularized by the 1982 movie *Atomic Café*.

<sup>85</sup> Fred W. Kern to Fred C. Schwarz, Oct. 22, 1955, letter reproduced in *CACC Newsletter*, Jan.-Feb. 1956, 2-3. Besides some educational programs, the FCDA actually produced very little results, and was reorganized by Kennedy in 1962. See Dee Garrison, *Bracing for Armageddon: Why Civil Defence Never Worked*, New York & Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006, 34-42.

dangerous experiment designed by socialist intellectuals to manipulate innocent minds<sup>86</sup>. “Education”, Hartman writes, “was central to conservative anticommunism because, in the minds of conservatives, the schools were quintessential collectivist institutions, and the nation’s most influential educators promoted collectivism”<sup>87</sup>. Already in 1940-1941, the American Legion and the National Association of Manufacturers had successfully mounted a campaign against Harold Rugg’s textbooks *Man and His Changing Society*, distributed nationwide in the late 1930’s, for its alleged spreading of un-American, anti-capitalist and collectivist ideas<sup>88</sup>. The Korean War and its frightening stories of American soldiers psychologically indoctrinated into defecting to the Communists, popularized by Edward Hunter’s 1951 *Brain-Washing in Red China*, and by subsequent Hollywood movies, not only universalized the use of the term “brainwashing”, but also impregnated the collective psyche with the idea of coerced psychological control<sup>89</sup>. Pavlovian experiments in classical conditioning became a common reference in conversations on totalitarian education, as exemplified by their role in Aldous Huxley’s dystopia *A Brave New World*<sup>90</sup>. The theme of Communist brainwashing became a common element in Schwarz’s rhetoric by that time, and remained so until the late 1960’s. He often devoted an important part of his presentations to Communist mind-control. Ed Hunter participated himself to a few of the Crusade’s anticommunism schools in the early 1960’s. The Reds, the Schwarz once said, were “as far ahead of us in the control of the human mind as we are ahead of the Hottentots of Africa in the production of automobiles”<sup>91</sup>.

The new emphasis on psychology in the 1950’s -it was, after all, the Golden Age of Freudianism- reoriented the way conservatives conceptualized but also how unscrupulous minds -the intellectual and cultural left- could conceivably manipulate the masses. Amid rising concerns about education, American conservatives mobilized against progressive education, and infused Cold War rhetoric into the public education system. In the early 1950’s, a series of local school battles (Pasadena, 1950; Houston and Los Angeles, 1951)

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<sup>86</sup> Andrew Hartman, *Education and the Cold War*, *op. cit.*, 43.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>88</sup> The whole story is wonderfully summarized in Karen L. Riley, “The Triumph of Americanism: The American Legion vs. Harold Rugg”, in Karen L. Riley, ed., *Social Reconstruction: People, Politics, Perspectives*, Charlotte, Information Age Publishing, 2006, 112-126.

<sup>89</sup> Edward Hunter, *Brain-Washing in Red China: The Calculated Destruction of Men’s Minds*, New York, The Van Guard Press, 1951.

<sup>90</sup> Geoff Jaeger, “The Palanese Way: Engaged Enlightenment in Aldous Huxley’s Island”, in C.C. Barfoot, ed., *Aldous Huxley Between East and West*, New York, Editions Rodopi B.V., 2001, 123.

<sup>91</sup> Quoted in An., “Asia Sees Korea as Victory for China”, *loc. cit.*, 6.



embodied these fears by conservatives about progressive education and alleged Communist infiltration in American schools<sup>92</sup>. By the mid-1950's most conservative intellectuals (in particular, Sydney Hook and Russell Kirk) had integrated to their rhetoric educational traditionalism and the critique of progressive education, as did professional anticommunists like Luis Budenz, who claimed in 1954 that John Dewey's theories were "a wonderful aid to communist infiltration in the schools"<sup>93</sup>.

In the context of coexistence and the slackening of Cold War tensions, there emerged a new interest in the study of communism. A broad spectrum of voices advocated the integration of education on communism in school curriculums, as way to forestall the possible sway of Communist thought over the minds of youth. To be sure, some right-wingers took the position that the mere teaching about communism would open the door to Communist thought polluting young minds. In the early 1950's, at the height of McCarthyism, a controversy erupted in Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin, when it was disclosed that a high school teacher had exposed his American-Government class to a dispassionate evaluation of communism. "The reaction", wrote one journalist, "was immediate and unequivocal: The teacher's tires were slashed, his telephone rang at odd hours with anonymous calls and, inevitably, the school board decided not to renew his contract because of his "immaturity" "<sup>94</sup>. In 1955 the Senate of Florida adopted a proposal backed by the state's American Legion allowing the immediate discharge of any professor advocating or even teaching any doctrine "of opposition to competition in the field of business or the theory of free enterprise"<sup>95</sup>. As Richard Gid Powers observes, many conservatives still insisted on "traditional American values as the answer to communism", pointing out that studying communism in schools and colleges could not

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<sup>92</sup> This marks the earliest stages of a process that eventually led the schools and education to become some of the most important culture wars battlefields in America. See Michelle Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2011 (forthcoming). Many thanks to Mrs. Nickerson. Assuming the defense of community peace and cohesion against educators and psychologists, grassroots conservatives mobilized successfully for instance in Pasadena in 1950 to oust the city's progressive Superintendent Willard Goslin. The Pasadena fight generated a national attention in the media. For Hartman, it did not only demonstrated "the ways in which anticommunism served explicit political objectives, such as resistance to higher taxes and school desegregation", but also became a national showdown between defenders of progressive education and traditionalists. Andrew Hartman, *Education and the Cold War*, *op. cit.*, 107. See also Glen Warren Adams, *The UNESCO Controversy in Los Angeles, 1951-1953*, Ph. D. Thesis, History, University of Southern California, 1970; Melissa Marie Deckman, *School Board Battles: the Christian Right in Local Politics*, Washington D.C., Georgetown University Press, 2004, 7-10.

<sup>93</sup> Andrew Hartman, *Education and the Cold War*, *op. cit.*, 100.

<sup>94</sup> David A. Haberman, "Communism In an American Classroom", *Ave Maria*, Sept. 7, 1963, 10-13.

<sup>95</sup> AP Correspondent, "Teaching Curb on Calendar", *Daytona Beach Daily Journal*, Wed., Jun. 1, 1955, 1.

be as efficient as exposing students to the Bible and religious values<sup>96</sup>. Still, the idea of educating the public on communism was widely shared by the broader public by mid-decade. In 1954, at the annual convention of the American Bar Association (ABA), some members put forth the idea of a national program to educate the American public on communism. The proposal was defeated, an opponent commenting that communism was not needed in schools “even as a scarecrow”. Nonetheless, the idea was supported by a more than 67 percent of respondents to a national poll on the issue<sup>97</sup>. Three years later, the ABA endorsed a proposal brought forward by the Florida Bar Association, calling for national educational program on communism in high schools and colleges<sup>98</sup>.

Conservatives and militant anticommunists became the nation’s most active lobbyists for education on communism, but many liberal figures also supported the idea. In 1956, the Democratic-controlled U.S. Senate adopted a resolution to publish and distribute a handbook *The Communist Party, USA- What It Is-How It Works* “as a convenient handbook for Americans in an effort to counteract current misinformation regarding the Communist Movement”<sup>99</sup>. This was a lengthy document written by Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, including professional Red-baiter Ben Mandel. In 1957, past Harvard University President and America’s educational reformer James B Conant called a conference at Harvard uniting educators and government officials “for an organized national effort to enable American youth better to evaluate the struggle between communism and democracy”<sup>100</sup>.

In 1956, Pennsylvania became the first state to initiate a two-week course on communism for high school students<sup>101</sup>. Other states and school districts followed. In 1958, in Lowell, Massachusetts, a two-week high school program titled *The Big Lie* consisted mainly in some 400 questions and answers “pertaining to Communist plans for

<sup>96</sup> Richard Gid Powers, *Not Without Honor, op. cit.*, 255.

<sup>97</sup> AP Correspondent, “Bar Opposes Proposal to Teach Communism”, *The Day*, Wed., Aug. 18, 1954, 23.; AP Correspondent, “Poll Backs Teaching on Communism”, *Los Angeles Times*, Mon., Aug. 23, 1954, 6.

<sup>98</sup> Luther A. Huston, “Lectures Voted to Combat Reds: American Bar Association Asks Colleges and Schools to Explain Communism”, *New York Times*, Tue., Feb. 19, 1957, 14.

<sup>99</sup> Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee of the Judiciary, *The Communist Party, USA- What It Is-How It Works: A Handbook for Americans*, U.S. Senate, Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 84<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, Doc. 117.

<sup>100</sup> An., “Conant Will Make Keynote Talk for Summer Forum”, *Harvard Crimson*, Mar. 4, 1957, Available online at <<http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1957/3/4/conant-will-make-keynote-talk-for/>> (accessed February 24, 2009).

<sup>101</sup> AP Correspondent, “Urge Schools to Teach Reds”, *Gettysburg Times*, Mon., Oct. 8, 1956, 9.; Richard Gid Powers, *Not Without Honor, op. cit.*, 477.

world domination”<sup>102</sup>. Within a few years the movement to implement programs to teach communism in schools had spread nationwide. “By 1962”, Jonathan Zimmermann writes, “six states had passed laws mandating special instruction about communism; in thirty-four others education departments included such teaching in the state curriculum”<sup>103</sup>. This phenomenon was significantly shaped by regional subcultures: whereas promoters of school teaching on communism in the North often pleaded for an “objective” approach as most appropriate to shield students from communism -a booklet published by the American Legion and the NAE warned against resorting to “totalitarian propaganda techniques”-, the teaching was more openly hostile in Southern states where students were taught on the evils of communism, and often were exposed to right-wing rhetoric connecting communism to the welfare state or desegregation<sup>104</sup>.

In 1961, Kenneth Keating, Republican Senator from New York and leading proponent of the new educational trend, affirmed that only a few years before the mere suggestion of teaching communism in schools would have been “tantamount to propagandizing” for the Reds. Yet, Keating continued, “that feeling has changed, and the American people have matured in their attitudes towards world politics”: they realized that “information is a mighty weapon in any struggle”, and that “the immensity of the present conflict requires a superlatively informed populace indeed”<sup>105</sup>. In 1962, the American Legion, published in cooperation with the National Education Association a booklet titled *Teaching About Communism: Guidelines for Junior and Senior High School Teachers*<sup>106</sup>.

By the end of the decade, Schwarz’s booklets and recordings were used in some high schools in Southern California and Texas, and he was a regular speaker before school teacher conventions. When the Crusade began to hold its schools of anticommunism by the late 1950’s, the support and collaboration of local school boards proved a decisive factor to these events’ success. Communism, Schwarz said, “should be taught to

<sup>102</sup> An., “Education News: Varied Activity on the Campus And in the Classrooms”, *New York Times*, Sun., May 4, 1958, E9.

<sup>103</sup> Jonathan Zimmermann, *Whose America?: Culture Wars in the Public Schools*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2002, 105.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 105-106.

<sup>105</sup> Kenneth Keating, “Teaching Communism in the Schools”, *Congressional Record*, U.S. Senate, Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 87<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, July 3, 1961, 11766.

<sup>106</sup> Joint Committee of the National Education Association and the American Legion, *Teaching About Communism: Guidelines for Junior and Senior High School Teachers*, Indianapolis, American Legion, National Emblem Sales, 1962. that made detailed instructions to school boards nationwide for selecting content, material, classroom procedures, and even suggesting methods to present and explain this curriculum to local communities

American social students as cancer is taught to medical students, so that their education will be directed towards its elimination and defeat”<sup>107</sup>.

### 6.5 Geography

This examination of Schwarz’s tours would be incomplete without mentioning their geography. A breakdown of the available data reveals the state-by-state ranking as follows: California (122 occurrences), Minnesota (69), Hawaii (51), Texas (49), Washington State (47), Michigan (30), Missouri (30), District of Columbia (28), Pennsylvania (20), Montana (20), Iowa (19), Ohio (18), Wisconsin (17), Indiana (16), Illinois (13), Connecticut (10), Colorado (5), Virginia (4), New York (3), New Hampshire (3), Miami (2), Oregon (2), Georgia (2), New Mexico (1), Massachusetts (1), Maryland (1), and Louisiana (1). These results, however, should be taken with a certain caution. Had the complete list of talks Schwarz gave between 1953 and 1960 been available, it would have been easy to establish an exact topography of his touring activity. In the absence of such data, resorting to the aforementioned sample is hazardous since each time interval between two identified lectures is susceptible to have contained an unknown number of other engagements. While this detail has little bearing on the analysis of the nature of the institutions Schwarz addressed, since they were roughly the same from one region to the other, it impacts more on a geographical analysis. For instance, the Crusade’s newsletter of February 1955 indicated that the Australian planned to have speaking engagements in Richmond, Virginia, on February 24, while the next scheduled event was in Washington DC a few days after. Apart from a single mention in the newsletter that he would be addressing “the Immanuel Baptist Church” of Richmond, no trace of Crusade activity was found in Virginia newspapers during this period. Thus the crusader might have delivered talks which were unadvertised and/or booked on very short notice in Richmond. Also, as can be seen, Minnesota comes second in the state-by-state ranking, with 69 occurrences. However, it is quite likely that states such as Missouri, Illinois or Michigan, where the crusader spent more time throughout the 1950’s than in Minnesota, saw comparatively more of Schwarz’s lectures.

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<sup>107</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, quoted in Paul Harvey, “Slow Boat to Siberia by 1973”, *loc. cit.*,

When the data is analyzed on a regional basis (Northeast, South, Midwest, Pacific and West), the results confirm that the crusader's most intense center of activity was the Pacific area. The combined number of lectures in California, Washington State, Oregon and Hawaii amount to 222, or 37.8 percent of the total number. The Midwest follows with 197 talks (33.5 percent), or 215 (36.6 percent) if Ohio gets counted as Midwestern state. The northeast comes in third position, with 65 lectures (11 percent), or 83 (14 percent) if Ohio is counted as an eastern state. The South comes in fourth position with 59 talks, or a little more than 10 percent of all lectures. The non-Pacific West comes last, with 25 identified lectures (4 percent) delivered in Montana, Colorado and New Mexico. The Pacific and Midwest were in fact the only areas where the crusader toured continuously during the entire period covered. The Pacific region, and especially California which has most 122 occurrences (or 20.7 percent), was Schwarz's most solid stronghold. California was the state where Schwarz spent more time even when the time the Crusade was still headquartered in Iowa<sup>108</sup>. Within California, Long Beach ranks first with 22 occurrences<sup>109</sup>. Northern California, however, makes for a higher share of talks than Southern California, with 70 against 52. This testifies to the state-wide pool of contacts the crusader rapidly managed to establish in different sectors of the Golden State. In the Sacramento area, his contacts with local school authorities allowed him to make two short tours in the county's high schools. Even if the San Francisco area was traditionally more liberal than the rest of the state, it harboured numerous fundamentalist churches with which the Australian established and maintained several contacts. A good example is the church of the Reverend Guy Archer Weniger in Oakland, member of the Crusade's advisory board, who invited Schwarz to address his congregations on numerous instances. In the Washington State, his tours were concentrated in the state's more conservative inland region around Spokane than on the Pacific seaboard.

Schwarz's Midwestern itineraries generally contoured three areas. First, the region's upper rim and its main cities (St-Paul/Minneapolis, Detroit and Chicago). Second, Missouri, which became one of his favourite destination after he established contacts with

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<sup>108</sup> A calculation of Schwarz's whereabouts during the decade suggests that this was true already while Crusade was still headquartered in Iowa. During the 900 days (30 months) Schwarz was in America during the May 1953-May 1956 period, he spent an approximate 350 days in California, compared to 300 days for all the Midwestern states.

<sup>109</sup> Breakdown by California cities goes as follows: Long Beach (22), San Francisco (19), Sacramento (19), Oakland (15), Pasadena (15), Los Angeles (13), Fresno (10), San Jose (3), San Diego (2), Tracy (2), Berkeley (1) and Modesto (1).

the grassroots conservatives of the St. Louis/Alton area, which included Fred and Phyllis Schlafly. Third, the Indianapolis area, where the Australian laid the foundations of one of the nation's strongest zones of Crusade support. In Illinois, the tours focused on Chicago, where the crusader had established contacts among the city's thriving evangelical churches during his pre-Crusade tours of the early 1950's. In Michigan, the religious powerhouse of Grand Rapids was only visited one time. The crusader spent most of his time in the state's populous eastern area, notably visiting Flint, Detroit, Wayne, Ypsilanti, as well as Lansing, where in 1956 he addressed the state legislature. Schwarz's few trips in Iowa were centered in the Waterloo region, where he and Pietsch organized meetings and participated in rallies until the Crusade's move to Long Beach. After 1956, Schwarz visited Iowa less frequently and seems never to have returned to Waterloo. The Crusade's visibility in the state faded, and only Iowans with access to the national press could follow the organization's activities elsewhere in the country. In 1962, in a survey conducted by researchers of the State University of Iowa, only one in eight respondents could recognize who Schwarz was, contrasting sharply with other polling data showing the Crusade's visibility as being much higher in the Pacific, South and West regions<sup>110</sup>.

The U.S. northeast, which comes third in the regional ranking, was almost entirely devoid of Crusade activity until the late 1950's. The exception was the District of Columbia, which Schwarz had visited for the first time in 1953, and to which he returned on a yearly basis from between 1956 and 1959. "I hear of you occasionally (...)", Kohlberg wrote to Schwarz in June 1955, "Should you get East, of course, I hope you will find time to see me"<sup>111</sup>. In the fall of 1956, Schwarz visited New York where he made a few talks and spent time with Kohlberg, who was recovering from a series of heart attacks. However, his first tour in the northeast took place only in 1958 in Connecticut. One of his talks in the Bridgeport area led some of his new supporters to form the new anticommunist group "Americans Safe-Guarding Freedom", led by a surgeon named Carleton Campbell, who re-invited him for subsequent talks. Schwarz's once successful tour in the northeast took place in 1959, when publisher William

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<sup>110</sup> An., "Researchers Find Iowans Not Too Optimistic About Avoiding War", *The Milford Mail*, Thu., Jan. 3, 1963, 8.; Clyde Wilcox, "Popular Backing for the Old Christian Right: Explaining Support for the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade", *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 21, No. 1, Autumn 1987, 122.

<sup>111</sup> Alfred Kohlberg to Fred C. Schwarz, Jun. 16, 1955, *AKP*, Box 155, F. "Fred C. Schwarz", -1955.

Loeb, owner of the *Manchester Union Leader*, arranged for Schwarz to address the New Hampshire legislature in Concord on April 8<sup>th</sup> 1959<sup>112</sup>. A few days later he addressed the Massachusetts State House. His routine speech before statesmen of the Commonwealth, Colbert described in a letter to J. Howard Pew, generated “great response and standing ovations”<sup>113</sup>. He was subsequently invited to lecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), where he spoke before a few hundred students and faculty members<sup>114</sup>. A few months after, Schwarz came back in the area, this time at Harvard University to debate the chairman of the Communist Party of Massachusetts, Otis Archer Hood. Schwarz’s first visit to Harvard was followed by his first tour in the Philadelphia region, helped by his new sponsor J. Howard Pew. The northeast is the region where the Crusade’s visibility, as well its level of support, remained significantly lower than elsewhere, though the same could be said of most grassroots conservative groups that emerged during the 1950’s and early 1960’s, including the John Birch Society, the main support for which came from the West and the South<sup>115</sup>.

The South comes fourth, and last, in this survey of his 1953-1960 period. Nonetheless, it is likely that the South would have ranked third, and therefore higher than the northeast region, had the complete list of the Crusader’s engagements, with dates and locations, been available for the present research. Apart from a few short trips he made elsewhere in the region (Virginia, 1955; Georgia, Florida and Tennessee, 1956; Louisiana, 1959), Texas accounts for the great majority of his speaking engagements during the covered period. Two extensive tours were undertaken in the Lone Star state in 1955 and 1956. These excursions focused almost exclusively on the Dallas-Fort Worth and the Houston areas. In Dallas-Fort Worth, the Australian was given a warm welcome in Southern Baptist churches and institutions: North Dallas Baptist Church; Southwestern Baptist

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<sup>112</sup> Loeb was notorious for his fire-heating, conservative editorials decrying communism, statism, and taxation. He once labeled President Eisenhower “Dopey Dwight” in one of his numerous editorial thunderbolts. Scott Calvert, “William Loeb”, in Felice Belman and Mike Pride, eds., *The New Hampshire Century: Concord Monitor Profiles of One Hundred People*, Hanover, University Press of New England, 2001, 16-17. Schwarz qualified Loeb as a “nationally known courageous fighter for freedom” in his autobiography. Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 108.

<sup>113</sup> James D. Colbert to J. Howard Pew, Apr. 10, 1959, *JHPPP*, Box 3, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, 1959”.

<sup>114</sup> An., quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, “The University Front”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jun.-Jul. 1959, 2.

<sup>115</sup> Clyde Wilcox, “Sources of Support for the Old Right: A Comparison of the John Birch Society and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade”, *Social Science History*, Vol. 12, No. 4, Winter 1988, 435.

Seminary; North Forth Worth Baptist Church; Baptist Training Union; Fair Park Baptist Church; First Baptist Church; Baptist Association Pastor's Conference.

However, it was not in the stronghold of Southern conservatism of Dallas-Fort Worth that the Crusade established a long-lasting presence in the region. Rather, it was in Houston, the hometown of insurance businessman William P. Strube, who established the Crusade's Houston branch in 1958. With Strube holding things up in Houston, Schwarz was free to devote his energies to other parts of the nation. As a result of the Houston branch, the Crusade's visibility increased substantially in several parts of Texas by the late 1950's. In March 1959, Schwarz was invited to address the Texas state legislature in Austin. He delivered his routine speech on Marxism-Leninism from the speaker's rostrum in an atmosphere of solemnity and gravity. Schwarz wrote to his sponsor J. Howard Pew that Texas state representatives voted to include his speech in the House journal, overriding an established tradition of not printing speeches made by outside speakers in the official record<sup>116</sup>.

Quite interestingly, none of the available speeches or interviews Schwarz delivered in the South during the 1950's contained references to the race question, either directly or indirectly. For instance, when Schwarz was interviewed by conservative radio host Dan Smoot, the exchange was strikingly devoid of any references to desegregation, states' rights, or "outside" agitation. Smoot believed in all seriousness that the "evil bondage to the white man (to which [negroes] were subjected in America) was, physically, an actual improvement upon the life which they had made for themselves in Africa". He also located 1928 as the "formal beginning of the communist program of racial agitation in the United States"<sup>117</sup>. In his Southern tours, Schwarz apparently did not divert from his conventional stump speeches on Marxism-Leninist theory. Strube was equally silent on the race question. In interviews, pamphlets, speeches and his 1962 book *The Star Over Kremlin*, Strube does not address the race issue, even in a coded way<sup>118</sup>.

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<sup>116</sup> Schwarz, Fred C., "Address by Dr. Fred Schwarz", *Texas House Journal*, Proceedings, Texas House, Fifty-Sixth Legislature, Regular Session, Austin, Texas, Wednesday, March 25, 1959, 1064-1069.; Fred C. Schwarz to J. Howard Pew, March 28, 1959, *JHPPP*, Box 3, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, 1959".

<sup>117</sup> Dan Smoot, "Our Race Relations", *The Dan Smoot Report*, Vol. 8, No. 41, Oct. 8, 1962, 327.

<sup>118</sup> It is unfortunate that one of the most significant speeches Schwarz delivered in the Dixie, his address to the legislature of Georgia in February 1956, was not recoverable since full-texts of speeches were seldom included in the Georgia legislature's session journal, unless when the state Governor addressed the Assembly.



In the context of the South through the second half of the 1950's, this blind eye on the race issue could only have been the result on a deliberate choice. Schwarz's 1955 Texas tour occurred in the wake of the Supreme Court's *Brown* decision on school segregation, at a moment when the Dixie saw the upsurge of the White Citizens' Council movement in defense of racial orthodoxy<sup>119</sup>. The region also experienced the rise of its own Red Scare. Mississippi Senator James O. Eastland's May 1955 speech, which linked communism with the social science studies used in the *Brown* decision, can be seen as the beginning of the Southern Red Scare. Hundreds of thousands of copies of the speech were distributed by the Senator's office alone, and until 1960, writes Numan Bartley, "the basic point would be repeated in speeches, editorials, pamphlets, and conversations throughout the South"<sup>120</sup>.

In a context where many white Southerners were hungry for ways to connect communism and civil rights activism. Schwarz appears to have been unwilling to tap openly the Black-Red connection which other professional anticommunists used unashamedly. It was not until the mid-1960's that Schwarz got onto the edge of the Black-Red bandwagon, in a context where a national backlash was growing against urban rioting in numerous American cities. Of course, he could only have been aware that part of his success in the South hinged the fact Red-baiting had become a back-door way to slam civil rights activism and desegregation. Nonetheless, he withheld as much on the subject of race as long as racial conflict appeared to be confined to the single issue of Southern segregation. This fence-sitting went hand in hand with his tendency to avoid tasking position on American domestic issues. This was particularly true on controversial subjects as racial strife. This diplomatic silence meant that he probably did not gather as much support as he would have had he exploited the Black-Red connection, but it was expedient so as to avoid cornering himself and being profiled as a bigot elsewhere. However, it was a patent absurdity for the Crusade to decry the Red menace, while remaining entrenched in long-standing silence on the issue which was America's single greatest international embarrassment during the Cold War.

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<sup>119</sup> Numan Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance, op. cit.*, 83-84.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

## 7

**“OPERATION TESTIMONY”**

“Communism is an international conspiracy of paranoics, organized into a Party on totalitarian principles, with a philosophy that denies God and the dignity of man, and with a moral code that all means are righteous which contribute to their goal of world conquest”. - Definition of communism by Fred C. Schwarz, given at the house of Fred and Phyllis Schlafly, 1959<sup>1</sup>

**7.1 A New Office**

The Crusade remained in Long Beach for four decades. However, it was only in 1971 that Schwarz bought himself an apartment there<sup>2</sup>. Due to his incessant touring, he never stayed in Long Beach for long. A typical office day saw him rise early on and pass the morning reading and replying to his mail. He devoted his afternoons to the study of Communist literature and newsletters, as well as putting together the CACC newsletter and planning future tours and events. Across four decades, the Crusade had a small, stable staff, made of Schwarz, Colbert and Ella Doorn (the secretary, who in Schwarz’s words, would often “unhesitatingly remain alone in the Crusade office till after midnight typing accumulated correspondence”), being the fixtures<sup>3</sup>. In the 1960-1962 period, the staff briefly expanded to twenty, and then contracted again, without mentioning workers in other offices such as the Houston branch. One of the rare accounts of Schwarz’s relationships with his office staff is provided by the Anti-Defamation League’s full-fledged attack on the crusader in the 1964 book *Danger on the Right*. Relying on the anonymous testimony of one of the Crusade staffers, the book portrays an ill-tempered, irascible Schwarz, incapable of admitting mistakes, rarely talking with his employees and habitually rude, particularly when annoyed by a trifling incident. The staffer described Schwarz as a “fussy autocrat” who could “throw a childlike temper tantrum over a typist’s error. Once, when his staff failed to have enough collection envelopes for the

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in notes taken by Phyllis Schlafly, “Definition of Communism by Fred C. Schwarz – Given at our house, September 26, 1959”, *Phyllis Schlafly Collection*, Eagle Forum Library and Archives, St. Louis, Missouri (hereafter *PSC*), “Communism” Series, Box 1, F. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ella Doorn to Herbert Philbrick, Mar. 30, 1971, *HPP*, Box 66, “Subject File” Series, F. 6, “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1970-1972”.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*; Fred C. Schwarz, “The Fruits of Atheism”, *CACC Newsletter*, Nov. 1, 1981, 1.

whole audience at a rally, he raged for hours about the stupidity of his help”<sup>4</sup>. One of arch-fundamentalist Gerald K. Smith’s contacts in Texas privately wrote that after a rather disappointing rally where few showed up in 1961, Schwarz behaved poorly. Upon seeing only half-dozen of his books were being sold. “He was so mad, he began slamming books back into the boxes in a vicious manner”<sup>5</sup>. These descriptions of Schwarz should be taken with caution considering the opposing viewpoints of others of worked with him throughout the years. Though Schwarz was often quite demanding for his collaborators, such episodes of anger seem to have been at most the exception, not the rule<sup>6</sup>. In any case, the Long Beach staff did not have to interact with Schwarz with long periods of time, since he was often touring the country with his advance man Jim Colbert.

In 1956, the Crusade established an advisory committee made up of distinguished evangelical personalities. The members of the committee had their names on Crusade newsletter and letterheads. The professed aim of the committee was to enhance the organization, by providing it with “guidance, counsel”, wrote Bill Strube, and to help plan the organization’s long-term activity. Strube mentioned in a letter to Judd that members of the advisory committee “have been selected in view of their Christian Doctrines and genuine interest in the efforts of Dr. Schwarz”<sup>7</sup>.

The only moment where the Crusade’s board of directors (Schwarz, Pietsch, Strube, along with George Westcott, an M.D. from Ypsilanti Schwarz had befriended in 1953, and the T.P. Lott, pastor of the Longpoint Baptist Church of Houston), and its advisory committee met was in Winona Lake, Indiana, in the summer of 1956. From 1894 on, Winona Lake was the site of summer Bible gatherings. By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was one of the nation’s most important evangelical gatherings for all denominations, with hundreds of ministers and thousands daily visitors who could listen to more than “six sermons a day out of the thirteen to fourteen total sessions scheduled between seven in the morning and ten in the evening”, Joel Carpenter notes<sup>8</sup>. Benson’s Freedom Forums and the Winona Lake conferences counted among the few forerunners of the Crusade’s

<sup>4</sup> Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, *Danger on the Right: The Attitudes, Personnel and Influence of the Radical Right and Extreme Conservatives*, New York, Random House, 1964, 54.

<sup>5</sup> Caroline Riley to Gerald K. Smith, Dec. 29, 1961, *GKSP*, Box 55, F. “1962: Schwarz, Fred (Christian Anti-Communism Crusade)”.

<sup>6</sup> Information provided notably by Janet Greene in 2009.

<sup>7</sup> William P. Strube to Walter H. Judd, May 18, 1956, *WHJP*, Box 224, F. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Randall Balmer, “Winona Lake Bible Conference”, *Encyclopedia of Evangelicalism*, *op. cit.*, 632.; Joel A. Carpenter, “Fundamentalist Institutions and the Rise of Evangelical Protestantism”, *loc. cit.*, 67.

schools of anticommunism. Schwarz's Winona 1956 lectures were in fact presented as a five-day "summer school" where attending students learned about recruiting, indoctrination and outreach techniques from the Communist and Christian viewpoints<sup>9</sup>.

Two council members came from outside the U.S. The Reverent W.J. Eric Baxter was from the Evangelistic Tabernacle Church in Vancouver, British Columbia. The Rev. E. H. Watson was executive secretary of Australia's New South Wales Baptist Convention, Schwarz's denomination back in Sydney<sup>10</sup>. Four council members were pastors from Baptist denominations. Paul James, had been since 1941 pastor of the 3,200-member Baptist Tabernacle Church in Atlanta, Georgia. He was a highly influential voice among Southern Baptists, and in 1957, was appointed to the first church of his denomination in New York City, founded so as to care for the spiritual needs some of the Big Apple's Southern diaspora<sup>11</sup>. Dr. H.H. Savage, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Pontiac, Michigan, staunch anticommunist, was a former two-term president of the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE)<sup>12</sup>. Dr. Vance Webster was pastor from the 2,600-member First Baptist Church of Eugene, Oregon. G.A. Weniger, already mentioned in preceding chapters, was a rabid Midwestern fundamentalist fighter who pastored in the San Francisco suburbs. The Los Angeles Church of the Open Door's pastor J.V. McGee, also mentioned, was one of South California's foremost transplanted Southern fundamentalists. The Rev. Bond Bowman was from the Brightmoor Tabernacle Church in Detroit, affiliated with the Pentecostal Assemblies of God. Dr. Charles Mayes, of the First Brethren Church of Long Beach, was affiliated with the theologically conservative Fellowship of Grace Brethren Churches. C.T. Walberg was pastor of the First Congregational Church in Redondo Beach. The Rev. Gordon K. Peterson, based in Minnesota, oversaw a city-wide interdenominational ministry called "Souls Harbor".

A notable figure on the advisory committee was Frank C. Phillips, a household name among West Coast conservative Protestants, one of the founders of Youth for Christ who

<sup>9</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Summer School", *CACC Newsletter*, Jul.-Aug. 1956, 3.

<sup>10</sup> Baxter was a rather popular voice in world Pentecostalism, especially through his highly spectacular prophetic style. Robert Kenneth Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917-1981*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995, 174.

<sup>11</sup> Baptist Press Correspondent, "Paul James, Baptist Pioneer, Visionary in N.Y., dies at 93", *Baptist Press Online*, Fr., Aug. 17, 2001, <<http://www.sbc Baptist Press.org/bpnews.asp?id=11532>> (accessed June 7, 2010).

<sup>12</sup> An., "Dr. H.H. Savage Again Heads Evangelicals", *Chicago Tribune*, Sat., Apr. 23, 1955, 8.; H.H. Savage, "United Evangelical Action", Presidential Address at the 1955 NAE Convention, *United Evangelical Action*, May 1, 1955, 3.

had led the organization for a decade in Portland. In 1950, he co-founded World Vision, a development and relief evangelical organization. Widely known nowadays for its child sponsorship programs, it was a typically NAE-inspired initiative marked by the climate of spiritual mobilization and emergency that swept evangelicalism culture during the Cold War<sup>13</sup>. In 1956 the Crusade, having lost access to its Iowan printing house since its Long Beach move, used World Vision's publishing house in Los Angeles get, for a mere \$1,250, Schwarz's pamphlet *Communism: Diagnosis and Treatment* printed and also distributed through the international relief agency's international networks. "This authentic book", wrote World Vision President Bob Pierce as a short preface, "is an overdue warning to Christians everywhere"<sup>14</sup>.

Considering the actual nature of this committee, this A-list gathering of evangelicals was largely window-dressing. Nevertheless, the advisory committee was testimony of how Schwarz had managed, over a three year-period, to network among prominent evangelicals. It also demonstrated on how far he had entered the NAE apparatus and cleared himself from the shadow of Carl McIntire, as none of the advisory committee figures were associated with the ACCC or ICCC.

## 7.2 The Schlaflys

In 1956, Schwarz spent Christmas with his family in Australia. He returned to the U.S. in February and received an interesting offer to give a series of four lectures on communism at the St. Louis Medical Society in Missouri. The invitation came from Phyllis Schlafly, at the time a 32-year old Catholic housewife and mother of two who had already made a reputation for herself among Midwestern conservatives by running, in 1952, as a Republican candidate in the heavily Democratic 21<sup>st</sup> Congressional District of Missouri. Representing the Taft wing of her party, Schlafly had won an upset primary victory against an opponent supported by the GOP establishment, making her an instant sensation, despite her predictable loss in the fall election against a fifth-time Democratic

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<sup>13</sup> Its leader Bob Pierce, whose retirement in 1967 helped tone down the organization's political rhetoric, conceived his work in part as helping to contain communism and accordingly was close to regimes such as those of South Korea and Taiwan. David Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?: The Politics of Evangelical Growth*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1990, 284.

<sup>14</sup> Quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, *Communism: Diagnosis and Treatment*, *op. cit.*, 2.; The publishing costs are provided in the CACC's 1956 IRS material, "Extract from I.R.S. – Form 990A : Tax Year Ending 12-31-56 – Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, P.O. 890, Long Beach, California", GRC, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial".

incumbent, Representative Melvin Price. Successfully campaigning as the underdog who represented ordinary people, and as a woman in the male-dominated world of political machines, her story was quickly picked up by the regional press<sup>15</sup>. Her husband Fred Schlafly, 48, came from a well-to-do devout Catholic family, and worked as lawyer in a prominent law firm in Alton, Illinois. A resolute anticommunist, Fred Schlafly was a member of the American Bar Association's Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives, the report of which, submitted at the ABA's summer convention in 1957 drew considerable attention due to its strong criticism of the Warren Supreme Court, and in particular, its decisions regarding domestic internal anti-subversion laws<sup>16</sup>.

In 1957, the Schlaflys were prominent conservative activists in the Alton-St. Louis area. Phyllis was involved with the local Daughters of the Revolution chapter and the Illinois Federation of Republican Women. She had also worked informally on her husband's report for the ABA. With a few local conservatives and libertarians, she organized regular visits for speakers to address activists from the area. In June 1956, she had set up a series of lectures at the Pere Marquette Lodge featuring professional anticommunist Louis Budenz. Like many professional blacklisters, the aging Budenz had gradually shifted his career towards education<sup>17</sup>. In 1955 Budenz had attempted to initiate an educational program on communism targeting community elites in a few eastern cities like Boston, New York and Philadelphia. Phyllis Schlafly wrote fellow activists: "There are already 2,000 enthusiastic "alumni" of these courses (...), but this is the first chance that we in the Midwest have had to participate in this unusual educational opportunity"<sup>18</sup>. Thus, in June 1956, selected conservative community leaders from the St. Louis-Alton area thus participated in the three-day "Midwest Residential Seminar" on communism, covering such topics as "The Nature of Communism", "History and Importance of Infiltration" and "Subversive Influences on Education"<sup>19</sup>. Given the success of the event,

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<sup>15</sup> Throughout the campaign, Donald Critchlow writes, Schlafly had displayed "the ideological intensity of the grassroots Right as it waged ideological war against New Deal liberalism at home and international Communism abroad". Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism*, *op. cit.*, 39.

<sup>16</sup> The report became "probably the most widely read publication of the grassroots anticommunist movement", Critchlow asserts. *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>17</sup> In 1954, Budenz published an introduction textbook on communism, *The Techniques of Communism*, designed specifically for people who were unfamiliar with Marxism-Leninism.

<sup>18</sup> Phyllis Schlafly, Private invitation letter, Mar. 13, 1956, PSC, "Communism" Series, Box 3, F. 1.

<sup>19</sup> "Midwestern Residential Seminar on the Techniques of Communism – June 1-2-3 1956, Père Marquette Lodge, To be Conducted by: Louis Budenz.", in *Ibid.*

Schlafly planned a follow-up of the experience for the spring of the next year. However, in February 1957, while he was giving a similar class on communism in Newport, Budenz suffered a heart attack that left him incapacitated for a few months<sup>20</sup>. In her search for a substitute for Budenz, Mrs. Schlafly recalled an article she and her husband had read in the February 1957 issue of the literary review *American Mercury*, then common reading among anticommunists since its pool of contributors included a who's who of America's staunchest anti-Red fighters: J. Edgar Hoover, James Burnham, John T. Flynn, Ralph de Toledano, Louis Budenz, Eugene Lyons, J.B Matthews, and so on<sup>21</sup>. The article they read was "The Five Basic Steps to Communism", by Dr. Fred Schwarz. It was a summary of the Australian's analysis on how China fell into Red hands<sup>22</sup>. In April 1957, another contribution by Schwarz appeared in the *Mercury*. "Communism-Murder Made Moral" was an analysis of Khrushchev's "secret speech" of 1956<sup>23</sup>. The two articles for the *Mercury* were original pieces, rather than the mere reprinting of material. It is not known whether or not Schwarz was aware of the *Mercury*'s increasing flirt with lunatic ideas ever since it had been purchased in 1952 by right-wing oil and magnate J. Russell Maguire (designer of the Thompson submachine gun). However at the time of Schwarz's contributions, the *Mercury*'s states' rights agitation and openly racist material, for which it became notorious in the 1960's, still accounted for a very small share of its content<sup>24</sup>. In 1957, the *Mercury* was widely read by grassroots conservatives, and its articles featured contributions from the cream of America's professional anticommunists.

Reading "Five Basic Steps to Communism", Schlafly knew she had found the perfect substitute for Budenz: somebody who could present the basic elements of the Red

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<sup>20</sup> This prompted prominent friends of his like Alfred Kohlberg to form "Friends of Louis F. Budenz" to cover the cost of his medical care Margaret Budenz to Henry Regnery, May 26, 1957, *Henry Regnery Papers*, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University (hereafter *HRP*), Box 11, F. 4, "Budenz, Louis F."

<sup>21</sup> Robert Muccigrosso, "American Mercury, 1924-1980", in Ronald Lora and William Henry Longton, *The Conservative Press in Twentieth-Century America*, Westport, Greenwood Press, 1999, 243-246.

<sup>22</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Five Basic Steps to Communism", *American Mercury*, Vol. 84, No., 397, Feb. 1957, 143-146. Schwarz's five-point analysis included: conquest of the student mind; integration of intellectuals in the Communist party; "scientific exploitation of community needs to advance the Communist Party", revolutionary war, and finally "scientifically imposed minority dictatorship"

<sup>23</sup> *Id.*, "Communism - Murder Made Moral", *Ibid.*, Vol. 84, No. 399, Apr. 1957, 92-96.

<sup>24</sup> Founded by H. L. Mencken, the *Mercury* had once been one of the most popular and influential magazine of the 1920's, when some of the era's most important American authors contributed to it, such as F. Scott Fitzgerald, Margaret Mead, William Faulkner and Lewis Mumford. It was also highly popular in the 1940's during some time under the direction of Lawrence Spivak. In the 1960's, the *Mercury*, passed under the control of various far right groups, gave credence to openly anti-Semitic, pro-fascist views, and supported George Wallace's 1968 presidential bid. Its publication ceased in 1980. Robert Muccigrosso, "American Mercury, 1924-1980", *loc. cit.*, 248-249.

conspiracy in simple, catchy terms, in a way particularly appealing to a middle-class conservative, public. She contacted Schwarz and offered him the job. Schwarz, who had already met Budenz in 1952, during the reception organized for him in New York by Kohlberg, accepted. The event was planned to take place at the St. Louis Medical Society, the office of which was well-adapted for classes, but which could only be used once a week. Hence, four Tuesday evening classes were organized for this “Clinic on Communism: Diagnosis, Pathology and Treatment” from April 30 to May 21. Schwarz managed to easily fill the rest of his April-May schedule using his contacts in the evangelical and civic worlds, allowing him to spend a whole month lecturing in the St. Louis churches, clubs, schools, local TV and community events, despite never having been to Missouri before. Schwarz was quite a revelation for local right-wing activists. Never before had they met somebody who combined command of Communist theory and a reassuring, respectable eloquence. Fred Schlafly compared the Australian to other “great American anti-Communists” like Martin Dies, Louis Budenz, Francis E. Walter, Senators Pat McCarran and Joe McCarthy: “Able and informed as these men have been on the subject of Communism, I believe that your knowledge (...) is greater and your ability to impart it to your audience is even more effective”<sup>25</sup>.

Schwarz himself experienced a “wonderful month” in St. Louis. He had opened several doors in an area that became one of the Crusade’s main strongholds in the Midwest. Most importantly, his collaboration with Fred and Phyllis, whom he described as the “beautiful and talented lady who later became the “Sweetheart of the Moral Majority” and the real “First Lady” of the United States”, was his first important contact with anticommunist Catholics, who constituted then more than 30 percent of the St. Louis County population<sup>26</sup>. By substituting for Budenz, a protégé of the high Catholic clergy, Schwarz had managed to press his rhetoric upon a predominantly Catholic audience, with a success that showed how anticommunism cut across denominational barriers. Despite Schwarz’s openness to interdenominational collaboration, which could be traced back to his Australian years, this was an important step away from the attitude of such rabid anti-Catholics as McIntire and Shields and many anti-Catholic leaders of the NAE. The

<sup>25</sup> Fred Schlafly to Fred C. Schwarz, May 18, 1957, letter reproduced in Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 162.

<sup>26</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 162-163. The data on the number of Catholics in St. Louis County comes from “Vital Statistics of the Parishes”, *Year Book of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, St. Louis Chancery, 1961, 158.



Schlaflys became lifelong backers of the Crusade, and their role was central in organizing the first school of anticommunism in the spring of 1958. Fred Schlafly would be on the faculty of CACC schools, lecturing on the major court cases involving communism in the U.S.<sup>27</sup>.

In 1958, as Schwarz was back in the St. Louis-Alton area, a meeting took place involving Schwarz, the Schlaflys, along with Fred's sister Eleanor and a Father C. Stephen Dunker, a Catholic priest formerly missionary in China and who had been detained and tortured by Chinese Reds. The Schlaflys, convinced that the Catholic Church's historically strong anticommunist stance made its adherents an excellent addition to the Crusade, proposed to the Australian the creation a united Protestant-Catholic anticommunist group. Schwarz refused categorically:

“If we do that we will paralyze each other. I am a fervent, evangelistic Protestant Christian. When I speak to a Protestant church group, I want to be able to speak without reservation. If I go in with you Catholics around my neck, I am suspect before I start. (...) When you Catholics go to speak to the Knights of Columbus or the Newman Society, or one of the many Catholic societies, you are speaking to a group whose basic objective is to get me converted to the Catholic religion. Their thoughts naturally will be along these lines”<sup>28</sup>.

The crusader claimed that he remained committed to his principle. In his mind, efficient multiplicity is better than unity. An anticommunist group should follow the core personal motivation of its founder. As it happened to be the case, Schwarz's convictions were evangelical. He was of the mind that a Protestant-Catholic coalition was to be excluded from consideration. “There”, he posed, “is a great power in conserving our multiplicity of motivation. That is the genius of our Free Enterprise system”<sup>29</sup>. As he claimed, open competition generates dynamism and freedom of choice, while monopoly inhibits and paralyzes creativity: “I don't think that competition necessarily generates hostility. I believe in a plurality of organizations, whether parties, teams, denominations, foundations or crusades”<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>27</sup> Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism*, *op. cit.*, 67.

<sup>28</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Will the Kremlin Conquer America By 1973?”, *op. cit.* 25.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 25-26.

<sup>30</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 165.

This episode constitutes one of the most interesting “what if” questions in Schwarz career. The Australian did not mind working with Catholics; yet, enrolling Roman Catholics in leading Crusade positions was probably something with which he was not entirely comfortable. When once asked his opinion on William F. Buckley, Schwarz answered: “I don’t accept his Catholicism, but he’s a good man”<sup>31</sup>. Moreover, Schwarz was undoubtedly not disposed to share his leadership at a moment where his organization was meeting a growing success. From his early university days, Schwarz had always preferred being in the driver’s seat. However, independence came with a price. By rejecting an alliance with Catholicism, the crusader cut himself from a potentially important source of worldwide anticommunist support, as well as becoming, on the long term, more susceptible of being castigated as bigot in Catholic circles. Some of the most intense attacks Schwarz sustained across the troubled period of 1962-1964 came from Catholic institutions, especially those closer to the Democratic Party in a context where the Crusade was commonly associated to the Goldwater movement.

Schwarz suggested that his hosts should rather create their own Catholic anticommunist group, and the advice was followed, leading to the founding of the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation (CMF), named after the Catholic Primate of Hungary imprisoned successively by the Nazis during WWII and the Hungarian Communist government. Mindszenty, historian David L. O’Connor writes, was selected by the CMF’s founders as “their symbolic and spiritual leader for his prominence among American Catholics”, for whom he was nothing less than “a martyr for the anticommunist cause”<sup>32</sup>. Phyllis Schlafly’s sister Eleanor, herself a devout Catholic whose experience with refugees from Eastern Europe and Soviet Union turned into a resolute anticommunist, took the CMF’s direction. In the coming decades, the CMF was to become one of the world’s most militant Catholic anticommunist organizations, establishing itself at the rightmost point on the spectrum of Catholicism and disseminating information on the ills of communism in a manner similar to that of the

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<sup>31</sup> Peter Coleman, “Crusader Fred Schwarz”, *loc. cit.*, 18.

<sup>32</sup> David L. O’Connor, “The Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation: American Catholic Anti-Communism and its Limits”, *American Communist History*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2006, 40. Another sign that Schwarz’s decision was wise is provided by the disappointing results of program for civic education organized in 1948 in the St. Louis metropolitan area by the ecumenical group National Conference of Christian and Jews, and trying to reach Protestants, Catholics and Jews. Denominational differences simply made this program impossible to be conducted. Paul J. Campisi, “A Proposed Research Project in Inter-Group Relations among Catholics, Protestants and Jews in the St. Louis Metropolitan Area”, *The Midwest Sociologist*, Vol. 10, No. 2, Spring 1948, 7.

Crusade. However, the CMF had less room for manoeuvre than the Crusade. Until the late 1970's, the CMF's uncompromising anticommunist stance was at odds with the Vatican's relatively more moderate positions regarding the Red issue. Considering that the Crusade and the CMF did not appeal to the same public, and that denominational mentalities were still strong in the 1950's, Schwarz may well have made a good decision.

### **7.3 Washington: The Billy Graham Connection**

Schwarz's 1957 stay in St. Louis was followed by a visit to Washington in late May-early June. He lamented that this week was "the worst from the viewpoint of support from the Christian Ministers and leaders", but that it was memorable for "the eager reception given to me and my message by leaders in government and legislation"<sup>33</sup>. This was Schwarz's sixth visit to the "hub of the world", as he called the Capitol City, and the second one in 1957. Visits to Washington had in fact become something of a routine each spring, during this time of the year when both chambers of the Congress were about to recess for the summer. In 1955 he had the opportunity to briefly address a bipartisan congressional meeting of senators and representatives<sup>34</sup>. In the spring of 1956, he had made two short trips to Washington, D.C., where the usual lectures in churches and service clubs were complemented by what he described as the "thrilling experience" of addressing leading institutions of the military-security establishment, starting with the Pentagon, where "70 to 80 of the leaders of National Defence gathered" to hear him<sup>35</sup>. Shortly after, on the same day he lectured before a Bible college and a small Pentecostal Church in Virginia, he was invited to present the last official lecture of the academic year at the National War College, an experience Schwarz proudly described in his newsletter: "The basic rank is Colonel. For four hours I was encouraged to speak in meeting after meeting. Seldom has it been my privilege to speak to a more receptive audience"<sup>36</sup>. Vice-Admiral E.T. Wooldridge wrote Schwarz. In his letter, he told the good doctor that he had initially risked being overshadowed by the long list of notorious figures who had spoken in similar circumstances at the College, but that "your humor, experience and

<sup>33</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Dear Member and Friend", *CACC Newsletter*, Jun. 1957, 1.

<sup>34</sup> This meeting is the only one in Washington on which no information seems to be available.

<sup>35</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Report - Washington", *CACC Newsletter*, July-Aug. 1956, 2-3.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

unusual ability to clarify and simplify the ideology and unchanging objectives of the Communists” hindered this problem<sup>37</sup>. Schwarz also addressed Central Intelligence Agency executives. These meetings are clear indications that in only four years, the crusader had established a solid network of contacts among Washington’s political establishment, as well as with the national security apparatus traditionally associated with professional anticommunism<sup>38</sup>. These contacts were useful in the Capitol City, but also across the country, since Schwarz also had on many opportunities to address state legislatures and agencies.

Schwarz’s network of government contacts can be traced back to his first trip to Washington and his meeting with Billy Graham. In February 1953, Schwarz made a short trip to Arizona before proceeding to Detroit, where an old friend expected him. Max Bushby, a lay Methodist pastor from Tasmania, had been a war correspondent in Korea for Australian newspapers and was a devout anticommunist (he later became state senator from Tasmania for the center-right Liberal Party between 1961 and 1986 and was for years a member of the Crusade’s international board)<sup>39</sup>. He was an acquaintance of Billy Graham, and it is likely that Schwarz’s trip to Detroit was expressively designed to meet Graham, since a few days later the crusader was back in the Southwest, delivering addresses in New Mexico<sup>40</sup>. This meeting probably gave him a glimpse of some of the elements of Graham’s recipe for success. In Detroit, Graham was planning the evangelistic crusade which would take place in the fall of 1953<sup>41</sup>. Having formed the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association in 1950 (BGEA) as a way to manage and organize his promising career, Graham and his aides were continuously sophisticating the art of large-scale metropolitan revivals which were becoming his trademark, and which Schwarz once admitted as being the main inspiration for his own mass meetings in the late 1950’s and the early-1960’s.

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<sup>37</sup> Vice-Admiral E. T. Wooldridge to Fred C. Schwarz, Jun. 11, 1956, letter reproduced in Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 199.

<sup>38</sup> In a funny research episode the author passed three checkpoints at the War College, before being told at the college’s library that his presence on the institution’s campus was forbidden, prompting his hosts to escort him out of the compound.

<sup>39</sup> Robert Evans and Roy MacKenzie, *A History of Evangelical Revivals in New Zealand and an Outline of Some Basic Principles of Revival*, New Zealand ColCom Press, 1999, 107.; David Bushby, “David Bushby: Senator for Tasmania: First Speech”, *loc. cit.*

<sup>40</sup> James Daniel, “Russian Blueprint for World Conquest Open to Public View”, *El Paso Herald-Post*, Friday, Feb. 27, 1953, 21.; Anna Murray to Fred C. Schwarz, Mar. 2, 1953, *AKP*, Box 155, F. “Fred C. Schwarz”, -1955.

<sup>41</sup> Graham’s Detroit Crusade took place between Sept. 27 – Nov. 1, 1953. See 1953, *Detroit Crusade, Detroit MI*, Procedure Book, Records of Billy Graham Evangelistic Association: Team Office – Crusade Procedure Books, Coll. 16, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Illinois.

At the time, Graham was reaching the peak of his popularity. This was the time where national press coverage on Graham was bigger than on anyone else in the country, including the president himself<sup>42</sup>. Having supported Eisenhower during the 1952 election and pledging to “do all in my power (...) to gain friends and supporters to your cause”, Graham hoped that Ike’s tenure would mark the return of evangelicals to prominence in national life<sup>43</sup>. Shortly after Eisenhower took office in January 1953, the nation learned that the new president had been baptized and confirmed in a Presbyterian church that Graham had recommended him. Graham’s cozy relationship with Ike was the ultimate attestation of Graham’s acceptance as a mainstream figure.

Schwarz was not unknown to Graham, who had already heard him talking on a Christian radio program and had shown interest in his work. Graham had himself lamented on several instances how ignorant the free world was about communism, and Bible-believing Christians in particular<sup>44</sup>. During their encounter, Schwarz conclusively demonstrated his knowledge on communism, and Graham was interested enough to incorporate some of the information in one of his messages. Most importantly, “Billy had friends in Congress’ Schwarz wrote, “and he wanted me to take my message to Washington”<sup>45</sup>.

Graham’s Washington connections were indeed impressive. Soon after the 1952 election, the BGEA had opened a new permanent office in the Capitol City so as to bring spiritual guidance to Washington. Though his network of political contacts was by no means limited to Southerners, it nonetheless was the case that Graham had more friends among politicians of his native South than among any other groups. Like him, many of his Southern contacts were traditional Southern Democrats who had supported Eisenhower in 1952. Some were still resentful of the 1948 Dixiecrat campaign, when they broke with the Democratic Party over civil rights issues; some were attracted by Eisenhower’s status as war hero<sup>46</sup>. Historian Steve Miller notes that the economic transformation of the South during WWII and the postwar era also helped many Southerners to identify more closely with the free-enterprise ethos, creating an

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<sup>42</sup> David Aikman, *Billy Graham: His Life and Influence*, Nashville, Thomas Nelson Publishers-Business, 2007, 80.

<sup>43</sup> Steven P. Miller, *Billy Graham and the Rise of the Republican South*, *op. cit.*, 72-73.

<sup>44</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 154-155.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>46</sup> Steven P. Miller, *Billy Graham and the Rise of the Republican South*, *op. cit.*, 72-73.

environment in which Graham and other Southern Democrats were more comfortable about moving closer to Republicans<sup>47</sup>. Graham's Washington network included Senators Robert Kerr of Oklahoma, John C. Stennis from Mississippi, Representative Mendel Rivers from South Carolina, Governors Frank Clement of Tennessee or James C. Byrnes from South Carolina (also former Secretary of State).

Graham contacted the man who was perhaps his closest Congressional contact, Frank Boykin, Democratic Alabama Congressman representing, since 1936, the 1<sup>st</sup> Alabama District based around Mobile. A conservative Democrat, Boykin had a rather undistinguished political record. He was seen as a House backbencher who showed more interest in his prospering business in the lumber, shipbuilding and chemical industries than in his Congressional duties<sup>48</sup>. Nonetheless, the party-loving Boykin was also known for his loyalty to his friends and cronies. Boykin arranged for Schwarz to give a bipartisan address during a luncheon meeting for congressmen, senators and their senior political staff in the Congressional Dining Room in Washington, D.C., on February 27, 1953. When contacted by Boykin, Schwarz had already returned from Detroit to the Southwest and was in El Paso. As the Australian did not have sufficient funds to pay for his direct flight to the Capitol city overnight, Billy Graham covered his expenses<sup>49</sup>.

Schwarz's lecture was delivered before a lunching crowd, in the kind of informal context characteristic of his countless service club meetings. In charge of the event's organization, Boykin managed to get a good number of his colleagues to attend<sup>50</sup>. Most congressional leaders from both parties were present, and Schwarz's address, titled *The Communist Interpretation of Peace*, was well received. The crusader, refraining from political partisanship or religious rhetoric, stressed only secular issues. He spoke of dialectical materialism, Red brainwashing, the Communist scientific program to conquer mankind, and so on. The speech's main target was the pacifist and anti-war rhetoric often

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<sup>47</sup> "In both the 1952 and 1956 elections, Eisenhower received particularly strong support from affluent white residents of large and small Southern metropolitan areas, the very types of growing Southern cities -the Greensboro, the Charlottes- that Graham frequented throughout the decade". *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>48</sup> William D. Barnard, *Dixiecrats and Democrats: Alabama Politics, 1942-1950*, Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 1984, 56-57.; Carl Grafton and Anne Permaloff, *Big Mules and Branchheads: James E. Folsom and Political Power in Alabama*, Athens, University of Georgia Press, 2008, 79.

<sup>49</sup> James Daniel, "Russian Blueprint for World Conquest Open to Public View", *loc. cit.*, 21.; This is mentioned at the beginning of Schwarz's speech. Fred C. Schwarz, *The Communist Interpretation of Peace*, Waterloo, Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1953, 8.

<sup>50</sup> Eleanor Nance, "Guest of State Congressmen: Australian Doctor's Talk Stirs Capital To Red Threat", *Tuscaloosa News*, Tue., Mar. 3, 1953, 7.

found in Communist newsletters and literature, which he deemed as hypocritical. “Peace”, he explained in a manner which allowed him to display his masterful use of Marxist-Leninist buzzwords, “is the dialectic synthesis which emerges when the progressive thesis of the proletariat utterly overwhelms the reactionary thesis of the bourgeoisie and (...) there is established Socialism, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is peace”<sup>51</sup>.

Graham, who had already sent lecturing guests to the Congress, was thanked by Boykin for “bringing us another great message through your friend, Dr. Fred Schwarz. It was terrific. He knocked them cold”.<sup>52</sup> Upon good reports of the Australian’s visit, Graham wished Schwarz good luck in his future ventures: “I am certain the Lord has opened a wonderful door there, and that much good will come of it”<sup>53</sup>. Though Schwarz’s path never again would cross that of Billy Graham, their only encounter in January 1953 proved to have been fruitful. Schwarz had now established a first contact at the upper level of the U.S.’s political spheres, and left Washington with several letters of recommendation which he would later use, especially those from Boykin, from Republican Senator from Michigan Homer S. Ferguson and from Democratic Representative James C. Davis from Georgia<sup>54</sup>. These contacts were undoubtedly useful; Schwarz ended up speaking in front of the legislatures of Michigan and Georgia<sup>55</sup>. Similarly, new contacts among the nation’s political elite were essential to Schwarz’s access to governmental institutions, such as when he addressed the staffers of the Federal Civil Defense Administration in Battle Creek, Michigan, in 1955, or when he delivered his first address on a military base in Colorado Springs in July 1956.

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<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 16. A passage in his speech allowed him to put forward an odd theory of his making about the sudden wave of anti-Semitic repression that was taking place at the same time in the Soviet Union, after the disclosure of an alleged conspiracy from the part of doctors, many of them Jews (the “Doctors’ Plot”). He claimed he had prophesized a few months before that Communists would turn anti-Semitic, since “knowing the channels of their minds and their thoughts, it was surely the most logical thing for them to do”. It was predictable, he claimed, that the Soviets would surely take advantage of the Arab world’s growing anti-Semitism over the Israel question to inspire general sympathy. Anti-Semitism, Schwarz asserted, thus initiated the new phase of the Red world conquest. Here, the Australian had it all wrong, despite this theory’s punchy character: a few days after the speech, Stalin passed away, and wave of anti-Semitic repression in the USSR gradually stopped, the new soviet leaders admitting that the so-called Doctor’s plot had been a fake one. See Jonathan Brent and Vladimir Naumov, *Stalin’s Last Crime: The Plot Against the Jewish Doctors*, New York, Harper Perennial, 2004.

<sup>52</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 155.

<sup>53</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 156. “You are a faithful servant of the Lord, and I believe He is using you to advance His kingdom in this particular message He has given you. It is certainly needed at this hour”.

<sup>54</sup> George Rucker, “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – Notes on Tax Exemption Application File – Inspected by Rucker 10/17/62”, *GRC*, Box 364, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial”, 2.

<sup>55</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Dear Member and Friend”, *CACC Newsletter*, May 1955, 5-6.; *Id.*, “Legislatures”, *Ibid.*, April-May, 1956, 6.

The Crusade's most solid political contact during its history was undoubtedly Minnesota Republican Representative Walter H. Judd, whom Schwarz met either during his first Washington trip in 1953 or on his second one in 1955<sup>56</sup>. Schwarz and the tall upper Midwestern Judd were both evangelists and medical doctors. Upon completing his medical degree from the University of Nebraska in 1923 at the age of twenty-five, Judd became a medical missionary in China between 1925 and 1931 and again between 1934 and 1938. There, he became a strong supporter of Chiang Kai-shek (“[he] would stand out among any Western leaders I have ever seen as a giant”, he said) and he called for the U.S. to help China, first against Japanese aggression in the late 1930's, then against communism after WWII<sup>57</sup>. Moderately conservative in economics, quite liberal on race issues and staunchly anti-isolationist in foreign policy, Judd was elected as Representative from Minnesota in 1942. He quickly evolved into a star in the anticommunist world (“is there anywhere, by the way, a more impressive American?”, asked William F. Buckley)<sup>58</sup>.

Judd was in touch with the most important anticommunist figures: J. Edgar Hoover, Ben Mandel, George S. Benson; business backers of the China Lobby like Alfred Kohlberg, Henry Luce or Patrick Frawley; foreign political leaders like South Korean leader Sygman Rhee, whom he met when the latter was in exile in the U.S. during the Japanese occupation of Korea, and of course Chiang Kai-shek<sup>59</sup>. Judd's leadership role in the China Lobby was attested to by his forming, in 1951, of Aid Refugee for Chinese Intellectuals and, in 1953, of the Committee for One Million, the latter being initially formed so as to raise a million signatures against the admission of Red China to the U.N.; objective reached in July 1954. The Committee for One Million subsequently evolved

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<sup>56</sup> Two details indicate that Schwarz and Judd were acquaintances before 1956. First, Judd was the one who introduced Schwarz to his peers during the 1956 congressional luncheon. Second, a few days before this meeting, William Strube solicited Judd to be part of the Crusade's newly formed advisory committee: “We need your prayerful guidance, counsel, and conscientious efforts in the Crusade if we are to insure its success in proclaiming Christ as the only answer to this satanic religion”. William P. Strube to Walter H. Judd, May 18, 1956, *WHJP*, Box 224, F. 4.

<sup>57</sup> Quoted in Lee Edwards, *Walter H. Judd: Missionary for Freedom: The Life & Times of Walter Judd*, New York, Paragon House, 1990, 34.

<sup>58</sup> William F. Buckley, “Red China Lobby Tries New Track”, *Washington Evening Star*, Oct. 9, 1967, taken from *WHJP*, Box 29, “Correspondence” Series, F. “William F. Buckley”.

<sup>59</sup> On the links between Judd, Kohlberg and Luce see Robert Herzstein, *Henry R. Luce, Time, and the American Crusade in Asia*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2005, 63-70.; Walter H. Judd to Dr. Sygman Rhee, Jan. 15, 1943., *WHJP*, Box 29, “Correspondence” Series, F. “Rhee, Sygman, 1943-1961”.; Walter H. Judd to Dr. George Benson, Jan. 27, *Ibid.*, Box 5, “Correspondence” Series, F. “General, 1970”.; Walter H. Judd to Patrick J. Frawley, *Ibid.*, Jun. 14, *Ibid.*, 1972, Box 6, “Correspondence” Series, F. “General 1972”.; J. Edgar Hoover to Walter H. Judd, Nov. 9, 1960, *Ibid.*; Walter H. Judd to Benjamin Mandel, Jul. 24, 1962, *Ibid.*, Box 31, “Correspondence” Series, F. “Ben Mandel, 1949-1968”.



into one of the most important groups of the pro-Taiwan lobby, until its dissolution after Nixon's diplomatic recognition of Red China in 1972<sup>60</sup>.

He was, in sum, an imperative figure of American anticommunism and his gradual inclusion in Crusade ventures by the mid-1950's would bring Schwarz and his organization an important surge in credibility among anticommunists on the world scale. In 1956, Judd refused to be part of the Crusade's advisory committee when Bill Strube invited him to join. Pointing out that he had been involved in the anticommunist cause since his first missionary trips to China, he replied: "I have felt that as long as I am in this present public position, I ought not to join officially in the many, many good causes and organizations from which invitations come every month (...)"<sup>61</sup>. However, he noted that he was sure "I can help you and Dr. Schwarz quite as much without being officially a member of your advisory board"<sup>62</sup>. Judd fulfilled his promise in the following 25 years. He regularly appeared before Crusade audiences, refusing to accept any fees, all the while being a regular financial contributor<sup>63</sup>.

Thanks to his growing reputation among Washington insiders, Schwarz was called, in April 1957, for the first time, to testify before a Congressional committee during a hearing regarding the Hawaii statehood bill. Schwarz's first appearance before a Congressional committee actually fitted the political agenda of the Southern Democrat block in Congress. He had been summoned by Texas Representative Walter Rogers. Like the great majority of Southern Democrats, Rogers stood on the segregationist side and was among the minority of the Texas delegation who signed the Southern Manifesto. He energetically opposed including Hawaii as a state, as this would almost certainly mean the inclusion of two pro-civil rights senators at the upper chamber of the Congress<sup>64</sup>. Of

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<sup>60</sup> Lee Edwards, *Walter H. Judd, op. cit.*, 204-215. Judd's immense ascendancy in the anticommunist world is shown by his relationships with Chiang and Rhee, both men he supported publicly in Washington, but whom he did not fear to castigate in private correspondence on their respective regimes' problems with corruption and human rights abuse. Those problems, as Judd saw them, were dangerous impediments to the retaining of U.S. support. Walter H. Judd to President Chiang Kai-shek, March 20, 1951, *WHJP*, Box 163, "Correspondence" Series, F. 17. About a corruption scandal rocking Taiwan: "It is very difficult for me to continue advocating the support for China which I have heretofore urged unless this case is concluded immediately"; Walter H. Judd to Sygman Rhee, Dec. 27, 1958, *Ibid.*, Box. 31, "Correspondence" Series, F. "Rhee, Sygman". To Rhee: "Profoundly disturbed by news stories in American papers reporting violent measures used by majority party in Korea National Assembly to jam through legislation professedly directed against Communists but which minority believes can and will be used to suppress minority and the press".

<sup>61</sup> Walter H. Judd to William P. Strube, Jun. 27, 1956, *WHJP*, Box 224, F. 4.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe, op. cit.*, 350. This is consistent with the available correspondence between Schwarz and Judd.

<sup>64</sup> Lawrence H. Fuchs, *The American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity, and the Civic Culture*, Middleton, Wesleyan University Press, 1995, 234.

course, opponents to Hawaiian statehood did what they could to appear to be acting on behalf of nobler motives. For the six years he led the opposition to Hawaiian statehood, Rogers raised issues such as “what Hawaii cost the taxpayers and whether or not it will present new defense problems for the state”<sup>65</sup>. Among “defense problems”, the Red issue was obviously on top of the list. It provided a convenient opportunity to invite Schwarz, whom Rogers said was “particularly and aptly equipped to battle world communism”, to the crusader’s first Congressional hearing<sup>66</sup>.

For any professional anticommunist, appearing before a Congressional Committee was a good opportunity to authority. Unfortunately for Schwarz, that the great days of Red-hunting in the Congress were gone. This first official testimony before the U.S. Congress, drew very little attention from the press. Schwarz stated that as a foreign citizen, he would neither support nor oppose Hawaii statehood. Still, he was of the opinion that his expertise recommended that the U.S. government exercise a great deal of caution. Communists, he pointed out, constitute a slim minority of Hawaii’s population, but, as the 1949 coal strike had demonstrated in Australia, they can influence civil life and have “potential power over the entire Hawaiian economy ” if they can lead several key labor unions<sup>67</sup>. In Hawaii, Harry Bridges’ International Longshoreman’s and Warehousemen’s Union (ILWU) was a “real danger”, Schwarz claimed<sup>68</sup>. The ILWU was in fact the only remaining major hard-left, Red-sympathizing American union which had survived the onslaught of McCarthyist purges in the early 1950’s. The ILWU’s president, Harry Bridges, was an Australian native (naturalized in 1945) and a professed Communist<sup>69</sup>. Having survived an endless legal battle which extended over 15 years against the federal government, which had unsuccessfully tried to deport him back to Australia, Bridges stood as the ultimate annoyance to all anticommunists<sup>70</sup>. Schwarz claimed that the ratio of Communists over the total population was probably lower in Hawaii than it was in New York or California, but in those states the Reds did not control

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<sup>65</sup> Quoted in Philip Warden, “Hawaii Meet Statehood Test: Seaton”, *Chicago Tribune*, Thu., Jan. 27, 1959, 6.

<sup>66</sup> An., “Hawaii Studied”, *Amarillo Globe-Times*, Tue., May 21, 1957, 20.

<sup>67</sup> An., “Australian Warns on Reds in Hawaii”, *loc. cit.*, 17

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> Having been expelled from the CIO in 1950, the ILWU had managed to exist as an independent force. Bridges was never seriously challenged as leader of the organization. Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes*, *op. cit.*, 379-380.

<sup>70</sup> He personified, Schrecker wrote, “everything that traditional countersubversives and antilabor businessmen feared: he was a foreigner, a Communist, and a militant union leader”. *Ibid.*, 68.

anything of importance. In Hawaii, however, Communists were dangerous due to their stranglehold on the ILWU. This was evidenced, he claimed, by the fact that among all 30 members of the Hawaiian Lower House of Legislature, more than 18 had been openly endorsed by the ILWU (though he could not say whether this was significant or not)<sup>71</sup>.

Schwarz's first Congressional appearance was rather unexceptional. Not being a blacklister himself, the information he provided about Communists in Hawaii was stuff that any well-informed citizen reading the papers could have already known. Further, he did not have the opportunity to display the knowledge of Communist. Schwarz's testimony of Hawaii did not have any impact. In March 1959, the final report published by the Hawaii Subversive Activities Commission confirmed the Red menace in Hawaii as being negligible and gave green light to Hawaiian statehood<sup>72</sup>.

This hearing led to Schwarz's appearance before a breakfast meeting of the 85<sup>th</sup> Congress Republican Club on May 29, 1957. The one who had arranged the meeting was GOP Representative John R. Pillion of Buffalo, convinced anticommunist fighter and one of the few Republicans who opposed vehemently Hawaiian statehood, a position which set him against most of the Republican establishment (starting with President Eisenhower himself). To make Hawaii a state, Pillion said, amounted to inviting "two Soviet agents to take seats in the United States Senate", and constituted a grave mistake given that Hawaii's 1954 election had been "a complete victory for the I.L.W.U. (...) and the Communist Party"<sup>73</sup>. Schwarz's presentation impressed attending GOP congressmen, and Pillion indicated that they took immediate steps to refer the Australian to the House on Un-American Activities (HUAC) and to arrange a personal interview with an assistant to the President<sup>74</sup>. Shortly after returning to his hotel room after the meeting, Schwarz got a phone call from Richard Arens, committee director of HUAC, who invited him to give a full report on Communist strategy. Schwarz asked: "When?", to be answered: "Now". He said: "Certainly"<sup>75</sup>.

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<sup>71</sup> An., "Hawaii Studied", *loc. cit.*, 20.

<sup>72</sup> An., "Hawaii Discounts Reds as A Menace – Inquiry Shows Absence of Publications and Fronts – Dock Unions 'Strongholds' ", *New York Times*, Mon., Mar. 16, 1959, 15.

<sup>73</sup> Quoted in UP Correspondent, "Hawaii Statehood Opposed as Red Group", *New York Times*, Tue., Feb. 15, 1955, 14.

<sup>74</sup> John R. Pillion to Fred C. Schwarz, June 4, 1957, letter reproduced in the CACC Newsletter, Jun. 1957, 2.

<sup>75</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 157.

#### 7.4 The House on Un-American Activities

Ten minutes later, Schwarz was at the Capitol. The crusader found himself in a bare room. Present were Schwarz, the HUAC's committee director Richard Arens and two staffers. Arens, who questioned the crusader, was one of Capitol Hill's leading Congressional officers, having served as successive director of some of the most prominent Red-baiting engines: the Senate Immigration Subcommittee (1947-1952), the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (1952-1956), and HUAC (1956-1960). An undoubting anticommunist, he had collaborated with two of Washington's prime Cold War fighters: Joe McCarthy and, most notoriously, Senator Pat McCarran, for whom he drafted the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act, which sharply restricted immigration laws so as to reflect his conviction that there could be up to 5 million "alien Communists and other illegal aliens in this country who threaten the nation's safety"<sup>76</sup>. Schwarz proved to be HUAC's perennial type of "friendly witness". He later described the scene, not without sarcasm:

"I didn't have a note. I didn't have a book. I didn't have any time to prepare. I entered the Council Chamber; they swore me in. For two and a half hours we had a pleasant conversation. They asked me questions; I gave answers. They were courteous; I was honest. I didn't take the Fifth Amendment once, not even once. (...) I did not say anything I had not said a hundred times at churches, schools, civic groups, Freedom Forums – to anyone who would listen"<sup>77</sup>.

Schwarz had been called before the committee not as a blacklister, but as an expert witness on Communist theory and this was his zone. Many other professional anticommunists had come before the same committee, testifying that Marxist-Leninism constituted unquestionably a call for revolutionary violence, and that its proponents should be considered public enemies. Schwarz did the same thing, but he did it better.

Schwarz explained to the committee that the main laws of communism are Godlessness, materialism and economic determinism; these are appealing to young student idealists, who are the first Communist converts in any country; Communists are

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<sup>76</sup> United Press Correspondent, "3,000,000 Aliens Seen Illegally in U.S.," *Christian Science Monitor*, Mon., Aug. 20, 1951, 7.; Arens denounced energetically those who minimized the threat of domestic subversion in the U.S., by stressing that the Reds were in fact winning the war "at an alarming rate". AP, "Richard Arens, Ex-House Aide: Head of Un-American Unit in Anti-Communist Drive", *New York Times*, Mon., Oct. 27, 1969, 45.

<sup>77</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Will the Kremlin Conquer America By 1973?", *op. cit.* 28.

actively applying a dialectical, scientific plan for world conquest. The Communist mind is oblivious to such concepts as morality and ethics. Anything resembling a Communist world conquest would mean a genocide of unexampled proportions:

“Dr. Schwarz: (...) The Communists are confronted with this problem: When they conquer the world, they are left with those people who have been brought up in the capitalist environment. They have had their experiences. (...) Being thoroughly materialist scientists, they do not hesitate. They say they have no alternative. Naturally, they must dispose of these classes. To them it is not killing individuals for bad reasons. They are going to kill classes for good reasons.

Mr. Arens: Is it your theme, Doctor, that the practice of communism in the world is consistent with the theory of communism?

Dr. Schwarz. Exactly. Inherent within the theory of communism is the greatest program of murder, slaughter, and insanity conceivable.

Mr. Arens. Is it your theory that to the Communist mind the practice of communism and the theory of communism in the world is are co-extensive, that they complement one another?

Dr. Schwarz. Exactly”<sup>78</sup>.

Schwarz was admirably concise. On the Communist interpretation of peace: “If they take a gun, they take a peaceful gun, containing a peaceful bullet, and kill you peacefully and put you in a peaceful grave”. On the fallacy of appraising the strength of Communism in term of numbers: “One hole can sink the ship. Communism is the theory of the disciplined few controlling and directing the rest”. On whether the Reds can be trusted or not: “As long as keeping their promise would advance their program, they could be trusted to keep it”. On whether Communists could be considered hypocrites: “they have merged the techniques of hypocrisy with the virtues of sincerity, creating a powerful instrument”<sup>79</sup>.

The hard-nosed Arens was seduced and would become, for a period of time, a Crusade collaborator. Schwarz differed from other professional anticommunists due to his superior command of the Marxist-Leninist mishmash. However, he also had his ideas as to how the struggle could best be carried out. His perspective was unbounded by frontiers. He framed the clash as a global struggle. He explained that internationally, the

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<sup>78</sup> Quoted in Committee on Un-American Activities, *International Communism (The Communist Mind)*, Staff Consultation, U.S. House of Representatives, United States Government Printing Office, 85<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, May 29, 1957, Doc. 92964, complete reprint published and distributed by the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade.

<sup>79</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*

Reds had the edge in terms of propaganda. A good example was the Rosenberg case. Despite the fact that the Rosenbergs had been being “given a fair trial” and had been sentenced to death for high treason according to due law -a sentence overwhelmingly supported by the American public according to opinion surveys-, the whole case had been superbly exploited by the Reds and framed as a reprehensible anti-Semitic conspiracy<sup>80</sup>. The Communists demonstrated their command of propaganda by joining the international outcry to have the Rosenberg sentenced commuted. However, at the very same time, they were persecuting Jews themselves. During the Slansky trial of fall 1952, eleven high-ranking Jewish Communist bureaucrats in Czechoslovakia were executed after having been accused of participation in a “Trotskyite-Titoite-Zionist conspiracy”. This show trial occurred without generating an international protest movement comparable to the one inspired by the Rosenberg case. “In Czechoslovakia”, Schwarz stated, “these Jews were practically murdered after the most summary of judicial farces. What hypocrisy!”<sup>81</sup>

Schwarz also mentioned the case of India, a country he had recently visited so as to establish the Crusade’s Indian mission: “To the Indian his religious faith, whether it be Hindu, Moslem, or Christianity, is important. His family relationship is important. His moral code is important. Communism is against all these things (...)”. Nonetheless, Schwarz claimed, Christians in India who voted for the Communists did so because Red propaganda operated by targeting very specific subgroups and exploiting narrow issues to their advantage. The Reds, Schwarz stated, also knew how to present a friendly image. People in India voted Communist “because the Communists sent a very fine young student to their village with glorious magazines showing them how much their life will be improved under communism”<sup>82</sup>. Since Schwarz’s theory on the Red plan to for world “conquest without war” gave priority to the role of students, a great deal of the exchange with the issue of students. Here, Schwarz gave a detailed exposé on the type of student intellectual targeted by Communist propaganda all over the world:

“He accepts that materialist foundation on which Communist ideology and morality is built. He is recruited in terms of his ideological pride. He is

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<sup>80</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*; Gallup polls from 1953 showed that more than 70 percent of Americans favoured the death penalty for high treason cases, against only 29 percent who opposed it. Robert M. Bohm, *Deathquest III: An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Capital Punishment in the United States*, Cincinnati, Anderson Publishing House, 2007, 16.

<sup>81</sup> Quoted in Committee on Un-American Activities, *International Communism (The Communist Mind)*, *op. cit.*

<sup>82</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*

more intelligent than the average man, and he sees the opportunity to mould man and create history, whereas the dull, brutal, driven herd sweeps on unaware of the forces that create it and the drives it forward. He is one of the elite, the chosen, and the intellectual aristocracy. In combination with this intellectual pride, the religious nature of a man demands a purpose in life; they find in this vision of human regeneration, a religious refuge for their Godless hearts”.

The only way to make sure that the students would be swayed by Red propaganda was education and counter-propaganda: “The first thing is to educate young people who believe in their God, their country, their family, their Constitution, their liberty under law and who are proud of their heritage”. That America devoted each year forty billion dollars to the military, three to four million for foreign aid and a minute percentage to the informing and the educating of world populations against communism was an absurdity. It was a losing strategy which amounted to rely on short-term measures that could only, at best temporarily, hold back the flood of communism.

The whole presentation was a masterful demonstration of relaxed erudition. Schwarz had delivered a synopsis of his main ideas across a two and a half hour rant in the guise of a scholarly lecture. He had skirted all controversial matter. However, in the last two minutes of the hearing, he came close to blow it all. Asked by Arens how long would it take for Communists to control the world if the postwar Communist expansion continued at the same rate, Schwarz stated:

“I think the Communists have more or less tentatively set the deadline for about the year 1973. Mao-Tse-tung and Stalin in their last conference thought it would take four more 5-year plans, approximately 10 years for the conquest and consolidation of Asia, with the immediate threat of Africa and Europe, while the weakening, softening, and degeneration of America, continues, and avoiding an atomic-hydrogen war, their conquest is contemplated about that time”<sup>83</sup>.

Schwarz had no real evidence to substantiate this claim. He himself later acknowledged that the 1973 deadline had not been taken from any official Communist source: “The actual date was suggested by Free Chinese intelligence agents as the date agreed upon by Stalin and Mao Tse-tung at the last conference”<sup>84</sup>. What he meant by

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<sup>83</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Will the Kremlin Conquer America By 1973?”, *op. cit.* 16.

“last conference” is unclear. Stalin and Mao had only two face-to-face meetings, on December 16, 1949, and January 22, 1950. These meetings were held in private, with their transcripts being kept secret until after the fall of the Soviet Union. If Schwarz had been fed, as he claimed, by some Nationalist Chinese source about the content of the Stalin-Mao conversation, or by some contact he had in the China Lobby, the information was flatly mistaken. The disclosed transcripts from the Stalin-Mao meetings do not mention any grand scheme for world conquest. They are rather casual exchanges about the mutual interests of China and the Soviet Union, especially regarding Far East issues such as Soviet interests in northeast China, or the question of Korea<sup>85</sup>.

The concluding prophecy of a Communist takeover planned for 1973 was given considerable weight due to the brilliance of Schwarz’s performance. A man who appeared to know the enemy inside out was putting forth the terrifying prospect of a sovietisation of America in less than two decades. For many who would read this testimony in the following years, the effect was great, contributing to make it one of the most widely read document among American conservatives in the late 1950’s and early 1960’s. Two years after Schwarz testified before HUAC, an anonymous apocalyptic novel called *The John Franklin Letters* became an underground sensation among the American grassroots right-wing. It portrayed an America overtaken by Communists in the early 1970’s, resulting in economic collapse, invasion of suburbs by city mobs and the holocaust of 20 million of U.S. citizens. All of this was put to a halt by a group of American vigilantes who, under the leadership a patriot named John Franklin, mounted a successful revolution that kicked the Reds out of the country<sup>86</sup>. Tough it remains hard to tell whether this plot had or had not been influenced by Schwarz, the parallel remains striking and shows to what extent the crusader had successfully captured widespread fears among conservatives in the late 1950’s. However, for many others, particularly liberals, the 1973 doomsday prediction linked Schwarz with the lunatic fringe.

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<sup>85</sup> Vladislav Zubok, “‘To Hell With Yalta!’ – Stalin Opts for a New Status Quo”, *Cold War International History Project Bulletin*, No. 6-7, Winter 1995/1996, 24-29. Those conversations, said one Cold War historian with some disappointment when they were made public, “are rather businesslike”, and show both Communist leaders exercising realpolitik, and not planning the overthrow of world capitalism. Odd Arne Westad, “Unwrapping the Stalin-Mao Talks: Setting the Record Straight”, *Ibid.*, 23-24.

<sup>86</sup> Daniel Bell, “The Dispossessed”, *loc. cit.*, 10-12.; Richard G. Mitchell, *Dancing at Armageddon: Survivalism and Chaos in Modern Times*, London, University of Chicago Press, 2002, 141-143.; George Michael, “Blueprint and Fantasies: A Review and Analysis of Extremist Fiction”, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 33, No. 2, 150-151.



Schwarz admitted that the concluding paragraph of his HUAC testimony “stimulated criticism and controversy”<sup>87</sup>. Aware that relying solely on vague estimates taken from an intelligence report “would be highly speculative were it not supported by a great body of indirect evidence”, he struggled for years to find such evidence, with rather poor results<sup>88</sup>. For instance, he used the dedication prefacing American Communist leader William Z. Foster’s 1949 book *The Twilight of World Capitalism*. It stated: "To my great grandson, William Manley Kolko, who will live in a Communist United States"<sup>89</sup>. Not unsurprisingly, he jumped on Khrushchev’s confident claim before the 21<sup>st</sup> Congress of the Communist Party of Russia in January 1959 that the Soviet Union would become the world’s leading economic power “fifteen years hence”<sup>90</sup>. Also in 1959, he used a statement from CIA director Allen Dulles affirming that, by 1970, the Soviet Union “will advance to first place in the world both in absolute volume of production and in per capita production”<sup>91</sup>. As late as 1996, Schwarz once returned to the issue, this time using an excerpt from *The Private Life of Chairman Mao*, written by Mao’s former physician Li Zhisui, where the author described a speech made by the Chinese premier in 1957 predicting that within “fifteen years” the communist world’s economies would surpass those of the West. “This speech”, Schwarz wrote, “was made by Mao in November 1957. Add fifteen years, and the anticipated date of the world revolution becomes late 1972”<sup>92</sup>.

Schwarz did not make much of his appearance before HUAC, though it was the case that such an appearance was an established status symbol among professional anticommunists. By 1957, gone were the great years of HUAC, and the media buzz around the committee’s hearings had greatly diminished. The few newspaper articles which covered Schwarz’s HUAC appearance focused almost exclusively on Schwarz’s 1973 prediction<sup>93</sup>. Following his address before the Congress’ Republican Club, Congressman Pillion referred him to several leading figures of power in Washington,

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<sup>87</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 168.

<sup>88</sup> *Id.*, Untitled, *CACC Newsletter*, Dec. 1957. Available online at <<http://www.schwarzreport.org/>> (accessed March 14, 2010).

<sup>89</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> *Id.*, “Will the Kremlin Conquer America By 1973?”, *op. cit.* 16.; Oleg Hoefding, “The Soviet Seven Year Plan”, *The Rand Corporation Bulletin*, Feb. 2, 1959, P1607, 2.

<sup>91</sup> Quoted in Bruno Fritsch, “Strengths and Weaknesses of the Soviet Economy”, Radio Free Europe/Office of the Political Advisor, May 8, 1959, Available on “Open Society Archives”, Box 57, Folder 1, Report 313, (online) at: <<http://www.osaarchivum.org/files/holdings/300/8/3/text/57-1-313.shtml>> (accessed May 10, 2010), 6.

<sup>92</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 159.

<sup>93</sup> An., “Red Plan World Domination in ‘73”, *The Progress-Index*, Sun., Jun. 16, 1957, 2.

resulting in private meetings with Republican Senator William F. Knowland from California (Senate Minority Leader), Senator Lyndon Johnson (Senate Majority Leader) and Bryce Harlow, assistant to the President<sup>94</sup>. Those meetings were short talks such as the kind legislators and high staffers routinely had with scores of other prominent citizens, businessmen, lobbyists or other politicians. Schwarz's meeting with Senator Knowland was the only one which had long-term results, since Knowland's family owned the *Oakland Tribune*, a newspaper that would prove itself sympathetic to Schwarz when schools of anticommunism were organized in Northern California. The Australian also had a private meeting with people from the United States Information Agency (USIA), which would distribute Crusade material abroad in the early 1960's, in accordance with its mandate to influence foreign public opinion to the benefit of U.S. interests<sup>95</sup>.

### 7.5 The Breakthrough

The transcript of the May 1957 HUAC hearing was published as a booklet and distributed two months after to the mailing list of the House on Un-American Activities. One recipient was Kohlberg, who was making his way back to his lobbying activities as head of the American China Policy Association (ACPA), two years after his coronary attacks. He and Schwarz had not corresponded for a year, but he was enthusiastic to see his friend Fred being heard on Capitol Hill and considered the document worthy of wide distribution<sup>96</sup>. In August 1957, while Schwarz was back in Australia for a month, Kohlberg engaged the resources of the China Lobby to this goal. Without Schwarz's knowledge, a mass mailing campaign took off by August 1957, the ACPA sending the HUAC testimony to a "list of something over 2,000, not including members of Congress. About 1,500 of these were editors, writers, columnists and so forth, connected with

<sup>94</sup> *Id.*, "Dear Member and Friend", *loc. cit.*, Jun. 1957, 1.

<sup>95</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 181-182. Known instances of USIA subsidization of Crusade material (the agency's records are still largely inaccessible to the public and researchers) include the printing and distribution of Schwarz's book *You Can Trust the Communists (To Be Communists)* in South Korea, as well as a similar program to distribute it in a Portuguese version in Brazil in 1964. The USIA paid a mere \$380.31 to cover an initial 210 copies of the book, distributed to leading citizens in Korea, as well as assisting a Korean publishing house to print 5,500 copies, which were distributed privately. No details are available on the USIA's collaboration in Brazil, but Schwarz mentions it in a letter sent in 1964 to amass funds for the "Anti-Communist Literature for Latin America Project". Fred C. Schwarz, Fundraising letter, Apr. 22, 1963.

<sup>96</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Alfred Kohlberg, Jul. 25, 1957, AKP, Box 155, F. "Fred C. Schwarz", 1956-1957.

newspapers”, Kohlberg wrote in a letter<sup>97</sup>. Each mailing HUAC testimony came with a form letter signed by ACPA president George S. Schuyler<sup>98</sup>. This letter emphasized Schwarz’s unique qualities as professional Red-baiter. According to Schuyler, not only was Schwarz acquainted with “Communist activities in his country, in India and here”, but he also “brings to the question a clarity of diagnosis unusual in this foggy field (...)”<sup>99</sup>. Schuyler also expressed the opinion that Schwarz’s theory on the unlikelihood of a large-scale war was similar to the growing conviction among high-ranking members of the U.S. military that the Cold War stalemate could conceivably endure indefinitely.

Upon his return from Australia in mid-September 1957, Schwarz was stunned at the extent of Kohlberg’s all-out effort to publicise the HUAC testimony. “I feel honoured”, he wrote, “that you considered my testimony worthy of the attention you gave it”<sup>100</sup>. Kohlberg replied in a low-key fashion: “I thought it too late to try to make it news. Maybe I just lack the inspiration that could have made it news; but in any case, I hope that a reasonable number of them read your testimony (...)”<sup>101</sup>. One name on Kohlberg’s mailing list was journalist and author Norman Beasley. Beasley was a seasoned media man. He had begun his journalistic career for the *Detroit Journal* in 1907, and had written several books on American society, including two biographies (on Frank Knox and Carter Glass, in 1936 and 1939, respectively)<sup>102</sup>. Around the end of 1957, Beasley had been hired to collaborate with prominent businessman Harry L. Bradley in the writing of a book about the history of the Milwaukee-based Allen-Bradley Corporation, leader in the field of factory automation equipment<sup>103</sup>. Beasley showed a copy of the HUAC testimony to Harry Bradley. Reading the document, the Allen-Bradley owner

<sup>97</sup> Alfred Kohlberg to Fred C. Schwarz, Sept. 10, 1957, *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> Kohlberg was the ACPA’s eminence grise, and ever since the ACPA had been founded in 1946, he had a vice-presidential position. Journalist and author, formerly H.L. Mencken associate during the *American Mercury* early years and NAACP business manager until 1944, Schuyler was a rare case of right-wing black who frayed with China Lobbyists and the Republican establishment.

<sup>99</sup> George S. Schuyler, “To The Chief Editorial Writer”, Aug. 19, 1957, *Ibid.* In Washington the State Department received a copy on September 9, 1957, sent by a member of an unknown editorial board. The same letter by Schuyler could be found in *National Archives and Record Administration*, College Park, Maryland (hereafter NARA), Rg. 59, Stack Area 250, Row 42, Compartment 21, Shelf 2, Box 2737.

<sup>100</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Alfred Kohlberg, Sept. 14, 1957, *AKP*, Box 155, F. “Fred C. Schwarz”, 1956-1957.

<sup>101</sup> Alfred Kohlberg to Fred C. Schwarz, Sept. 10, 1957, *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> An., “Norman Beasley, Author, 76, Dies – Former Newsmen Wrote Several Biographies”, *New York Times*, Thu., Jul. 4, 1963, 17.

<sup>103</sup> Beasley consulted James F. O’Neill, former National Commander of the American Legion and publisher of the Legion’s magazine, who was himself a HUAC enthusiast who had several times defended the committee’s work. Fred C. Schwarz, Untitled, *CACC Newsletter*, Mar. 1958, 2.; O’Neill had defended in 1947 HUAC during the “Hollywood Ten” case by claiming “those who attempted to vilify the committee... were trying to inject a phony issue – the Bill of Rights – into the dispute.” Quoted in Francis H. Thompson, *The Frustrations of Politics: Truman, Congress, and the Loyalty Issue, 1945-1953*, London, Associated University Press, Inc., 1979, 72.

experienced the typical mix of joy and terror countless had already experienced upon exposure to the crusader's rhetoric. Bradley considered this information to be worthy of the widest possible distribution. While Kohlberg had simply sent the HUAC testimony to the greatest possible number and incited recipients to reproduce it in any manner they wished, Harry Bradley considered that the document was worth publishing in its entirety. Starting in December 1957, and continuing a few months into the new year, the whole transcript of Schwarz's HUAC testimony was printed as a paid ad by Allen-Bradley in several of the nation's major newspapers under two titles which varied from one newspaper to another: "How Much Freedom Do We Have Left – Not Much" and "Will You Be Free to Celebrate Christmas in the Future?"<sup>104</sup>. The text was published under a subtitle reading: "Is preservation of your life worth 45 minutes of your time (...)" The exact cost of the operation was estimated by Schwarz's collaborator William Strube as exceeding \$50,000<sup>105</sup>.

Harry L. Bradley was the remaining founder of Allen-Bradley since the death of his older brother Lynde in 1942. In 1903, Lynde Bradley, electrician for the Milwaukee Electric Company, incorporated new company so as to manufacture a new type of toolproof crane controller inspired by an idea he had gleaned in a textbook. Allen-Bradley quickly became a leader in the manufacturing of industrial control equipment<sup>106</sup>. Allen-Bradley's Golden Age was contemporaneous with the establishment of a permanent American military-industrial complex. When Lynde Bradley died in 1942, the Allen-Bradley plant in south Milwaukee, which harboured at the time the world's largest four-sided clock tower, was one of the biggest of its kind in the Midwest with its 1,300 employees. A decade later, in the mid-1950's, the number was 4,000<sup>107</sup>. The company's

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<sup>104</sup> The *Chicago Tribune*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, the *Dallas Morning News*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Houston Post*, the *Los Angeles Examiner*, the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *Quincy Illinois Herald Whig*, the *Pittsburgh Post Gazette*, the *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, the *San Francisco Examiner*, the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Washington Star*.

<sup>105</sup> William Strube to John Cowles, Feb. 3, 1958, WHJP, Box 225, F. 1.

<sup>106</sup> An., "Lynde Bradley, Is Dead at 64 – Built Electrical Control Idea From Textbook Into a Company", *The Milwaukee Journal*, Mon., Feb. 9, 1942, 1.; An., "Harry L. Bradley, 80, Dies; Industrialist in Milwaukee", *New York Times*, Sat., Jul. 24, 1965, 21.; Harry L. Bradley, *Harry L. Bradley: An American Story*, Milwaukee, Rockwell Automation, 2003, 8-58.

<sup>107</sup> An., "Allen-Bradley Building Plant – Branch in Canada", *The Milwaukee Journal*, Fri., Mar. 6, 1953, L4.; An., "Allen-Bradley Plans Expansion of Plant", *Ibid.*, Fri., Oct. 22, 1954, 2.

success during can be gauged by the explosive growth of its annual sales: from \$15 million in 1945, they topped \$100 million in 1960<sup>108</sup>.

The Bradley brothers embodied the values they had acquired in their youth in the heartland of Wisconsin. “Our capitalistic system”, Harry Bradley wrote in 1957, “(...) teaches that prosperity is not found in the laws we write, but in the work we do. (...) It is a freedom, which proves that what the pocketbook lacks, the individual can make up with his hands and with his brain”<sup>109</sup>. The pious and industrious Bradley brothers saw their success as the result of the meritocratic values to which they adhered. These values, one historian wrote, “would later color the Bradley brothers’ views on workers’ rights, state-sponsored welfare, and the individual’s relationship to the state”<sup>110</sup>. Allen-Bradley’s first clashes with the CIO, which successfully organized the company’s unionization in 1939, turned the Bradleys into bona-fide union-busters. Harry decried the “sympathetic interference of the Washington administration” in favour of the unions<sup>111</sup>. For the next two decades, Allen-Bradley fought before state and federal courts an exhausting legal and psychological war with Big Labour (CIO, AFL, and both after their 1955 merging) over a wide range of issues<sup>112</sup>.

By the late 1950’s, Harry Bradley had become convinced that America was on a collision course with socialism. “The experience of any nation in the world that has tried, or is trying, government control of its economy”, he wrote, “is proof of the statement that the more limited the authority of government officials, the stronger the economy, and the more prosperous the people”<sup>113</sup>. Around this time, he began sponsoring right-wing activity. For instance, he subsidized the radio broadcasts of right-wing commentator Bob

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<sup>108</sup> John Gurda, *The Bradley Legacy: Lynde and Harry Bradley, Their Company, and Their Foundation*, Milwaukee, The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, 1992, 103.

An., “Allen-Bradley Co. Elects Arloe W. Paul President”, *Wall Street Journal*, Fr., Jun. 30, 16.

<sup>109</sup> Harry L. Bradley, *Harry L. Bradley, op. cit.*, 107.

<sup>110</sup> De Forest, Jennifer, “Conservatism Goes to College: The Role of Philanthropic Foundations in the Rise of Conservative Students Networks”, in Robert L. Geiger, ed., *Perspectives on the History of Higher Education*, New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 2008, 107.

<sup>111</sup> Harry L. Bradley, *Harry L. Bradley, op. cit.*, 76.; An., “Allen-Bradley CIO Strike is Ended by Union – Action Comes on Eve of Test of New Law”, *Chicago Tribune*, Sat., Aug. 5, 1939, 10.

<sup>112</sup> An., “Supreme Court Upholds Wisconsin Board In Dealing With Milwaukee Labor Dispute”, *New York Times*, Wed., Mar. 31, 1942, 17.; An., “Boycott by Union is Declared Illegal”, *Ibid.*, Sun., Oct. 15, 1944, 46.; Louis Stark, “High Court Voids Union Pact With Electrical Companies Here”, *Ibid.*, Wed., Jun. 20, 1945, 11.; An., “Ask Congress End of Union Boycotts”, *Ibid.*, Wed., Mar. 13, 1946, 41.; Arthur Krock, “In the Nation: Immunity of Labor From Anti-Trust Laws”, *Ibid.*, Thu., Dec. 8, 1955, 36.; An., “2 Companies Lose on War Tax Issue”, *Ibid.*, Wed., Jan. 23, 1957, 56.

<sup>113</sup> Harry L. Bradley, *Harry L. Bradley, op. cit.*, 105.

Siegrist, former editor for Hearst's *Milwaukee Sentinel*<sup>114</sup>. Bradley supported the young embattled *National Review*<sup>115</sup>. On December 9 and 10, 1958, Bradley was one of twelve businessmen who attended the Indianapolis seminar with Robert Welch which saw the birth of the John Birch Society. Bradley and Allen-Bradley's president Fred E. Loock, his partner as head of the firm since Lynde's death, became dedicated Birchers who invited a few times Welch to address the corporation's sales meetings. Kohlberg aptly described the Allen-Bradley leadership in these terms: "They are patriotic Americans apparently with lots of money, who have just recently been stirred up"<sup>116</sup>. Bradley's newfound concern for America's survival made him receptive to Schwarz's rhetoric. "Mr Bradley", Schwarz wrote, "thought that this testimony was the clearest explanation of Communism and the Communist mind that he had ever seen. He felt strongly that [it] should be given wide distribution and that the Company should be willing to pay for it as public service"<sup>117</sup>. Bradley's biographer's John Gurda observes: "Reprinting the Schwarz testimony was entirely typical. Harry Bradley and Fred Loock respected the power of the media, and they were intensely interested in using it to shape public opinion"<sup>118</sup>.

Strube was probably the first Crusade official who learned about Bradley's sponsoring, perhaps by running directly into the HUAC testimony published in the *Houston Post*. "To me", he said, "this is one of the greatest efforts that has been undertaken by industry in a number of years"<sup>119</sup>. He decided to contact Schwarz who, once again, happened to be in Australia, where he was spending Christmas. Schwarz found it hard to believe that a corporation would do such a thing. Both he and Strube were unaware at this point of how extensively published the testimony had been. As the Australian wrote, it took "a number of weeks before I could comprehend the magnitude of [Allen-Bradley's] outstanding, patriotic reaction"<sup>120</sup>.

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<sup>114</sup> Michael Zitz, "Back in Broadcasting: Bob Siegrist return to roots – Behind a Microphone", *The Free Lance-Star*, Wed. Feb. 4, 1998, 1, 4.; An., "7 Freedom Awards Conferred", *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, Fri., Apr. 26, 1956, 5.

<sup>115</sup> John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge, *The Right Nation: Conservative Power in America*, New York, Pinguin Press, 2004, 79.

<sup>116</sup> Alfred Kohlberg to Fred C. Schwarz, Feb. 24, 1958, *AKP*, Box 155, F. "Fred C. Schwarz", 1958-1960.

<sup>117</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, Untitled, *loc. cit.*, Mar. 1958, 2.

<sup>118</sup> John Gurda, *The Bradley Legacy*, *op. cit.*, 117. Bradley even considered once buying *The Milwaukee Sentinel* and *Newsweek*, both liberal publications which he would presumably have moved "to the right"

<sup>119</sup> William Strube to John Cowles, Feb. 3, 1958, *WHJP*, Box 225, F. 1.

<sup>120</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, Untitled, *loc. cit.*, Mar. 1958, 1.

Upon his return to the U.S., Schwarz discovered that the Crusade had received hundreds of letters during his absence. This was in fact only the tip of the iceberg since most mail reaction to the HUAC testimony had been sent to Allen-Bradley. Schwarz wrote that the letters seemed to come from every social strata, “from primary school children, (...), college professors, college presidents, superintendents of education, military men, labourers, house wives, preachers, priests, legislators, attorneys, doctors, policemen and businessmen (...)”<sup>121</sup>. He published a selection in the newsletter. It included one from a 12-year old writing that “the schools should teach how bad the Communist Party is and anything to do with it”; one from a principal in California indicating that “we are getting copies for our eight grade history classes and the senior Civics classes”; one from a Texas patriot saying that Schwarz “and his associates should be on network television regularly”<sup>122</sup>. In a letter on February 3, 1958, Strube mentioned that Allen-Bradley “have had over 7,000 inquiries for further information and have so far distributed better than 50,000 copies to people requesting them”<sup>123</sup>. Two weeks later, Schwarz gave the higher figures of “thousands of letters and requests for over 100,000 copies. They have set up a special department to deal with these requests”<sup>124</sup>.

On February 24, 1958, as he was preparing to hold the first CACC anticommunism school, Schwarz finally got to meet Harry L. Bradley and his associates “hoping to be forgiven “a slight moistness in my eyes when I grasp their hands and say, ‘Thank you’ ”<sup>125</sup>. Kohlberg gave his Australian friend a few tips: “I think the only guidance they really need is to keep them from going off at less useful angles and wasting their money on side issues, which always seem to be the fate of businessmen who get excited”<sup>126</sup>. The meeting took place at the Allen-Bradley Milwaukee plant, where the Australian lunched with Bradley, Allen-Bradley’s president Fred E. Loock and radio host Bob Siegrist.

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<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>122</sup> All quoted in *Ibid.*, 3-5.

<sup>123</sup> William Strube to John Cowles, Feb. 3, 1958, WHJP, Box 225, F. 1.

<sup>124</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Alfred Kohlberg, Feb. 17, 1958, AKP, Box 155, F. “Fred C. Schwarz”, 1958-1960. Schwarz was enthusiast to the point where he hoped a hundred U.S. firms follow Allen-Bradley’s example, which would “smash the ignorance and lethargy that cripples America in the battle against communism”; however, Kohlberg drew on his own experience in the business world to moderate the crusader’s ardour: “I am wishing you the best of luck when I say I hope you can find 1 more”. *Ibid.*; Alfred Kohlberg to Fred C. Schwarz, Feb. 24, 1958, *Ibid.*

<sup>125</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, Untitled, *loc. cit.*, Mar. 1958, 2.

<sup>126</sup> Alfred Kohlberg to Fred C. Schwarz, Feb. 24, 1958, AKP, Box. 155, F. “Fred C. Schwarz”, 1958-1960.

Schwarz thanked his hosts, detailed the Crusade's most important needs and spent the rest of the day at Siegrist's studio, where he was featured during the evening broadcast<sup>127</sup>.

Between March and May 1958, Allen-Bradley spent an additional \$100,000 to print the HUAC testimony in more than 30 newspapers. By late spring the number of requests for copies had reached a quarter of a million. In April 1958, a \$10,000 check was received at the Long Beach office -the largest single amount ever donated to the organization up to this time-, at a moment when the holding of the Crusade's first anticommunism school had depleted the organization's finances. The check came from the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, Harry Bradley's conservative philanthropy Lynde died before the foundation's establishment in 1942. Harry gave it a strongly conservative and anticommunist direction, making it one of the first of its kind in America (it became after 1985 one of the most important subsidizer of right-wing causes in America)<sup>128</sup>. The foundation was largely a company's leadership since president Fred Look was member of the foundation's board of five trustees<sup>129</sup>

Allen-Bradley's support to the Crusade lasted, Schwarz wrote, "as long as Harry Bradley and Fred Look lived"<sup>130</sup>. Shortly after their first meeting, the Australian returned to Milwaukee for a second appearance on the Bob Siegrist show sponsored by Allen-Bradley and, in late April, he was asked to substitute for vacationing Siegrist as radio host, along with fellow professional anticommunist and über-blacklister J.B. Matthews<sup>131</sup>. Allen-Bradley continued to distribute the HUAC testimony upon request. Until 1960 Allen-Bradley provided "25 copies of the testimony free to individuals and unlimited supplies to churches and schools"<sup>132</sup>. In December 1962, an official letter from the company indicated that "4,500,000 reprints of this testimony have been sent out in response to requests from schools, churches, etc"<sup>133</sup>. The company also sponsored the good doctor's weeklong tour in Milwaukee in the fall of 1958 and its support was an

<sup>127</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "The Allen-Bradley Company", *CACC Newsletter*, May 1958, 2.

<sup>128</sup> Its assets were relatively small before Allen-Bradley was sold to Rockwell Automation in 1985. From this point on, its assets grew from \$14 million to \$285 million in a few years. Joel L. Fleishman, J. Scott Kohler and Steven Schindler, *Casebook for the Foundation: A Great American Secret*, New York, Public Affairs, 2007, 181.

<sup>129</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "The Allen-Bradley Company", *loc. cit.*, 2.; "GRI - Financial Summary (From 990A returns. Exempt Org'n: Allen-Bradley Fdn", *GRC*, Box 3, F. "Allen-Bradley Co."

<sup>130</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 158.

<sup>131</sup> J. B. Matthews, "Bob Siegrist and the News, WLS - WGEZ", Wed., Apr. 23, 1958, Sponsored by Allen-Bradley Company, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.; Fred C. Schwarz, "Bob Siegrist and the News, WLS - WGEZ", Fri., Apr. 25, 1958, *PSC*, "Communism" Series, Box 9, F. 16.

<sup>132</sup> *Id.*, « Operation Testimony », *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 1958, 1, 5.

<sup>133</sup> George Megow to Marcia Gordon, Dec. 18, 1962, *GRC*, Box 3, F. "Allen-Bradley Co."



factor in the success of the Milwaukee anticommunism school held in 1960. However, Allen-Bradley also extended its help to various other right-wing groups, and thus dispersed its support which otherwise would have probably been directed to the Crusade. Their peak support for the Crusade was between 1958 and 1960. Help to the other right-wing groups was similarly channelled through the Bradley Foundation<sup>134</sup>. In 1964, Allen-Bradley made headlines for its decision to remove all of its advertising in the *New York Evening Post* after the newspaper had run a critical editorial on Barry Goldwater<sup>135</sup>.

By mid-1958, the HUAC testimony had become such a sensation among anticommunists nationwide that scores of groups and institutions followed Allen-Bradley's lead. The CACC thus established "Operation Testimony", which consisted in encouraging all of its supporters to buy copies of the HUAC transcript and/or sponsor its printing in newspapers. The Crusade's Houston branch, in activity since the spring of 1958, organized its own distribution service, charging \$60 per thousand copies. In quantities "of 5,000 or more, your club emblem, name and special copy (sic) can be included in the copy"<sup>136</sup>. The National American Legion sent a copy of the HUAC transcript to all Legion Posts. In Indianapolis, the Legion's 11<sup>th</sup> District post used \$3,650 of its own funds to print the transcript in the Sunday edition of the *Indianapolis Star*. In Montana, the transcript appeared in six newspapers, thank to the sponsorship of the First National Bank of Bozeman and the Security Bank and Trust Company from Gallatin<sup>137</sup>. In Texas, the Texas Power and Light Company distributed 7,000 copies for its employees, while the Southwestern Savings and Loan Association of Texas mailed 10,000 copies to its accounts<sup>138</sup>. Strube's Mid-American Life Insurance Company distributed copies of the testimony to other insurance companies and banks throughout the Lone Star state. In June 1959, the Knights of the Round Table of Houston bought and sent 8,000 copies to school teachers and ministers of Houston. This does not include the

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<sup>134</sup>The Foundation supported institutions such as Benson's Harding College, the "Freedom School" (a small Colorado-based annual program founded in 1956 to train young conservatives) and the Freedom Education Center of Valley Forge (another program to train citizens to uphold "the basic principles underlying the republic"). "GRI – Financial Summary (From 990A returns. Exempt Org'n: Allen-Bradley Fdn", *GRC*, Box 3, F. "Allen-Bradley Co."; Harry C. Kenney, "Boy Scout Chief Gets Rare Award", *Christian Science Monitor*, Tue., Feb. 24, 1959, 3.; Donald Janson, "Conservatives at Freedom School to Prepare a New Federal Constitution", Sun., Jun. 13, 1965, 66.

<sup>135</sup> An., "Allen-Bradley Irked by Post, Drops Ads", *Milwaukee Journal*, Mon., Sept. 28, 1964, 1, 3.

<sup>136</sup> An., "Operation Testimony", *CACC Newsletter*, Jun.-Jul. 1959, 3.

<sup>137</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Operation Testimony", *CACC Newsletter*, May 1958,1-4.; An., "Dr. Fred Schwarz to Speak At Open Meeting Monday", *Helens Independent Record*, Wed., Dec. 9, 1959, 4.

<sup>138</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Operation Testimony", *loc. cit.*,1-4.

numerous newspaper editorial boards throughout the country, to which the transcript had been sent *en masse*, publications which usually commented favourably on the document. On Schwarz's own turf in Orange County, the *Register's* editorial page reproduced extracts of the document and hailed Schwarz as an "implacable foe of Communism"<sup>139</sup>. A rare exception to these positive reviews was Robert Smith from the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, who, in 1957, criticized both the anti-union streak in Allen-Bradley's Crusade sponsorship and the fact that Schwarz did not have a coherent program for combating communism outside the America. Strube replied in a letter, denouncing "one of the greatest injustices to a dedicated individual that I have seen done in recent years" and pointed out that the Crusade's international initiatives invalidated Smith's claim<sup>140</sup>.

While anticommunist literature produced by conservative groups was often barred from schools, the HUAC transcript circulated easily within the educational system in the same manner as did Fred Schlafly's anticommunist report for the American Bar, since both came from well-established sources of public authority. Schwarz wrote Kohlberg in June 1958: "We are having unprecedented opportunities to get the testimony into the schools. This is facilitated by reason of the fact that it is a Congressional document"<sup>141</sup>. Thus, for years, the HUAC testimony persisted in being disseminated sporadically by independent sponsors nationwide and only amid the controversies of the 1962-1964 era was the fashion extinguished. When, in 1964, the Indiana Veterans of Foreign Wars paid to distribute the document in Indianapolis public schools, with the enthusiastic endorsement of the local public school board, the Catholic Archdiocese of Indianapolis virulently opposed the initiative through its official newspaper *The Criterion*. An editorial lamented that "Schwarz's ad reprint – which had been in circulation for six years now – is cleverly designed to make the uninformed and unwary feel they are in possession of something unusually informative"<sup>142</sup>.

The HUAC testimony was undoubtedly the single most important factor in making Schwarz and the Crusade known to the larger public. It had turned into a bonanza of free advertising for the Crusade. Strube stated to a journalist in 1961 that Schwarz's HUAC

<sup>139</sup> Editorial, "How Communists Justify Murder", *The Register*, Tue., Dec. 2, 1958, A12.

<sup>140</sup> William Strube to John Cowles, Feb. 3, 1958, WHJP, Box 225, F. 1.

<sup>141</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Alfred Kohlberg, Jun. 4, 1958, AKP, Box. 155, F. "Fred C. Schwarz", 1958-1960.

<sup>142</sup> Editorial, "An Outrage", *The Criterion*, Vol. 4, No. 14, Jan. 10, 1964, 4.

testimony “had wider circulation in this country than any document except possibly the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution”<sup>143</sup>.

The number of new lifetime Crusade members (who paid the \$100 life membership fees), and the name of whom were displayed in CACC newsletters until 1961, multiplied after the HUAC testimony. The 1957 newsletters indicate that 29 people paid the \$100 lifetime membership fee during that year. For the whole year of 1958, this number jumped to more than 132. New members included prominent figures such as actor Roy Rogers and his wife Dale Evans, Rear Admiral A. C. Burroughs and California businessman Walter Knott.

### 7.6 Established Conservative

From January 1958 on, the crusader’s visibility soared. He was routinely referred to with superlatives, even in newspaper articles covering his lectures. He was presented as: a “top authority on the Communist technique”; a “world renowned speaker on the subject of world communism”; an “internationally recognized authority”; “one of the Free World’s best informed analysts of communist ideology”; an “outstanding foe of communism for 20 years”, and even “the 20<sup>th</sup> Century Paul Revere”<sup>144</sup>. Schwarz’s growing popularity forced him to increasingly turn down lecturing offers. This was probably the main reason why he accepted in 1958 to be featured in *Crimson Shadow*, a 30-minute documentary film presentation of his ideas, produced by Gospel Films Inc., a small evangelical movie production company based in Michigan. The film was made available for purchase (\$195 per print) or rental (\$15) to every church, group or organization unable to invite the good doctor<sup>145</sup>. Unfortunately unrecoverable today, *Crimson Shadow* proved to be popular for a few years, especially in the evangelical world and was featured several times in churches and YFC rallies<sup>146</sup>.

<sup>143</sup> Willie Morris, “Houston’s Superpatriots”, *loc. cit.*, 52.

<sup>144</sup> George S. Benson, “Looking Ahead”, *The Evening Independent (Massillon, Ohio)*, Wed., Jun. 18, 1958, 17.; An., “Featured Film To Be Shown At Rally Saturday”, *The Sheboygan Press*, Fri., Oct. 3, 1958, 4.; An., “County Youth For Christ Rally Scheduled Saturday”, *The News-Palladium*, Thu., Dec. 18, 1958, 2.; An., “Dr. Schwarz, Foe of Reds, Speaks Sun”, *loc. cit.*, A-8.; Picture description, “Dr. Schwarz Exposes Red Plot”, *Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader*, Wed., Apr. 8, 1959, 1.

<sup>145</sup> Gospel Films leaflet, “Crimson Shadow”.

<sup>146</sup> An., “Featured Film To Be Shown At Rally Saturday”, *loc. cit.*, 4.; An., “County Youth For Christ Rally Scheduled Saturday”, *loc. cit.*, 2.; An., “Hillside Church To Show Film On Communism”, *El Paso Herald-Post*, Sat., Dec. 27, 1958, 3.; Ad., “Crimson Shadow – Face the Devastating Facts on Communism’s Onrush Across the World”, *The Daily Courier*, Thu., Jul. 2, 1959, 3.

Fred Schwarz and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade were becoming household names among American conservatives. Crusade booklets and newsletters circulated from one right-wing group to the other; conservative bookstores, the number of which across the nation went from a handful to a few hundreds between 1955 and 1964, distributed this material widely. Crusade literature was promoted by the American Legion, by Daughters of the American Revolution and other societies<sup>147</sup>. In April 1960, the American Heritage Committee, a small patriotic group based in New Bedford, Massachusetts, presented Schwarz with the “Freedom Book Award”, which marked “actions in opposing the communists and bringing to the nation a greater understanding of the workings of the Moscow-controlled party” (past recipients included other anti-Red authorities such as Ed Hunter, Louis Budenz, Herbert Philbrick and John Noble)<sup>148</sup>.

The crusader’s acquaintances accordingly began to extend to some of the big names in the American right. In April 1958, Schwarz returned to New York, where Kohlberg had arranged a speaking gig before the Manhattan Republican Club. Schwarz met William F. Buckley, whose *National Review*, three years after its founding, had become the country’s most important conservative magazine despite ongoing financial difficulties and limited distribution<sup>149</sup>. The lofty Buckley’s *National Review* symbolized the particular coalition its editors wished to build between libertarians and traditionalists<sup>150</sup>. Through Buckley, Schwarz was introduced to the small community of New York conservative intellectuals associated with the *National Review*. Some of Buckley’s collaborators, such as Anthony Bouscaren, Eugene Lyons, Edward Rozek, Stephan Possony and Frank Meyer, offered their intellectual credibility to various Crusade events until the 1970’s. Schwarz also met journalist Ed Hunter, the brainwashing “authority” who appeared later at Crusade schools.

In April 1959, shortly after his appearance before the Texas legislature and his successful tour in New England, Schwarz proceeded for the third time to Harding College in Searcy, Arkansas, for an appearance before the 20<sup>th</sup> Freedom Forum organized under

<sup>147</sup> An., “New Books at Two Libraries”, *Ironwood Daily Globe*, Wed., Oct. 29, 1958, 3.; Lewis Nichols, “In and Out of Books”, *The New York Times*, Sun., Aug. 23, 1964, BR8.

<sup>148</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Herbert Philbrick, Apr. 11, 1960, *HPP*, Box 65, “Subject File” Series, F. 10, “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1960-1962”; An., “Mrs Foster Honored by American Heritage Group”, *The Nashua Telegraph*, Fri. May 8, 1959, 3.

<sup>149</sup> Mary C. Brennan, *Turning Right in the Sixties*, *op. cit.*, 12.

<sup>150</sup> George H. Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945*, *op. cit.*, 158-167.; Joseph Lowndes, *From the New Deal to the New Right*, *op. cit.*, 40-76.

the auspices of George S. Benson's National Education Program. A decade after the first Forum in 1949, Harding was completing its transformation from a small, marginal college into a multi-building campus with tasteful, modern architecture<sup>151</sup>. Thanks to the millions of dollars it had received from some of leading American industrialists such as Kraft, Montgomery Ward, Morton Salt and General Motors, the college had become a propaganda powerhouse, the "top anticommunist training headquarters of the nation", historian Lori Lyn Bogle writes<sup>152</sup>. The NEP's "Americanism" programs were reaching the crest of their influence, with corporations such as General Electric and Boeing paying substantial sums so as to distribute NEP material to their employees. Still riding on the momentum of his HUAC appearance two years before, Schwarz -the Forum's keynote speaker- detailed the CACC's initiatives to educate the public and prevent a Red world takeover. He claimed that if he spoke "to one person a week and convinced that person, and together we each spoke to another person the following week and convinced that person, and this process continued, we could reach everyone in the world *in less than twelve months* (sic)"<sup>153</sup>.

A few days after, in Washington, a luncheon was held in his honor at the Chevy Chase Club, organized by Perle Mesta. Nicknamed "The Hostess with the Mostes", this widow and heir of a wealthy steel manufacturer was famous for her swanky parties where Washington's who's who was present<sup>154</sup>. Walter Judd, who attended, had probably helped gather a good number of his Congress colleagues, among the forty invitees, were included "very distinguished personalities of the legislature"<sup>155</sup>. However, at the last moment, more than ten Senators dropped out, sending last minutes regrets. "As a result", *Washington Post* journalist Marie McNair wrote, "the Senators' wives stayed home, too – all but Mrs. John McLellan and Mrs. Clair Engle"<sup>156</sup>. The reason: a Senate vote over an amendment to an important piece of labor legislation, introduced by Senator John F.

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<sup>151</sup> When Benson took over Harding in 1936, its student enrollment was about 200, and it occupied two buildings. Twenty-five years later, in May 1961, *New York Times* journalist Cabell Phillips visited the campus and noted: "There are ten handsome buildings on the enlarged campus, and another one under construction. Enrollment is up to 1,100. There is an endowment fund of \$6,000,000, virtually all from industrial donors". Cabell Phillips, "Wide Anti-Red Drive Directed From Small Town in Arkansas", *loc. cit.*, 26.

<sup>152</sup> Lori Lyn Bogle, *The Pentagon's Battle for the American Mind: The Early Cold War*, College Station, Texas A & M University Press, 2004, 151.

<sup>153</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Will the Kremlin Conquer America By 1973?", *op. cit.*, 31.

<sup>154</sup> Hedda Hopper, "Chimp Will Moskey Around For Disney", *Los Angeles Times*, Tue., Apr. 21, 1959, C7.

<sup>155</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Washington Luncheon", *CACC Newsletter*, Jun. 1959, 6.

<sup>156</sup> Marie McNair, " 'Labor' Prevent A Party Quorum", *Washington Post*, Mon., Apr. 27, 1959, B3.

Kennedy, which passed by a 47-to-46 vote. The event at the Chevy Chase Club thus took place before a reduced audience that included Judd, two Supreme Court Justices (Tom Clark and Harold Burton), as well as the ambassador of Luxemburg<sup>157</sup>.

A month and a half later, the crusader was in the St. Joseph's Bank Building in South Bend, Indiana, to participate in the Manion Forum, a weekly radio broadcast hosted by Clarence Manion. Along with people such as Buckley and the Schlaflys, Manion symbolized the rise of Catholics in the American right. He and Schwarz had met in San Diego a few weeks before during an anticommunist event organized by a group called "The Religious Emphasis Foundation", regrouping Catholics, Protestants and Jews in a new type of interdenominational anti-Red alliance<sup>158</sup>. "Dean Manion", as the former dean of the Faculty of Law at Notre-Dame University was often called, had begun his radio broadcasting in 1954 after resigning from his position at the head of U.S. Inter-Governmental Relations Commission, in disgust over the Eisenhower administration's "internationalism"<sup>159</sup>. In June 1959, at the time of this received of Schwarz's appearance on his radio show, in his studio, Manion was carrying out his contribution to American political history by sending invitations nationwide to join his "Goldwater Committee of 100", aimed at nominating Barry Goldwater as GOP candidate for the 1960 election, a project which most considered a lost cause<sup>160</sup>.

Manion and Schwarz discussed the Communist appeal in higher education. Schwarz scorned intellectuals for not realizing that the basic laws on which communism is built, "are taught in a vast segment of our universities by non-Communists who even think they are anti-Communists"<sup>161</sup>. "Doctor", Manion told Schwarz, "I wish I had the power to multiply you ten thousand times so that your genius, your infectious zeal, along with your encyclopedic information on the subject of Communist conspiracy could reach all the people of this country"<sup>162</sup>.

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<sup>157</sup> Perle Mesta had herself served as U.S. ambassador in Luxemburg between 1949 and 1953.

<sup>158</sup> Little is known on the Religious Emphasis Foundation. It was led by a man named Al Brosio, a prominent name among in the West Coast tuna fishing business.

<sup>159</sup> In only a decade after he began his radio show in 1954, the number of radio stations broadcasting it went from sixteen to 300. Glenn H. Utter and John Woodrow Storey, "Clarence E. Manion, 1896-1979", *The Religious Right: A Political Handbook*, Santa Barbara, ABC-CLIO Inc., 2001, 99-100.

<sup>160</sup> Manion was instrumental in convincing Goldwater to publish his book *The Conscience of A Conservative* -ghostwritten by Bill Buckley's brother-in-law L. Brent Bozell-, which became a Bible for the American right to this day.

<sup>161</sup> Clarence Manion and Fred C. Schwarz, "Communism in Classrooms is Destroying Free World", *Manion Forum Network*, Weekly Broadcast, No. 245, Jun. 7, 1959, 3.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

## 8 THE CHANGING FACE OF ANTICOMMUNISM

“This disappoints me, but I can understand why anyone would despair of the hard struggle to keep alive the non-Communist left and to shape an effective opposition to the Communists within the framework it provides - or rather, fails to provide. Perhaps Dr. Schwarz or the John Birch Society may provide a more effective short-cut, but this is an area in which short cuts are deadly and dangerous, in my opinion.” - Stanley McNail, letter to Schwarz’s AFL-CIO collaborator Arthur G. McDowell<sup>1</sup>

### 8.1 Grassroots Conservatism

In April 1954, in an address to the nation delivered at the time of the McCarthy-Army hearings, President Eisenhower restated America’s military and spiritual commitment against communism and against the Kremlin’s “plans to enslave the world”<sup>2</sup>. Yet, he also implicitly cautioned the public against the anticommunist craze, stressing that not only had the domestic fear “been greatly exaggerated as to numbers”, but that “our great defense against those people is the FBI. The FBI for years has been doing a magnificent job in this line of work”<sup>3</sup>. This statement was a warning directed at Joe McCarthy, whose image in public opinion was declining at an accelerated pace. But also, it cautioned the whole nation that anti-Red activism was a job for professionals, and that McCarthy’s supporters, in particular, should understand this.

In the wake of the decline of McCarthyism in the mid-1950’s, most American liberals could only agree with the President. While many among them had hitherto committed themselves to the domestic anti-Red drive during the early Cold War days, notably by driving out Communists from organized labor and the Democratic coalition, they now adhered to the notion that the Red threat to the United States was essentially external. Liberal conversations on how to successfully wage the anticommunist fight focused primarily the idea of progressive social and political reforms at home, coupled with an international containment strategy framed in political rather than military terms, embracing for instance collaboration with the United Nations and the negotiation of arms

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<sup>1</sup> Fred Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in “Text of President’s Speech to Nation”, *Los Angeles Times*, Tue., Apr. 6, 1954, 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

control agreements. This was, in a nutshell, the essence of the “Cold War liberalism” that became the dominant voice within American liberalism by the mid-1950’s (also known as “liberal consensus”, or “Vital Center”)<sup>4</sup>.

One of the first consequences of this development was to hinder eagerness on the part of liberals to engage in grassroots anticommunist activity (blacklisting, local citizen’s committees, holding of anti-Red rallies, dissemination of anticommunist literature). Most liberal-minded Americans came to consider that the task of resisting the Communist challenge had to be handled with the care, responsibility and resources that only federal and state governments could provide. Schwarz once lamented: “While many liberals may not be pro-communist, they tend to be suspicious of anti-communists. They examine critically any statement by an anti-communist and seek to find some minor flaw which will justify them in rejecting it”<sup>5</sup>. For him, this was an absurdity: “Marxism and liberalism are incompatible. Marxism is based on class and liberalism on the individual. The Marxists have long recognized this incompatibility and have always regarded the liberals with withering contempt”<sup>6</sup>.

The gradual fading of anticommunist militancy among liberals, especially after the hindrances of McCarthyism, increasingly turned Red-baiting zeal into an almost exclusively conservative trait. By the late-1950’s, this shift was compellingly expressed by the way the American left commonly voiced the same warning Eisenhower had made in his April 1954 speech. Liberals were of the mind that popular involvement in anticommunist activities was rooted in the misconception that the U.S. government’s response to the Red threat was inappropriate. Moreover, the zealous intensity which characterized grassroots conservatives was perceived as tinged with madness<sup>7</sup>. “After McCarthy”, Richard Gid Powers writes, “many liberals came to reject not just McCarthyism, but all conservative, popular forms of anticommunism as a threat to freedom. [McCarthyism] made liberal anticommunists fearful of grassroots anticommunism”<sup>8</sup>. The Crusade’s case is quite revealing. To help bolster up the Crusade’s respectability among the left, Schwarz managed to enlist as collaborators for

<sup>4</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Vital Center*, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Liberal Anti-Communism”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jun. 6, 1966, 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism*, *op. cit.*, 72.

<sup>8</sup> Richard Gid Powers, *Not Without Honor*, *op. cit.*, 272.



his anticommunism schools two high-profile liberal figures in their respective fields: Democratic Senator from Connecticut Thomas Dodd and Arthur G. McDowell, former Socialist candidate and high official of the AFL-CIO-affiliated Upholsterers' International Union of North America. Both men, however, were severely castigated for their association with Schwarz by their peers. Commenting in a letter to Schwarz on the heat he was getting from numerous members in his political family, McDowell noted: "Each unchallengeable liberal force that you can get, beginning with Dodd, must be cherished as above the price even of rubies"<sup>9</sup>.

As other anticommunist militants, Schwarz was often accused, by the late 1950's, of implicitly deprecating the U.S. government and other major institutions of American society by suggesting that public authorities were not capable on their own of adequately informing the public on the Red threat<sup>10</sup>. "The very notion that a vigilante committee is necessary in our country is, of course, a manifestation of an outrageous disregard for American legal tradition", wrote for instance liberal author Brooks Walker<sup>11</sup>. Although the Crusade always claimed to act as an adjunct of the U.S. government, Schwarz and many conservatives believed that the Soviet threat remained the most important problem facing the U.S., and that it was necessary for private citizens to mobilize. Government initiatives alone were far from enough. In 1962, during a luncheon talk before hundreds of entrepreneurs in San Francisco, Schwarz tapped into conservatives' most heartfelt anxieties by pointing out that exclusive state control over the anticommunist fight amounted to handing over to the government a monopoly "that will finally result in complete governmental control of education, foreign trade, information, management and labor"<sup>12</sup>. He also affirmed that there was clearly a contradiction in opposing governmental power, while at the same time granting the state exclusive leadership as far as the Reds were concerned<sup>13</sup>. In these statements, the crusader captured the essence of American anticommunism's transformation from the 1950's on: anticommunist and

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<sup>9</sup> Arthur G. McDowell to Fred C. Schwarz, Nov. 15, 1962, *MLP*, Box 1, F. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Kenneth Woodward, "What Qualifications for a Crusader?", *loc. cit.*, 16.

<sup>11</sup> Brooks Walker, *The Christian Fright Peddlers*, *op. cit.*, 116.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in John L. Shover, "The Christian Anti-Communism Crusade in San Francisco", Unpublished article, *John L. Shover's material relating to his article on Fred Schwarz' Christian Anti-Communist (sic) Crusade*, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (hereafter *JLSM*), 1 portfolio, 2.

<sup>13</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "The Responsibility of the Average Businessman in the Battle Against Communism", *CACC Newsletter*, Jun. 1962, 1.

conservative activism at the grassroots level coalesced to point of becoming almost undistinguishable. The popular anticommunist culture became an outlet for the expression of conservative frustrations engendered by domestic and international situations.

The 1950's saw conservative activists confirmed in their belief as to the evil nature of communism given the mounting evidence over the Soviet Unions' disastrous human rights record. On February 25, 1956, USSR's supreme leader Nikita Khrushchev delivered in his "secret speech" at the Soviet Union's 20<sup>th</sup> Congress detailing the crimes of Stalin<sup>14</sup>. In April 1956, Israeli intelligence gave a copy of the speech to the CIA; the following month, the State Department forwarded the text to the *New York Times*, which headlined the story on June 4, 1956<sup>15</sup>. In the United States, the "secret speech" confirmed what anticommunist activists thought. FBI director J. Edgar Hoover indicated that no single event "so unnerved communists abroad – and inside Russia"<sup>16</sup>. In fact, it remains a supreme irony that the knowledge American anticommunists had on the Soviet grave-digging record was an underestimation. As Stephen Whitfield notes, "the system that the Bolsheviki had created in the Soviet Union and had imposed beyond their borders was even more hideous in its devastation of human values than many of its most vocal opponents in the 1950's realized"<sup>17</sup>.

Disclosed shortly after the Crusade's settling in Long Beach, the "secret speech" was commented on by Schwarz in his newsletter: "These facts are not new. They have been available for those willing to know for many years. The ignorance of them in many circles is a manifestation of our insane unwillingness to face the truth"<sup>18</sup>. Until his retirement, the "secret speech" would be one of Schwarz's favorite themes. For Schwarz, the speech was only a justification of Communist ideology. Khrushchev had admitted the scale of Stalin's crimes, but still defended Marxist-Leninist ideology by claiming that

<sup>14</sup> Coming clean with Stalin's record undeniably helped him consolidate his power. See William J. Thompson, *Khrushchev: A Political Life*, op. cit., 153-159.

<sup>15</sup> William Taubman, *Khrushchev: The Man and His Era*, New York, W. W. Norton & Company, 2003, 283.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.; J. Edgar Hoover, *Masters of Deceit*, op. cit., 50.

<sup>17</sup> Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War*, op. cit., 2. For instance the truth on Stalin's 1932-1933 planned starvation in Soviet Ukraine which resulted in the death of millions was still unknown at the time, and not only until the 1980's did it start to be widely recognized as a fact. See Nicolas Werth, "Un État contre son peuple: violences, répressions, terreurs en Union Soviétique", Stéphane Courtois, Nicolas Werth, Jean-Louis Panné, Andrzej Paczkowski, Karel Bartosek and Jean-Louis Margolin, eds., *Le livre noir du communisme*, op. cit., 187. See also A. Graziosi, "Lettres de Kharkov: la famine en Ukraine et dans le Caucase du Nord à travers les rapports des diplomates italiens, 1932-1934", *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, Vol. 30, No. 1-2, Jan.-Jul. 1989, 5-106.

<sup>18</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Fred C. Schwarz, M.D., Executive Director", *CAC Newsletter*, July-Aug. 1956, 1.

Stalin alone was responsible, thus refusing to trace the terror back to the days of Lenin. Ninety-eight out of 139 members of the Party's Central Committee, who had elected Stalin, had been arrested and shot during the purges. "That's as though the Pope", Schwarz claimed, "was suddenly to declare that 70 per cent of the Cardinals had been disguised Presbyterians all their lives and would need to be excommunicated"<sup>19</sup>. Khrushchev concluded that this purge was ungrounded according to Marxist-Leninist dogma since 60 percent of its victims were in fact of working-class origin, and thus unlikely to be enemies of the people<sup>20</sup>. Schwarz noted that: "if Stalin had merely arrested and executed 40 per cent of the central committee, Khrushchev could not have spoken a word against his act"<sup>21</sup>.

Despite the "secret speech", for conservatives, the situation appeared to be worsening. The American public did not seem anymore alarmed by the subject of internal subversion. President Eisenhower, whom the great majority of right-wingers had supported during the 1952 election, was running again for a second term in 1956, but his record on the Red issue was rather disappointing. Gone were the 1952 campaign promises to "liberate enslaved countries" behind the Iron Curtain; the president had settled for an un-victorious peace in Korea. In 1954, the President had stood up against the Bricker amendment, a piece of legislation promoted by isolationists and the right-wing, and which would have invalidated any part of an international treaty conflicting with the U.S. constitution. Even more, the President accepted to pay the debt to the United Nations, an organization deemed by conservatives as destroying American sovereignty, and dominated by the Reds in the eyes of many<sup>22</sup>. The conservative anger was illustrated by the 1954 book *The Twenty-Year Revolution: From Roosevelt to Eisenhower* published by *Chicago Tribune* journalist Chesly Manly:

"The hopes of the people have been frustrated. There has been no change in our foreign and military policies, which account for seven eighths of the federal budget. The state department still is dominated by holdovers from the Marshall and Acheson regimes, which betrayed China to communism and involved the United States in a disastrous lost war in Korea. The

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<sup>19</sup> *Id.*, "The Communist Doctrines of Class Morality and Class Guilt", *Ibid.*, Jun. 27, 1966, 5.

<sup>20</sup> Nikita Khrushchev, "Crimes of the Stalin Era: Special Report to the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Closed Session, February 24-25, 1956", *The New Leader*, New York, 1956, S20.

<sup>21</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "The Communist Doctrines of Class Morality and Class Guilt", *loc. cit.*, 6.

<sup>22</sup> Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Doomsday*, *op. cit.*, 62.

Eisenhower administration's foreign and military policies are undistinguishable from those which produced the present crisis except that even greater commitments have been made"<sup>23</sup>

In 1956, the Hungarian revolution was crushed by Soviet troops, two days before the November 6 election which reelected Ike, whom many conservatives had ceased to trust. The record was equally bad on the domestic front. The return of Republicans in the White House did not halt the fact that "the pattern of American fiscal policy", as Gen. MacArthur put it, "is being brought into consonance with the Karl Marx communist theory that through a division of the existing wealth mankind will be brought to a universal standard of life"<sup>24</sup>. Nothing had been done to reverse the "pro-Red" decisions of the Supreme Court, especially the dismantling of the Red Scare's loyalty-security apparatus. Two years after Eisenhower's election, Joe McCarthy had been silenced by members of his own ranks. Of course, many of the institutional underpinnings that had marked the age of McCarthy endured, most notably HUAC. However, the atmosphere of the McCarthy era was dissipating.

On the one hand, there was mounting evidence of communism's calamitous record. On the other hand, the struggle seemed to be on a losing path. The combination of these two factors contributed to the vehemence that came to characterize the conservative culture activism during the second half of the 1950's. This period was characterized by a reconfiguration of the face of the enemy in the conservative imagination. During the McCarthy years, the paradigmatic figure of internal subversion was the spy or the traitor, such as the deceitful Communist working under a cloak of respectability: Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White or, in popular culture, Red murderers from Mickey Spillane's novels. However, by the end of the decade, many were inclined to see the whole structure of postwar liberalism as a Communist enterprise. To be sure, this view was already present in the rhetoric of some right-wing authors during WWII who eagerly associated the New Deal not merely with a dangerous socialist experiment -as it was commonly done in right-wing since Depression years-, but with a deliberate Communist conspiracy to bring down capitalism and American liberties. However, by the late 1950's, this view had

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<sup>23</sup> Chesly Manly, *The Twenty-Year Revolution: From Roosevelt to Eisenhower*, Chicago, Henry Regnery Company, 1954, 2.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in Bob Considine, "Assails 'Bankruptcy and Leadership: U.S. Drifting Towards Communistic State, Gen. MacArthur Tells Solons", *Rome News-Tribune*, Sun., Mar. 25, 1952, 7.

undeniably gained momentum among conservatives, fueled by feelings of powerlessness in the wake of years of what they saw as endless retreat before the forces of collectivism.

Numerous books published during this time captured these fears. With its self-explanatory title, Frank Chodorov's 1954 *The Income Tax: The Root of All Evil* traced back the conspiracy to the days of Woodrow Wilson. In the same year, locating the root of the problem later, i.e. the 1930's, author Chesly Manly equally framed things in conspiratorial terms in *The Twenty-Year Revolution*: "The Communists and their Marxist cousins, the Socialists, have worked for revolution since the advent of the New Deal twenty-one years ago by infiltrating government offices, labor unions, schools and colleges, churches, radio and television, the movies, the publishing business"<sup>25</sup>.

The names that came to be associated the most with this sensibility were those of Robert Welch and his John Birch Society, which he founded in 1958. A North Carolina native established in Boston, Welch was a retired businessman who had had a successful career in the candy manufacturing industry, as attested by his Candy Industry Man of the Year award in 1947. During WWII, he had worked for the Office of Price Administration and the War Production Board, an experience that apparently made him realize how appalling governmental economic planning was. His conservative dispositions further hardened while he was member of the board of the National Association of Manufacturers. In the early 1950's, Welch began writing on political issues. One of his books, *The Life of John Birch: In the Story of One American Boy, the Ordeal of His Age*, published by Regnery Company, popularized in right-wing circles the story of John Birch, a young Baptist missionary murdered by Chinese Communists at the close of WWII. Birch, Welch wrote, had uncovered the Reds' secret plot to takeover China, and his death had been hidden by the State Department. In *John Birch*, Gid Powers notes, "Welch had found the hero for his story of the epic battle between communism and freedom"<sup>26</sup>. By the late 1950's, Welch had become convinced by that Communists would not take over the United States through military means nor electoral politics, but were in fact incrementally seizing institutions from within, an interpretation of history that explained the overextension of state prerogatives in America since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>25</sup> Chesly Manly, *The Twenty-Year Revolution*, *op. cit.*, 2.

<sup>26</sup> Richard Gid Powers, *Not Without Honor*, *op. cit.*, 289.

Shortly before retiring from the candy business in 1957, Welch founded his magazine, *The American Opinion*, which published a yearly scoreboard estimating the level of “communist influence” over each of the world’s important countries: 100 percent for the Soviet Union and other Communist regimes, 40 to 60 percent for countries such as France, Norway or Chile, and 20 to 40 percent for the United States, Britain or Argentina, and so on<sup>27</sup>.

On December 9, 1958, Welch gave a two-day speaking marathon in Indianapolis before a select group of wealthy supporters, the transcript of which later became *The Blue Book of the John Birch Society*, the organization’s basic statement of beliefs. The *Blue Book* summarizes Welch’s thought. The worldwide extensions of state control over human beings “has constituted the greatest tragedy of the twentieth century”<sup>28</sup>. The American surrender of sovereignty to the U.N., the race riots destabilizing the country, the soaring inflation, taxes and national debt, could only be explained by Red infiltration. Americans needed to be educated about this conspiracy and nothing could be hoped for coming from the government in this regard. The solution was an underground program of education that would be carried out by an organization named after John Birch, who “possessed in his own character *all* of those noble traits and ideals which we should like to see symbolized”<sup>29</sup>.

Officially founded the day Welch’s lecture ended, the JBS grew at a rapid pace. From his office in Belmont, Massachusetts, Welch oversaw the development of an organization which, by the time of its first anniversary in December 1959, had chapters in more than fifteen states, seven full-time paid coordinators, and a few thousand card-carrying supporters who paid the annual membership fees established at \$24 for men and \$12 for women<sup>30</sup>. The JBS’s most notable characteristic was the way it had been designed to operate remote from the public eye. JBS members were encouraged to keep their adhesion secret and rules specified that each chapter was to split in half passed a certain membership threshold so as to make Communists infiltration difficult. As Rick Perlstein

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<sup>27</sup> Robert Welch, “The American Opinion Scoreboard”, *American Opinion*, Jul.-Aug., 1958, 21-23.

<sup>28</sup> *Id.*, *The Blue Book of the John Birch Society*, Western Islands, Belmont, 1961, 125.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.

<sup>30</sup> Robert Welch, “Foreword”, *The John Birch Society Bulletin*, Dec. 1959, 2.; *Id.*, *The Blue Book of the John Birch Society*, *op. cit.*, 151.

notes, “being a Bircher was *fun*”<sup>31</sup>. The JBS rules made it possible for members to conceive their secret monthly meetings in suburban kitchens and living rooms as part of an all-out contribution for the safeguarding of American freedom.

Shortly after the JBS’s founding, Welch developed an interest in the writings of American author Nesta Webster, a classic reference of conspiratorial interpretations of history, which let him to conceive communism as the latest manifestation of a plot the origins of which could be traced back to the Bavarian Illuminati of 1776. “What made Welch’s rendition of classical conspiracy theory bearable and even attractive was his penchant for explaining otherwise inscrutable events as the clash of intellectual systems”, Gid Powers writes<sup>32</sup>. Welch, in sum, offered to Birchers anticommunist red meat in the guise of “a course in the intellectual history of the West”<sup>33</sup>. By the early 1960’s, in the wake of the disclosure of the JBS’s existence by the media, Welch’s contentions that communism was “in almost complete control of our Federal government” became classic examples of right-wing lunacy<sup>34</sup>. No wonder historian Richard Hofstadter asserted that Welch had superseded Joe McCarthy by the late 1950’s as the living embodiment of a so-called “paranoid style in American politics”, a formula that remains used until this day to characterize right-wing conspiratorial schemes<sup>35</sup>.

While beliefs in communism’s all-pervasiveness in American life reinforced the crackpot image that came to be associated with conservative and anticommunist activists, such ideas undeniably galvanized them to stand up and fight. In effect, the grassroots conservative mobilization of the late 1950’s, was a backlash inspired by a sense of “dispossession”, as Daniel Bell put it, and which led to a high level of efficiency and spirit in their various activities<sup>36</sup>. The motto “Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty”, widely used in right-wing documents of the era including those from the Crusade, suggests that it was the duty of any American to participate in the defense of cherished ideals.

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<sup>31</sup> Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, *op. cit.*, 117.

<sup>32</sup> Richard Gid Powers, *Not Without Honor*, *op. cit.*, 291.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Welch’s quotes respectively from Lawrence S. Wittmer, *Cold War America: From Hiroshima to Watergate*, Praeger, New York, 1974, 231., and in Milton A. Waldor, *Peddlers of Fear: The John Birch Society*, Newark, Lynnross Pub., 1966, 30.

<sup>35</sup> Richard Hofstadter, “The Paranoid Style in American Politics”, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1964, 24-29.

<sup>36</sup> “I believe that the radical right (...) gains force from the confusions within the world of conservatism regarding the changing character of American life.” Daniel Bell, “The Dispossessed”, *loc. cit.*, 2.

In a context of polarization, conservative citizens reacted against liberalism nationwide “in culture and education as well as liberal politics and economics by forming local and national groups to combat whichever aspect of liberalism offended or outraged”, Mary Brennan writes<sup>37</sup>. Commenting on the proliferation of anticommunist popular groups in the late 1950’s, *Newsweek* conservative columnist Ralph de Toledano wrote: “The fact remains that the American people, for the first time in their history, see defeat looming. Since they get no leadership from their elected officials – the bulletins out of Washington are confusing, contradictory, and feeble – they are seeking it in voluntary associations”<sup>38</sup>. Across the nation, people published newsletters to disseminate their views, “build support, and pressure legislators to stop the growth of liberalism”<sup>39</sup>. Anticommunist, antistatist, traditionalist, religious, libertarian-free enterprise groups proliferated, with many other ones narrowing down their focus on specific issues such as segregationism, anti-Semitism or anti-fluoridation, educational issues, or foreign issues such as the Committee for One Million.

The spread of right-wing groups struck many observers of the 1950’s political and social scene. Reporting in 1960 on the multiplication of anticommunist groups in Milwaukee, a journalist observed: “The anti-Communists, as most call themselves, are better organized and more active than ever before. For concerned action they eclipse even the grassroots effort made in the era of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (...). Most groups have formed within the last year”<sup>40</sup>. For his part, Daniel Bell noted the difference between the anticommunist grassroots activity during the heyday of McCarthyism in the early 1950’s and that of the early 1960’s: “In some localities [during McCarthyism], the individual vigilante groups did begin a drumbeat drive against Communists or former fellow-travelers, but by and large the main agitation was conducted in government by Congressional or state legislators (...); however, the “new” popular anticommunism grew out of the initiatives of private citizens, independently from any state sponsoring<sup>41</sup>. In 1970, looking back on the evolution of the American right-wing during the previous two decades, Erling Jorstad observed that the movement “of the early 1950’s had

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<sup>37</sup> Mary Brennan, *Turning Right in the Sixties*, *op. cit.*, 12.

<sup>38</sup> Ralph de Toledano, “Choosing Up Sides On Communism”, Nov. 10, 1961, *RDTP*, Box 9, “Printed Matter – 1961”.

<sup>39</sup> Mary Brennan, *Turning Right in the Sixties*, *op. cit.*, 13.

<sup>40</sup> Edmund B. Lambeth, “Anti-Communist Groups Here Show Big Increase in Activity”, *Milwaukee Journal*, Tue., Jun. 4, 1961, 1.

<sup>41</sup> Daniel Bell, “The Dispossessed”, *loc. cit.*, 4.



nowhere near the high degree of organization” it had in the early 1960’s, when “hundreds of programs engaged the energies and funds of far rightists in all sections of the country”<sup>42</sup>.

The second half of the 1950’s thus saw the rising success of already existing groups such as the CACC, as well as the extensive proliferation of many others. Setting aside paramilitary fringe groups such as Robert de Pugh’s Minutemen or GL Rockwell’s Nazi Party, the most notable could be listed as being: H.L. Hunt’s LifeLine Foundation, Carl McIntire’s Twentieth Century Reformation Hour, Benson’s National Education Program, Walter Huss’ Freedom Center, Ed Bundy’s Church League of America, Robert Welch’s John Birch Society, Billy James Hargis’s Christian Crusade, Verne Kaub’s American Council of Christian Laymen, the Schlaflys’ Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, Phoebe Courtney’s Conservative Society of America, Constructive Action, The Congress of Freedom, Myers G. Lowman’s Circuit Riders Inc., Leonard Read’s Foundation for Economic Education, the National Indignation Foundation, We, the People !, The Christian Freedom Foundation, The Citizens’ Foreign Aid Committee, the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, Moral Re-Armament, Inc., and Fifield’s Freedom Clubs. Tough they were not “groups” per se, one could add the respective radio broadcasts of Clarence Manion and Fulton Lewis, as well as William F. Buckley’s New York-based *National Review* as significant inspirations to conservative activists who had access to them.

Openly segregationist groups also proliferated during the same period. They appeared overwhelmingly -though not exclusively- in the South in the wake of the Supreme Court’s 1954 *Brown* decision. Besides white Citizens’ Councils, which were organized by both Southern elites and grassroots militants, numerous popular segregationist groups sprang up throughout the old Confederacy from the mid-1950’s on. About fifty such notable grassroots groups emerged, including (besides racist vigilante groups such as the KKK) the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, the Patriots, the North Carolina Defenders of States’ Rights, the Federation for Constitutional Government, the Society to Maintain Segregation, the States’ Rights Council and the Pro-Southerners.,

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<sup>42</sup> Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Doomsday*, *op. cit.*, 66.

White America, Inc. Of course, these Southern groups emerged out of the specific historical and cultural turmoil that characterized the South during these years, but they shared many ideological traits that linked them to the broader grassroots conservative activity nationwide. As Neil R. Milliken shows in his classic study on Southern massive resistance, even if racism remained at the core of the Council movement and its grassroots affiliates, the broader ideology of Southern anti-integrationist resistance rapidly matured towards identification with the “politico-economic attitudes characteristic of conservatism”: opposition to statism, bureaucracy, welfarism, the New Deal, as well as a virulent form of anticommunism “that could not have made sense in 1948”, meaning to say, during the days of the Dixiecrat revolt<sup>43</sup>. In sum, Southern resistance to challenges to its racial culture laid the groundwork for its growing incorporation into the conservative camp.

The popular conservative macrocosm was highly fragmented<sup>44</sup>. Grassroots conservatism in the mid-1950’s was a movement inasmuch as its activists read the same books and newsletters, listened to the same radio broadcasts, and were deeply moved by the same popular anticommunist films such as *The Iron Curtain* (1948), *Walk East On Beacon* (1951), *My Son John* (1952), *I Was A Communist for the F.B.I.* (1952, based on former agent Matt Cvetic’s story) or Herbert Philbrick’s *I Led Three Lives* TV series<sup>45</sup>. In this age without the cybercommunication, it took a while for information to be passed from one local group to another. Critchlow estimates that the combined circulation of the most important anticommunist groups’ publications “did not reach more than 100,000 subscribers”<sup>46</sup>. But regardless of the relative isolation from each other of conservative group, major, more prominent groups were able to develop effective national networks, such as the JBS. The CACC reached activists from different areas, mainly because touring was its basic activity. Through its Freedom Forums and the literature and films it produced, Benson’s National Education Program had an impact that extended far passed its base in Searcy, Arkansas. Moreover, newsletters and promotional material from one

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<sup>43</sup> Neil R. McMillen, *The Citizens’ Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction*, Champaign, University of Illinois Press, 1994, 191-194.

<sup>44</sup> Donald Critchlow describes grassroots conservatism of the late 1950’s as being composed of small organizations that had basically “little contact with one another”. Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism*, *op. cit.*, 69.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Donald T. Critchlow, *The Conservative Ascendancy*, *op. cit.*, 36.

group often circulated to groups and activists from other areas. Towards the end of the 1950's, grassroots conservatives nationwide had begun coalescing into a diffuse, variegated systems of networks in which the pools of local activists often found themselves supporting larger organizations. In 1964, the Goldwater mobilization saw the coming of age of this networking by bringing it to a higher level of overall structuring.

For instance, the Crusade schools of anticommunism, the organization of which necessitated the involvement hundreds of voluntaries, involved members of the JBS and members other local conservative groups. In 1961 South Carolina textile magnate Roger Milliken, a convinced JBS member and moneybag, was so moved by the Crusade's *Hollywood's Answer to Communism* show that he paid for its re-broadcasting in the Carolinas and in Georgia. In many instances, Schwarz's visit to a given location sparked local anticommunists to form a group which affiliated itself with either the Crusade, or some other organization. The Crusade's tours or schools left in their wake countless small "study groups". In June 1958, Schwarz's tour to Bridgeport, Connecticut mobilized several of the town's patriots to form their own Red-baiting group, which animated the local conservative, anticommunist scene, making sure that community institutions were free from Red influence. The group established classes on Communist philosophy and tactics, disseminated information to alert the public on the Red threat, awarding citizens for their patriotic deeds and eventually served as a local platform to re-invite Schwarz in the area and organize other Crusade activities<sup>47</sup>.

In spring 1960, Schwarz's tour in St. Louis, stirred up local conservatives to form the Four Freedoms Study Groups (FFSG), an organization described by a governmental report, as attempting "to interest people in forming groups to hear and learn of the advantages of our American form of government"<sup>48</sup>. Headed by St. Louis militant Dan Smith, the FFSG oversaw the forming of scores of smaller anticommunist cells in Missouri and Southern Illinois. The group organized classes and seminars in collaboration with churches, local civic clubs and American Legion posts, flooding the

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<sup>47</sup> Stanley R. Allaby, "Local Group Formed to Combat Communism", *CACC Newsletter*, March 1959, 3-4.; AP Correspondent, "Sunday Teachers Pick 'Citizen of the Year', *The Hartford Courant*, Sun., Nov. 1, 1959, 12B.

<sup>48</sup> Mitchell Rogovin, "In re: Four Freedoms Study Groups, Inc.", Oct. 27, 1965, *WSP*, File "Internal Revenue Service Study of Ideological Organizations, December 31, 1965", F. "G", 2.

area with anticommunist literature, taped speeches and films<sup>49</sup>. Groups such as the FFSG acted as multipliers at the popular level for greater organizations since they often used and distributed material from Benson's NEP, the JBS or the Crusade. The FFSG relied so much on Crusade literature that IRS officials considered that both groups "should be treated alike for tax purposes" in a 1965 audit<sup>50</sup>.

Trying to estimate how many organizations comprised this conservative interlacement would be fruitless, as groups formed or disappeared constantly, with very few attaining national recognition. Many of them actually consisted only of a flag-waving citizen, his wife or few relatives, a stencil duplicator and a mailing list<sup>51</sup>. Others were merely new fronts created by activists who were already involved in other operations: the Committee to Impeach Earl Warren, the Realtors of American Freedom, the Committee Against Educating Traitors at the Government's Expense, or the Committee to Warn of the Arrival of the Communist Merchandise on the Local Business Scene, were all offshoots created by activists already involved in JBS or Crusade activities<sup>52</sup>. In 1960, a "National Directory of "Rightist" Groups" came out with the figure of a thousand groups by lumping together all conservative, religious, libertarian, segregationist, anti-Semite and other far right groups, a figure which rose by 800 to 1,800 in 1961. The same year, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith gave a lower figure of about 282 organizations - only major ones being accounted here-, excluding segregationist and anti-Semite ones<sup>53</sup>.

Even in the early 1960's, when conservative activists had reached their height, they remained a minority among Republican voters, or Democrat voters in the South. The JBS's membership peaked at about 100,000 in early 1961. Of course, membership numbers are quite limited as an indication of support. Many groups did not issue membership cards, and in many cases de facto members did not take out formal membership, the CACC being a good example. A more reliable indicator of the level of support garnered by these groups can be arrived at by considering polling data. In 1962,

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<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*; An., "Delegates Selected to Attend Seminar", *Southeast Missourian*, Wed., Mar. 29, 1961, 10.; An., "Communist Threat Topic of Seminar", *Ibid.*, Mon. Dec. 11, 1961.; An., "Communist Topic", *Ibid.*, Fri., Dec. 15, 1961.; An., "Pleased With Seminar in Cape", *Ibid.*, Tue., Dec. 19, 1961.

<sup>50</sup> Mitchell Rogovin, "In re: Four Freedoms Study Groups, Inc.", *WSP*, File "Internal Revenue Service Study of Ideological Organizations, December 31, 1965", F. "G", 2.

<sup>51</sup> Donald Janson and Bernard Eismann, *The Far Right*, New York and London, McGraw-Hill Book Company Inc., 126-127.

<sup>52</sup> Dan Kelly, "Birchismo", in Thomas Frank and Dave Mulcahey, eds., *Boob Jubilee: The Cultural Politics of the New Economy*, New York, W.W. Norton, 2003, 348-349.

<sup>53</sup> Donald Janson and Bernard Eismann, *The Far Right*, *op. cit.*, 126-127.

political scientist Alan F. Westin, building up on rare survey data available, estimated that among the 56 million Americans who had heard about the JBS, i.e. the adult population's "most public-affairs-conscious", he claimed, only a "hard core" of about four and a half million (8 percent) held favourable views on the organization and were thus susceptible to support it actively<sup>54</sup>.

Moreover, grassroots conservatism was not ideologically homogenous. Activists often experienced striking disunity on many issues. "Conservatives", wrote New Left historian William O'Neill, "(...) liked private property, religion, and General MacArthur. Most of all, they hated communism. This was lucky for them, as otherwise they could scarcely have gotten along with one another. Conservatives were as sectarian as radicals (...)"<sup>55</sup>. Not all groups, let alone individuals, placed the same emphasis on the idea that communism was an imminently threatening reality and not all ascribed, or promoted, conspiratorial views. As William B. Hixson notes: "If one regards someone like Welch as the exemplar of conspiratorial thinking then obviously many other right-wing spokesmen would be excluded [from that category] (...)", as very few believed that Communists controlled almost all American institutions<sup>56</sup>.

In the realm of foreign policy, isolationism was a traditional position held dear by many conservatives, especially libertarian ones, who connected continual foreign interventions with domestic governmental expansion. However, among conservatives, this view coexisted with its opposite, namely, a growing call for interventionism against communism on the part of American government. This aggressive stance, promoted notably by Buckley's *National Review*, aimed at containing, and if possible rolling back, international communism wherever it existed. This view became the dominant one among the popular right-wing by the end of the 1950's<sup>57</sup>.

Many right-wingers embraced the campaign against water fluoridation, which they saw as the culmination of years of mounting state interventionism in most aspects of daily life, as well as an infringement of an individual's right to choose what enters his or

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<sup>54</sup> Alan F. Westin, "The John Birch Society: "Radical Right" and "Extreme Left" in the Political Context of Post World War II (1962), in Daniel Bell, ed., *The Radical Right: The American Right*, op. cit., 239-240.

<sup>55</sup> William O'Neill, *Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960's*, New York, Random House, 1971, 47.

<sup>56</sup> William B. Hixson, *Search for the American Right-Wing*, op. cit., 56.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.; Jonathan Martin Kolkey, *The New Right, 1960-1968*, With an Epilogue, 1969-1980, Washington, University Press of America, 1983, 113-118.

her body. In 1962, the National Committee Against Fluoridation listed more than 1,400 communities that had rejected fluoridation<sup>58</sup>. For many conservatives, Gretchen Ann Reilly writes, fluoridation “was a form of socialized medicine because the government, rather than a doctor, was prescribing medication. (...) Others defined it as socialized medicine because tax revenues were paying for that medication and the machinery to administer it”<sup>59</sup>. Some right-wingers not only believed that fluoridation was a Trojan horse which would lead to communism by eroding individual liberties, but that it was a Communist plot to physically weaken the American public<sup>60</sup>. Long-time Schwarz collaborator Herb Philbrick assented for a while to this idea, finding circumstantial evidence through the support many Communist leaders offered to fluoridation<sup>61</sup>.

A good many conservatives, on the other hand, showed no interest for the fluoridation issue. Schwarz, who generally refrained from taking sides on issues he felt might divide his supporters, occasionally made it known that he considered anti-fluoridation as being at best a distraction, at worst gibberish that only reinforced the image of lunacy associated with militant anticommunists. A member of a liberal group that once sneaked into Crusade anticommunist school reported once about Schwarz’s talk: “He was eloquent but I suspect he disappointed the audience in the question period when he didn’t go along with the implications of their questions”, an example being when a woman asked him about fluoridation: “Schwarz seemed to ridicule the idea implying the premise was immature”<sup>62</sup>.

The great majority of Southern grassroots conservatives supported racial segregation, while no coherent position prevailed on this issue among conservatives in the rest of the country. Here we face a clear lack of historical research regarding views on race and segregation held by popular conservative activists outside the South during this era. Joseph Lowndes’ work shows how Northern conservative intellectuals such as the *National Review*’s William F. Buckley and Richard Weaver and non-Southern politicians

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<sup>58</sup> Citizens Committee Against Fluoridation, “Say “NO” to Poison-Fluoride in Your Drinking Water”, Reprinted by the National Committee Against Fluoridation, 1962, 3.

<sup>59</sup> Gretchen Ann Reilly, “The Task Is A Political One: The Promotion of Fluoridation”, in John W. Ward and Christian Waren, *Silent Victories: The History and Practices of Public Health in Twentieth-Century America*, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007, 329.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 329-330.

<sup>61</sup> Mrs. Ray L. Erb to Herbert Philbrick, Jun. 7, 1958, *HPP*, “General Correspondence” Series, Apr.-Aug. 1958, Box 2, F. 9.; Herbert Philbrick to Dr. Max Ginns, Oct. 21, 1959, *Ibid.*, “General Correspondence Series”, Oct.-Dec. 1959, Box 3, F. 3.

<sup>62</sup> “From ADL”, April 8, 1964, *GRC*, Box 365, F. “Washington School April 64”, 3.

(William Miller, Clifton White and later Barry Goldwater) drew Southern segregationists into the national conservative Republican. Yet, Lowndes' work focuses mainly on elite discourse and does not cover how this phenomenon operated at the popular level<sup>63</sup>. Critchlow writes that outside the South, "postwar conservatives showed far *more* concern with communism, in general, than they did with race relations"<sup>64</sup>. Schwarz's position on the race issue was to have no position, a position which he was able to hold until the anti-civil rights backlash in the mid-1960's. Schwarz's silence was actually typical among many conservatives<sup>65</sup>. The issue was very seldom addressed in non-Southern conservative circles, except to lament over how racial strife was harmful to America's image abroad<sup>66</sup>, and over the overextension of federal state powers caused by desegregation (Lowndes himself acknowledges that in the mid-1950's "almost no other conservative journals approached the issue of segregation" besides the *National Review*)<sup>67</sup>. Race, one of the defining issues of postwar America, was the issue many conservatives did not see, or did not wish to look at.

Almost none of the era's most important conservative figures outside the old South came out either in support of, or against, racial segregation. A rare exception was Billy James Hargis and his Oklahoma-based Christian Crusade, which supported "God-ordained segregation", and which initiated by the late 1950's a program of Southern outreach which won him many converts in the region<sup>68</sup>. In fact, one of the most consistent observations made by social scientists (such as Peter Viereck and Seymour Martin Lipset) about the non-Southern right-wing during the Cold War was how it was generally free from overt racism, at least when compared to some former manifestations of popular conservatism in America such as the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920's, or followers of Father Coughlin and pro-fascist groups of the 1930's<sup>69</sup>. "If nothing else", noted Neil McMillen, "the McCarthy era demonstrated that there need be no direct correlation

<sup>63</sup> Joseph E. Lowndes, *From the New Deal to the New Right*, *op. cit.*, 45-76.

<sup>64</sup> Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism*, *op. cit.*, 62.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>66</sup> During his speech before Washington Congressmen in February 1953, Schwarz affirmed that racial and religious divisions throughout the world were often created or played into the hands of the Reds in order to weaken non-Communist societies.

<sup>67</sup> Joseph E. Lowndes, *From the New Deal to the New Right*, *op. cit.*, 49. Almost no discussion on this topic was found about it in either the literature or correspondence from right-wing figures whose archives were accessible for the present research.

<sup>68</sup> Thomas Nohr, "Segregationists and the World: The Foreign Policy of the White Resistance", in Brenda Gayle Plummer, ed., *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1988*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2003, 151.

<sup>69</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset, "Three Decades of the Radical Right: Coughlinites, McCarthyites, and Birchers (1962)", in Daniel Bell, ed., *The Radical Right: The American Right*, *op. cit.*, 377-435-446.; Peter Viereck, "The Revolt Against the Elite (1955)", in *Ibid.*, 167-169.

between conservatism and racism”<sup>70</sup>. This applies to the Crusade, the supporters of which rejected segregation in proportions comparable to other Northern whites. In his analysis of a survey study of Crusade supporters among the general public, Clyde Wilcox concluded that “support for the Crusade was not fed by anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism, or racism”<sup>71</sup> (for polling data on the issue, see chapter 13).

However, the general obliviousness displayed by non-Southern conservatives on the race issue during the 1950’s was consistent with discontent about the Civil Rights movement, discontent which would grow with time. The mutual identification between Southern and non-Southern conservatives led to the growing inclusion of white Southerners in the national Republican right, as well as allowing the dramatic political shift that saw the GOP making its first Southern breakthrough, by carrying Deep South states by comfortable margins during Barry Goldwater’s 1964 campaign.

Many reasons explain this phenomenon. The fact that racism was not condoned by most grassroots conservative groups outside the South did not hinder racists from joining these groups on an individual basis, nor did it hinder such groups from experiencing success, either in the South, or in non-Southern regions where important numbers of expatriated white Southerners had retained their native region’s racial culture. The infusion of racist-minded individuals among conservative groups unquestionably influenced these organizations towards a negative view of civil rights activism. Despite the JBS’s professed opposition to racial intolerance, whether anti-Semitic or anti-Black, many of those who would join the JBS in the South already belonged to Citizens’ Councils or segregationist grassroots organizations and the JBS never reject their presence on its membership lists<sup>72</sup>. Throughout the 1960’s JBS members became increasingly embroiled in racial politics. Birchers would form the nucleus of the George Wallace movement’s organization in a dozen non-Southern states in 1968<sup>73</sup>. Similarly the Crusade attracted its share of anti-civil rights individuals, even though the organization officially called for national unity beyond race, religion and creed against communism: in 1960 C. Ellis Carver, M.D., general chairman of the Greater Los Angeles School of

<sup>70</sup> Neil R. McMillen, *The Citizens’ Council, op. cit.*, 201.

<sup>71</sup> Clyde Wilcox, *God’s Warriors, op. cit.*, 80.

<sup>72</sup> J. Allen Broyles, *The John Birch Society: Anatomy of a Protest*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1964, 127-129.; In Florida for instance, most prominent Birchers were already involved in segregationist groups. Neil R. McMillen, *The Citizens’ Council, op. cit.*, 200.

<sup>73</sup> Dan T. Carter, *The Politics of Rage, op. cit.*, 343.



Anticommunism, stressed the event's unifying aspect: "May we not by word or through deed do anything that would divide us from another. (...) We will each be proud of our own beliefs, our own faith, our own race or color, and each glory in those things with which God has individually endowed us"<sup>74</sup>. In Texas, Florida and California, numerous were the Crusade's grassroots supporters who held hostile views towards the Civil Rights movement.

As the debate over race rose in intensity from the mid-1950's on, most non-Southern conservatives found themselves philosophically at odds with the Civil Rights movement's agenda, which they perceived through the ideological filter of their embattled commitments to anticommunism, antistatism and individual liberties. This was nowhere better illustrated than in the manner a physically and psychologically declining Joe McCarthy aligned himself closer to the Southern Democratic block during the final two years of his life. United in their common loathing of Earl Warren, whom McCarthy described as "a good friend of Communists", McCarthy and segregationist Senator James Eastland from Mississippi, then chairman of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, had begun approaching each other in 1956 and 1957. This collaboration took place too late in McCarthy's life so as to allow concrete results. "Had [McCarthy's] censure vote come a bit later, or the Cold War and civil right cases a bit sooner", David M. Oshinsky observes, "a formidable alliance of McCarthyites and Dixiecrats could easily have emerged"<sup>75</sup>. In fact, this very alliance did come into being, though in a belated way, from the mid 1960's on.

The civil rights agenda conflicted with the core values of many conservatives, even if they did not approve of racial segregation. To many, the 1957 Little Rock crisis saw, as Jorstad observes, the federal government ordering troops "to invade the sovereign state of Arkansas and disrupt its constitutional right to regulate public education". Many thus perceived the civil rights debate as just another phenomenon that could further drag America in a downward towards increasing state centralization and bureaucratization under the guise of eradicating racial inequity<sup>76</sup>. Kevin Kruse points out in his 2005 *White Flight* that common historiography has overlooked how much segregationists "did not

<sup>74</sup> Quoted in An., "Final Plans Given for Anti-Communist School", *Los Angeles Times*, Thu., Oct. 13, 1960, B8.

<sup>75</sup> David M. Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy So Immense, op. cit.*, 498.

<sup>76</sup> Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Doomsday, op. cit.*, 62.

think of themselves in terms of what they opposed but rather in terms of what they supported”; the “right” to do as they pleased with their lives, neighbourhoods, private properties and businesses and the “right” to remain free of government encroachments<sup>77</sup>. Regardless of their views on Jim Crow laws, right-wing activists nationwide could relate to these sentiments expressed by segregationists, since these views were in complete accordance with conservative principles. Southern, pro-Jim Crow conservative Dan Smoot virulently voiced his frustration that “conservatives in the West and North privately admit that the federal government is acting unconstitutionally and tyrannically in racial-segregation matters”, but that they “are ashamed to speak out against these evils, because they think southern whites are “morally” wrong in their race relations”<sup>78</sup>.

Furthermore, conservatives both in and outside the South shared a common antipathy for the Warren Supreme Court, the decisions of which on many cases displeased the great majority of conservatives across the nation: the gradual dismantling of the anticommunist legal apparatus, the curbing of certain forms of legal punishments and police behaviour, the liberalization of obscenity standards and the end of school prayer<sup>79</sup>. In 1958, a campaign to “impeach Earl Warren” began among various segments of the grassroots right, most notably the Birchers, and came into full swing by the end of the decade, with “Impeach Earl Warren” bumper stickers and billboards springing up across the country. The message was “flaunted from California to Louisiana, from Detroit to Dallas, from Boston to Fort Lauderdale”, writes Warren biographer Leo Katcher<sup>80</sup>.

Meanwhile, during the 1950’s and early 1960’s, racial tensions were growing in many U.S. non-Southern areas, but remained in the background due to the “South’s retention of the lion’s share of movement and media attention until 1965”, as historian Ronald Formisano points out<sup>81</sup>. More than two and a half million Southern Blacks outmigrated to other parts of the country between 1940 and 1960, contributing to the doubling of the Black Northern urban population and the augmentation of the segregated ghetto sprawl in

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<sup>77</sup> Kevin Kruse, *White Flight*, *op. cit.*, 9.

<sup>78</sup> Dan Smoot, “Our Race Relations”, *loc. cit.*, 326-327.

<sup>79</sup> Richard Nixon wrote in his memoirs: “Like many legal and political moderate conservatives, I felt that some Supreme Court Justices were too often too often their own interpretation of the law to remake American society according to their own social, political and ideological precepts.” Richard Nixon, *RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*, New York, Grosset & Dunlap, 1978, 418.

<sup>80</sup> Leo Katcher, *Earl Warren: A Political Biography*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1967, 3.

<sup>81</sup> Ronald P. Formisano, *Boston Against Busing: Race, Class, and Ethnicity in the 1960’s and 1970’s*, Chapel Hill and London, University of North Carolina Press, 1991, 25.

most metropolitan areas. This population shift was no small factor in the white flight to the suburbs. Combined with renewed postwar campaigns to end school segregation outside the South, which fostered series of relatively little-known local clashes (southern Illinois, 1949; Los Angeles and Boston, 1950; Dayton, Ohio, 1954; New York, 1958) , these developments brought racial strife, a social ill commonly associated with the South, to other areas of the nation. In 1961 a poll showed that 61 percent of white Americans agreed that it was legitimate to segregate black from white neighbourhoods<sup>82</sup>.

Some traits were nonetheless universal among grassroots conservatives, the most important being their militant anticommunism. For these activists, Critchlow observes, “all social, cultural, and moral issues seemed to converge in the confrontation with communism”<sup>83</sup>. That anticommunism was such a primordial force in the conservative imagination explains how it was that a group such as the Crusade gathered support from almost all segments of the conservative spectrum. For Hixson, the centrifugal energy of anticommunism among conservatives was strengthened by the increasingly aggressive, non-isolationist posture against communism (the idea of “winning the cold war immediately”). This explains how the Crusade, with its cautious stances on domestic policies, “could be so warmly supported by right-wing activists with unambiguous domestic agendas”<sup>84</sup>. Across the spectrum, communism was perceived as threat unlike any other. The fact that, by the late 1950’s, the CPUSA had been reduced to an insignificant political force, had no bearing whatsoever on its perceived dangerousness. Communism was a criminal conspiracy masterminded by the Soviet Union, and the threat it posed to the nation was imminent<sup>85</sup>.

Grassroots conservatives also overwhelmingly saw themselves as upholding the principles of classical liberal individualism, enshrined by the Republic’s foundational texts (Declaration of Independence and the Constitution) and the Almighty. These values were seen as standing against a newer collectivism which had steadily come to dominate American politics and policy since the New Deal. This adherence to classical liberalism

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<sup>82</sup> This is compellingly demonstrated in Davidson M. Douglas’s 2005 study. Davison M. Douglas, *Jim Crow Moves North: The Battle over Northern School Segregation, 1865-1954*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2005, 219-273; Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*, Cambridge and London, Harvard University Press, 2003, 49. Not until 1970 did a majority of white respondents disagree with this statement.

<sup>83</sup> Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism*, *op. cit.*, 63.

<sup>84</sup> William B. Hixson, *Search for the American Right-Wing*, *op. cit.*, 60.

<sup>85</sup> Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism*, *op. cit.*, 70.

put right-winger at odds with the main course of 20<sup>th</sup> century U.S. history, i.e. the growth in size and responsibility of the state. It also explains their staunch opposition to many several non-governmental which they perceived as encouraging the collectivist trend: the labor unions, the Social Gospel in religion or social science<sup>86</sup>.

The great majority of grassroots conservatives also began to express deep concerns over declining moral standards<sup>87</sup>. “A list of only a few of the elements in the picture includes the growing traffic in narcotics and liquor, illegitimate births, an almost unbelievable divorce rate which continues to grow, homosexuality and juvenile wanton violence”, wrote Schwarz’s disciple Bill Strube in 1962<sup>88</sup>. In the light of the rise of youth delinquency across the 1950’s, the school system became perceived as the prime battlefield between good and evil, thus explaining the increasing energy conservatives invested in the field of education in the years to come<sup>89</sup>.

## 8.2 “The Slumbering People of America”

As the 1950’s came to a close, while continuing to support high national defense expenditures and global anticommunist containment policies, a majority of Americans had grown worried over the possibility of a nuclear war<sup>90</sup>. In 1959, 77 percent of respondents to a Gallup poll supported a voluntary nuclear test moratorium, suggesting that the nation’s mood had moved towards a desire for improved U.S-Soviet relationships<sup>91</sup>. A series of books and films depicting a fictional nuclear doom, such as Nevil Shute’s *On the Beach* in 1957, adapted for the big screen under the same title by producer-director Stanley Kramer in 1959, and Peter Bryant’s *Two Hours to Doom* in 1958, illustrated how pervasive fears over the mushroom cloud were becoming. Right-wingers saw these cultural products as creating the climate so as to induce Americans

<sup>86</sup> William B. Hixson, *Search for the American Right-Wing*, *op. cit.*, 59.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 77-78.; Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Doomsday*, *op. cit.*, 63.; On juvenile delinquency in the 1950’s and early 1960’s, see Carmine Sarracino and Kevin M. Scott, *The Porning of America: The Rise of Porn Culture, What It Means and Where Do We Go From Here*, Boston, Beacon Press, 2008, 54-61.; Joel A. Devine, Joseph F. Sheley and M. Dwayne Smith, “Macroeconomic and Social-Control Policy Influences on Crime Rate Changes, 1948-1985”, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 53, No. 3, Jun. 1988, 412.; AP Correspondent, “35,000 Addicts Listed in U.S.”, *New York Times*, Wed., Jun. 27, 1956, 36.; AP Correspondent, “44,146 Drug Addicts Counted”, *New York Times*, Thu., Sept. 11, 1958, 5.

<sup>88</sup> William P. Strube, Jr., *The Star Over Kremlin*, Grand Rapids, Baker Books, 1962, 35.

<sup>89</sup> James Stuart Olson, “Juvenile Delinquency”, *Historical Dictionary of the 1950’s*, *op. cit.*, 149-150.

<sup>90</sup> Don Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism*, *op. cit.*, 90. In a 1956 Gallup poll, more than 63 percent of respondents believed the hydrogen bomb would be used against their country in the advent of another world war, and 43 percent believed that should that happen, the area in which they lived in would be wiped out. George Gallup, “Gallup Finds U.S. Aware of Nuclear War Threat”, *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Jul. 15, 1956, B10.

<sup>91</sup> Georg Gallup, “Public Has Long Favored Test Ban”, *St. Petersburg Times*, Fri., Aug. 2, 1963, 17-A.

into self-disarmament. In February 1960, during the Milwaukee anticommunism school in February 1960, Herbert Philbrick described *On the Beach*'s film adaptation as an example of communist propaganda. Others did not go as far, but still perceived these books and films, Critchlow writes, as “manifestations of a naïve mindset that unconsciously played into the hands of extreme liberal ban-the-bomb types found in the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE)”, which regrouped personalities as diverse as pediatrician Benjamin Spock, Coretta Scott King, English philosopher Bertrand Russell, actors Marlon Brando, and Henry Fonda. While the American political class retained its anticommunist consensus, fewer politicians than before agitated the Red issue for political gain. During the midterm elections of November 1958, which took place in a context of recession and resulted in a rout for the GOP, discussions about communism and foreign policy were overshadowed by economic issues.

The changing context presented a clear challenge to conservative militants, as it risked alienating them from the broader public over the issue that laid closest to the core of their political and ideological identity. Also, many indications led them to believe that the Cold War was on a losing path. In the second half of the 1950's, the Soviet Union was perceived as closing the gap that separated it from the U.S. in the economic and military fields. From 1950 to 1965, the Soviet economy grew at a 4.9 percent annual rate, higher than that of most Western democracies<sup>92</sup>. In 1957, the Soviets tested their first intercontinental missile and launched of the space satellite *Sputnik*. In 1959, the Soviet Union deployed its first SS-4 MRBM missiles, armed with megaton-class nuclear warheads which could strike any target in Europe. Even if historians now agree that the United States throughout this period retained a considerable advantage over the Soviets regarding the size of their respective atomic arsenals, a series of overestimations of the Soviet military capacity, propagated notably by conservative syndicated columnist John Alsop, implanted the idea that the U.S. actually suffered from a dangerous disparity in the number of nuclear warheads<sup>93</sup>. This mythic “missile gap” became a convenient political tool for Democrats, who saw it as evidence of Republican bungling, the most notorious

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<sup>92</sup> Ronald Inglehart, *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1997, 221.

<sup>93</sup> David Tal, “Missile Gap”, in Sterling Michael Pavelec, ed., *The Military-Industrial Complex and American Society*, Santa Barbara, ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010, 207-208.

case being John F. Kennedy, who used it with great success during his reelection campaign of 1958 and his presidential run of 1960.

Angst among right-wingers flew through the ceiling when a Communist regime was established in Cuba, ninety miles from American shores. Castro's real intentions were unclear during the first months following the overthrow of Fulgencio Batista's dictatorship. During a trip to New York in April 1959, he stated, as he had done before, that he opposed all forms of dictatorships, including Communist ones<sup>94</sup>. However, the fear of American conservatives became reality as the evidence that the new Cuban regime was evolving towards left-wing authoritarianism mounted in 1959 and 1960: a policy of massive expropriations of foreign assets; agrarian reform and the prohibiting of foreign land ownership; the knowledge that Castro's brother Raul had been Communist for years; Castro's quickly assumption of power over the new regime; deteriorating U.S.-Cuban relationships, especially after Castro began buying oil from the Soviet Union in February 1960. In contrast to the "Who Lost China?" outcry of the McCarthy years, Democrats now had an opportunity to blame Republicans for the loss of Cuba, while conservatives tried to dodge these attacks by placing the blame "on those who duped Americans into thinking Castro was a reformer, not a Communist", Richard Fried writes<sup>95</sup>. As in the case of China, such accusations were aimed at the State Department, though a prime target was also *New York Times* journalist Herbert Matthews, whose friendly portrait of Castro in a series of articles in 1957 and 1958 was deemed as having laid the groundwork for the American no-intervention policy with respect to the Batista regime<sup>96</sup>. William Buckley noted in a tirade entitled "I Got My Job Through the *New York Times*": "It is bad enough that Herbert Matthew was hypnotized by Fidel Castro, but it was a calamity that Matthews succeeded in hypnotizing so many people, in crucial positions of power, on the subject of Castro". However, the "Who Lost Cuba" outcry never reached a comparable level as the China postmortem, a clear sign that the nation's mood had changed in a decade<sup>97</sup>.

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<sup>94</sup> Philip Potter, "Castro Disowns Communist Tag – Also Denies Seeking U.S. Aid, Hits Sugar Policy", *Baltimore Sun*, Sat., Apr. 18, 1959, 1-2.

<sup>95</sup> Richard Fried, *Nightmare in Red*, op. cit., 194.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*; Don Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism*, op. cit., 95.

<sup>97</sup> Anthony DePalma, *The Man Who Invented Fidel: Castro, Cuba, and Herbert Matthews of the New York Time*, New York, PublicAffairs, 2006, 196-197.

Based on the West Coast, Schwarz initially had little knowledge (or even interest) in the Caribbean. Uncertainty as to the eventual outcome of events in Cuba in 1959 and 1960 probably also contributed to his phlegmatic reaction. As opposed to numerous anticommunists who began denouncing Castro as soon as early 1959, Schwarz remained cautious not to comment either in his private and public writings on the Cuba issue until it became clear in late 1960 that the Castrist regime was aligning itself with the Soviets. His first known reference to this matter was occurred in the CACC's October 1960 newsletter, where he recommends the reading of a publication of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee regarding communism in the Caribbean. He began addressing more consistently the situation in Cuba after the Bay of Pigs fiasco of April 1961, prompting him to establish contact with Cuban exiles. Two months after the failed invasion, the Crusade organized a well-attended school of anticommunism in the growing anti-Castrist hotbed of Miami.

In contrast, Schwarz reacted immediately to the American visits of Soviet statesmen Anastas Mikoyan and Nikita Khrushchev in 1959, visits deemed by conservatives as the outrageous and terrifying demonstration that America was losing its mind in the way it handled the Reds. At the time the Kremlin's number two man, Mikoyan was the highest ranking Soviet official to have ever visited the United States. Nonetheless, his U.S. trip in January 1959 could not have been more low key. He came to America as a private citizen after having sent a routine request for a visa to visit a fellow Soviet diplomat in Washington, without any formal planned meetings. In fact, the initiative was part of Khrushchev's strategy to ease the Cold War atmosphere and initiate direct face-to-face talks with Eisenhower on the arms race question. As soon as news of Mikoyan's visit leaked out, scores of organizations across the U.S. invited him to address their members, including prestigious bodies such as the Council on Foreign Relations and the Economic Club of New York<sup>98</sup>. "Dapper, soft-spoken, and self-assured", Fred Kaplan writes, Mikoyan "seemed more like a European businessman than a Red apparatchik"<sup>99</sup>. His trip rapidly evolved into what the *New York Times* foreign correspondent Harrison Salisbury called "a presidential campaign", with the Soviet visitor being followed by a crowd of

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<sup>98</sup> Fred Kaplan, *1959: The Year Everything Changed*, Hoboken, John Wiley & Sons, 2009, 8-9.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

reporters everywhere he went, meeting celebrities such as Jerry Lewis and Sophia Loren, and delivering speeches to halls crowded with factory workers or businessmen<sup>100</sup>.

Conservatives were outraged. In a telegram, Walter Judd and his wife rejected an invitation to attend a dinner meeting with Mikoyan “for the same reasons would not attend social function honoring Hitler, Himmler, Nero, or Genghis Khan”<sup>101</sup>. *U.S. News and World Report* columnist David Lawrence wrote that never in American history “has any high official visiting this country displayed such effrontery and defiance of the American government and its policies”<sup>102</sup>. Schwarz wrote in his newsletter that Mikoyan embodied Red duplicity at its best. Mikoyan had supported Stalin upon Lenin’s death, and was one of the few Old Bolsheviks who survived the purges of the 1930’s. Because he did so by closely associating himself with Stalin, Schwarz charged him as guilty in the death of millions. However, the Australian claimed, these crimes were ignored by the American businessmen and churchmen who welcomed the Soviet “because he has an urbane manner, a ready wit and a quick tongue. It is forgotten that personal charm is always the stock-in-trade of the confidence man. Stalin himself impressed his negotiators with his “fatherly” manner”<sup>103</sup>.

Schwarz also gave his support to those who picketed several appearances by “this man of evil”, many of them Hungarian refugees, despite Eisenhower’s appeal for a courteous treatment of the visitor. In private, the crusader saw the visit as a dance with the devil. “In Australia”, he wrote to Kohlberg, “we regaled with revelation of the suicidal mania of American Businessmen as they wined and dined Mikoyan”<sup>104</sup>. In a conversation Schwarz had with one of Judd’s assistants, the crusader raised doubts as to whether Mikoyan’s tour could have taken place without the “backing and planning on the part of either certain governmental officials or private citizens”<sup>105</sup>. He went as far as suggesting that a congressional investigation was in order should these questions remain unanswered.

In early August 1959, Khrushchev and Eisenhower agreed to trade visits to each other’s country and conduct face-to-face talks on arms control, starting with the Soviet

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<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> Quoted in Philip Warden, “Judd Spurns Bid to Dinner with Mikoyan”, *Chicago Tribune*, Sat., Jan.3, 1959, 5.

<sup>102</sup> David Lawrence, “Mikoyan Proves U.S. Point: You Can’t Deal With Reds”, *Toledo Blade*, Tue., Jan. 20, 1959, 8.

<sup>103</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Businessmen and Churchmen Welcome Mikoyan”, *CACC Newsletter*, Mar. 1959, 1.

<sup>104</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Alfred Kohlberg, Mar.4,1959, *AKP*, Box 155, F. “Fred C. Schwarz”, 1958-1960.

<sup>105</sup> John Hedberg to Walter H. Judd, Jan. 26, 1959, *WHJP*, Box 222, F. 3.



leader's American tour mid-September. Khrushchev's visit was largely due to the death of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Upon coming to power, Khrushchev had shown interest in visiting the U.S., but Eisenhower had declined all such proposals, mainly on the advice of Dulles, who opposed the idea as a matter of principle, as well as claiming that it would only strengthen the Soviet leader's standing<sup>106</sup>. However, in May 1959, Dulles died of cancer, to be replaced by the more compromising Christian Herter, former Republican Governor of Massachusetts, opening the door for the first visit of a Soviet supreme leader on U.S. soil. It consisted in a thirteen-day tour during which Khrushchev participated in two days of -rather fruitless- talks with Eisenhower in Washington. Khrushchev also saw some great American cities such as New York and Los Angeles and delivered, like Mikoyan before him, a few speeches before elite organizations.

Even if Eisenhower's attempts at improving relations with the Soviet Union had for years met stiff opposition from the Republican right, news of Khrushchev's visit caught conservatives off-guard. "Such catastrophes are so overwhelming that the sufferer enters a state of emotional shock in which the emotions are numbed", Schwarz wrote. "The change", he added, "is so sudden, the revelation of national perfidy so complete that the mind cannot comprehend the truth. Three months ago it would have been unthinkable. John Foster Dulles has only recently laid to rest in his grave and this overwhelming reversal occurs"<sup>107</sup>. Catholic Cardinal Cushing of Boston warned that the invitation was akin to "opening our frontiers to the enemy in a military war"<sup>108</sup>. Former Republican leader of California William Knowland called the visit "a victory for soviet diplomacy" that would "have a devastatingly adverse effect upon the captive people behind the communist curtain"<sup>109</sup>. Anticommunist militants across the nation swore they would be heard. To a certain extent, they succeeded. In spite of the generally courteous reception Khrushchev received throughout the country, he was also welcomed by protesting crowds everywhere he went, to the point where he was increasingly distressed as the trip unfolded<sup>110</sup>. With other congressmen opposed to the visit, Judd founded the "Committee

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<sup>106</sup> Fred Kaplan, *1959, op. cit.*, 106.

<sup>107</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Visit of Khrushchev – Installment of Surrender", *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 1959, 1.

<sup>108</sup> Quoted in Deborah Welch Larson, *Anatomy of Mistrust: U.S.-Soviet Relations During the Cold War*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2000, 94-95.

<sup>109</sup> Quoted in An., "Knowland: Visit is Victory for Soviet Diplomacy", *Chicago Tribune*, Wed., Aug. 5, 1959, 8.

<sup>110</sup> Deborah Welch Larson, *Anatomy of Mistrust, op. cit.*, 95-96.

for Freedom of All Peoples”, which rapidly grew to have members in all the cities Khrushchev planned to visit<sup>111</sup>. In New York, William Buckley, whose *National Review* launched a series of tirades at Eisenhower, led a protesting showcase at Carnegie Hall before 2,500 people who wore black armbands symbolizing the victims of communism<sup>112</sup>. “Protest, protest, protest”, wrote Schwarz, who urged his followers to wear the black armband as well. “A groundswell of moral indignation may thwart this cruel tragedy”<sup>113</sup>.

Nonetheless, the hard reality was that the broader public did not have unfavorable views on Khrushchev’s visit. Among respondents to a Gallup poll in the summer of 1959, only 36 percent opposed the visit, while 50 percent agreed the Soviet leader ought to be invited to the U.S.<sup>114</sup>. In Washington, Republican politicians, even conservatives ones, were unready to break with a Republican President who benefited from public support in his attempts to defuse Cold War tensions. Thus, very few prominent members of the political class went as far as Judd in completely opposing the visit<sup>115</sup>. Similarly, the conservative press could not take a firm stand against Khrushchev’s visit. Reiterating its anticommunist stance, the *Chicago Tribune* editorialized that “we can expect to gain from the visit if it teaches our visitor some fundamental facts about this country that he doesn’t know”<sup>116</sup>. Schwarz tried to ridicule this argument in his newsletter:

“Khrushchev has an espionage system that can secure for him the intimate secrets of America’s classified scientific knowledge, yet it is assumed that he does not know what types of houses are occupied by the American people, and that it will come as a bright burst of revelation when he discovers that the great majority of American workers drive automobiles”<sup>117</sup>.

Two months after the Soviet leader had left the U.S., Schwarz’s carried on with his rant. Khrushchev, he wrote, had completely fooled Americans with his pro-peace declarations, his boasting of Soviet successes, his sporadic charming attitude. Even if some had been awakened on communism’s evil nature by this visit, “vast numbers were

<sup>111</sup> Jonathan Schoenwald, *A Time for Choosing: The Rise of Modern Conservatism*, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 2001, 41-42.

<sup>112</sup> Deborah Welch Larson, *Anatomy of Mistrust*, *op. cit.*, 94.

<sup>113</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Visit of Khrushchev – Installment of Surrender”, *loc. cit.*, 2.

<sup>114</sup> George Gallup, “Americans Found to Be for Khrushchev Visit”, *Los Angeles Times*, Mon., Aug. 10, 1959, 11.

<sup>115</sup> An., “Visit Hailed and Assailed in Congress”, *Los Angeles Times*, Tue., Aug. 4, 1959, 1.

<sup>116</sup> An., “Exchange of Visits”, *Chicago Tribune*, Tue., Aug. 4, 1959, 18.

<sup>117</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Visit of Khrushchev – Installment of Surrender”, *loc. cit.*, 1.

lulled into an increased complacency, a false optimism in the possibilities of peaceful co-existence with Communism for an extended period”<sup>118</sup>. For Schwarz, this apathy towards communism was the whole episode’s worst consequence. The country which “holds the hopes of the oppressed of the earth” was losing its spine, its will to fight<sup>119</sup>. The crusader nonetheless warned his supporters against pessimism. A battle had been lost, he wrote, but not the war: “We must redouble our efforts to awaken with the truth the slumbering people of America and free lands. This sleep had been induced by the weapon of deceit”<sup>120</sup>.

This gradual change in the national mood regarding the Soviets lamented on by conservatives was paralleled by the waning of the fear over domestic communism, especially in a context when the American Communist Party had disintegrated. The *Daily Worker* closed in January 1958 and the CPUSA’s membership shrunk to Lilliputian numbers. In 1959, in a book published by historian David Shannon, *The Decline of American Communism*, the author persuasively demonstrated that the CPUSA had been permanently wiped out during the 1950’s, though Shannon predicted that the organization would probably continue to exist “in some feeble form or other” since the Soviets found American Communists convenient “for propaganda purposes elsewhere in the world”<sup>121</sup>. With the fear of domestic subversion easing off, a growing number of voices were heard, especially from the political left, calling for the dismantling of the institutional inheritances of McCarthyism. While the Supreme Court repealed one by one most pieces of legislation formerly aimed at curbing internal subversion such as the Smith Act, mounting criticism targeted HUAC, the continuing hearings of which throughout the country were deemed by many as obsolete<sup>122</sup>. In 1957, the Southern California Civil Liberties Union, a branch of the ACLU, led the way by launching a petition campaign urging the Congress to eliminate HUAC. In doing so, the ACLU had the backing of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedom, founded in 1954 by Frank Wilkinson, a former Los Angeles bureaucrat who had once been fired after refusing to

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<sup>118</sup> *Id.*, “Khrushchev’s Visit Past – Consequences in the Future”, *Ibid.*, Nov. 1959, 1.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> Quoted in Arnold Beichman, “From the Bookshelf: What Happened to U.S. Communist Party?”, *Christian Science Monitor*, Wed., Dec. 16, 1959, 9.

<sup>122</sup> In 1957, the Court affirmed that HUAC’s power to investigate had to be limited accordingly.

sign loyalty oaths and who since then provided assistance to those called before HUAC<sup>123</sup>. “Operation Abolition”, as the anti-HUAC campaign was named, rapidly picked up steam. Wilkinson and ACLU members founded the National Committee to Abolish HUAC, the goal of which would ultimately be reached in 1975. “Operation Abolition” was supported by several student and civil rights, the later being particularly weary of HUAC’s frequent investigations of the alleged Red infiltration of anti-segregation groups<sup>124</sup>. Some liberal figures joined as well such as James Roosevelt, FDR’s elder son who, since 1955, was Representative of a Californian district and delivered the first speech of the House floor calling to abolish HUAC in April 1960<sup>125</sup>.

In 1959, when HUAC met in the liberal stronghold of San Francisco and released to the press the names of allegedly subversive local schoolteachers the committee wished to subpoena, the popular outcry was such that the hearings were postponed<sup>126</sup>. HUAC’s road-show returned to the Bay Area in May 1960, this time received by a protesting crowd composed mainly of UC Berkeley and SF State College students. As the picket line grew on the hearing’s second day, protesters were being denied access to the hearing room while inside hostile witnesses staged demonstration against the committee. The situation degenerated in a rehearsal of the coming decade, with the city police turning high-pressure hoses on white, preppy students, dragging them down the marble stairs of the San Francisco City Hall<sup>127</sup>.

The “Black Monday” riot sparked protests across the country against HUAC. Schwarz, who owed a great deal of his notoriety to HUAC, promptly defended the committee’s work. The riot was tribute to the “inestimable value” of HUAC, whose members were subject “to vile personal abuse and the infringement of all their personal liberties”<sup>128</sup>. Moreover, he claimed, the riot was typical Communist dirty work. A few shrewd and dedicated Red agitators, “utilizing volatile students”, provoked violence so as

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<sup>123</sup> Cynthia Stokes Brown, *Refusing Racism: White Allies and the Struggle for Civil Rights*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2002, 154.

<sup>124</sup> Frank T. Adams, *James A. Dombrowski: An American Heretic, 1897-1983*, Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1992, 246-247.

<sup>125</sup> Samuel Walker, *In Defense of American Liberties: A History of the ACLU*, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1999, 244-245.

<sup>126</sup> Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, *op. cit.*, 101.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 102.; Richard Fried, *Nightmare in Red*, *op. cit.*, 195.; William O’Neill, *Coming Apart*, *op. cit.*, 275-277.

<sup>128</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Communist Violence”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jun. 1960, 1-2.

to undermine the constitutional authority of the U.S. Congress<sup>129</sup>. For the most part, evidence that the riot was Communist-induced hinged on the presence among anti-HUAC protesters of notorious Red figures such as Archie Brown from the West Coast Longshoremen's Union, who was subpoenaed by HUAC on that day, but had to be thrown out of the hearings room as he protested. Brown's fellow union leader Harry Bridges, who had visited the Soviet Union the year before, was also there, and so was West Coast Communist youth leader Douglas Wachter<sup>130</sup>. Schwarz's reading of "Black Monday" was typical of the way conservatives framed the event: the presence of known Communists at a riot where the authority of the U.S. government was rudely protested could not have meant anything else. "These university students, perhaps as many as 400, were not all Communists, but the leadership was Communistic", conservative columnist George Sokolsky wrote<sup>131</sup>.

The post-riot outcry prompted HUAC members to produce a documentary film defending the committee's work and its usefulness. Hastily done, constituted of news footage subpoenaed from two Bay area TV stations, *Operation Abolition* gave credence to the Red-induced riot theory. The film opened with a short speech by HUAC chairman, Representative Francis Walters of Pennsylvania, who explained that "Operation Abolition" was "what the communists call their current drive to destroy the House Committee on Un-American Activities, to weaken the Federal Bureau of Investigation, to discredit its great director J. Edgar Hoover and to render sterile the security laws of our government"<sup>132</sup>. This introduction, which erroneously attributed the origin of the anti-HUAC movement to the Reds, set the tone for the rest of the film. The narration generically used the word "Communists" to describe most anti-HUAC opponents and the film's depiction of "Black Monday" contained edited distortions suggesting that arrested students violently confronted the police, while the great majority was actually hosed as it was sitting down civil rights-style<sup>133</sup>. The film could have gone relatively unnoticed, like a great deal of HUAC material, but it was released during a summer where left-wing

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<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>130</sup> An., "Bridges Praises Unions in Soviet as Democratic", *New York Times*, Sat., Feb. 14, 1959, 26.

<sup>131</sup> George E. Sokolsky, "Student Riots Are Weapons In Hands of Communists!", *The Florence Times*, Jun. 3, 1960, 4.

<sup>132</sup> Quoted in House on Un-American Activities, *Operation Abolition*, Film, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, 1960, 48 min.

<sup>133</sup> Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, *op. cit.*, 102.

student riots took place in several countries (Japan, Uruguay, Turkey), suggesting that the phenomenon was perhaps part of a worldwide Communist campaign, an idea openly expressed in a report J. Edgar Hoover submitted to HUAC two months after “Black Monday”<sup>134</sup>.

In July 1960, Schwarz was one of the first figures among anticommunist activists to comment on the film *Operation Abolition*, due perhaps to close contacts he had with HUAC, notably through Richard Arens. “My first reaction”, he wrote, “was to order the purchase of several copies for the use of our Crusade. In this film the Communist leaders of the riot are shown in all their arrogance of evil and are identified by name and record”<sup>135</sup>. For a few months the buzz over *Operation Abolition* remained limited to grassroots conservative circles, but by the fall of 1960 politicians and the conservative press began mentioning the film, most usually by praising it as an example of how innocent minds could be duped by the Reds so as to further their plans for agitation<sup>136</sup>. *Operation Abolition* became a sensation among conservatives. Within a year, millions saw the film. A *Times Magazine* journalist observed in early 1961 that prints of the film “are booked months in advance by Army camps, student groups, American Legion posts, political meetings, churches and corporations”<sup>137</sup>. When the Crusade shifted the bulk of its activities towards anticommunism schools in the fall of 1960, schools’ programs included *Operation Abolition*, the showing of which always constituted a highlight. “Almost everyone, who views the film with an open mind”, Schwarz wrote, “is most profoundly aroused and disturbed by it. (...) It carries the warning of what could happen here”<sup>138</sup>. In March 1961, a journalist attending the Crusade’s anticommunism school in Phoenix noted that the film was received with delight by the crowd, who “laughed uproariously at the scene where the students were bounced down the stairs”<sup>139</sup>. Predictably, *Operation Abolition* influenced the rhetoric heard at Crusade events regarding Communists’ ability to agitate the masses. During the show organized by

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 102-103. ; An., “Youth Riots are Linked to Commies”, *The Spokesman Review*, Mon. Jul. 18, 1960, 5.

<sup>135</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Film of the Riots”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jul. 1960, 6.

<sup>136</sup> An., “Message for Americans”, *The Nashua Telegraph*, Fri., Nov., 18, 1960, 6.

<sup>137</sup> An., “The Investigation: Operation Abolition”, *Times*, Fri., Mar. 17, 1961, Available online at: < <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,894425-1,00.html> > (accessed Oct.11, 2010).

<sup>138</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Film Operation Abolition Under Fire”, *CACC Newsletter*, Feb. 1961, 1-2.

<sup>139</sup> Donald R. McNeil, “Sessions of Christian Anti-Communism School, March 1, 1961”, Notes taken in preparation for an article, *Donald R. McNeil Papers*, Archives Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, (hereafter *DMP*), Box 1, F. 1-3.

Schwarz and his collaborators at the Hollywood Bowl in late 1961, Walter Judd affirmed that Khrushchev had the capability to “start a riot or a strike in any major city any time he wants to”<sup>140</sup>.

However, as *Operation Abolition*’s success mounted, so did the controversy surrounding it. Many left-wing and civil rights groups charged that the film was inaccurate. The film’s narrator, Fulton Lewis III, a HUAC staffer and the son of a prominent conservative radio host of the same name, began in late 1960 a tour to show the film on colleges and universities, but viewings were systematically picketed. “As usual”, a journalist wrote at the University of Connecticut at Storrs, “well-organized campus liberals picketed the showing, jammed the hall to heckle, boo, fire loaded questions at the narrator”<sup>141</sup>. The National Council of Churches recommended Protestant ministers “not to exhibit the film unless a full and fair presentation” of the circumstances of its production could be made<sup>142</sup>. In late 1961, the Northern California ACLU released its own documentary film *Operation Correction*, which employed the exact same footage used in its enemy twin, but disputed point by point HUAC’s claims and attempted to demonstrate that the police, not the protesters, were to be faulted for causing the “Black Monday” violence<sup>143</sup>. *Operation Correction* received little attention compared to *Operation Abolition*, but it signaled that from then on, HUAC’s activities would be responded to closely by liberal activism<sup>144</sup>.

The fight over *Operation Abolition* was paralleled at the same time, though to a lesser extent, by the controversy surrounding another popular anti-Red film, *Communism on the Map*, also released in May 1960. Produced by the National Education Program with the same professional skill as most NEP material, the film was narrated by Herbert Philbrick. The film offered a detailed account of the progress of worldwide communism since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It claimed that four main events fostered Communist expansion since 1917 and that the U.S. made the wrong choices each time: the U.S.’s recognition of the Soviet Union in 1933, Eastern Europe’s fall into Red hands at the end of WWII, the fall

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<sup>140</sup> Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, *op. cit.*, 149.

<sup>141</sup> An., “The Investigation: Operation Abolition”, *loc. cit.*.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>143</sup> An., “Old Narration Disputed Point by Point: ACLU Revises ‘Operation Abolition’”, *Toledo Blade*, Fri., Dec. 1, 1961, 8.

<sup>144</sup> William O’Neill, *Coming Apart*, *op. cit.*, 277.

of China in 1949 and that of Cuba ten years later<sup>145</sup>. Since the film did not clearly distinguish communism from socialism, it presented the U.S. as being almost completely surrounded by the enemy, among whom were counted most NATO allies and other members of the Western alliance where socialist parties were strongly established (France, England, Italy, Greece, Western Germany, Belgium and so forth).

Widely shown on campuses, in high schools and at civic and patriotic meetings, *Communism on the Map* was seen by more than ten million people within a year according to the NEP<sup>146</sup>. But it was also widely criticized for containing multiple inaccuracies. In January 1961, 92 professors of the University of Washington at Seattle wrote a joint protest against the film's "irresponsible mingling of fact and falsehood and by its gross distortion of historical events"<sup>147</sup>. In April 1961, six-time Socialist presidential candidate Norman Thomas held a press conference in New York where he slammed the film as "paranoid", "false and misleading", prompting George Benson to reply that Thomas was not fit "to evaluate anti-Communist films or other anti-Communist materials"<sup>148</sup>. In early 1961, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that *Operation Abolition* and *Communism on the Map* "are blowing up a lively controversy across the nation from Syracuse to Seattle"<sup>149</sup>.

As the world was about to enter the turbulent 1960's, the Red issue was gradually pushed aside from daily headlines by topics such as civil rights struggles, student unrest and the cultural transformations that swept the country. Granted, the United States retained its almost-consensual opposition to communism, but a rift between Americans on how this core principle of their culture should be expressed, a rift which had steadily grown since the time Eisenhower warned the nation against anticommunist activism in 1954, was about to widen substantially.

As Daniel Bell suggested in 1962, despite American conservatives' growing dissatisfaction at the direction the country was taking in the 1950's, their anger was contained as long as a Republican was in the White House. During the Eisenhower

<sup>145</sup> L. Edward Hicks, "Sometimes in the Wrong", *op. cit.*, 77.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> Quoted in Cabell Phillips, "Wide Anti-Red Drive Directed From Small Town in Arkansas: Dr. George Benson, Head of College and 'National Education Program' Aims to Alert the Common Man", *The New York Times*, Thu., May 18, 1961, 26.

<sup>148</sup> Quoted respectively in Murray Illson, "Norman Thomas Hits Birch Group", *New York Times*, Thu., Apr. 20, 1961, 19.; and L. Edward Hicks, "Sometimes in the Wrong", *op. cit.*, 78.

<sup>149</sup> An., "Anti-Communist Films Stir Nationwide Storm", *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Feb. 26, 1961, C1.



presidency, “they had been trapped because “their” party was in power, and the American political system, with its commitments to deals and penalties, does not easily invite ideological -or even principled- political splits”<sup>150</sup>. When Eisenhower left office in February 1961, the *National Review* voiced the viewpoint of many among the American right when it bade him good riddance, since eight years in power had been even more painful and frustrating than two decades in the opposition<sup>151</sup>. Conservatives were free to mobilize more now that they were discharged from the burden of defending an administration in which many of them had invested hope of a victory over communism and the repeal of the New Deal. With the election, in November 1960, of John F. Kennedy, Bell wrote that “the charge of softness in dealing with Communism could again become a political, as well as an ideological, issue”. Rick Perlstein notes for instance that the GOP’s defeat “swelled the membership rolls” of the John Birch Society in the months following the election<sup>152</sup>.

The stage was thus set for one of American history’s most turbulent periods, in which the formidable ascendancy of American liberalism, captured to some extent by Kennedy’s vision of a prosperous future marked by expanded definitions of American citizenship, was paralleled by the coming of age of a conservative mobilization with a substantially different agenda.

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<sup>150</sup> Daniel Bell, “The Dispossessed”, *loc. cit.*, 1.

<sup>151</sup> Craig Schiller, *The (Guilty) Conscience of a Conservative*, New York, Arlington House Publishers, 1978, 29.

<sup>152</sup> Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, *op. cit.*, 117.

## 9 THE WAY UP

“Every once in awhile I get repercussions from your work of patiently struggling to keep people from committing suicide through ignorance and apathy. I know you will keep at it, because we are right in this and I have faith that we will ultimately prevail over the diabolically skillful and dedicated forces of destruction”.

- Walter H. Judd to Fred Schwarz, 1958<sup>1</sup>

### 9.1 Schools of Anticommunism

On March 24, 1958, the first session of the Crusade’s first school of anticommunism opened at the Tower Grove Baptist Church of St. Louis, Missouri. The event was a weeklong seminar consisting of twenty sessions of one hour and a half, stretching from 8:00 am to 4:30 pm. Attendees spent five days being taught on communism in its various dimensions by a faculty of seven people which included, apart from Schwarz and Strube, two of the Crusade’s contacts among Washington insiders, Representative John R. Pillion and HUAC staffer Richard Arens. Also on board were two churchmen: the Rev. Leslie Millin, Canadian Baptist missionary, formerly director of a Canadian conservative group called the Freedom Foundation of Canada and Frank Fuhr, director of the International Christian Leadership Group, a ministry producing anticommunist films<sup>2</sup>. “Tuition” fees were \$20 for the whole weeklong seminar or \$5 for a single day. Each day’s morning session began with Schwarz’s presentations on Communist philosophy, the organization of Communist political parties and the methods of Communist conquest. Other topics included “Psychology of Communism” (by Arens), “Communism and Business” (by Strube), “Communism and the Law” (by Pillion) and “Brainwashing” (by Leslie Millin, who probably drew on his experience of being detained by Chinese Communists for two years when he was a missionary). Schwarz also reconvened with his friend and former pastor from Sydney, John Drakeford, who had just completed his degree in psychology, and who helped organize the event. Another lecturer was F. Gano Chance, who gave according to Schwarz “a splendid address on Communist fronts and Russian sputniks”. Chance was an industrialist from Centralia, Missouri, founder of the A.B. Chance

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<sup>1</sup>Walter H. Judd to Fred C. Schwarz, Undated, Letter reproduced in *CACC Newsletter*, Jan. 1958, 5.

<sup>2</sup> for the St. Louis School of Anticommunism, March 24-28, 1958.

Corporation, which manufactured electrical transmission and distribution equipment<sup>3</sup>. A director of the conservative National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), Chance strongly supported “right-to-work”, anti-labour legislation, had appeared at Benson’s Freedom Forums to defend patriotism, capitalism and traditional values, and in the late 1950’s became member of the John Birch Society’s Council<sup>4</sup>.

The support provided by middle-level millionaires like Chance was indispensable to the school since along with its foreign projects (see chapter 14), the development of which was ongoing at the time, the St. Louis gathering was the Crusade’s largest and riskiest initiative up to this time. Schwarz’s request for financial support sent to oilman J. Howard Pew in the fall of 1958 mentioned that such a school necessitated minimal expenditures of \$5,000, but the cost seems to actually have been double this figure since he mentioned in a letter to Kohlberg in the summer of the same year that he had to refuse Arens’ proposal for a school in Washington since “I will need about \$10,000 to set it up”<sup>5</sup>. The project also proved to be a logistical challenge. The school was a more ambitious follow-up to Schwarz’s successful spring 1957 seminar in St. Louis under the auspices of Fred and Phyllis Schlafly. However, this time, the St. Louis Medical Society refused to authorize the use of its building, prompting Crusade officials and local organizers to hold the event on short notice at the Tower Grove Baptist Church, whose pastor Rev. Mark Douglas allowed the use of its educational building free of charge, requesting only compliance with the church’s non-smoking rule. The Crusade hired an agent in St. Louis to promote the school, but he found the task to be difficult and urged Schwarz to cancel the project. “But I knew”, Schwarz later wrote, “that if we cancelled this one, we would meet up with the same problems the next time and cancel it. So I said let’s go ahead with this one, and if no one comes, so be it”<sup>6</sup>.

The project finally came to being with the help of numerous grassroots supporters, many of whom flowed from the Schlaflys’ Catholic network. Financial backing came

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<sup>3</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “St. Louis School A Success”, *CACC Newsletter*, May 1958, 2.; An., “A. B. Chance to Acquire American Crossarm”, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Thu., Jan. 14, 1957, C7; An., “Football Frank Picks’Em Again”, *Los Angeles Times*, Thu., Sept. 18, 1958, C14.

<sup>4</sup> An., “Welch Reveals Names of Birch Council Members”, *Los Angeles Times*, Sat., Apr. 1, 1961, 4.; George S. Benson, “Looking Ahead”, *The Evening Independent, Massillon*, Mon., Feb. 16, 1953, 6. Chance personally gave \$250 to organize the event, and invested more than ten times this sum when a hugely successful sequel took place in St. Louis in 1961. “990A’s of Chance Fdn”, *GRC*, Box 364, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial”.

<sup>5</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Alfred Kohlberg, Jun. 4, 1958, *AKP*, Box. 155, F. “Fred C. Schwarz”, 1958-1960.

<sup>6</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 163.

from F. Gano Chance and the Pepsi-Cola Bottling Company of St. Louis, which not only made a financial contribution but was the first to initiate a practice that would be common among corporate sponsors of later schools: having some of its employees paid to be present at all sessions as a “patriotic duty”<sup>7</sup>. Given the Crusade’s scarce resources at this point, very little advertising was possible for the school, and only a few newsletters published by small groups of the grassroots right seem to have taken notice of the event<sup>8</sup>.

The idea of weeklong anticommunist seminars seems to have been on Schwarz’s mind for some time: “I had long entertained the vision of intelligent and responsible anti-Communist gatherings to study in depth the doctrines, organizational principles, methods, and objectives of Communism”<sup>9</sup>. He saw this initiative not only necessary so as to form dedicated, informed anticommunists, but he also found the formula convenient. It offered a way of giving a complete panorama on communism to individuals who came to him, rather than the old situation where he toured endlessly to reach corners of any given state and was obliged to return several times to the same locations so as to cover the various aspects of communism. Indeed, by the late 1950’s, popular demand for the crusader’s lectures had risen to the point where he had to turn down an ever growing number of requests. “I find it impossible”, he wrote shortly before the school began in the CACC newsletter, “to fulfil all the possible engagements that are open in this great land. We need one thousand, informed, educated and dedicated anti-Communists to carry on this struggle”<sup>10</sup>.

Of course, schools of anticommunism were not only aimed at meeting the Crusade’s need for a more effective popular anticommunist pedagogy. It also fitted the faith-based dispositions of Schwarz and his close collaborators. For long, a prime feature of the evangelical culture had been the organizing of collective happenings lasting for many days, such as the old-fashioned camp-meeting, in which attendees could be immersed uninterrupted in a transforming experience. In America, Schwarz had been exposed on many instances to such events, such as when he appeared at YFC rallies, or when the

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<sup>7</sup> *Id.*, “St. Louis School A Success”, *loc. cit.*, 2.

<sup>8</sup> An., “Attention Citizens of St. Louis”, *Counterattack*, Vol. 12, No. 9, Feb. 28, 1958, 1.; Peter Meyer Filardo, “Notes and Documents: The Counterattack Research Files on American Communism, Taminent Institute Library, New York University”, *Labor History*, Vol. 39, No. 2, 1998, 189-191.

<sup>9</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 160.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.*, “Anti-Communism School”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jan. 1958, 7.

Crusade itself organized a five-day seminar at the Winona Lake Conferences in 1956. However, the most obvious religious influence on the Crusade schools was, by Schwarz's admission, Billy Graham's revivals. "Look", he told journalist Kenneth Woodward in 1963, "if you're trying to find out about my religious beliefs, I'll tell you, I very much admire Billy Graham and I try to pattern my rallies after his approach"<sup>11</sup>.

There were also secular influences on the manner in which the Crusade schools evolved. The most important ones were George Benson's Freedom Forums, the influence of which on Crusade schools was palpable. This was particularly so in their stated aim to psychologically and ideologically equip prominent citizens for the survival of freedom. Though all patriots were welcomed, CACC schools targeted primarily preachers, educators, professionals and legislators. Other seminar-type events organized by conservative anticommunists might have influenced CACC schools, such as the ones organized by Luis Budenz in a few eastern cities in 1955 and 1956. However, Crusade schools unquestionably evolved into the most successful of such public education initiatives during the late 1950's and early 1960's and proved to be the most emulated model.

Given the circumstances, the St. Louis school was a success. The Crusade's resources were such that anything more than a hundred students choosing to spend a whole week in St. Louis would have been deemed a success. Three days after the school ended, an editorial from the Kingsport News indicated: "More than 130 people from the United States and Canada attended. (...) If anti-communist schools should catch on and crop all over the nation, things might happen"<sup>12</sup>. Schwarz had the opportunity to see under the same roof audiences which up until that time he had encountered separately. The format resembled a religious revival where people from variegated backgrounds gather around the same faith: "There were preachers from many denominations including Catholic priests. Businessmen mingled with men of manual labor. Attorneys jostled with housewives"<sup>13</sup>. Attending the school seems to have been a religious experience as much as an intellectual one. A representative sent by the Associated Industries of Missouri wrote to the crusader:

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<sup>11</sup> Kenneth Woodward, "What qualifications for a crusader?", *loc. cit.*, 16.

<sup>12</sup> An., "Schwarzism", *Kingsport News*, Tue., Apr. 1, 1958, 4.

<sup>13</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "St. Louis School A Success", *loc. cit.*, 1.

“Without exception, this was one of the great experiences of my life. Others have told me the same thing. A good number of us were utterly exhausted from the emotion stirred by a number of the speakers, the excitement of working together as an organization, and watching you perform daily with such vigor and enthusiasm”<sup>14</sup>.

It took four CACC schools to come up with a definite school formula that would be applied with great success across years: the St. Louis school, the Long Beach of December 1958, the Indianapolis school in the fall of 1959 and the Milwaukee school of February 1960. During one of the discussion panels ending each day’s program in St. Louis, it seems to have been Richard Arens who suggested carrying out such schools throughout the country<sup>15</sup>. Schwarz agreed. If such weeklong schools could be held nationwide, each one attracting a few hundred people who, in turn, would become anticommunist grassroots leaders, the country, within a few years, would undergo a transformation affecting its political direction. However, financial limitations slowed up the holding of the next school. The Crusade’s second anticommunism school got under way in December of 1958 in Long Beach. Once again, the financial burden was reduced due to a church providing educational rooms free of charge. Dr. Charles Mayes, pastor of the First Brethren Church of Long Beach and former Crusade advisory board member, helped out.

The same roster of speakers featured at the St. Louis school was present, with one difference: F. Gano Chance was replaced by Congressman Walter H. Judd, who appeared for the first time at an anticommunism school, initiating two decades of regular appearances on his part at such events. The entirety of the school sessions was recorded, allowing the subsequent selling and distribution of tapes which became one of the CACC’s sources of advertising and mass dissemination. Another innovation was the wooing of public authorities for some level of endorsement, providing the school with an image of widespread local support: Schwarz stated afterwards that the “attendance at the Long Beach School included Security Officers of the Los Angeles Police Dept. and the Los Angeles Sheriffs Dpt”<sup>16</sup>. Up until 1958, Schwarz had undoubtedly brought countless

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<sup>14</sup> William J. Henderson to Fred C. Schwarz, Undated, Letter published in *Id.*, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 163.

<sup>15</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “St. Louis School A Success”, *loc. cit.*, 2.

<sup>16</sup> *Id.*, “Schools for Anti-Communists”, *CACC Newsletter*, Mar. 1959, 3.

people into the anticommunism fold and in some cases, had helped create lifelong anticommunist and right-wing crusaders. Nonetheless, the two first Crusade schools, despite attracting only a few hundred people combined, demonstrated that the weeklong seminar concept, in terms of the aim of the Crusade itself, could be called without much exaggeration as something resembling a stroke of genius. The concept was practical, pedagogically efficient, and created for a week a community where students could realign their identities along the organization's ideals. The Long Beach school produced three lifetime crusaders. Two of them, as later seen, became directors of Crusade branches<sup>17</sup>. A third man, Walter Huss, remained for a while in the Crusade's orbit, before developing his own organizational concepts.

The Indianapolis anticommunism school was held in late September and early October 1959. The Crusade's expanding financial resources permitted a distinctly secular location: the Washington Hotel in downtown Indianapolis, a comfortable facility well-suited for conventions and conferences of all sorts. With a few exceptions such as the late summer 1961 Los Angeles Sports Arena school, other CACC schools were held in convention locations, as opposed to churchy settings. The school day was extended by a good few hours. While the St. Louis school day ended at 4:30 p.m., Indianapolis was day school and night school combined. The Indianapolis school day finished at 9:30 p.m. with the addition of an evening session, making each school day an 11-hour event, bringing the week's total of hours to 55 for those who did not miss a single session. Schwarz's gave the daily opening and closing class, and oversaw the harmonious conjunction of the school's proceedings<sup>18</sup>.

The Indianapolis school initiated the ritual of ending each event with a banquet. With time, this event took huge proportions with, in some cases, thousands of people attending. The banquet, named the "Design for Victory" evening, was the moment to recap the week and solicit suggestions for the Crusade. It was also the moment to deliver fundraising pitches. An important part of the money grossed by each school came from direct contributions and sales during the banquets. The Crusade school banquets paralleled the banquets organized on a yearly basis by the Crusade in Southern

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<sup>17</sup> Two of them became CACC local branch leaders: Joost Sluis (San Francisco) and Charles Sarvis (Seattle).

<sup>18</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 168.

California, the first occurrence of which was held in June 1958 at the Lake Avenue Congregational Church of Pasadena (locations varied)<sup>19</sup>. These annual banquets evolved into gatherings where the “Schwarz gang” could meet in a friendly, abstentious ambiance and spoke informally about future projects.

The Indianapolis school at the Washington Hotel initiated the logistical blueprint that came to characterize all later schools. Schwarz once noted: “I try to pattern my rallies after [Billy Graham’s] approach”. In terms of logistics, it is absolutely true. When Schwarz met Billy Graham in Detroit in 1953, he had the chance to observe the preparation for the Graham revival that took place in that city a few months later. Though many people attributed the phenomenal success of Graham revivals to the miracle work of the Holy Spirit, these urban mass gatherings were in fact carefully prepared and, in this respect, far from being spontaneous outbursts of popular religious enthusiasm<sup>20</sup>. The Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (BGEA) did not undertake a citywide crusade before securing a critical mass of local support<sup>21</sup>. Once a location had been chosen for the revival, the BGEA’s team sent a staff member to oversee the preparation (often Colbert’s job in the Crusade’s organization). A local office was set up, from where the groundwork was done: linking the national organization to the local community; recruiting volunteers; setting up local committees; raising funds; appealing for the support of important local prominent citizens and institutions, particularly churches, chambers of commerce, civic organizations and politicians<sup>22</sup>. An important detail involved the preemptive defusing of local criticism leveled against the event or its central figure. Graham made masterful use of his Southern charm; he would made an “appointment with his detractors, one by one, admitted his weaknesses as a young preacher, and assured them he wanted only to help them reach the city for Christ”<sup>23</sup>. The Crusade followed a comparable pattern. The organization would usually choose a city where a core of activists was deemed sufficient to support a weeklong event. Once the school was announced in the city, a short list comprising the most dedicated local supporters would form a central committee in charge

<sup>19</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Banquet”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jul. 1958, 2.

<sup>20</sup> L. W. Dorsett, “Graham, William Franklin, ‘Billy’ ”, Timothy Larsen, David Bebbington and Mark. A. Noll, eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals*, *op.cit.*, 262.

<sup>21</sup> Sydney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, *op. cit.*, 957.

<sup>22</sup> Deborah Hart Strober and Gerald S. Strober, *A Day in the Life of Billy Graham: Living the Message*, Garden City Park, Square One Publishers, 2003, 9-10.

<sup>23</sup> Harold Myra and Marshall Shelley, *The Leadership Secrets of Billy Graham*, Grand Rapids, Zondervan, 2005, 82.



of providing logistics, advertising and financial support. As much as possible, the central committee was composed of prominent citizens whose names by themselves conferred respectability to the whole venture. Much of the promotional strategy of each school hinged on the printing, on leaflets and letterheads, of the names and professional backgrounds of endorsers. “We feel”, Schwarz once wrote to a collaborator, “a great deal of interest and confidence can be created in prospective leaders (...) if they see the fields in which committee members represent, and the type of business leader willing to spend time, money and effort in the struggle against Communism”<sup>24</sup>.

Subcommittees were then formed to meet the school’s specific needs, and their work carried out by grassroots supporters: subcommittees such as “Finance”, “Hospitality”, “Publicity”, “Registration”, “Literature”, “Vital Correspondence” and “Banquet”. Financial contributions to the school flowed directly to the CACC so as to make them tax-deductible and all financial surpluses after the school closed went directly to the Crusade as well<sup>25</sup>. Though the formula was not yet applied in Indianapolis in 1959, Schwarz eventually ran during the preceding weeks local preparatory rallies designed to stimulate interest in the school, raise more funds and enlist more supporters or attendees.

Indiana was an area where Schwarz had numerous friends and contacts from his previous tours dating back to 1953. In particular, he had spent a very busy lecturing week in Indianapolis in November 1958, which helped him establish a strong network of local supporters. The executive committee included as chairman the Rev. Russell Blowers, minister of the East 49<sup>th</sup> Street Christian Church; the Rev. Harm Weber, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Indianapolis; Wendell Martin a local attorney; local conservative radio commentator Don Bruce, who, in 1960, would be elected Republican representative of Indianapolis and who became one of the founding members of the American Conservative Union and John Lynn, an executive for the Indianapolis-based Lilly Pharmaceutical Company who, in 1961, would join the Lilly Endowment as general manager and director of community services, a position he used to reorient the institution towards “the trinity of free market, anticommunism and fundamental Christianity”,

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<sup>24</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Marvin Liebman, Feb. 13, 1963, *MLieBP*, Box B11, F. Fred Schwarz.

<sup>25</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 166.

Lilly's biographer notes. The Lilly Endowment began sponsoring the Crusade around the time Lynn took over<sup>26</sup>.

The Indianapolis school was the first instance when the Crusade managed to enlist a local politician to proclaim an anticommunism "Week", i.e. effective, free advertising. The idea came from Austin, where, a few weeks before, a group of Crusade-inspired prominent anticommunists held an anti-Red seminar, for which Mayor Tom Miller was solicited to proclaim an "Anti-Communism Week"<sup>27</sup>. In a similar manner, the Indianapolis central committee approached Republican Governor Harold W. Handley with the request that he would proclaim the week the school took place as "Anti-Communism Week". In his official statement, Handley urged Hoosiers to become informed on "the insidious workings of an international conspiracy that is dedicated to the destruction of our fundamental constitutional rights as free men"<sup>28</sup>. Handley also paid an unexpected personal visit to the school during one class. Such political endorsements gave anticommunism schools an aura of legitimacy that greatly facilitated attempts to garner support from other public institutions. In Indianapolis, for first time, the Crusade had the formal backing of the local school board, who eagerly cooperated by sending off teachers to attend the school's hour-and a half sessions. This education of teachers became a common practice.

The anticommunism schools' professors -those who did the lecturing- were referred to as "speakers", or "faculty members". Speakers were provided "academic freedom", and ideas expressed by them during the weeklong event were deemed not to necessarily represent the opinion of the Crusade and organizing committees. This was convenient because the "academic freedom" policy allowed the Crusade to discharge itself from any controversial statements made by its speakers. Nonetheless, this practice became a problem. Schwarz came eventually under attack on the grounds that he used it to reject his responsibility from extreme and controversial statements.

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<sup>26</sup> James H. Madison, *Eli Lilly: A Life, 1897-1977*, Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1989, 215-217.

<sup>27</sup> "This is the first time we know of that the Mayor of a Mayor of a major city proclaimed an Anti-Communism Week. As a result of this action, the Governor of Indiana took similar action to coincide with the Indianapolis Anti-Communism School that you participated in". Jack H. Sucke to Herbert Philbrick, Dec. 8, 1959, *HPP*, Box 3, "General Correspondence" Series, F. 5, "March 1960".

<sup>28</sup> Harold W. Handley, "Proclamation for Indiana's Anti-Communism Week", Sept. 27, Oct. 4, 1959, Reproduced in *CACC Newsletter*, Nov. 1959, 2.

The 1959 Indianapolis school “faculty” included the addition of W. Cleon Skousen and Herbert Philbrick. With these new two members, the “faculty” acquired its classic profile. As far as the “faculty” was concerned, Schwarz, Skousen and Philbrick ran the show. They came to be called “The Big 3”.

Former FBI employee and Mormon lay pastor, W. Cleon Skousen was becoming one of the hottest things around among anticommunists. He was born on a dryland farm in Raymond, Alberta, in January 1913. His family moved to California when he was 10 and for two years lived in the Mormon colony of Colonia Juarez in Mexico. He completed a law degree from the George Washington University Law School in 1940 and was a special agent for the FBI between 1941 and 1951. In 1956, Skousen was appointed Chief of Police of Salt Lake City by the city’s arch-conservative mayor (and future Utah Governor) J. Bracken Lee but, in 1960, he was fired after ordering a raid on an illegal poker club attended by the Mayor himself. J. Bracken Lee later wrote in a private letter that Skousen ran his office “in exactly the same manner in which the Communists operate their government”<sup>29</sup>. Upon leaving the FBI, Skousen devoted his spare time to writing and lecturing, where he showed highly conservative dispositions<sup>30</sup>. Locating the foundation of American society on Judaeo-Christian principles, he defended the teaching of religion in schools and saw the “Judaeo-Christian code” as being communism’s prime target (he claimed that America’s Founding Fathers were opposed to church-state separation). He attacked opponents of the death penalty as being “fuzzy thinkers, (...) unconcerned about the victims of the murderers”. He also criticized progressive education and Freudianism as being the vanguard of a dangerous cultural relativism<sup>31</sup>.

Admittedly, these positions were to be commonly found among the American right. Yet, Skousen expressed them in a rhetoric characterized by conspiratorial overtones. He claimed for instance that mental health programs “based on Freudian techniques are

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<sup>29</sup> Dennis L. Lythgoe, “Political Feud in Salt Lake City: J. Bracken Lee and the Firing of W. Cleon Skousen”, Vol. 42, No. 4, 1974, 316.; J. Bracken Lee to Elizabeth Laine, Aug. 8, 1960, Record/Information Dissemination Section, Federal Bureau of Investigation Files, Winchester, Virginia, (hereafter *HQ-FBIF*), File HQ 67-69602, No. 286, Attn: FOIPA Request, Material retrieved and made accessible by Ernie Lazar.

<sup>30</sup> Skousen had been impregnated by an orthodox understanding of the Mormon faith since his childhood. He had contributed to found a Mormon congregation during his stay in Washington. An., “Mormons to Mark 110<sup>th</sup> Anniversary”, *Washington Post*, Sun., Sept. 19, 1937, 3.; An., “Capital Mormons Plan New Branch”, *Ibid.*, Tue., Feb. 9, 1937, X4.; An., “Capital News in Brief”, *Ibid.*, Sun., Jul. 28, 1940, 12.; An., “Talk on Capital Marks “Welcome” Program Saturday”, *Ibid.* Fri., Jul. 16, 1943, 7.

<sup>31</sup> An., “A Report on the Southern California School of Anti-Communism, August 28 – September 1, 1961”, *GRC*, Box 299, F. “Sluis, Joost”, Columbia University Libraries, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Butler Library, 10.

being used by anti-American forces to mask Communist brain washing”<sup>32</sup>. His 1958 book *The Naked Communist*, an exposé on Communist theory and history that quickly became a best-seller due to its breezy style, wove within a rather conventional text threads of bombastic sensationalism. For instance, Skousen claimed that the Soviets designed Sputnik with plans stolen in the U.S. He also asserted that FDR’s Secretary of Commerce, Harry Hopkins, attempted to provide the Soviets with the secrets of the atomic bomb in 1943 (at a time where the A-bomb had actually not yet been developed)<sup>33</sup>. Conservative commentator Mark Hemingway writes that *The Naked Communist* was “even for 1958 (...) so irrational in its paranoia that it would have made Whittaker Chambers blush”<sup>34</sup>. Like many other conservatives, Skousen claimed that the U.S.’s losing foreign policy had been for long shaped by the treacherous actions of a small clique working mainly in the State Department. Perhaps more problematic was how Skousen continuously presented himself as an expert in anti-Red matters, but his record in this field was rather inflated. Unlike Schwarz, he was rather unfamiliar with Marxism-Leninism’s foundational texts. As for his knowledge on domestic subversion, on which he often boasted being an expert, it was rather limited since his former FBI job was largely secretarial in nature<sup>35</sup>. Even if all this would eventually prompt Schwarz to cease his collaboration with Skousen, the Mormon trail-blazer added such firepower to the Crusade’s schools that he proved a great asset to the organization during the three-year period the two men collaborated.

The second important new “faculty” member appearing in Indianapolis was Herbert Philbrick, at the time America’s most in-demand professional Red-baiting lecturer. Philbrick had never met the Australian before but, in 1952, he had read Schwarz’s *The Heart, Mind and Soul of Communism*<sup>36</sup>. Philbrick accepted the invitation on short notice despite his busy schedule. Schwarz wrote him that his participation “will add greatly to

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<sup>32</sup> An., “Youth Prime Red Target, Reagan Says”, *loc. cit.*

<sup>33</sup> W. Cleon Skousen, *The Naked Communist*, Eleventh Edition, Salt Lake City, The Ensign Publishing Company, 1962, 166-168.

<sup>34</sup> Mark Hemingway, “Romney’s Radical Roots”, *National Review Online*, Aug. 6, 2007, Available online at < <http://www.nationalreview.com/articles/221780/romneys-radical-roots/mark-hemingway> > (accessed March 12, 2010).

<sup>35</sup> Alexander Zaitchik, *Common Nonsense: Glenn Beck and the Triumph of Ignorance*, Hoboken, John Wiley & Sons, 2010, 216-217.

<sup>36</sup> This in spite of the fact the one who had sent Philbrick the copy of Schwarz’s booklet, a man named Dale Jensen, wrote Philbrick in an attachment that *The Heart, Mind and Soul of Communism* was “at best poorly written”. Dale Jensen to Herbert Philbrick, Undated, *Ibid.*, Box 175, “Subject Files- Schwarz, Frederick C. Booklets, 1952, 1961-1971”, F. 5. Philbrick might also have been convinced to participate to the Indianapolis event in light of the participation of his Washington contact and friend Richard Arens. Richard Arens to Herbert Philbrick, Nov. 8, 1957, *Ibid.*, Box. 2, “General Correspondence” Series, F. 7.

the appeal and value of our school. (...) I believe this will be the best thing we have yet done”<sup>37</sup>. In the late 1950’s, Philbrick appeared poised to spend the rest of his existence drawing mileage out of his undercover agent fame. The continuing success of *I Led Three Lives* kept Philbrick’s name in circulation in the popular culture. In 1956, the book had already been printed in a dozen languages and the TV series loosely based on it, the reruns of which extended for years on numerous channels, ended after three years where it had proven to have been one of the most popular shows of the decade. As already mentioned, in addition to the hundreds of thousands of dollars he made in royalties for both the book, the TV show and newspaper contracts, Philbrick had also embarked on a lucrative lecturing career which extended well into the 1980’s. During the 1950’s, Philbrick earned more than \$112,000 for his lecturing activities<sup>38</sup>.

Philbrick did not have the oratorical flair of either Schwarz or Skousen, but his personal story added such a sense of drama to his presentations that he proved to be the most popular speaker during CACC schools. Most of Philbrick’s speeches were in fact variations on one speech, which had to do with his experience among the Reds, where he acquired first-hand knowledge of their “lying, dirty, shrewd, Godless, murderous, determined” and criminal nature<sup>39</sup>. Schwarz was clearly interested in Philbrick’s inside knowledge of communism, since he invited the ex-undercover agent to speak at Indianapolis on the subject of “Practical experiences inside the Communist Party: Communist fronts and how they operate”<sup>40</sup>. In spite of his frequent scorning of liberals for their inaction on the Communist issue, Philbrick remained careful not to lump liberals and Communists in the same category and only occasionally ventured into conspiratorial territory<sup>41</sup>. A journalist who listened to him during a Crusade school once noted that “he always left the feeling that there was a conspiracy going on and that you had better look hard at your neighbors”, but yet, “he was careful not to say anything without crediting it to the HUAC or the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee or the Congressional

<sup>37</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Herbert Philbrick, Sept. 3, 1959, *Ibid.*, Box 65, “Subject File” Series, F. 9, “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1956-1959”.

<sup>38</sup> Columbia Lecture Bureau contracts, *HPP*, Box 236, “Speeches and Writings” Series, F. 5 to 7, “Contracts”.

<sup>39</sup> This list is literally taken out of an educational film featuring Philbrick produced in 1962 by the National Education Program. Hamil Petroff, dir., *What Is Communism?*, Searcy, National Education Program, 1962, 14 min.

<sup>40</sup> Herbert Philbrick to Fred C. Schwarz, May 8, 1959, *HPP*, Box 243, “Speeches & Writings – 1959” Series, F. 4.

<sup>41</sup> He did not fear criticizing Joe McCarthy’s name-calling at the height of the Red Scare in 1952, though he later nuanced his judgment by claiming that McCarthy did in the “best job he knew how”. An., “They ‘Just Love’ It”, *Christian Science Monitor*, Mon., Feb. 4, 1952, 22.; Herbert Philbrick to Mrs. Wm. Ledner, Jun. 13, 1957, *HPP*, Box 2, “General Correspondence” Series, F. 5.

Record”<sup>42</sup>. Philbrick was a conservative born-again Baptist who shared with Schwarz the belief that above everything, religion “is the biggest single obstacle to the Communist criminal conspiracy in the world”<sup>43</sup>.

Philbrick was so satisfied by his experience in Indianapolis that his later appearances at Crusade schools came under a special agreement whereby he avoided using his agency, the Columbia Lecture Bureau, to book them. Rather, he used a clause in his contract which permitted him to address “educational” institutions without having to pay the booking fee to the Bureau. Hence, the Crusade was not charged the usual high fees which went with Philbrick as lecturer. Instead, the organization paid him a mere \$100, plus covering his travel and accommodation expenses (Philbrick had a similar agreement with the NEP’s Freedom Forums)<sup>44</sup>. As Philbrick explained in 1960, “I do this only because I am, as all Americans, deeply indebted to Dr. Fred for all of the wonderful work he is doing, because of his own dedication, and because I recognize the tremendous value of the schools on communism”<sup>45</sup>. Before long, Philbrick began a “Schwarzian”. A few days after the closing of the Indianapolis school, he began feeding his supporters with Schwarz material<sup>46</sup>. Showing his belief that Schwarz’s doomsday prediction before HUAC was right, he began affirming that without a sharp turnaround, the end might be as close as 1973.

The Indianapolis school of late 1959 was a great success. Four hundred people had registered, more than twice the number that did so in St. Louis and Long Beach the year before. “There were students from Washington to Florida and New Hampshire to California. They included a number of doctors, preachers, attorneys, business representatives, teachers, college and high school students and housewives”, Schwarz wrote<sup>47</sup>. With the Crusade’s rise in exposure and with the experience of having now held three successful schools, the Australian and his collaborators found themselves with many invitations to organize similar events across the country. Even if media coverage of

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<sup>42</sup> Donald R. McNeil, “Sessions of Christian Anti-Communism School, March 1, 1961”, Notes taken in preparation for an article, *DMP*, Box 1, F. 1-3, 4.

<sup>43</sup> An., “Philbrick Terms Religious Faith Greatest Obstacle to Communism”, *The Harvard Crimson*, Tue., Feb. 10, 1959, 1.

<sup>44</sup> Glen A. Greene to Herbert Philbrick, Nov. 1, 1957, *Ibid.*, Box 2, “General Correspondence” Series, F. 2.

<sup>45</sup> Herbert Philbrick to William P. Strube, Nov. 7, 1960, *Ibid.*, Box 185, “General Correspondence” Series, F. 1, “Strube, William P. – General, 1959-1973”.

<sup>46</sup> Herbert Philbrick to Mrs. C. F. Ashley, Oct. 12, 1959, *Ibid.*, Box 3, “General Correspondence” Series, F. 3, “Oct.-Dec. 1959”.

<sup>47</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “The Indianapolis Anti-Communism School”, *CACC Newsletter*, Nov. 1959, 2.

all three schools held so far had almost exclusively been limited to the local press, numerous conservative activists nationwide were aware of this new type of anticommunist initiative through their newsletters and networks of contacts. Mounting support, resources and interest meant that the Crusade now had the ability to organize schools of anticommunism on a far more regular basis. While periods of nine and ten months had respectively separated the first anticommunism school from the second and the second from the third, only four months unfolded between the third school in Indianapolis and the fourth in Milwaukee in February 1960. Then, only a month transpired between the Milwaukee school and the fifth school in San Francisco in March 1960. Between 1958 and 1964, more than 29 schools of anticommunism were held by the Crusade, in addition to those annually by the Crusade branch of Houston, where the formula differed.

Milwaukee was the site of the fourth school, in February 1960. Milwaukee was a city where the Crusade had a solid foothold due to Allen-Bradley's support and to Schwarz's previous tours in the area. The school enlisted in its "faculty" Allen-Bradley-sponsored radio host Bob Siegrist, who used the airwaves to advertise the event<sup>48</sup>. The Milwaukee school, and the ones that followed, offered the basic roster of speakers as it had evolved in previous events: Schwarz, Philbrick, Skousen, Arens, Fred Schlafly. A few names varied from one location to the other. In Milwaukee commenced the policy whereby each school would feature if possible at least one lecture given by a military officer and, also, a lecture given by a recognized conservative academic. In Milwaukee, the U.S. military realm was represented by Rear Admiral A.C. Burrows, former commanding officer of the Great Lakes Naval Training Center and, since his retirement in 1958, Chairman of the Council of Profit-Sharing Industries (now the Profit-Sharing Council of America). Burrows' argument that profit-sharing between capitalists and their work force was the best way to "strengthen the free-enterprise system, empower and motivate the workforce" and "provide a vital source of retirement income"<sup>49</sup> was captured in his presentation's title: "Proletarian Stockholders: The Class War Made Ridiculous"<sup>50</sup>. Academia, for its

<sup>48</sup> *Id.*, "Milwaukee Anti-Communism Schools" (sic), *Ibid.*, March 1960, 4.

<sup>49</sup> "PSCA Mission Statement", *PSCA.org – Profit Sharing / 401k Council of America*, Available online at <<http://www.psc.org/ABOUTPSCA/Mission/tabid/62/Default.aspx>> (accessed March 14, 2010).

<sup>50</sup> CACC leaflet, "Faculty and Class Sessions", *School for Anti-Communists, Milwaukee, February 9<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup>*.

part, was represented by political scientist Anthony Bouscaren, at the time associate professor at Le Moyne College in Syracuse, N.Y. Bouscaren, a frequent Catholic collaborator to William F. Buckley's *National Review*, was a foreign policy specialist and dedicated anticommunist hawk who recommended that the U.S. should "adopt liberation from communism as our long-range objective and convince the enslaved that we mean it"<sup>51</sup>.

"In spite of the blizzard that blanketed the Milwaukee area (...) bringing traffic to a halt, closing schools and factories", Schwarz wrote, "the sessions of the school did not falter and 800 note-jotting "students" were enrolled either for the full course or portion of it"<sup>52</sup>. Philbrick, who had made during the event a speech about Communist "cybernetic warfare", noted that despite the "inclement weather", this experience was "one of the most enthusiastic I have seen"<sup>53</sup>. "Nothing in my experience", Schwarz wrote in his newsletter, "can have such a dramatic influence in any area as one of these schools. They awaken the slumbering, encourage the despairing, inspire the patriotic, set hearts on fire and Christians to work in the service of Christian liberty"<sup>54</sup>. Indeed, each school had been followed by its share of exalted testimonies. A minister from Cayuga, Indiana, wrote Philbrick that since attending the Indianapolis school, he began lecturing his pupils on the "Christian-Communist encounter"<sup>55</sup>. A Baptist minister from Wichita Falls, Texas, wrote in his bulletin that the Milwaukee school was "the most profitable week of my whole life"<sup>56</sup>. More importantly, these impacts did not seem to be short-lived. An article published in June 1961 on the anticommunist movement in Milwaukee, indicated that numerous conservative militants "got their start after attending" the CACC school of February 1960<sup>57</sup>.

During the months that followed the Milwaukee event, the mobilizing impact of anticommunism schools was confirmed once again, this time in a much more staggering

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<sup>51</sup> Quoted in James N. Peale Jr., "Review: A Guide to Anti-Communist Action", *The Military Library*, Vol. 23, No. 4, Winter 1959-1960, 223.; In 1955, Bouscaren un-cautiously affirmed that: "Mounting evidence from inside the Soviet Union indicates (...) the Kremlin prepares to deliver a surprise Pearl Harbor-type of attack aimed at the United States". Anthony Bouscaren, "Another Pearl Harbor?", *The Spokesman Review*, Wed., Jul. 20, 1955, 4.

<sup>52</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Milwaukee Anti-Communism Schools (sic)", *CACC Newsletter*, Mar. 1960, 4.

<sup>53</sup> Herbert Philbrick to Mrs. Walter K. Graham, Feb. 18, 1960, *HPP*, Box 243, "Speeches & Writings" Series, F. 5, "1960"; An., "Author Warns of Danger of Brain-Washing", *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, Thu., Feb. 11, 1960, part 2, 3.

<sup>54</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Results of the Schools", *CACC Newsletter*, Dec. 1960, 2.

<sup>55</sup> Robert Sullivan to Herbert Philbrick, Oct. 3, 1959, *HPP*, Box 3, "General Correspondence" Series, F. 3, "Oct.-Dec. 1959".

<sup>56</sup> Rev. T. H. Masters, quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, "Milwaukee Anti-Communism Schools (sic)", *loc. cit.*, 4.

<sup>57</sup> Edmund B. Lambeth, "Anti-Communist Groups Here Show Big Increase in Activity", *loc. cit.*, 1.



way. Soon after Milwaukee, two school of anticommunism took place due to the initiatives of two men whose lives had been reoriented towards Red-baiting by their attendance at the Crusade's Long Beach school in December 1958. Joost Sluis, an orthopedic surgeon who became one of Schwarz's disciples, organized the Crusade's San Francisco school of anticommunism in March 1960 at the Whitcomb Hotel in collaboration with the other local contacts Schwarz had established during his numerous visits in the Bay area suburbs. In late June 1960, Walter Huss, a fundamentalist pastor from Portland organized the "Freedom Crusade Anti-Communism School". This school was entirely modeled on Crusade schools, without being officially affiliated to Schwarz's organization.

By mid-summer 1960, anticommunism schools had proven itself to be a winning formula. "I believe they are the most hopeful development in America today", Schwarz wrote<sup>58</sup>. Philbrick had come to a similar conclusion. For him, anticommunism schools, along with "Citizens Action Committees" and "hard-core Anti-Communist cells" constituted "the best-counter-offensive against the Comrades", as the "response has been tremendous all over the country"<sup>59</sup>. For the first time since the beginning of his crusading career, Schwarz began to cut back on his frantic touring so as to focus on this new type of anti-Red camp meeting the potential of which, he wrote, "is limitless"<sup>60</sup>. In July 1960, he informed his supporters through the CACC newsletter that the upcoming fall "is to be the season of Anti-Communism Schools", with more than five already planned: San Diego (August 23-27), Chicago (August 29-September 2), Dallas (September 20-24), Los Angeles (October 18-22), and Philadelphia (November 15-19). "Please plan to attend at least one of these schools"<sup>61</sup>.

## 9.2 The Good Doctor Writes a Book

In 1960, Schwarz finally published a book summarizing his anticommunist thought. Schwarz's many booklets published since the beginning of his anti-Red career were all written versions of his extemporaneous speeches. While speaking thrilled him, conveying

<sup>58</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Anti-Communism Schools", *CACC Newsletter*, Jun. 1960, 3.

<sup>59</sup> Herbert Philbrick to Rev. Ivan B. Bell, Feb. 15, 1960, *HPP*, Box 243, "Speeches & Writings" Series, F. 5, "Speaking Engagements, 1960".

<sup>60</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Anti-Communism Schools", *CACC Newsletter*, Jun. 1960, 3.

<sup>61</sup> *Id.*, "Anti-Communism Schools", *Ibid.*, July 1960, 6.

his thought in written form fitted much less his pastor-teacher's personality. Whence the method he used to write his book: he rented a hall in San Francisco and had a few of his lectures delivered therein transcribed and edited so as to produce an accessible account<sup>62</sup>.

Schwarz targeted the educational market. The work was edited with the help of Marion Crowhurst, an Australian-born elementary and high school teacher and future PhD in Education who subsequently worked as faculty member of the University of British Columbia's Education Department<sup>63</sup>. Schwarz toned down the religious dimension of his rhetoric, making the book accessible for all types of audiences. While Schwarz could easily have sent his manuscript to a conservative publishing house such as Regnery, he chose Prentice-Hall, which had been for long a leading education publisher producing scores of booklets, textbooks and manuals for schools from the elementary to the university level. Prentice-Hall's president John Powers showed such an interest for Schwarz's manuscript that he later accepted to appear in the "faculty" of a few Crusade schools. At the Miami anticommunism school in June 1961, Powers lectured about methods by which private enterprises could combat communism and gave a detailed account of Prentice-Hall's profit-sharing policies: "Profit can be a bad word only to a person who thinks he is working too hard and not getting paid enough"<sup>64</sup>. In 1961, an agreement was reached between Schwarz and Prentice-Hall whereupon the Crusade gave the necessary funds to the publishing, which would print at low cost enough copies to be sent to high schools, churches and various private institutions, as well as to high school students in states such as Florida and Louisiana, which had come to pass laws authorizing education on communism. All free copies to teachers came with a form letter from Prentice-Hall founder Richard Prentice Ettinger, an authority in the field of educational material for decades, stating that of all the books he published so far, "in my opinion few were more vital to America" than this one; "I hope that, after reading it yourself, "you

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<sup>62</sup> *Id.*, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 170-171.

<sup>63</sup> Marion Crowhurst passed her PhD in Education at the University of Minnesota in 1977. CP Correspondent, *The Montreal Gazette*, Wed., Nov. 29, 1978, 80.

<sup>64</sup> Jack Oswald, "Communist Logic – How it Works on Minds", *The Miami News*, Tue., Jun. 13, 1961, 1.; Powers was a good friend of conservative positive thinking guru Norman Vincent Peale, whose books were published by Prentice-Hall. See Norman Vincent Peale, "Confident Living – Outgrow Problems", *Youngstown Vindicator*, Sun. Mar. 22, 1959, A21.

will wish to pass it on to your social studies chairman and to the school library, where your students will be able to see and read it”<sup>65</sup>.

The book’s original title was *You Can Trust the Communists (to Do Exactly as they Say)*, but it was later changed in the second and all subsequent editions for the more effective *You Can Trust the Communists (to Be Communists)*. It consists in an encapsulation of almost all the themes the crusader had been covering since the inception of his anticommunist career, with some additional material. *You Can Trust* is a textbook: it aims at a readership unfamiliar with communism. It contains several passages where the author introduces his readers to the history of communism, its most important figures and briefly assesses their respective contributions to the theory and practice of Marxist-Leninism up until the Khrushchev era. These passages are supplemented by the author’s critical appraisal of communism, where Schwarz submits to critical analysis the main tenets of Marxism-Leninism: its materialist philosophy, the dialectic, the Marxist economic theory and the Leninist technique for seizure of power. A sense of crisis suffuses the text throughout. Schwarz states that the Red onslaught of world conquest has perhaps reached a critical point beyond which the tide cannot be turned. He attempts to back this claim by bringing evidence of the Red superiority in the realms of military science, economics, education and propaganda<sup>66</sup>. The book concludes with a “Program for Survival”, where the author affirms that while free governments can certainly act to contain worldwide communism, constitutional and legal factors bring severe limitations to their actions in the field which matters most, i.e. the battle for hearts and minds. Therefore, private citizens must act themselves: “The urgent need is to discover individuals and groups in all countries with motives that will lead them to effective service against Communism and to provide them with the knowledge and the tools of communication to make their work effective”<sup>67</sup>.

The book’s writing style is elegant without being either overtly literary or academic. *You Can Trust* is at its best when Schwarz the propagandist seeds to Schwarz the teacher. The book contains detailed, factual and accessible accounts of the origins of communism,

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<sup>65</sup> Richard P. Ettinger, Generic Letter, *American Civil Liberties Union Records, 1947-1995 (bulk 1950-1980)*, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University (hereafter *ACLUR*), MC001, Box 706, F. 9.

<sup>66</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *You Can Trust the Communists (to be Communists)*, *op. cit.*, 102-116.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 172.

particularly in the book's third chapter, "The Molding of a Communist - Communist Party: Origin and Organization", which is actually a reliable introduction to the topic. The book's tenth chapter, "The Difficult, Devious, and Dangerous Dialectic", despite its convoluted title, is an example of Schwarz's ability to make difficult philosophic material accessible to all laymen. The author slams with some effectiveness the wide use by Communists in many countries of organizational façade, or "fronts". In Lenin's 1919 book *Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, the Soviet leader had urged Communists to work within the boundaries imposed by the bourgeois society and rally to whatever cause held dear by the public so as to gain political capital and attract sympathy. Schwarz relates this Leninist prescription to the various fronts founded by American Communists, notably those whereby they attempted to pick up support among African-Americans since the 1930's, which he deems as pure hypocritical attempts to exploit the cause of civil rights to their end (once again, Schwarz does this while remaining mute on the race issue itself)<sup>68</sup>. Schwarz gives the example of Robert Welsey Wells, a Black man sentenced to death in 1954, and in the name of whom the CPUSA launched a campaign -the "Legal Committee for Justice for Wells"- to have the sentence commuted, a gesture criticized by the NAACP and Wells himself, who never solicited it. "After some months of agitation, [the Communists] prepared a book of some eighty or ninety pages showing what they had allegedly done on Well's behalf. The book did not help Wells very much but it presented the Communist Party in a very benign and humane light"<sup>69</sup>.

The crusader develops for the first time a critical assessment of the Marxist economic theories, perhaps under the influence of the anticommunist academics he had recently met as he prepared the book. Marxism, he posits, does not take into account several forces shaping market economy, nor did it predict the development, long after the death of Marx and Engels, of economic factors invalidating their theories. The dynamic nature of money, as evidenced by the development of credit consumption, is a good example: "Money is not static. The same amount of money spent three or four times will distribute

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<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 51-66.; Richard Gid Powers, *Not Without Honor*, *op. cit.*, 57-60, 100-103.

<sup>69</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *You Can Trust the Communists (to be Communists)*, *op. cit.*, 57.; An., "Strange Case of Robert Wesley Wells", *Eugene Register-Guard*, Sun., Feb. 14, 1954, 8A.; Well's sentence was eventually commuted in April 1954 in a life prison sentence.

three or four times as many goods”<sup>70</sup>. Similarly, goods “are purchased not with money presently owned, but by a promise to pay in the future. This has become such a large factor in the economy that any analysis which does not consider this is obviously fallacious”<sup>71</sup>. Another factor is the role of government and legislation in regulating the economy, as exemplified by the way high levels of consumption broke the Marxist cycle by preventing the 1958 recession from developing into a depression, and the way anti-trust laws can restrain the development of monopolies, deemed inevitable according to Marx: “Whatever the individual viewpoint on the role of government in economic affairs, it is a factor which cannot be ignored”<sup>72</sup>. Monopolies, Schwarz claims, can also be avoided through the development of profit-sharing: “There are now nearly as many stock holders in the United States as there are members of organized labor. (...) This renders the whole argument of the “class war” ridiculous”<sup>73</sup>.

The book contains questionable relents of McCarthyism. Schwarz makes the claims that “a majority of the students in the world today are attracted to Communism” without substantiating it<sup>74</sup>. He later makes the odd choice of defending fellow professional anticommunist J.B. Matthews’ statement according to which “the largest single group supporting the communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen”, a controversial declaration that had forced Matthews to resign as executive director of the McCarthy investigating committee in July 1953<sup>75</sup>. Schwarz also charges anti-Red liberals for their defense of the Communists’ civil rights. Most of these “pseudo-liberals”, as he calls them, “are to be found in the ivory cloisters of colleges and universities, frequently occupying professorial chairs, and usually characterized by a pseudo-intellectual outlook”. By defending the rights of Reds to take the Fifth Amendment, to teach in schools and universities, liberals become the protectors of communism. For Schwarz, the Fifth Amendment “refers merely to imprisonment and

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<sup>70</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *You Can Trust the Communists (to be Communists)*, *op. cit.*, 23.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 58-59.; Matthews had claimed that more than 7,000 clergymen supported the Communist apparatus at one point or the other. After resigning from his position at the McCarthy committee, Matthews even gave a higher figure of 8,079. William Edwards, “J.B. Matthews Quits Post As Red Prober - Attacks on Clergy Assailed by Ike”, *Chicago Tribune*, Fri., Jul. 10, 1.; Seymour Korman, “Ex-McCarthy Aid Tells of Findings”, *Ibid.*, Tue., Mar. 23, 1954, 11.

legal penalty. Any attempt to project it beyond that realm is not intellectualism or liberalism but stupidity”<sup>76</sup>.

A whole chapter of the book deals with the concept of “Communist brainwashing”. This section largely reproduces passages from a booklet Schwarz had published in 1956 on the same topic, and which depicts the gruesome reconditioning process of coercive indoctrination (exhaustion, confusion, physical pain, emotional fear, and then injection of Communist ideas). These stories were based on reports, popularized by Schwarz’s acquaintance Ed Hunter, of stories of U.S. prisoners of war in Korea, but also on the much-followed case (at least in evangelical circles) of Dr. and Mrs. Homer Bradshaw, American missionaries who were submitted to five years of psychological and physical torture in China before their release in 1955<sup>77</sup>. Of course, being a doctor himself, Schwarz knew how to infuse these accounts with medical terminology in an effective way. Schwarz claimed that Pavlov “developed techniques which could shatter the established pattern of human personality so that the fragments could be integrated into a new structure of memory, judgement, and emotion in line with the desires of the Communist craftsmen”<sup>78</sup>. Such sensational contentions were actually exaggerations. Pavlov’s work aimed at understanding the human mind rather than controlling it. Besides, for years, the Russian scientist had been critical of the Soviet regime’s ideology and its attempts to curb the autonomy of science<sup>79</sup>. The current historiography has established that the American press’ agitation on Communist brainwashing was based on farfetched evidence that only added to the already-strong fear of the Reds and fitted the propaganda purposes of the U.S. government<sup>80</sup>. It remains unclear whether Schwarz understood the unreliability of the evidence on which he based his argumentation<sup>81</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *You Can Trust the Communists (to be Communists)*, *op. cit.*, 60-61.

<sup>77</sup> *Id.*, *Communism: Diagnosis and Treatment: The Story of Brainwashing – How Communism Conquers the Minds of Men*, Los Angeles, World Vision, Inc., 1956, 33-37.

<sup>78</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *You Can Trust the Communists (to be Communists)*, *op. cit.*, 133.

<sup>79</sup> Kenneth W. Rose, Erwin Leibold and Lee H. Hilltzik, “Ivan Pavlov on Communist Dogmatism and the Autonomy of Science in the Soviet Union in the Early 1920’s”, *Integrative Psychological and Behavioral Science*, Vol. 27, No. 3, Jul.-Sept. 1992, 267-278.

<sup>80</sup> It diverted “public attention from embarrassing defections and helped to justify covert experiments that [the government] sponsored during the period of the Cold War and beyond”. David Seed, *Brainwashing*, *op. cit.*, xii.

<sup>81</sup> As other Westerners with an interest in psychiatry, Schwarz had likely been introduced to Pavlov’s discoveries on animal conditioning through the works of proponents of behaviourist psychology such as John B. Watson, who drew -and simplified the results of- Pavlovian experiments in the 1920’s, to argue that all human behaviour could be interpreted in terms of conditioned reflexes. B. F. Skinner, “Pavlov’s Influence on Psychology in America”, *Journal of the History of Behavioral Sciences*, No. 17, 1981, 242-245.; Paul Creelan, “Watson as Mythmaker: The Millenarian Sources of Watsonian Behaviorism”, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 24, No. 2, Jun. 1985, 207-208.; David Seed, *Brainwashing: The Fictions of Mind Control: A Study of Novels and Films Since World War II*, Kent, Kent State University Press, 2004, 30.; Ralph Ross, “Introduction”, in Jo Ann Boydston, ed., *The*

*You Can Trust* demonstrates above everything the unchanging nature of Schwarz's anticommunism. As always, communism is seen as an all-empowering force with the ability to devolve the brightest human minds into witless zombies, while offering its brainwashed supporters -through the dialectic- a way to adjust to any circumstance so as to further their ultimate goal. The book's opening statement illustrates this well:

“The thesis of this book is very simple. It is that Communists are Communists. I intend to show that they are exactly what they say they are; they believe what they say they believe; their objective is the objective they have repeatedly proclaimed to all over the world; their organization is the organization they have described in minute detail; and their moral code is the one they have announced without shame. Once we accept the fact that Communists are Communists, and understand the laws of their thought and conduct, all the mystery disappears, and we are confronted with a movement which is frightening in its superb organization, strategic mobility and universal program, but which is perfectly understandable and almost mathematically predictable. In the battle against Communism, there is no substitute for accurate, specific knowledge”<sup>82</sup>.

*You Can Trust* depicts the Communist as an obedient soldier in a permanent class war. Schwarz backs this view by extensive references to the writings of Communist authors themselves, and especially, of course, Lenin's prescription for total party discipline and the necessity of revolutionary violence. This rigid view of the Communist mind reflects an obsessive cast of thought. As it is, it has poorly passed the test of time. In 1960, however, with the memory of Stalin and the fall of China still fresh, this monolithic view of communism was unquestionably one of the most appealing aspects of Schwarz's book. It explained the origins of communism, described its functioning, gave answers to all important questions concerning its ideology, all the while empowering the reader with the belief that he or she could predict and plan the behavior of Communists through simple knowledge of their worldview.

*You Can Trust* went on the bookstore shelves on August 7, 1960. The book seems to have been noticed at first exclusively among grassroots conservatives and the mushrooming world of right-wing bookstores. Within a year, the book had become a

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Middle Works of John Dewey, Volume 13, 1921-1922, Journal Articles, Essays, and Miscellany Published in the 1921-1922 Period, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 2008, xiv.

<sup>82</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *You Can Trust the Communists (to be Communists)*, op. cit., 1.

moderate best-seller<sup>83</sup>. However, the demand for the book persisted as time unfolded. A second edition was released in February 1962, and a third one two months after. In 1964, when Prentice-Hall decided to give the copyright to the Crusade, the book had been through more than thirteen printings in hardbound format and had sold about a million copies. By comparison, the greatest bestseller from that time among American conservatives, Barry Goldwater's *The Conscience of a Conservative* -also released in 1960- had sold about two and a half million copies around 1964<sup>84</sup>. By the end of the 1970's, about two million copies of *You Can Trust* had been either sold or distributed for free worldwide and it had been printed in about twenty languages<sup>85</sup>.

Overall, the reception of the book reflected the changes that had affected anticommunism since the mid-1950's, with reviewers roughly polarized along the traditional left-right divide. Ernest S. Pisko from the *Christian Science Monitor* wrote that Schwarz's "emotionally charged book shows the hands of a skill debater", but that in trying to drive his point home, Schwarz overstated his case and brought forward several contentions that "do not stand closer examination". The reviewer conceded that communism should be taught in schools, as Schwarz argued in the book, but he noted that "one may ask whether this directive should not aim at producing immunity rather than a hostility which all too easily may turn into hysteria"<sup>86</sup>. R. M. Bone, specialist of Russian affairs at the *Canadian Geographical Journal*, described the author as a "chauvinistic witch hunter" and criticized what he considered the book's two main weaknesses. First, its "gross exaggeration" of the Communist threat to the U.S.: "(...) while Schwarz's ideas of how the Communists seduce free peoples might well apply to the inhabitants of South Vietnam, they hardly apply to the United States of 1961"; second, Schwarz's failure to deal with the question of why the Reds were so successful in

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<sup>83</sup> Ad., "This Week at the Manitowoc Public Library", Thu., Jan. 12, 1961, 6-M.; Ad., "The Tribune Bookshelf – Best Sellers, Albuquerque", *The Albuquerque Tribune*, Sat., Apr. 8, 1961, A-4.; An., "Library Offers Commie Book", *Mansfield News-Journal*, Sun., Oct. 15, 1961, 6.; An., "Book On Communism Available At Library", *The Milford Mail*, Thu., Oct. 26, 1961., 10.; An., "New Shipment of Books Augment Library List", *The Independent Record*, Sun., Dec., 24, 1961, 9.; An., "Club Meetings Highlight Week", *Idaho Sunday Journal*, Sun., Jan. 28, 1962, 20.; Ad., "Easy Best Sellers", *Oakland Tribune*, Sun., Feb. 4, 1962, EL-3.; An., "Freedom Danger Subject of Talk to Reddy-Ettes", *Middlesboro Daily News*, Wed., Apr. 11, 1962, 5.; An., "P.E.O. Members Hear Book Review", *Edwardsville Intelligencer*, Tue., Apr. 24, 1962, 3.

<sup>84</sup> Lewis Nichols, "In and Out of Books", *loc. cit.*, BR8.

<sup>85</sup> Jack Jones, "Fiery Anti-Communist of 1950's Still Fights the Battle", *Los Angeles Times*, Mon., Sept. 26, 1977, OC1.

<sup>86</sup> Ernest S. Pisko, "How to Raise Your Cold-War I.Q.", *Christian Science Monitor*, Fri., Mar. 16, 1962, 9.



so many countries<sup>87</sup>. In a column titled “When a Maniac Writes a Book”, *Rude Pravo*, the press organ of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, ridiculed Schwarz’s attempt “to formulate a set of criteria which should help [Americans] to read the thoughts of near communists and communists themselves”<sup>88</sup>.

Herman F. Reissig, prominent liberal churchman, expressed in the *United Church Herald* how irritable he found Schwarz’s first-person writing style (“During the war against Japan, I was a doctor in the Brisbane General Hospital”; “While I was in Portland, Oregon”; “Visiting after the meeting I produced the book”, and so forth), a characteristic actually typical of the evangelical culture where personal testimonies from the believer are commonplace<sup>89</sup>. Reissig noted that Schwarz “writes with the air of one who has seen with perfect clarity what apparently almost no one else has seen, who admits no murky places in his knowledge, who knows everything in this particular field with almost mathematical exactness (...)”<sup>90</sup>. Reissig also deemed nonsensical Schwarz’s analysis of Marxism-Leninism: “Marxism-Leninism is not as precise and fixed as all that. And even if it were the obstacles it must encounter and the new facts to which it must adjust itself are not predictable”<sup>91</sup>. Reissig criticized several of the book’s contentions, such as Schwarz’s affirmation that most students are attracted to communism: “He states as a fact what can only be a guess – and considering that the largest number of students is in the United States and western Europe, the guess is almost certainly far from the truth”<sup>92</sup>. The review then summarizes in Schwarz’s “program for survival”: “The United States government has, apparently, no role to play. Economic policies can make no contribution. Neither military strength nor positive social programs are of any use. What a pitifully, self-centered, short-sighted, hole-in-the-corner, inadequate program this is!”<sup>93</sup>

The anticommunist and conservative press judged the book positively. A dithyrambic assessment came from the *Free China Review*, published by Taiwan’s nationalist regime, in which an author named D.J. Lee hailed *You Can Trust* as not just another book on

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<sup>87</sup> R.M. Bone, “Amongst the New Books: You Can Trust the Communists – by Fred Schwarz”, *Canadian Geographical Journal*, Vol. 75, No. 2, Aug. 1962, v.-vi.

<sup>88</sup> Quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, “Cry of Anguish from the Heart of Communism”, *CACC Newsletter*, Dec. 1962, 6.

<sup>89</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *You Can Trust the Communists*, *op. cit.*, 4, 17, 57, 108.

<sup>90</sup> Herman F. Reissig, “Crusader With a Blunderbuss”, *United Church Herald*, May 3, 1962, Vol. 5, 12-13.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

communism, but as a clear demonstration of “how unacceptable communism is as a theory to civilized peoples the world over (sic) who believe in the dignity of mankind”, delivered by a man who is “too much a scientist as to permit any prejudice to color his observations and to mislead him to jump to conclusions”. *You Can Trust*, Lee wrote, “is a declaration of war on ignorance and a call for organized action. Failure of the free world to take to heart seriously the contents of this timely book may spell disaster to the future of human civilization”<sup>94</sup>.

William Henry Chamberlain, from the *Wall Street Journal*, hailed Schwarz’s understanding of communism and claimed that “his hard-hitting style may attract attention that would have been denied to a more scholarly work”<sup>95</sup>. Chamberlain agreed with Schwarz that any compromise with the Reds was a dangerous delusion, but criticized the crusader for seeing everything through an ideological perspective, which leads him to overlook that the West scored some successes in its power struggle against communism. “There have also been several indications”, Chamberlain wrote, “that even when “uncommitted” nations accept Soviet economic aid, they do not necessarily become Soviet satellites”<sup>96</sup>. Louis La Coss, from the St. Louis *Globe Democrat*, called the book an “invaluable” work which is “suited for classroom study and would make a fine textbook for high school and college”<sup>97</sup>. Eugene O. Porter, from the *El Paso Herald*, praised the book for its contribution in the war against the ignorance over communism, yet criticized Schwarz for going “too far in its efforts to strengthen America’s will to resist”, as exemplified by the crusader’s view that all cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union should be stopped: “Yet, most authorities on Russia insist that it is Russia that is afraid of cultural exchanges with the accompanying infiltration of Western ideas”<sup>98</sup>. Bettina Bien, from the libertarian journal *The Freeman*, criticized Schwarz’s insinuation that the state’s expanding role invalidated Marxist economics, though she liked the book’s emphasis on the limitations of government action: “Probably the most important

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<sup>94</sup> D.L. Lee, “Book Reviews: You Can Trust the Communists”, *The Free China Review*, Vol. 11, Jan. 1961, 49-50. In Argentina, *Comments on Argentine Trade*, a hotly anticommunist, pro-business publication of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce also gave it a positive review, though it largely amounted to a summary of its main arguments. An., “Books for the Businessman”, *Comments on Argentine Trade*, Vol. 40, No. 6, Feb. 1961, 77.

<sup>95</sup> William Henry Chamberlain, “The Bookshelf: The Way of the World Conspiracy”, *Wall Street Journal*, Fri., Aug. 12, 1960, 6.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> Review republished in *CACC Newsletter*, Dec. 1960, 1, 4.

<sup>98</sup> Eugene O. Porter, “The Bookshelf”, *El Paso Herald*, Sat. Sept. 10, 1960, 4.

part of Dr. Schwarz' book is his plan for action. He sees little that big governments or huge organizations can accomplish in the war against communism. This is a war of ideas which must be waged by individuals singly and in small groups"<sup>99</sup>.

Along with the thousands of lectures he delivered and the schools of anticommunism, *You Can Trust* is the third important way by which Schwarz left his imprint on the American right-wing. *Time* editor Henry Luce said it was "a very good book" on the anti-Red fight<sup>100</sup>. Conservative historian Lee Edwards writes that it was in the mid-1960's "widely acknowledged as one of the best primers on communism"<sup>101</sup>. Prominent fundamentalist minister and author Tim LaHaye called it a "masterpiece"; John Stormer, author of the bestselling right-wing book *None Dare Call It Treason* claimed it influenced his own anticommunist awakening<sup>102</sup>. Richard Viguerie recognized its contribution in inspiring many who would later form the "new right"<sup>103</sup>. The book had a successful international career due to its distribution in many countries by the Crusade, government agencies and evangelical churches. The book still circulates in conservative circles. Liberal watchdog group Political Research Associates qualifies it as "the secular Bible of the nativists"<sup>104</sup>. In 2010, David Noebel, Schwarz's successor as head of the CACC, released a new edition, updated with chapters of his own, under the title *You Can Still Trust the Communists: To be Communists, Socialists, Statists, and Progressives Too*.

*You Can Trust* became a classic of the post-McCarthy anticommunist subculture due to the lace work of its ideas. It represented Schwarz's work in intricate miniature, laying out virulent assaults on communism from an often unuttered conservative political viewpoint, through well-crafted explanations of communism bearing a character of scholarliness. It represents "my fullest statement", the author once said<sup>105</sup>.

<sup>99</sup> Bettina Bien, "You Can Trust the Communists by Dr. Fred Schwarz - Book Review", *The Freeman*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 1961, Available online at: < <http://www.thefreemanonline.org/book-reviews/a-reviewers-notebook-1961-2/> > (accessed Jan. 25, 2011).

<sup>100</sup> Daryl Lembke, "Luce Calls Anti-Red Schools a Good Thing", *Los Angeles Times*, Tue., Oct. 31, 1961, 18.

<sup>101</sup> Lee Edwards, *The Conservative Revolution*, *op. cit.*, 159.

<sup>102</sup> LaHaye quoted in "Product Description", *Summit Ministries* Online, Available online at: < <http://www.summit.org/store/You-Can-Still-Trust-the-Communists-To-be-Communists-Socialists-Statists-and-Progressives-Too/> > (accessed Jan. 26, 2011).; Stormer quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, xviii.

<sup>103</sup> Richard Viguerie, *The New Right*, *op. cit.*, 47-48.

<sup>104</sup> An., "The New Right & the Secular Humanism Conspiracy Theory", *Political Research Associates*, (Article found on website, Available online at: < <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:yMcMdMHTn5UJ:www.publiceye.org/rightwoo/rwooz9-03.html+%22Chip+Berlet%22+%22It+soon+became+the+secular+Bible+of+the+nativists%22&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&client=firefox-a> > (accessed Jan. 26, 2011).

<sup>105</sup> Quoted in Kenneth Woodward, "What qualifications for a crusader?", *loc. cit.*, 15.

## 10 CRUSADING LOGISTICS

“It is my opinion that those of us who believe in our system and our wonderful country, our way of life, and everything so near and dear to us, must band together in programs like this in every city, state, country of the United States for the purpose of providing our citizens the proper message, in order that they may be able to evaluate the truth and join in our crusade towards ultimately bringing the people to their senses and re-establishing our political system in the proper position of protecting our freedoms with strength and without apology to anyone in the world. The politicians who have ignored our pleas will come to our point of view as they will have to face up to an enlightened public”. - Crusade supporter Lee Evans to William P. Strube, 1962<sup>1</sup>

### 10.1 Roots to Branches

While the Crusade was holding its first schools of anticommunism, it also expanded at an accelerated pace as an organization. Between 1958 and 1961, the Crusade grew from one to more than eight different U.S. branches. Besides the Long Beach office, other branches were established in Houston, San Francisco, San Diego, Seattle, Philadelphia, Ypsilanti, and Indianapolis<sup>2</sup>. When the branches in Sydney, Australia as well as the one established in Taipei in 1959 are added (see chap. 14), the Crusade had more than ten offices worldwide during the brief 1960-1961 period.

With the appearance of new offices, the main office in Long Beach was renamed “international headquarters and executive office”. Upon W.E. Pietsch’s death, the Crusade’s main managerial position was taken over by Jim Colbert, who took the title of Vice-President, as well as becoming responsible for the Long Beach office. As the Crusade’s international activities developed, Colbert was also appointed “Director of Missions”. As such, Colbert “coordinates the world wide mission program, visiting the foreign operations, maintaining contact, surveillance of their activities, and expanding the outreach as finances are available”, according to a 1961 information pamphlet<sup>3</sup>. Colbert

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<sup>1</sup> Lee Evans to Williams to William P. Strube, Jan 13, 1962, *HPP*, Box 185, “Subject File” Series, F. “Strube, William B., General”, 1959-1973.

<sup>2</sup> William P. Strube, *What is the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade?*, Houston, Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1961, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

was thus confirmed as Schwarz's right-hand man and received a salary increase that made him the organization's highest-earning member with \$8021 annually<sup>4</sup>.

As opposed to an organization such as the John Birch Society, the numerous chapter leaders of which were not necessarily acquaintances of Robert Welch and do not appear to have been submitted to a systematic vetting, the Crusade only allowed branches to be managed by persons whom Schwarz knew personally. This close-knit management impeded the Crusade from becoming a truly mass phenomenon. On the other hand, it limited the risk of appointing freakish minds likely to become problematic for the organization. Crusade branch executive officers were upper-class citizens who held rather respectable positions in their communities. Their backgrounds provide an overview of the main sources of Crusade support during these years<sup>5</sup>. Bill Strube in Houston was the only full-time branch director and as such, was the only one to receive a salary<sup>6</sup>. The Houston branch was also the only one which developed a team of staffers, numbering a handful in 1960 and more than fifteen in 1961, the height of the Crusade<sup>7</sup>. The Crusade provided each branch with literature, tapes and films to sell, rent and distribute: the writings and tape recordings of Schwarz, books like Philbrick's *I Led Three Lives*, Skousen's *The Naked Communist*, films such as *Operation Abolition*, *The Crimson Shadow*, and probably some material from the catalogue of the National Education Program<sup>8</sup>. In 1960, the Crusade's complete administrative costs reached the threshold of \$100,000 and the organization bought for \$40,978 worth of books, tapes and films<sup>9</sup>.

While some U.S. subsidiary branches lasted a few years, others appear to have been short-lived. A good example is the Seattle branch. It was founded by Charles Sarvis, a young restaurant-owning businessman known for his involvement in the YFC movement

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<sup>4</sup> Christian Anti-Communism Crusade: Comparative Statement of Income and Expenses For the Years Ended December 31, 1963 and 1962" – Schedule to support Line A as requested, *GRC*, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial".

<sup>5</sup> A trained reverend (Long Beach), a restaurant-owning businessman (Seattle), a retired military officer (San Diego), a civil engineer (Indianapolis), a generalist M.D. (Ypsilanti), an orthopaedic surgeon (San Francisco), an insurance broker (Houston).

<sup>6</sup> The San Diego branch's newsletter indicated: "All of us are volunteers without salary. We are in need of someone to help us with offices typing, so if you can offer that skill either part time or full time, please let us know". E. Richard Barnes, "First Newsletter from the San Diego Branch – Christian Anti-Communism Crusade", *CACC Newsletter – San Diego*, Vol. 1, No. 1, May 1961, 1.

<sup>7</sup> "Extract from I.R.S. – Form 990A: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Comparative Statement of Income and Expenses For the Years Ended December 31, 1959 and 1958; (...) For the Years Ended December 31, 1960 and 1959", *GRC*, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial". Tax returns for the year 1960, for instance, show that a mere \$5,878 in "unclassified expenditures of branch offices other than Houston, Texas".

<sup>8</sup> Donald R. McNeil, "Sessions of Christian Anti-Communism School, March 1, 1961", Notes taken in preparation for an article, *DMP*, Box 1, F. 1-3.

<sup>9</sup> "Extract from I.R.S. – Form 990A: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Comparative Statement of Income and Expenses For the Years Ended December 31, 1959 and 1958; (...) For the Years Ended December 31, 1960 and 1959", *GRC*, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial".

and in Baptist churches the Seattle area<sup>10</sup>. Sarvis attended the Long Beach school of anticommunism in December 1958 and claimed that this had been “the most informative week I have spent in my entire life”<sup>11</sup>. In 1960 or 1961, he founded the Seattle CACC branch. Sarvis was apparently wealthy enough to travel worldwide by his own means. After attending a Christian conference in Madras, India, in January 1959, he visited the Crusade’s contact in that country, George Thomas and filed a short report on his trip to Schwarz, some extracts of which were published in the Crusade’s newsletter<sup>12</sup>. Upon founding the Seattle CACC, he became an occasional anticommunist lecturer in Washington State’s churches, service clubs and schools and organized several showings of *Operation Abolition* on behalf of the Crusade. However, no trace of these activities could be found past 1961, suggesting that Sarvis’ commitment to the Crusade was ephemeral<sup>13</sup>.

The Philadelphia Crusade office also had a short life, between 1960 and 1962, and no trace of its existence was found afterwards<sup>14</sup>. This office was located in the National Bank Building, Philadelphia, and was led by a former missionary named Richard W. Hightower, who had worked in refugees’ camps in Kenya during the Mau Mau rebellion (1952-1960)<sup>15</sup>. The activities of the Philadelphia CACC branch, which covered Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, were similar to those of other branches. It organized lectures, patriotic events and the selling anticommunist material, such as the “Tape-Plus-Talk Basic Training Course Freedom vs. Communism”, which could be completed in ten sessions of three hours each for \$125<sup>16</sup>.

An office was opened in San Diego in May 1961 and lasted for a year and a half, but it shut down when its executive officer, E. Richard Barnes, was elected Republican state representative of San Diego’s 78<sup>th</sup> district. Barnes was a retired military captain from

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<sup>10</sup> He had helped to set up the Bethany Baptist Church in Seattle in 1950, and his name appears sporadically in evangelical publications from the 1950’s and 1960’s. John J. Ruhlman, *A History of Northwestern Regular Baptists: The General Association of Regular Churches in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, 1939-1975*, Schaumburg, Regular Baptist Press, 1976, 49.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, “Schools for Anti-Communists”, *loc. cit.*, 3.

<sup>12</sup> Published in “Projects”, CACC Newsletter, May 1959, 5.

<sup>13</sup> An., “Anti-Red Movie Booked”, *Lewiston Morning Tribune*, Wed., Feb. 1, 1961, 6.; An., “Speaker Scheduled”, *Ibid.*, Sat., Feb. 4, 1961, 6.; An., “Youth in Officer’s Clutches ‘Star’ In An Anti-Red Movie”, *Ibid.*, Feb. Sun. Feb. 5, 1961, 14.; An., “Film on Reds Set at Quincy”, *The Spokesman-Review*, Fri., Mar. 17, 1961, 6.

<sup>14</sup> Jonathan Elmer to Richard W. Hightower, Apr. 2, 1962; Richard W. Hightower to Walter H. Judd, May 7, 1962, *WHJP*, Box 226, F. 4.

<sup>15</sup> Advertising, «The Greater New Orleans School of Anti-Communism, Jung Hotel, Tulane Room, October 23-27, 1961”, Information Pamphlet.

<sup>16</sup> Advertising Sheet, “The Tape-Plus-Talk Basic Training Course Freedom vs. Communism”, Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Philadelphia Office.

Minnesota who had served as pastor in Methodist churches in the East, before moving to California in 1943<sup>17</sup>. He first collaborated with the Crusade during the 1960 anticommunism school in Milwaukee, where he warned the audience that without a sharp drop in the U.S. crime rate, by 1965 a fifth of young Americans registering for the draft would be ineligible for military service due to their criminal record, creating a dangerous shortage of troops in the advent of a Communist attack<sup>18</sup>. Besides the Houston branch, the San Diego branch was the only one to publish its own newsletter, which provides an interesting window on how it Crusade chapter operated. After a few volunteers had been found, their first task was to assemble large supplies of anticommunist newsletters, books, tape recordings and movies. “These resources are available to you either on a loan basis or at a cost. We urge you to use these in the fight against communism”<sup>19</sup>. The branch solicited contributions, advertised all local events pertaining to the good fight and helped organizing the local visits of Schwarz and other Crusade collaborators. Like other Crusade branch directors, Barnes was ready to stir up the locals so whenever requested: during the summer of 1961, he spoke about 60 times in the San Diego area<sup>20</sup>. He quit in 1962 to pursue a political career at the California state assembly, where he was noticed for his unabashed conservative record, favouring capital punishment, anti-obscenity laws, opposing busing for school integration and marijuana legalization. In 1971, he castigated Nixon’s trip to China as “suicidal idiocy”. Abandoned by the GOP establishment, he was defeated in 1972 by a Democratic opponent<sup>21</sup>.

The four Crusade branches of Indianapolis, Ypsilanti, San Francisco and Houston lasted longer. The Indianapolis branch existed until the late 1960’s. Schwarz had a stronger base of supporters in central Indiana than in other areas. The local Crusade director in Indianapolis was Floyd E. Burroughs, whom Schwarz probably met in the wake of the anticommunism school in Indianapolis in 1959. Burroughs remained with his wife Ruth on the board of the CACC until the late 1980’s. Navy veteran of WWII, member of the American Legion and graduate of Ohio State University, Burroughs founded in the 1950’s “Floyd E. Burroughs & Associates, Inc.”, a civil engineering firm

<sup>17</sup> An., “Obituary 3 - Former California legislator, clergyman E. Richard Barnes”, *Chicago Tribune*, Sat., Aug. 24, 1985, 9.

<sup>18</sup> An., “Warns of Crime Crimp to Army”, *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, Fri., Feb. 12, 1960, part. 2, 2.

<sup>19</sup> E. Richard Barnes, “First Newsletter from the San Diego Branch – Christian Anti-Communism Crusade”, *loc. cit.*, 1.

<sup>20</sup> *Id.*, “Source Material – Study Group Helped”, *CACC Newsletter – San Diego*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Aug. 1961, 1.

<sup>21</sup> Quoted in An., “Obituary 3 - Former California legislator, clergyman E. Richard Barnes”, *loc. cit.*, 9.

which designed interstate highways and bridges in Indiana<sup>22</sup>. The Crusade branch in Indianapolis was maintained for years through the devotion of a small group of volunteers who helped organize the 1964 and 1966 anticommunism schools in Indianapolis as well as several other Crusade rallies. One of these volunteers is Jan Conner, an Indianapolis housewife whom the Burroughs met through their common involvement in the grassroots Goldwater movement in 1964. Invited to attend a Schwarz lecture, she became a lifelong Crusade supporter. Conner could be regularly seen in public places and at local patriotic events in Indianapolis wearing her red-white-blue outfit and selling the flag pins, greeting cards and sweat shirts which allowing her to amass a total of \$40,000 for the Crusade over three decades<sup>23</sup>.

In Ypsilanti, Michigan, the local Crusade branch lasted until the late-1960's, but did not have a pool of supporters comparable to Indianapolis. Nonetheless, its establishment made possible the success of several Crusade tours and events organized across the 1960's within the Ann Arbor-Detroit axis in eastern Michigan. The local CACC director was Dr. George Westcott, another personal friend of Schwarz, and one of his earliest supporters in the U.S. In the 1930's and 1940's, this graduate from the University of Michigan Medical School had served for more than 12 years as medical missionary in Africa, particularly in the Belgian Congo<sup>24</sup>. Coming back from Africa because of his wife's illness, Westcott opened in 1948 a private medical practice in Ypsilanti. In 1953, he was teaching a class on tropical medicine to prospective missionaries at the Detroit Bible Institute when he overheard about a lecture Schwarz was giving in a nearby classroom. Both men befriended. Though he never embraced pastorship like Schwarz, Westcott was fascinated by Biblical prophecy and eagerly saw signs of the end of times in current world events. He wrote to one of his friends in 1980: "The Russians rampaging thru the Middle-East brings the prophecy of Ezekiel 38 and 39 into sharp focus. Persia (Iran) is the first named of the colleagues of Gog as he invades from the North", this last detail suggesting that a Soviet invasion of Iran was pending<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> An., "Floyd Edward Burroughs, 85, headed civil engineering firm", *Indianapolis Star*, Tue., Feb. 1, 2000, D6.

<sup>23</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 185-186.

<sup>24</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "George Westcott, M.D., 1903-1981", *CACC Newsletter*, Nov. 1981, 2.

<sup>25</sup> George Westcott to John Daniel Kraus, March 7, 1980, *John Daniel Kraus Papers*, National Radio Astronomy Observatory Archives, Charlottesville, Virginia (hereafter *JDKP*), "General Correspondence" Series, Box "U-Z", F. "Westcott, George W., 1936-



Westcott was one of those numerous local Crusade contacts spread nationwide necessary to the success of the Australian's unscheduled touring ventures: "As I criss-crossed the Midwest", Schwarz once wrote, "I always knew I had a bed, the use of a car, and tender loving care awaited me in Ypsilanti, and I often took advantage of it"<sup>26</sup>. In 1955, Westcott covered the expense for Schwarz's wife to visit her husband for a short stay in the U.S. Westcott brought the Crusade his expertise with radio technology by becoming its recording technician. Each time a Crusade event of some significance took place, he would leave his practice under care of a colleague and come down to do recording own expenses<sup>27</sup>. In the early 1960's, Westcott spent considerable time each year as medical missionary in the Caribbean, especially in Haiti, where he spread the anticommunist Gospel using his knowledge of the French language he had developed in the Belgian Congo. A French brochure published by the Crusade which Westcott distributed by the thousands in Haiti titled "If Communism Comes To Haiti – What?" described the effects of communism. "You will lost your family. (...) You will lose your freedom. (...) You will lose your church. (...) Many of you will lose your lives"<sup>28</sup>. The Crusade's office in Ypsilanti closed in the early 1970's.

The two most important Crusade subsidiary offices were those of San Francisco and Houston. In San Francisco, the local director was Joost Sluis, another medical doctor-turned evangelist. Sluis (pronounced "Yuss Sluss") was a Netherlands native whose family emigrated to the U.S. when he was twelve in 1935. Raised in the strictest Dutch Reformed tradition, he attended Calvin College, accepting "Jesus as his personal Saviour" during this time<sup>29</sup>. He received an M.A. in science at the M.I.T. in 1947, graduated as an M.D. from Harvard University in 1951. He settled in the San Francisco area, established a flourishing practice as an orthopaedic surgeon and became part of the

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1981, OQSAA". Compulsory citation: *Material from the papers of John Kraus used with permission of National Radio Astronomy Observatory / Associated Universities Inc./ National Science Foundation.*

<sup>26</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "George Westcott, M.D., 1903-1981", *loc. cit.*, 2.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*; Years before departing for Africa, Westcott had developed an interest in radio communication and transmission. He left for Africa with his wife and three kids in 1936, bringing an advanced-designed radio set like very few existed in the world then. He took the opportunity of his African years to conduct a series experiments in collaboration with American physicist from University of Michigan John Daniel Kraus -inventor of the helical antenna and pioneer in fields of electromagnetic and radio astronomy- resulting in a decade-long series of tests on high and low frequencies, different antennas and the impact of weather conditions on radio reception. See Kraus's correspondence, stored at the National Radio Astronomy Observatory Archives in Charlottesville.

<sup>28</sup> Published in *CACC Newsletter*, Feb. 1960, 7.

<sup>29</sup> Joost Sluis, "On the China Card", Edited and Authored by Joost Sluis, M.S., M.D., Accessible in the *William C. Norris Papers*, Charles Babbage Institute, University of Minnesota, Control Data Corporation Records, (hereafter *WCNP*), CB180, Box 19, Series 9, F. 293 "Joost Sluis", 3.; An., "Eight Modestans are Given Navy Releases", *The Modesto Bee*, May 29, 1946, 3.

University of California's medical faculty. As many others, his conversion to Red-baiting took place as he heard Schwarz speak, in this case before a meeting of the Christian Medical Society in July 1958. Following a familiar pattern among those swayed by the Australian's eloquence, Sluis wrote that he tried to return to his normal life, but often spent wakeful nights obsessed that one billion people around the world were being trained and indoctrinated by the Reds so as to achieve world conquest: "I began to question in my own mind whether patient care and possible personal contributions to improved orthopaedic surgery were the highest services I could render to humanity"<sup>30</sup>. A few months later, Sluis attended the Crusade's school of anticommunism in Long Beach, which convinced him to join the Crusade bandwagon. This resulted in the opening in 1959 of the San Francisco CACC local branch office which he led and, also, his inclusion in the organization's direction board<sup>31</sup>.

The tall, eternally baby-faced, clean-cut Sluis, with his buttery baritone voice, became the Crusade's main speaker in Northern California, lecturing before the Crusade's customarily audiences (churches, clubs, American Legion posts) and displaying his complete absorption of Schwarz's anticommunist rhetoric: "Communist philosophy is dialectical materialism. (...) An interpretation of Communist conduct and a prediction of future conduct must be made with an understanding of their philosophy."<sup>32</sup> In 1959, Sluis was among prominent San Francisco Bay area citizens who publicly opposed Nikita Khrushchev's U.S. visit and joined the "Committee for Freedom of All Peoples" formed in Washington by a few U.S. Congressmen<sup>33</sup>. During the 1960's, Sluis' attention increasingly turned on Latin America and he was the architect to the Crusade's involvement in the region during the early 1960's.

The Houston chapter, led by William P. Strube, was the Crusade's most important subsidiary branch. It kicked off in March 1958, after two years of planning on Strube's

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<sup>30</sup> Joost Sluis, "An Alumnus and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade", *loc. cit.*, 1.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 2. An., "Understand Marxism, Rotary Told – Physician Warns Ignorance of Reds Aids Their Drive", *Oakland Tribune*, Wed., Oct. 21, 1959, E17.; An., "Lions Club Speaker", *Oakland Tribune*, Wed., Jan 13, 1960, D30.; An., "Christian Women to Hear Surgeon", *Oakland Tribune*, Sun., Jan 24, 1960, 8.; An., "Optimists Plan Special Evening", *San Mateo Times*, Wed., Jan 27, 1960, 14.; An., "Communism BPWC Topic", *Oakland Tribune*, Thu., Jan. 28, 1960, 35.

<sup>32</sup> Joost Sluis, "An Alumnus and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade", *loc. cit.*, 1.

<sup>33</sup> An., "Admiral Heads Mourning Group", *Oakland Tribune*, Mon., Sept. 14, 1959, E2.; An., "Bay Committee", *Oakland Tribune*, Tue., Sept. 15, 1959, E3.

part, who covered most of the expenses incurred<sup>34</sup>. The chapter was housed in a large pink stucco mansion on Montrose Blvd in Houston, home to Strube's Mid-American Life Insurance Company and owned by Strube's father-in-law, insurance executive and financier L.E. Cowling<sup>35</sup>. Strube's anticommunist activities were initially a non-salaried sideline to his insurance business activities, but his growing Red-baiting fever soon led to full-time involvement in the cause. By his own count, Strube, a handsome blue-eyed man in his mid-thirties at the time, spoke against communism 150 times during the Houston office's first year, but the figure jumped to 300 times in 1959 and about 400 times in 1960<sup>36</sup>. Journalist, Philip Horton from the magazine *The Reporter*, gave more precise figures by noting that in 1960 "the Texas office of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade offered 314 lectures to sixteen thousand students and forty-six thousand adults"<sup>37</sup>. By the spring of 1960, Strube was conducting seminars in Miami, Colorado, Pennsylvania, Louisiana, Missouri and New Mexico. Strube claimed in 1961 receiving no salary from the Crusade ("I do it because I have two beautiful children I love very much")<sup>38</sup>. But in 1962, he was earning \$6,000 annually as the Crusade's Vice-President and was the organization's second highest-earning employee after James Colbert<sup>39</sup>.

Strube's audiences were the same as Schwarz's: churches, service clubs, veterans' associations, schools, chambers of commerce, conservative meetings and occasionally elected representatives, such as when Strube addressed the Louisiana state legislature in May 1960<sup>40</sup>. Without any formal training at preaching, Strube was a "fearsome platform orator, often hypnotic in effect", *Harper's* journalist Willie Morris noted, with the rapid-fire delivery characteristic the Southern Baptist evangelical tradition<sup>41</sup>. Strube's 1962 book *The Star Over the Kremlin*, is a readable rehash of Schwarz's ideas. Communism is

<sup>34</sup> No particular expense to launch this branch appears in the organization's tax returns. Also, the branch opened while the Crusade's finances were badly depleted due to the first anticommunism school.

<sup>35</sup> Saul Friedman, "Crusade Against Commies Grows, *loc. cit.*, 14.; Fred C. Schwarz, "Houston Office Opened", *CACC Newsletter*, May 1958, 4.

<sup>36</sup> Willie Morris, "Houston's Superpatriots", *loc. cit.*, 52.

<sup>37</sup> Philip Horton, "Revivalism on the Far Right", *The Reporter*, July 20, 1961, 26.

<sup>38</sup> Quoted in Saul Friedman, "Crusade Against Commies Grows, *loc. cit.*, 14.

<sup>39</sup> Christian Anti-Communism Crusade: Comparative Statement of Income and Expenses For the Years Ended December 31, 1963 and 1962" – Schedule to support Line A as requested, *GRC*, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial".

<sup>40</sup> "Strube, William B., Jr." (sic) – 6-6-62, *GRC*, Box 305, F. "Strube, William P."; An., "Hitchcock Men to Hear Strube On Communism", *Galveston Daily News*, Sun., Nov. 8, 1959, 3-B.; William P. Strube to Herbert Philbrick, Sept. 6, 1960, *HPP*, Box 185, "Subject File" Series, F. "Strube, William B., General", 1959-1973. This letter details lectures by Strube "sponsored by the Abilene Chamber of Commerce. We had approximately 200 present in every session".

<sup>41</sup> Willie Morris, "Houston's Superpatriots", *loc. cit.*, 52.

described as an atheist, anti-Christian ideology designed to mold itself to any circumstance so as to hasten the objective of world domination. Strube presents such concepts as the dialectic, the Communist interpretation of peace, as well as the Red plan for victory over the U.S. through the twin strategy of external encirclement and internal demoralization. Strube did not have Schwarz's grasp of Marxism-Leninism. Nonetheless, his knowledge on the subject was still more substantial than that of most conservative activists at the time, and was undoubtedly sufficient for the needs of his speaking engagements.

In 1961, at its peak, the Houston branch office had more than fifteen staff members and had evolved into what a journalist called "a nerve center of a new, modern evangelism"<sup>42</sup>. While Schwarz preferred live audiences to electric media, Strube was a fervent proponent of technology and, along with Dr. George Westcott in Ypsilanti, was instrumental in persuading Schwarz to remain abreast with the time: "By using tape-recordings", Strube said, "the experts can be taken into homes, schools, Sunday schools, classes (...) We must have fast and mass dissemination of the information if we are to preserve our freedom"<sup>43</sup>. By the beginning of 1961, the Crusade had its own recording studio in the Houston office and Strube busied himself with making tape recordings of his collaborators' speeches that could be sold anywhere<sup>44</sup>. One journalist who visited the Houston office noted that it was filled with "nine portable tape recorders, worth about \$4,000, tended by earphoned technicians making tapes of the talks of Strube", an "automatic typewriter, worth \$3,000 that types thousands of form letters from electronically punched tapes", along with "three giant tape-reproducing machines putting out taped lectures, suggestions and instructions for conducting study groups, clinics and seminars"<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*; Strube Family Christmas Card to Herbert Philbrick, *HPP*, Box 185, "Subject File" Series, F. "Strube, William B., General", 1959-1973.; The 1989 Encyclopedia of Associations numbered the CACC staff at 25 people, but this was very likely the 1961 figure for the Long Beach office mistakenly transposed to the 1980's. "13832: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade (CACC)", *Encyclopedia of Associations*, Clip found in *PRAA*, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade".

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in Willie Morris, "Houston's Superpatriots", *loc. cit.*, 52. Schwarz admitted himself that "At the very first school we held in St. Louis he was most insistent that priority should be given to tape recordings of the messages and that these tapes should be given the widest circulation. I tended to regard the tapes as a secondary feature of the school". Fred C. Schwarz, "Study Circles", *CACC Newsletter*, Jun. 1960, 3.

<sup>44</sup> William P. Strube to Herbert Philbrick, Feb. 2, 1961, *HPP*, Box 185, "General Correspondence" Series, F. 3, "Strube, William P. - General, 1959-1973".

<sup>45</sup> Saul Friedman, "Crusade Against Commies Grows", *loc. cit.*, 14.; One of Strube's information sheets contained advertising for one schedule Crusade events in Houston, plus the following: "Tape Recorders--"Do It Yourself" facilities will be available for 25 recorders. 1,800 ft. blank tape, \$2, "Le Us Do It"—Two Speeches on 1,800 tape, \$5.

In 1961 and 1962, Strube designed two anticommunist comic strips for children, *Two Faces of Communism* and *Double Talk*. These comic strips were available in various supermarkets and grocery stores across the Sunbelt. In a speech made before the San Diego Grocers Association, right-wing advertising mogul Hamilton Stone (Hamilton Stone Associates) encouraged grocers to show their Americanism by selling this material “in the super-markets for 10¢ with your store name printed on the back of them. Or they could be given away to every mother who brings her child to the store. (...) This could be a contribution on your part to merchandising America”<sup>46</sup>.

Both *Two Faces of Communism* and *Double Talk* expand on the same concept. Two white, middle-class kids who have just heard about communism direct their curiosity towards an adult. In both comic strips, the adult in question is the same “father knows best” suburban character who is the splitting image of Bill Strube -and is in fact called “Bill”-. In one strip, he describes communism to his nephews and is called “Uncle Bill”, while on the other he addresses his children and is called “Dad”. The main narrative is interspersed by evocative images in which communism is personified by Khrushchev himself. The Soviet leader is depicted as a hypocritical, murderous psychopath whose goal is trick the world’s innocent peoples and turn the Earth into a hellish concentration camp. In *Double Talk*, the children are introduced to a Schwarz-looking church lecturer (horn-rimmed glasses, bow tie) who elaborates on the Communist master plan.

In the better-written *Two Faces of Communism*, “Bill” admits to his kids having once been under the influence of an alien-born, Communist college professor who organized secret meetings where and two of his peers were indoctrinated with Red propaganda. Torn in his loyalty between the proletariat on the one hand, and God and his country on the other, Bill talked to his father, who recommended that he find strength in the Bible. Reading the good book inspired Bill to inform on his teacher to the police: “The professor was quietly removed from his position and turned over to the F.B.I. He was later deported as an undesirable alien. (...)”, Bill tells his kids. Freed from the influence of their Red teacher, indoctrinated students “found other outlets for their energies. Today

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<sup>46</sup> Hamilton Stone, “Speech given by Hamilton Stone – San Diego Grocers Association – Food Mart News Work Shop Session”, Sept. 18 (1961), Mission Valley Inn, *W. Cleon Skousen Papers*, Private Collection, Skousen Family, Salt Lake City (hereafter *WCSP*), Binder “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism, Oct. 16, 1961 – 1961 Dct”.

they are both successful businessmen!”<sup>47</sup> Bill’s kids are proud of their dad, who nonetheless realizes he needs to step up his family’s knowledge on communism. How? Of course, by ordering CACC material. In another passage, Bill tells his kids the potential effects of a Soviet agent let “loose in our slum area” and who would incite the homeless to invade suburban towns by promising the end of unemployment and hunger. *Two Faces of Communism* is caricatured encapsulation of McCarthyism. It contains polemic against left-wing intellectuals, an inch of xenophobia, a celebration of the fatherly figure as a source of guidance, belief in God, country and capitalism as well as a glorification of the informant. In reference to *Two Faces of Communism*, historian Gary Gerstle noted “these images of the evil Communist and of the vulnerabilities of naïve, good-natured Americans to his deceptions appear to justify an extreme anti-Communist crusade, one that would not relax its vigilance until the last Communist infiltrators were eliminated from American life”<sup>48</sup>.

As the Crusade’s schools of anticommunism were taking off, Strube began organizing his own seminar-type events. In 1958, in the wake of the Crusade’s first school, the Houston CACC assembled its first anticommunist seminar, a project in which Schwarz was not involved apart from an address he made at the seminar’s closing session<sup>49</sup>. The 1958 edition, quite unnoticed by the local press, was successful enough so as to produce annual sequels in the following years. Held during the four Saturdays of March rather than being weeklong seminars, the Houston CACC schools were smaller in scope than “official” Crusade schools and probably featured only local anticommunist figures, though Strube sometimes managed to attract big names. Inviting Herbert Philbrick to the third annual Houston school in 1960, he wrote: “Our Houston School is not quite as prosperous as some of our other schools, but we will cover your expenses and endeavor to match whatever honorariums Fred has been giving you in the other schools for your work”<sup>50</sup>.

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<sup>47</sup> William P. Strube, *Two Faces of Communism*, Houston, Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1961, 22.

<sup>48</sup> Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century*, Princeton & Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2001, 244.

<sup>49</sup> William P. Strube to Herbert Philbrick, Dec. 15, 1959, *HPP*, Box 185, “General Correspondence” Series, F. 3, “Strube, William P. – General, 1959-1973”.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

In April 1960, during the third edition of the Houston anticommunism school, Strube managed to gather more than 1,000 people at the S.P. Martel Auditorium of Houston, whereas at the time, Schwarz's largest attendance had been 800 souls in Milwaukee. In what had become a Crusade ritual, Strube asked Houston Democratic Mayor Lewis Cutrer to proclaim an "anti-communism day" on the school's last day, which was granted. The school's speakers included Fred Schlafly, Ed Hunter and Schwarz himself, who delivered seven lectures, and other newcomers such Clifton Ganus, George Benson's right-hand man at Harding College, Capt. Richard Gregory and Col. R.B. Thieme, both teaching in military schools and Fu Sung Chu, a plenipotentiary from the Taiwan embassy in Washington. This kind of assembling of upper-class professionals, military officers, churchmen, politicians and businessmen was a winning formula in terms of respectability and certainly looked for Crusade supporters as the embodiment of America itself.

### **10.2 Big Money: Three New Sponsors**

From the late 1950's on, Schwarz established new connections with many wealthy businessmen eager to finance the good doctor's endeavors for one reason or the other. Besides Harry Bradley, whose direct financial support was brief, the Crusade had during this period three new major contributors whose names are inextricably linked to the history and development of the American right-wing: Walter Knott, J. Howard Pew and Patrick Frawley.

In 1958, the Crusade received an unsolicited \$500 check from Walter Knott, of Knott's Berry Farm fame, "a warm-hearted and generous lover of liberty", as Schwarz put it<sup>51</sup>. Aged 70 at the time, this San Bernardino native, son of an evangelical Methodist preacher and wealthy rancher, made his money as a farmer during the Depression by introducing the boysenberry to the market and opening a highly successful roadside chicken dinner restaurant in Buena Park, near Anaheim, in 1934<sup>52</sup>. In the 1940's, a mocking Ghost Town was built on the Berry Farm location, originally to please waiting crowds, but also in homage to the spirit of the Old West, which Knott always loved and

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<sup>51</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 168.

<sup>52</sup> Norman Nygaard, *Walter Knott: Twentieth Century Pioneer*, Grand Rapids, Zondervan Publishing House, 1965, 67-85. See especially the chapters "Specializing in Berries" and "The Restaurant that Ran Away."

admired<sup>53</sup>. This attraction gradually evolved into a full-fledged amusement park which grew steadily in spite of the opening of nearby Disneyland in 1955. Through their successes, both amusement parks came to embody the values associated with the 1950's suburban dream: family values, nationalism, middle-class consumerism, individualism<sup>54</sup>.

Knott "saw himself as a twentieth-century individualist in the pioneering mold and retained the staunchly conservative religious values of his family", Lisa McGirr writes<sup>55</sup>. In the mid-1950's, Knott became involved in politics. Within only a few years, his position as ideological and financial backer of right-wing groups and causes was such that McGirr, in her study of Orange County, estimates that no one "played a more pivotal role in fostering the grassroots conservative revival than Walter Knott"<sup>56</sup>. He was involved in the Republican Central Committee of California and, in 1958, he led the Orange County's unsuccessful campaign in support of the anti-labour, "right-to-work" initiative "Proposition 18". He also served in 1966 as advisor to Ronald Reagan's successful gubernatorial campaign. He was on the board of directors of several conservative groups such as Constructive Action, Inc., Billy James Hargis' Christian Crusade and the Liberty Amendment Committee. Also, he founded with other conservative Orange County businessmen the California Free Enterprise Association (CFEA), established to promote the virtues of free market capitalism and attack the trend towards welfare statism through the dissemination of monthly letters and pamphlets to ministers, educators and employees throughout Southern California<sup>57</sup>. With its five-employee staff, the CFEA also distributed literature such as books by Ludwig Von Mises or Russell Kirk's books, or suggested speakers such as Schwarz or Reverend Bob Shuler<sup>58</sup>.

Knott was reputed to show loyalty to the people and causes whom he supported, and having him as a backer was a great asset to the Crusade. Until his death in December 1981, Knott was year after year among the Crusade's big donors (those who gave more

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<sup>53</sup> Richard Harris, *Early Amusement Parks in Orange County*, Charleston and Chicago, Arcadia Pub., 2008, 17.

<sup>54</sup> Eileen Luhr, *Witnessing Suburbia: Conservatives and Christian Youth Culture*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2009, 171.

<sup>55</sup> Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 98.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> Kurt Schuparra, « Freedom vs. Tyranny: The 1958 California Election and the Origins of the State's Conservative Movement », *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 63, No. 4, Nov. 1994, 554.

<sup>58</sup> Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 100-101.



than \$1,000 annually)<sup>59</sup>. Knott also proved an important logistical ally. During the 1960's Knott helped organize Crusade fundraising events and, on numerous occasions, put his Chicken Dinner Restaurant at the Crusade's disposal so as to organize patriotic happenings, to the point where Schwarz recall it as "the favourite location for Crusade rallies"<sup>60</sup>. In 1961, Knott's chairmanship of the Crusade's Orange County anticommunist school was crucial to the tremendous success of that event, since the Berry Farm founder mobilized the entirety of his local contacts to the purpose of raising consciousness about communism.

Also in 1958, Schwarz met oil magnate J. Howard Pew, former president and owner of Sun Oil (later Sunoco), after an address he delivered at a meeting for Dr. Howard Kershner's Christian Freedom Foundation (CFF), a group Pew financially sponsored and the goals of which were nowhere better summarized than on the masthead of its magazine *Christian Economics*: "We stand for free enterprise—the economic system with the least amount of government and the greatest amount of Christianity"<sup>61</sup>. Pew sent a message to Schwarz and invited him to the Sun Oil offices in Philadelphia. "He received me graciously", Schwarz wrote, "and warmly. Our mutual devotion to the Christian faith soon developed into a close relationship, and he became a major supporter of the Crusade"<sup>62</sup>. The Australian also met other members of the richissime Pew clan: Pew's brother Joseph Newton Jr. (J.N.) and his sister Mabel Pew Myrin. Shortly after, Pew wrote to Allen-Bradley so as to obtain thirty copies of the HUAC testimony for himself and his circle. This convinced him that the Australian was worthy of his help<sup>63</sup>. In the wake of their meeting, Schwarz wrote Pew and thanked him for "your gracious counsel

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<sup>59</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 190. The only complete list of Crusade financial contributors available for a given year (1966), indicates a \$1421.25 contribution from Knott. Form 990A: Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax – Attachment to Public Record File: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade", Year 1966, GRC, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial", 18.

<sup>60</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 190.

<sup>61</sup> The CFF was part of a small, yet growing cluster of evangelical groups that mixed theological and economic conservatism in the postwar era. The strong belief of Dr. Kershner, a conservative Quaker and businessman turned activist, that "socialism – Welfare Statism– is a reversal of God's plan for man" quickly got him the backing of J. Howard Pew, who subsidized *Christian Economics* for about 25 years at a rate of \$300,000 annually. It is unclear how did Schwarz get the invitation to address the CFF, though he might have been recommended to Kershner by James Fifield, a Schwarz friend, member of the Crusade's advisory council, and whose group Spiritual Mobilization also benefited from Pew's protection. Eckard V. Toy, "Christian Economics, 1950-1972", in Ronald Lora and William Henry Longton, *The Conservative Press in Twentieth-Century America*, *op. cit.*, 165-166.; Kim Phillips-Fein, *Invisible Hands*, *op. cit.*, 70-71.

<sup>62</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 191.; Richard V. Pierard, "J. Howard Pew: Reaction's Inconspicuous Patron", *The Reformed Journal*, Mar. 1972, 6.

<sup>63</sup> Ralph W. Ells to J. Howard Pew, Nov. 4, 1958, *J. Howard Pew Personal Papers*, Manuscript and Archives Department, Hagley Museum Library, Wilmington, Delaware (hereafter *JHPPP*), Box 3, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, 1959".

and generous donation of time”, and summarized four “immediate projects (...) which may commend themselves to you for your prayerful support”<sup>64</sup>: the establishment of an East Coast Crusade office, with estimated costs of \$10,000 for the first year of operation; the distribution of the HUAC testimony “in the Spanish language to the students of the Universities and Colleges of Central and South America”, at the same cost; the holding of an anticommunism school in Indianapolis or in Pew’s own turf of Philadelphia (at a cost of \$5,000 each) and the establishment of a Christian anticommunist newspaper in Kerala, India, at the projected cost of \$50,000<sup>65</sup>. Though the real costs incurred by these projects were all higher, all projects eventually came to fruition one way or the other.

The Pews were Philadelphia’s richest family. Their wealth paralleled that of the Rockerfellers and the DuPonts, with their assets totalizing almost a billion dollars upon J. Howard Pew’s death in 1971. Their fortune came from their oil empire Sun Oil, which had been founded by Pew’s father Joseph Newton Sr. A Pennsylvania native, J. Howard Pew succeeded his father as president in 1912, a position he held until 1947<sup>66</sup>. In the 1930’s, the Pews began to finance right-wing causes. However, their drive took off particularly after WWII, when J. Howard Pew left the Sun Oil presidency to focus more on conservative philanthropic activities<sup>67</sup>. In 1948, the Pew family established the Pew Memorial Foundation with 880,000 shares of Sun Oil, and in 1956 they created the Glenmede Trust Company, which managed the Foundation’s multiple trusts. Most of the grants of the Pews’ philanthropies were given to causes and people with whom they had established a personal contact (Schwarz here is no exception)<sup>68</sup>. Despite their important support to the Republican Party -in 1960, they were second only to the Rockefeller in contributions to GOP-, they avoided direct involvement in politics and preferred remaining out of the spotlight<sup>69</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to J. Howard Pew, Oct. 31, 1958, *Ibid.*, Box 187, Folder “The Glenmede Trust Co.” 1961-1965.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> John N. Ingham, “Pew Family”, *Biographical Dictionary of American Business Leaders, N-U*, Westport, Greenwood Press, 1983, 1081-1084.

<sup>67</sup> They got stirred up against the New Deal, which led them to establish in the mid-1930’s, along with General Motors leader Alfred Sloan, the Liberty League, a conservative lobby group. In 1936 Pew invested unsuccessfully more than \$1,5 million to get Roosevelt defeated. Kenneth J. Heineman, *A Catholic New Deal: Religion and Reform in Depression Pittsburgh*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University, 1999, 98. Around these years the Pews bought the *Farm Journal* magazine to reach out to rural areas, “the real sane and thoughtful background of our whole social order”. Quoted in Allan J. Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation: The Rise of the American Conservative Movement*, New York, Grove Press, 2008, 74-75.

<sup>68</sup> Robert T. Grimm, “Pew Family”, in Robert T. Grimm, ed., *Notable American Philanthropists: Biographies of Giving and Volunteering*, Westport, Greenwood Press, 2002, 248.

<sup>69</sup> “Cross Reference – File: Pew”, *GRC*, Box 268, F.”Pew, Joseph (and Pew family) also Farm Journal”.

J. Howard Pew was at the center of a huge web of “right-wing advocacy groups, business associations, religious associations, books, magazines, newspapers, films, radio broadcasts, and conferences”, Alan Lichtman writes<sup>70</sup>. Pew was a staunch defender of classical liberalism in the face of government interference. He was also a devout evangelical Presbyterian for whom defending economic freedom in America was undistinguishable from protecting old-fashioned religion from liberal Protestantism. “We can never hope to stop this country’s plunge towards totalitarianism”, he wrote, “until we have gotten the ministers’ thinking straight”<sup>71</sup>. In 1956, Pew’s financial backing (\$150,000 a year) was the indispensable factor allowing Billy Graham and Editor Carl F. Henry to create the magazine *Christianity Today*, which quickly became the dominant voice of American evangelicalism<sup>72</sup>. The whole spectrum of the secular right was also represented among recipients of Pew’s philanthropy, including conservative think tanks such as the American Enterprise Institute, the Hoover Institution in Stanford or Leonard Read’s Foundation for Economic Education. In the late 1950’s, despite denying being a Bircher, Pew was part of the editorial board of the JBS’s magazine *American Opinion*<sup>73</sup>. In a letter asking his view on the Birchite leader’s theories and methods, he wrote that Robert Welch “has long been a friend of mine” and he compared him to Joe McCarthy, whom Pew always supported despite “some intemperate things”<sup>74</sup>.

Pew’s help to the Crusade was huge. Like Knott, Pew helped with logistics. In 1959, the oilman used his contacts so as to fill Schwarz’s schedule in the Philadelphia area. Pew’s backing was also useful when the Crusade held its anticommunism school in Philadelphia in 1960, with Glenmede Trust administrator Allyn Bell as chairman. However, Pew’s greatest contribution to the cause of the Crusade was of a financial nature: his was the largest source and most consistent source of funding until the late 1970’s. In a matter of weeks after they initially met, Schwarz received from the Pew Memorial Trust a \$10,000 check. This was the second \$10,000 donation in 1958, after the

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<sup>70</sup> Allan J. Lichtman, *White Protestant Nation*, *op. cit.*, 74.

<sup>71</sup> Kim Phillips-Fein, *Invisible Hands*, *op. cit.*, 70. Accordingly, the Pew philanthropies favoured a numerous small conservative religious colleges and Bible schools, and served to finance a wide array of faith-based conservative projects, especially those extolling the virtues of capitalism such as Fifield’s Spiritual Mobilization and Kershner’s CFF

<sup>72</sup> Philip Jenkins, *The Cold War at Home : the Red Scare in Pennsylvania, 1945-1960*, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1999, 178.

<sup>73</sup> Thomas Jeremy Gunn, *Spiritual Weapons*, *op. cit.*, 126.

<sup>74</sup> J. Howard Pew to W.M. Hart, Nov. 18, 1959, *JHPP*, Box 64, F. “H”.

gift from the Bradley Foundation<sup>75</sup>. This sum was comparable in size to what the Pew Memorial Trust gave to other educational or religious institutions by the mid-1950's<sup>76</sup>. The gift to the Crusade compared favourably with the amounts received by received by more established religious institutions, such as the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association and the Moody Bible Institute, which received respectively \$25,000 and \$15,000<sup>77</sup>.

The Trust renewed its \$10,000 gift to the Crusade in 1959 and it gave gifts in each subsequent year until the mid-1970's. In contrast, some organizations had only irregular access to Pew's money. For example, Benson's NEP received \$10,000 in 1956, but not much in the subsequent years<sup>78</sup>. Moreover, gifts the Crusade received from the Pew Memorial Trust increased greatly over the years and remained high until the late 1970's. The annual gifts the Crusade received from Pew's foundations quickly superseded the amounts received by most organizations supported by Pew's foundations. Across the years, the most important sums remained channelled through the Pew Memorial Trust. For instance, in 1962, the Crusade received a \$30,000 gift from this fund, a considerable sum inasmuch as it equalled what had been given during the same fiscal year to Georgetown University so as to set up its Center for Strategic and International Studies<sup>79</sup>. In 1963 the sum received by the Crusade was down to \$20,000, but this amount remained larger than what other recipients of Pew's philanthropy received<sup>80</sup>. In the ensuing years, the gift from the Trust to the Crusade was maintained at \$25,000 or \$30,000 annually. By the mid-1970's, the annual gifts increased to compensate for rising inflation<sup>81</sup>.

Moreover, the Pew Memorial Trust was only the most important of several Pew family foundations supporting the Crusade. Other trusts from the Glenmede Company gave important gifts to the Crusade, such as the Pew Freedom Trust, established, as its

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<sup>75</sup> Notification document on the Crusade's finances for 1958-1959 fiscal years, *GRC*, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial".

<sup>76</sup> For instance, most small higher education institutions which the Trust supported (The Church Farm School, the College of Wooster or Friends University) received an equal sum.

<sup>77</sup> "The Pew Memorial Foundation, Form 990-A-1955 – Contributions, Gifts, Grants, Etc. (Item 19)", *Ibid.*, Box 268, F. "Pew Memorial Trust", 1.

<sup>78</sup> Notification document on the NEP's finances for 1955-1964 fiscal years, *Ibid.*, Box 155, F. "Harding College - National Education Program- Financial Info & Tax-Exempt Status".

<sup>79</sup> It also surpassed what had been granted to organizations like the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, Youth for Christ International (both receiving \$15,000), George Benson's Harding College, the American Bible Society or the Freedom Foundation at Valley Forge (\$10,000 each), or Pepperdine College and its \$5,000 gift. "Pew Memorial Trust, Philadelphia, Penns.- org'd in Pa., 1957; exempt per IRS letter of 5/14/59 - Dec. 31st", *GRC*, Box 268, F. "Pew Memorial Trust".

<sup>80</sup> Especially since during the same year Pepperdine saw its gift dropped to \$2,500 and Harding got nothing at all from the Trust. *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> "Pew Memorial Trust, Philadelphia, PA. – Notes on Form 990A return for 1965, on file at Fdn. Lib. Cnt."; George Rucker, "Notes on exemption app'n file at IRS – inspected 6-29-67 by Rucker" in *Ibid.*

statement of purpose reads, to “acquaint the American people with the evils of bureaucracy and the vital need to maintain and preserve a limited form of government”. The statement also indicated that the Trust was up against “Socialism, Welfare-state-ism, Marxism, Fascism and any other like forms of government intervention (...)”<sup>82</sup>. Tax returns from 1966 indicate that when all trusts administered by the Glenmede Trust Company are totalled (the Memorial Trust, the Freedom Trust, the J.N. Pew, Jr., Charitable Trust, the Mabel Pew Myrin Trust), the Crusade received more than \$40,000 from the Glenmede Trust Company on that year, in addition to the \$10,000 in shares of Sun Oil Schwarz Shad received from Pew’s sister Mabel<sup>83</sup>. By the late 1960’s, support from all the Pew Trusts combined amounted to almost one-tenth of the Crusade’s income. During the 1970’s, the Pew Freedom Trust became, along with the Memorial Trust, the most important foundation supporting the Crusade, with 1977 as a peak year, when both trusts gave more than \$50,000 each<sup>84</sup>.

Just like Knott and Pew, Patrick J. Frawley’s was the one who took the initiative to contact Schwarz in the first place. One day in 1960, Frawley, the young president (he was only 36) of Eversharp, Inc. and its subsidiary Schick Safety Razor, Inc., sent the Crusade an unsolicited \$10,500 check and invited Schwarz to visit him in Bel Air, an affluent suburb near Beverly Hills. Frawley and his wife Geraldine “were the personification of Irish hospitality. With nine children, their home was a hive of constant activity. They were active in their Catholic church and their children attended Catholic schools”, Schwarz wrote<sup>85</sup>. Son of an Irishman established in South America who made money in the banking and insurance sectors, Frawley was born in Nicaragua, though he grew up mostly in San Francisco, where he was sent to complete his education at the age of eight. His path to fame and fortune took the form of a ballpoint pen. In 1948, he secured the rights of a new type of quick-penetrating ink that allowed the creation of the Paper-Mate pen, the writing of which “stayed put, neither blotted nor smeared”<sup>86</sup>. When Frawley sold

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<sup>82</sup> George Rucker, “J. Howard Pew Freedom Trust – Notes on Tax Exemption Application File – Inspected by Rucker 8/7/63”, *GRC*, Box 268, F. “Pew Freedom Trust”.

<sup>83</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 192.; “Form 990A: Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax – Attachment to Public Record File: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade”, *GRC*, Box 364, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial”, 16.

<sup>84</sup> Deborah Huntington and Ruth Kaplan, “Whose Gold is Behind the Altar: Corporate Ties to Evangelicals”, *Contemporary Marxism*, No. 4, Winter 1981/1982, 84.

<sup>85</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 192.

<sup>86</sup> Richard Match, “Things You Never Knew About Your Fountain Pen”, *Popular Science*, Vol. 169, No. 3, Sept. 1956, 167.

Paper-Mate to the Gillette Company for \$15,5 million in 1956, the firm had annual sales of about \$26 million and controlled 80 percent of the ballpoint market. The money Frawley made with the sale helped him buy Eversharp-Schick in 1958, which he also transformed with the introduction of the new stainless-steel razor blade. He subsequently acquired enough shares of the color film corporation Technicolor Inc. to become chairman of that company in 1961<sup>87</sup>.

Until the late 1950's, Frawley was widely seen as a marketing genius, but his name was not associated with right-wing politics. But that completely changed in 1959, when a Schick plant he had opened in Cuba was nationalized by Fidel Castro's new revolutionary regime. This turned Frawley into a rabid anticommunist and staunch supporter of right-wing causes, not unlike Alfred Kohlberg, who, exactly a decade before, underwent his conversion to militant anticommunism largely because of the wreckage of his business on the China mainland. Frawley told one journalist: "That woke me up. (...), I found that not enough was being done. They were stealing property and I'm a large stockholder. How did I know they might not begin stealing our plants in the United States?"<sup>88</sup> The "new" Frawley's two first major initiatives consisted in becoming wholehearted backer of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, and supporting vigorously the GOP during the presidential campaign of 1960, convinced that a Nixon presidency would have overthrown the Castro regime.

Until 1970, Frawley was one of the most important backers of conservative causes in America, spending an estimated sum of \$1 million annually<sup>89</sup>. In 1969, the liberal watchdog group Institute for American Democracy called him the "No. 1 Man on the Right", and described him "at the center of an ideological apparatus of an unprecedented scope"<sup>90</sup>. In addition to his strong support of GOP conservative figures such as Barry Goldwater, Ronald Reagan, Max Rafferty and George Murphy, he subsidized through grants and sponsorships scores of radio broadcasts (such as those of Paul Harvey and Father Daniel Lyons), magazines such as *The National Review* and *Human Events* and

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<sup>87</sup> An., "Patrick Frawley, Jr. Named Top Executive at Eversharp", *Wall Street Journal*, Wed., Jan. 14, 1958, 10.; An., "Frawley Chief at Technicolor", *Los Angeles Times*, Tue., Feb. 7, 1961, C11.

<sup>88</sup> Quoted in Wallace Turner, "Coast Millionaire Upset By Publicity and Politics", *New York Times*, Tue., Jul. 14, 1970, B-47.

<sup>89</sup> Leo Rennert, "Murphy's Right-Wing Boss Spends Millions To Sway Public", *The Modesto Bee*, Fri., Mar. 13, 1970, A-8.

<sup>90</sup> An., "No. 1 Man On the Right", *Homefront: Institute for American Democracy*, Vol. 3, No. 8, Sept. 1969, 57.

several right-wing organizations<sup>91</sup>. These included the American Security Council - currently known as the Institute for American Studies-, the American Jewish League Against Communism, Walter Judd's Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the U.N., the Americans for Constitutional Action, the Committee for the Monroe Doctrine, the Americanism Educational League, the Freedom Foundation at Valley Forge<sup>92</sup>. Under Schwarz's advice, Frawley also became a strong supporter of the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation: "I told Patrick about the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation and urged him to join it since he was a Catholic"<sup>93</sup>. Frawley thus established close relationships with Phyllis and Fred Schlafly. In 1964, he paid for the free distribution of 40,000 of Phyllis's book *A Choice, Not An Echo* to American Catholic priests and included Fred as member of the management board of Eversharp<sup>94</sup>.

Frawley's organizational help was essential to the Crusade's greatest successes in the early 1960's. He played a leading role in putting together several Crusade schools and events (Los Angeles, 1960 & 1961; Hollywood, 1961; Oakland, Seattle, & Omaha, 1962; Indianapolis, 1964). He often got his own firms to support the CACC through direct donations and "public service" advertising, such as when Schick and Technicolor bought air time so as to broadcast the Crusade's rally at the Hollywood Bowl in late 1961, or when these companies sponsored display advertisements promoting the Crusade in 1964. More than once Frawley mobilized his huge network of civic and corporate contacts to carry out several fundraising initiatives for the Crusade. Right after their first encounter in 1960, Frawley organized a meeting between Schwarz and some of his corporate executives. Those included his Jewish right-hand man Edward Ettinger, one of Frawley's most long-standing collaborators, a former restaurant owner who had proven himself a skilful public relations man during the Paper-Mate years and who contributed to the

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<sup>91</sup> "Frawley, Patrick Joseph Jr., Culver City, California", 12/10/65, - Report from Group Research, *GRC*, Box 138, F. "Frawley, Patrick J.", 3. The most influential in terms of policy-shaping is arguably the American Security Council (ASC), founded in 1956 by a group of retired military and intelligence officers (including W. Cleon Skousen), now currently known as the Institute for American Studies. Both think tank and lobby, and funded with some of America's most important industrialists, the ASC has promoted for the last five decades high military expenditures and "peace through strength" policies, and had notably a huge influence role during the Nixon and Reagan presidencies. The ASC's corporate supporters included General Electric, Motorola, Quaker Oats, Schick-Eversharp, Sears, Roebuck and Lockheed.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 194.

<sup>94</sup> Peter Gall, "Battling Blade Man: Patrick Frawley Mixes Ideology and Business With Few Ill Effects", *Fri.*, Jun. 24, 1966, 1, 15.; William W. Turner, *Power on the Right*, Berkeley, Ramparts Press, Inc., 1971, 172.

advertising of several Crusade events<sup>95</sup>. “He introduced me”, Schwarz wrote of Frawley, “to an unfamiliar world – the world of business. He was a strategic thinker and overflowed with ideas. And he was willing to pay to transform them into reality. His generosity knew no bounds”<sup>96</sup>.

As opposed to Walter Knott, who made personal contributions, and businessmen such as Harry Bradley, Charles Stewart Mott or J. Howard Pew, who gave through their foundations, Frawley channelled the money mainly through the corporations he directed. This manner of distributing money to causes he supported conferred onto his businesses an image of patriotism. But it turned out to be a problem down the road when some of his corporate partners and shareholders did not like the prospect of being associated with the groups and causes Frawley supported. In the early years of their collaboration, Frawley was the Crusade’s biggest financial supporter, donating for instance a cumulated amount of about \$50,000 in 1962 alone when Frawley’s personal donations and those from Technicolor and Schick are added together<sup>97</sup>. Though this support was reduced in subsequent years, as Frawley spread his generosity to many other organizations, it nonetheless remained high throughout the 1960’s. The tax returns available for the year 1966, for instance, indicate that the Crusade received a \$5,000 grant from Technicolor, approved by Ed Ettinger, and another one of the same amount from Schick, bringing the total to \$10,000 during that year<sup>98</sup>. In a television appearance, Frawley said that “Dr. Schwarz will not lack for money while I’m around”<sup>99</sup>.

### 10.3 “Increase by Geometric Progression”

“From our inception in 1953, the story has been of increase by geometric progression. (...) Never in our moments of greatest hope could we have conceived that such a growth would take place. It is truly wonderful in our eyes what the Lord has done”<sup>100</sup>. These were Schwarz’s words as he presented to his supporters the organization’s financial

<sup>95</sup> John Dennis McCallum, *The Story of Dan Lyons, S.J.*, New York, Guild Books, 1973, 371.

<sup>96</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 194.

<sup>97</sup> Frawley, Patrick Joseph Jr., Culver City, California”, 12/10/65, - Report from Group Research, *GRC*, Box 138, F. “Frawley, Patrick J.”, 2.

<sup>98</sup> Form 990A: Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax – Attachment to Public Record File: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade”, *Ibid.*, Box 364, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial”, 18-19.

<sup>99</sup> Quoted in Phil Kerby, “Anti-Red Crusade Seen Expanding Across U.S.”, *Washington Post*, Tue., Nov. 7, 1961, A4.

<sup>100</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “The Lord Hath Done Great Things For Us”, *CACC Newsletter*, Apr.-May 1961, 1.



statement for the year 1960, prepared by the Crusade's auditors, Brown, Loyd and Stevenson, C.P.A., from Alhambra, California. The expression "geometric progression" was appropriate when one looks at the sums earned by the Crusade over the four-year period extending from 1957 to 1960. The exact figures for the year 1957 are unknown, but an estimate from Group Research, Inc. indicated that during this year, the Crusade netted about \$63,000, a plausible sum in the light of the amount of the precedent fiscal year (\$57,000)<sup>101</sup>. However, in 1958, the year that saw the nationwide distribution of the HUAC testimony, the opening of the Crusade's Houston branch, the CACC's first school of anticommunism as well as Schwarz's sponsoring by Harry Bradley and Walter Knott, the amount grossed almost doubled, reaching \$110,481<sup>102</sup>. In 1959, a year marked by fruitful tours in the northeast and in Texas, the Indianapolis anticommunism school as well as the beginning of Pew's sponsoring of the Crusade, the amount almost doubled again to \$197,193<sup>103</sup>. In 1960, a year marked by the successive openings of many Crusade branches across the U.S., the holding of more than seven anticommunism schools as well as by the first check from Patrick Frawley, the amount reached more than \$369,001<sup>104</sup>. This represented a six-fold increase in annual income in four years.

The sums raised by the Crusade can be classified in five categories: the money raised by the lectures given by Schwarz and -from 1958 on- his collaborators; direct contributions and membership fees (both being lumped into the same category on available IRS documents); the sale of anticommunist material (books, tapes and films); money designated for the foreign projects; and money grossed during schools, which includes registration fees and fundraising banquets. In the available IRS documents, which cover the years 1958 to 1960, the most important source of revenue, as during the Waterloo years, remained the money raised during lectures. By adding all the money collected for the years 1958 to 1960, the result is \$676,675, of which \$338,320 (49.9 percent) was raised through the tours. This confirms how much the lecturing trail was the

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<sup>101</sup> "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade", Long Beach, California – Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, President and Founder", 5/1/62, Group Research, Inc., Report, *Ibid.*, Box 138, F. "Frawley, Patrick J.", 16.

<sup>102</sup> "Condensed Statement of Receipts and Disbursements", Published in *CACC Newsletter*, June 1959, 4.

<sup>103</sup> "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Comparative Statement of Income and Expenses, For the Years Ended December 31, 1959 and 1958", *GRC*, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial".

<sup>104</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "The Lord Hath Done Great Things For Us", *loc. cit.*, 7.

Crusade's life line<sup>105</sup>. However, this contribution tended to diminish with the steady increase of other sources of revenue. In 1958, at a moment where only Schwarz and, to a lesser extent, Strube were delivering lectures for the Crusade, speaking contracts allowed the Crusade to net \$63,583, that is, more than 57 percent of all the money the organization raised during that year. This proportion remained exactly the same in 1959, despite the opening of new Crusade branches and the inclusion of other speakers such as Sluis: \$114,093 in 1959 (57 percent), but declined markedly in 1960, with \$160,644, or 43 percent of the money raised during this period<sup>106</sup>. Amounts netted through lectures tended to proportionally diminish as the organization expanded and diversified its activities.

The second most important source of revenue for the Crusade was composed of direct contributions, a category that includes the money given for general, undesignated purposes, as well as the money netted in membership fees, which were unfortunately not counted separately by the IRS. Over the 1958-1960 period, the total amount of these contributions was \$127,202, which represents 18.7 percent of all the money earned by the Crusade. These contributions more or less grew at the same rate as the total amount of money raised during this period: \$24,783 in 1958 (22.4 percent), \$35,090 in 1959 (17.7 percent) and \$67,329 in 1960 (18.2 percent). Since the membership fees are included in this category, one can only speculate as to what were the exact proportions for memberships and other contributions. Yet, since the 1958-1960 Crusade newsletters indicated the names of 487 persons who joined the Crusade as "life members" during that period, that is, people who paid the \$100-fee to be granted this status, it is possible that at least \$48,700 of the \$127,202 the Crusade brought in in this category were brought in through life membership fees, which accounted for a minimum of 38 percent. This indicates that the Crusade did not earn substantial amounts of money in direct, undesignated contributions, which makes it all the more understandable that Schwarz was relieved when big money from industrialists began pouring in. It also explains to some extent why the concept of life membership seems to have been abandoned. The last

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<sup>105</sup> "The *message* has been our fund-raiser", once wrote Schwarz. *Id.*, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 132.

<sup>106</sup> "Extract from I.R.S. – Form 990A: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Comparative Statement of Income and Expenses For the Years Ended December 31, 1959 and 1958; (...) For the Years Ended December 31, 1960 and 1959", *GRC*, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial".

Crusade newsletter displaying the names of new life members was that of February 1961. Then, the Australian probably realized that the soliciting of supporters to become members, either temporary or permanent ones, was probably unnecessarily complicated: general contributions and membership fees had the same fiscal status and memberships did not allow any voting rights, nor the chance to contribute suggestions as to how the organization functioned. From that point on, the Crusade only made appeals for general, undesignated contributions.

The third most important source of revenues were contributions specifically designated for foreign projects, which soaked bigger and bigger amounts of money as they developed from 1956 on. More than \$94,363 was raised to this end during the 1958-1960 fiscal years, (13.9 percent). The Crusade's growing appeals to its supporters for funds to counter "the dark night of Communist terror"<sup>107</sup> over the world allowed the organization to net \$8,264 in 1958, \$34,602 in 1959 and \$51,503 in 1960, representing respectively 7, 17 and 13 percent of the total amount raised. While the Crusade always had a "strict policy of using the entire amount of any designated gift for the designated purpose", undesignated contributions were more than once used for these foreign projects. As seen later, the Crusade actually sent much larger amounts for its overseas projects than the sums only designated for them during this time.

The money earned during schools of anticommunism through registrations and banquet gifts (\$59,163) accounted to 8.7 percent of the 1958-1960 total, but the more frequent holding of anticommunism schools and their success can be seen in the rapid increase in these amounts: from only \$2,419 in 1958, they jumped to \$9,033 in 1959 and then were multiplied by a factor of five to reach more than \$47,711 in 1960, which meant a variation from 2 to 4.5 percent and then to 13 percent of each year's total. The final source of income for the organization, comparable in size to the amounts generated by anticommunism schools, were sales of books, pamphlets, tapes and films. From 1958 to 1960, these sales allowed the earning of more than \$58,120, or 8.5 percent of the overall total of money raised. Here again, the numbers grew slowly at first, but then rapidly in 1960. In 1958, these sales only accounted for \$5,784. However, this number grew to

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<sup>107</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Dear Christian Friend", Fundraising letter, Aug. 25, 1959.

\$13,107 the following year and then to \$39,229 in 1960 (from 5 to 7, and then 10 percent).

Yet, while the Crusade's income reached numbers which Schwarz admitted would have been unthinkable only a few years before, so did the organization's expenses. Despite the CACC's expanding income during these years, the organization never amassed any substantial cumulated surplus. For instance, the Crusade ended the year 1957 with a small sum of \$5,794 on hands<sup>108</sup>. While the 1958 year allowed for the first time the organization to pass the six-digit figure threshold, the surplus at the end of that year (\$18,505) was comparatively small. The situation worsened during the following fiscal year, at the end of which this surplus had shrunk by six thousand dollars, despite an income that increased by more than eighty percent. This was somewhat corrected during the year 1960, when the Crusade's revenue reached \$369,001, of which about \$30,000 were saved, bringing the total savings by the beginning of 1961 to \$43,540, when including all the organization's assets (cash on hands and in banks)<sup>109</sup>. Nonetheless, a large amount of these savings were spent during the year 1961, causing financial trouble for the organization when its fortunes began dwindling.

Available information shows that during the 1958-1960 period, the Crusade spent an amount of \$603,591, in addition to the amount it put in a special fund designed for foreign expenditures (\$28,046)<sup>110</sup>. Here again, the analysis is complicated by the IRS' lumping together certain types of expenses as well as by the fact that manner in which the expenses were categorized in the available tax returns changed between 1959 and 1960. For instance, expenses for anticommunism schools were only cast in a separate column when they involved "direct expenses", while the remainder (honorariums of lecturers, travel expenses, and probably a great deal of logistical costs) were apparently considered "administrative" expenses.

The Crusade's 1958-1960 expenses can be placed into five broad categories: administrative expenses; foreign projects; "printing and other promotional"; the purchase

<sup>108</sup> "Extract from I.R.S. – Form 990A: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Comparative Statement of Income and Expenses For the Years Ended December 31, 1959 and 1958; (...) For the Years Ended December 31, 1960 and 1959", *GRC*, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial".

<sup>109</sup> "Extract from I.R.S. – Form 990A: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Comparative Balance Sheet, December 31, 1960 and 1959 – Exhibit A", *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> The total of expenses includes expenditures for 1958 (\$87,355), for 1959 (\$202,980) and 1960 (\$288,022), as well as a \$8,168 "reinvested in fixed" assets and \$17,065 made "available for appropriation". From *Ibid.*

of films, books and tapes; and “direct expenses” for anticommunism schools. The administrative costs come first in importance, which is unsurprising since it includes all of the Crusade’s salaries, costs for office supplies, rent and utilities, travel and accommodation and costs for staffers’ insurance and social security. The organizational expansion of the Crusade, and especially the opening of new branches and the augmentation of its number of staffers, is clearly visible when looking at these expenses, which absorbed a total of 38 percent of all the Crusade’s spending during these years. In 1958, at a moment where the Crusade had two offices and a small number of staffers, the administrative costs were \$50,587. This number increased to \$88,405 in 1959, and then reached \$101,131 in 1960, when six branches were in activity. These numbers confirm that the offices in Long Beach and Houston were probably the only ones which ever grew to have noticeable teams of staffers. The opening of six other CACC U.S. branches between 1958 and 1960 -the seventh one opened in 1961 in San Diego- was not followed by a six-fold increase of administrative costs. Granted, administrative expenses doubled between 1958 and 1960, but these costs include the salaries of Colbert, Strube, Schwarz as well as a great deal of the costs of running the ten anticommunism schools held during this time. Through simple logic, it is possible to infer that the remaining amounts in this column were used to hire and pay the staffers in Long Beach and Houston.

Costs to finance the Crusade’s foreign projects come second as the most important expenses. The Crusade spent \$207,618 in only three years for its overseas projects: \$23,852 in 1958, \$83,870 in 1959 and \$99,896 in 1960, or about 33 percent of all the spending for this period. As detailed on chapter 14, most of this money was sent to India to sustain two main projects: a Christian mission in the region of Andhra, as well as a Christian anticommunist group which published a newspaper in the region of Kerala. Smaller amounts were also sent between 1957 and 1960 to the Belgian Congo, Taiwan and Korea and Australia.

The three other important types of spending are quite comparable regarding their proportion in the 1958-1960 total: expenses for printing and “other promotional”, which absorbed \$65,829 or 10.4 percent of the overall spending; the “direct expenses” for anticommunism schools (\$57,555, or 9 percent of total spending); and expenses for anticommunist material (books, tapes and films), amounting to \$56,353 (also 9 percent of

the total)<sup>111</sup>. In all three cases, the amounts rose slowly between 1958 and 1959, before they skyrocketed in 1960 with the opening of Crusade branches and the holding of numerous anticommunism schools. The “printing and other promotional” category includes for instance the costs for publishing the newsletter as well as all types of advertising for lectures and the two first schools of anticommunism. While the Crusade spent only \$9,964 to these ends in 1958, the figure doubled in 1959 (\$20,378), and doubled once more in 1960 (\$35,487). The “direct expenses” for anticommunism schools, as already seen, only accounts for a fraction of the real costs incurred by the holding of such events since they don’t include travel, accommodation and honorariums paid for the schools’ “faculties” -usually established at \$100 per lecture, though on a few times, lecturers received more-, nor do they include advertising costs or the use of equipment held by the Crusade or the work of Crusade employees<sup>112</sup>. Even without these costs included, the schools’ “direct” expenses absorbed \$1,797 in 1958, \$7047 in 1959 before they rose rapidly in 1960 with \$48,711.

The last major source of expenditures, the acquisition of anticommunist books, tapes and films (\$56,353) is noteworthy when one keeps in mind that the selling of this material allowed the Crusade to net \$58,120, meaning that the profit generated by this activity was only \$1,767 in three years. The \$40,978 worth in books, tapes and films purchased in 1960 clearly reflects that each new Crusade branch was from the outset well-stocked with a wide array of anticommunist material. Though this was an expensive activity, disseminating this material probably seemed more like an investment, since a great deal of the Crusade’s fortunes hinged on the public enthusiasm for anticommunism.

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<sup>111</sup> “Extract from I.R.S. – Form 990A: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Comparative Statement of Income and Expenses For the Years Ended December 31, 1959 and 1958; (...) For the Years Ended December 31, 1960 and 1959”, *GRC*, Box 364, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial”.

<sup>112</sup> Philbrick described this in a letter to Strube in 1960: Herbert Philbrick to William P. Strube, Nov. 7, 1960, *HPP*, Box 185, “General Correspondence” Series, F. 1, “Strube, William P. – General, 1959-1973”; Fred Schlafly affirmed the same thing to a newspaper, an information found in a Group Research Report: “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade”, Long Beach, California – Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, President and Founder”, 5/1/62, Group Research, Inc., Report, *Ibid.*, Box 138, F. “Frawley, Patrick J.”, 18.

## 11 “SO GENUINELY SCARED”

“Since that time, however, I have become keenly interested in a strong anti-Communist movement which has generated in the Mesa-Phoenix area. Dr. Fred C. Schwartz (sic) spoke in Mesa in December, 1960 and was followed shortly thereafter by Mr. Cleon Skousen. (...) I was alarmed enough to sign up for the Greater Phoenix Anti-Communism school which was completed on the 4rd of March, 1961. I am afraid now that I would have to agree almost completely with your suggested treatment of our foreign policy problems” -Mesa pediatrician Richard E. Brown to Senator Barry Goldwater, 1961<sup>1</sup>.

### 11.1 “The Triumphal Spirit of These Days”

A huge crowd was gathered in the largest hall of the dashing Westward Hotel, Phoenix, Arizona. It was 9 a.m. and 1,300 people had jammed the room. A 57-year old, bow-tied Fred Schwarz was delivering his lecture on Communist history, provoking laughter, applause and thoughtful silence as he spoke with his flamboyant style and ease of delivery. Free-lance writer Donald McNeil, who managed to get a seat on the front row, described in his personal notes that Schwarz “points, jabs, and waves his fingers, reminiscent of John Kennedy”. McNeil further noted that he did not remember seeing “such an attentive, quiet audience for a long time (...). Almost everyone was taking notes, so they could report back to their groups at home, I suppose, for many organizations paid employees way to the school”<sup>2</sup>.

Listeners were overwhelmingly white, Protestant, from middle or upper-class background. Present were numerous students, excused from class by the local school board. Yet, the bulk of the audience ranges from 30 to 45 years old. During the last presidential election seven months before, the great majority of them supported Nixon over Kennedy, though their natural preference would have been for their revered federal senator, Barry Goldwater, had he decided to run. In fact, at the end of this “Phoenix School of Anti-Communism”, several attendees contacted the office of “Mr.

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<sup>1</sup> Richard E. Brown to Barry Goldwater, Mar. 14, 1961, *Barry M. Goldwater Papers*, Arizona Historical Foundation, Tempe, Arizona (hereafter *BMGP*), MF 38, Box 011\_REEL031\_0007, pdf. 467.

<sup>2</sup> Donald R. McNeil, “Sessions of Christian Anti-Communism School, March 1, 1961”, Notes taken in preparation for an article, *DMP*, Box 1, F. 1-3, 1.

Conservative” to express how the weeklong event had been a life-changing experience. A husband and wife wrote: “When we look at our small sons and read that the Communists have set 1973 as the year of world conquest, we are horrified”; another woman wrote: “I attended the Greater Phoenix School of Anti-Communism and nothing in years has impressed me so much. This needs to be done across America to inform people in an authoritative and realistic manner just how very great the Communist threat is”; a man from Mesa: “Senator, I realize we can’t force them, but how I wish every member of Congress would sit through a few of the talks of Dr. Schwarz, Cleon Skousen, Philbrick and others gave”.<sup>3</sup> In his syndicated column, Goldwater hailed the event as an example of responsible popular anticommunism: “The men and women who attended this school were community leaders, they were not fanatics; there were in fact sober, industrious, thoughtful citizens who have helped to shape the culture and the prosperity of the Southwest”<sup>4</sup>.

The scene took place in Phoenix, but it could well have taken place in about twenty other American cities between August 1960 and December 1961. Across these fifteen or so months, the Crusade reached a troubled Golden Age. Its audiences and supporters multiplied, its visibility soared. The Crusade became the highest-grossing conservative organization in the United States. Its schools evolved into huge patriotic happenings that inflamed the nation’s most conservative geographic strongholds, all covered by the regional and national press as much as were sports events. Their effectiveness was based on a formula which brought together grassroots activists, professionals, businessmen and some of the most important private institutions of a given community. But this success also hinged on the participation of public bodies: school boards, local police forces, the military, city councils and mayoral offices or the Civil Defense. The participation of these institutions not only conferred credibility to the schools, but also put at the Crusade’s service the most efficient tools available in each community for mass mobilization. Nonetheless, this public support constituted a fragile web and underlined the consensual nature of the school. Hence, the mobilization necessary to conduct such mass meetings

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<sup>3</sup> Nedra and Bob Tomlinson to Barry Goldwater, Mar. 3, 1961, *BMGP*, MF 34, Box 011\_REEL023\_0003, pdf. 452.; Mrs. Linden C. Speers to Barry Goldwater, Mar. 6, 1961, *Ibid.*, MF 38, Box 011\_REEL031\_0007, pdf. 467.; W. Vaugh Ellsworth to Barry Goldwater, Mar. 30, 1961, *Ibid.*, MF 38, Box 011\_REEL031\_0004, pdf. 177.

<sup>4</sup> Barry Goldwater, “Good News From the Home Front”, *Los Angeles Times*, Mar. 14, 1961, B4.



remained liable to fizzle away should the Crusade and its main leader become overtly controversial. By the end of 1961, this problem increased as the Crusade began suffering from a growth crisis. Its skyrocketing visibility took place at a moment where a general state of worry was overtaking the American public and elites over the extent of right-wing activities in America. For many reasons, the Crusade's height carried the seeds of its demise.

Until the spring of 1961, opposition to the Crusade was discontinuous, mainly local and remained largely limited to the ideological left. Nonetheless, the Crusade's successes were accompanied by growing controversy, as was the anticommunism school in San Diego, held on August 22-27, 1960. This school was the first of five such events which took place in the second half of that year. Following a trend established since 1958, the number of attendees increased when compared to the previous school (it had doubled each time during the first four schools). Whereas the Milwaukee school of the previous winter had attracted about 800 people, the number of attendees at the San Diego school more than doubled again, reaching 2,000 people when all sessions were included. This was the second time the Crusade organized a school in the Sunbelt, the Long Beach school of December 1958 being the first.

Like Long Beach, San Diego was another city combining sunny weather and important military-industrial structures, with the San Diego Marine Base and the Naval Training Center having expanded their activities during WWII<sup>5</sup>. As Philbrick wrote, even if "the school was not actually held at the Base" in San Diego, "the Naval personnel there cooperated 100%, very actively participating in all phases of the school and in full uniforms. Results were excellent"<sup>6</sup>. Schwarz was not an unknown quantity for the U.S. military. As already seen, he had lectured in 1956 at the National War College. Later that year, he lectured at the ENT Air Force Base in Colorado Springs. The Crusade's "military" credentials were enhanced by the involvement of Capt. Barnes, who lectured during the school on "Moral Founder (sic) of Military Power" and "The Navy in the Ideological Struggle"<sup>7</sup>. The school's chairman was retired Commander Paul Terry, a

<sup>5</sup> Abraham Shragge, "'A New Federal City': San Diego During World War II", *The Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 63, No. 3, *Fortress California At War: San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland and San Diego, 1941-1945*, Aug. 1994, 333-355.

<sup>6</sup> Herbert Philbrick to Mrs. Silas R. Richards, Jan. 24, 1961, *HPP*, Box 4, "General Correspondence" Series, F.1, "Jan.-Mar. 1961".

<sup>7</sup> CACC leaflet, "School for Anti-Communists, August 23<sup>rd</sup>-27<sup>th</sup>", San Diego, California.

close collaborator of George Benson and the NEP, highly respected among right-wing networks.

Schwarz used his contacts with the California Education Department. The San Diego local school board was led by Dr. Ralph Dailard, an outspoken conservative who made no mystery of his belief that public schools did a poor job of teaching students on communism and had all members of the board enrolled in the Crusade's school. Many local Birchers joined the school's organization committees after Robert Welch himself had encouraged their involvement<sup>8</sup>. Local churches cooperated wholeheartedly<sup>9</sup>. The school was given a significant boost by free advertising provided by two local newspapers, the *San Diego Union* and the *San Diego Tribune*, both property of the Copley Press chain, the owner of which, John S. Copley, was a strong conservative who considered the printed word to be "a bulwark against regimented thinking and tyranny"<sup>10</sup>. It was probably with that in mind that Copley hired, as "educational director" of the Copley Press group, the aforementioned retired Commander Paul Terry, under whose aegis the *San Diego Union* "has practically acted as an organ of the Ultras", left-wing author Irwin Suall lamented at the time<sup>11</sup>. Shortly before the opening of the school, the *Union* ran a Sunday supplement detailing the gravity of the Red threat. "Throughout the school", Schwarz noted, "front page publicity was constantly provided for the speakers and their messages accompanied by fine photographs. The Copley Press should serve as an inspiration and challenge to the press of America"<sup>12</sup>.

This school was the first one where important voices were raised in opposition. Among them, Simon Casady, liberal publisher, personal friend of Lyndon B. Johnson and editor of the *Valley News* of El Cajon, a San Diego suburb. In a virulent editorial titled "The Hysteria Peddlers are Back!", he slammed Schwarz, Philbrick, Skousen, Arens, Sluis and Barnes, whom he compared to "professional agitators peddling anti-

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<sup>8</sup> Robert Welch to Fred C. Schwarz, Sept. 6, *HPP*, Box 121, "Subject File", F. 6, "John Birch Society – General".

<sup>9</sup> This included Catholics -San Diego was where Schwarz had met Clarence Manion during an ecumenical anti-Red rally in 1959- who sent to attend the classes Monsignor George M. Rice, rector of the St. Joseph Cathedral of San Diego.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted from Billy Graham, in An., "Billy Graham Eulogizes Copley as a Bulwark Against Tyranny", *Los Angeles Times*, Sat., Oct. 13, A3.

<sup>11</sup> Paul Terry had actually been awarded by the Freedom Foundation at Valley Forge. Irwin Suall, *The American Ultras: The Extreme Right and the Military-Industrial Complex*, New York, New American, 1962, 49.

<sup>12</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Anti-Communism Schools", *loc. cit.*, Oct. 1960, 1-2.

communism” to be “regarded like quacks who sell cancer cures”<sup>13</sup>. Casady complained that the city council of El Cajon had decided to have some of its public officials -the city manager, the city attorney and the city planner- attend the weeklong event at taxpayers’ expenses. He launched a vitriolic attack on Schwarz: “Why did this man leave Australia? Had he no interest in saving his own countrymen from the menace he preaches about here? Or does he fancy himself a missionary among savages?”<sup>14</sup> For the first time, a Crusade school was also criticized by the Reds themselves, through the California newspaper *The People’s World*:

“We have only to look back to Nazi Germany to see the same tactics in action. Once more the professional “anti-Communists” cry out for a war against the socialist countries, whipping the American people into an acceptance of war as essential to save them from Communism and to preserve the “free enterprise” system and leading to the establishment of a police state based on “anti-Communism” and the most rigid thought control. The program of and events following the Christian Anti-Communist School (note the smell of anti-Semitism in the emphasis on “Christian”) further illustrated the dangers to the American people from this sort of coercion”<sup>15</sup>.

Immediately after the closing of the school in San Diego, Schwarz, Philbrick and Arens flew to Chicago, from where they proceeded to Glenview, a suburb located about 20 miles north of the Windy City. Their destination was the Naval Air Station of Glenview, a U.S. base which served as an important terminal for naval warfare drills throughout the Cold War. On the base, everything had been prepared for another anticommunism school, one which this time would use military facilities, including the base’s auditorium with its capacity crowd of twelve hundred. The event was not officially called a CACC anticommunism school -it was a five-day “Education for American Security” seminar”.

After the extensive participation of the military at the San Diego school, the organizing of another school shortly later on a military base appeared to violate political neutrality of the armed forces. Only a decade before, a Congressional committee led by

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<sup>13</sup> An., “The Hysteria Peddlers Are Back!”, *El Cajon Valley News*, Thu., Aug. 18, 1960, B6.; Tony Perry, “Simon Casady; Journalist and Influential State Democrat”, *Los Angeles Times*, Mar. 27, 1995, Available online at: < [http://articles.latimes.com/1995-03-27/news/mn-47609\\_1\\_san-diego](http://articles.latimes.com/1995-03-27/news/mn-47609_1_san-diego) > (accessed Jan. 28, 2011).

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Article republished in *CACC Newsletter*, Dec. 1960, 1, 4.

GOP Indiana Representative Forest Harness had severely condemned the Federal Security Agency and the War Department for their use of public funds to publicize policies of the Truman administration such as the Marshall Plan<sup>16</sup>. What made the event on the Glenview Naval Air Station possible was a directive issued by the National Security Council (NSC) in 1958 making it a policy of the U.S. government to “make use of military personnel and facilities to arouse the public to the menace of the cold war”<sup>17</sup>. One can only speculate as to the exact reasons that prompted President Eisenhower to sign the 1958 directive<sup>18</sup>. The Joint Chiefs of Staff thus informed military commanders that U.S. troops and the public alike were to be informed on “issues of national security and the Cold War”, and a document titled “American Strategy for the Nuclear Age” was prepared by private institutions with a hawkish foreign policy line and with close military connections, such as the Chicago-based Institute for American Strategy<sup>19</sup>. Though the 1958 NSC directive raised serious questions about the political neutrality of the military, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara was still unaware of it by the summer of 1961, several months after taking office<sup>20</sup>.

The 1958 NSC directive gave clearance for the holding of seminars on military territory. However, the Glenview event was vitamised by the initiative of a Chicago businessman, Frank Vignola, head of the Vignola Furniture Company - “Furniture Man of the year” in 1964-, who attended the Crusade school in San Francisco in the previous March. Himself a Reserve Lieutenant, Vignola was so impressed that he decided to organize a school in Chicago with the agreement of the Glenview Station commanding officers<sup>21</sup>. The whole event “was arranged quite independently of myself and the Crusade”, Schwarz wrote in a letter. Nonetheless, the Glenview event was a photocopy of

<sup>16</sup> Douglas Larsen, “Harness Barks, but Nobody Yet has Been Bitten”, *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Fri., Aug. 29, 1947, 16.

<sup>17</sup> “Memorandum: Propaganda Activities of Military Personnel Directed at the Public”, *James William Fulbright Papers*, Special Collections, Mullins Library, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville (hereafter *JWFP*), Series 4, “Defence Department”, Box 25, F. 4, “Fulbright Memorandum, 1961”, 1.

<sup>18</sup> In 1962, veteran investigative journalist Fred J. Cook wrote that the 1958 NSC directive resulted from the difficulties experienced by the United States against the Soviets in 1958 -Nixon’s trip to South America, where he was booed by angry crowds, the crises in Lebanon and in the Taiwan straits-. This interpretation remains highly questionable. Fred J. Cook, *The Warfare State*, New York, MacMillan, 1967, 274-275.

<sup>19</sup> Senator J. William Fulbright, “Memorandum Submitted to the Department of Defense on Propaganda Activities of Military Personnel”, *op. cit.*; James E. Clayton, “Seminars on the Cold War Spring From a Top Secret Report”, *Washington Post*, Mon., Aug. 7, 1961, A2.

<sup>20</sup> See for instance Larouchian material: Edward Spannaus, “The Enigma of the Fulbright Memorandum”, *Executive Intelligence Review*, Vol. 29, No. 6, Feb. 15, 2002, Available online at: < 2010).<http://www.larouchepub.com/other/2002/2906fulbright.html> > (accessed January 31, 2011).; Randall Bennett Woods, *Fulbright: A Biography*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1995, 284.

<sup>21</sup> An., “People and Events”, *Chicago Tribune*, Tue., May 19, 1964, B5.; Fred C. Schwarz to Robert Welch, Sept. 19, 1960, *HPP*, Box 121, “Subject File”, F. 6, “John Birch Society – General”.

the by now classic anticommunism school formula<sup>22</sup>. A “faculty” of noted anticommunists offered a “re-examination of the principles of our American Heritage” as well as an “exposure of International Communism”<sup>23</sup>. The weeklong event featured day and evening sessions and ended with a banquet. The educational material was provided by the Crusade, but also by the NEP: among two films shown to attending crowds, one was *Operation Abolition* and the other was the NEP production *Communism on the Map*, both also featured in Crusade schools.

Even before the school began, registrations for daytime sessions numbered by hundreds, with many “students” having their attendance paid for by major sponsors. General Electric and Sears Roebuck, which respectively sponsored five and fifteen people; the local chamber of commerce and Rotary Club “are paying the tuition of one hundred high school and college students from the Glenview area”, Vignola proudly wrote to Philbrick<sup>24</sup>. A large portion of the “student” body was, of course, composed of Navy personnel. The “faculty” of thirteen included only five people associated with the Crusade (Schwarz, Philbrick and Arens, but also Fred Schlafly and Anthony Bouscaren), but they accounted for half of the thirty lectures given across the week, with Schwarz delivering eight talks<sup>25</sup>. Other lecturers included anticommunist academics (political scientists Gerhardt Niemeyer and Stanley Parry) and high-ranking officers, but also right-wing educator E. Merrill Root, noted author of such books as *Brainwash in the High Schools* and *Collectivism on the Campus*<sup>26</sup>. Philbrick won the *Chicago Tribune*’s front-page headline when. During his presentation, he warned of renewed Red activity in Chicago, as evidenced, according to him, by the recent announcement by CPUSA Secretary Gus Hall of the opening of a party headquarters in the Windy City<sup>27</sup>.

“Vignola”, wrote one journalist prior to the school’s opening, “said the “faculty” had been picked with care to avoid a charge of playing politics”<sup>28</sup>. Judging by the contents of the lectures, one might suspect he failed. An article reported that included among the

<sup>22</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Arthur G. McDowell, Jun. 23, 1962., *MLP*, Box 1, F. 2.

<sup>23</sup> CACC leaflet, “The United States Naval Air Station, Glenview, Illinois, Presents Education for American Security, August 29-September 2, 1960”.

<sup>24</sup> Francis Vignola to Herbert Philbrick, Aug. 16, 1960, *HPP*, Box 3, “General Correspondence” Series, F. 7, “June-Oct. 1960”.

<sup>25</sup> Advertising, “The United States Naval Air Station”, *op. cit.*

<sup>26</sup> Officers included Rear Admiral W. McKechnie, Major William Mayer and Vice Admiral Robert Goldwaithe.

<sup>27</sup> An., “Ex-Spy of FBI Sees Upsurge of Reds Here”, *Chicago Tribune*, Tue., Aug. 30, A1.

<sup>28</sup> George Schreiber, “Americanism School to Aid in War on Reds”, *Chicago Tribune*, Sun., Aug. 14, 1960, H42.

enemies castigated during the week were “liberals, modernists, John Dewey, Harvard Students, high school students, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, textbooks, the American Friends Service Committee, pacifists, the New York Times (...), the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy”, while the heroes of the week were “conservatism, Senator Barry Goldwater, conservative Baptists, J.B Matthews and the nuclear bomb”<sup>29</sup>.

The ACLU protested to the Navy, claiming that the holding of such events on military facilities was highly inappropriate. A navy spokesman replied that the Glenview Naval Station had not sponsored the event, but was “merely the host in a community project”<sup>30</sup>. Jack Mabley, columnist for the *Chicago Daily News* and president of the Glenview Village Board, hailed the school in his column and sponsored a resolution of commendation for the event. The resolution passed with only one negative vote, that of Mrs. Norma Morrison, a housewife who also served on the board and received in the following weeks a number of anonymous nighttime telephone calls: “They accused me of being a ‘Red’, or ‘pink’ (...). And at the next meeting of the board a resolution was prepared demanding my resignation” (no vote on the resolution took place)<sup>31</sup>. In April 1961, Norma Morrison was reelected on the board over the conservative opposition. “We won the election”, she said, “but there has been a great deal of bitterness over from it. Our town is divided in a way I’ve never seen it before”<sup>32</sup>.

Tyler Thompson, professor of religion at Northwestern University and Democratic candidate for the House’s Illinois 13<sup>th</sup> District, assailed the seminar as “a wholly negative, unproductive, aimless and dangerous kind of anti-Communism at the local level” and an “alarming example of McCarthyism”<sup>33</sup>. In the following weeks, an anonymous leaflet circulated in the 13<sup>th</sup> District’s mailboxes attacking Thompson for his alleged links with Communists and Communist fronts. The leaflet mentioned the Democratic candidate’s affiliations with organizations like the Methodist Federation for Social Action or the Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, groups cited for having Red connections by HUAC and the Senate Internal Security

<sup>29</sup> Quoted in Irwin Suall, *The American Ultras*, op. cit., 8.

<sup>30</sup> An., “Admiral Raps Ideology Lag of U.S. Youths”, *Chicago Tribune*, Sat., Sept. 3, 1960, W7.

<sup>31</sup> Quoted in Cabell Phillips, “Anti-Red Dispute Grips Illinoisans: Intensive Right-Wing Efforts Arouse Controversy”, *New York Times*, Sun., May 21, 1961, 54.

<sup>32</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> An., “Rips Security School Shown at Glenview: McCarthyism Is Cry of Thompson”, *Ibid.*, Sun., Sept. 11, 1960, N2A.

Subcommittee<sup>34</sup>. The FBI eventually arrested Miles M. Vondra, a Glenview insurance broker involved in the local John Birch Society group, for violation of the Corrupt Practices Act. Vondra, a wounded veteran of WWII and Korea, was eventually declared not guilty after convincing a jury that he was sincerely unaware of the prohibition over the distribution of unsigned electoral material. He declared during the trial having been infuriated by Thompson's comments on the Glenview Base school, and that he considered the Democratic candidate "as much an enemy of mine as the Chinamen who shot me in Korea"<sup>35</sup>. Meanwhile, Thompson had been handily defeated at the polls during the 1960 election, a loss the cause of which he attributed equally to the district's strong Republican leanings and his criticism of the Glenview seminar<sup>36</sup>.

Two weeks after the Glenview school ended, the Chicago-based liberal Protestant magazine *Christian Century* ran an editorial attack on the Crusade over the Glenview seminar, claiming that organizations "which incite hate and suspicion against American citizens should not be permitted to use any arm of the government as their instrument"<sup>37</sup>. The *Christian Century* absolved the military by pointing out that the event had been conceived and planned by private groups, and then blamed Schwarz, under whose "complete control" the seminar allegedly had been<sup>38</sup>. The crusader accused the *Christian Century* of dishonesty and claimed the magazine had cherry-picked the facts to fit preconceived opinions. He reiterated that his role in the Glenview school had been limited to giving lectures and acting as moderator and invited any individual named by the *Christian Century* to debate publicly on the subject "Christianity and Communism are Irreconcilable", a challenge which remained unanswered<sup>39</sup>.

At first sight, the *Christian Century*'s charge that the seminar had been entirely under Schwarz's control appears unfair. The event was indeed a Crusade-style anticommunism school, but this does not necessarily mean either that the school was organized by the Crusade, or that the event had been "controlled" by Schwarz. Moreover, the military admitted to participating in the school's organization. In a letter he personally sent to

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<sup>34</sup> Cabell Phillips, "Anti-Red Dispute Grips Illinoisans", *loc. cit.*, 54.

<sup>35</sup> An., "Jury Frees War Hero in Voting Tract Case", *Chicago Tribune*, Sat., May 27, 1961, 3.

<sup>36</sup> Cabell Phillips, "Anti-Red Dispute Grips Illinoisans", *loc. cit.*, 54.

<sup>37</sup> Editorial, "Was the Naval Air Station Gulled?", from the Sept. 14, 1960, issue, republished in the *CACC Newsletter*, Dec. 1960, 3.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Liberal Truth", *CACC Newsletter*, Dec. 1960, 3.

Democratic candidate Tyler Thompson, Secretary of the Navy W.B. Franke, while recognizing that the Glenview Base officials might have gone too far in leaving the impression of “Navy sponsorship” for the project, nonetheless affirmed that the practice of using military facilities for nonpartisan activities providing “important moral and patriotic indoctrination for naval personnel” was an established one and was “in the best interests of the navy, the nation, and freedom itself”<sup>40</sup>. Philbrick wrote to one of his supporters that “the base did NOT sponsor the school (at least openly)”<sup>41</sup>.

Yet, the school was so like a regular Crusade school that one cannot help but wonder whether the Crusade had in fact been involved in the organization. Moreover, the Crusade provided the educational material and probably kept the profits generated by the event. The Crusade newsletter published one month before the event announced the Glendale school under the upcoming “anti-communism schools” column with the specification: “This school is to be held in cooperation with the Navy at Glenview”<sup>42</sup>. In the early 1960’s, Schwarz often denied any involvement with the organization of the Glenview Base school. Yet, in his 1996 memoirs, he wrote: “The truth is that my lectures were the core and essence of the school. I delivered two major lectures each day, and I also served as “master of ceremonies” ”<sup>43</sup>.

A month after the Glenview seminar, once again, a school of anticommunism was organized under the auspices of a public body. Once again, this copycat school did not bear the name of the Crusade, despite the fact that this event, like the Glenview school, was advertised in the CACC newsletter one month before it took place<sup>44</sup>. The event was now a “Freedom Forum”, not to be confused with the events of the same name organized by George Benson’s NEP based in Searcy, Arkansas. NEP officials were aware of this school bearing the “Freedom Forum” name, as evidenced by the presence among “faculty” members of historian Clifton L. Ganus, Vice-President of Harding College and Benson’s main right-hand man.

The setting was now Dallas, a conservative hotbed where anti-government sentiments had traditionally been strong. The “Southwest’s capital of aviation, insurance, finance

<sup>40</sup> Philip Dodd, “Navy Defends Use of Base to Warn of Reds”, *Ibid.*, Tue., Sept. 13, 1960, 27.

<sup>41</sup> Herbert Philbrick to Mrs. Silas R. Richards, Jan. 24, 1961, *HPP*, Box 4, “General Correspondence” Series, F.1, “Jan.-Mar. 1961”.

<sup>42</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Anti-Communism Schools”, *loc. cit.*, July 1960, 6.

<sup>43</sup> *Id.*, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 257.

<sup>44</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Anti-Communism Schools”, *loc. cit.*, July 1960, 6.



and manufacturing” was also the fiefdom of H.L. Hunt and Dan Smoot, and its local Birch cells were thriving<sup>45</sup>. After attracting more than 2,000 people in San Diego and Glenview, the Crusade increased its number of attendees to more than 2,500 people, who crowded the Adolphus Hotel where the event was held. The school was organized by the Dallas City and County Civil Defense and Disaster Commission<sup>46</sup>. The Civil Defense’s mandate was to prepare the population for emergency measures in the eventuality of war or disaster. A typical Cold War feature, the Civil Defense was taken very seriously in Dallas. A few months prior to the “Dallas Freedom Forum”, the Dallas City and County government approved with great pomp an appropriation of more than \$120,000 to build an emergency, thick-walled underground operating center where the Civil Defense staff of 20 could survive without outside supplies for more than two weeks<sup>47</sup>.

“Civil Defense in Dallas”, one journalist wrote, “has become so conspicuously important in community affairs that it has attracted the support and active participation of the cream of the business community”<sup>48</sup>. This was demonstrated by the numerous members the Dallas business elite who sponsored the Crusade’s Freedom Forum: W.W. Lynch, chairman of the school, president of the Texas Power and Light Company, which had already printed thousands of copies of Schwarz’s HUAC testimony for its employees; vice-chairman J.M. Fulliwinder, vice-president of VF Petroleum Inc., of Midland; James A. Collins, president of Fidelity Union Life and future conservative GOP Representative for Dallas’ 3<sup>rd</sup> District (1968-1983)<sup>49</sup>. Organizing the Freedom Forum was Dallas Civil Defense’s chairman John W. Mayo, a right-wing mortgage businessman whose name had already popped up in national newspapers in 1956 when he tried, as head of the “Dallas County Patriotic Council”, to stop the Dallas Museum of Fine Arts from exhibiting paintings from alleged Communist artists<sup>50</sup>. The Dallas Civil Defense had begun in the late 1950’s to strongly integrate popular anticommunist education into its mandate. Among the Dallas Civil Defense’s other “far-reaching educational programs”, a reporter wrote, was the mass distribution of information sheets which

<sup>45</sup> An., “Dallas Asks Why It Happened; Worry Over ‘Image’ Is Voiced”, *New York Times*, Mon., Nov. 24, 1963, 2.

<sup>46</sup> John W. Mayo to Herbert Philbrick, Sept. 7, 1960, *Ibid.*, Box 3, “General Correspondence” Series, F. 7, “June-Oct. 1960”.

<sup>47</sup> An., “Dallas Center Approved by Civil Defense”, *Dallas Morning News*, Thu., Mar. 17, 1960, 1.

<sup>48</sup> Paul Harvey, “Civil Defense Revitalized”, *The Telegraph-Herald*, Thu., Sept. 29, 1960, 20.

<sup>49</sup> An., “Ex-Rep James Collins, Texas Republican, Dies”, *Washington Post*, Sun., Jul. 23, 1989, B4.

<sup>50</sup> See Jerome K. Crossman, Gerald C. Mann and Waldo Stewart, “Dallas Trustees Take a Stand”, *New York Times*, Sun., Feb. 19, 1956, X8.

contained question-answers sections on communism: “It answers “What is Communism?”. It tells, “How Communists Operate in the United States””<sup>51</sup>.

Out of 13 “faculty” members at the Dallas Freedom Forum, more than ten were Crusade collaborators (Barnes, Bouscaren, Colbert, Ganus, Philbrick, Schlafly, Schwarz, Skousen, Sluis and Strube); the formula was the classic weeklong seminar ending with a closing banquet; the Mayor of Dallas, Robert L. Thornton, proclaimed an “anticommunism week” corresponding to the school’s duration; the information leaflet containing the program was printed in the same type face as Crusade material<sup>52</sup>. In Dallas, to the Crusade’s regular “faculty” was added one important new member, lawyer Robert Morris, president of the University of Dallas and former collaborator of Joe McCarthy at the Senate’s Internal Security Subcommittee. The prominent Dallas citizens who attended the school were inspired to take action in the wake of the school. “You may have heard”, Philbrick wrote to one of his correspondents two months later, “that as an aftermath of our visit in Dallas, Texas, a hard-hitting course of study concerning Communism is now going to be conducted throughout all of the Dallas public schools”<sup>53</sup>. This educational initiative was organized on such short notice in the middle of the academic year by the school board that no formal course was created. Rather, anticommunist material was worked into “existing courses in social studies and possibly language arts”, one journalist reported in December 1960<sup>54</sup>. A few later, Schwarz was re-invited in Dallas by the Dallas Independent School District to deliver lectures in high schools.

The year 1960 closed with the Los Angeles and Philadelphia schools, both free of controversy. Also, both attested to the power of the Crusade’s new big-money sponsors. The school in Los Angeles, beginning on November 7, 1960, was backed by Walter Knott and by Patrick Frawley, whose main right-hand man Ed Ettinger acted as chairman of the finance committee. The Crusade broke once more its attendance record, with 3,500

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<sup>51</sup> Paul Harvey, “Civil Defense Revitalized”, *loc. cit.*, 20.

<sup>52</sup> CACC leaflet, “Dallas Freedom Forum, September 20-24, 1960, Dallas, Texas”. Reporting on the event’s success, Schwarz classified it as a regular school when he mentioned that the “enrolment in the Dallas Freedom Forum was the greatest any school has yet reached”. Fred C. Schwarz, “The Dallas Freedom Forum”, *CACC Newsletter*, Dec. 1960, 1.

<sup>53</sup> Herbert Philbrick to Miss Ella Hancock, Dec. 1960, *HPP*, Box 49, “Subject File” Series, F. 7, “Austin Anti-Communist League, Austin, Texas – 1960-1961”.

<sup>54</sup> Schwarz also appeared on KERA-TV, an educational TV station. Al Hester, “Dallas’ Schools to Teach How to Fight Red Threat: Freedom Forum Offers Material”, *The Dallas Times Herald*, Sun., Dec. 4, 1960, 1.

people gathered at the Biltmore Hotel<sup>55</sup>. For the first time, an anticommunism school was being held in the Crusade heartland of the Greater Los Angeles area, allowing the mobilization of the organization's supporters from all over Southern California. More than sixteen different committees were formed, with 84 people involved in organizing positions alone and a few hundred grassroots volunteers recruited by churches, civic and patriotic organizations as well as sponsoring companies<sup>56</sup>. The American Legion's Los Angeles County Council, headed by its commander Charles Wright, launched a call inviting Legionnaires from all across America to participate<sup>57</sup>. More than seven medical doctors acted as organization officials, including four on the "Professions Committee" alone. The school's chairman was another doctor, C. Ellis Carver, a Los Angeles obstetrician who had been won over by Schwarz during a 1955 lecture. Carver's wife, Lee Childs Carver, a church singer quite popular in Los Angeles in the late 1950's and early 1960's, organized the school's closing banquet<sup>58</sup>.

The Los Angeles school was the first one where organizers instituted a "Youth" event, where high school and college students were admitted free of. Three speakers were selected for their youth appeal. The two first ones were Rafer Johnson, Olympic decathlon champion, and actor Ty Hardin, famous for his TV impersonation of a former Confederate officer in the ABC series *Bronco*, and future founder in the late-1980's "The Arizona Patriots", a paramilitary, radical right-wing group eventually dismantled by the FBI. Due to the continuing reruns of *I Led Three Lives*, the othograph-signing Philbrick was also popular among young people and addressed them as well. He explained that Soviet agents "are deeply implanted here in all areas of civic and cultural life. They are in education, labor, unions, community organizations and in every area of communications, including the motion picture industry"<sup>59</sup>. More than 1,500 students participated to the Los Angeles school's "Youth Day"<sup>60</sup>.

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<sup>55</sup> John C. Waugh, "Anti-Red Schools 'Arm' U.S. Citizens", *Christian Science Monitor*, Sat., Nov. 19, 1960, 15.

<sup>56</sup> Ty Harding, "Dear Student", Fundraising Letter, Undated. Committees encompassed the "Religious", "Civic Affairs", "Finance", "Publicity", "Education", "Military", "Youth", "Arrangements", "Registration", "Literature", "International", "Professions", and "Veterans".

<sup>57</sup> An., "School Against Communism Opens Monday", *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Nov. 6, 1960, 15.

<sup>58</sup> Ty Harding, "Dear Student", Fundraising Letter, Undated.; Fred C. Schwarz, "Anti-Communism Schools", *CACC Newsletter*, Feb. 1961, 3.

<sup>59</sup> An., "Ex-FBI Spy Warns of New Moves by Russia", *Los Angeles Times*, Thu., Nov. 10, 1960, B2.

<sup>60</sup> An., "Anti-Communism School Opens Session in L.A.", *Ibid.*, Tue., Nov. 8, 1960, B1.

The Philadelphia school took place one week later, backed by J. Howard Pew, who played a strong behind-the-scenes role for the event taking place at the Adelphia Hotel. The chairman of the school was the Pew's right hand man, the Glenmede Trust Company president Allyn Bell, who hired the Walter Bennett Agency to handle the publicity for the school. Three days before the event, Philbrick appeared on local television and gave radio interviews<sup>61</sup>. Philbrick wrote: "We have found, in previous areas, that such pre-promotional appearances have greatly helped to stimulate added attendance"<sup>62</sup>. Pew used his influence to get turn some of Philadelphia's prominent churchmen, media men and right-wing personalities into school sponsors<sup>63</sup>. Among "faculty" lecturers was *Christian Economics* Editor Howard Kershner, whose magazine had been subsidized for years by Pew<sup>64</sup>. This first East Coast anticommunism school was not the grand event the Los Angeles had been (attendance was about half), but it was a success considering its location, far from the Crusade's geographical and demographical base.

As 1960 drew to a close, more than ten Crusade schools of anticommunism had been held since 1958, if the Glenview seminar and the Dallas Freedom Forum are included, but excluding the Houston branch schools organized under Strube's direction. Despite the Glenview controversy, results were overwhelmingly good. The Crusade's visibility had raised considerably, its numbers of supporters and backers multiplied at a rapid pace. Schwarz thus summarized the year 1960: "Words are inadequate to express the triumphal spirit of these days"<sup>65</sup>. At this time, opposition remained uncoordinated. In January 1961, the New York-based *Oceanside Beacon* published an article where journalist Bruce W. Marcus quoted one Episcopal Reverend named Richard Byfield from California, who had told him that that the Crusade was "a totally irresponsible group which is simply in the 'anti-communism crusade' business for the money that is in it"<sup>66</sup>. Schwarz sent not one, but two letters to the California minister requesting a clarification, or an apology, which

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<sup>61</sup> Allyn R. Bell to Herbert Philbrick, Oct. 20, 1960; Herbert Philbrick to Allyn R. Bell, Oct. 25, 1960, *Ibid.*, Box 55, "Subject File" Series, F. 11, "Bell, Allyn R. Jr.; 1960-1969"; Allyn R. Bell to Herbert Philbrick, Nov. 11, 1960; Ruth K. Farmer to Herbert Philbrick, Nov. 11, 1960, *Ibid.*, Box 3, "General Correspondence" Series, F. 8, "Nov.-Dec. 1960".

<sup>62</sup> Herbert Philbrick to Allyn R. Bell, Oct. 25, 1960, *Ibid.*, Box 55, "Subject File" Series, F. 11, "Bell, Allyn R. Jr."

<sup>63</sup> Charlie Saw, from Station WCAU; R.J. Cadigan, editor of *Presbyterian Life*; Fred Nelson, from the *Saturday Evening Post*; Geo. Moll, editor of *Crusader Magazine*; Adm. Ben Morrell, from the group Americans for Constitutional Action. From "Form Letter", appendix to letter from Allyn R. Bell to Herbert Philbrick, Oct. 20, 1960, *Ibid.*, Box 55, "Subject File" Series, F. 11, "Bell, Allyn R. Jr.; 1960-1969".

<sup>64</sup> CACC leaflet, "Philadelphia School for Anti-Communists, Nov. 15-19, 1960".

<sup>65</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Stop Press", *CACC Newsletter*, Dec. 1960, 6.

<sup>66</sup> Quoted in "Canon Byfield Apologizes", *Ibid.*, Apr.-May. 1961, 7.

he finally got and re-published in the Crusade newsletter, adding: “We are confident many others will be forced to apologize before long. We do not fear the tongue of slander as it provides us with the opportunity to direct attention to the truth”<sup>67</sup>.

The schools between 1958 and 1960 generated more than \$59,163, for an average of a little less than \$6,000 per school, but direct expenses had been more than \$57,555. When expenses were accounted for, the schools’ net profits were thus quite small. Of course, the trend of rising attendance made it likely that the Crusade would earn higher sums through registration fees (still kept at \$5 per day and \$20 for the whole week). But the need to increase the schools’ income perhaps explains the more effective management that made its appearance by this time. Schwarz now requested the Crusade’s backers to take care cover publicity and logistics and, in each town, to raise a guarantee of \$5,000 so as to provide complete arrangements for accommodation for the “faculty”<sup>68</sup>. At each school, a team was now designated with the task of reaching maximum attendance. An internal Crusade document details this method: “Obtain the names and addresses of all of the known organizations in a particular group. For example – Professional Organizations – Legal, Medical, Dental, etc. – Civic and Service Organizations”<sup>69</sup>. The goal was then to acquire “their membership list so that personal invitations can be mailed to members”, and even send “a speaker to one of their meetings if they want the story about the school explained orally”<sup>70</sup>. Finally, the team should gain “additional names and addresses from any other available sources, i.e. directories, friends, etc”<sup>71</sup>.

The marketing strategy also became more aggressive. With the establishment of a central recording studio for the Crusade in Houston in early 1961, the wide sale of recorded material became a feature of anticommunism schools, with tape recordings being sold for about \$5. In 1962, a report from the California attorney general about a school in Oakland noted: “Those who attended the “crusade” received a Schwarz price list. If an individual bought one of each available tape and one of each booklet, it would

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<sup>67</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Slander”, *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>68</sup> “Some effects of a Christian Anti-Communism Crusade meeting in various communities”, Report 5-21-62, *GRC*, Box 363, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – After-effects”.

<sup>69</sup> “Greater St. Louis School of Anti-Communism, April 24-28, 1961 – Attendance Committee”, *PSC*, “Communism” Series, Box 3, F. 8.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

cost him \$689.10”<sup>72</sup>. An observer who attended the Phoenix school in early 1961 noticed outside the lecturing room a large stand selling anticommunist material. Displayed were reprints of all of Schwarz’s speeches, copies of *You Can Trust*, pamphlets available in lots of a hundred for \$2 and copies of books such as Skousen’s *The Naked Communist*: “(...) in the morning there were large stacks on the table. By just after lunch they were sold out and the attendants were taking orders”<sup>73</sup>. Finally, with rising attendance, the closing banquet evolved into a mass feast which provided a golden opportunity for effuse fundraising pitches.

The school of Phoenix, held on February 27-March 3, 1961, exemplified this new corporate touch. Despite being a right-wing hotbed, Phoenix was not a location where the Crusade was established. The outstanding success of the Phoenix school of anticommunism thus suggests that the Crusade had reached in early 1961 a sufficient nationwide buzz so as to hold such an event in a relatively outlying region, which suggests that the crucial factor a school’s success at this point was no longer the involvement of the Crusade’s close collaborators and supporters, but rather whether a given region was inhabited by enough prominent and grassroots conservatives willing to help stir up a critical mass of public involvement.

Phoenix was another of those air-conditioned, barbecue-all-year-long Sunbelt cities that had grown from almost nothing to a sprawling military-industrial community in a few decades. “In the two decades following World War II”, historian Eugene P. Moehring writes, “Phoenix attracted a veritable Who’s Who of defense contractors, as Reynolds Aluminum, Motorola, General Electric, Sperry Rand, and other giants flocked to Arizona’s capital”<sup>74</sup>. In the late 1950’s, Phoenix had become one of the nation’s uppermost conservative strongholds. Journalist Donald McNeil, who investigated the city’s bubbling right-wing activity in 1961, noted that in the months prior to the Crusade school in March 1961, a series of local fights had taken place. One erupted when an ACLU-member high school teacher protested over the extensive showing of *Operation Abolition* in the city’s clubs, churches and business and another when local Birchers, who

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<sup>72</sup> Stanley Mosk, “Broadcast by California Attorney General Stanley Mosk”, *loc. cit.*

<sup>73</sup> Donald R. McNeil, “Sessions of Christian Anti-Communism School, March 1, 1961”, Notes taken in preparation for an article, *DMP*, Box 1, F. 1-3, 2-3.

<sup>74</sup> Eugene P. Moehring, *Resort City in the Sunbelt: Las Vegas, 1930-2000*, Reno, University of Nevada Press, 2005, 210.

were stronger and more influential in Phoenix than everywhere else in the country, successfully blocked a municipal plan for urban renewal, deemed as Communist-inspired. McNeil noted that “this kind of conservatism (...) battles anything governmental – the UN, the supreme court, income tax, even local government’s plans for slum clearance – as somehow evil, un-American, Communistic”<sup>75</sup>.

As opposed to Philadelphia, the Crusade did not need an advertising firm for its school in Phoenix. Phoenix’s two most important papers (the *Arizona Republic* and *The Phoenix Gazette*) were owned by archconservative publisher Eugene Pulliam. These newspapers gave much more space and favorable coverage to right-wing views than other such U.S. publications and did, McNeil lamented, “a remarkable job of creating favorable public opinion for the [John Birch Society’s] “action programs””<sup>76</sup>. During the weeks leading up to the school, the two Pulliam newspapers called the citizenry to arms and advertised the school as a unique opportunity to do something real and genuine against the Reds. At the grassroots level, the word-to-mouth dynamic was in full swing almost two months prior to the opening session. The teachers’ union of Phoenix’s high schools and colleges urged teachers and students to attend “any morning, afternoon or evening session of the school period”, since without proper knowledge on communism “we may unwittingly assist in our own enslavement”<sup>77</sup>. “Businesses, school boards, city officials, civic clubs, and churches”, wrote McNeil, “were asked to buy advance tickets, and they responded generously”<sup>78</sup>. Arizona Governor Paul Fannin proclaimed the routine anti-Red week.

Even if their membership was theoretically secret, some Birchers publicly professed their affiliation, especially in regions friendly to the Society, such as was the case of Phoenix. The school’s steering committee was composed of seven prominent citizens, five of whom later admitted to a reporter to being JBS members<sup>79</sup>. Out of four names in the “Arizona” column in a state-by-state list of the nation’s main JBS organizers obtained by the Anti-Defamation League in 1961, two were involved in the school: Frank Cullen Brophy, one of Phoenix’s most powerful bankers and Clarence J. Duncan, one of the

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<sup>75</sup> Quoted in Donald McNeil, “Anti-Communism in Phoenix: A Case History”, Unpublished Article, *DMP*, Box 4, F. 4, 2.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>77</sup> Lewis Allbee, “Greater Phoenix School on Anti-Communism”, *District Newsletter*, Vol. 10, No. 15, Jan. 6, 1961, 2.

<sup>78</sup> Donald McNeil, “Anti-Communism in Phoenix: A Case History”, *loc. cit.*, 18.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

city's top attorneys<sup>80</sup>. A great deal, if not most, of the impressive list of big names from the business, industrial and ranching establishments who sat on the school's organizing committees were probably Birchers as well. William F. Buckley once reported that, in an exchange, Barry Goldwater mentioned that every prominent citizen of the Phoenix area was at the time "a member of the John Birch Society. (...) I'm not talking about Commie-haunted apple-pickers of cactus drunks, I'm talking about the highest cast of men of affairs"<sup>81</sup>. Prominent sponsors of the school numbered 132. A few names from this oligarchic list were: Robert W. Goldwater, brother of Barry Goldwater himself, and president of Golwaters, the family's locally-famous specialty store; Lawson V. Smith, vice-president of the Mountain States Telephones & Telegraph Co.; Walter Lucking, president of Arizona Public Service Co. (important utilities furnisher); C. Lester Hogan, chip genius and head of Motorola's Arizona activities<sup>82</sup>. All the Crusade's typical professional sources of support were highly represented among the school's organization committees: fifteen retired military officers, fourteen church leaders, seven health specialists -including five medical doctors (the school's chairman, John W. Moon, was an M.D.) and four attorneys<sup>83</sup>.

Across five days, the Crusade's establishmentarian camp-meeting at the Westward Hotel was covered generously by the Pulliam papers and galvanized the citizenry. The personal notes Douglas McNeil took during his attending of the Phoenix school provide an account of this event. He described the particular spectacle of those hundreds of properly-dressed students, some wearing patriotic badges ("I am an American", or "Stay American") packing the hall: "(...) hotel crowds (peak attendance: 2,000) stamped their feet, yelled, clapped, and chanted their approval as Philbrick quoted Skousen and Skousen quoted Schwarz and Schwarz quoted Morris quoting Skousen"<sup>84</sup>. Given the popular response, the crusaders came up with the idea of short sessions with audience participation at the end of each afternoon. Audiences were divided alphabetically in

<sup>80</sup> An., "Appendix", *Facts – Published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith*, *loc. cit.*, 228.

<sup>81</sup> Quoted in William F. Buckley, Jr., *Flying High: Remembering Barry Goldwater*, Philadelphia, Perseus Books, 2010, 60.

<sup>82</sup> Respectively found in Leonard Sloane, "Phoenix: Barry's Brother Minds of the Store", *New York Times*, Wed., Apr. 5, 1966, 47.; An., "Phoenix Phone Bills Said to be Nation's Highest", Mon., Feb. 25, 1957, 1.; An., "Plan Huge Plant Near Philadelphia", *Prescott Evening Courier*, Fri., Nov. 21, 1958, 1.; Gene Smith, "Land in Phoenix Is Proving Fertile for Electronics", *New York Times*, Tue., Oct. 8, 1967, F1.

<sup>83</sup> This list can be found on a letter: Ruth Engler to Herbert Philbrick, Feb. 8, 1961, *HPP*, Box 45, "Subject File" Series, F. 11, "Anti-Communism School – 1958-1965, 1971-1977".

<sup>84</sup> Donald McNeil, "Anti-Communism in Phoenix: A Case History", *loc. cit.*, 18.



several groups and chosen volunteers hosted workshops where attendees were given the opportunity to publicly express themselves on the subject of their commitment to the good fight in their daily lives. McNeil's notes described a high school girl, in her Sunday dress, shyly telling of having troubles with a "teacher at Tucson who is pink". For his part, a boy said: "It's a well-known fact that many teachers at Arizona State are communists, especially in the social science studies"<sup>85</sup>.

Phoenix was a turning point for the Phoenix "Youth" event concept. The Phoenix school board supported the school, as did the one of Mesa, where the local superintendent Rulon Shepherd considered the event to be a "rare opportunity for parents and teachers to learn how to identify and combat the international Communist conspiracy on a local level"<sup>86</sup>. One mid-week afternoon, more than 7,000 high school students flocked to the Montgomery Stadium to listen to Philbrick, and a crowd of 10,000 took over the stadium on the same evening for a special \$1 admittance session. Present was former Canadian Liberal politician and journalist Elmore Philpott, who expressed his amazement in his *Vancouver Sun* column: "At first glance, it might seem incredible that the followers of Barry Goldwater could be really be so genuinely scared of a handful of local Reds that 10,000 citizens would pay to hear about them". However, he added, a close look at the teachings of the school showed that "the Red menace of Russia is just the stalking horse on which the reactionaries ride to get close to their real target -- the whole U.S. liberal humanitarian movement"<sup>87</sup>.

Two days later, at the closing banquet, \$14,443 were collected in a few hours. Local reporters estimated that the school earned a total of \$40,000 when registration, sales and donations were included. Considering that the costs to organize a school varied from \$5,000 and \$10,000, the Phoenix school was the most successful of such endeavors up to that point. A few months later, Schwarz returned to Phoenix and spoke to about 1,200 people, half of whom had not attended the school. A fundraising was organized, allowing to net a few thousand dollars more<sup>88</sup>.

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<sup>85</sup> *Id.*, "Sessions of Christian Anti-Communism School, March 1, 1961", Notes taken in preparation for an article, *DMP*, Box 1, F. 1-3, 9-10.

<sup>86</sup> Quoted in *Id.*, "Anti-Communism in Phoenix: A Case History", *loc. cit.*, 18.

<sup>87</sup> Elmore Philpott, "Looking for Reds", *Vancouver Sun*, Fri., Apr. 14, 1961, 4.

<sup>88</sup> Donald McNeil, "Anti-Communism in Phoenix: A Case History", *loc. cit.*, 19-20.

A week after the Phoenix school, the Crusade opened its third school in Southern California, this time in Anaheim, Orange County, at the Disneyland Hotel. Publicity for the school had begun months earlier in all the Orange County newspapers<sup>89</sup>. Tickets were sold out even before the event began. Schwarz's 9 a.m. Monday morning presentation drew more than 1,500 people, jammed together to hear the crusader kickoff the school with his standard opening speech on dialectical materialism, followed by Fred Schlafly's standard castigation of the Supreme Court for the "various decisions that have been handed down, and which virtually have given Communists a stamp of approval in their operations"<sup>90</sup>.

Right from the first day, to handle the large number of attendees, the organizers had to hold "double sessions" and send crowds to the Anaheim High School auditorium<sup>91</sup>. On the Wednesday night, a crowd of more than 12,000 students sent by the school boards of various districts in the county overflowed Anaheim's La Palma Stadium, where the seating capacity of 7,500 compelled thousands to sit on the ground to hear the "Big 3": Schwarz, Philbrick and Skousen<sup>92</sup>. The *Orange County Register* mentioned that 16,000 persons attended the school, whereas the Long Beach *Independent* gave a higher figure of 17,500. Both numbers undoubtedly included the Wednesday students, indicating that somewhere between 4,000 and 5,500 people registered for one or more of the school's sessions, setting a new Crusade record<sup>93</sup>.

The Orange County school was due mainly to the initiative of a Fullerton William Brashears, a long-time figure among right-wing groups and initiatives that proliferated in Orange County. A few days before the event took place, journalist with the *Orange County Register*, owned by libertarian businessman Raymond C. Hoiles' Freedom Press Group, described in a hyperbolic manner Brashears as explaining that "offering curriculum and highly qualified leaders who are available (...) through a privately

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<sup>89</sup> Bob Geier to Herbert Philbrick, Jan. 5, 1961, *HPP*, Box 243, "Speeches & Writings" Series, F. 6, "Speaking Engagements – Jan.-June 1961".

<sup>90</sup> Reported by Frank Martinez, "Anti-Communist School Opens Assault on Red Philosophy", *Orange County Register*, Tue., Mar. 7, 1961, B3.

<sup>91</sup> Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 54.

<sup>92</sup> An., "Anti-Red Meets Drawing Big County Crowds", *Los Angeles Times*, Wed., Mar. 9, 1961, D1, D2. Some high school students seem to have been authorized to attend the school's weekday sessions instead of their regular classes. An., "See 1,200 Students At Anti-Red School", *Orange County Register*, Tue., Mar. 7, 1961, A8.

<sup>93</sup> An., "Countians Rally Support to Anti-Communism Crusade", *Orange County Register*, Sun., Mar. 12, 1961, D1.; An., "Anti-Red School Ends", *Long Beach Independent*, Sat., Mar. 11, 1961, A4.

sponsored effort is in line with the free enterprise system which we know is superior to any system of government ever devised”<sup>94</sup>. In December 1960, Brashears organized a meeting at Knott’s Berry Farm, where a steering committee was organized for the school. Walter Knott was appointed honorary chairman. The Rev. Robert H. Schuller, who later became one of America’s most successful televangelists, led the school’s religious committee. The publicity chairman was Bob Geier, manager of a public relations firm and one of the county’s most important Republican personalities. Geier was member of the GOP State Central Committee and had been the assistant of James B. Utt, GOP representative for the western half of Orange County. Utt also sat on one of the school’s committees, along with Duane Winter and Al Hall, respectively mayors of Fullerton and Santa Ana<sup>95</sup>.

The Orange County school was planned at Knott’s Berry Farm, and took place at the Disneyland Hotel, unifying symbolically the county’s two great theme parks. Orange County represented in a nutshell the post-WWII Southern Californian boom, having grown from 130,760 to 703,925 inhabitants between 1940 and 1960, transforming quickly the whole region “from rural backwater into a suburb and then into a collection of medium and small towns”, as Kenneth Jackson writes<sup>96</sup>. This dynamic was nowhere more fully captured than at the Disneyland Hotel itself, which, along with its entire surroundings, stood on land where only ranches existed a few years before. With one of the nation’s most defense-based economies, drawing more than half of all military-aerospace dollars pouring on California, with thriving evangelical mega-churches (75 percent of Orange Countians were Protestants in the mid-1960’s), with probably the nation’s most libertarian, anti-statist business elite of the nation and with one of California’s highest proportions of expatriated Southerners, Orange County saw the coalescing of all the major strains of American conservatism, laying the groundwork for a synergy that would eventually affect the whole nation. Once pejoratively nicknamed “nut country” by the magazine *Fortune*, Orange County, in its intense proliferation of

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<sup>94</sup> An., “Anti-Communist School Starts At Disneyland Hotel Monday”, *Ibid.*, Wed., Mar. 1, 1961, C3.

<sup>95</sup> An., “Geier Candidate for GOP Seat in Congress”, *Ibid.*, Thu., Dec. 5, 1963, H1. HUAC chairman Francis Walters sent a letter commending the school to Orange Countians. An., “1,000 Enrollment Expected: Anti-Communism School Series Will Open Monday in Anaheim”, *Ibid.*, Sun., Mar. 5, 1961, OC7.

<sup>96</sup> Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 28.; Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, *op. cit.*, 265.

conservative activity, was perhaps only equaled by Phoenix. Liberal journalist William Turner wrote<sup>97</sup>:

“But Orange County is something else again. (...) The Orange County brand of conservatism bears no resemblance to the New England variety, the “you-do-your-business-and-I’ll-do-mine” (...) It is more akin to the meddling regionalism of the South, where, incidentally, much of the influx of recent years originated. But race is not a major issue, simply because there are only a handful of blacks in the county. Perhaps more than any other place in the United States, Orange County is a WASP bastion, and a wealthy one at that since the median family income is the second highest in the state”<sup>98</sup>.

Colored minorities, concentrated in a few segregated areas in Santa Ana and in the county’s southern rim, comprised less than 0.5 percent of the county’s population. However, this low figure was linked to the numerous restrictions in housing bylaws and covenants that made it almost impossible for people of color to find either housing or employment opportunities<sup>99</sup>. A large portion of the county’s quick growth during the second half of the 1950’s was due to its absorption of a substantial proportion of Los Angeles’ white flight, making it a haven of vanilla homogeneity<sup>100</sup>. Orange County’s suburban, individualistic, pro-defense and nationalistic civic culture provided good circumstances for community displays of anticommunism.

The Orange County school distinguished itself from all other schools by the virulence of its rhetoric. On the first day, Dr. Margaret Wold, a local Lutheran Doctor of Ministry, spoke on “The Role of Women Under Communism and Freedom”. She delivered a frightening -and highly distorted- account on women’s condition in the Soviet Union, in which they were forced to work in steel or saw mills, with the state taking care of the kids:

“Well, its not exactly babysitting service. They’ll take care of your children between the ages of one month and 17 years in a state nursery and perhaps you’ll be able to see them on weekends if you’re lucky. And listen. Don’t worry about the husband situation. If you’re tired of your old

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<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>98</sup> William W. Turner, *Power on the Right*, *op. cit.*, 40-41.

<sup>99</sup> Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 44.

<sup>100</sup> Edward B. Soja and Allen J. Scott, “Introduction to Los Angeles: City and Region”, in Edward B. Soja and Allen J. Scott, eds., *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press Ltd., 1996, 10.; Eric Avila, *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press Ltd., 2004, 46-48.

man, they'll help you get rid of him and the Russians will provide you with one from the state's pool"<sup>101</sup>.

Jim Colbert spoke on "Communism in Asia", where the Crusade's "Director of Missions" raised the prospect that Japan, whom most Americans deemed an ally, could be Red-dominated due to its high proportion of college students, prime targets for the Reds, but also due to the high proportion of atheists, more than 84 percent of the population (he later established a link between this fact and the high number of suicides in Japan)<sup>102</sup>. On the second day, Paul Terry, aforementioned retired Colonel and San Diego newspaperman, announced in a McCarthyesque manner that "he had in his possession a Communist plan drawn in Moscow which calls for the downfall of the Philippine Islands by 1963". Terry suggested that the Communists were currently in the process of gaining control of the government in the islands<sup>103</sup>.

W. Cleon Skousen suggested that "Russia be kicked out of the United Nations". He then explained how FDR's advisor Harry Hopkins successfully transmitted atomic bomb secrets and uranium to the Soviets during WWII. At first, the plan was foiled by a man named Major George R. Jordan, Deputy Chief of Staff from the Department of the Army, who had the planed carrying the A-bomb plans returned to Washington. However:

"There, [Major Jordan]" went to the state (sic) department, with his fantastic tale of treason. The state department heard this story and referred him to the White House. The White House heard his story and referred him to Hopkins. And then, Major Jordan was almost court martialed. He was told that "he wasn't fighting the war for the Unites States." Hopkins then ordered that the plane proceed intact to Russia. But the real kicker came a bit later when Hopkins ordered four planes carrying more than enough refined uranium salt to build more than one atomic bomb"<sup>104</sup>.

Skousen repeated this lecture before the Wednesday night "Youth Day" students. Followed by Schwarz and George Todt, *Los Angeles Examiner* columnist who told the cheering crowd that "communists who aren't happy living in America should go to

<sup>101</sup> Frank Martinez, "Anti-Communist School Opens Assault on Red Philosophy", *loc. cit.*, D3.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*; "Notes on School of Christian Anti-Communist (sic) Crusade, Oakland, California, Jan. 31, 1962 (Shover)", *JLSM*, 2.

<sup>103</sup> An., "Communist Threat Outlined To 12,000 Students At Rally", *Orange County Register*, Thu., Mar. 9, 1961, C1.

<sup>104</sup> An., "Kick Reds Out of UN, Anti-Communism School Speaker Says", *Ibid.*, Wed., Mar. 8, 1961, C1. In *The Naked Communist*, Skousen made no reference to the alleged number of planes Hopkins sent back to Russia, nor is there any mention to the fact that Jordan "was almost court martialed". The books only says: "When Major Jordan reported the facts in Washington he was *severely criticized for holding up the plane (...)*". W. Cleon Skousen, *The Naked Communist*, *op. cit.*, 167.

another country to live”. Philbrick told the youngsters that “Communists are rough, tough, nasty and they hate you (...) They hate everything you stand for and they are out to destroy you”<sup>105</sup>. Several students interviewed by a *Register* reporter after the event expressed consternation: “I am shocked that communism is in our schools”; “Communism is getting into America slowly but surely and we got to watch out”; “Kids nowadays need more religion in their lives and more guidance and we need to be more patriotic”<sup>106</sup>.

On the fourth day, former Joe McCarthy aide Robert Morris criticized the U.S.’s anti-Red containment strategy and voiced common right-wing theories about the State Department’s perfidy (“25 Americans are responsible for the downfall of China”), before speaking out against *New York Times*’ Herbert Matthews, deemed responsible for the Cuban revolution: “Castro was created here in the United States”<sup>107</sup>. Philbrick leveled, as one journalist reported, “a verbal barrage at Hollywood”, lambasting notably Frank Sinatra for his movie project to be scripted by one of the blacklisted Hollywood Ten writer Albert Maltz, on the life of Eddie Slovik, the only U.S. soldier shot for desertion during WWI: “(...) why was this soldier picked? (...) And why was an identified communist hired to write the script? Was that an accident also?”, Philbrick declared<sup>108</sup>. The next evening, Knott’s right-hand man William E. Fort, “educational director” of the libertarian California Free Enterprise Association, instructed the audience on the merits of the free enterprise system: “There’s no such thing as a moral government. Competition (...) is the spice of life, and private property is essential for morality”<sup>109</sup>. Schwarz, who had introduced Fort as a “real sterling American”, added that nobody should smear businessmen, since they allowed the United States to produce more than 50 percent of the world’s goods with only seven percent of the world’s population<sup>110</sup>.

The school ended as usual with a “Design for Victory” banquet. All 875 of \$5 tickets were sold for the beef and lobster event<sup>111</sup>. Chairman of the school William Brashears announced that \$18,100 was donated at the banquet, which came as an extra on the

<sup>105</sup> An., “Communist Threat Outlined To 12,000 Students At Rally”, *loc. cit.*, C1.

<sup>106</sup> All quoted in An., “‘I’m Shocked,’ Students Say of Red Menace”, *Orange County Register*, Thu., Mar. 9, 1961, C1.

<sup>107</sup> An., “U.S. Retreat Blasted By University Prexy”, *Ibid.*, Fri., Mar. 10, C3.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, D3.

<sup>109</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>111</sup> An., “School Holds Final Session”, *Ibid.*, Fri., Mar. 10, D3.

\$20,000 already earned in registrations and sales of anticommunist material, thus equaling the sum grossed at Phoenix<sup>112</sup>. The *Orange County Register* editorialized that the school “has gone down in the record books as the most successful, one punch anti-communism movement in the history of the nation”<sup>113</sup>. “There is a rising tide of enlightened concern sweeping the country”, Schwarz wrote. “Recent schools give great grounds for hope”<sup>114</sup>. For Brashears, this was only “a small step in enlightening the people as to the communist threat in this country and in the world”<sup>115</sup>.

Like the Phoenix school, the Orange County school drew little controversy despite its keyed-up rhetoric. One exception featured Arthur E. Harrington, a Methodist minister from La Habra, who filed a \$150,000 slander suit against James F. Garry, a Fullerton dentist and member of the John Birch Society, for allegedly publicly calling him a Communist during a preparatory meeting for the school<sup>116</sup>. A few weeks after Harrington extended his suit to the John Birch Society and Robert Welch as well, but for some reason did not sue the Crusade. The story was followed with attention by the local press for a few months until Harrington dismissed his charges in March 1962<sup>117</sup>. Also, shortly after the school ended, the weekly left-wing newspaper *National Guardian*, based in New York, published a text from its California correspondent Clancy Franks, warning its readers about the Crusade. Franks did not attend the school himself, but knew enough about it through local newspapers to make up his mind: “Schwarz organized a “school” at the Disneyland Hotel, where professional anti-communists and right-wing fanatics preached a dogma reminiscent of the late Sen. Joe McCarthy”<sup>118</sup>. He objected to the way local school boards had allowed teenagers to be exposed to the school’s rhetoric and the way that students who wished to leave the La Palma Stadium before the end of the lectures during the Wednesday meeting “had to give their names and schools to gate attendants”<sup>119</sup>. “Right-wing organizations flourish”, Franks warned. “They are riding the crest of a wave of unrest and fear set off by the greatest population growth in the nation

<sup>112</sup> Clancy Franks, “Dr. Schwarz’s Crusaders in Orange County, Calif.: Disneyland Meets the ‘Red Menace’ Heads On”, *The National Guardian*, Sun., Apr. 10, 1961, 3.

<sup>113</sup> An., “Countians Rally Support to Anti-Communism Crusade”, *loc. cit.*, D1.

<sup>114</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Dear Friends”, Fundraising, undated Letter (circa early April 1961).

<sup>115</sup> Quoted in Clancy Franks, “Dr. Schwarz’s Crusaders in Orange County, Calif”, *loc. cit.*, 3.

<sup>116</sup> Times Corresp., “Preacher Sues Birch Group for Slander”, *Los Angeles Times*, Fri., Apr. 15, 1961, 3.

<sup>117</sup> An., “Minister Acts to Dismiss Suit”, *Ibid.*, Tue., Mar. 13, 1962, 3.

<sup>118</sup> Clancy Franks, “Dr. Schwarz’s Crusaders in Orange County, Calif”, *loc. cit.*, 3.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

and the changeover from a feudal-type agricultural economy to an industrial economy”<sup>120</sup>.

## 11.2 The Birchite Stigma

During the two years that followed its founding in December 1958, the John Birch Society remained unknown to the overwhelming majority of the American population. The first press articles mentioning the JBS in the summer of 1960 drew little attention and not until a few months after, in the early months of 1961, did the JBS begin to be the object of daily headlines nationwide. The true objective of the Society’s founder-leader Robert Welch regarding the level of exposure he wished his organization to attain -or to avoid- is not entirely clear. The JBS’ foundational document, *The Blue Book*, did not contain any prescription whereby that the Society should remain a secret organization. But a certain level of obscurity was obviously what Welch had had in mind when he designed the JBS’s arcane functioning: backdoor meetings, secret membership rolls, instructions to split local chapters passed a certain number of members.

Discretion, however, was not fully compatible with growth in membership. Welch wrote: “We are ought to get a million members truly dedicated to the things in which we believe”<sup>121</sup>. This target was never reached, but after one year, the JBS had so-called “working” chapters (operational ones with a local leader) in 16 states and members of the “home” chapter (established in parts of the country where local chapters did not yet exist) in 40 states. After two years, more than 34 states had “working” chapters, and “home” chapter members were found in all states<sup>122</sup>. Welch consistently refused to reveal any information on JBS membership “as long as the Communist threat remains”, but during this period he optimistically saw “a future of unlimited accomplishment and influence ahead of us”<sup>123</sup>. Even if membership figures remained undisclosed, by the winter of 1961 *Los Angeles* journalist Gene Blake, based on inside sources from the Society, reported that the membership was expected to reach 100,000 by the end of the year<sup>124</sup>.

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<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> Robert Welch, *The Blue Book of the John Birch Society*, *op. cit.*, 152.

<sup>122</sup> Gene Blake, “The John Birch Society: What Are Its Purposes?”, *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Mar. 5, 1961, B1.

<sup>123</sup> Robert Welch, “Foreword”, *loc. cit.*, Dec. 1959, 3.

<sup>124</sup> Gene Blake, “The John Birch Society: What Are Its Purposes?”, *loc. cit.*, B1.



Yet, the larger the membership became, the greater was the likelihood that controversy would ensue should the organization be brought into the limelight. One oddity was Welch's insistence on the total acceptance of his leadership on the part of JBS members<sup>125</sup>. Through the organization's bulletin, the JBS leader sent instructions that were to be scrupulously followed: to expand the circulation of conservative periodicals, especially Welch's *American Opinion*, to set up anti-Red fronts, to shut off Communistic activity in their local community, to organize coordinated letter-writing campaigns denouncing Red infiltration among the National Council of Churches, the political parties or the Boy Scouts<sup>126</sup>

By Welch's own admission, the Society's cell-like, underground structure emulated Leninist organizational principles. For Welch, this was not a problem, since the JBS was "willing to draw on all successful human experience in organizational matters"<sup>127</sup>. The prospect of attending covert meetings where freedom-loving Americans could schmooze on how to save the nation provided excitement to those wishing to escape the monotony of their daily middle-class lives, but many found this secrecy unsettling. In January 1959, only six weeks after the JBS' founding, an FBI informant who had attended a meeting in Milwaukee sent a memo to J. Edgar Hoover. Meeting attendees, the document reported, were "exceedingly prominent and influential individuals in the Milwaukee area" (perhaps Harry Bradley and his collaborators, who participated to the JBS' founding seminar in Indianapolis), and "the meeting was conducted by Welch in a very secretive manner. Those in attendance were instructed not to divulge what had transpired to their office personnel or even to their wives at this juncture"<sup>128</sup>. In May 1959, Herbert Philbrick, who had kept ties with the FBI, attended a private seminar hosted by Welch himself. He later reported to his FBI contact Frank P. Willette the "cloak and dagger" atmosphere and Welch's "constant emphasis of 'treason' on the part of our national leaders, including President Eisenhower". Should Birchers reach their objective of enlisting a million members and fall into "wrong hands", Philbrick wrote, "we would have a rather highly

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<sup>125</sup> "The John Birch Society will operate under completely authoritative control at all levels. The fear of tyrannical oppression of individuals, and other arguments against the authoritative structure in the form of governments, has little bearing on the case of a voluntary association (...)." Robert Welch, *The Blue Book of the John Birch Society*, *op. cit.*, 147, 149.

<sup>126</sup> Gene Blake, "Birch Society's Program Outlined", *Los Angeles Times*, Tue., Mar. 7, 1961, 2.; Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, *op. cit.*, 117.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>128</sup> Special Agent in Charge to J. Edgar Hoover, Jan. 20, 1959, *HQ-FBIF*, File HQ 62-104401, No. 6, Attn: FOIPA Request.

explosive force”<sup>129</sup>. In the following months, Philbrick refused Welch’s offer to join the JBS, invoking his busy schedule, but exchanged friendly letters with him (on a “Dear Bob”-basis), letters of which he made carbon copies sent to the FBI<sup>130</sup>. Philbrick’s eventually he became a public supporter of the organization, but his initial impressions with the Society reveals just how kooky its methods appeared to conservatives themselves.

However, Welch’s most salient feature was his intense belief that communism had infiltrated all segments of American society, making JBS literature highly saturated with conspiracy theories of all sorts. Senator Robert Taft might have died from a cancer “induced by a radium tube planted in the upholstery of his Senate seat”; Joe McCarthy might actually have been assassinated rather than drinking himself to death; U.S. justice courts “were not immune to Communist infiltration”; moderate GOP Governor of New York Nelson Rockefeller “is definitely committed to trying to make the United States a part of a one-world Socialist government”<sup>131</sup>. Still, Welch’s most elaborated and infamous fantasy was composed in his book *The Politician*, which he wrote in 1958, even before he founded the JBS. *The Politician* can best be summarized through its final passage, which restated its central thesis pertaining to the method whereby the Reds took over America:

“And I do not believe that the events of his [Eisenhower’s] personal story during those eighteen years can be satisfactorily explained in any other way. The Communists can now use all the power and prestige of the presidency of the United States to implement their plans, just as fully and even openly as they dare. They have arrived at this point in three stages. In the first stage, Roosevelt thought he was using the Communists, to promote his personal ambitions and grandiose schemes. Of course, instead, the Communists were using him (...). Truman was used by the Communists, with his knowledge and acquiescence, as the price he consciously paid for their making him president. In the third stage, in my own firm opinion, the Communists have one of their own actually in the presidency. For this third

<sup>129</sup> Herbert Philbrick to Frank P. Willette, May 28, 1959, taken from Donald Critchlow’s own inspection of Herbert Philbrick papers (*HPP*), as reproduced in Don Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism*, *op. cit.*, 338, note 38.

<sup>130</sup> Herbert Philbrick to Robert Welch, Aug. 4, 1959; Herbert Philbrick to Robert Welch, Oct. 30, 1959; Robert Welch to Herbert Philbrick, Nov. 25, 1959; Herbert Philbrick to Robert Welch, Nov. 30, 1959; Herbert Philbrick to Robert Welch, Dec. 31, 1959; Robert Welch to Herbert Philbrick, Jan. 6, 1960, *HPP*, Box 121, “Subject File” Series, F. 6, “John Birch Society, 1959-1979”.

<sup>131</sup> Quoted respectively in Robert Welch, “Foreword”, *loc. cit.*, Dec. 1959, 3; Gene Blake, “Birch Society’s Program Outlined”, *loc. cit.*, 23.

man, Eisenhower, there is only one possible word to describe his purposes and his actions. That word is treason”<sup>132</sup>.

In another section, *The Politician* contained a list of some of the U.S.’s most influential personalities and a short description of their “role” in the Red conspiracy. For instance, Milton Eisenhower, the president’s brother, “is actually Dwight Eisenhower’s superior and boss within the Communist party”; Supreme Court’ Chief Justice Earl Warren was probably not a Red himself since he had been vetted and cleared prior to his Supreme Court appointment, but undoubtedly he was “at least an extreme leftwing socialist”; CIA head Allen Dulles was “the most protected and untouchable supporter of Communism, next to Eisenhower himself, in Washington”<sup>133</sup>. And so forth.

*The Politician* was not initially designed for publication. Welch wished it to remain an in-house document, probably because he felt that its content would put him at risk. Also, it is likely that he considered that the book’s total dedication to the cause of American freedom would be misunderstood<sup>134</sup>. Until late summer of 1960, *The Politician* had circulated exclusively among a limited number of conservative leaders across the nation. To be sure, not all of them approved of Welch’s conclusions. Barry Goldwater was one of the first to read the book since Welch had given a copy to his brother, wintering at the time in Arizona, who in turn passed it to “Mr. Conservative”. In a private letter, Goldwater made no mystery of his view: “I returned it to him with the comment that if he could not prove every word in it he had better do one or two things or preferably both -- destroy all of the books and then retract the statements that were contained”<sup>135</sup>. Should *The Politician* be revealed to the general public, the Arizona Senator thought, it “would work a hardship on people connected with [Welch]”<sup>136</sup>.

Fred Schwarz and Robert Welch never in person and until late summer of 1960, they never had any contact. Naturally, both knew about each other. Concerning Welch, Schwarz wrote in a private letter, “It does seem strange that we have not come face to

<sup>132</sup> Robert Welch, *The Politician*, First Unpublished Edition, Obtained by the Author, 1958, 268.

<sup>133</sup> Quoted respectively from *Ibid.*, 210; 226; 216.

<sup>134</sup> In a letter to Gerald K. Smith who asked for a copy in 1960, Welch replied: “I have been sending out very few copies of this long but private and entirely confidential “letter”. Robert Welch to Gerald K. Smith, Aug. 15, 1960, *GKSP*, Box 55, F. “Welch, Robert”.

<sup>135</sup> Barry Goldwater to Jack Bell, Apr. 17, *BMGP*, MF 48, Box 013\_REEL021\_0003, pdf.,699.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

face as we have so many actual friends, such a common interest and concern”<sup>137</sup>. For instance, Schwarz’s friend Alfred Kohlberg knew Welch at least since the early 1950’s and had received a dedicated copy of *The Life of John Birch* when published by Regnery in 1953. In the late 1950’s, he became a JBS supporter and joined the Society’s council prior to his death in April 1960<sup>138</sup>. Both Welch and Schwarz had greatly benefitted from the backing of Harry Bradley and Welch wrote himself that: “I once heard Harry Bradley tell others that, so far as he was concerned, there were only three really effective anti-Communists in America; they were Fred Schwarz, Bob Welch, and Doctor Nyaradi” (the latter was an economist and proponent of the free enterprise system)<sup>139</sup>. Welch had read several of Schwarz’s writings and had a high opinion of them. He especially appreciated the 1959 address to the Texas legislature, reprinted in a booklet titled *The Disease of Communism, and You Can Trust*, though he strongly disagreed “with the three last pages”, i.e. the exposition of Schwarz’s plan of action against communism in which the crusader warned his readers against “the temptation to try to form a totalitarian organization modeled on Communism”<sup>140</sup>. This passage obviously conflicted with the JBS’ strongly centralized and authoritarian structure.

Schwarz did not hold Welch in the same esteem that Welch held Schwarz. The crusader apparently never read any of Welch’s books, nor showed any interest for his theories. He reported having once seen a copy of *The Politician*, when their mutual friend Fred Loock -Allen-Bradley’s general manager- read excerpts from it. “While I did not agree with the conclusions”, Schwarz wrote, “I did not express my opinion”<sup>141</sup>. Across the years 1959 and 1960, Schwarz began to receive an increasing number of letters asking him his view of the John Birch Society. He was clearly aware than any harsh criticism of the JBS on his part would alienate a good percentage of his supporters. He once privately admitted that his work and Welch’s “complement each other very much”: the Crusade was “instrumental in stimulating the concern of people who have been recruited by the

<sup>137</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Robert Welch, Sept. 19, 1960, *HPP*, Box 121, “Subject File” Series, F. 6, “John Birch Society, 1959-1979”.

<sup>138</sup> Robert Welch to Alfred Kohlberg, Jun. 7, 1953, *AKP*, Box 200, F. “Welch, 1954-1958”; Alfred Kohlberg to Robert Welch, Jan. 11, 1960, *Ibid.*, Box 36, F. “John Birch Society”. In this last letter, Kohlberg enclosed to Welch two checks, totaling \$1,500.

<sup>139</sup> Robert Welch to Fred C. Schwarz, Sept. 6, 1960, *HPP*, Box 121, “Subject File” Series, F. 6, “John Birch Society, 1959-1979”.

<sup>140</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *You Can Trust the Communists (to be Communists)*, *op. cit.*, 181.

<sup>141</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Robert Welch, Sept. 19, 1960, *HPP*, Box 121, “Subject File” Series, F. 6, “John Birch Society, 1959-1979”.

John Birch Society”, and that the Crusade “has received the honest and wholehearted support of the John Birch Society”<sup>142</sup>

The crusader elaborated a reheated answer to questions about the JBS: that it was “a fine organization of fine people doing a splendid work”<sup>143</sup>. Yet, many questions also addressed the desirability of anti-Red organizations with rigid, clandestine structures such as the JBS’. Here, Schwarz got off the boat. For the crusader, mini-totalitarianism remained totalitarianism. His voluntarist belief in the individual let him to see an irremediable conflict between the principles of authoritarianism and “the Christian liberty of conscience”, or, put otherwise: “I do not believe in collectivism in the battle against collectivism”<sup>144</sup>. More than once when addressing this peculiar issue, Schwarz used the word “fascist” to describe the JBS’ organizational structure, and before long Welch knew this. Though he considered an unprovoked attack, he choose not to reply.

As he had already done for the Crusade schools of Milwaukee and San Diego, Welch encouraged his supporters to attend the seminar the Crusade organized on the Glenview Naval Air Station in late August 1960. But prior to the Glenview school an incident occurred involving Frank Vignola, the Chicago businessman who initiated the school. Vignola apparently had attended several JBS meetings in the Greater Chicago area, where he had tried to obtain a copy of *The Politician*. At a meeting held at Glenview prior to the holding of the school, and designed to stimulate interest for the Crusade, the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation and the JBS, he finally was able to get his hands on a copy of the document. After having assured the local JBS leader as to his discretion, Vignola displayed his newly-acquired copy and read passages from it to the gathered, which included *Chicago Daily News* columnist Jack Mabley. After obtaining a copy himself, Mabley broke out the story in *Chicago Daily News* headlines on July 25 and 26, 1960. The JBS, wrote Mabley, “is not a secret society in the normal sense of the world, but it tries to avoid publicity. Until this moment, it has been successful”. After a short biography of Welch and a history of the Society in the first article, Mabley’s second article warned readers about the threat to democracy it represented. To this end, he used quotes from Welch’s *Blue Book*, notably the one where the JBS leader wrote that

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<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

democracy “is merely a deceptive phase, a weapon of demagoguery, and a perennial fraud”, as well as those describing the JBS’ functioning<sup>145</sup>.

Mabley’s scoop was far bigger than the impact it actually had. The *Chicago Daily News* was only the third most read newspaper in Chicago and the story broke out on virtually the same day the Republican Party opened in Chicago the convention that nominated Richard Nixon as presidential candidate. The scoop generated some discussion and perhaps even some havoc among the GOP establishment and delegates, but was quickly drowned in the coverage over Nixon’s hard bargaining over his platform with the party’s moderate and conservative wings, represented respectively by Nelson Rockefeller and Barry Goldwater. Still, shortly after the convention ended, Mabley sent a copy to Alexander Dobish, from the *Milwaukee Journal*. After a short investigation on the JBS, the *Journal* headlined on July 31, 1960: “Group Branding Ike as Red Has 10 Chapters in Wisconsin” and described the Society’s basic functioning<sup>146</sup>. Other articles appeared in following days in other Midwestern papers such as the *Chicago Sun-Times*, as well as in the *Boston Herald*, the *Miami Herald* and the *Louisville Courier-Journal*<sup>147</sup>. The scoop had spread, but the melted pretty much away amid the 1960 presidential campaign<sup>148</sup>.

Welch blamed Schwarz for the leaking of *The Politician* to the press. In a 9-page letter to Schwarz, Welch pointed out that his organization had always participated with other anticommunist groups. “You have done”, he told Schwarz “a superb job of waking up a great many Americans to the dangers which we face. We have been trying to take those who were awakened and alarmed, give them an action program which coordinated their individual efforts and made those efforts cumulative”. Welch also claimed he once thought that some CACC-JBS collaboration could be possible, “without making any slightest change in the nature of our respective programs” and then listed the instances where Birchers had already helped the Crusade: “I know (...) that at your recent school in San Diego, some of the people who worked hardest to bring it off successfully were our members (...) We gave as much of a boost to your school at the Naval Air Station in Glenview (...)”. The same applied to the Crusade school in Milwaukee in February 1960,

<sup>145</sup> Jack Mabley, “Bares Secrets of ‘Red-Haters’: They Think Ike Is a Communist”, *Chicago Daily News*, Mon., Jul. 25, B1.; *Id.*, “Strange Threat to Democracy: Anti-Red Group Hits Leaders”, *Ibid.*, Tue., Jul. 26, B1.

<sup>146</sup> Alex P. Dorish, “Group Branding Ike as Red Has 10 Chapters in Wisconsin”, *The Milwaukee Journal*, Sat. Jul. 31, 1960, 1.

<sup>147</sup> Steve Allen to “Russ” (probably a Group Research Contact), Apr. 12, 1962, *GRC*, Box 3, F. “Allen, Steve”.

<sup>148</sup> An., “Wisconsin Group Reportedly Views Ike As Red, Traitor”, *Chicago Sun-Times*, Mon., Aug. 1, 1960, 15.

where “quite a number of the leaders and hardest workers in that endeavor were good friends of mine”. Welch then began pointed his finger at Schwarz:

“(...) we know that you personally have repeatedly been making extremely derogatory remarks about myself and The John Birch Society, to various groups and audiences; and that you have been reading from my private manuscript, called The Politician, to support your disparaging comments. We know that you have privately said things about me and the Society, to important conservative leaders, which -- in some cases anyway -- has caused these leaders to discontinue strong support (...). But most important of all it was one of your men in Chicago, a close associate of yours and a life member of your organization, who deliberately set off the publicity about the Politician, which has caused such a furore in several Midwestern papers and at some of other points in the country”.

Welch attempted to understand why Schwarz might have wanted to harm the JBS. He theorized about one former (unnamed) CACC member in Texas who had broken with Schwarz and joined the JBS. He conjectured that Schwarz’s unwarranted aggressive behavior could have been provoked by disagreement with *The Politician*’s conclusion. Still, none of these reasons, Welch thought, justified Schwarz’s hostility<sup>149</sup>.

In his letter to Welch, Schwarz confessed that his reply was hard to write and that a since a face-to-face meeting would be more appropriate to the purpose of settling this issue. He denied having anything to do with the leaking of *The Politician*, claiming that he had learnt about this indiscretion after it had occurred. “Frank Vignola”, Schwarz wrote, “is not active with the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and is in no sense under my direction”<sup>150</sup>. The crusader then lauded the JBS, which included “some of the finest, most patriotic and most dedicated people in America”, which had a program he qualified as “highly commendable” and which was led by a man whose “leadership and literary eloquence speak for themselves”<sup>151</sup>. Schwarz acknowledged having voiced criticism about the way the JBS was structured and admitted having sometimes used the word “fascist”: “I have meant this in the technical sense (...) referring to unified discipline and control, but since Communism has made fascist a smear word, I am sorry

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<sup>149</sup> Robert Welch to Fred C. Schwarz, Sept. 6, 1960, *HPP*, Box 121, “Subject File” Series, F. 6, “John Birch Society, 1959-1979”. Philbrick received carbon copies of Welch’s letter and Schwarz’s reply.

<sup>150</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Robert Welch, Sept. 19, 1960, *HPP*, Box 121, “Subject File” Series, F. 6, “John Birch Society, 1959-1979”.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

that I have used it”<sup>152</sup>. Schwarz concluded the letter noting that he had at one time personally commended the JBS to the American Security Council, regrouping right-wing businessmen and retired military leaders. This organization had helped implement the anticommunist educational programs using military facilities in accordance with the NCS 1958 directive. However, members of the American Security Council had received copies of *The Politician* and had asked Schwarz questions as to the book’s controversial conclusions. Schwarz admitted to Welch that it was essential for him to distance himself from the JBS so as to maintain good standing among the military:

“I appreciate fully the right to express your personal opinion, but unfortunately the material had become public and could be very damaging indeed particularly to military personnel if they could be linked to this accusation against their Commander-in-Chief. I therefore relayed the information to a few military personnel believing that I would be failing in my duty if I did otherwise”<sup>153</sup>.

This was the first and last exchange between Welch and Schwarz. One can suspect Welch was more or less satisfied with Schwarz’s explanation on how *The Politician* had been leaked and with his apology for the “fascist” word. But at the end of his letter, Welch had mentioned that regardless of what Schwarz did, he would not instruct Birchers to stop aiding the Crusade and using its material since “our job is to fight the Communists, and not to be sidetracked by personal animosities”<sup>154</sup>. Welch never again puffed Crusade projects, as he had done prior to the Glenview school, but he kept his word to the extent where he did not launch a call to boycott. Later, Welch went even further in his exoneration of Schwarz by elaborating a fantastical extemporization so as to explain the troubles the organization was encountering since the leaking of *The Politician*. When the press began intensely scrutinizing the JBS in early 1961, Welch claimed that all the attacks had a Communist origin, since they began with an article published in February 1961 by the San Francisco-based Communist newspaper *The People’s World*, a piece which according to Welch constituted “the mother article” for “scores of tirades against the Society”<sup>155</sup>. Later, Welch traced back all the attacks to the

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<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> Robert Welch to Fred C. Schwarz, Sept. 6, 1960, *HPP*, Box 121, “Subject File” Series, F. 6, “John Birch Society, 1959-1979”.

<sup>155</sup> Quoted in Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, *op. cit.*, 118.



Soviets themselves. It was a “Moscow directive of Dec. 5, 1960”, he claimed, that led to the assault on the Society<sup>156</sup>. But contrary to what Welch claimed, it was not an article from *The People’s World*, nor was it a directive from Moscow, which ignited the next storm over the John Birch Society. As in the summer 1960, the controversy was reignited by the conservative camp itself.

In February 1961, the JBS’ membership had grown to the point that that when Welch gave instructions to write letters demanding the impeachment of Earl Warren, a flood of angry mail poured into the offices of congressmen and newspapers<sup>157</sup>. After the editorial section of the *Los Angeles Times*, owned by the conservative Chandler family, had received what it called “a shower of letters”, the *Times*’ editorial board asked one of its seasoned reporters, Gene Blake, to investigate the origin of this mail campaign<sup>158</sup>. After a month of investigation, Blake published a series of five articles about the Society’s beliefs, organization and objectives. The series was rather descriptive and nonjudgmental in nature (“if the Birchers were being hanged, they were being hanged with their own words”, David Halberstam noted)<sup>159</sup>. The *Times*’ editorial which concluded the reports on the JBS, signed by Otis Chandler himself, condemned the organization in no uncertain terms. The *Times* restated its conservative stance, but indicted the JBS as a danger to conservatives themselves and rejected the idea of adopting “the techniques and the rules of conspiracy to fight Communists in Communists fashion”<sup>160</sup>. After a long list of Birchite beliefs the *Times* deemed appalling -the idea that the Presidency, the churches, the press, and other institutions were Red-infiltrated-, the editorial concluded that the “argument for conservatism” cannot be won “by smearing as enemies and traitors those with whom we sometimes disagree”<sup>161</sup>. The *Los Angeles Times* had just excommunicated

<sup>156</sup> Sherm Williams, “Moscow, Schwarz or Who Put Finger on Society? Bircher Welch’s Findings Highly Confusing”, *The Independent*, Tue., Oct. 13, 1964, B1.

<sup>157</sup> Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, *op. cit.*, 118.

<sup>158</sup> An., “Reading Before Writing”, *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Jan. 29, 1961, I4.; David Halberstam, *The Powers that Be*, Urbana and Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2000, 295-296.

<sup>159</sup> David Halberstam, *The Powers that Be*, *op. cit.*, 296.; Nick B. Williams, “A Report to the Public”, *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Mar. 5, 1961, B1.; Gene Blake, “The John Birch Society: What Are Its Purposes?”, *loc. cit.*, B1.; *Id.* “Blue Book Guides Anti-Red Society”, *Ibid.*, Mon., Mar. 6, 1961, 2.; *Id.*, “Birch Society’s Program Outlined”, *loc. cit.*, 2.; *Id.*, “Birch Program in Southland Told”, *Ibid.*, Wed., Mar. 8, 1961, 2. This moment was pivotal in the *Times*’ history, as it asserted the leadership and the independence of its new publisher Otis Chandler: “The Birchers were Pasadena, the *Times* was Pasadena, the Chandlers, both literally and figuratively, were Pasadena”, Halberstam writes. “This was not some fringe group the *Times* was dealing with, this was the very heart of its traditional constituency”. David Halberstam, *The Powers that Be*, *op. cit.*, 296.

<sup>160</sup> Otis Chandler, “Peril to Conservatives”, *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Mar. 12, 1961, G1.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*

from respectability a sizable share of its readership. In the following weeks, the newspaper received more than 15,000 subscription cancellations<sup>162</sup>.

The JBS controversy spread rapidly eastward and became truly the talk of the day. In Washington, some Congressmen voiced concern, even including conservative Republicans such as Senator Milton Young, of North Dakota, who called Welch's beliefs "beyond anything (...) Sen. McCarthy ever thought of". His colleague James Eastland, from Mississippi, hardcore segregationist chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, stated that his committee's records showed the Society to be "patriotic" (Welch himself later welcomed a congressional investigation of the Society if it was conducted by Eastland)<sup>163</sup>. California Governor Pat Brown proposed that HUAC scrutinize the Society and met with state General Attorney Stanley Mosk to discuss an investigation of the "ultra right wing organization", a move which the ACLU opposed, stating that an investigation would violate the First Amendment on the right to free speech<sup>164</sup>.

On April 1, 1961, the controversy reached the front page of the *New York Times*. Journalists exposed the extent of the Society's presence in many states and its support among retired military officers and many prominent businessmen. The Justice Department released a statement whereby new Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy called the JBS "a matter of concern"<sup>165</sup>. For some time, everybody, it so seemed, was taking a stand on the JBS. Cardinal Cushing of Boston affirmed being a Welch supporter, while Catholic periodicals such as *Ave Maria*, and two months later the Catholic Monthly *Extension*, denounced the JBS. The American Legion in Texas announced it did not support the Society, but shared its objectives. Richard Nixon criticized the Society, while his protégé John Roussetot, as other GOP Congressmen from Southern California, admitted their JBS membership<sup>166</sup>. Expressing the opinion of many, Ohio Democratic Senator Stephen Young called Welch a "little Hitler" leading a team of "right-wing

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<sup>162</sup> David Halberstam, *The Powers that Be*, *op. cit.*, 297.

<sup>163</sup> An., "Sens. Young, Mansfield Assail Birch Society", *Los Angeles Times*, Thu., Mar. 9, 1961, 24.; An., "John Birch Society is Held 'Patriotic'", *New York Times*, Tue., Mar. 21, 1961, 8.

<sup>164</sup> Jerry Gillam, "State Senators Watch John Birch Society" *Los Angeles Times*, Wed., Mar. 22, 1961, 2.; An., "Inquiry is Opposed: Liberties Union Takes Stand on John Birch Society", *New York Times*, Tue., Mar. 28, 1961, 11.

<sup>165</sup> John D. Morris, "Birch Unit Pushes Drive On Warren", *New York Times*, Sat., Apr. 1, 1961, 1.

<sup>166</sup> Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, *op. cit.*, 118.; David J. Thorman, "True Anti-Communism", *Ave Maria*, Apr. 8, 1961, and David Baxter, "The John Birch Society", Jul. 1961, Press Clippings found in GRC, Box 3, F. "Allen, Steve".

crackpots” who “would undermine the very foundations of American democracy”<sup>167</sup>. The controversy increased even further when on April 14, the *New York Times* headlined a JBS-related story. Gen. Edwin A. Walker, commanding officer of an Army Division in Germany, had been “urging the views of the ultra-conservative John Birch Society on his troops for the last six months”. The story compelled the Army to relieve Walker from office three days later<sup>168</sup>.

The Crusade, which already had schools planned in St. Louis in April and Miami in June, was not initially affected by the controversy. The *Times*’ series of reports on the JBS came out during the exact same week as the Crusade school Orange County took place, but it did not affect the event in the slightest. On the short term, the public unearthing of the JBS even helped Schwarz, as he and his collaborators appeared in contrast as responsible, sane patriots, regardless of whatever questionable statements may have been uttered in Orange County and in previous schools. Halberstam contends that after the Birch reports, the *Los Angeles Times* editorial team tried to appease its conservative readers. This included shortly after a series on “the blessings of Americanism”. The Crusade benefited for the following months of a very positive, almost enthusiastic coverage on the part of the *Los Angeles Times*<sup>169</sup>. In all likelihood, the decision to puff the Crusade came from higher levels than the *Times* editorial board, probably from Otis Chandler himself. When the Crusade organized in Los Angeles its largest school in late summer 1961, the “Southern California School of Anti-Communism”, prime coverage for the event was given by KTTV/Channel 11, since 1959 fully owned by Chandler’s Times-Mirror Company (which also owned the *Los Angeles Times*).

After the JBS controversy erupted, good coverage of the Crusade was emulated by many other newspapers, mostly in the West (*Los Angeles Examiner*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Albuquerque Tribune*), where the Crusade was often portrayed until at least the end of 1962 as a “respectable” counterpart to the JBS’. In a private letter after the JBS controversy broke out, Barry Goldwater criticized Welch for his beliefs and “the dictatorial stand he has taken in relationship to the organization”. In contrast, of the

<sup>167</sup> An., “Ohio Senator Raps Welch as ‘Little Hitler’”, *Los Angeles Times*, Tue., Apr. 4, 1961, 2.

<sup>168</sup> Sydney Gruson, “Birch Unit Ideas Put to U.S. Troops”, *New York Times*, Fri., Apr. 14, 1961, 1.; An., “Walker Is Relieved of Command While Army Check Birch Ties”, Tue., Apr. 18, 1961, 1.

<sup>169</sup> David Halberstam, *The Powers that Be*, *op. cit.*, 297.

Crusade's Phoenix school, he stated: "These are exceedingly high class, intelligent people who have been doing a very thorough job in our state in disclosing the goals of communism. If they confine their activities to this field, I can see nothing wrong with it"<sup>170</sup>.

Schwarz stayed above the fray. He respectfully asserted his disagreements with Welch, while at the same time accusing the media and the left of peddling hysteria. Three weeks after the Orange County school, and as the JBS controversy was at its peak, he was in Albuquerque talking to 1,500 people in the routine crowded hall at the University of New Mexico. Here, he voiced his discordance with Birchite beliefs, while condemning "the size and the intensity" of the attack on the JBS: "He was staggered", one reporter noted, "because people apparently unafraid of a billion Reds "were scared out their wits by the John Birch Society" "<sup>171</sup>. Three months later, Schwarz's a Southern California series of Schwarz's lectures was given prime coverage by the *Los Angeles Times*. The newspaper detailed Schwarz's views on the Birch phenomenon where the good doctor appeared the voice of reason itself. He voiced the idea that concern "without knowledge leads to fanaticism". He stated that "he does not know Robert Welch, head of the John Birch Society, but believed he has recruited "some very sincere people" ", and warned against "trial" and "condemnation" by newspapers<sup>172</sup>.

On April 12, 1961, the John Birch Society vanished from the headlines. Nikita Khrushchev announced that the Soviets had launched the first astronaut in space. After an hour and a half in orbit in the Vostok 1 shuttle, Yuri Gagarin returned alive and well on Earth. "Let the capitalist countries try to catch up", bragged the Soviet leader<sup>173</sup>. A few days later, on April 18, just four days before the Crusade was scheduled to open its anticommunism school in St. Louis, the nation learned that an invasion of Cuba was under way. Two days later, the Bay of Pigs Invasion was over with the complete obliteration of a CIA-trained landing force of 1,500 Cuban exiles, a fiasco largely resulting from an ill-prepared battle plan and President Kennedy's reluctance until the last moment to send air support to the invaders. These two events refocused the American

<sup>170</sup> Barry Goldwater to Jack Bell, Apr. 17, *BMGP*, MF 48, Box 013\_REEL021\_0003, pdf.,699.

<sup>171</sup> Sam Johnson, "Anti-Red Scores Profs Unwilling To Be Investigated", *Albuquerque Tribune*, Fri., Apr. 7, 1961, A1-A2.

<sup>172</sup> An., "Fanaticism in Fight Against Reds Assailed", *Los Angeles Times*, Wed., Jun. 21, 1961, B2.

<sup>173</sup> AP, "Soviet First in Space! Try to Catch Us, Nikita Taunts West", *Milwaukee Sentinel*, Thu., Apr. 12, 1961, 1.

public's attention on the Red threat, and for a time, "the right-wing scare seemed hardly worth the candle", Rick Perlstein writes<sup>174</sup>. Still, the bad press surrounding the JBS had been momentarily of use to Schwarz, but threatened to spill over onto the Crusade itself.

Moreover, the crusader were lucky because the content of the Orange County school had eluded the gaze of liberals. An episode that could have caused some trouble for the Crusade went relatively unnoticed. One the event's last day, a reporter from the *Orange County Register* asked Skousen and Philbrick their thoughts on the JBS. Both clearly put approved of it. "I warned Mr. Welch that this smear would come", Skousen said, "I talked to him about it three years ago"<sup>175</sup>. Philbrick added: "I do like and endorse the John Birch Society. People say it's dictatorial. But yet, nobody is forced to join (...). I have personally met with Robert Welch and I know of the good work he wants to do"<sup>176</sup>. The only article that apparently reported these statements was the aforementioned account on the Orange County school by Clancy Franks in the *National Guardian*. Schwarz seems to have subsequently requested his fellow "faculty" members to mute overtly-pro-JBS statements during their participation in schools<sup>177</sup>. The fact that only conservative newspapers and organizations attended the Orange County school spared the Crusade from the flow of controversy that would have most likely erupted had any important liberal organization learned about its "curriculum". For instance, the ACLU, which had been keeping a watchful eye on civic displays of anticommunism for years, was relatively weak in Orange County<sup>178</sup>. Thus, no ACLU observer was sent to the Orange County school, nor did any ACLU local contact inform the organization's national branch about the school's inflamed rhetoric as reported by the local papers.

On February 7, 1961, a legislative assistant of Democratic Senator Edward V. Long of Missouri contacted the ACLU's national headquarters in Washington and asked for any information it might have on Schwarz and the Crusade, since Senator Long had been invited to be part of the advisory committee of the "St. Louis School of Anti-

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<sup>174</sup> Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, *op. cit.*, 119.

<sup>175</sup> Quoted in An., "John Birch Society Backed By Anti-Reds", *Orange County Register*, Fri., Mar. 10, C3.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>177</sup> Herbert Philbrick to Unknown (draft, prob. reply to Harold H. Schmidt), Dec. 9, 1961, *HPP*, Box 121, "Subject File" Series, F. 11, "John Birch Society – General - 1959-1972, n.d."

<sup>178</sup> Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 56-58.

Communism” scheduled for April 24-28, 1961 at the Ambassador-Kingsway Hotel<sup>179</sup>. The only information ACLU found in its records was a biographical sketch of Schwarz and a short description of how anticommunism schools functioned. In its communication with Long, the ACLU added: “The Crusade is cast in the mould of extreme anti-Communism (...). So as can be learnt, there have been no reported instances of racial or religious bigotry in connection with the organization’s output”<sup>180</sup>. Satisfied, Long accepted the Crusade’s invitation to sponsor the school<sup>181</sup>. Several other Missouri politicians did the same, including Democratic governor of Missouri John M. Dalton, who proclaimed an “anticommunism week” for the end of April.

This second St. Louis school was another success, though less spectacular than the two previous ones in Phoenix and Orange County. “Our hearts are filled with expectation as we revisit the city where the anti-Communism school movement was born”, Schwarz wrote in his newsletter<sup>182</sup>. Due to a solid pool of local supporters, including the Schlaflys, the Crusade could count on many volunteers. As in all previous schools, the sponsors included members of the local business elite. In this case, the main benefactors were F. Gano Chance, from the Chance Corp. and Richard H. Amberg, publisher of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*. Both men mobilized many of their peers among Missouri’s industrialists for the occasion: John C. Baine, president of the American Transit Association, Edward C. Donnelly, president of a local advertising firm, Clark R. Gamble, head of Brown Shoe Company and Joseph Griesedieck, minority owner of the St. Louis Cardinals and head of the Falstaff Brewing Co.<sup>183</sup>

More than 5,000 people attended the school. The Orange County school having demonstrated that audiences could overflow hotel conference rooms, organizers rented the Keil auditorium in downtown St. Louis for the biggest evening sessions, where 2,000 earnest people heard Schwarz and Philbrick<sup>184</sup>. Two financial records were broken in St.

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<sup>179</sup> Robert L. Bevan to Lawrence Speiser, Feb. 7, 1961, *ACLUR*, MC001, 1917-, Box 706, Folder 5.; Richard Brown to Herbert Philbrick, Feb. 6, *HPP*, Box 45, “Subject File” Series, F. 11, “Anti-Communism School – 1958-1965, 1971-1977”.

<sup>180</sup> Alan Reitman to Robert Bevan, Feb. 17, *ACLUR*, MC001, 1917-, Box 706, Folder 5.

<sup>181</sup> Other sponsors included Senate Democrat Stuart Symington; St. Louis’s Democratic governor Raymond Tucker; Henry F. Koch and William Pfitzinger, respectively mayors of the St. Louis suburbs Florissant and Kirkwood; the St. Louis County supervisor James J. McNary, and Republican House Representative Thomas B. Curtis was also on the list of sponsors.

<sup>182</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Anti-Communism Schools”, *CACC Newsletter*, Apr.-May 1961, 2.

<sup>183</sup> CACC leaflet, “Greater St. Louis School of Anti-Communism”, April 24-28, 1961, Hotel Ambassador-Kingsway, 1961, St. Louis Missouri”.

<sup>184</sup> In terms of organization, the only glitch was Walter Judd’s absence. “The schools have grown greatly in size and effectiveness. I hope that you can come and speak at them as much as possible”, wrote Capt. Barnes to Judd prior to the St. Louis event. Judd replied:

Louis. According to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the Crusade netted a \$34,000 surplus when registrations, sales and the closing fundraising banquet were included<sup>185</sup>. One of Schwarz's local disciples, Mrs. Dane Smith, wife of an engineer who worked for the hydraulic supplier Vickers Inc. and who had founded the anticommunist group "Four Freedoms Study Group, Inc." in 1960, described the St. Louis school, in a letter to Philbrick, as "the most productive, financially, of any school held thus far"<sup>186</sup>. The closing banquet was the largest and most successful one to date, netting \$20,000, making it, in proportion to the total amount earned by the school, the most remunerative banquet in Crusade history<sup>187</sup>.

Yet, this time the crusaders had unsolicited guests. Stimulated by Sen. Long's request on Schwarz, ACLU officials realized they lacked information on the Crusade. The civil liberties organization suggested to the St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee (StCLC) to send observers to the St. Louis school, the content of which was milder than previous schools, but strong enough to as to raise ACLU eyebrows. In one of his lectures, Schwarz criticized "pseudo-liberals, self-proclaimed liberals" who, while despising communism, fought for the civil liberties of Reds, an idea the crusader ridiculed as suicidal. Later, making a link between the communism and the abandonment of morality, he attacked the ACLU for its campaign to have the Bible withdrawn from public schools<sup>188</sup>. Paul Terry affirmed that the Reds had infiltrated the motion picture industry, giving them power "to sell the Communist idea to a guaranteed weekly audience of 100 million Americans, including 11 million children". Capt. Barnes called Khrushchev "this fat, putrescent puppeteer (...) this brutal, barbaric bend of the Budapest – wading thru 40 years of human blood", and later established a link between Nabokov's novel *Lolita* and Communist immorality. After a review of the important court cases pertaining to communism in America, Fred Schlafly affirmed: "The question is, Why (sic) was

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"I wish I might be able to participate in the Schools more frequently because I think you are all doing a wonderful job at alerting our people (...) However, the Members of my party are so few and far between in the House of Representatives that no absenteeism is justifiable!" Richard Barnes to Walter H. Judd, Apr. 11, 1961; Walter H. Judd to Richard Barnes, Apr. 19, 1961, *WHJP*, Box 225, F. 3.

<sup>185</sup> "Some effects of a Christian Anti-Communism Crusade meeting in various communities", Report 5-21-62, *GRC*, Box 363, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – After-effects".

<sup>186</sup> Mrs. Dane E. Smith to Herbert Philbrick, May 5, 1961, *HPP*, Box 4, "General Correspondence" Series, F. 2, "Apr. –May 1961".

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>188</sup> The crusader also said that the JBS "has asked for an official inquiry, has promised to cooperate, I hope that inquiry will be held by legitimate bodies. Until then, I hope the newspapers will have the decency to shut up". St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee, *Communism on the Map*, *op. cit.*, 18-26.

Senator McCarthy despite his wonderful efforts, not needed and, in effect, killed. You can read the rolls of history in the last 20 years, that every effective anti-Communist has been vilified, smeared, frequently destroyed and, in many cases, at least discouraged from his work”. One of the American right’s biggest targets for years, Gen. George Marshall, was criticized by Robert Morris, who deemed him responsible for Korea’s failed policy while Chinese Communists were “on the ropes”. For his part, Skousen claimed Marshall took his orders “from the direction of the left wing branch of the State Department”, which led naturally to his discussion of Harry Hopkins and the atomic secrets caper<sup>189</sup>.

Receiving the initial reports from the StCLC, ACLU Alan Reitman, confirmed that he and other officials were concerned “that the effect of this conference will enflame community sentiments against the exercise of civil liberties” and requested from the St. Louis Committee a complete report “as detailed as possible, giving full information as to the content of the meetings, etc”<sup>190</sup>. Hence, the StCLC purchased tape recordings of all the event’s major addresses and assembled its most contentious statements in a 76-page transcript sent to the ACLU. The document’s preface stated that the St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee was not opposed to these view being expressed, but it questioned “Anti-Civil Libertarian positions presented in the school setting or in material implicitly considered factual and objective. We continue to be disturbed about the currency of accusation of subversion and disloyalty in American political discourse”<sup>191</sup>. In following month, the ACLU began to closely scrutinize Crusade activities, mobilizing its local branches to this effect where schools.

The Crusade had also captured the attention of the *New York Times*, which sent its reporter Cabell Phillips, who had been for fifteen years a Washington correspondent. Phillips attended one of the evening sessions of the school at the Keil auditorium and later interviewed local reporters and school attendees. The full-page article was published in the Sunday issue of the *Times* under the title “Physician Leads Anti-Red Drive With ‘Poor Man’s Birch Society’ ”. The piece was infused with the feeling that something was disturbingly wrong about the Crusade. Cabell Phillips acknowledged that the resemblance with the JBS was “comparative rather than specific. (...) The Christian Anti-Communism

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<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, 27-76.

<sup>190</sup> Alan Reitman to Harold Norman, May 5, 1961, *ACLUR*, MC001, Box 706, Folder 5.

<sup>191</sup> St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee, *Communism on the Map*, *op. cit.*, 18-26. iii.



Crusade, however, stops a good deal short of the vehement summons to retaliation advocated by Robert W. H. Welch (...). From the sessions he attended, the reporter commented that the charges “that certain individuals or institutions are “soft on Communism” or have been duped into “serving the communist cause” were implied rather than directly stated”, but it was obvious that most speakers “were suspicious of the patriotism of some members of the Kennedy Administration and the United States Supreme Court, of large segments of the Protestant clergy, of the United Nations and of professors and the intellectual community in general”. Phillips wrote that many students “believed that they had heard the truth about communism for the first time. They seemed more bitter about it than their teachers had been”. Phillips quoted a St. Louis reporter expressing anonymously his amazement that the school “had made a greater impact on the city” than he initially thought: whereas prior such anticommunist events “created little more than a ripple of public interest”, this one “has not only drawn quite substantial crowds, but they seem to be a cut or so above the social and intellectual average of such turnouts”.

Phillips revealed he was able to get a hold of Schwarz as he was “relaxing shirt-sleeved in his hotel suite” and quoted the crusader as saying:

“Certainly these people – these dedicated anti-Communists want a leader. They want to be led; they want me to lead them. But I won’t do it. If Bob Welch wants to do it he can; he’s got a program of action and a lot of ready resolutions. But it’s not my business. (...)” “You know”, he said leaning forward with a grin, “I sometimes get the notion he follows me around the country, signing up the people after I’ve worked them up”<sup>192</sup>.

When Phillips’ article came out, Schwarz send a letter to the *Times* claiming the article was filled with mistaken information<sup>193</sup>. The crusader pointed out several minor inaccuracies, but focused in particular on the article’s closing lines where Schwarz spoke of Welch. He dismissed these “alleged quotations” as not being “direct quotations but an attempted synthesis by the reporter of an extensive conversation and should be so designated”<sup>194</sup>. Three and a half months later, Schwarz received a reply from *New York*

<sup>192</sup> Cabell Phillips, “Physician Leads Anti-Red Drive With ‘Poor Man’s Birch Society’ ”, *New York Times*, Sun. Apr. 30, 1961, 77.

<sup>193</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 11.

<sup>194</sup> . The second statement commenting the *Times*’ letter was from *Id.*, “Anti-Communism Schools”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jul.-Aug., 1961, 1,3.

*Times* assistant editor Clifton Daniels. The journal apologized for not having answered Schwarz's letter right away. "This was an oversight, because it is our policy to reply to every reasonable letter from a reader". As for the inaccuracies Schwarz claimed the article contained, the *Times* only acknowledged "a few minor factual errors. We do not feel, however, that our readers have been in any way seriously misled"<sup>195</sup>. Apparently interpreting the letter as some kind of apology, Schwarz reproduced it in his newsletter.

True or not, the closing passage of Phillip's piece posed a clear problem. In the article, Schwarz had admitted that he was acting indirectly as the John Birch Society's main recruiting agent. This passage echoed Welch's statement in his letter to Schwarz seven months before, where the JBS leader mentioned that his groups was targeting for recruitment "those who were awakened and alarmed" by Schwarz. The crusader always denied the veracity of this quote. In 1962, before journalist Lawrence Spivak at the *Meet the Press* TV program, he qualified it as "a false statement". Unhappy to see his professionalism challenged on national television, Cabell Phillips wrote to his colleague Spivak a letter that referred to Schwarz in unflattering terms, insisting that not only did Schwarz say the things he said, but that the quote was in fact a verbatim transcription<sup>196</sup>.

The *New York Times* article was a factor in Schwarz's being profiled as toxic among liberals. By the end of 1961, it was now commonly remarked that "Schwarz stirs them up, Welch signs them up"<sup>197</sup>. However, it seems to have had no negative effect in terms of his popularity among Birchers. From June 12-16, 1961, the Crusade held a school in Miami at the Everglades Hotel, with the Bay of Pigs fiasco two months before setting an atmosphere conducive to anticommunism. Miami being one of the earliest pockets of JBS support in Florida, Birchers were present in the organization of the school<sup>198</sup>. The school's "Business & Industrial Chairman", Ted W. Slack, a local realtor known for

<sup>195</sup> Clifton Daniel, to Fred C. Schwarz, Aug. 22, 1961, letter reproduced in *CACC Newsletter*, Nov. 1961, 7.

<sup>196</sup> Cabell Phillips to Lawrence Spivak, Aug. 27, 1962, *Lawrence E. Spivak Papers*, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. (hereafter *LSP*), Box 217, "Program Transcripts and Related Material" Series, F. "Schwarz, Fred C. - 8/26/62".

<sup>197</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 7.

<sup>198</sup> When, around the time the Crusade school was organized, conservative anticommunist Ralph de Toledano wished to found an anticommunist book club in South Florida, his local contact Nathaniel Weyl told him that the JBS "cannot be ignored in the South Florida area as its members tend to be the activating force behind existing anti-communist movements and because it has access to the only available "cause" money as far as I can judge". Nathaniel Weyl to Ralph de Toledano, Jun. 5, 1962, *RDTP*, Box 20, Correspondence Series, F. "W".

distributing copies of *Operation Abolition*, was highly active in the local JBS<sup>199</sup>. The Miami school drew 5,000 people, a number which was becoming the norm<sup>200</sup>.

At the beginning of summer 1961, the Crusade, Schwarz told one journalist, had more than 40,000 supporters. He predicted that more than \$1 million would be raised by the end of the year, three times more than during the year 1960. Shortly before the Miami school, during a short trip to the East, the crusader was once again interviewed by the *New York Times*, this time by journalist Merrill Folsom, to whom the crusader stated that “perhaps we’ll have a big rally in Madison Square Garden soon”<sup>201</sup>.

### 11.3 The Fulbright Memorandum

On June 13, the Army investigation of Gen. Edwin Walker, relieved from his command in Germany for allegedly propagandizing right-wing material to his troops, submitted its conclusions. The inquiry cleared Walker of links with the John Birch Society, but reprimanded him for making “derogatory public statements about prominent Americans”, including former President Truman, to whom he had attributed Red leanings<sup>202</sup>. Walker thereupon resigned from the Army, making him for a few months the darling of conservatives nation, a heroic victim of an alleged program of “muzzling the military” from the part of liberals. On June 18, the *New York Times* headlined an article by Cabell Phillips revealing that many other high-ranking officers took part in programs aimed at indoctrinating “their commands and the civilian population near their bases with political theories resembling those of the John Birch Societies. They are also holding up to criticism and ridicule some official policies of the United States Government”<sup>203</sup>.

This was the first time the 1958 National Security Council directive pertaining to the military’s participation in indoctrination programs was publicly mentioned, though its exact content remained classified. The Department of Defense, Phillip’s article reported, was concerned by the fact that the directive was being used by high-ranking officers so as to justify the expression of views in which communism was perceived as essentially an internal threat and where “liberalism is equated with socialism and socialism with

<sup>199</sup> William Tucker, “Troops Chiefs Back Rightist Scouter”, *The Miami News*, Wed., Sept. 26, C1.

<sup>200</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Dear Friends”, fundraising letter, Jun. 22, 1961.

<sup>201</sup> Merrill Folsom, “‘Crusade’ on Reds is Brought East”, *New York Times*, Wed., May 10, 1961, 38.

<sup>202</sup> An., “Gen. Walker Rebuked for ‘Red Label’ Charge”, *Los Angeles Times*, Tue., Jun. 13, 1961, 1.

<sup>203</sup> Cabell Phillips, “Right-Wing Officers Worrying Pentagon”, *New York Times*, Sun., Jun. 18, 1961, 1, 56.

communism”<sup>204</sup>. Phillips reported that only a handful of such programs so far been conducted such as a two-day seminar held on a Naval Air Station in Minneapolis in April 1961, during which were shown *Operation Abolition* and *Communism on the Map*, meanwhile banned by Pentagon officials from the list of acceptable material.

Ten days later, J. William Fulbright, Democratic Senator from Arkansas and chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, sent to President Kennedy a secret memorandum prepared by his staffers. Fulbright had learned, at the same moment the Walker controversy erupted in April, that high-ranking officers had participated in a series of “Strategy for Survival” conferences held in Fort Smith, Fayetteville and Little Rock with speakers including Robert Morris, George S. Benson and Clifton L. Ganus of Harding College<sup>205</sup>. Fulbright claimed having uncovered several instances of military involvement in programs dedicated to “right-wing radicalism” under the cloak of educational seminars. “Frankly”, Fulbright wrote Kennedy, “I am outraged that the military undertakes to “educate” the public in any matter going beyond its own specialties. Furthermore, I believe, the philosophy represented, and what I believe to be a natural affinity for that philosophy, make this a dangerous development”<sup>206</sup>.

The “Fulbright memorandum”, warned the president that programs inspired by the 1958 NSC directive may “well become important obstacles to public acceptance of the President’s program and leadership, if they are not already”. Further, they might unleash “the desire of the people to “hit the communists with everything we’ve got”, particularly if there are more Cubas and Laos. Pride in victory, and frustrations in restraint, during the Korean War, led to McArthur’s revolt and McCarthyism”<sup>207</sup>. The 11-page internal document contended that the consequences of an outbreak of “this virus of right-wing radicalism” among the military could be horrendous, as was demonstrated by the recent revolt of the French Generals against De Gaulle<sup>208</sup>. The senator made a series of

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<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>205</sup> It took two months to Fulbright’s staff to gather many articles published by local newspapers across the country, which provided the big picture. Randall Bennett Woods, *Fulbright, op. cit.*, 282-283. One article included an alarming report in the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists about a two-day “strategy seminar” held in Chicago in September 1960. Gene M. Lyons and Louis Morton, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist*, Vol. 17, No. 3, Mar. 1961, 103-106.

<sup>206</sup> J. William Fulbright to John F. Kennedy, Jun. 28, 1961, *JWFP*, Series 4, “Defence Department”, Box 25, F. 4, “Fulbright Memorandum, 1961”.

<sup>207</sup> “Memorandum: Propaganda Activities of Military Personnel Directed at the Public”, *Ibid.*, Series 4, “Defence Department”, Box 25, F. 4, “Fulbright Memorandum, 1961”.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*

recommendations that included the removal of the 1958 NSC directive, a transfer of all prerogatives pertaining to military education programs to the White House and the setting up of civilian-controlled committees to elaborate any future such endeavor. Fulbright also recommended investigating the ties between the military and right-wing groups such as the Institute for American Strategy, which designed these programs.

For the Crusade, the most consequential passage in the document was as an attachment to the memo containing a non-exhaustive list of examples of problematic military participation in anticommunism educational seminars. Out of eleven examples, more than four were related to Schwarz or the Crusade in one way or the other. Number 3 on the list was the Glenview seminar of August 1960, presented in the document a good example of a reprehensible behavior. Number 7 was a seminar held in Corpus Christi, Texas, where Adm. Louis J. Kirm, "Chief of Naval Air Advanced Training, sat on the platform (sic). The main speaker was William P. Strube, Jr., who is said to be Texas leader for Dr. Fred C. Schwarz' Christian anti-Communism (sic) Crusade". Number 8, was an event where "Dr. Fred C. Schwarz held a seminar at Headquarters 8<sup>th</sup> Naval District, New Orleans, which was endorsed by Rear Adm. W. G. Schindler, Commandant (sic)". Number 9 was one of the Crusade's annual Houston schools organized by Strube at which one Adm. F.W. Warder, described as Commandant of the same 8<sup>th</sup> Naval District, gave the keynote address<sup>209</sup>.

Things could even have been worse for Schwarz, for two reasons. First, Fulbright did not know the full extent of Schwarz's involvement with the military. As already seen, the crusader's good relationship with the military establishment was under way by mid-1950's, when he spoke at the National War College and the ENT Air Force Base in Colorado Springs. Fulbright was unaware of the level of military involvement in the Crusade school in San Diego in August 1960, nor did he not know that in early May 1961, one month prior to submitting his memorandum to Kennedy, Schwarz had spoken to the Minneapolis Naval Air Station<sup>210</sup>.

Schwarz was also lucky that the memorandum made no mention of a critical report that the ACLU had forwarded to Fulbright's office, though the report may have helped

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<sup>209</sup> Attachment to *Ibid.*, 7-9.

<sup>210</sup> "Some effects of a Christian Anti-Communism Crusade meeting in various communities", Report 5-21-62, GRC, Box 363, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – After-effects".

turn Fulbright against Schwarz. By the end of May 1961, the ACLU's doubts about Schwarz were confirmed when ACLU director Alan Reitman received a communication from an Illinois branch, sending him a "superb enclosed report from one of our members", signed by a man who presented himself as "an ACLU member for six years", and also "a Naval Reserve Aviator at Glenview". He claimed that under the command of one Capt. Isiah Hampton, "NAS Glenview has probably gone further than most military installations in attempting to influence military personnel in a specific anti-Communist direction"<sup>211</sup>. The source had participated in the Glenview's "Education for American Security" program in August 1960 and, at some point, had dinner with the said Capt. Hampton "and Dr. Schwarz of the Christian Anti-Communist (sic) Crusade organization":

"Hampton and Schwarz stated that they were perfectly willing now to surpress (sic) any civil liberties necessary in order to "prevent Russia from taking over the U.S.A". They both look upon this matter as being one in which Russia has a time table which allows the USA only 5-10 years during which to resist or being conquered! (...) I suggested that the proper course of action might be to stress the advantages of democracy and stress the disadvantages of any totalitarianism. They disagreed. They saw nothing wrong with dictatorships as such -- only with Communist dictatorship. I personally believe that they would not oppose actions substituting a military dictatorship in the USA in the name of opposing Communism if they thought that it was feasible and possible"<sup>212</sup>.

The ACLU did not disclose this report to the press, probably to protect its anonymous source.

Already, in April 1961, the Bay of Pigs fiasco had strengthened the Kennedy administration's determination to impose civilian control over the military. In May, still unaware of the 1958 NSC directive, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara nonetheless decided that no further policy statements would be made by Army officials. In this context, the Fulbright memorandum received a positive reading by both Kennedy and McNamara<sup>213</sup>. However, even before the memorandum could be turned into concrete policy, Pentagon officials, in July, revealed its existence to Democratic Senator Strom

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<sup>211</sup> John McKnight to Alan Reitman, May 24, 1961, *JWFP*, Series 4, "Defence Department", Box 28, F. 3, "ACLU Clippings on "Project Abolition, 1961".

<sup>212</sup> Anonymous to John McKnight, Mar. 9, 1961, *Ibid.*

<sup>213</sup> Fulbright had told McNamara about the memo in mid-June. Randall Bennett Woods, *Fulbright, op. cit.*, 284.

Thurmond of South Carolina, right-winger of Dixiecrat fame who had extensive contacts in the military establishment. Thurmond burst into Fulbright's office, requesting a copy of the memorandum, but was turned down. On July 21, some of the country's major newspapers disclosed the existence of the memo<sup>214</sup>. Thurmond subsequently launched a series of orations on the Senate floor over this campaign "under way against the anti-Communist indoctrination of the American people and our troops in uniform", launched "by the Communist Party, U.S.A., in its official news organ, the Worker (sic), and is now taking the form of a widespread movement from innumerable sources"<sup>215</sup>. On August 2, under immense pressure to make the memorandum public, Fulbright reluctantly agreed to include it in the *Congressional Report*<sup>216</sup>.

Liberals widely approved the memo and Fulbright's reputation among them ascended, an odd occurrence for a Southern Democrat with a long record of support for segregationist policies. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers' union letter *Advance* thanked Fulbright "for saving the United States from takeover by a military junta". The memo was praised as common sense by the *New York Times* editorial, which suggested that Strom Thurmond "look at how foolish the John Birch Society looks before he goes in for more of his own brand of folly". In his syndicated column, Southern liberal columnist Ralph McGill hailed Fulbright for defending the country against "those who have allowed their strong personal feelings to equate social legislation with communism and to embarrass the nation and its security by seeming sometimes to forget we have a Constitution"<sup>217</sup>. On August 10, Kennedy announced he supported Fulbright, who has "performed a service" by warning the administration on the extent of mismanagement of military indoctrination programs<sup>218</sup>.

Already angered by the Walker case, conservatives were most stirred up when their fears about the "muzzling of the military" were confirmed by the memorandum.

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<sup>214</sup> Strom Thurmond, "Military Anticommunist Seminars and Statements", *Congressional Record*, U.S. Senate, Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 87<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, Jul. 26, 1961, 13594-13618.; *Id.*, "Military Anti-Communist Seminars and Statements", *Ibid.*, Jul. 29, 1961, 13998-14008.; *Id.*, "Military Anti-Communist Seminars and Statements", *Ibid.*, Jul. 31, 1961, 14169-14176.

<sup>215</sup> *Id.*, "Military Anti-Communist Seminars and Statements", *Ibid.*, Jul. 29, 1961, 13998.

<sup>216</sup> J. William Fulbright, "Memorandum Submitted to the Department of Defense on Propaganda Activities of Military Personnel", *Ibid.*, Aug. 2, 1961, 14433.

<sup>217</sup> Randall Bennett Woods, *Fulbright, op. cit.*, 289.; An., "Mr. Thurmond's 'Fundamentals' ", *New York Times*, Fri., Aug. 4, 1961, 20.; Ralph McGill, "The Hate Mongers", *Miami News*, Sat., Aug. 19, 1961, 2A.

<sup>218</sup> E.W. Kenworthy, "President Backs Curb on Military", *New York Times*, Fri., Aug. 11, 1961, 7.

Fulbright, in particular, became the right-wing's arch-opponent. Strom Thurmond called the memorandum an attack not only on the military, but "on the ability of the American people to understand the menace". He was joined by his GOP colleague Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, who called the document "shocking" and demanded an investigation on the issue<sup>219</sup>. *Newsweek* conservative columnist Ralph de Toledano saw the memorandum as stemming directly "from the philosophy prevailing in the new administration that the United States must get along with the Communists "at all costs" "<sup>220</sup>. *Human Events'* Allan Ryskind spoke against this "brazen attempt" by New Frontier liberals "the very persons who wax so eloquently about the guarantee of free speech in the First Amendment, to muzzle all those who disagree with the liberals (...)"<sup>221</sup>. Some conservative newspapers called for the impeachment of Fulbright. Many diehard right-wingers endorsed the Red plot theory<sup>222</sup>. Robert Welch launched one of his letter-writing campaigns, the self-explanatory Operation FIB ("Fulbright Intimidation Binge")<sup>223</sup>.

In July, after the controversy broke out, but before the full disclosure of the memorandum on the Senate floor, the Crusade was the subject of an article in *The Reporter*. In "Revivalism On the Far Right", an article with spoof drawings of medieval knights mocking the Crusade's name, journalist Philip Horton reported on the "new anti-Communist movement on the far Right" (Schwarz, Benson, Welch and Hargis), but two-thirds of the article focused solely on the Crusade, particularly Schwarz and Strube. Referring to Schwarz's controversial quote in Phillip's *New York Times* piece, Horton presented Schwarz and Strube as the far right's main recruiting agents, describing them as "having adopted techniques reminiscent of evangelists and patent-medicine salesmen". Horton warned his readers that Schwarz and his followers should not be dismissed as marginal, considering "their growing influence in the schools and their prestige among certain elements of the armed forces". For the writer, the Glenview seminar controversy

<sup>219</sup> An., "Asks Senate Probe Fulbright Memo", *Chicago Tribune*, Sat., Aug. 5, 1961, S5.

<sup>220</sup> Ralph de Toledano, Aug. 6, 1961, *RDTP*, Box 9, "Printed Matter - 1961".

<sup>221</sup> Alla Ryskind, "Behind the Fulbright Memorandum", *Human Events*, Vol. 18, No. 32, Aug. 11, 1961, 510.

<sup>222</sup> For instance of a text espousing the Red-initiated plot thing, Hannah Marie Haug, "The Fulbright Memorandum", *American Mercury*, Vol. 92, No. 475, Nov. 1961, 17-24.

<sup>223</sup> One man from Alabama predicted Fulbright's "death and possibly end with self-destruction because of your deeds against your home and neighbors". Russell H. Carter to William J. Fulbright, Sept. 18, 1961, *Gordon Hall and Grace Hoag Collection of Dissenting and Extremist Printed Propaganda, 1926, 1996 (bulk 1960-1990)*, Special Collections and Manuscript Collections, John Hay Library, Brown University (hereafter GHGHC), Ms. 76.23, "Militant Anti-Communist" (MAC) Series, Box 2.



illustrated “the manner in which these connections with the military can apparently grant a semi-official status to Dr. Schwarz and his forces”<sup>224</sup>.

Before the end of the summer of 1961, Schwarz’s relationship with the military was severed considerably. “Doors which had previously been open into military institutions were suddenly slammed shut”, wrote Schwarz, pointing his finger at the Fulbright memorandum<sup>225</sup>. People associated with the Crusade who had made speeches on military bases also found themselves out in the cold. Philbrick, who had been a popular lecturer over the years at military installations, (Peace Air Force Base in Portsmouth, N.H.; U.S. Navy at Kittery, Maine), found himself deprived of such speaking engagements. In 1962, Philbrick explained that military lecturing opportunities stopped with the memorandum, which mentioned “a number of speakers on communism, including such individuals as Dr. Fred Schwarz, the Honorable Robert Morris of Dallas University and myself”. The popular ex-spy lamented that though the document “contains no charges at all”, “since the appearance of the Fulbright Memorandum, not one single speech has been made by myself on a military base; indeed, there has not been a single invitation to make such a speech”<sup>226</sup>.

Added to the vexation caused by the termination of military contracts was the weight of the “Birchite stigma”, which had been growing since the August 1960 Glenview seminar. In mid-August 1961, Paul C. Payne, prominent Presbyterian educator and member of the board of the National Council of Churches, was appalled when someone sent him the letter that accompanied the free copy of *You Can Trust* sent to high schools in various states. In this letter, Prentice-Hall founder Richard P. Ettinger hailed the book as one of the most important his publishing house had ever produced. Payne wrote to *The Reporter*, congratulating them for their critical article on Schwarz and expressing his outrage at Prentice-Hall’s sponsoring of Schwarz’s book: “It is incredible that a reputable publisher should accept for publication such a shoddy piece of writing which, aside from its cynical objective and unreliable reportage is written in reprehensible English. (...) Add to the list of “Birchers” the Prentice-Hall Company”<sup>227</sup>.

<sup>224</sup> Philip Horton, “Revivalism on the Far Right”, *loc. cit.*, 26-29.

<sup>225</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 251.

<sup>226</sup> Herbert Philbrick to Wayne N. Leimbach, Apr. 5, 1962, *HPP*, Box 274, “General Correspondence” Series, F. 9, “Apr. 1962”

<sup>227</sup> Paul C. Payne to *The Reporter* Editor, Aug. 16, 1961, *ACLUR*, MC001, Box 706, F. 9. (Carbon copy sent to the ACLU).

## 12 APEX

“There is no doubt whatsoever that there is a growing and spontaneous grass roots citizens’ anti-Communist movement in the United States. A large part of the credit for this growth must be given to you and your colleagues. Many individuals and organizations are attempting to utilize this growing national sentiment for various reasons and purposes – some highly motivated and responsible; others for personal profit either in terms of money, power or prestige”.

- Conservative fundraiser and consultant Marvin Liebman to Fred Schwarz, 1962<sup>1</sup>

### 12.1 “The Largest Anti-Communism Rally in America’s History”

By the summer of 1961, the first contraceptive pill, manufactured by G.D. Searle & Co., was one year old. Though available on doctor’s prescription only, a few hundred thousand American women were already “Pill” poppers, a number that reached 1,187,000 by the end of 1962<sup>2</sup>. In a nation where about half of all adults were smokers and where cigarette consumption per capita was reaching its zenith, many people could find relief in a study published in the spring by the scientific advisory board of the United States tobacco industry. It showed that “after six years of scientific research, no evidence of any link between smoking and lung cancer had been discovered”<sup>3</sup>. The medical community, however, was not entirely convinced. Dr. Joseph G. Molner, a popular M.D. writing a syndicated column for hundreds of newspapers across the country, cautiously recommended: “A casual cigarette after meals, perhaps, or midway between may be relaxing and cause no ill effects. Indeed, if it really is relaxing, it thus becomes helpful. But a package a day (...) would in my opinion be heavy smoking for a heart patient”<sup>4</sup>. Meanwhile, computers were opening new scientific horizons. During the first months of the year, a high-speed electronic computer completed a complicated population genetic study and, for the first time, computers were used to perceive heart activity<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Marvin Liebman to Fred C. Schwarz, Apr. 4, 1962, *MLieBP*, Box B11, F. Fred Schwarz.

<sup>2</sup> Stephanie Bernardo Johns, *The Ethnic Almanac*, New York, Doubleday, 1981, 337.

<sup>3</sup> An., “No Evidence of Smoking and Cancer Link”, *The Age*, Thu., Mar. 23, 1961, 7.; In 1961, the annual per capita consumption of cigarettes by Americans aged 18 or older was about 4,171. Four decades later the number had dropped by half. From Joanne Luoto, “Reducing the Health Consequences of Smoking –a Progress Report”, *Public Health Reports*, Vol. 98, No. 1, Jan.-Feb. 1974, 34-35.

<sup>4</sup> An., “Heavy Smoking Linked To Heart Disease Rate”, *New York Times*, Sat., Sept. 9, 1961, 3.; Joseph G. Molner, “Heart Attack Victims Should Reduce Smoking”, *The Telegraph* (Nashua), Jun. 20, 1961, 6.

<sup>5</sup> An., “Computer Aids Genetics Studies” *Milwaukee Sentinel*, Tue., Oct. 10, 1961, 5.; An., “AMA Says Genetic Discoveries Among Top Findings In 1961”, *Lewiston Morning Tribune*, Sun., Dec. 31, 1961, 1.

In transportation, General Motors' Chevrolet remained America's favorite automobile series, especially the swanky Bel Air and Impala models. But with gas prices rising to more than 27 cents a gallon, the new trend was for smaller cars. GM showed signs of adaptation by releasing compact models such as the four-cylinder Pontiac Tempest, which ran on an impressive 20 miles for only one gallon<sup>6</sup>. Air transportation was improved with innovations such as an automatic air-control device which located the position of airplanes using pulse radio signals as well as another device enabling pilots to gauge the temperature of the air ahead of their plane<sup>7</sup>. By late summer, Procter and Gamble launched "Pampers", a new easy-to-use, disposable diaper. For the first time, American kids had the opportunity to play with a new Danish-designed toy made of interlacing plastic pieces called "Lego".

In sports, the burning question of the year was who, among Yankee players Roger Marris and Mickey Mantle, would break Babe Ruth's 1927 record of 60 home-runs in one baseball season. Marris won the competition in October. In 1961, more than 90 percent of American households now had television sets in their home, while fifteen years before the number was less than one percent. The three most popular TV shows were the Western series *Wagon Train* (NBC), *Bonanza* (NBC) and *Gunsmoke* (CBS). Movie tickets had raise to about 65 cents. America's most popular movie in the summer of 1961 was Columbia's WWII action-adventure *The Guns of Navarone* featuring Gregory Peck, though the year's biggest seller would remain Disney's *101 Dalmatians*, released in January and still on the screens in August. Elvis Presley's fans saw him on the big screen for *Wild in the Country*, released in June, his third feature film since he embraced a full-time movie career in 1960. In music, rock n' roll continued to dominate Billboard charts. The song of summer 1961 was the hit record *Tossin' and Turnin'*, by Bobby Lewis, the first of his two-hit wonder career. With Dave Brubeck's *Take Five* reaching an honorable no. 25 on the Billboard, jazz music made one of its last stands in the realm of pop culture. In July, novelist Ernest Hemingway died. According to the first statement released by his family, he accidentally killed himself while cleaning his shotgun.

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<sup>6</sup> Devon Francis, "10,000 Miles in a Tempest", *Popular Science*, Feb. 1961, Vol. 178, No. 2, 86-91, 216.

<sup>7</sup> An., "Patents of the Week", *Science News Letter*, Vol. 79, No. 10, Mar. 11, 1961, 158.; Stacy V. Jones, "Patent Device Enables Pilot to Anticipate Air Temperature", *New York Times*, Sat., Jul. 29, 1961, 23.

Meanwhile, the fight over racial desegregation, which had remained in national headlines since the Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown* decision, continued. At the beginning of the year, two black students whom the Federal district court had forced the University of Georgia to admit were suspended after their presence fostered a riot among white students. In March, President Kennedy signed his first piece of civil rights legislation, creating the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, aimed at curbing discrimination in federal contracts. While 1960 had been "sit-in year", with thousands of volunteers, mostly students, manning from February 1960 on to forcefully desegregate hundreds of eating places and store in the Southland, in 1961 the Civil Rights' movement shifted its attention on interstate travel. Attempting to test the Supreme Court's *Boynton v. Virginia* decision, which had declared unconstitutional racial discrimination in interstate passenger transportation, volunteers from the CORE (Congress for Racial Equality) and the SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) decided to organize interracial, interstate Freedom Rides throughout the South. The first one was assaulted in Anniston, Birmingham and Montgomery (Alabama), by angry, KKK-led mobs. Images of these events shocked public opinion across America and only increased civil rights activists' determination to carry on the struggle. They rejected Robert Kennedy's plea for a "cooling off" period for Freedom Rides<sup>8</sup>. During the summer of 1961, hundreds of CORE and SNCC activists took part in dozens of Freedom Rides across the South. As Freedom Rides multiplied, panic swept the Deep South, where the white population's long-established racial privileges were threatened as never before.

Nonetheless, for millions of Americans, particularly in the Southwestern sprawling white-flight suburbs where housing discrimination made the race issue professedly invisible, the Freedom Rides were only at best an echo from the distant South, or else, at worst, proof the Reds were masterminding racial strife so as to divide Americans and worsen the United States' image abroad. For many Sunbelt suburbanites, the fight against communism and the creeping forces of collectivism was the only issue which really mattered. And this fight was the cause through which all the problems of the day were looked at.

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<sup>8</sup> One civil rights leader told Kennedy "we have been cooling off for 350 years. If we cool off any more, we will be in a deep freeze". Derek Charles Catsam, *Freedom's Main Line: The Journey of Reconciliation and the Freedom Rides*, Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 2009, 233.

For these Americans, 1961 had not been a good year. It had begun with the national press' smear of the John Birch Society, which many saw as a worthy patriotic group, even though they might disagree with Robert Welch's ideas. In early August, California's Attorney General Stanley Mosk announced there would be no investigation of the JBS, but famously described with contempt its supporters as "wealthy businessmen, retired military officers and little old ladies in tennis shoes", and called them "pathetic"<sup>9</sup>. In spring came the dual humiliation of the Bay of Pigs fiasco and the Soviet space flight. The controversies over Gen. Walker and the Fulbright memorandum meant that the U.S. government was censoring patriotic soldiers while the Cold War seemed to intensify. In July, Kennedy asked \$3.2 billion from Congress in new military appropriations and warned Americans that they should prepare for an attack. In August, after the failure of talks over Germany's future, the Soviets began to seal East Germany and build the Berlin Wall in order to curb the outflow of East German. "When we reach the point where we have a bunch of namby-pambies as our generals (...)", declared Barry Goldwater, "I think we are farther down the road than we realize"<sup>10</sup>. In the spring and summer, William Fulbright made a series of foreign policy statements that called for the acceptance of coexistence and for the increasing of U.S. foreign aid. In late July, he ridiculed Goldwater's call for "total victory" over communism and in mid-August, as the memorandum controversy was raging, Fulbright successfully pushed a Senate bill supported by Kennedy which allowed borrowing from the Treasury so as to finance foreign aid programs<sup>11</sup>. The prime mastermind of the "Muzzling of the military" program was now spending borrowed taxpayers' money to fund programs irrelevant in the fight against communism.

It was against this background that the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade was prepared its largest, most ambitious effort yet, the "Southern California School of Anti-Communism", held at the Los Angeles Sports Arena (August 28-September 2). In this non-election year, the anger of grassroots conservatives in Southern California was about to be channeled through Fred Schwarz's grand designs. Not hundreds, but literally thousands of grassroots volunteers got involved in the event's preparation, including

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<sup>9</sup> An., "No Quiz Of Birch Group, Says Mosk", *Lodi News-Sentinel*, Thu., Aug. 3, 1961, 6.

<sup>10</sup> Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, *op. cit.*, 111.

<sup>11</sup> E.W. Kenworthy, "President Wins Key Senate Test On Long-Term Aid", *New York Times*, Sat., Aug. 12, 1961, 1.

3,000 Orange Countians who “attended and worked at the school during its five day stint”, one journalist reported<sup>12</sup>.

The Fulbright controversy galvanized anger directed towards the Kennedy administration. During the series of preparatory meetings for the school, Schwarz spoke out against President Kennedy’s recently-founded Alliance for Progress, a program aimed at stopping the spread of communism in Latin America through economic development and cooperation. Before hundreds of Los Angeles clergymen, he declared that “Communist leaders have apparently sold the West on the idea that communism springs from poverty and poor economic conditions”<sup>13</sup>. A few days later, before a hundred physicians at the Biltmore Hotel, he accused the Kennedy administration of working under a serious misapprehension: the better way to counter communism in Latin America, he said, was to “sell the idea of freedom”, which could be done “by recruiting a cadre of young South American intellectuals to go through the area’s millions. For that is exactly what the Communists are doing”<sup>14</sup>.

A few days later, the Los Angeles American Legion, which enthusiastically endorsed the school, suggested that the event’s “Youth Day” could feature a Marine Color Guard. Representatives of the schools’ “Americanism Committee” spoke to a Marine official who assured them that the Color Guard would be provided, but asked for a formal letter of request. The matter was passed on to the Marine Corps Base in San Diego, but a ruling from Washington denied the request. Orange County doctor C. Ellis Carver, who had been chairman of the first Crusade school in Los Angeles, wrote to Walter Judd: “It would appear that all such Patriotic Rallies are “controversial” and all attending are “suspect” in the eyes of the powers that be”<sup>15</sup>. GOP Representative John H. Rousselot, open JBS supporter, sent a telegram protesting the decision<sup>16</sup>. He was quickly joined by many volunteers, as well as sponsors of the school, which included some of the biggest

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<sup>12</sup> Frank Martinez, “Anti-Red Crusader Praises Countians: Inside View of Anti-Communist Rally”, *Orange County Register*, Sun., Sept. 3, 1961, A3.

<sup>13</sup> An., “U.S. Foreign Policy ‘Marxist’ ”, *San Antonio Light*, Fri., Aug. 11, 1961, 5.

<sup>14</sup> An., “Kennedy Latin Program Hit by Anti-Red Chief”, *Los Angeles Times*, Wed., Aug. 16, 1961, 36.

<sup>15</sup> C. Ellis Carver to Walter H. Judd, Aug. 27, 1961, *WHJP*, Box 48, F. 4.

<sup>16</sup> John H. Rousselot to John B. Connally, Aug. 28, 1961, *Ibid.*, Box 48, F. 4.

names among the Southern Californian elite. President Kennedy and Secretary of Defense McNamara opted for appeasement and intervened to reverse the decision<sup>17</sup>.

The Fulbright memorandum issue returned throughout the school's proceedings. Each mention of Fulbright's name fostered raucous booing. On the first day, retired Adm. Chester Ward took the stage to attack Fulbright for his "gagging and smearing of the U.S. military", an initiative which he thought originated from the *Daily Worker* itself. Ward, a former Navy judge advocate general and outspoken hawk, also ripped Fulbright for his "willingness to acquiesce in the imprisonment of 17 million East Germans"<sup>18</sup>. He also spoke out against George Kennan, Adlai Stevenson, and presidential advisers Walt Rostow, McGeorge Bundy and Jerome B. Wiesner<sup>19</sup>. During the "Youth Day" Wednesday night's mass rally, Philbrick's call for a congressional investigation of the effort to "muzzle the military" earned him a standing ovation from the 17,500 present in the Sports Arena and the few thousands outside<sup>20</sup>.

The *Orange County Register* correctly called the school "the largest anti-Communism rally in America's history"<sup>21</sup>. Initially, Schwarz did not consider the project realistic and agreed to it reluctantly only when Fullerton dentist William Brashears, who had chaired the Orange County school, committed himself to filling the Los Angeles Sports Arena's seats, with Schwarz signing up for the task of providing the "faculty". However, the event was largely the grand design of Patrick Frawley. The Schick-Eversharp mogul accepted the central chairmanship and coordinated the numerous citizens' committees that sponsored the school. He paid from his own pocket an advertising firm and mobilized the entirety of his contacts for the cause. In July, the North Hollywood Junior Chamber of Commerce sponsored the school and announced it would accept "contributions of \$1 or more from the public to defray the cost of tickets for any worthy high school or college student who wishes to attend this five-day school"<sup>22</sup>. Frawley subsequently arranged for the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce to organize a luncheon of businessmen promoting the school. Schwarz spoke before a crowd of 641 businessmen of the Los

<sup>17</sup> An., "Marines to Take Part in Anti-Red Meeting", *Press Telegram*, Tue., Aug. 29, 1961, A8.

<sup>18</sup> An., "Dodd Tells 'Stop Reds' Unity Need", *Los Angeles Examiner*, Tue., Aug. 29, 1961, 2.

<sup>19</sup> Louis Fleming, "New U.S. Foreign Policy Urged at Anti-Red School", *Los Angeles Times*, Tue., Aug. 29, 1961, 2,25.

<sup>20</sup> Louis Fleming, "Probe Into 'Muzzling' of Military Asked", *loc. cit.*, B1.

<sup>21</sup> Frank Martinez, "Anti-Red Crusader Praises Countians", *loc. cit.*, A3.

<sup>22</sup> An., "Junior Chamber Installation to Benefit Anti-Red School", *The News (Van Nuys)*, Thu., Jul. 20, 1961, 36-A.

Angeles area. By the time the lecture ended, he could count on the support of an important part of the Los Angeles business establishment, as the names of the school's steering committee later revealed<sup>23</sup>.

Frawley also managed to get Hollywood movie stars to appear at the school. Academy-Award winner George Murphy, seen dancing alongside Shirley Temple in the 1938 hit *Little Miss Broadway*, was not hard to convince. Frawley, who had recently completed his takeover of the Technicolor Corporation, already knew the former actor who had become a public relations executive for the motion picture industry (he notably worked for MGM and Desilu Productions). Three weeks after the school ended, Frawley announced that Murphy was appointed vice-president of Technicolor<sup>24</sup>. Murphy was hardly a newcomer in conservative politics: formerly a Democrat, he switched allegiance for the GOP in 1939 and served two terms as president of the Screen Actors Guild. Briefly chairman of the California GOP, he was a regular figure at Republican conventions and fundraising events and served as director of entertainment for Eisenhower's two inaugurations. Upon Frawley's request, Murphy accepted to serve as master of ceremonies for the Southern California school's evening sessions, which were usually the better attended. Murphy enjoyed himself at the school and later accepted to appear at the Crusade school of San Francisco a few months later, where he spoke about his experience of trying to root out the Reds in Hollywood during his tenure at the Screen Actors Guild<sup>25</sup>. In 1964, Murphy was elected Senator from California, defeating former Kennedy's Press Secretary Pierre Salinger.

Enlisting Murphy helped to get Ronald Reagan to appear at the Crusade school as well. Ever since Murphy and Reagan had met while shooting Warner's 1943 musical *This is The Army*, both men had remained close. Both went from Hollywood to Washington; both were former Democrats who had switched party affiliations; both were former presidents of the Screen Actors Guild; both later became wealthy spokesmen for corporations. Nine years the future president's elder, Murphy helped to awaken Reagan "right-wing conservative viewpoint, thereby strengthening his sense of nationalism and patriotism". Moreover, Murphy paved the way for Reagan by modeling for a successful

<sup>23</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Southern California School of Anti-Communism", *CACC Newsletter*, Jul.-Aug. 1961, 4.

<sup>24</sup> An., "George Murphy Made Officer of Technicolor", *New York Times*, Fri., Sept. 23, 1961, 30.

<sup>25</sup> Notes on School of Christian Anti-Communist (sic) Crusade, Oakland, California, Jan. 31, 1962 (Shover)", *JLSM*, 5.



transition from Hollywood to conservative politics. Author Robert P. Metzger contends that Reagan's political career would have never taken place had it not been for Murphy's Senate election, "for it was the landslide election of Murphy in 1964 (...) that gave Reagan the credibility to run for Governor of California in 1966"<sup>26</sup>.

In August 1961, Reagan had been for eight years host of the popular TV and radio series *General Electric Theater*, as well as the well-paid GE spokesman who toured the company's plants. His address against the welfare state on the Crusade school's third day was in the mold of his speeches in the late 1950's, where he typically decried big government and communism on a regular basis<sup>27</sup>. Reagan's appearance at the Crusade school was a minor moment in his political ascension, but nonetheless had its place. It belongs to those occasions which allowed him to position himself as an efficient right-wing spokesman, thus laying the groundwork for the period that immediately followed, in which his *GE Theater* contract ended, and where he officially switched his party affiliation from Democrat to Republican.

With Murphy and Reagan on board, Frawley had no difficulty fishing other big names for the school from the Hollywood Republican community. Singing cowboy Roy Rogers and his wife, actress Dale Evans, actor, singer and Chevrolet spokesman Pat Boone, Hollywood legend John Wayne and actress Irene Dunn joined in. John Wayne became and remained a lifelong Crusade supporter. When he died in 1979, Schwarz eulogized him in his newsletter by calling him "a personal friend" who "did not waver in his support of the Crusade when the storm of slander and lies was at its peak". Schwarz republished a letter he received in 1970 in which "The Duke", enclosing a \$500 check, wrote: "I opened my big, fat mouth at our Annual Bull Sale in Arizona, and look what I got for you"<sup>28</sup>.

Frawley wished to buy television air time and broadcast a series of prime-time lectures by Schwarz prior to the school. Schwarz was cool to the idea. "I did not enjoy television", he wrote. "I much preferred the inspiration of a live and visible audience where people

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<sup>26</sup> Robert Paul Metzger, *Reagan, American Icon*, Lewisburg, Center Gallery, Bucknell University & Robert Paul Metzger (Personal Copyright), 1989, 27.

<sup>27</sup> Anne Edwards, *Early Reagan*, New York, William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1987, 461-465; Thomas W. Evans, *The Education of Ronald Reagan: The General Electric Years and the Untold Story of his Conversion to Conservatism*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2006, 111-117.

<sup>28</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Communist Eulogy of John Wayne", *CACC Newsletter*, Jul. 1979, 2.

could react by nodding or shaking their heads (...)”<sup>29</sup>. Nonetheless, a week before the school, Los Angeles viewers could watch three half-hour sessions on TV Station KTTV/Channel 11 where Schwarz, in a studio without an audience, lectured to a TV camera. KTTV was an independent station fully owned by Times-Mirror Company since 1959. Air time was less expensive and easier to buy than was the case with the “big three” national broadcasting corporations (ABC, CBS and NBC). Moreover, as previously seen, Times-Mirror was ready to puff the Crusade, which its leadership saw as a tolerable counterpart to the John Birch Society. Schwarz’s televised lectures were cracklingly good. Frawley’s wife Geraldine told the crusader those were the best lectures she had heard from him. KTTV president Dick Moore suggested finding a sponsor who would televise the school’s evening sessions<sup>30</sup>.

In fact, a sponsor had already manifested itself. The benefactor in question was an oil magnate by the name of Charles S. Jones, head of the Richfield Oil Corporation. Jones was oil establishment incarnated, a 65-year old Texas native who had in the proverbial manner ascended from the very bottom to the very top his business and became in 1937 president of the Richfield Oil Co. One of President Eisenhower’s favorite golf and hunting partners, Jones was an important name among Republican fundraisers on the West Coast<sup>31</sup>. After the Crusade school in Orange County a few months before, a Richfield Oil representative bought the tapes of some lectures and had his relatives and acquaintances listening to them. “Finally”, a journalist who detailed the story wrote, “he got the boss to listen to them. The boss was inspired by the messages and took up the cause”<sup>32</sup>. Skousen’s personal notes contain the only available indication on the size of the sponsoring bill Jones footed: “When Richfield Oil saw what he [Schwarz] was doing they offered to put up \$30,000 to have the evening session of the school broadcast over TV

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<sup>29</sup> *Id.*, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 214.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> An., “Eisenhower Party Returns From Bird Hunting in Mexico”, *Chicago Tribune*, Wed., Mar. 20, 1961, A4.; An., “Charles S. Jones Of Richfield Oil”, *New York Times*, Fri., Dec. 11, 1970, 50. The Eisenhower Presidential Library has made available online a message sent by Eisenhower to thank him for a successful fundraising luncheon in Los Angeles in 1958. (Compulsory citation): Eisenhower, Dwight D. Telegram To Charles S. Jones, 1 November 1958. In *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower*, ed. L. Galambos and D. van Ee, doc. 913. World Wide Web facsimile by The Dwight D. Eisenhower Memorial Commission of the print edition; Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. Available online at < <http://www.eisenhowermemorial.org/presidential-papers/second-term/documents/913.cfm> > (Accessed March 5, 2011).

<sup>32</sup> Frank Martinez, “Anti-Red Crusader Praises Countians”, *loc. cit.*, A3.

each of the five night sessions”<sup>33</sup>. Regardless of what the cost might have been, Richfield had a good return on its investment. A journalist from the *Orange County Register* contacted four Richfield Oil gas stations, who told him “hundreds of costumers had paid their thanks for televising the sessions. During the week, sales pumped one-third, it was reported”<sup>34</sup>. During the three weeks following the school, Richfield received 6,545 letters about the show, of which only 44 were negative<sup>35</sup>. However, seeing Charles Jones sponsoring the whole venture had nationally-known syndicated columnist Drew Pearson raise his eyebrow: “Mr. Eisenhower has denounced right-wing groups in vigorous language, but his friend Jones either doesn’t read what the ex-President says or else doesn’t agree with him”<sup>36</sup>.

The school was preceded by a month of preparatory rallies held in Greater Los Angeles cities such as Van Nuys, Pasadena, Anaheim, Whittier, Long Beach and Santa Monica, attracting as few as 200 people in some places and as high as 7,000 in others. Press coverage (*Los Angeles Times*, *Los Angeles Examiner*, *Los Angeles Herald-Express*) was extensive and uncritical. Numerous civic organizations released press statements endorsing the school. “Dr Schwarz was almost ubiquitous in his appearances before this church group or that rally”, indicated a report from the liberal Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles (JFCGLA). “Even the arrival of his wife to Los Angeles received TV coverage”. The JFCGLA, which monitored the event, noted the atmosphere of the rallies which combined “evangelical Christianity and right-wing Republicanism”, but did not find the signs of anti-Semitism or other racial bigotry it feared it would find<sup>37</sup>.

Each day across the preparatory month, big names endorsing the school were announced. The steering committee’s 87 members included industrialist Henri Salvatori, chairman of the oil enterprise Geophysical Co. and one of the right-wing’s biggest funders the earliest supporters of Reagan; Alfred S. Bloomingdale, the inheritor of New York’s Bloomingdale Department Stores and creator of the Diner’s Club formula (also

<sup>33</sup> W. Cleon Skousen to Rick Skousen, Sept. 9, 1961, “Family News”, 9/4/61, *WCSP*, Binder “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism, Oct. 16, 1961 – 1961 Dct”.

<sup>34</sup> Frank Martinez, “Anti-Red Crusader Praises Countians”, *loc. cit.*, A3.

<sup>35</sup> Walter Wagstaff and Bob Temple to Otto Brandt, Sept. 28, 1961, *Dorothy Stimson Bullitt Papers*, Special Collections, Allen Library South, University of Washington (hereafter *DSBP*), Box 36, F. 6, “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism”.

<sup>36</sup> Drew Pearson, “Right Wing Gets Backing From Some Advertisers In California Drama”, *Star-News* (Wilmington), Thu., Feb. 15, 1962, 4.

<sup>37</sup> An., “A Report on the Southern California School of Anti-Communism, August 28 – September 1, 1961”, *GRC*, Box 299, F. “Sluis, Joost”, 2.

later a Reagan confidant); hotel baron W. Barron Hilton; Leo Bertisch, president of tobacco manufacturer United Whelan Corp.; John W. Dart, President of Rexall Drug and Chemicals Co.; Henry Duque, of Adams, Duque and Hazeline, the law firm Richard Nixon joined as counsel after his 1960 unsuccessful presidential run; George J. Flaherty, president of the Hollywood Film Council. As usual, health specialists were overrepresented among school sponsors, with more than five medical doctors among the committee. Present as well were two retired military generals, S.S. Jack and J.L. Jackson, respectively former General of the Marine Corps and Brigadier General from the Army. On August 20, Los Angeles newspapers ran a full-page advertisement announcing that “In Recognition of the So. California School of Anti-Communism: 41 Mayors Proclaim Anti-Communism Week”, including Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty, as well as those from almost all important municipalities of the Greater Los Angeles area: San Fernando, Inglewood, Santa Ana, Garden Grove, Torrance, Santa Monica, Costa Mesa, Whittier, Glendale, Anaheim, Long Beach, Culver City and Fullerton.

The school’s “faculty” included the usual figures of Schwarz, Barnes, Colbert, Philbrick, Skousen, Sluis and Strube. Anticommunist superstar Walter Judd was announced as speaker, but with GOP Representatives being so few in Washington, he made it known that he would not be able to make it. His name, however, was not removed from the ads, a fact that displeased him<sup>38</sup>. When the school management released a statement announcing Judd’s absence, his Washington office received many telegrams from activists begging him to come in Los Angeles (“School for Anti-Communism would more than off set your timeaway (sic) from Washington please come today important”; “Please come we need your support”)<sup>39</sup>. A high-tech solution was found. Judd’s speech was broadcasted from Washington on closed circuit television before the crowd at the Sports Arena. In this venture, the American Broadcasting

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<sup>38</sup> He told Schwarz that the only chance for him to attend would be if the Congress adjourned around that time, but in a letter to Jim Colbert during the summer, he claimed that this was unlikely. “All I want to make clear”, he added, “is that there is no authorization for making announcements or advertising that would give people the impression that I will definitely be on hand that evening”. But his demand to withdraw his name from the ads was not met, he wrote: “Frankly”, he wrote after the school ended, “I was a little provoked that so much advertising was given my appearance (sic) when they knew quite well that it was very conditional from the beginning”. Walter H. Judd to James Colbert, Jul. 17, 1961, *WHJP*, Box 48, F. 4.

<sup>39</sup> Respectively Jenny Lind; Thomas W. Eigel, George C. Stewart and Neil Fox; John C. Fisher to Walter H. Judd, Aug. 31, 1961, *Ibid.*, Box 48, F. 4.

Corporation (ABC) cooperated with KTTV. ABC officials later stated that “the request transcended competition with KTTV”<sup>40</sup>.

University of California physicist Edward Teller, often known as the “father of the hydrogen bomb”, had informed the school two months before its opening that he would be unable to attend. As in the case of Judd, his name was used profusely in school advertising regardless<sup>41</sup>. Teller, a Hungarian-born diehard anticommunist (real name Teller Ede), had the role of conferring academic respectability, particularly on geostrategic issues. Four days before the school began, the Crusade announced that Teller was being replaced by Major Alexander P. De Seversky, a 1917 Russian Revolution refugee who had worked on the design of the P-35 fighter and published the classic WWII *Victory Through Air Power*, which advocated the use of strategic air bombing<sup>42</sup>. De Seversky’s authority on defense matters was absolute and he had earned the sympathy of right-wingers by his frequent criticism of national defense underfunding and his calls for a more muscular foreign policy against the Soviets. Yet, having De Seversky come from New York on short notice was expensive. When the school ended, Schwarz told one journalist that the fees for the lecturers were all \$100 per lecture -the standard Crusade rate- “with the exception of one man, paid \$750 per lecture”, probably De Seversky, who was a highly in-demand consultant by politicians, government agencies and aerospace contractors<sup>43</sup>.

The school included new “recruits” for the Crusade. Prentice-Hall President John G. Powers delivered his talk on the benefits of profit-sharing. Tirso Del Junco, director of the surgical program at Queen of Angels Hospital and founder of an anticommunist society of Cuban exiles (Sociedad Ayuda Cubana anti-Communista), came to testify that fellow student at the University of Havana, Fidel Castro, was a Communist since the 1940’s. Future chairman of the California Republican Party, Del Junco had with the

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<sup>40</sup> Frank Martinez, “Anti-Red Crusader Praises Countians”, *loc. cit.*, A3.

<sup>41</sup> According to an anti-Crusade statement from the Socialist Worker’s Party in 1962, the Federal Trade Commission even opened an investigation for false advertising, but no charges were ever pressed. “Statement of the Executive Committee of the Oakland Branch, Socialist Workers Party Presented by Paul Montauk, Chairman, to the Oakland City Council, Tuesday, January 16, 1962, on the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade”, *Geoffrey White Papers*, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University -unique reference, Box 1.

<sup>42</sup> An., “De Seversky Will Replace Teller in Talks”, *Los Angeles Times*, Thu., Aug. 24, 1961, B3.

<sup>43</sup> For instance see Drew Pearson, “The Washington Merry-Go-Round”, *Greensburg Daily Tribune*, Fri., Feb. 18, 1955, 4.; Louis Fleming, “Anti-Red School Told Victory Plan”, *Los Angeles Times*, Sat., Sept. 2, 1961, 3.

school his first opportunity to be introduced to a wide American audience<sup>44</sup>. Schwarz's old Aussie pal John Drakeford had completed a PhD on Communist brainwashing at the Southwestern Baptist Seminary in Texas (*The Implications of Communism for Religious Education*)<sup>45</sup>. Drakeford replaced journalist Ed Hunter as the Crusade's brainwashing "expert" at this school and subsequent ones.

Two new characters were liberal-minded individuals who took the hard line on communism. C.C. Trillingham, Los Angeles County's Superintendent of Schools, came to speak about communism and education. Trillingham had refrained from partisan politics during his 25-year tenure as Superintendent, but he had earned good credentials among California liberals for his management of the school desegregation issue<sup>46</sup>. Trillingham was the only school "faculty" member who had actually visited the Soviet Union, in 1959, as part of a cultural exchange, an experience that awakened the anticommunist in him. Soviet schools, he said, were "lacking in lighting and sanitary facilities". He remarked that it seemed easier for Soviets to "send a satellite around the moon than to get a toilet to flush"<sup>47</sup>. Trillingham was of the mind that it was essential to alert "youngsters to the fact that trained agents of the Soviet Union are working like termites everywhere, probing for our weaknesses and attempting to take us over without a fight"<sup>48</sup>. During his presentation in the Crusade school, C.C. Trillingham gave a terrifying account of the Soviet school system, appealing solely to students' "blind emotion and fear", and detailed proudly by contrast the anticommunist program launched by the Los Angeles County School Board, the "American Heritage Project", the goal of which was to "educate our children in democracy and capitalism"<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> An., "Dr. del Junco To Discuss Castro, Reds", *The Press-Courier* (Oxnard), Wed., May 31, 1961, 11.

<sup>45</sup> Drakeford's thesis tried to demonstrate how Pavlov's dogs became the origins of the frightening Communist brainwashing techniques. "As with Pavlov's dogs [humans] can be conditioned and by using the controlled situation, isolating them from their normal frame of reference, using semantics, investigating the thought process, exploiting emotional disturbances, using a protracted educational process and carefully conditioning them to a materialistic philosophy of life, they can be brainwashed and prepared for their role in the task of conquering the capitalist world". John William Drakeford, *The Implications of Communism for Religious Education*, Ph. D. Thesis, Psychology and Religious Education, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1956, iv.

<sup>46</sup> Upon retiring he claimed that schools "must be conservative enough to maintain stability but liberal enough to insure progress". Bob Diefold, "25 Years in Difficult Post: County Chief Nearing Retirement", *Los Angeles Times*, Mon, May 29, 1967, A1-A2. Trillingham earned good credentials among Southern California liberals between 1962 and 1967 for his management of the school desegregation issue, where he tried to moderately accommodate civil rights demands. *Ibid.*; An., "Negroes' Grievances on Pupils, Teachers Hears", *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Jun. 30, 1963, 34.

<sup>47</sup> Soviets schools, he said, were terrifying as they "want to turn out a prescribed type of individual. (...) Independent thinking is discouraged. The student is part of a program. The teachers do not compare favorably with our teachers as to background". An., "School Chiefs Find Faults in Soviet System", *Chicago Tribune*, Wed., Nov. 4, 1959, A4.

<sup>48</sup> C.C. Trillingham, "Report Card: Schools Vital in Red Threat", *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Oct. 16, 1960, 13.

<sup>49</sup> An., "Unconscious Surrender to Kremlin Cited", *Los Angeles Examiner*, Wed., Aug. 31, 1961, 3.

Democratic Senator from Connecticut Thomas J. Dodd, member of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, had been assistant to the Federal Dodd became Representative of Connecticut in 1952, but lost in 1956 when he tried to unseat GOP Senator Prescott S. Bush. He was elected in 1958 for Connecticut's other Senate seat and supported almost all Democratic economic and civil rights legislation (his voting record earned him a 80 percent positive rating from the liberal American for Democratic Action in 1961)<sup>50</sup>. Having served during the Nuremberg Trials as aide to Justice Robert H. Jackson (chief U.S. prosecutor), where he contributed to the sentencing of Nazi officials Hans Frank, Wilhelm Keitel and Alfred Rosenberg, Dodd was a vigorous anticommunist who saw the Soviet Union as tantamount to Nazi Germany. Perhaps unparalleled among prominent liberal figures in this regard, Dodd was in line with most conservatives over foreign policy.

On Monday morning, August 28, Schwarz opened the school with his routine on Communist philosophy before 4,000 people. That evening came the first televised session. If reactions were good, the next sessions would be even more attended, and the school would easily cover the high rental fees for the Sports Arena (about \$20,000), plus pleasing its sponsor<sup>51</sup>. County Commander of the American Legion Charles K. Wright read the pledge of allegiance. The extravaganza's master of ceremonies George Murphy was applauded by the 5,000 attendees in the Sports Arena as he introduced Dodd and Schwarz<sup>52</sup>. Dodd's 45-minute presentation dealt with America's postwar "defeat after defeat in the hands of the Communists", a situation which called for not only a new American foreign policy, but a new "national unity between Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives, Catholics, Protestants and Jews"<sup>53</sup>. However, neither Dodd nor any other speaker mentioned the civil rights issue, i.e. the one issue which most fractured the United States at the time. The muffling of the race issue on the part of an outspoken advocate of civil rights was in line with the general tone of the Crusade schools, where everything seems to have been done to keep this burning question out of sight. Walter

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<sup>50</sup> Robert D. Novak, "What Is a 'Liberal'?" The "Liberals Themselves Find They Cannot Agree", *Wall Street Journal*, Fri., Jan. 12, 1962, 8.

<sup>51</sup> An., "'\$214,496 Net Raised by Anti-Red School'", *Los Angeles Times*, Fri., Oct. 13, 1961, B7.

<sup>52</sup> An., "A Report on the Southern California School of Anti-Communism, August 28 – September 1, 1961", *GRC*, Box 299, F. "Sluis, Joost", 2.

<sup>53</sup> An., "Dodd Tells 'Stop Reds' Unity Need", *loc. cit.*, 2.

Judd's televised speech similarly avoided it, though he was a moderate on social issues and supported civil rights legislation. After Dodd's call for national unity, Schwarz talked for an hour-and-a-half in what was the most watched speech he even made so far. "I spoke to my audience in my usual way and tried to ignore the television cameras. I told my jokes, used my illustrations and anecdotes, and developed the chain of reasoning in my customary forth-right and forceful style"<sup>54</sup>.

During the next evening, Tuesday, television viewers' ratings soared and, on Wednesday and Thursday evenings, the KTTV station, for the first time of its twelve-year history, topped all national broadcasters for two consecutive nights. The *Orange County* register mentioned a figure of about 3 million viewers, but this number can only be a realistic one if it constitutes the total viewership for all four nights<sup>55</sup>. A realistic figure would be about one million viewers on Wednesday and Thursday nights, which was the figure given by KTTV president Dick Moore to Walter Judd: "During the half-hour that you were on, for instance, you were first in the time period, the nearest competition being the program entitled "The Untouchables" of which you may have heard"<sup>56</sup>. In a letter to his son, Skousen mentioned a million and a half viewers. In any case, he said, "the whole city of Los Angeles finally got the message. The company that takes the sampling of viewers said they had never seen anything like it"<sup>57</sup>. Newspapers were flooded by letters about the show. Schwarz was often recognized by strangers in public places. "On several occasions people clapped when I entered a restaurant"<sup>58</sup>.

On the afternoon of the second day, Rear Adm. Ward delivered a speech interrupted by frequent applause, where he offered a five-point "victory-over-the-Reds" program: embargo on Cuba, resumption of nuclear tests, arming the merchant fleet with Polaris missiles, an end to disarmament and the shelving of accommodationists in foreign policy: "I am perfectly willing to pension all of them or put them in the housing

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<sup>54</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 215.

<sup>55</sup> Frank Martinez, "Anti-Red Crusader Praises Countians", *loc. cit.*, A3. Los Angeles' population was about a million and a half, with the whole metropolitan area including about two million and a half people in 1960.

<sup>56</sup> Richard A. Moore to Walter H. Judd, Sept. 5, 1961, *WHJP*, Box 48, F. 4. "From our standpoint as broadcasters", KTTV president Dick Moore wrote to Judd after the Sports Arena school, "it is most heartening to know that the public will respond so enthusiastically to serious and important programs. Inasmuch as the public has demonstrated here that this is the kind of programming it wants to watch, I certainly wish a way could be found for similar presentations (...)"

<sup>57</sup> W. Cleon Skousen to Rick Skousen, Sept. 9, 1961, "Family News", 9/4/61, *WCSP*, Binder "Hollywood's Answer to Communism, Oct. 16, 1961 - 1961 Det".

<sup>58</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 221.



administration”<sup>59</sup>. A triumphant Skousen came onstage and expounded on his historical theories. Harry Hopkins gave the A-bomb’s secrets and some uranium to the Soviets; WWII was primarily the creation of Stalin, who used Japan and Nazi Germany to create chaos and thus expand worldwide communism; the U.N. Charter was written by Alger Hiss (which was partly true); China fell to Communism not because of the Kuomintang’s inept regime, but because of Dean Acheson, George Marshall and Owen Lattimore; the Founding Fathers would have approved of the outlawing of the CPUSA; diplomatic ties with the Soviets should be severed, and the U.S. should leave the United Nations<sup>60</sup>. Skousen later noted: “The talk was interrupted several times as the crowd came to their feet cheering and applauding and almost scared me off the platform. I never remember having such a responsive audience”<sup>61</sup>.

The next day Skousen returned, this time speaking on “Communism, Psychiatry and Crime”, where the Mormon called for an investigation of organized mental health programs in America, where, he claimed, the Reds were brainwashing the mentally ill using Freudian techniques. He explained how mental health programs were a smokescreen for Communist propaganda targeting “maladjusted personalities that lacked fundamental understanding or goals in life”. According to Skousen, so-called mental illness was the simple result of a materialistic and atheistic culture<sup>62</sup>. He also attacked progressive education for indoctrinating youth with anti-American gibberish.

On Thursday, it so happened that the Soviets announced that they had resumed their nuclear tests. That evening, Alexander De Seversky explained that unless there occurred a sudden collapse of the Soviet state, war was inevitable and that “it would be a national suicide not to resume nuclear testing”<sup>63</sup>. “In a world riven into two by the emergence of Communism”, he added, “force still remains the final arbiter between these two irreconcilable ideologies”<sup>64</sup>. The aviation pioneer spoke prophetically about the anti-missile shield concept. In order to survive, he said, the U.S. had to give priority to the

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<sup>59</sup> An., “A Report on the Southern California School of Anti-Communism, August 28 – September 1, 1961”, *GRC*, Box 299, F. “Sluis, Joost”, 4.

<sup>60</sup> An., ““Unconscious Surrender to Kremlin Cited”, *loc. cit.*, 3.

<sup>61</sup> W. Cleon Skousen to Rick Skousen, Sept. 9, 1961, “Family News”, 9/4/61, *WCSP*, Binder “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism, Oct. 16, 1961 – 1961 Dec”.

<sup>62</sup> An., “Health Program Is Attacked”, *Lewiston Morning Tribune*, Wed., Aug. 31, 1961, 4.

<sup>63</sup> An., “‘A-Tests or Face National Suicide,’ De Seversky Warns”, *Los Angeles Examiner*, Fri., Sept. 1, 1961, 1.

<sup>64</sup> Louis Fleming, “Maj. De Seversky Urges Single Military Service”, *Los Angeles Times*, Fri., Sept. 1, 1961, B1.

development of the Nike-Zeus missile (an anti-missile missile) as the only way to protect the nation from the threat of intercontinental ballistic missiles. Walter Judd thereupon delivered his lecture from Washington on a close circuit. After his talk, George Murphy explained to the audience how Judd's televised speech would not have been possible without the help of the ABC network, which earned a standing ovation. Murphy then introduced Dr. George M. Hollenback, former president of the Los Angeles County Dental Association, who exhibited a \$5,000 personal check he wished to give to the Crusade: "I want to see this movement sweep like a tidal wave across the country", said the 74-year old retired dentist. "I would rather be dead than red", he told the audience, who offered another standing ovation<sup>65</sup>.

On the school's last morning, before 7,500 persons, Skousen, covering for Judd, spoke on "Moral and Religious Foundations in our Society". He decried the separation of church and state in public schools and lambasted the "Nietzschean" teachers promoting "God is Dead"-type of irreligion. He gave an exposé on the Judaeo-Christian roots of American culture by discussing each one of the Ten Commandments. He attacked "fuzzy thinkers" who wished to abolish capital punishment, most of whom were incidentally Communists and Socialists driven by their fear of being condemned for their treasonable acts<sup>66</sup>. The *Los Angeles Herald-Express* reported that Skousen was applauded for about five minutes. "Actually it was probably only about two minutes but it was wonderful to see the people respond to Gospel truths", Skousen wrote. "This talk is the highlight of the school", Murphy later told him<sup>67</sup>.

A crowd of 3,500 showed up at the "Design for Victory" banquet at the Shrine Exhibition Hall and 2,000 more were turned away due to lack of seating. Bill Strube gave a straight three-hour talk, which was relieved only by a five-minute break and a few songs from church singer Lee Childs accompanied by the El Toro Marine Base Band. People donated dollar bills not by thousands, but by tens of thousands. Earlier in the day Schwarz had exhibited proudly a handful of checks totaling \$8.975 and affirmed that

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<sup>65</sup> An., "Judd Says Communism Is Cancer That Perils U.S.", *Los Angeles Examiner*, Fri., Sept. 1, 1961, 2.

<sup>66</sup> An., "A Report on the Southern California School of Anti-Communism, August 28 – September 1, 1961", *GRC*, Box 299, F. "Sluis, Joost", 10-11.

<sup>67</sup> W. Cleon Skousen to Rick Skousen, Sept. 9, 1961, "Family News", 9/4/61, *WCSP*, Binder "Hollywood's Answer to Communism, Oct. 16, 1961 – 1961 Dct".

sales of literature and recordings amounted to \$10,000 in the first three days only<sup>68</sup>. When the complete audit figures on the school were released by the accounting firm Ernst & Ernst a month after, the results were as follows. The school's disbursements were \$96,496, but the revenues had been of more than \$311,253, resulting in a net surplus of \$214, 496. When revenues are broken down into different categories, registration receipts were \$109,615; contributions throughout the week were \$92,699; sales of books and records were \$29,094 and the "Design for Victory" closing banquet allowed the Crusade to earn more than \$69,745 in a few hours<sup>69</sup>. In one week, the Crusade raised almost as much money as it had during the whole year of 1960. The school's total attendance was about 50,000, ten times more than previous successful schools.

In the overwhelmingly conservative Southern Californian press, there was scarcely a negative word about the event. *Los Angeles Times* entertainment columnist Edda Hopper wrote that the people of Los Angeles were now "better informed today about Commie rats", and suggested: "How about the Republican Party adopting this cause and putting this into every city in America?"<sup>70</sup> In the same paper, former screenwriter-turned conservative columnist Morrie Ryskind wrote that "thos

e who should know tell me that some 3 million people listened in nightly. At any rate, I can honestly say that in my 25 years in Los Angeles I have never known a local event that so completely captured the enthusiasm of the city"<sup>71</sup>. For its part, the *Los Angeles Examiner* editorialized that it was "a tribute to the quality of the Los Angeles audiences that their attention and response were immediate. (...) The tremendous Los Angeles success of the School (...) now gives promise of its extension to other metropolitan centers"<sup>72</sup>.

The *Examiner's* sportswriter Vincent X. Flaherty called it "the most refreshing movement to be launched here in many a day". "Once anti-communism schools take root on college campuses", added Flaherty, "there will be no room for off-beat causes, such as the ill-starred San Francisco student riots against the congressional un-American

<sup>68</sup> Louis Fleming, "Anti-Red School Told Victory Plan", *loc. cit.*, 3.

<sup>69</sup> An., "\$214,496 Net Raised by Anti-Red School", *loc. cit.*, B7.

<sup>70</sup> Edda Hopper, "Entertainment", *Los Angeles Times*, Sat., Sept. 2, 1961, A6.

<sup>71</sup> Morrie Ryskind, "How to Put Communists in Red", *Los Angeles Times*, Fri., Oct. 6, 1961, B5.

<sup>72</sup> An., "Red Expose", *Los Angeles Examiner*, Fri., Sept. 1, 1961, B2.

Activities Committee”<sup>73</sup>. The *Orange County Register* congratulated Richfield Oil for sponsoring the show’s broadcasting, and claimed that the company “joins such other firms as Knott’s Berry Farm, Cast Federal Savings, Dr. Ross, and Schick Razor in attempting to alert the people about the dangers to the American way of life from socialism and big government”<sup>74</sup>.

Only a handful of letters to the editor criticized the school. One letter writer called the school a moneymaking scam, another described it as dangerous rabble-rousing. John Michel, president of the Los Angeles County Association for Mental Health, criticized Skousen’s dismissal of Freudianism and his insinuation that the Reds were using mental health programs to brainwash Americans: “Spreading distrust of those who are giving dedicated service to the treatment and rehabilitation of the mentally ill (...) is in effect an attack against the mentally ill themselves”, he told journalists<sup>75</sup>. Several doctors defended Skousen’s assertions. John E. Olson spoke against the “current philosophy which underlies much of the propaganda in the present strenuous drive for “mental health” clinics” (...)”<sup>76</sup>.

The school was not broadcasted outside Southern California, nor was it covered by any national newspaper. However, various organizations took notice. ACLU director Alan Reitman, in a private letter, wrote that the school “a hysterical approach to anti-communism and which can do much harm to civil liberties”, though he also warned local ACLU branches that the Crusade, “even though it may be responsible for deprecation on civil liberties -- is entitled to the same rights as any other organization”<sup>77</sup>. As the school was under way, a short, anonymous article appeared in Henry Luce’s conservative *Life Magazine* titled “Far-right Revivalists”: “A new kind of “revival meeting” (...) is being held with full hullabaloo and political portent in Los Angeles this week. (...) Schwarz tries to appear less extreme than the John Birch Society, and he publicly disavows Birchism. However, his local steering committees often included known Birchers”<sup>78</sup>. The short report mentioned that Schwarz, “who landed in this country with \$10 in his

<sup>73</sup> Vincent X. Flaherty, “Anti-Red School Impressive”, *Los Angeles Examiner*, Mon. Sept. 4. 1961, 19.

<sup>74</sup> An., “Anti-Communism School on TV”, *Orange County Register*, Wed., Aug. 30, 1961, C14.

<sup>75</sup> An., “Mental Health Leader Raps Call for Probe”, *Los Angeles Times*, Thu., Aug. 31, 1961, B8.

<sup>76</sup> John E. Olson to the Editor of the Los Angeles Times, Sept. 3, 1961, *WCSP*, Binder “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism, Oct. 16, 1961 – 1961 Dct”.

<sup>77</sup> Alan Reitman to Edgerton Grant, Aug. 30, 1961; Leanne Golden to Bill Crandell, Oct. 4, 1961, *ACLUR*, MC001, Box 706, Folder 5.

<sup>78</sup> An., “Far-right Revivalists”, *Life*, Vol. 51, No. 9, Sept. 1, 1961, 39.

pockets”, built the Crusade into a \$500,000 business, insinuating that this was a patriotism of the moneymaking type. Letters of protest or subscription cancellations poured into *Life*’s office. An attorney wrote that *Life*’s “usually unbiased reporting received a serious setback”<sup>79</sup>. A lady from Morovia urged *Life* to cancel her subscription: “I have no faith in your liberal “Compsymp” idealism”<sup>80</sup>. Schwarz noted in his newsletter that he had no way to know how many such letters were sent, but he suspected “they would have numbered in the thousands”<sup>81</sup>.

Three weeks after the school, Kentucky Senator John Sherman Cooper wrote to the State Department to request information on the Crusade after a church in his district had received an invitation to participate in an upcoming Crusade school in early November 1961. The State Department officials knew Schwarz well, since, at the time, they were closely following the development of Crusade’s international activities. Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations Brooks Hays replied with a short descriptive summary of Schwarz’s career and activities. His response noted “considerable attention and some controversy” generated by the Crusade, particularly the fact that Crusade activities “were cited several times by Senator Fulbright in his memorandum” Among the dozens of articles recently published on the Crusade, Hays enclosed in his letter the *New York Times*’ article by Cabell Phillips, and *Life*’s “Far-right Revivalists”<sup>82</sup>.

## 12.2 “Schwarzploitation”: The Spinoffs

The first spinoffs of Crusade schools appeared in late 1959. In a rather short time of a year and a half, numerous weeklong anticommunist seminars of some sorts were held in most states, in sum, a “Schwarzploitation” movement. “Dr. Schwarz”, wrote *Life Magazine*’s Keith Wheeler in early 1962, “holds no patent on the school idea and lately he has begun to have imitators who may also become competitors”<sup>83</sup>. Meanwhile, Daniel Bell noted “the fashionable spread of week-long seminars of anti-Communist “schools” (...) which swept sections of the country, particularly the Southwest and California”.

<sup>79</sup> Richard V. Jackson to Life Magazine, Sept. 18, 1961, *WHJP*, Box 48, F. 4.

<sup>80</sup> Mrs. Robert Zook to Life Magazine, Sept. 15, 1961, *Ibid.*, Box 48, F. 4.

<sup>81</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Life Magazine”, *CACC Newsletter*, Nov. 1961, 3.

<sup>82</sup> John Sherman Cooper to Brooks Hays, Sept. 18, 1961; Brooks Hays to John Sherman Cooper, Sept. 28, 1961, NARA, Rg 59, Stack Area 150, Row 4, Compartment 13, Shelf 4, Box 2319.

<sup>83</sup> Keith Wheeler, “Who’s Who in the Tumult of the Far Right”, *Life*, Vol. 52, No. 6, Feb. 9, 1962, 117.

These events, he wrote, promised “to initiate the student into the “mysteries” of Communism by unfolding its secret aims, or unmasking the philosophy of “dialectical materialism” ”<sup>84</sup>. The same year, campaigning for reelection against Richard Nixon, California governor Pat Brown expressed his fear over the “proliferation of right-wing groups and unlicensed anti-communist schools”<sup>85</sup>. In August 1963, *New York Times* journalist Tom Wicker contended that one of the strata of the Goldwater movement was composed of “professional exploiters – fake preachers, staging anti-Communist crusades, fake professors conducting mammoth anti-Communist “schools,” fake lecturers arousing eager audiences with shocking reports of treachery in high places”<sup>86</sup>.

The initial Crusade school lookalikes were in fact organized by Crusade associates and featured some of the same speakers. In September 1959, an “Austin Anti-Communism Week” was held in collaboration with the Austin Chamber of Commerce. It was chaired by Jack H. Sucke, a local insurance broker and one of Bill Strube’s acquaintances. During the week, for which Sucke had Austin Mayor Tom Miller proclaim an “Anti-Communism Week”, local prominent backers provided speakers “before 31 civic clubs (...) and spoke in the high schools to over 5,000 high school and junior high students, in addition to our Friday night and Saturday seminar”, Sucke wrote to Philbrick<sup>87</sup>. The second Austin school emulated the Crusade school model more closely. This time, it had daylong seminars organized at the Austin National Bank Auditorium, which, among six speakers, featured Strube and Skousen (Philbrick was invited, but could not attend). Presentations were interspersed with the showing of anti-Red films such as *Operation Abolition*<sup>88</sup>.

After his “born-again” anti-Red experience at the 1958 Crusade school of Long Beach, Freedom Center International’s leader, Walter Huss from Portland, was greatly inspired by Crusade’s San Francisco school in March 1960<sup>89</sup>. In the summer of 1960, Huss’ FCI sponsored its own anti-Red Portland, an event which surpassed in attendance what the Crusade had been able to accomplish up to that point. It featured appearances by Schwarz, Skousen and Arens. Philbrick was welcomed at the Portland airport by a flag-

<sup>84</sup> Daniel Bell, “The Dispossessed (1962)”, *loc. cit.*, 4.

<sup>85</sup> Carl Greenberg, “Birch Threat Almost Like Reds, Brown Says”, *Los Angeles Times*, Thu., May 17, 1962, A2.

<sup>86</sup> Tom Wicker, “Anatomy of the Goldwater Boom”, *New York Times*, Sun. Aug. 11, 1963, 171.

<sup>87</sup> Jack H. Sucke to Herbert Philbrick, Dec. 8, 1959, *HPP*, Box 3, “General Correspondence” Series, F. 5, “March 1960”.

<sup>88</sup> CACC leaflet, “Austin Freedom Week, October 15-22, 1960, Austin, Texas”.

<sup>89</sup> Scott G. McNall, *Career of a Radical Rightist*, *op. cit.*, 40.

waving delegation mostly composed of women and led by Mrs. Walter Huss. Eight hundred people attended the school held at the Multnomah School of the Bible. It was followed by two patriotic rallies at the local Civic Auditorium, the cumulative attendance of which reached 4,000 people<sup>90</sup>. This almost total emulation of the Crusade formula ended with a “Saturday night Freedom Banquet” climax where *Operation Abolition* was projected and fundraising pitches made for the FCI<sup>91</sup>. As was the case with other Crusade school spinoffs, the FCI worked to increase the Crusade’s exposure despite its influence remaining by and large limited to conservative and religious circles. It sold CACC promotional material, stimulated local interest for anticommunism, thus acting as multiplier feeding the success of the Crusade<sup>92</sup>. In November 1961, W. Cleon received news from his brother Leroy, from Portland, that “Walter Huss has continually indicated to everybody that he is an outgrowth of Dr. Swartz’s (sic) school”<sup>93</sup>.

The spinoff anticommunism schools peaked across 1961, in the wake of the series of successful Crusade schools held between August 1960 and April 1961. On March 11, 1961, in Iowa, the Dubuque Soil Conservation District organized an anticommunist seminar featuring local conservative speakers and the showing of -what else?- *Operation Abolition*<sup>94</sup>. Three weeks later, an eight-day anticommunist program was organized in Oxnard, California, by retired army commander Carl Wilgus. The event consisted in anti-Red lectures, in group listening of recorded tapes of Schwarz and the viewing of anticommunist films (*Operation, Communism and the Map*)<sup>95</sup>. In May 1961, former intelligence officer Charles Woolery organized a four-day “Greater Salt Lake City Anti-Communist Seminar” featuring big names of the anticommunist trail (Cleon Skousen, Rear Adm. Chester Ward, *National Review* collaborator Frank Meyer)<sup>96</sup>. In August 1961, in Illinois, John Harrell, a wacky businessman founded with a hundred followers the

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<sup>90</sup>*Ibid.*, 42-43.

<sup>91</sup> In a letter, Philbrick estimated the costs to bring all the speakers to Portland at \$5,000, which was pretty comparable to CACC schools. Herbert Philbrick to Mrs. Derrell Marks, Jun. 24, 1960, *HPP*, Box 3, “General Correspondence” Series, F. 7, “Jun.-Oct. 1960”.

<sup>92</sup> In his study of Walter Huss’ career, Scott G. McNall observed: “We may note that many of the previous meetings had been held in churches and buildings belonging to religious organizations, such as the Multnomah School of the Bible, and had been attended by people who might have had the same world view as Huss. To such people Huss was well known; to other (sic) he was not”. Scott G. McNall, *Career of a Radical Rightist*, *op. cit.*, 43.

<sup>93</sup> Leroy Skousen to W. Cleon Skousen, Nov. 6, 1961, *WCSP*, Scrapbook 1961, Nov.-Dec. Scott G. McNall, *Career of a Radical Rightist*, *op. cit.*, 39-59.

<sup>94</sup> An., “Anti-Communist Seminar Planned for March 11”, *The Telegraph-Herald (Dubuque)*, Mon., Feb. 27, 1961, 6.

<sup>95</sup> An., “Nazarere Church Sets Anti-Communist School”, *The Press-Courier (Ventura County)*, Sat., Apr. 1, 1961, 8.

<sup>96</sup> An., “Seminar Hears Call to ‘Boycott’ Russia”, *Salt Lake Tribune*, Tue., May 23, 1961, 10A.

Anti-Communist Christian Conservative Church that set up an anticommunist school on his Eastern St. Louis estate. But the venture ceased when the FBI raided the school so as to arrest a deserting marine Harrell's congregation had been harboring for some time<sup>97</sup>. A month later, the Copley Press organized in Aurora, Illinois, an anticommunist forum designed by its educational director retired Commander Paul Terry. It featured appearances by George S. Benson and Skousen<sup>98</sup>. "Anti-communist schools of various sorts are breaking out all over. Thanks God for every one of them (...)", James Fifield wrote in his *Los Angeles Times* Sunday column. "People who are competent to plead the FREEDOM UNDER GOD case are now having large, capacity audiences, instead of talking to a few", Fifield continued<sup>99</sup>.

A few times, the holding of a successful Crusade school in a given location directly sparked local offshoots. The 50,000-attendees-Crusade school at the Los Angeles Sports Arena generated dozens of spinoff schools across Southern California. Philbrick was invited to an auction aimed at gathering money to fund seminar-type schools. "Should you be unable to attend" wrote one Mrs. Janice Scott from the organizing committee that invited him, "you could help us tremendously if you would send some small item of personal property to be sold to the highest bidder at the "Great Celebraties" (sic) phase (...). All money raised at the auction goes to support other anti-communism schools"<sup>100</sup>. In the summer of 1961, shortly after the Crusade school in Miami, a group of patriotic right-wingers set up a well-organized "Fort Lauderdale Anti-Communism Crusade". "Among our many activities", their chairman proudly described in a letter to Barry Goldwater, "we maintain an anti-communism headquarters in downtown Fort Lauderdale where we conduct regular study groups which consist of the latest inforamatory films and books, and the best speakers in the field"<sup>101</sup>. In November 1961, they organized a three-day "Annual South Florida Anti-Communism Conference".

Among the Crusade schools spinoffs was the well-produced "Project Alert" program. It was founded by Walter Schindler, a Wisconsin-born WWII war hero who achieved the

<sup>97</sup> An., "Raid Retreat, Seize Deserter Hidden by Cult", *Chicago Tribune*, Sat., Aug. 5, 1961, S1.

<sup>98</sup> Skousen unleashed before 800 cheering persons an attack at the ACLU for its criticism of *Operation Abolition*. E. J. Michaels, "Freedom Forum Tells Way to Beat Reds: Capacity Audience Attends Sessions", *Aurora Beacon-News*, Fri., Sept. 29, 1961, 1, 7.

<sup>99</sup> James W. Fifield, "Dr. Fifield Says...", *Los Angeles Times*, Sun. Nov. 26, 1961, E2.

<sup>100</sup> Janice Scott to Herbert Philbrick, Sept. 25, 1961, *HPP*, Box 4, "General Correspondence" Series", F. 5, "June-Oct. 1961".

<sup>101</sup> Lee Baxter to Barry Goldwater, Sept. 5, 1961, *BMGP*, MF 44, Box 0\_12\_REEL017\_0002, pdf. p. 398-399.



rank of vice-admiral before retiring from the military. Established in the retirement community of Sarasota, Florida, Schindler set up in 1960 a modest educational initiative designed to awaken his co-citizens to the ills of communism and for which got the backing of the local mayor<sup>102</sup>. In September 1960, Schindler unexpectedly got the support of Benson's National Education Program, which at the time was also helping Schwarz at the Dallas Freedom Forum. The NEP sent its executive vice president Glenn A. Green so as to help Schindler organize a two-day anti-Red seminar which, overnight earned him the aid of local grassroots right-wing groups, the City Commission and the County Chamber of Commerce<sup>103</sup>. The first Project Alert seminar was so successful that a second seminar was organized two weeks later at the Municipal Auditorium, followed by dozens of other "Project Alert" seminars in Florida and, then, "established throughout the country and aimed at rekindling the spirit of American patriotism and alerting citizens to the dangers of communism", one journalist wrote in 1961<sup>104</sup>. Project Alert remained more a name to locally-based events than an organization. It never was a centralized organization with a standardized formula as to how the seminars were conducted.

Project Alert seminars came to greatly resemble the Crusade school format. The transformation was almost complete in the fall in 1961, the only difference being that those events, the duration of which varied from one place to the other, were not yet held one single stretches. For instance, the Project Alert seminar in Green Bay, Wisconsin, in the fall of 1961, began on October 5 with Philbrick's "Led Three Lives" lecture, followed five days later by Skousen's talk on "Communism and Education". In early December, Bill Strube lectured on "Is Co-Existence a Communist Conspiracy?"<sup>105</sup>. This last remaining difference disappeared when Project Alert organized a consecutive five-day "School of Anti-Communism" at Los Angeles' Shrine Auditorium in December, 1961, three months after the Crusade had organized its mammoth school at the Los Angeles Sports Arena<sup>106</sup>. The event consisted of a weeklong event ending with a

<sup>102</sup> An., "Fruitville Sewer Line Approved", *Sarasota Journal*, Tue., Mar. 22, 1960, 11.

<sup>103</sup> An., "Freedom Forum Breakfast Scheduled Next Tuesday", *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, Wed., Sept. 21, 1960, 2.

<sup>104</sup> An., "Gen Trudeau To Kick Off Project Alert", *Ibid.*, Wed., Oct. 12, 1960, 18.; Russell Butcher, "Lakeland Group Starts 'Project Alert' Plans", *Lakeland Ledger*, Thu., Jul. 6, 1961, 9.

<sup>105</sup> Project Alert leaflet, "Act, Inc., Presents: Project Alert, Green Bay, Wisconsin".

<sup>106</sup> See An., "Anti-Red Drive Will Start Today", *Los Angeles Times*, Wed., 25 Oct. 1961, B1.; An., "Dangers of Communism to Be Discussed", *Ibid.*, Sun., Nov. 12, 1961, OC14.; Donald L. Neff, "Kennedy Aides Held Soft on Reds: Project Alert Audience Cheers Demand to Impeach Politicians", *Ibid.*, Tue., Dec. 12, 1961, B1.; Donald Neff, "House Quiz Asked in L.A.; Communist Influx Claimed", *Ibid.*, Fri., Dec. 15, 1961, B1.

fundraising banquet, with hour-long sessions with a “faculty” that included nine Crusade associates: George Benson, Matt Cvetic (a former FBI infiltrator), Marion Miller, Bob Morris, Fred Schlafly, Cleon Skousen, Cmd. Paul Terry, James Utt, Chester Ward. The “board of directors” included William Brashears, organizer of the Crusade school at the Sports Arena<sup>107</sup>.

“Project Alert” was a carbon copy of a Crusade school. All that was missing was the Crusade logo and Fred Schwarz. Schwarz declined any participation in the project. He was at this point too busy with his own projects. Also, this seminar had gathered a large number of retired high-ranking military officers and Schwarz was weary about unnecessary stirring up criticism at a moment where large segments of the American public were increasingly worried over the extent of military involvement in right-wing activities. Furthermore, Project Alert’s had recently sponsored a well-publicized tour by South Carolina’s outspoken segregationist Strom Thurmond, in a context where Schwarz was doing his best to extend his neutrality on the race issue as long as possible<sup>108</sup>.

The good doctor’s prognosis on Project Alert was accurate. The Project Alert school at the Shrine Auditorium was televised, which exposed to the wider public a few shades of lunacy. Paul Terry implied that President Kennedy had “Red, red-blooded Americans” as his advisors and he called for the impeachment of politicians who are “soft on communism”. The retired Commander contended that criticism of American anticommunism “originated in the Kremlin and passed along “by the transmission of international communism” ”, as one journalist reported<sup>109</sup>. Retired Gen. Orvil A. Anderson took the stage to affirm that “democracy has never been compatible with initiative in the military sphere”. Col. Mitchell Paige, a Pacific War hero and Medal of Honor recipient, delivered a speech in which he claimed that as far as Chief Justice Earl Warren was concerned, “impeachment is not the proper penalty but rather, it appears to me, a more deserved punishment would be hanging”, a remark that generated cheers and laughs from the audience<sup>110</sup>. Col. Paige later apologized, but the controversy that ensued took its toll on the school, where attendance sharply dropped during the two last days,

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<sup>107</sup> Project Alert leaflet, “Souvenir Program: Project Alert, School of Anti-Communism, Shrine Auditorium, Dec. 11-14”.

<sup>108</sup> An., “Thurmond Assails Army ‘Muzzling’”, *loc. cit.*, 2.

<sup>109</sup> Donald L. Neff, “Kennedy Aides Held Soft on Reds”, *loc. cit.*, B1.

<sup>110</sup> Quoted in *Id.*, “Speaker Regrets Harsh Remarks”, *Ibid.*, Thu., Dec. 14, B1.

resulting in a net \$20,000 loss for Project Alert<sup>111</sup>. To Schwarz's astonishment, during a television appearance in Chicago, Los Angeles Methodist Bishop Gerald Kennedy, who had on various instances criticized the JBS, claimed that Schwarz had advocated the hanging of Earl Warren, a comment he later refused to retract when Schwarz asked him to do so<sup>112</sup>

The anticommunist school movement remained began to recede by late 1962, but nonetheless continued until the mid-1960's<sup>113</sup>. As late as 1965, a "Freedom School" organized by libertarian activist William LeFevre and funded by South Carolina's textile mogul Roger Milliken, held each summer a series of "one-week courses for "executives" and two-week courses for anyone" to expose socialism's shortcomings and teach the benefits of free enterprise<sup>114</sup>. The arch-fundamentalist leader Billy James Hargis, Carl McIntire's former associate, organized his own anticommunism schools. In January 1962, in a cheap motel of Tulsa, Oklahoma, Hargis organized his first "Anti-Communist Leadership School". For five days each year until the late 1960's, before modest crowds of a few hundreds composed of "college students, ministers, business men, doctors, publishers, and other throughout the country", one *New York Times* journalist reported, the Baptist preacher and his "faculties" railed against the Reds, liberals, anti-segregationists, "traitors" within the Federal government, the National Council of Churches. He pledged support to God, country and called for the election of right-wing Democrats in the South and right-wing Republicans in the North<sup>115</sup>.

The second major category of Crusade spinoffs was the "study group" movement. Less visible than anti-Red seminars, anticommunist study groups were probably more influential in the formation of anticommunist and conservative militants. In available sources, the first mention of anticommunist study groups appears in 1959, after the

<sup>111</sup> Bill Becker, "Attack on Warren Boomerangs On Anti-Reds' School on Coast", *New York Times*, Sun., Dec. 17, 1961, 58.

<sup>112</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 301-302. As many of the bad things said or written about Schwarz, this accusation has successfully passed the test of time and was sometimes repeated by journalists or even academic writers. In his - otherwise excellent- 1992 study *Search for the American Right-Wing*, political scientist William B. Hixson wrote about Schwarz: "Some of his "faculty members," however, were considerable more outspoken, including the man who announced that he didn't want to impeach Earl Warren, he wanted to hang him". William B. Hixson, *Search for the American Right-Wing*, *op. cit.*, 56.

<sup>113</sup> In 1962, a lobbyist for Boeing, William Fritz, organized showings of anticommunism films in the State of Washington, and set up meetings under the name "Lake Hills Anti-Communism School". In October 1962, a "Freedom Seminar" was organized in Denver, featuring Strube. On the Lake Hills event, see Shelby Scates, *Warren G. Magnusson and the Shaping of Twentieth-Century America*, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1998, 206. Those are only a few examples.

<sup>114</sup> Donald Janson, "Conservatives at Freedom School to Prepare a New Federal Constitution", *loc. cit.*, 66.

<sup>115</sup> Donald Janson, "Vote Push Urged for U.S. Rightists", *New York Times*, Wed. Jan. 31, 1962, 11.; Sydney Morning Herald "Special" Corresp., "Right-Wing Campaign In Decline in the U.S.", *Sydney Morning Herald*, Fri., Apr. 19, 1963, 2.

holding of the two first Crusade schools. The movement was sparked by two problems that were often acknowledged in both official Crusade literature and in private correspondence between the organization's collaborators. The first one was that because of a lack of resources, even when the Crusade grossed huge sums (1960-1962), no real effort could be made to coordinate directly local initiatives resulting from individual meetings or anticommunism schools. "Dr. Schwarz", Philbrick once wrote to Crusade collaborator Dr. George Westcott, "does a fantastic job supplying information on communism, however, I wish there was someone who could pick it up after the schools were over and keep the people active once they obtain the knowledge on communism – just being informed and doing nothing gets us nowhere"<sup>116</sup>. In 1962, Schwarz's hired adviser Marvin Liebman similarly affirmed that once Crusade events were finished, "a continuing organization - no matter how informal – should be in existence to continue educational work which would stimulate broader action"<sup>117</sup>.

The second problem of a similar nature had to do with the impossibility of organizing Crusade schools in every location where the demand existed. When the Crusade's mailbox began to overflow with proposals, the CACC newsletter suggested organizing a "Saturday Seminar": "This is a miniature school utilizing speakers and films: it could be held in most cities of the U.S.A. where a group of people willing to devote an entire day to study to acquire the knowledge necessary to serve freedom well"<sup>118</sup>. The suggested program included both lectures from a speaker sent by the Crusade ("Mr. W.P. Strube, Jr., Secretary of C.A.C.C., is conducting such seminars with great acceptance"), and the showing of various films, including *The Crimson Shadow*, featuring Schwarz<sup>119</sup>.

A few months later, a more convenient idea came up. The April 1959 newsletter contained an ad for an "Establish a Local Study Group" handbook, available for 50 cents: "Gather together a few of your friends of mind and form a local study group. For God, family and country, act now!"<sup>120</sup> The handbook, a complete "do-it-yourself" Crusade anticommunist method, was written by Strube. In the handbook's preface, the fiery Texan

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<sup>116</sup> Herbert Philbrick to George Westcott, Jul. 7, 1969, *HPP*, Box. 210, "Subject File" Series, F. 8, "Westcott, George – 1963-1974, 1980, n.d."

<sup>117</sup> Memorandum from Marvin Liebman to Fred C. Schwarz, Apr. 4, 1962, *MLiebP*, Box B11, F. Fred Schwarz.

<sup>118</sup> Ad., "Saturday Seminars", *CACC Newsletter*, Mar. 1959, 2.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup> Ad., "Local Study Group", *CACC Newsletter*, Apr. 1959, 3.

conceived the study group concept as much adapted to the needs of the day. “If we are to learn from the lessons of our militia in war times, from 1776 until the outbreak of World War I, our combat bands must be tightly organized”<sup>121</sup>. In the handbook’s second edition in 1960, Strube had developed further his method:

“Madison Avenue public relations and sales techniques must be applied to “smoothly” develop interest. A dessert party, backyard barbecue, or buffet dinner will entice friends that might not otherwise come (...). AFTER the social festivities announce that you have a special surprise for them. Tell them you have procured an interesting historical film entitled “Communism on the Map” that you want them to see. (...) call for a show of hands of those that would like to meet regularly to listen to tapes and films to obtain more knowledge”<sup>122</sup>.

Strube recommended ten people as an appropriate group size. The equipment consisted of a tape recorder and a movie projector. Study group members were to pay each a suggested fee of \$2 for basic registration, plus \$1 for each meeting. “The clinic tapes”, the handbook said, “cost \$30.00 per set, and 12 set of booklets cost \$20.00, or a total of \$50.00 is desirable for formation”<sup>123</sup>. Meetings, it was suggested, were to be held at least twice a month, with each once covering a specific topic. Study groups were to be given named so as to enhance the feeling of belonging: “Select a name such as “Northside Study Group”, “The Christian Cell”, “Patrick Henry Brigade”, “Paul Revere Lamp Lighters”, “Americans for Freedom”, “Youth for Victory”, etc. It is best not to pick up a city, county, or state name, as there will probably be other committees formed”<sup>124</sup>. The handbook also offered an extensive list of study material. All of Schwarz’s booklets were listed, as well as popular anticommunist films and various other propaganda films produced either by Benson’s NEP or the Federal Government. Listed were more than 200 recorded lectures by Schwarz, Strube, Sluis and others, given in the context of anticommunism schools<sup>125</sup>. “These tapes”, the crusader wrote, “have provided the mechanism by which any individual can most effectively inform his own friends and

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<sup>121</sup> William P. Strube, Jr., *Establishing a Local Study Group: A Method of Effectively Combating Communism*, Houston, Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1960, 2.. (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition).

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

acquaintances about the nature of the Communist threat and the program needed to combat it”.

In June 1960, Schwarz announced that more than a thousand Crusade-inspired study groups had been founded and that the movement “is spreading like a fire across the country”<sup>126</sup>. Barbara Hawkins, reporter from the *Lafayette Journal and Courier* described the multiplying of small local study circles in Lafayette, Indiana, composed of “persons you may see on the streets any day of the year”, and who have become dedicated “to learning, as thoroughly as possible, about communism” through listening to “tape recordings, often those of testimony given before congregational committees or made by persons who have had day-to-day contact with communism”. The article indicated that “across the U.S., as you read this, are 1,000 similar study clubs composed of equally dedicated persons, Democrats and Republicans, Catholics, Protestants and Jews”, though Hawkins did not mention whether she was referring specifically to outgrowths of the Crusade, or all anticommunist study groups throughout the nation<sup>127</sup>.

The Crusade study groups were a variant of a long tradition of pre-television civic middle-class hobbies. The late 1950’s was still the Golden Age of civic and religious life in America and extended until the mid-1960. Bible study groups had been for long a key church activity. Study groups specifically devoted to conservative causes spread rapidly in 1959-1962, but it seems that some existed before. Interviewed by Michelle Nickerson in 2002, Joanne Bennett, wife of a San Marino orthopedist, mentioned a few conservative study clubs that were active in South California as early as 1957. She and her husband attended a “Tuesday Morning Study Club”, which kept its members informed on domestic and international Communist activity. The group held monthly meetings and sometimes invited speakers for larger events held at a local hotel<sup>128</sup>.

In October 1960, Schwarz wrote that study groups “are springing up all across the country” and admitted being unable to estimate their number<sup>129</sup>. Various conservative groups nuanced the movement. In Lafayette, activists used Crusade material, but also

<sup>126</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Study Circles”, *loc. cit.*, 3.

<sup>127</sup> Article republished in William P. Strube, Jr., *Establishing a Local Study Group, op. cit.*, 4.

<sup>128</sup> Michelle Nickerson and Joanne Bennett, Conservative Women of California Project (Directed by Michelle Nickerson) Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton (hereafter *CWCP*), Transcript in F., “Bennett, Joanne, 3928, Nickerson, Michelle, 7/22/2002”, 2-7. Mrs. Bennett also recalled in her interview with Michelle Nickerson that study groups were well-suited for her, since neither she nor her husband could attend JBS meetings, many of which were held during the night, a bad time for parents.

<sup>129</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Anti-Communism Schools Continue its Great Work”, *CACC Newspaper*, Oct. 1960, 4.

followed guidelines “suggested by the Cardinal Mindszenty foundation which supplies a list of documents and a series of discussion questions to be perused by the group”, Barbara Hawkins reported<sup>130</sup>. In Missouri, the Four Freedoms Study Group (FFSG) was designed specifically to orient people towards the reading of anticommunist material (CACC or NEP stuff, J.E. Hoover’s *Masters of Deceit*, or the FFSG’s own newsletter *Tocsin*) and help them form their own groups and orient them towards the reading of anticommunist material<sup>131</sup>. In January 1961, in Spokane, Washington, a dentist by the name of John Ghigleri designed, with his wife and six other couples, an eight-week course “composed of literature on Communism from government and private sources and recorded speeches by nationally-known anti-Communist authorities”, one journalist reported<sup>132</sup>. In May 1961, Ghigleri’s group had grown into a movement in the state of Washington, with thousands of people adopting the program incorporated under the name Freedom Fighters, Inc. Ghigleri claimed that an organization regrouping study groups in Southern California representing 30,000 people was using the Freedom Fighter program<sup>133</sup>. “Anti-communism study groups are sprouting everywhere”, wrote columnist John Corlett, from Idaho. “In Boise three groups have about completed their course and another five groups are ready to be set up. And as they complete their study, more and more groups will begin the lessons”<sup>134</sup>.

Yet, the Crusade was the organization that had the greatest impact on the study group movement. The Crusade encouraged the formation of such groups and its derived products fitted well the study group context. Schwarz reported that a young man from Chicago who attended only one session of the 1960 Milwaukee Crusade school bought the tape recordings of all the speakers. Two months later, when Schwarz returned to

<sup>130</sup> Quote from article republished in William P. Strube, Jr., *Establishing a Local Study Group*, *op. cit.*, 4.

<sup>131</sup> Mitchell Rogovin, “In re: Four Freedoms Study Groups, Inc.”, Oct. 27, 1965, *WSP*, File “Internal Revenue Service Study of Ideological Organizations, December 31, 1965”, F. “G”, 2.; A woman wrote to Walter Judd “I work with a group of women who are interested in setting up an anti-Communist study group on Communism and Communist techniques (...) and are planning to use the material sent out by the Four Freedoms Group in St. Louis, Mo”. Mrs. T.L. Horn to Walter Judd, Jan. 11, 1961, *WHJP*, Box 226, F. 4.

<sup>132</sup> An., “Anti-Red Group Plans Expansion”, *Spokane Daily Chronicle*, Wed., May 31, 1961, 1.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*; A confidential memo from the National Education Association after a heated school board election in 1961 indicates that even the JBS might have at some point joined in after its disclosure on the national scene: “Phoenix and the suburbs have reportedly 100 study groups of the John Birch Society, some of which participated very vigorously in the school board election in Mesa”. Still, it remains unclear whether or not the author really wished to mean “study groups”, or rather “local chapters”. Edwin W. David, “Confidential Report: Mesa, Arizona, School Board Election in November 1961”, attachment to letter Barbara Byers to Donald R. McNeil, Nov. 21, 1961, *DMP*, Box 1, F. 1-3.

<sup>134</sup> John Corlett, “Communism May Be Top Issue in Elections”, *loc. cit.*, 4.

Chicago, he learnt that the man “had established 13 study circles”<sup>135</sup>. One of Philbrick’s informers, a dentist of Santa Rosa, California, reported on the progress of a study group formed by Joost Sluis six months before:

“This study group (...) it is not incorporated, as yet, but is holding semi-monthly public meetings, home study groups, utilizing a library of films, tapes, books, other study material and references that are being built by member donations. There are no dues, only a steering committee, whose theme is to educate as above mentioned and secure (...) experienced speakers on anti-communism to stimulate the complacent, and penetrate the Popular Front Mind.”<sup>136</sup>.

During Crusade schools, attendees were continuously requested to found study groups: “There is much more, but we have given you here today a guide. Continue your own study, form study groups in your neighborhoods, write to the Book Mailer (...)”, Philbrick said in Phoenix<sup>137</sup>. One woman later wrote to Barry Goldwater: “After attending Dr. Schwarz school of Anti-Communism here in Phoenix, we have organized a local study group – we are especially interested in pursuing the problems of propaganda and subversion in our schools, in literature, press, TV, radio, movies”<sup>138</sup>. The woman later asked her senator if he could help her in obtaining material for her study group. A husband and wife also wrote to Goldwater: “You will, no doubt, be interested to know that a few of us who attended the Christian Anti-Communism School in Phoenix recently are now getting groups together and indoctrinating them with what we learned, using tapes, movies and other available material”<sup>139</sup>. After the Orange County school in March 1961, a doctor from Garden Grove was credited in the *Orange County Register* for having founded more than 44 study groups<sup>140</sup>. After early 1962 the San Francisco Crusade school, another medical doctor named David E. Williams wrote to Walter Judd: “We have benefited tremendously from this activity carried on by Dr. Fred Schwarz and

<sup>135</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Study Circles”, *loc. cit.*, 3-4.

<sup>136</sup> R.C. Tangeman to Herbert Philbrick, Nov. 17, 1961, *HPP*, Box 4, “General Correspondence” Series, F. 4, “Nov.-Dec. 1961”.

<sup>137</sup> Donald R. McNeil, “Sessions of Christian Anti-Communism School, March 1, 1961”, Notes taken in preparation for an article, *DMP*, Box 1, F. 1-3, 2-3.

<sup>138</sup> Mrs. R.J. Leader to Barry Goldwater, Apr. 7, 1961, *BMGP*, MF 38, Box 011\_REEL031\_0004, pdf.,164.

<sup>139</sup> Mr. and Mrs. S. Knapp to Barry Goldwater, Apr. 22, 1961, *Ibid.*, MF 38, Box011\_REEL031\_0004, pdf., 128-129.

<sup>140</sup> Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warrior*, *op. cit.*, 62.



are instituting a personal program so that all of our friends in this area may have the benefit of this knowledge thru presentation by tape recording”<sup>141</sup>.

In March 1962, Jim Colbert told one journalist that he estimated that more than 5,000 study groups had been founded in the wake of Crusade activities. Though it is impossible to check the validity of this claim, it is undeniable that countless ordinary people inspired by the Crusade’s message were gathering regularly in church meetings, kitchens and living rooms so as to carry on the struggle. “In the wake of Dr. Schwarz’s immense rallies and “anticommunism schools” sprout militant “study groups” that expand, subdivide and multiply like human cells”, noted *Look Magazine* reporter Fletcher Knebel<sup>142</sup>. A 1962 report from liberal watchdog Group Research indicated: “Just what relationship these groups would have to the parent organization is not clear”<sup>143</sup>. In fact, most of them became independent from the Crusade once they acquired the material necessary to function. Schwarz admitted that it was “impossible to enumerate them all as most of them have not even informed us of their existence”<sup>144</sup>. In Houston, Strube told a reporter that he could not say how many people had been mobilized by the local Crusade branch. “There is no way to tell”, he said<sup>145</sup>.

There is much to suggest that most of these groups either disbanded once members had completed the anticommunist “course” they had been following, or that the groups continued to exist but switched their attention on other issues<sup>146</sup>. The spontaneous, unmonitored and decentralized nature of the anticommunist study groups was entirely in keeping with Schwarz’s dictum: “What we need is multiplicity, not unity”. Strube echoed Schwarz when he claimed that “we must create then thousand Anti-Communist organizations so that if one is smeared, there would still be 9,999 left”<sup>147</sup>. This might have been just as well considering the problems that more centralized organizations had

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<sup>141</sup> David E. Williams, Feb. 17, 1962, *WHJUP*, Box 70, F. “Judd, Walter H. – Hollywood Bowl, Oct. 16, 1961”. One of Skousen’s contacts in Vancouver reported: “Study groups are starting to appear here and I have been invited to attend one at a private home in one week. Letters to the editor of the leading newspapers here are swelling with anticommunist (and the usual Communist) letters”. John Clayton to W. Cleon Skousen, Nov. 10, 1961, *WCSP*, Scrapbook 1961, Nov.-Dec.

<sup>142</sup> Fletcher Knebel, “Rightist Revival: Who’s on the Far Right?”, *Look*, Mar. 13, 1962, Vol. 26, No. 6, 26.

<sup>143</sup> Group Research report, “Facts about: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade”, Sec. 4, SPEC, 5/1/62, *GRC*, Box 138, F. “Frawley, Patrick J.”, 5.

<sup>144</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Anti-Communism Schools Continue its Great Work”, *loc. cit.*, 3.

<sup>145</sup> Saul Friedman, “Crusade Against Commies Grows”, *loc. cit.*, 14.

<sup>146</sup> In their autonomy from the Crusade, study groups were quite similar to populist Louisiana Senator Huey B. Long’s “Share Our Wealth” Clubs in the 1930’s. See Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin and the Great Depression*, New York, Random House, 1982, 180-181.

<sup>147</sup> Respectively quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, “Will the Kremlin Conquer America By 1973?”, *op. cit.*, 25., and An., “A Report on the Southern California School of Anti-Communism, August 28 – September 1, 1961”, *GRC*, Box 299, F. “Sluis, Joost”, 13.

in controlling their respective constituencies. Despite their allegiance to Robert Welch and their support for his agenda, many Birchers focused their attention more on local issues than national ones. On several occasions, the JBS was criticized for controversial actions undertaken by its members on an independent basis. In late 1961, Rear Adm. Ben Morrell, leader of “Americans for Constitutional Action” (which became of the major U.S. right-wing groups up until the 1980’s), faced an analogous dilemma. Commenting on splinterism in his organization, he privately admitted that conservatism sold well “at the grass roots level”, but that “each local organization is inclined to establish its own concept of “conservatism” with the result that there could be almost as many differing definitions of “conservatism” as there are local organizations”<sup>148</sup>.

But the Crusade’s laissez-faire attitude became criticized from 1961 on. In March 1962, *Look* reporter Fletcher Knebel wrote that Schwarz was stirring up the citizenry and then leaving “a vacuum into which missionaries of the far Right promptly pour. Dr. Schwarz says this isn’t his fault. He urges that churches should guide the study groups to keep the extremists from gaining control”<sup>149</sup>. In contrast, Barbara Hawkins reported that in Lafayette, no one “turned into cranks, seeing Red spies behind every lamp post”. One member affirmed that they were simply all “reading newspapers and magazines with a completely different approach”; the more zealous of former students would “serve as study leaders for new units”, forming committees, showing films and trying to bring anti-Red speakers<sup>150</sup>. Still, Fletcher Knebel’s view was more typical of the increasing skepticism in the press concerning the study group movement: “Starting with sound Schwarz material”, Knebel wrote, “many “students” go on to find Communists in the White House, the income tax sapping America for a Communist coup and Red plots behind such proposals as countywide government for municipalities”. In sum, Fletcher added, “this author is convinced, after more than 100 interviews on the ramparts of the Right, that the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade is by far the most important single factor in the Rightist revival”<sup>151</sup>.

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<sup>148</sup> Ben Moreell to Harold P. Ransburg, Oct. 12, 1961, Americans for Constitutional Action Correspondence, Archives Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin (hereafter *ACAC*), MSS 309, ACA Trustees Moreell’s Correspondence, 1958-1964, Box 3, F. 1.

<sup>149</sup> Fletcher Knebel, “Rightist Revival: Who’s on the Far Right?”, *loc. cit.*, 26.

<sup>150</sup> Article republished in William P. Strube, Jr., *Establishing a Local Study Group*, *op. cit.*, 4.

<sup>151</sup> Fletcher Knebel, “Rightist Revival: Who’s on the Far Right?”, *loc. cit.*, 26.

### 12.3 “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism”

On September 29, 1961, three weeks after the Sports Arena school, the *Los Angeles Times* reported: “A giant rally at the Hollywood Bowl on Oct. 16 will present (...) a follow-up on the Southern California School of Anti-Communism”<sup>152</sup>. This one-night event was Pat Frawley’s brainchild. The idea was simple: a televised rally at the Hollywood Bowl “at which luminaries of the film industry would demonstrate their devotion and their opposition to Communist tyranny”<sup>153</sup>. Pat Frawley, to the end an ad man extraordinaire, could not help but ride the momentum of the school at the Sports Arena. Because Hollywood was often deemed by the right-wing as a hotbed of liberalism, because it was seen as having been an important target of Communist infiltration, because it was the main origin of American technicolored film spectacles and because movie stars had had a great time at the Sports Arena, an even bigger Red-slaming celebration was now possible. The show was to feature some speakers of the Sports Arena school and a cluster of important Hollywood personalities. The event would be once again televised by KTTV/Channel 11 with sponsorship by the Richfield Oil Corporation. “It will (...) be a demonstration that, if there is Communist infiltration in Hollywood, the majority of the film industry is comprised of patriotic Americans”, Jim Colbert added in the press statement<sup>154</sup>.

“Hollywood’s Answer to Communism” was scheduled for Monday, October 16. A roster of Hollywood actors would testify to their opposition to communism: Edgar Bergen, Pat Boone, Walter Brennan, Don DeFore, Andy Devine, Rock Hudson, Bill Lundigan, Jeanette MacDonald, Lloyd Nolan, Pat O’Brien, Gigi Perreau, Mary Pickford, Vincent Price, Gene Raymond, Ronald Reagan, Tex Ritter, Cesar Romero, Robert Stack, James Stewart, Marshall Thompson, John Wayne and Van Williams. Several other showbusiness personalities would appear: screenwriter and director Richard Breen, Nat King Cole, singer Connie Haynes, television personalities Ozzie and Harriet Nelson, producer Jack Warner and two of Hollywood directors, Walt Disney and John Ford. Once

<sup>152</sup> An., “Giant Anti-Communist Rally Billed at Bowl”, *Los Angeles Times*, Fri. Sept. 29, 1961, C16. The event was officially sponsored not by the Crusade, but for some reason by the Southern California School of Anti-Communism, which had been incorporated as a separate legal entity in early October.

<sup>153</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 221.

<sup>154</sup> An., “Giant Anti-Communist Rally Billed at Bowl”, *loc. cit.*, C16.

again, the master of ceremonies was George Murphy, recently appointed by Frawley vice-president of Technicolor. The show was planned to begin at 7 p.m. and last for about three hours. Admittance was free. This was almost like an Academy Award evening ceremony, but featuring exclusively Hollywood's Republican community.

Murray Schumach, *New York Times* correspondent, interpreted the show against the background of Hollywood politics. The show, he wrote, was a convenient way for Hollywood conservatives to rally against the film industry's liberals. In 1960, blacklisted screenwriter Dalton Trumbo had received screen credits for the movies *Exodus* and *Spartacus*, to the great displeasure of conservatives. Meanwhile some blacklisted actors and writers had filed a Federal suit against the Motion Picture Association of America and ten major film producers. "The attitudes of liberals here towards this meeting", Schumach said about the Hollywood Bowl event, "ranges from suspicion to hostility", since it would almost certainly increase hostility towards those blacklisted. Also, Hollywood liberals considered that "leaders of this rally failed to recognize what liberals regard as a similarity between communists and such extreme right-wing groups as the John Birch Society"<sup>155</sup>.

The Hollywood Bowl rally surfed on the wave of anticommunism which, in the few weeks after the Sports Arena school, had reached unprecedented heights in Southern California. Civic leaders, politicians, the Los Angeles business elite and family-oriented Hollywood stars had put their stamp of approval on hard-hitting anticommunism and ordinary people responded in kind. Schwarz reported in his newsletter that the school at the Sports Arena "marked a new era in the struggle for freedom", because of the "many streams flowing from this school through every department of American life - creating study groups, projecting patriotic programs, restoring religious faith"<sup>156</sup>. This euphoric vision was in fact reality as far as Southern California was concerned at the end of 1961, as later seen.

Frawley's Schick Safety Razor Company and Technicolor signed up with KTTV to sponsor the Hollywood Bowl show for the Los Angeles area and Richfield Oil, sponsoring the show outside Los Angeles, sold the idea to 35 stations along the West

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<sup>155</sup> Murray Schumach, "Coast Film Rally Against Reds Set", *New York Times*, Mon. Oct. 16, 1961, 33.

<sup>156</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "The Rising Tide of Patriotism and Public Concern", *loc. cit.*, 2.

Coast -mostly ABC, NBC or CBS affiliates, who cleared the air for the special program-, stretching from Seattle to San Diego and including other Western states such as Utah and Arizona<sup>157</sup>. Thus, the whole U.S. Pacific zone and a few other states got to see the show on primetime. In the message it sent to TV executives from stations airing the show, Richfield specified that it was not planning a single commercial break during the 3-hour broadcast, “with the exception of a short opening and closing statement plus occasional Richfield logo type supers”<sup>158</sup>. All in all, this “public service” cost the three sponsors (Richfield Oil, Technicolor and Schick) nearly \$50,000<sup>159</sup>.

Despite the success at the Sports Arena and the sponsorship by Richfield, many stations were apprehensive, particularly in areas where right-wing rhetoric was less fashionable. In Seattle, officials from the King Broadcasting Company, an NBC affiliate owning several local stations, expressed concern “about the possibility that this production might contain some of the highly undesirable attributes of what might be called the “Birch Society approach” to combating communism”<sup>160</sup>. Internal memos from the King Broadcasting Company show that the Washington State network accepted the broadcast when Richfield Oil executives informed them the oil company chairman, Charles Jones, was equally concerned about Birchite rhetoric popping during the evening. “However”, one of the memos indicated, “based on their careful investigation of the project and their experience with the Los Angeles telecast of the weeklong event last August, Richfield feels certain that there will be no such problem with the October 16 telecast”<sup>161</sup>. Richfield Oil representatives described the upcoming show as a “mature, dispassionate and accurate exposition of communism and the threat this philosophy holds for our way of life” and assured broadcasters that there would be no “irresponsible, emotional and misleading charges (...) or character assassination in any form”. Yet, all this did not even reassure fully the King Broadcasting Co. A King Company executive wrote to the advertising firm representing Richfield, adding that one concern was that “you still cannot have complete control over everything that is said from the stage of the

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<sup>157</sup> “Information Regarding 3-Hour Videotape “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism””, *GRC*, Box 363, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade - - Correspondence”.

<sup>158</sup> Walter Wagstaff and Bob Temple to Otto Brandt, Sept. 28, 1961, *DSBP*, Box 36, F. 6, “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism”.

<sup>159</sup> Bill Becker, “Right-Wing Groups Multiplying Appeals in Southern California”, *loc. cit.*, 43.

<sup>160</sup> Walter Wagstaff and Bob Temple to Otto Brandt, Sept. 28, 1961, *DSBP*, Box 36, F. 6, “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism”.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*

Hollywood Bowl”<sup>162</sup>. In the end, the King Broadcasting Co. decided to balance the Hollywood show by airing, as a more serious and “intellectual” counterpart, a discussion program on communism titled “The Threat”<sup>163</sup>.

Quite noteworthy is the fact that Lee Schulman, from the King Broadcasting Co. had an exchange with a representative of the Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs of the State Department, Roger Tubby. The representative claimed that State Department officials were well-informed about the Crusade by “were not concerned about it”, a statement which was clearly false. Further, when Schulman revealed his network’s idea of the high-brow discussion program “The Threat”, the State Department representative was, according to Schulman “enthusiastically interested and extremely complimentary regards. The representative went as far as suggesting that “The Threat” discussion show include Attorney General Robert Kennedy, “who (...), in his opinion, really had as much first hand working knowledge of the entire orderly control of the Communist threat in our country as any top American”<sup>164</sup>. The proposal was accepted and a week after “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism”, stations owned by the King Broadcasting Co. in the State of Washington aired “The Threat”, where a panel of academics that included Bob Kennedy, Gilbert Seldes, Professor of Communications (University of Pennsylvania) and Richard H. Revere, from the *New Yorker Magazine*, all raised misgivings about the Crusade’s approach to anticommunism. Regardless of its official claims, the State Department was in fact concerned about the proliferation of right-wing activity nationwide and considered the Crusade as the chief offender. At a moment where the strife in the South over desegregation was providing severe embarrassment within the Cold War context, the Kennedy administration’s worst nightmare was a potential surge in popularity of Goldwaterite conservatism<sup>165</sup>.

On October 16, 1961, the *Long-Beach Press-Telegram* announced that Fred C. Schwarz, “the summer season’s most highly rated new television personality” returns

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<sup>162</sup> Otto Brandt to Kai Jorgensen, Oct. 2, 1961, *Ibid.*, Box 36, F. 6, “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism”.

<sup>163</sup> KREM Broadcasting Company president (unsigned) to Ben F. Waple, Jan. 2, 1962, *Ibid.*, Box 36, F. 6, “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism”.

<sup>164</sup> Lee Schulman to Dorothy Stimson Bullitt, Otto Brandt and Bob Schulman, Oct. 9, 1961, *Ibid.*, Box 36, F. 6, “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism”.

<sup>165</sup> Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm, op. cit.*, 144.

with his crew tonight to compete with Fall fare”<sup>166</sup>. With no rain forecasted the show began at 8 p.m., with about 15,000 people flocking to the Bowl. For an hour the crowd was entertained by singer Connie Haines, who crooned the Star Spangled Banner, before the opening ceremony began. “Two hundred American Legionnaires served as ushers and 350 Boy Scouts formed a massive color guard”, the *Los Angeles Times* reported, with Chinese, Japanese and Hawaiian kids in the front ranks, projecting an image of toleration and pluralism (leftist columnist James Aronson mocked this spectacle, as these kids’ “unseen parents have unspoken trouble finding homes in Christian white American neighborhoods”)<sup>167</sup>. George Murphy welcomed the live audience and TV viewers to “the largest anti-Communist rally ever held anywhere in the world” and announced that telegrams of best wishes had been received from Los Angeles Mayor Yorty and Richard Nixon<sup>168</sup>. Producer Jack Warner gave a short speech, claiming that twenty years before, “the Communists made Hollywood a prime target. Through domination of this vast media, they knew they could control a good percentage of our thinking. It was regrettable that some people believed in their deceitful propaganda”<sup>169</sup>. The show was interspersed by Hollywood stars and personalities who took the stage for a few moments each.

Thomas Dodd delivered the first of the night’s four main addresses. The Connecticut liberal Democrat with hawkish attitudes -forerunner to Joe Lieberman in this regard- warmed the audience by taking on the *New York Times*, the name of which generated spontaneous booing. “Let’s get Communism in true focus”, Dodd exhorted a wildly applauding crowd. “Communism is total evil. It is all black. There is nothing gray about it. There is nothing good about it. Its ends are evil. Its means to those ends are evil”<sup>170</sup>. While attacking communism in the harshest terms, Dodd was careful to keep a bipartisan tone, ending on a quote from President Kennedy’s inaugural address about the responsibility of defending the free world.

After Dodd’s speech, the unannounced appearance from C. D. Jackson brought the house down. The dashing, mustached 60-year old former Eisenhower adviser and

<sup>166</sup> Quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, op. cit., 227.

<sup>167</sup> An., “Anti-Red Rally Told to Seek ‘Total Victory’ ”, *Los Angeles Times*, Tue., Oct. 17, 1961, B1.; James Aronson, “Spectacular Specter”, *The National Guardian*, Nov. 13, 1961, 12.

<sup>168</sup> John C. Waugh, “Hollywood Glitters As Anti-Red Rally”, *Christian Science Monitor*, Thu., Oct. 19, 1961, 13.; An., “Biggest Anti-Red Meet Held Here”, *Los Angeles Mirror*, Tue., Oct. 17, 1961, B1.

<sup>169</sup> Quoted in Quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, op. cit., 229.

<sup>170</sup> KTTV, *Hollywood’s Answer to Communism*, TV Special 1961-10-16, op. cit.

currently *Life Magazine* publisher had just made a 3,000-mile flight from New York. “C.D.” Jackson expressed what great a privilege it was “to be here tonight to align Life Magazine with Sen. Dodd, Rep. Judd, Dr. Schwarz and the rest of these implacable fighters”, before he apologized on behalf of Time-Life for *Life*’s “Far-right Revivalists” article published a few weeks before. “Regretfully, my own magazine recently published an oversimplified misinterpretation. I believe we were wrong and I am profoundly sorry”. Jackson could have stopped there, but he launched an attack on the Reds, for whom “the Cold War is a deadly serious operation while for us it is largely a journalistic cliché”, adding that further concessions to the Reds in Berlin, Vietnam, Laos or Africa was unacceptable<sup>171</sup>. Jackson’s apology was once again Frawley’s doing. Following *Life*’s “Far-right Revivalists” article, the Schick-Technicolor boss called Henry Luce to tell him that the article had been “unfounded, not factual and harmful”. He sent Luce some Crusade literature and later flew to New York to meet with him personally. Frawley may have threatened to withdraw advertising from *Life Magazine* in order to get “Henry Luce come crawling to him on his hands and knees”. According the *San Fernando Sun* these were the words George Murphy used to describe the meeting between and Frawley and Luce (Murphy later denied making such a statement)<sup>172</sup>.

Skousen took the stage and outlined his program to end the Cold War. He called for an investigation and a cleansing of the State Department, which he accused of having lost to the Reds China, North Korea, Laos, Cuba and, more recently, the Congo. He rapped the United Nations, consistently using the term “world planner”, thus giving credence to conspiracy theories framing the U.N. for an impending world government. He called for a re-drafting of the U.N. charter, “or we get out of it”<sup>173</sup>. Skousen also called for the outlawing of the CPUSA and termination of all diplomatic relations with the Soviets, as well as a Western embargo on shipments of food to Red countries. He ended up on a positive touch, by stating that his suggestions for winning the Cold War “do not involve the United States in any massive warfare”<sup>174</sup>. Despite this reassuring thought, Skousen’s

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<sup>171</sup> An., “Anti-Red Rally Told to Seek ‘Total Victory’ ”, *loc. cit.*, B2

<sup>172</sup> “Frawley, Patrick Joseph Jr., Culver City, California”, 12/10/65, - Report from Group Research, *GRC*, Box 138, F. “Frawley, Patrick J.”, 2-3.

<sup>173</sup> W. Cleon Skousen, “Speech from the Hollywood Bowl which was broadcast (sic) coast to coast on TV 10-16-61”, *WCSP*, Binder “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism, Oct. 16, 1961 – 1961 Dct”.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*



presentation was considerably more virulent than Dodd's. The *Los Angeles Mirror* reported that Skousen's speech drew the most applause of the night<sup>175</sup>. "It was a thrilling night", Skousen wrote in his personal notes. "(...) The crowd was enthusiastic. They came to their feet several times during my talk and whistled and clapped their approval"<sup>176</sup>.

Time was running out. C.D. Jackson's impromptu appearance and Skousen's rambling harangue had eaten into time, as Walter Judd appeared in flesh and blood. However, the Minnesota congressman ate a considerable amount of time himself. Judd celebrated Schwarz ("Unfortunately I've been a poor salesman all these years of one main idea, the same idea that Dr. Schwarz has written about so brilliantly and convincingly in his book, *You Can Trust the Communists*"). He celebrated Dodd ("we would welcome him in the Republican Party because he is the cream of the crop"). He celebrated the United States ("Only the alertness, the skill, the strength, the steadfastness, the character of the United States stands between them and our enslavement and that of all mankind"). On the other hand, he decried the Reds ("They know they must conquer the world if they are to abolish private property. They must take children from their parents (...). They must bring up the children conditioned, as dogs were conditioned by Pavlov"). He decried the State Department ("This is your State Department, in charge of your destiny. No wonder we've got to have a school [of anticommunism] in Washington. I hope they will go to the school and listen to the old, scratchy record. Communism is Communism")<sup>177</sup>.

Schwarz was left with ten minutes. The only thing he could do was announcing upcoming Crusade schools, and predicting that the following spring, "hold your breath", he said, "we invade the East – Washington D.C., and New York City"<sup>178</sup>. He concluded by calling for a worldwide Crusade against communism and announced that a permanent

<sup>175</sup> An., "Biggest Anti-Red Meet Held Here", *loc. cit.*, B1.

<sup>176</sup> Personal notes taken by W. Cleon Skousen, Oct. 16, 1961, *Ibid.*, Binder "Hollywood's Answer to Communism, Oct. 16, 1961 – 1961 Dct". Actor Adolphe Menjou, open Birch member, congratulated Skousen for his speeches at the Sports Arena and the Bowl: "You were by far the most exciting speaker at each meeting and your words will greatly influence those who hears you". Adolphe Menjou to W. Cleon Skousen, Oct. 26, 1961, *WCSP*, Binder "Hollywood's Answer to Communism, Oct. 16, 1961 – 1961 Dct".

<sup>177</sup> Walter H. Judd, "Hollywood Bowl, October 17, 1961, Hon. Walter H. Judd", (Actually it was October 16), Walter H. Judd Papers, Collections, Minnesota Historical Society, Public Affairs Center (hereafter *WHJJP*), Box 79, F. "Hollywood Bowl – 10/16/61". In the months that followed he received hundreds of letters of congratulation ("the finest speech I have ever heard, and I thank God, through Jesus Christ, that men like you occupy key positions in our State House") and requests for transcripts, which he couldn't provide since the speech was delivered without notes. Richard J. Hahn to Walter H. Judd, Oct. 24, 1961, *Ibid.*, Box 70, F. "Judd, Walter H. – Hollywood Bowl Speech (Requests for), 1961".

<sup>178</sup> John C. Waugh, "Hollywood Glitters As Anti-Red Rally", *loc. cit.*, 13.

Latin American school would be launched to “flood South America with anti-Communist literature prepared by trained students on mobile printing presses”<sup>179</sup>. With so little time left, Schwarz had simply chosen to advertise the Crusade’s next activities. However, unable to build up the dramatic tension that characterized his polished speaking style, his speech appeared like the last of a play and, as such, had a frantic, wound-up quality<sup>180</sup>.

The October 16, 1961, “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism” show was the greatest triumph of Schwarz’s anticommunism career. Never before, or after, would the Australian be endorsed by so many prominent people. Within a few weeks, the Crusade had organized the largest displays of anti-Red gatherings in the nation’s history. Schwarz was at the pinnacle of his influence, as witnessed by C.J. Jackson’s retraction.

Estimates on the number of people who saw the show varied. The lowest estimate was one given by the *New York Times*, which mentioned about four million people<sup>181</sup>. A Technicolor information sheet gave a much higher figure of about seven million people<sup>182</sup>. In a private exchange, Murphy told Skousen during that between six to nine million people watched the show<sup>183</sup>. Two weeks later, on November 2, an edited version of the show, coupled with excerpts of the Sport Arena school (the speeches of Skousen and Schwarz) was broadcasted, this time in New York by the independent station WPIX/Channel 11 through the sponsorship of the Schick Safety Razor Company and Technicolor<sup>184</sup>. With little advertising, the show managed to draw an average of 8.5 percent of New York viewers during the evening, with a high peak at 12.5 percent, way beyond WPIX’s average rating of 1.8 percent<sup>185</sup>.

In December 1961, Roger Milliken bought a copy of the telecast. President of the Deering-Milliken Company of Spartanburg, South Carolina, one of the country’s textile giants, Milliken was an important backer of conservative cause such as the John Birch Society, as well as a notorious union buster. In 1964, he was instrumental in convincing

<sup>179</sup> An., “Anti-Red Rally Told to Seek ‘Total Victory’”, *loc. cit.*, B2.; Jack Gould, “TV: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade Here”, *New York Times*, Fri., Nov. 3, 1961, 71.; An., “15,000 Hear Bowl Attack on Reds”, *Los Angeles Examiner*, Tue., Oct. 17, 1961, 1-2.

<sup>180</sup> It was “an uncharacteristically brief message”, as he later put it. Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 228.

<sup>181</sup> Richard F. Shepard, “Anti-Red Rallies to Be Televised”, *New York Times*, Wed., Nov. 1, 1961, 79.

<sup>182</sup> Information Regarding 3-Hour Videotape “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism”, *GRC*, Box 363, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade - - Correspondence”. This copy is sent by Murphy to a man named Dan Dodson, Jan. 31, 1962.

<sup>183</sup> Personal notes taken by W. Cleon Skousen, Oct. 16, 1961, *WCSP*, Binder “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism, Oct. 16, 1961 – 1961 Dec”.

<sup>184</sup> Jack Gould, “TV: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade Here”, *loc. cit.*, 71.; Richard F. Shepard, “Anti-Red Rallies to Be Televised”, *loc. cit.*, 79.

<sup>185</sup> Information Regarding 3-Hour Videotape “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism”, *GRC*, Box 363, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade - - Correspondence”.

Strom Thurmond to leave the Democratic Party for the GOP and was one of Barry Goldwater's most solid big business supporters<sup>186</sup>. Milliken showed the copy of the telecast to "a group of South Carolinians which included leaders in religion, education, press and the broadcast activity". He decided thereupon to sponsor the airing of the show in the thirteen TV stations across the Carolinas and in Georgia, with limited audiences also reached in Virginia, Tennessee and Alabama. These states were still experiencing the peak of the Southern Red Scare, inseparable from the trauma of the previous summer's Freedom Rides of the previous summer. The reaction was predictably good. "Letters, telegrams and telephone calls exceeded 2,000. It is estimated the program was seen by 1,500,000 people", Milliken wrote in a promotional leaflet for the show<sup>187</sup>.

By the end of 1961, the Richfield Oil Company had received about 14,000 pieces of mail about the Sports Arena school and the Bowl show, overwhelmingly positive, while George Murphy mentioned about "13,000 pieces of mail" for Schick and Technicolor combined<sup>188</sup>. Even in less conservative areas, the show had been well-received. In Portland, Oregon, at KGMTV/Channel 8, "the switchboard was deluged with congratulatory calls. Messages have been coming in steadily since and all have been favorable", one *Oregon Journal* reporter wrote the day after the show<sup>189</sup>. In Seattle, the King Broadcasting Co. similarly received numerous letters of praise<sup>190</sup>. Nonetheless, the minority who thought otherwise really disliked the show. "As I heard Swartz conclude your amazing telecast tonight I thought I saw swastika on his sleeve – I hope to God I was wrong" an anonymous viewer wrote to King Broadcasting Co. A letter in the *Portland Reporter* called it "a disgraceful exhibition of fear that, if repeated enough times, could easily start a panic of fear"<sup>191</sup>. *Seattle Times* columnist C.J. Skeen wrote: "Hollywood's celebrity contingent and the crowd that filled the Hollywood Bowl can be credited with good intentions and extraordinary fervor, but grave doubts remain whether

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<sup>186</sup> Dan T. Carter, *The Politics of Rage*, *op. cit.*, 343.; Donald Janson, "Conservatives at Freedom School to Prepare a New Federal Constitution", *loc. cit.*, 66.

<sup>187</sup> Roger Milliken, "The Story Of The Presentation Of "Hollywood's Answer to Communism" ", Deering Milliken, Spartanburg, 1962.

<sup>188</sup> Information Regarding 3-Hour Videotape "Hollywood's Answer to Communism" ", GRC, Box 363, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade - - Correspondence".

<sup>189</sup> An., "Anti-Red TV Show Acclaimed", *Oregon Journal*, Tue., Oct. 17, 1961, 3.

<sup>190</sup> For instance Evan Holmstrom to Dorothy Stimson Bullitt, Oct. 24, 1961; Mrs. Payne Karr to Dorothy Stimson Bullitt, Oct. 25, 1961; Carolyn Joy White to Dorothy Stimson Bullitt, Oct. 1961; Louise Bell to Dorothy Stimson Bullitt, Oct. 26, 1961; *DSBP*, Box 36, F. 6, "Hollywood's Answer to Communism".

<sup>191</sup> An., "Disgraceful Show", *Portland Reporter*, Sat. Oct. 28, 1961, 31.

the emotional frenzy generated can be regarded as any real contribution to the cause advanced”<sup>192</sup>. Probably due to his overworked body language in his short, uncommonly brief speech, student newspaper of Stanford University compared Schwarz to Adolf Hitler.

The show surfed on, but also fed, the wave of anticommunism that peaked in Southern California in the last month of 1961. Day after day, advertising and articles in the press reported about local anticommunist activities in the region, especially in the Greater Los Angeles Area. Anticommunist seminars featuring either Schwarz, Crusade collaborators (Philbrick, Skousen or Sluis), or other lecturers, were organized. Highly attended patriotic meetings and rallies were held in schools, churches and civic institutions. Suburbanites organized anticommunist study groups using printed and recorded material from the Crusade, the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation or other organizations that spawned overnight.

Skousen saw his popularity soaring because of the show. In late October, he spoke before hundreds at “Americanism rallies” at the Mark Keppel and San Gabriel high schools, and then at the San Marino Auditorium under the auspices of the “Anti-Communist League of America and the San Marino Study Club”. Two days later, he was invited to deliver the keynote address before a thousand people at the 11<sup>th</sup> Annual Greater Los Angeles Insurance Day luncheon. At the same moment, the GOP from five Southland congressional districts held “an all-day “Facts for Freedom” rally in Long Beach Municipal Auditorium”, featuring oil executive and Republican gubernatorial candidate for Texas Jack Cox, Crusade collaborator Robert Morris and other local GOP personalities. In late October, “Project Alert” began organizing anti-Red seminars featuring Morris, Skousen, Strom Thurmond, retired members of the military or the FBI in several cities. Schwarz himself delivered several well-attended speeches<sup>193</sup>. At the

<sup>192</sup> C.J. Skreen, “Symposium Set On Communism”, *Seattle Times*, Tue., Oct. 17, 1961, 43.

<sup>193</sup> An., “Probe of Army’s Role in Red Seminar Demanded”, *Los Angeles Times*, Thu., Sept. 22, 1961, 16. ; An., “Americanism Rallies to be Held in Valley”, *Ibid.*, Sun., Oct. 1, 1961, SG5.; An. “Americanism Rally to Feature W. Cleon Skousen”, *Ibid.*, Tue., Oct. 17, 1961, B1.; An., “GOP in Five Districts Sets ‘Freedom’ Rally”, *Los Angeles Times*, Fri., Oct. 27, 1961, 17.; An., “Anti-Red Unit Donates Books”, *Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1961, D2.; An., “FBI Ex-Agent Urges Law to Cripple Reds”, *Ibid.*, Wed., Nov. 8, 1961, A32.; An., “Red Methods Must Be Known, Ex-Spy Says”, *Ibid.*, Thu., Nov. 9, 1961, B32.; An., “Red Rule in U.S. in 2 Years Held Possible”, *Ibid.*, Fri., Nov. 10, 1961, A23.; An., “Catholics Will Hold Anti-Communism Rally”, *Ibid.*, Sun., Nov. 12, 1961, SF6.; An., “Americanism Town Meeting Set in Glendale”, *Ibid.*, Sun., Nov. 12, 1961, K6.; An., “2,100 Expected at All-Day Anti-Red Rally”, *Ibid.*, Sun., Nov. 12, 1961, CS3.; An., “U.S. Warned of Aid to Reds by Project Alert Speakers”, *Los Angeles Times*, Thu., Nov. 16, 1961, A1.; An., “U.S. Still First in Total Power, Meeting Told”, *Ibid.*, Fri., Nov. 17, 1961, B2.; An., “Philbrick to Speak”, *Ibid.*, Fri., 24 Nov., 1961, B3.; An., “Self-Reliance Lack Criticized at Rally”, *Ibid.*, Sun., Nov. 26, 1961, H12.; An., “Thurmond Assails Army

University of California, a three-way exchange took place between Henry Luce, Ralph McGill and television anchor Walter Cronkite. Luce, supported the anticommunist school concept: “The trouble before World War II was that people wouldn’t take Mein Kampf seriously”, and later claimed that “to know your enemy is a good thing”<sup>194</sup>. For his part, McGill claimed that “superpatriotism” only made Americans suspicious of each other: “Western civilization was built on the Judaeo-Christian tradition of love thy neighbor, but it is not doing a very good job in this regard”. Cronkite expressed distaste for the phenomenon and warned against the temptation of thinking that “If you say anything good about a Red country, you are therefore red”<sup>195</sup>.

In late October, *New York Times* journalist Bill Becker reported on the new “Rightist upswell” in Southern California. He compared the anticommunist appeal in the region to the “America First” movement’s popularity in the Midwest prior to World War II. The movement he wrote, “is considerable, and growing steadily”, with some of its most immediately visible manifestations being the recent flurry of car bumper stickers (“with slogans like “Americanism – The Only Ism for Me,” “Socialism Is Communism,” “No On Red China” and “Goldwater for Me” ”). He also commented on the proliferation of conservative bookstores such as “the Heritage Book Shoppe in Van Nuys, the Freedom Bookstores in Fullerton and Whittier, the Minuteman in Pasadena, the Betsy Ross Book Shop in West Los Angeles, and Poor Richard’s Book Shop in Hollywood”. Becker identified more than twelve major “ultraconservative organizations” active in the Greater Los Angeles area alone. In a single rally in Pasadena in late November, more than a hundred groups participated.

But among all groups, Becker noted, the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade “has supplanted the John Birch Society as the most popular group among Southern California Right-Wingers”. The Crusade, he added, now had more than 70,000 contributors (up from 40,000 four months before), of which a third lived in Southern California. As for the amount of money the Crusade raised, Becker quoted Schwarz saying: “We should go

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<sup>194</sup> ‘Muzzling’, *Ibid.*, Wed., Nov. 29, 1961, 2. In December “Project Alert”, after a month-tour, held a Crusade school offshoot in Los Angeles at the Shrine Auditorium, “Project Alert”, which would be later addressed. See also Janice Scott to Herbert Philbrick, Sept. 25, 1961, *HPP*, Box 4, “General Correspondence” Series”, F. 5, “June-Oct. 1961”.

<sup>194</sup> Daryl Lembke, “Luce Calls Anti-Red Schools a Good Thing”, *loc. cit.*, 18.

<sup>195</sup> An., “2 Newsmen Debate Anti-Red Schools”, *Los Angeles Times*, Wed., Nov. 1, 1961, 4.

over the \$1,000,000 mark this year”<sup>196</sup>. The actual figure for 1961, as disclosed a few months later, was \$1,273,492, which was more than the cumulated amount of all previous years since the Crusade was founded. The Crusade sold for more than \$182,000 in books, tapes and films, but there was a net loss of about \$33,400 in this regard because, the *New York Times* reported, “some of the items are sold below cost”<sup>197</sup>. Earnings came primarily from anticommunism schools, which allowed the Crusade to raise a total of \$494,726 across the whole year, when registration, fees, school donations and banquet are included<sup>198</sup>. This was ten times the amount raised during the schools of the preceding year, 1960. Internal Revenue Service documents indicate that \$262,126 was raised during “Special meetings (including deputation)”, which encompasses funds raised during separate meetings by Schwarz and people from the several CACC branches such as Sluis, Strube, Barnes or Colbert. Undesignated gifts to the Crusade, including membership fees, totaled \$225,682 for the year. Gifts specifically designed for foreign projects amounted to \$44,045<sup>199</sup>. On the other hand, expenditures amounted to a total of \$793,305, including about \$390,000 in the “domestic missionary work” column (costs incurred in organizing schools and all promotional material), \$234,560 sent abroad for international projects, including over \$150,000 to India alone, and about \$168,000 in administrative costs, including \$59,000 in salaries alone, almost three times the cost for salaries of the previous year.

The Crusade had become a million-dollar business and was now recognized by pundits as paramount of a new conservative, anticommunist surge in the West. When “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism” was presented in early November 1961 in the East, the *New York Times*’ television journalist and critic Richard Shepard commented that the show was useful in introducing Fred Schwarz, “(...) whose potential national influence has been described in dispatches from the West Coast as probably greater than the leadership of the John Birch Society; it reflected the Crusade’s greater degree of

<sup>196</sup> Bill Becker, “Right-Wing Groups Multiplying Appeals in Southern California”, *loc. cit.*, 43.

<sup>197</sup> Charles Grutzner, “Reports of Dr. Schwarz’s Anti-Communist”, *loc. cit.*, 9.

<sup>198</sup> This sum includes \$433,117 raised through registrations and fees, and \$61,609, as indicated in the columns “banquets –net” from available IRS documentation. Extract from I.R.S. – Form 990A: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Comparative Statement of Income and Expenses For the Years Ended December 31, 1961 and 1960; GRC, Box 364, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial”.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.* As usual, figures from official IRS documents obtained through freedom of information requests vary from definite accounts released months found in the press, and there is a whole \$200,000 found in the *New York Times* article about the 1961 Crusade finances (published in June 1962) that is unaccounted for in IRS documents of December 1961.

sophistication in comparison with some earlier anti-Communist movements (...)"'. Jack Gould, another television critic from the *Times*, recommended that any broadcasting of such a program be balanced by another program offering differing opinions on how should communism be combated, since "unquestionably there will be those only too eager to challenge the accuracy of some of the last night's contentions (...)"<sup>200</sup>.

The Hollywood Bowl rally was the Crusade's high-water mark, but it also was the single most important event that mobilized the country's liberal forces against the organization. In this sense, the show was the beginning of the end for the Crusade. "If Schwarz could bring mighty *Life* to his knees, what else might he not do? Liberal magazines detected a Hitler in the making", William L. O'Neill writes<sup>201</sup>. The Kennedy administration perceived the Hollywood Bowl show as a sign that extreme anticommunism was at a risk of getting seriously out of hand. The Crusade, one of the extremist groups that had been mentioned in the Fulbright memorandum as politicizing the military with right-wing propaganda, and which held rallies where the Kennedy administration's own foreign policy was systematically despised, was now holding televised rallies funded by large corporations, with the approval by the Luce media empire and featuring Hollywood stars. "Kennedy", Rick Perlstein writes, "had a legislative agenda to pass, a foreign policy to manage – tasks complicated when the most powerful media institution in the country was joining forces with those who would declare both treasonous"<sup>202</sup>.

The counterattack kicked off in the form of a series of speeches Kennedy delivered in the West. After stops in Seattle and Phoenix, Kennedy arrived in Los Angeles, right in Birch and Crusade country, and where he spoke on November 19, at the Hollywood Palladium. A *Christian Science Monitor* reporter noted that this was an opportunity for the President "to see for himself the extent to which a reported conservative upsurge might be threatening his administration's liberal or left-of-center program". Picketed by thousands of conservatives outside the Hollywood Palladium, Kennedy attacked the right: "Let our patriotism be reflected in the creation of confidence in one another rather than in

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<sup>200</sup> Richard F., "Anti-Red Rallies to Be Televised", *New York Times*, Wed., Nov. 1, 1961, 79.; Jack Gould, "TV: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade Here", *Ibid.*, Fri., Nov. 3, 1961, 71.

<sup>201</sup> William O'Neill, *Coming Apart*, *op. cit.*, 48.

<sup>202</sup> Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, *op. cit.*, 149.

crusades of suspicion”. He later attacked those who “find treason in our churches, in our highest court, and even in the treatment of our water”. In a direct reference to the Fulbright controversy, he criticized those “who object quite rightly to politics intruding in the military, but are very anxious for the military to engage in their kind of politics”<sup>203</sup>. His speech received a rousing welcome from his audience.

A few days after the President’s speech, Bob Kennedy breakfasted with attorney Joseph L. Rauh, as well as Walter and Victor Reuther, respectively head of the United Auto Workers (UAW) and his administrative assistant, both of whom were reported to have said upon viewing “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism”: “This must never happen again!”<sup>204</sup>. An AFL-CIO affiliate, the UAW was at the time at the peak of its influence and its management had closely aligned itself with Kennedy. In April 1960, Walter Reuther had been instrumental in Kennedy’s victory during the Democratic primaries, notably by inciting Senator Hubert Humphrey to withdraw from the race and, then, recruiting his delegates into the Kennedy camp. During the presidential campaign in the fall of 1960, Kennedy included the UAW’s labor policy proposals into his platform. The union responded in kind, supporting the Democrats in many states, reprinting JFK’s addresses to its members and injecting funds for televised ads late in the campaign<sup>205</sup>.

Meanwhile, in early November, conservative journalist Ralph de Toledano reported in his *Newsweek* column that several meetings were being held between influential personalities in Washington “to plan the attack on the anti-Communists”. De Toledano added that other meetings were “scheduled to devise ways and means of discrediting the highly successful anti-Communist crusade being led by Dr. Fred Schwartz”. He added:

“But it is a safe bet that in the future it will be “discovered” that Dr. Schwartz once received a letter of congratulations from a well-known bigot or was photographed chatting with another of that ilk at a public meeting. (...) The mood of the country is such that thousands of people are attending Dr. Schwartz meetings, and millions are watching them on television. (...) The campaign against him is, at present, low key, but its rising fury is predictable”<sup>206</sup>.

<sup>203</sup> Kimmis Kendrick, “Plea of Confidence: Kennedy Assesses U.S. Trek”, *Christian Science Monitor*, Mon., Nov. 20, 1961, 4.

<sup>204</sup> Handwritten note taken aside a photocopied copy of “The Fulbright Memorandum”, by Hannah Marie Hauc, *WCSP*, Binder “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism, Oct. 16, 1961 – 1961 Dec”.

<sup>205</sup> Kevin Boyle, *The UAW and the Heyday of American Liberalism, 1945-1968*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1998, 139-145.

<sup>206</sup> Ralph de Toledano, “Choosing Up Sides On Communism”, Nov. 10, 1961, *RDTP*, Box 9, “Printed Matter – 1961”.



## 13 THE CRUSADERS

“Just for your information, let it be recorded that the tax-limitation amendment so overwhelmingly adopted at the California polls on June 6, 1978, was both a proximate and indirect consequence of your efforts in Southern California two decades before. The forces and friendships then formed still are working. I thought you would like to hear a report. Moral: There’s more than one way to skin a conspiracy” - Samuel G. Campbell, *Orange County Register* Associate Editor, to Fred C. Schwarz, 1978<sup>1</sup>

### 13.1 Impulses

Dr. Carleton Campbell graduated from the Long Island Medical College in 1925. He practiced surgery for decades in Brooklyn, where he was born. By the late 1950’s, he had developed a second practice in the affluent suburb of Wilton, Connecticut, where his family estate was situated. Staunchly meritocratic, Campbell associated his personal success to his Benjamin Franklin-style work ethic. He was particularly uninterested in culture, practiced teetotalism, did not smoke and had little use for hobbies. To a large degree, his social life was centered around the Bridgeport’s Black Rock Congregational Church, where he had developed a warm relationship with the young and dynamic pastor Stanley R. Allaby.

On a Saturday night, in June 1958, Campbell’s wife persuaded him to accompany her to come hear a visiting lecturer at the church. Campbell was not particularly interested. Had his wife not been persuasive, he would not have come. “Except for the pleasure of her company, I anticipated a wasted evening”, he later wrote. The visiting speaker was Fred C. Schwarz, whose lecture on the Communist plan to overtake the U.S. affected Campbell with the regular mix of terror, euphoria and a revitalized sense of purpose. Reminiscing two years later, Campbell testified in a somewhat flowery manner that he had been for long “enjoying an outlook on life in which the sky over America was mainly blue”, but after his anticommunist awakening, “I haven’t been able to escape the

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<sup>1</sup> Samuel G. Campbell to Fred C. Schwarz, Jun. 9, 1978, letter reproduced in *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 4, 1978, 4.

challenge of the dark cloud in America's sky – the clouds alien to our heritage and that cast deep shadows over the structure of our cherished Freedom”<sup>2</sup>.

A first meeting of interested people took place at Rev. Allaby's home, which “showed the congregation how vitally interested the pastor was in this cause”, Allaby himself wrote in the Crusade newsletter. For this first meeting, Allaby and Campbell phoned to as many people as they could. “At the beginning of such a movement”, Allaby added, “it is very important for the two or three interested people to do a great deal of personal contact work”<sup>3</sup>. Twenty-five people showed up. Campbell was elected chairman and oversaw within a few days the birth of an anti-Red cell incorporated under the name “Americans Safeguarding Freedom” and later granted tax-deductible status. Campbell organized the holding of numerous classes on communism at the local church, arranged for the town's booksellers, libraries and the school board to get material on communism, planned a series of newspaper and radio ads to alert on the Red danger and organized a second visit for Schwarz in Bridgeport, for which the town's local auditorium was filled<sup>4</sup>. In sum, he animated the local anticommunist life.

In the early 1960's, aside continuing work with “Americans Safeguarding Freedom”, Campbell got involved in Howard Kershner's “Foundation for Christian Education”. After having attended one of the NEP's Freedom Forums set up by Benson, the doctor brought the formula to the East and started an offshoot called the National Freedom Education Center (NFED), which organized its own Freedom Forums at The King's College in upstate New York. Campbell's NFED forums featured across the years household figures on the anticommunist speaking trail: Clarence Manion, Herb Philbrick, Young Americans for Freedom (YAFs) leader John Kolbe, Walter Judd and Schwarz, who came in May 1961 to speak at the NFED's second annual forum<sup>5</sup>. For twenty-five years, Campbell invested himself fully in anticommunism. He noted that

<sup>2</sup> Carleton Campbell, “Christian Economics”, *Lima News*, Thu., Aug. 4, 1960, 18.

<sup>3</sup> Stanley R. Allaby, “Local Group Formed to Combat Communism”, *loc. cit.*, 3-4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>5</sup> George Thayer, *The Farther Shores of Politics: The American Political Fringe Today, Newly Revised*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1968, 277.; John A. Andrews III, *The Other Side of the Sixties: Young Americans for Freedom and the Rise of Conservative Politics*, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1997, 106.; Merrill Folsom, “‘Crusade’ on Reds is Brought East”, *New York Times*, Wed., May 10, 1961, 38.; An., “Dr. Carleton Campbell, Surgeon, Educator”, *The Wilton Bulletin*, Wed., Dec. 5, 1984, 2. The NFED was among a few initiatives emulating the NEP model, which also included the “citizenship program” of the Churches of Christ's Pepperdine College in Southern California and its multiple forums mixing social, economic conservatism with anticommunism held during the 1960's. Darren Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt, op. cit.*, 475.

since the cause of maintaining American freedom “is important enough to us, it will become evident in many different areas of our lives; I talk to my patients; to my colleagues in the hospitals; to as many school authorities as I can; to legislators; to ministers”<sup>6</sup>. His professional and family life were seriously affected. One journalist who reported on a Freedom Forum in 1962 noted that Campbell devoted “all of his free time to the project”<sup>7</sup>. Campbell died in 1984.

C. Ellis Carver was a gynaecologist-obstetrician and honorary Rotarian who met Schwarz for the first time when he organized the Australian’s lecture before the joint Rotary Clubs of Altaneda and East Pasadena (Los Angeles County) in December 1955. He later wrote to Schwarz: “Unanimously [members] have agreed that this is the outstanding program of the year thus far. I believe it has awakened many to the real and imminent danger of communism”<sup>8</sup>. Carver began investing himself at a frenzied pace in numerous local anticommunist activities from this point on. He eventually was part of the Crusade’s leadership, becoming one among six M.D.’s on the organization’s advisory committee list by the late 1950’s<sup>9</sup>. He started his own anticommunist club in collaboration with the American Legion and the Chamber of Commerce, hoping to organize for the local citizenry what he described as a “fourteen or fifteen week course in Americanism, with a two-hour session every Monday night”<sup>10</sup>. In 1960, he was General Chairman of the “Greater Los Angeles School of Anticommunism”. He wrote to Philbrick in the wake of the school: “I have to let my practice come first at the present time”. But Carver’s practice could not compare to anticommunism in terms of excitement. In 1961, he could not refrain from participating in Crusade schools in Orange County and at the Los Angeles Memorial Sports Arena. By the end of 1961, a mild stroke compelled him to stop: “I am under strict orders from my doctors to limit my activities to my own profession “, he wrote to Skousen”<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Carleton Campbell, “Christian Economics”, *loc. cit.*, 18.

<sup>7</sup> William Lissner, “‘Freedom Forum’ Begins Talks Here on Tactics of Reds”, *New York Times*, Thu., Jun. 7, 1962, 15.; Unknown to Larry Merthen, Aug. 2, 1962, *GRC*, Box 363, F. “CACC Correspondence”.

<sup>8</sup> C. Ellis Carver to Fred C. Schwarz, Dec. 20, 1955, republished in the *CACC Newsletter*, Jan. 1956, 4.

<sup>9</sup> The whole leadership list is provided by several late 1950’s-early 1960’s letterheads: Murray Ashwill to Herbert Philbrick, Sept. 10, 1959, *HPP*, Box 243, “Speeches & Writings” Series, F. 4.

<sup>10</sup> C. Ellis Carver to Herbert Philbrick, Feb. 3, 1961, *HPP*, Box 4, “General Correspondence” Series, F. 1.

<sup>11</sup> C. Ellis Carver to W. Cleon Skousen, Dec. 11, 1961, *W. Cleon Skousen Papers*, Private Collection, Skousen Family, Salt Lake City (hereafter *WCSP*), Binder “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism, Oct. 16, 1961 – 1961 Dct”.

The cases of Drs. Campbell and Carver underline the transformative power Schwarz's rhetoric had on certain white, upper-class, educated professionals usually characterized by a brooding religiosity. Campbell and Carver represent cases of individual conversions in the context of Schwarz's numerous lectures in the 1950's. However, the anticommunism school formula brought up this phenomenon of conversion to a higher level<sup>12</sup>. Most Crusade schools succeeded in having long-term consequences on the attending and participating citizenry. Walter Huss, already mentioned, was leader of a fundamentalist congregation in Portland when he attended the Crusade school in Long Beach in December 1958. He affirmed that after such an event, "life takes on different proportions"<sup>13</sup>. He founded the "Freedom Center International, Inc.", devoted to contain the spread of "atheistic communism" and promote patriotism, Christian conservatism and the virtues of the free enterprise system<sup>14</sup>. In the 1960's and 1970's, Huss became, in the words of political scientist William M. Lunch, "the most visible Christian conservative in Oregon"<sup>15</sup>. Huss ran twice unsuccessfully for office, the first time in 1966 when he tried to be nominated against Republican Senator Mark Hatfield and, in 1982, when he ran against incumbent Governor Vic Atiyeth. In parallel, Huss sought for years to attain power within the state Republican Party by successfully convincing his followers to seek out positions in the local GOP. This allowed him to be elected statewide party GOP chairman in the late 1970's<sup>16</sup>.

In her study *Suburban Warriors*, Lisa McGirr details how the Crusade school of March 1961 had a decisive effect on the future of local right-wing politics in Orange County: "It recruited new activists to the cause and linked them together in networks that remained active throughout the decade"<sup>17</sup>. Many militants whom she interviewed

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<sup>12</sup> In one of many letters to the editor of the *Modesto Bee* just after the Crusade's triumphal school at the Los Angeles Sports Arena, a man complained about *Life Magazine's* pejorative label of "far-right revivalists" given to the school's attendees. "To me and many others", he wrote, "it seemed like this was the beginning of a mighty movement of awakening people which could sweep the nation". "Norman", Modesto, "Enthusied over School", *The Modesto Bee*, Tue., Sept. 12, 1961, 20.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, "Schools for Anti-Communists", *loc. cit.*, 3.

<sup>14</sup> Scott G. McNall, *Career of a Radical Rightist: A Study in Failure*, Port Washington and London, Kennikat Press, 1975, 18-36.; Edward L. Shapsmeier and Frederick H. Shapsmeier, *Political Parties and Civic Groups*, Westport, Greenwood Press, 1981, 180.

<sup>15</sup> William M. Lunch, "The Christian Right in the Northwest: Two Decades of Frustration in Oregon and Washington", in John Clifford Green, Mark J. Rozell, Clyde Wilcox, eds., *The Christian Right in American Politics: Marching to the Millennium*, Georgetown, Georgetown University Press, 2008, 236.

<sup>16</sup> Lon Fendall, *Stand Alone or Come Home: As Both Evangelical and a Progressive*, Mark Hatfield Separated Himself from the Political Crowd, Newberg, Barclay Press, 2003, 39.

<sup>17</sup> Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 61.

for her study credited the event for beginning the large-scale conservative mobilization in Orange County. One example is the case of Nolan Frizzelle, an optometrist from Newport Beach who became involved in conservative politics during a school board fight in Pasadena over progressive education, before moving to Costa Mesa, Orange County. A few months after participating in the Crusade school of Orange County, where he was in charge of both the “Registration” and the “Professional” Committees, he helped found a local chapter of the California Republican Assembly (CRA), a GOP activist group highly influential within the state party, which had been long under the control of Earl Warren and “endorsed centrist or moderate Republicans”<sup>18</sup>. Frizzelle sought to change that. When, as 35<sup>th</sup> District Director of the CRA, he ran for the organization’s state chairmanship and turned to school members for help: “I started out in the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and out of the 5,000 or 6,000 people that were there, there were 100 people that I came to know fairly closely in helping to organize that crusade”, he recalled<sup>19</sup>. He contacted Rufus and Peggy Pearce of Fullerton, who had been members of the school’s “Religious” and “Registration” committees<sup>20</sup>. McGirr writes of Peggy Pearce: “Having worked hard for the school’s success and being “on fire to something” she now poured her energy into building the CRA”<sup>21</sup>. They also recruited Harold and Shirley Muckenthaler, JBS supporters and members of the Orange County school’s “Finance” and “Youth” Committees. The Muckenthalers belonged to one the county’s oldest families, whose name was well-established in local property management and real estate business<sup>22</sup>.

Recruiting people one by one, Frizzelle’s grassroots group overcame all opposition within the state GOP. On March 17, 1964, a *Los Angeles Times* reporter wrote that after carrying the nomination by a two-to-one margin, Nolan Frizzelle, a “handsome Orange County optometrist who has argued that the federal income tax should be abolished is the new president of the California Republican Assembly”<sup>23</sup>. Peggy Pearce was for her

<sup>18</sup> Quote from *Ibid.*, 116.; An., “GOP Forming New Group in Harbor Area”, *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Sept. 17, 1961, OC11.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted in Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 117.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.; Thomas A. Cosgrove to Herbert Philbrick, Jan. 25, 1961, *HPP*, Box 243, “Speeches and Writings” Series, F. 6, “Jan.-June 1961”. This letter contains the list of all the school’s sponsors and committees’ members.

<sup>21</sup> Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 118.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>23</sup> Richard Bergholz, “Orange County Doctor Heads GOP Assembly”, *Los Angeles Times*, Wed., Mar. 17, 1964, 5.

part elected vice-president of the CRA<sup>24</sup>. Frizzelle's first move as head of the CRA was to pledge support to Barry Goldwater for the GOP nomination, a move that proved essential to Goldwater's narrow victory against Nelson Rockefeller during the primary of June 1964, allowing him to lock the GOP presidential nomination. Frizzelle stepped down from the CRA presidency after the Goldwater defeat, but remained for a long time an important Republican personality in Orange County and, in November 1980, in the wake of the Reagan landslide, was elected state Representative for the 73<sup>rd</sup> District by defeating a Democratic opponent<sup>25</sup>. Peggy Pearce remained for years involved in conservative politics as a CRA officer, as well as a supporter of various groups such as the Freedoms Foundation<sup>26</sup>. Harold and Shirley Muckenthaler, who gave their family name to the Fullerton Cultural Center in 1965 when they donated their mansion to the county, remained lifelong GOP donors until the Obama years.

Fullerton dentist William Brashears, chairman of the Orange County school and originator of the idea for the Sports Arena, was propelled by these successes to the forefront of local conservative politics. He founded the Conservative Coordinating Council (CCC), designed to elect conservative candidates. "By 1962", McGirr writes, "they [Brashears and collaborators] were mailing 150,000 sample ballots, listing the candidates the council had endorsed, to register Orange County voters"<sup>27</sup>. Functioning with the support of many who had participated in the Crusade schools, the CCC was instrumental during these elections in unseating Bruce Sumner, a moderate Republican who had enraged his constituents by voting for a Fair Housing Act and for a Fair Employment Practices bill<sup>28</sup>. Brashears remained involved in the GOP for a few decades. In 1972, he ran for Congress as a write-in candidate, but was defeated. His name reappeared during the Iran-Contra hearings in 1987, when it was revealed that he had founded the Freedom Fighters International group, which raised \$17,500 during an Orange County visit by contra leader Eden Pastora<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> Pic Description, "Elected", *Ibid.*, Wed., Apr. 8, 1964, F10.

<sup>25</sup> John O'Dell, "Candidates Abandoned: Democratic Vote Went Elsewhere", *Ibid.*, Sun., Nov. 9, 1980, OC B8.

<sup>26</sup> Richard Bergholz, "Delay Installation of UC San Diego Head, CRA Urges", *Ibid.*, Mon., Mar. 24, 1969, A3.; An., "Group Officers of Freedoms Foundation to Meet Today", *Ibid.*, Thu., Aug. 1, 1968, G4E.

<sup>27</sup> Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 116.

<sup>28</sup> An., "1956-1966: Arch-Conservatives and a 'Kooky' Image", *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Mar. 21, 1976, OC-A5, 9, 10, 12.

<sup>29</sup> Jeffrey Perlman, "Orange County Developer Ranks With Top U.S. Donors to Contras", *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Jul. 19, 1987, OC-A6.; David Haldane, "Obituary: W. Brashears; Developer Left His Mark on Fullerton", *Los Angeles Times*, Fri., Nov. 3, 2000, B-13.

During the “Southern California School of Anti-Communism”, Brashears enlisted fellow dentist Terrell Root, at the time one of America’s leading orthodontists, who “closed his dental practice in Costa Mesa for the week and was on hand every minute of the school” according to a newspaper article<sup>30</sup>. Root, who had no apparent record of prior political involvement, became at some point member of the JBS and, in 1962-1963, he was elected to the CRA committee for on Orange County’s 5<sup>th</sup> District as part of a drive with fellow right-wingers to overtake the CRA<sup>31</sup>. Despite Goldwater’s defeat, he remained politically active and, in the 1970’s, helped to elect GOP candidate Marian Bergeson to the California State Legislature.

Doctor Tirso Del Junco appeared for the first time at the Crusade school in Miami in June 1961, where he testified about his school days at the University of Havana with fellow student Castro, whom he claimed was already a Communist. Del Junco’s participation for a while in Crusade schools helped him become a well-respected figure among West Coast conservatives. Patrick Frawley gave him a post of director at Technicolor Corp. In early 1962, Del Junco founded the “Committee to Free Cuba” with people such as Skousen, Philbrick, Marion Miller, Matt Cvetic. The good-looking Del Junco, whose success story as an immigrant made him popular among Republicans, was often invited to address civic clubs and GOP events. In 1964 he contributed to the founding of “Republicans of Latin Extraction” (ROLE) and took the head of “Latin Americans for Goldwater”<sup>32</sup>. In 1965, CRA Chairman Nolan Frizzelle recommended Del Junco as the CRA’s vice-chairmanship, but Del Junco declined the offer. In 1968, Ronald Reagan, now Governor of California, appointed Del Junco to the State Board of Medical Examiners, a position he would keep for a few years. In February 1979, Del Junco, now one of the most influential members of the Reagan machine in California, was elected vice-chairman of the CRA, a position through which he contributed to clinch the CRA in Reagan’s favor during the 1980 primaries. In 1982, he reached the position of chairman of the California Republican Party, and, in 1983, GOP Governor of

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<sup>30</sup> Frank Martinez, “Anti-Red Crusader Praises Countians”, *loc. cit.*, A3.

<sup>31</sup> An., “Right Wingers Take Third of GOP Seats”, *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Jun. 10, 1962, OC1.; Don Angel, “County GOP Slaps CRL on Birch Attack”, *Ibid.*, Thu., Oct. 7, 1965, OC1.

<sup>32</sup> Tirso Del Junco, “Dear Fellow American”, Fundraising letter, Mar. 2, 1962.; An., “Cuban Will Address Grove Club”, *Los Angeles Times*, Thu., Mar. 8, 1962, E15.; An., “Republican Fund Dinner Set Tonight”, *Ibid.*, Wed., May 22, 1963, B16.; An., “Latin American GOP Group Seeks Members”, *Ibid.*, Sun., Jan. 12, 1964, O1.

California George Deukmejian rewarded him with an appointment to the state Air Resources Board. Del Junco resigned in 1986 to be appointed to the University of the California Board of Regents, a position he kept for a decade, but which did not impede him from serving a second tenure as Chairman for the California GOP in the 1990's<sup>33</sup>.

The Crusade schools also affected the lives of “down-to-earth, everyday people”, as Patricia Cullinane called herself. This Newport Beach housewife saw an ad for the “Southern California School of Anti-Communism”. Cullinane described her experience: “I’d never been much of a paper reader or classified reader or anything like that and in this particular case it just spoke to me. So I called a baby-sitting agency and got my first baby-sitter. And I went to this school. And that was there that I became probably interested in conservative politics”<sup>34</sup>. She got involved in the campaign to elect outspoken foe of progressive education and Birch sympathizer Dr. Max Rafferty to the position of State Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1962<sup>35</sup>. With help from a few friends and a mimeograph in her house garage, Cullinane formed “Parents for Rafferty”, which distributed 3 million pieces of literature in Los Angeles County alone and finished the race with a mailing list of about 8,000 people. On November 7, 1962, Rafferty won by a 52-48 percent margin over his liberal opponent Dr. Ralph Richardson<sup>36</sup>. However, disappointed with politics, Cullinane ceased her involvement in the wake of the Goldwater defeat in 1964.

Another housewife, Mrs. R.B. “Rusty” Feddersen from West Covina, attended the “Design for Victory” banquet at the Shrine Auditorium. Wife of a structural engineer who worked for the City of Los Angeles, “Rusty” Feddersen thereupon signed up for countless hours for the Draft Goldwater committee and attended the San Francisco GOP convention in 1964 as Goldwater delegate. She remained involved in the 1960's in numerous local initiatives such as the one led by San Diego Congressman and former Crusade collaborator, Capt. Richard Barnes, against obscene literature. Barnes' proposal was rejected by referendum, but proved helpful as a wedge issue for Ronald Reagan's

<sup>33</sup> Carl Greenberg, “CRA Chief Says King Paves ‘Road to Anarchy’ ”, *Los Angeles Times*, Sat., Mar. 27, 1965, B6.; *Id.*, “CRA Endorses Reagan, Defeats Nixon Backers”, *Ibid.*, Mon., Apr. 1, 1968, 3.; Richard Bergholz, “State GOP Now Firmly in Hands of Reaganites”, *Ibid.*, Mon., Feb. 19, 1979, A3.; William Endicott, “Ex-GOP Chief Named to Post”, *Ibid.*, Thu., Mar. 10, 1983, B3.

<sup>34</sup> Michelle Nickerson and Patricia Cullinane, *CWCP*, Transcript in F., “Cullinane, Patricia, 3933, Nickerson, Michelle, 5/8/2006”, 2-7.

<sup>35</sup> Robert D. Novak, “Nixon Forces Cheered By Primary Victory, But a Dilemma Looms”, *Wall Street Journal*, Thu., Jun. 7, 1962, 1.

<sup>36</sup> Bill Becker, “School Post Goes to Conservative”, *New York Times*, Wed., Nov. 8, 1962, 15.



1966 gubernatorial race<sup>37</sup>. In 1969, Feddersen was appointed to the Republican State Central Committee, a position she kept for four decades<sup>38</sup>. In 1976, she attended the GOP convention, where Ronald Reagan was narrowly defeated by Gerald Ford for the presidential nomination. Four years later, “Rusty”, elected in the meantime chairwoman of the 62<sup>nd</sup> District of the CRA, led her delegation of California Southlanders to the GOP Detroit Convention. Dressed with her blue pantsuit, “the better to show off her collection of Reagan buttons”, one journalist noted, and merrily identifying herself as “one of those right-wing nuts”, she savored the moment when Reagan was nominated for the presidency: “I’m celebrating – all week”<sup>39</sup>.

One year before, in March 1979, she and her husband, along with several other Californian activists, had joined Dr. Frank Rogers, a surgeon from Whittier and leader of the right-wing National Coordinating Council for Constructive Action, in organizing a “Testimonial Dinner” for Dr. Fred Schwarz, “in honor of his 25 years of faithful and courageous service”<sup>40</sup>.

### 13.2 The Data

In 1962, in an article for the magazine *America*, liberal free-lance writer Robert T. Reilly acknowledged that Crusade supporters were “not naive spectators at a shell game, nor are they, for the most part, radical extremist of the Birch camp. They are fairly intelligent, sincere citizens willing to be cozened and confused by a talented debater from Australia who is riding the crest of hysteria”<sup>41</sup>. Reilly was not the first, nor the last, to notice that the Crusaders did not correspond at first sight to the stereotype of the lunatic fringe, but that they seemed to be well-established citizens in their community. A closer look at the Crusaders becomes necessary at this point in order to understand the CACC as a social phenomenon and assess the accuracy of the observations of Reilly and others.

<sup>37</sup> An., “West Covina Council OKs Smut Drive”, *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Nov. 28, 1965, SG-A1.; Bob Jackson, “Obscenity Proposition Raises Stormy Dispute”, *Ibid.*, Thu., Oct. 6, 1966, A1.; See also Whitney Strub, *Perversion for Profit: The Politics of Pornography and the Rise of the New Right*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2010, 123-124.

<sup>38</sup> An., “Assemblyman Names Eight to GOP Committee”, *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Mar. 30, 1969, SG-A5.

<sup>39</sup> Jean Merl, “We’re The Party: Local Republicans Fill Detroit Scenes”, *Los Angeles Times*, Tue., Jul. 17, 1980, CS1.

<sup>40</sup> “Mrs. R. P. Feddersen, Jr. (Rusty)”; “1-3-79, Agenda”, *MKP*, Main folder.

<sup>41</sup> Robert T. Reilly, “Schwarz Was Here”, *America*, Mar. 24, 1962, 825.

The data used here to conduct a sociological analysis of the Crusaders can be put into two broad groups. The first group can be called the “tabulation” group, in that it contains two different lists of Crusade supporters, each containing a few hundreds of names. The first list was compiled the rolls of life memberships that were displayed on the Crusade newsletter between January 1956 and December 1960. As mentioned, the original Crusade idea was to have due-paying members, but the concept was dropped when the organization became national in scope during the 1960-1961 period. By this time, faced with the dilemma of either developing the Crusade into a mass-membership organization, or retaining a centralized structure with a few branches closely controlled by the Long Beach headquarters, Schwarz chose the latter option. The idea of members, either lifelong or annual-payment ones, was abandoned because Schwarz probably did not want the Crusade to become too participatory. Nonetheless, there remain the lists of lifetime members added between 1956 and 1960. This list contains the names of more than 545 people -and a few organizations- who paid the \$100 fee to be granted life membership, along with the state they lived in and, in some cases, indications as to professional status. The list spans five years, from 1956 to 1960. For the first four years of this period, the Crusade was still growing and had not yet attained the status of a fully national organization. Thus the list of life members shows the core of the organization’s supporters, in contrast to school participants, who got on the Crusade bandwagon at a later moment<sup>42</sup>. The list of life members includes most of the Crusade’s big names, though, given its almost entirely symbolic nature, the life membership status was not compulsory, even for core supporters. This explains the absence of such strong players as the Schlaflys, Philbrick, Skousen, Drakeford and many others. When the names of the five organizational memberships are subtracted, 540 names are left<sup>43</sup>.

The second list, accessible in the archives of liberal watchdog Group Research Inc, includes the names and addresses of all donors of the Crusade of more than \$100 during

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<sup>42</sup> Incidentally, more than 265 of all 545 names were added during the big year 1960, or about half of them: 48 percent.

<sup>43</sup> Dodson Bros. Builders of Lufkin, Texas; the Lion’s Club of Oreland, Pennsylvania; Govin Construction of Seattle, Washington State; the Tell Foundation from Phoenix, Arizona; and the American Legion Post 308 of Forreston, Illinois. Life members include such essential Crusaders as Strube, physician George Westcott (Ypsilanti branch director), Charles Stewart Mott, Robert Sackett (who printed Crusade literature during the Waterloo period), physician Theo G. Moller from West Covina (member of the Crusade’s Advisory Council), C. Ellis Carver, Walter Knott, Joost Sluis, Dr. Carleton Campbell, Capt. Richard Barnes, Schwarz’s secretary Ella Doorn, Dentist William Brashears, Dr. John W. Moon (chairman of the Crusade school of Phoenix), Patrick Frawley as well as Frawley’s right-hand man Ed Ettinger.

the fiscal year 1966 (contributions of less than \$100 were not made public). This year was a moment where the Crusade was still among the major groups of the American right, but had declined in receipts, visibility and events' attendance. Those who still supported Schwarz's grand schemes at this point could only be understood as being strong supporters. The total of donations this list contains is \$270,440. Considering that the Crusade netted during that year a total of \$470,457 in donations, excluding other sources of revenues, it can be inferred that this list includes 57 percent of what the Crusade received from its individual and institutional supporters in 1966. Because both lists (life memberships and the 1966 donors) identify some of the Crusade's strongest supporters, they overlap substantially, as many of those who took the life membership in the 1950's were still financial donors in the mid-1960's. As is the case with the first list, the 1966 list also contains the names of organizations. However, the number of institutions considerably higher. The list details 730 contributions of \$100 or more, of which 16 are blurred and therefore unreadable. Of the 714 remaining, 74 indicate donations from institutions: more than 40 from companies (including Frawley's \$5,000 donation from Schick and another one of the same amount from Technicolor Corp.), 26 from foundations (including the largest donation of the list: \$40,000 from the Glenmede Trust) and 8 from churches. These contributions set aside here, 639 contributions are from actual people<sup>44</sup>.

The second type of data can be called the "survey" group, since it is composed of three different survey studies made between 1962 and 1964. The two first ones were conducted in 1962 by a team of academics under the direction of political scientist Raymond Wolfinger, of Stanford University. Wolfinger was interested in acquiring data that could prove or falsify the "status politics" theories that, at the time, were the most popular in social science discussions about the right-wing. These theories, inspired by Theodor Adorno's *Authoritarian Personality* and by Freudianism, had been advanced by Daniel Bell, Richard Hofstadter and Seymour Martin Lipset in the 1955 book *The New American Right* (reedited in 1962 as *The Radical Right*). This work attempted to explain McCarthyism not as an example of "interest politics" (the competition for material gain

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<sup>44</sup> "Form 990A: Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax – Attachment to Public Record File: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade", Year 1966, GRC, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial".

among various blocs) or “class politics” (the political competition of various social strata), but rather as “status politics”. Richard Hofstadter defined this concept as “the clash of various projective rationalizations arising from status aspirations and other personal motives”, or, said differently, the clash of anxieties, mostly of irrational nature, and which presumably constituted the impetus for right-wing mobilization<sup>45</sup>. Most often, the status anxiety theory was used to describe right-wing activity as the result of the “disruptive effects of status shakeups in which older economic groups are displaced by younger, better educated workers”<sup>46</sup>.

The two studies of the Wolfinger team in 1962 remain the only ones that surveyed the opinions of Crusaders themselves. The opportunity to conduct this study presented itself when Joost Sluis gave a talk at Stanford University in preparation for the San Francisco Crusade school (January 29-February 2, 1962). Sluis saw nothing wrong with the project. Wolfinger and his students elaborated a questionnaire which they intended to have Crusaders fill out and mail back. These questionnaires were to be distributed with self-stamped envelopes by Wolfinger’s students during the San Francisco school. However, the \$5-daily admission risked making the survey a relatively expensive project. Schwarz agreed to have the team of students admitted for free, but was under the false impression that Wolfinger wished to make an analysis of the school’s rhetoric. When he discovered that the object of the study was not the message but the followers of the message, he half-heartedly decided to let Wolfinger’s team continue, but warned the political scientist: “With one sentence, I could kill your whole project”<sup>47</sup>. Even if the students were from Stanford, which had “a respectable, upper-class reputation in the Bay Area”, and even if they tried to project a friendly image (clapping and cheering when the crowd did so), they nonetheless faced some hostility. “Most of the unfriendly remarks were made before the interviewers could say more than a few words (...). The undergraduates bore the brunt of these accusations, but, in some instances, they were regarded merely as dupes of their professor”. Still, about 308 questionnaires were filed and returned to Wolfinger.

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<sup>45</sup> Richard Hofstadter, “The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt (1955)”, in Daniel Bell, ed., *The Radical Right: The American Right, Expanded and Updated*, *op. cit.*, 84.

<sup>46</sup> Clyde Wilcox, “Popular Backing for the Old Christian Right”, *loc. cit.*, 124.

<sup>47</sup> Raymond E. Wolfinger, Barbara Kaye Wolfinger, Kenneth Prewitt, Sheilah Rosenhack, “America’s Radical Right: Politics and Ideology”, in Robert A. Schoenberger (ed.), New York and Chicago, Holt Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969, 13-17.

A few months later, Wolfinger's student Sheilah R. Koeppen, who had worked on the first study, ran a second similar study, allowing her to net 167 more questionnaires. Koeppen and her three student assistants attended the Crusade school in San Mateo in September 1962 and two of Schwarz's lectures at the Hotel Leamington in Oakland two months later. Koeppen eliminated respondents who were under 20 years old, had already participated in the first study, or who clearly had a chip on their shoulder against Schwarz. Koeppen's work is an extension of Wolfinger's, with a greater participation by hardcore supporters, since the events where she distributed her questionnaires were less attended and publicized than the San Francisco school<sup>48</sup>.

The third survey study consists of a poll conducted among the general public as part of the American National Study Election (ANES), by the Center for Political Studies at the University of Michigan. Since 1948, the ANES is conducted each four years before and after the presidential election and includes questions on a broad range of topics. The 1964 ANES had 1,571 respondents, plus an additional "Black supplement sample" of 263 respondents. In 1964, two questions of the survey concerned the Crusade. Respondents were queried as to whether they had heard about the Crusade and then "were asked to rate it on an imaginary feeling thermometer, in which 0° represented extreme coolness and 100° represented extreme warmth"<sup>49</sup>. Similar questions were asked about other organizations and a wide range of issues. These feeling-thermometer answers made sense when compared to answers given by respondents on other issues. In the 1980's, political scientist Clyde Wilcox analyzed these results in a series of studies that tried to locate the sources of support for what he referred to as the "Old Christian right"<sup>50</sup>. Wilcox's work shed light on the 1964 ANES study regarding the Crusade's mass supporters.

### 13.3 The Boy's Club: Gender

Both the Wolfinger and the ANES survey studies do not take gender into account, but the tabulation lists provide some hints in this regard. Both in the list of life memberships

<sup>48</sup> Sheilah R. Koeppen, "The Radical Right and the Politics of Consensus", in *Ibid.*, 49-52.

<sup>49</sup> Clyde Wilcox, *God's Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 72.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 70—94.; *Id.*, "The Christian Right in Twentieth-Century America", *loc. cit.*, 659-681.; *Id.*, "Popular Backing for the Old Christian Right", *loc. cit.*, 117-132.; *Id.*, "Sources of Support for the Old Right: A Comparison of the John Birch Society and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade", *Social Science History*, Vol. 12, No. 4, Winter 1988, 429-449.

and the 1966 donors' list, the Crusaders seem to have been a boy's club. More than 333 of 540 of life members were men (61.6 percent), while 207, or 38.3 percent, were female. This masculine aspect is further reinforced when considering that slightly less than half of the women who joined as life members did so at the same time that their husbands signed up (97 names, or 46 percent). This indicates that half of the women (110) who joined the Crusade as life members did so independently from their husband, or else were unmarried.

Comparable proportions are found in the 1966 donors' list. Of the 639 gifts from people, 302 were from men alone (47 percent), 147 (23 percent) from women alone, and 189 from couples (30 percent, for instance, "Dr. and Mrs. Richard E. Brown", from Mesa, Arizona). When these couples are considered as two separate persons and not a single entity, the results are similar to the list of life members. Out of 832 persons who gave to the Crusade, 491, or 59 percent, were men (very close to the 61 percent of male life members), and 341 were females (41 percent, very close to the 38.3 of female life members). We can thus infer that core Crusaders were twice as much likely to be male rather than female.

However, the fact that one fifth of the names on the life memberships' list are female remains a significantly high figure in an age where women still earned three times less than men and sometimes not earning anything at all by themselves. As a matter of fact, on the 1966 donors' list, the largest individual contributions were given by Mrs. Elizabeth D. Lowe from La Mesa, California (\$22,392) and Mrs. Alarip Myrin from Kimberton, Pennsylvania (\$9,895). Those two donations are outstripping the amounts given by Missouri industrialist Menlo Smith (\$6,000), by Mr. and Mrs. William P. Strube (\$4,500), Roger Milliken (\$2,500), and Walter Knott (\$1,421.25).

A similar phenomenon characterizes the organizing of the 29 anticommunism schools held between 1958 and 1964, where the prevalence of males on the lists of organizers and sponsors often obscures the essential role played by grassroots women activists<sup>51</sup>. At

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<sup>51</sup> Yet, had all those lists been available (about half of them are), the rolls of sponsors and organizers of anticommunism schools would have remained of a tenuous help to identify the real Crusaders. This is especially true because several sponsors simply allowed their names to be used for advertising means, or made a check to the Crusade, and did participate to the schools beyond that. The best example in this regard is the politicians, who in many cases had never heard of the Crusade before they were asked to proclaim an "anticommunism week" or serve on one school's advisory committee, though this probably also applies to several businessmen as well. Another problem is that the same names sometimes appear on organizational committees from one school to

the Crusade school in Indianapolis in 1959, for instance, 29 men were on organizing committees, and only 9 women. At the school in St. Petersburg, Florida, in late 1961, men constituted 33 of all 39 names on the sponsors and advisory committee's list. At the San Francisco school in January 1962 (the one which the Wolfinger team visited), only a single woman was present among the seventy people who sponsored the school. However, women were often overrepresented in the some schools' organizing committees, where the tasks were perhaps less prestigious but in fact more important in terms of making the school happen. For instance, in Phoenix and Orange County, women accounted respectively for 17 out of 132 and 27 out of 89 on the committees' lists, but were all concentrated in a few committees that were essential to the event's organization ("Registration", "Literature", "Education" and "Banquet").

In at least two schools, Milwaukee in February 1960 and Omaha in May 1962, the chairman was in fact a chairwoman. In Milwaukee in February 1960, this position was filled by Maxine Graham, an energetic grassroots fighter who was also leader of the local John Birch Society chapter and wife of an executive of the Harnischfeger Corporation who had worked for a long time in the oil business<sup>52</sup>. At this particular school, Schwarz had words of praise for "Mrs. Stan Hoebrechts, who showed such endurance and amazing strength in handling the great literature display that was such a feature of the school"<sup>53</sup>. In Omaha, the school's chairwoman was Mrs. Truman S. Woods, a housewife who led with success in 1963 and 1964 the "Gold for Goldwater" fundraising drive<sup>54</sup>. In addition to being at the forefront of paper-pushing and phone-calling, women also offered their distinct qualities. Schwarz wrote after the Dallas Freedom Forum in late 1960: "Entering the lobby the registration desk was a beautiful sight. The attendants would honor any gathering of beauty and charm. Under the direction of Joanna Rogers, these exquisite young ladies welcomed the registrants and attended to the formalities and proved that beauty and efficiency are not incompatible"<sup>55</sup>. The place of women in the Crusade followed a pattern common to grassroots

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the other. For instance, Patrick Frawley appeared on numerous instances on different schools, and so did his right-hand man Ed Ettinger, thus complicating the task of calculating the hundreds of names available.

<sup>52</sup> An., "Appendix", *Facts – Published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith*, Nov.-Dec. 1961, 227-228.

<sup>53</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Milwaukee Anti-Communism Schools" (sic), *loc. cit.*, 4.

<sup>54</sup> Howard Silber, "Sponsors Predict a Huge Success for Schwarz Crusade", *Sunday World-Herald* (Omaha), Sun., May 6, 1962, 6-8.; An., "'Gold for Goldwater' Drive Gains", *The Hartford Courant*, Sat., Jul. 29, 1963, 3.

<sup>55</sup> *Id.*, "The Dallas Freedom Forum", *loc. cit.*, 1.

conservatism. Marjorie Jensen, former Birchite from Pasadena, once described the women's contribution to the JBS: "They did the work. (...) Not all of it of course. But I mean, they would round up the crowds. They would call their friends to come"<sup>56</sup>.

The fact that churchgoing in America has always attracted more women than men, a phenomenon that might explain the strong representation of women as life members when the Crusade was still mainly a vehicle for Schwarz lectures among American evangelical churches. Moreover, during the Cold War era, the general economic prosperity, coupled with a cultural and political environment that made it easier for women to engage in politics -at least in contrast to a few decades earlier, when they could not even vote-, led many middle and upper-class women to find through conservative politics a vent for their commitment to embattled Americanism in an age of anxiety over the A-bomb, subversion, racial strife and moral breakdown. As Michelle Nickerson points out, the ignition of conservative activism among women often took the form of a perceived local threat, such as Communist influence in the nearby school or in the church. These local developments "proved crucial to the politicization of conservative women because the perception of an immediate subversive threat convinced women that it was their feminine duty – to family, community and nation-" to hunt Reds<sup>57</sup>.

Nonetheless, the Crusade was male-dominated, as were probably all political organizations at the time. Of the four officers (Schwarz, Pietsch, Westcott and Strube) and the twenty people who formed the Crusade's advisory council, all were men, as were all the local branch directors. The supporters were mostly male, as it was, and remains today, for most conservative organizations. Lecturers at Crusade schools were almost always men, the rare women being

Margaret Wold at the Orange County school and former FBI undercover agent Marion Miller, who appeared at the Los Angeles Sports Arena school. Later in the 1960's, Crusade events sometimes featured Fidel Castro's renegade sister Juanita, who fled Cuba in 1964 and spend the rest of her live in the U.S. denouncing the dictatorship

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<sup>56</sup> Michelle Nickerson and Marjorie C. Jensen, *CWCP*, Transcript in F., "Jensen, Marjorie C., 3937, Nickerson, Michelle, 7/5/2002", 19.

<sup>57</sup> Michelle Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2010 (forthcoming). Quote taken from chapters of forthcoming book sent to the author.



imposed on her native country by her brothers Fidel and Raul. The Crusade's events, literature and general rhetoric offered a conservative view of the social order that ascribed to both sexes nothing more (or less) than their traditional gender roles.

### **13.4 Western, Suburban Prevalence: Geography**

Tabulations are a more effective means of locating where the Crusaders lived<sup>58</sup>. To a large extent, they confirm that California, and especially Southern California, was the Crusade's homeland. As seen in the Appendix 2. California accounted for more than a third, or 33.3 percent, of all lifetime members, and Southern California for a quarter of them, or 25.7 percent. When the figures from California, Washington State and Oregon are combined, more than 45 percent of life members lived in the Pacific states, a finding that is in accordance with the geography of Schwarz's tours in the 1950's. Texas, with the Crusade's most active secondary branch in Houston, was the second most important Crusader's base, with 13.8 percent of lifetime members. However, the Lone Star state was the only Southern state where important numbers of lifetime members were to be found. While a fifth of lifetime members came from the South, Texas accounted for more than 70 percent of them. The Midwest comes second in regions where Crusaders lived, with 25 percent of lifetime members, Only a handful of lifetime members were to be found in the East, almost all concentrated in either New York and Pennsylvania.

As shown by Appendix 3, in the 1966 donor's list, when institutional contributors to the CACC are set aside (companies, churches and foundations), and if donating couples are considered as two separate persons, the list consists of 832 people nationwide. Almost half, or more than 393 (47.4 percent) were Californians, and four people out of five among them (306 persons, or 36.7 percent) were living in Southern California. This means to say that Southern California alone contained as many Crusaders as did all the states ranked from position number 2 to position number 12 *combined* (respectively

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<sup>58</sup> In the Wolfinger and Koeppen studies, almost all respondents from the Bay Area region, making these studies of little use in locating the Crusade's geographical strongholds. Nonetheless, the 1964 ANES poll is more interesting in this regard. Awareness of the Crusade was higher in two broad regions loosely designed by the poll as "Mountain and Pacific", and "South and Border". In both zones, about a third (31 percent) of respondents knew about the Crusade, whereas the proportion was one-fifth elsewhere. In a somewhat surprising result, among those who were aware of the Crusade's existence, the proportion of supporters of was higher in the South (33 percent) than in the West (24), and was the proportion of non-supporters (26 and 16 percent, respectively). Nonetheless, the problem with the ANES study resides in the absence of clarity as to the geography of the polling zones. Given that the Crusade's Southern activities were mostly concentrated in Texas, it remains possible in light of those results that Texans were overrepresented in the sample of Southerners used in the ANES study<sup>58</sup>.

Indiana, Washington State, Texas, Ohio, Michigan, Tennessee, New York, Missouri, Illinois, Arizona, and Louisiana).

Appendix 4 uses the 1966 donors' list to calculate the gross amounts of donations to the Crusade on a state-by-state basis. California dominates with more than \$77,306, or almost 42 percent of all the \$100, and more amounts given by individual donors across 1966. Southern California offered the lion's share with \$61,630, or more than a third (33.4 percent) of the total amount on the list. Nonetheless, the sums netted by the Crusade in California (both north and south) are proportionally lower than the number of donors, suggesting that donors from other states tended to give larger sums than Californian Crusaders. However, in a year where all donations to the Crusade amounted to \$470,457, 16.3 percent of \$100-plus donations came from Californian supporters. This proportion reaches 20 percent when the sums given by California institutions (foundations, companies and churches) are included. Thus, California, and especially Southern California, was not only the Crusade's demographic base, but also its financial base.

While state-by-state distribution reveals that Crusaders were predominantly Westerners, the analysis could be pushed further so as to identify the specific kinds of residential areas in which they lived. Whereas the life members' list cannot help in this regard -the exact town or city of residence was not always indicated-, the 1966 list displayed the mail addresses of all institutional and individual donors. Once institutional donors and those whose addresses were on military bases were excluded (eight occurrences in this later case), the appendix 5 shows the distribution of 824 individual donors according to the kind of residential areas in which they lived. Using the population figures from the 1960 U.S. census -also used by both Wolfinger and Koeppen-, three categories of residential areas can be established. The first is the rural/small-town setting, which includes all areas that in 1960 had a population of less than 100,000, and which were not part of any greater metropolitan area. The second is the large city setting, which encompasses all areas with a population of 100,000 or more. A third category is the suburban setting, encompassing all areas which, regardless of their specific number of inhabitants, were in 1960 part of a greater metropolitan territory that had a population of 100,000 or more.

This classification reveals beyond any doubt that Crusaders were predominantly suburbanites. A 50.7 percent-proportion lived in suburban areas, while a third (33.9) lived in large cities, and only 15.2 percent, or one in six, could be considered a rural or small town resident. Yet, this statistic conceals a major imbalance that becomes obvious when looking at appendix 5. Regarding residential areas, *there were in fact two Crusades*, one in California, and one in the rest of the country. In California, an outstanding 77 percent of Crusaders were suburbanites, while only 14.5 percent lived in the Golden states' cities (Los Angeles, San Francisco, Sacramento, Fresno and San Diego), and 8 percent lived in the rural heartland. This trend was even more predominant in Southern California, where 80 percent of Crusaders were suburbanites, compared to the north where, at 67 percent, the proportion was still high. When the state of California is excluded from the calculation, a reversal takes place, and the Crusade becomes an organization the support of which was concentrated markedly in large cities (51.7 percent), and not in suburbs (26.4 percent), or in rural/small town areas (21.8 percent). Therefore, the Crusade's heart was the very location where its Long Beach headquarters were: bedroom communities of California, and more particularly the immense suburban macrocosm that enveloped Los Angeles.

### **13.5 Ruling WASPs: Demography**

The survey studies indicate that the Crusaders were overwhelmingly white. While about 12 percent of the San Francisco area residents were either Blacks or Asians, all respondents to Wolfinger's study were white. "In attending the school for five days, we saw no more than a handful of nonwhites", Wolfinger noted<sup>59</sup>. Koeppen did not see a single nonwhite during the two meetings she attended. The ANES study also identified the Crusade's support as coming almost exclusively from whites. Among ANES's sample of Blacks (about 400 respondents in all when including the "Black supplement sample" of 263 respondents), "approximately 29 percent (...) were familiar with the Crusade, and 5 percent of all black respondents can be classified as supporters". This sample is too meager so as to identify who these Black Crusaders were and what their

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<sup>59</sup> Raymond E. Wolfinger, Barbara Kaye Wolfinger, Kenneth Prewitt, Sheilah Rosenhack, "America's Radical Right: Politics and Ideology", *loc. cit.*, 17.

motivations might have been, though Wilcox hypothesizes that they were perhaps people associated with conservative Black churches who shared the Crusade's religious outlook, since these Blacks supported school prayer and perceived the Bible as the inerrant word of God in greater proportion than did other Blacks<sup>60</sup>. In any case, the all-white attribute of Crusaders is corroborated by all testimonies of those who attended Crusade events over the years and all existing documentation.

Most Crusaders came from long-established American families and were of Anglo-Saxon descent. About nine out of ten Crusaders were born in the U.S. The Wolfinger and Koeppen studies (combining 475 respondents) found very few foreign born among Crusaders: only 8 and 4 percent, respectively, as opposed to the 23 percent in the white population of the Bay Area. Crusaders with at least one native born parent were more numerous, with 20 and 28 percent. About two-third of Crusaders (67 percent with Wolfinger, and 65 with Koeppen) were native-born of native parents, while the proportion was 51 percent among white residents of the Bay Area. When Koeppen surveyed her respondents on their grandparents' origins, only 34 percent responded with having one or more grandparents born outside the U.S., and more than 93 percent among those foreign-born grandparents came from Northern European countries or Canada<sup>61</sup>.

As for religion, the Crusaders were overwhelmingly Protestant. More than 77 percent of respondents to Wolfinger's study were Protestants, while Catholics only amounted to 8 percent, as compared to 24 percent in the Bay Area population. Three percent of Crusaders in Wolfinger's study were Jews. Koeppen's figures were similar (78 percent Protestants, 14 percent Catholics and 1 percent Jews)<sup>62</sup>. Though the studies of both Wolfinger and Koeppen focused on Northern California Crusaders, the findings would have been similar in the state's southern part, especially in areas such as Orange County, which at the time was overwhelmingly white, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant. On the other hand, in areas such as St. Louis, where the Catholic presence was more important and Catholics were more involved in the Crusade, a survey study among Crusaders would have undoubtedly revealed a higher proportion of Catholics.

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<sup>60</sup> Clyde Wilcox, *God's Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 91-93.

<sup>61</sup> Sheilah R. Koeppen, "The Radical Right and the Politics of Consensus", *loc. cit.*, 53-55.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 54, note 22.; Raymond E. Wolfinger, Barbara Kaye Wolfinger, Kenneth Prewitt, Sheilah Rosenhack, "America's Radical Right: Politics and Ideology", *loc. cit.*, 54.

The positive relationship existing between age and conservative dispositions has long been established by social science. Put another way, the older one gets, the most conservative he or she will become. While the 1964 ANES study did not contain data pertaining to age groups, both Wolfinger and Koeppen asked their respondents about their age and compared the results to age data of white residents of the Bay Area. Wolfinger's respondents seemed older than the average: 45 percent were over fifty and 52 percent were under fifty. In contrast, the data for white residents of the Bay Area was 36 percent over fifty and 64 percent under fifty. For their part, Koeppen's Crusaders were completely in line with the Bay Area: 35 percent over and 63 percent under (a rare difference between the findings of Wolfinger and Koeppen)<sup>63</sup>. Since Wolfinger's sample was bigger than Koeppen's, its findings were perhaps more accurate on this particular issue. The conclusion from examining the Wolfinger and Koeppen studies is that the Crusaders were in all probability a few years older than the average population.

While the 1960 census indicated that the median age in America was 29 years old, many testimonies about Crusade schools mentioned that the bulk of attendees seemed to be at least in their early thirties<sup>64</sup>. For instance, an observer at the Sports Arena school indicated: "The average age of the adults seemed to be in the middle thirties, a fact which surprised some of the observers [who expected them to be older]. In addition, a great number of children were brought -- some for every session"<sup>65</sup>. A similar comment is found in the personal notes of Donald McNeil, who attended the Crusade school in Phoenix: "I was surprised at the overall age of the audience. Besides many students, the bulk of the audience was between 30 and 45 years of age"<sup>66</sup>. In Omaha, reporter Robert T. Reilly observed during a Schwarz rally that the "hushed, expectant audience was composed largely of young adults and middle-aged spectators"<sup>67</sup>. Of course, these observations only apply to "regular" school sessions, and not to events specifically designed for young people.

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<sup>63</sup> Sheilah R. Koeppen, "The Radical Right and the Politics of Consensus", *loc. cit.*, 54.

<sup>64</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, "Census 2000, Profile of General Demographic Characteristics for the United States: 2000" - Table 7. Median Age of the Population: 1820 to 2000, Available online at: < <http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/phc-t9/tab07.txt> > (accessed Feb. 28, 2011).

<sup>65</sup> An., "A Report on the Southern California School of Anti-Communism, August 28 - September 1, 1961", *GRC*, Box 299, F. "Sluis, Joost", 15.

<sup>66</sup> Donald R. McNeil, "Sessions of Christian Anti-Communism School, March 1, 1961", *DMP*, Box 1, F. 1-3.

<sup>67</sup> Robert T. Reilly, "Schwarz Was Here", *loc. cit.*, 821.

Both the studies of Wolfinger-Koeppen and the 1964 ANES were made at a time when many social scientists were beginning to understand that a relationship might exist between the fundamentalist outlook (Biblical purity, rejection of moral relativism and Manichean views of the world) and right-wing politics. In this context, these studies included some specific data on the Crusaders' religious outlooks, so as to see whether or not some conservative evangelicals were undergoing a process of conservative politicization. Twenty-six percent of Wolfinger's Protestant respondents (a fifth of the whole sample) were "Baptists or members of minor fundamentalist denominations, compared to 13 percent of the white, college-educated Protestants in the San Francisco sample"<sup>68</sup>.

Wolfinger also asked his respondents how they happened to come to the Crusade school. Fourteen percent answered that they arrived primarily through church influence. The researcher set aside this group of Crusaders (the "church group") and observed that several traits distinguished this group from other Crusaders. The "church group" respondents tended to be markedly fundamentalists as opposed to other Crusaders (66 against 15 percent), attended church more regularly (90 against 45 percent), belonged to church committees more often (87 against 37 percent) and tended to have been raised on farms in greater numbers (30 against 19 percent)<sup>69</sup>. Wolfinger thus identified two different groups among Crusaders: a fundamentalist minority, reminiscent of the CACC's origins, and a majority of more secularized WASPs that reflected the organization's larger outreach in the early 1960's.

This dualism is reflected in the ANES study, albeit in a different manner. Here again, part of the Crusade constituency came from conservative Protestants. Awareness of the Crusade was higher among white conservative Protestants, which the ANES study regrouped in an "Evangelical/Fundamentalist/Pentecostal" group: 31 percent were aware of the existence of the Crusade, as compared to 24 percent among other whites. One of Wilcox's findings with the ANES data was that church attendance did not have bearing on the level of awareness of the Crusade, but that among those who attended fundamentalist, evangelical or Pentecostal churches, "frequency of attendance was a

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<sup>68</sup> Raymond E. Wolfinger, Barbara Kaye Wolfinger, Kenneth Prewitt, Sheilah Rosenhack, "America's Radical Right: Politics and Ideology", *loc. cit.*, 38.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

predictor of awareness to the Crusade”. This indicates that “church networks were a source of information about the Crusade”<sup>70</sup>.

Among ANES’ supporters of the Crusade, 29 percent belonged to the “Evangelical Denomination” (undefined) group, 46 percent attended church regularly and 61 percent approved the principle of Bible inerrancy. An indication that the Crusade represented, for supporting evangelicals, an outlet of conservative politicization is the fact that 17 percent of professed Crusade supporters attended churches where the pastor regularly addressed political issues during sermons. Like Wolfinger, Wilcox concluded that the Crusade was supported by a core of conservative Protestants, but also by a relatively high proportion of more secularized people. The religious indicators, he noted, “are not surprising; indeed, the most surprising thing is their weakness. Although religion was clearly part of the appeal of the Crusade, a sizable proportion of the Crusaders attended church infrequently, believed that the Bible was not even the inspired word of God, and were not associated with evangelical denominations”<sup>71</sup>.

### **13.6 America’s Therapists: Educational and Professional Profiles**

Appendix 6 shows the combined results of Wolfinger and Koeppen regarding their educational and professional profiles of the Crusaders, totaling 475 respondents. The Crusaders were predominantly professionals or businessmen, or had husbands in such positions. The professionals and businessmen combined constituted 51.5 percent of the respondents, a figure that was twice higher than among the Bay Area white population. Crusaders were also five times less as likely to be blue-collars, or to work in skilled, semiskilled and service jobs. Household incomes reflected the fact that the Crusaders were predominantly an upper-class group, with more than a fifth of them being in the upper-bracket of annual incomes before taxes (\$15,000 or over). Of the respondents, 43.6 percent earned \$10,000 or more, whereas the proportion was 26 percent among white residents of the Bay Area. The Crusaders were accordingly less likely to be in the lower brackets (\$6,999 a year and less), with only 25.6 percent of them in this category, as opposed to 46 percent for the Bay Area population. This is consistent with all

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<sup>70</sup> Clyde Wilcox, *God’s Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 72-74.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 80-81.

available data on the people involved in the organization of Crusade schools, which always included sizable shares of professionals identifiable through their titles (“Dr.,” “M.D.,” “D.D.S,” “Hon”, or “L.L.B”).

The Crusaders were accordingly more educated than average Americans. Only 3 percent of them did not complete high school. Four out of five Crusaders had attended college and more than 50.6 percent had graduated, whereas the proportion of college attendees (27 percent) and graduates was markedly lower among the white Bay Area population. Among Crusaders who were professionals, the share of college graduates (54 percent) was similar to the proportion among professional Northerners (59 percent), but Crusaders who were businessmen included a higher percentage of college graduates (31 against 19 percent). One of Wolfinger’s interesting findings was that among Crusaders who constituted his “church group” (those who came to the Crusade through church influence and were more likely to have fundamentalist backgrounds), the share of professionals and college graduates was significantly lower. While about 24.5 percent of all Crusaders were clerical or manual workers, the number was much higher (54 percent) among the “church group” and more than 78 percent in this group belonged to households where the annual income was lower than \$10,000. Similarly, two-thirds of the “church group”, 62 percent, did not complete college. This confirms that the Crusade attracted two groups of supporters, one composed of predominantly upper-class professionals or businessmen, but also a minority of conservative evangelicals of more rural background and lower social status<sup>72</sup>. The fact that the Crusade “did not seem to have much appeal to lower-status people, except for fundamentalists” was one of Wolfinger’s discoveries, since McCarthyism in the 1950’s had a much stronger appeal “for people with less education and more menial jobs”<sup>73</sup>.

With respect to educational and professional profiles, the ANES study is significant not only because it tends to confirm the Wolfinger-Koeppen findings, but also because it surveyed the Crusade’s mass supporters rather than the activists who attended Crusade meetings. In almost every political organization, political activists tend to be more educated than supporting non-activists. This, nonetheless, was an indicator for Crusade

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<sup>72</sup> Raymond E. Wolfinger, Barbara Kaye Wolfinger, Kenneth Prewitt, Sheilah Rosenhack, “America’s Radical Right: Politics and Ideology”, *loc. cit.*, 38-39.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.



awareness and support among the larger public<sup>74</sup>. Among whites, awareness of the Crusade was higher among people who had been to college (32 against 23 percent) and among people who tended to be well-informed politically (33 against 19 percent). “One surprising result (...)”, Wilcox wrote, “is that Crusade supporters were better educated and had higher occupational prestige than non-supporters”<sup>75</sup>.

In an attempt to test whether “status anxiety” theories could explain support for the Crusade, Wilcox compared the level of education among Crusade supporters with their levels of income and occupational status. The goal was to see if some “status inconsistencies” could be discovered. Compared to nonsupporters, four times as many Crusade supporters reported a greater educational status than their actual income (9 against 2 percent), and 13 percent of Crusade supporters had a higher educational status than their occupation than was the case with nonsupporters (33 against 20 percent). Among the ANES’ respondents who scored on the lower third of income, educational and occupational brackets, Crusade supporters were more likely to see themselves optimistically, since they mistakenly labeled themselves as middle-class in a greater proportion than nonsupporters<sup>76</sup>. On the face of it, the above are possible indicators of status concerns among Crusaders. However, they are disproved by the fact that Crusaders scored lower on other inconsistent status indicators: they were slightly more likely than nonsupporters to be optimistic about their own future (51 against 44 percent) and to be satisfied with their income (49 against 45 percent). These results were inconclusive in regard to proving status anxieties among Crusaders. Wolfinger wrote that “on the basis of our data and our contacts with the Crusaders, we do not believe that they are social or pathological cripples. Most of them hold responsible positions in business or the professions, and the vast majority is active in a variety of community organizations”<sup>77</sup>.

Wilcox implicitly recognized that higher education was a good indicator of Crusade support only because “education was associated with greater knowledge about the

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<sup>74</sup> Clyde Wilcox, *God’s Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 73, 84.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>76</sup> Forty-seven against 24 percent for income, 36 against 20 percent in education, and 74 against 68 percent in occupation. *Ibid.*, 76-78.

<sup>77</sup> Raymond E. Wolfinger, Barbara Kaye Wolfinger, Kenneth Prewitt, Sheilah Rosenhack, “America’s Radical Right: Politics and Ideology”, *loc. cit.*, 43.

organization. Indeed, education was also associated with opposition to the Crusade, with less well-educated respondents taking a middle position”<sup>78</sup>. He ran an additional calculation which used the level of political education as an independent variable and the results suggested that education by itself was not “a predictor of support for the Crusade, although occupation remained statistically significant”<sup>79</sup>. In other words, a higher educational status alone was not a marker of Crusade support for the obvious reason that higher education could as well be associated with left-wing leanings. On the other hand, the occupational status was a more significant factor in Crusade support.

Survey studies grouped occupations in broad categories. Nonetheless, all available evidence on the Crusade points towards some professions as being overrepresented or among Crusaders. Despite the Crusade’s gradual expansion beyond evangelical circles, churchmen remained important players in the Crusade, though their inclusion by Wolfinger and Koeppen in one of the two large categories of “Professionals” or “Businessmen, managers & officials” makes it impossible to number them with exactitude. Religious professionals were probably not present in large numbers among Crusaders, since even in an age of high church attendance as the early 1960’s, the ratio of clergy per total population was about one tenth of one percent<sup>80</sup>. Nonetheless, the share of donations from this occupational category was proportionally much higher on the 1966 donors’ list: 3.4 percent. Further, their role in leadership positions made them essential to the Crusade<sup>81</sup>. As mentioned, the majority of members of the Crusade’s advisory council in the 1950’s were pastors or theologians. The contribution of religious professionals in organizing the Crusade schools has been demonstrated on numerous instances. If Capt. Barnes, who was also a Navy chaplain, could be considered a churchman, then two of the Crusade’s 1961 nine U.S. branches (San Diego and Philadelphia) were led by churchmen, and three if Jim Colbert, who administered the Long Beach office, is included. At the Crusade school of Phoenix, there were 14 churchmen out of 132 names on the organizing committees. In Miami, in June 1961,

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<sup>78</sup> Clyde Wilcox, *God’s Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 84-85.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>80</sup> Laurence R. Iannaccone, “Introduction to the Economics of Religion”, *Journal of Economic Literature*, Vol. 36, No. 3, 1997, 1469.

<sup>81</sup> On the 1966 list of Crusade donors, when donations from churches (which can be assumed to originate at least from one clergyman or clergywoman), reverends and people whose “Dr.” titles stood for “Doctor of Theology” are added.

there were eight people with the title of “Rev.” out of 32 of the school’s main organizers.

Another overrepresented group consists of small and medium businessmen. Two of the Crusade’s U.S. branches (Seattle and Houston) were led by businessmen. Businessmen were unfortunately not separated from people holding all types of managerial positions in the calculations of Wolfinger and Koeppen, the combined categories amounting to 29 percent of respondents. Their specific level of support among small and medium businessmen cannot be gauged in the tabulation lists, since businessmen did not hold the kind of official titles displayed by professionals on the lists. However, when the two large corporate donations given by Frawley (\$10,000 given by Schick and Technicolor combined) are set aside, the 1966 donors’ list included 38 small companies that gave a combined amount of \$11,856, for an average of \$312 each (more than the \$221 of individual donors): Fashion Fabrics from New Mexico; Ward Development Company of Santa Ana; Allen Gwynn Chevrolet, from Glendale; Home Bank from South Long Beach; Bay Alarm Company, etc.

In the early 1950’s, small businessmen constituted the only middle and upper-class professional group that showed strong approval for Joe McCarthy, whose main constituency (religion aside) was largely limited to lower-class and rural populations<sup>82</sup>. In the 1960’s, the involvement of small and medium-sized businesses was a common feature of conservative activism. For instance, a good number of businessmen were among members of the John Birch Society. In the 1960’s, a study by political scientist Fred Grupp among 650 Birchers revealed that people in business and managerial positions accounted for 30 percent of pro-JBS respondents, though two other studies placed the numbers 12 and 10 percent<sup>83</sup>. Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab analyzed the membership of the JBS’ National Council in 1967 and noted that more than 14 out of 24 names had backgrounds similar to Robert Welch himself, i.e. “presidents or vice-presidents of medium-sized corporations, most often family owned”<sup>84</sup>.

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<sup>82</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, *The Politics of Unreason: Right-Wing Extremism in America, 1790-1970*, New York and London, Harper & Row, 1970, 228-232.

<sup>83</sup> The two other studies were respectively conducted by Burton Levy (political science, University of Massachusetts, 1965) and Barbara Stone (political science, University of Southern California, 1968). *Ibid.*, 288-302.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 302.

The right-wing involvement of small and medium-sized businessmen is where, in fact, status concern theories seem to be most applicable. In 1962, political scientist Victor Ferkiss wrote that small businessmen “find their independence and status threatened by the rise of big business, big labor, and big government”<sup>85</sup>. Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab wrote that heads and managers of small and medium businesses were at the top of the income bracket (often earning more than executives of major corporations) and were highly involved citizens in their communities; yet, they are among “the out-groups in the larger national society. The Federal government, the mass media, the national churches oppose much of what they believe. Most of them have been involved in efforts to change the direction of American politics, but without success”<sup>86</sup>. Thus, according to this interpretation, right-wing activity became for businessmen an outlet for their resentment at a changing world in which their status, hitherto highly valued by the legal and moral American tradition, was challenged as never before.

This interpretation does not take into account the fact that it was not only the small and medium-sized businessmen which supported the right. In Dallas, Phoenix, Orange County or Los Angeles, some of the most important members of the local big business supported the schools of anticommunism. Granted, this support was non-recurrent and usually did not last beyond the holding of each school. Only a few moguls supported the Crusade on the long run (Mott, Frawley, Pew, Chance, Knott and Milliken), as opposed to the more durable backing the Crusade received from the part of smaller businessmen. Political scientist William B. Hixson notes that this big business patronage of organizations such as the Crusade, the JBS or Benson’s NEP, was nonetheless of great significance. It showed the continuing role of “elites in shaping public discourse” and indicated one of the main sources of the right-wing’s longevity in America. But in the early 1960’s, the role big money was largely overlooked by social scientists who studied the “radical right”. Hixson speculates that the mere fact that some of the nation’s most powerful corporations could, in an age of prosperity, be still “fighting the moderate

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<sup>85</sup> Victor C. Ferkiss, “Political and Intellectual Origins of American Radicalism, Right and Left”, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 344, Nov. 1962, 9.

<sup>86</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, *The Politics of Unreason, op. cit.*, 311.

unions and limited welfare state created by the New Deal was an idea that few scholars at the time, regardless of their ideological perspective, were willing to accept”<sup>87</sup>.

Military officers, whom Wolfinger and Koeppen probably included in the “Professional” category, constitute another overrepresented occupational group, even if the early 1960’s saw one of the highest peacetime ratio of military personnel over the general population in 20<sup>th</sup> century America (1.4 percent for all soldiers<sup>88</sup>). One Crusade branch, (San Diego) was led by a retired officer, Capt. Barnes. As already seen, military officers often participated to Crusade schools, and they were markedly overrepresented on some lists of school organizers. More than 15 officers were present among 132 names on the organizing committees of the Phoenix school. Even when lower numbers of military officers were involved, their high rank was notable. For instance, there were only two officers among the 71 names on the list of organizers of the school of San Francisco in early 1962, but one was a Major General and the other a Rear Admiral<sup>89</sup>.

In the early 1960’s, this involvement of the professional military in right-wing politics interested less social scientists than it did journalists (Fred J. Cook’s *The Warfare State*), novelists (Nevil Shute’s *On the Beach*) and filmmakers (Stanley Kubrick’s *Dr. Strangelove*). Interestingly enough, the status concern theories used to explain the business class’ right-wing dispositions could just as much apply to the military. One of the theory’s leading proponents, Daniel Bell, who referred to it as the “military dispossessed” phenomenon. Bell saw the old military establishment as being constantly challenged since WWII by the emergence of the new players in military affairs (atomic scientists, rocket engineers, strategic studies specialists). Old military elites, he wrote, were “ill-equipped to grasp modern conceptions of politics, or to use the tools (computer simulation, linear programming, gaming theory) of strategic planning”<sup>90</sup>. All this resulted in a general feeling of dispossession among high-ranking, career soldiers, which reached its peak when Robert McNamara and his team of “technipols” (a derisive term referring to technicians and political theorists) took over

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<sup>87</sup> William B. Hixson, *Search for the American Right Wing*, *op. cit.*, 69.

<sup>88</sup> Theodore Caplow, Howard M. Bahr, John Modell, Bruce A. Chadwick, *Recent Social Trends in the United States, 1960-1990*, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994, 298-300. This statistic applies regardless of their rank, while officers alone constituted one percent of both life members and donors on tabulations lists.

<sup>89</sup> Maj. Gen. William Dan (U.S. Army, Retired Advisor, Military Affairs) and Rear Adm. Earle Hipp, U.S. Navy, Naval Affairs.

<sup>90</sup> Daniel Bell, “The Dispossessed”, *loc. cit.*, 32.

the Pentagon after the 1960 election and imposed as never before the concept of civilian control over the nation's military establishment. Whether or not this interpretation was accurate, Bell was nonetheless alone among prominent social scientists of the time in noting the significance of this consistent imprimatur given to right-wing ideas by prominent members of the defense and national security establishment, a phenomenon that has markedly characterized the age of Reagan and the Bushes.

Of overrepresented occupational groups among the Crusader, health specialists were the most notable. That doctors were particularly involved in the Crusade and found its message appealing might not, at first sight, be a huge surprise to anybody who read the present research so far. When the Crusade's board of directors and advisory council had their only recorded joint meeting in Winona in 1956, the meeting included four M.D's: Schwarz and Westcott, plus two doctors from Southern California, Drs. John McLennan and Theo G. Moller.<sup>91</sup> Medical men were probably the most consistent source of financial and logistical Crusade support nationwide. Their name were often at the top of the organization's most effective, important regional contacts.

The tabulations are in this respect the best available evidence. Among the 540 persons who took the Crusade life membership between 1956 and 1960, those who held either the title of "Dr.," "D.D.S." or "M.D." numbered 60, a rather high percentage of 11.1 percent. While there cannot be any confusion regarding the significance of "M.D." (Medical Doctor) and "D.D.S" (Dentist), an examination was done on each one of those on those holding the title of "Dr." to see if the title indeed referred to a medical professional. The results: at least 35 of all 540 life members held medical degrees of some sort, or 6.4 percent. Considering that the ratio of doctors and dentists among the general U.S. population was about one per 1000 in 1960, this points to a presence of medical professionals that was 64 times higher among Crusaders than in the general population. The same analysis done with the 1966 donors' list reveals an even greater proportion. Eighty-one persons held the title of doctor among 832 individual donors (9.7 percent). Among them, at least 60 persons were medical specialists of some sort, indicating a proportion of 7.2 percent, or 72 times the ratio of medical specialists among

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<sup>91</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Fred C. Schwarz, M.D. – Executive Director", Sept. 1956, 1. No significant information was found on both men's activities, either social or political, besides their Crusade involvement.

the U.S. population. In sum, the Crusade was perhaps the non-medical political organization of early 1960's in which medical men were the most involved.

At first sight, the involvement of health specialists in the Crusade appears easy to understand. Schwarz's status as physician made a good impression on the public and the good impression on the public he made, in turn, made a good impression on fellow doctors. To this rather prosaic dynamic should be added the admiration Schwarz gathered among many doctors due to his abandonment of a medical career for a crusade for the greater good. Many medical professionals who joined the Crusade were, like Schwarz, strong believers and/or were involved in their local church, which allowed them to fuse the authority of two institutions, religion and the medical profession. They were well-to-do, socially conservative, engaged citizens who wished to be of public service in the struggle against communism, which they, naturally enough, perceived as a disease. They were America's therapists.

In the late 1960's, three social scientists who examined thousands of letters resulting from a protest mail campaign initiated by the JBS noted that "there seemed to be an extraordinary number of doctors of medicine and doctors of osteopathy who wrote in protest"<sup>92</sup>. That 2.13 percent proportion of protest mail from medical personal, the authors wrote, was "twenty-one times the number of M.D.'s and D.O.'s in the resident population". An even greater proportion of medical specialists (3.3 percent) was noted among the authors of hundreds of letters sent in 1962 in reaction to moderate Republican Senator Thomas Kuchel's speech attacking the JBS<sup>93</sup>. Sociologists S.M. Lipset's and Earl Raab's study of the American right's social base also noted that the presence of three physicians among the 24 members of the JBS's National Council in the mid-1960's was consistent with "journalistic reports, particularly from southern California (sic) and the South, concerning the presence of medical doctors in the leadership of the Society"<sup>94</sup>.

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<sup>92</sup> James McEvoy, Mark Chesler and Richard Schmuck, "Content Analysis of a Super Patriot Protest", *Social Problems*, Vol. 14, No. 4, Spring 1967, 459. This interesting study was conducted on a mail campaign launched after a magazine had ran a fictional story about America's takeover by the Reds which Birchers deemed offensive. Sadly, for some reasons the authors did not provide the said magazine's name, nor the article's title, and date.

<sup>93</sup> Herman Edelsberg, "Birchites Make Polite Pen Pals", *A.D.L. Bulletin*, Apr. 1962, 7.

<sup>94</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, *The Politics of Unreason, op. cit.*, 311-312.

Examples showing that medical specialists were particularly present in right-wing activity in Southern California are numerous. Lisa McGirr points out how doctors and dentists who settled in the mushrooming suburban area of Orange County “were prominent among local activists”, as illustrated better by the fifty medical professionals who “went as far as to establish the group Doctors for America in Orange County, to support conservative principles”<sup>95</sup>. G.W. Hawkins, orthopaedic surgeon from Santa Ana, wrote Barry Goldwater in 1961 that by his suggestion, the Orange County Medical Society has formed a committee titled “Americanism and Anti-Communism”: “This committee”, he wrote, “has been very active in an effort to educate the sum of twelve hundred M.D.’s here in Orange County. We are making inroads”<sup>96</sup>. Hawkins also invited Goldwater to speak in his town, observing that a recent lecture by Cleon Skousen drew hundreds of people: “Many of these listeners were doctors. (...) This is certainly one way we can awaken the doctors. The doctors in turn, can awaken many of their patients”<sup>97</sup>.

Skousen himself spoke a few weeks later to a meeting of the Californian Medical Association (CMA) in the San Fernando Valley and wrote his son: “There were 200 present, which was the largest meeting they have had for some time. All the doctors were responsive except one. They kept me until 11 PM answering questions”<sup>98</sup>. Talking about his book, Skousen added: “Dr. McDowell, the President has been pushing *The Naked Communist* among doctors”<sup>99</sup>. Health specialists were also at the cutting edge of the movement to initiate educational programs on communism. In Downey, southeast Los Angeles County, Rotary president and dentist James R. Harvey led a drive that successfully lobbied the local school board to include in the regular curriculum an “American Heritage” program despite opposition from the town’s liberals. The program included descriptions of the basics of communism, plus a “comparative government” class in which written material from Skousen and J. Edgar Hoover was used<sup>100</sup>.

It would be a mistake to overestimate the engagement of medical specialists in conservative politics. For one thing, doctors in postwar America who gave up medicine

<sup>95</sup> Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 84.

<sup>96</sup> G.W. Hawkins to Barry Goldwater, Aug. 16, 1961, *BMGP*, MF 44, Box 012\_REEL020\_0003, pdf. 371-372.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> W. Cleon Skousen to Harold Skousen, Oct. 26, 1961, *WCKP*, Binder “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism, Oct. 16, 1961 – 1961 Dec”.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> James R. Harvey to W. Cleon Skousen, Sept. 25, 1961, *Ibid.*



for full-time activism were an exceptional phenomenon. A 1960 study demonstrated that the 4.8 percent of 230,139 people in the U.S. who held medical degrees but did not practice were overwhelmingly retirees. Only four members of the 86<sup>th</sup> Congress (January 1959-January 1961) held medical degrees, including Walter Judd<sup>101</sup>. Whereas full-time, public office-holding was more common for American physicians in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, the highly specialized aspect of medicine and the financial, social rewards associated with the medical profession in the 20<sup>th</sup> century diminished considerably the likelihood of medical career dropouts. However, part-time activism and other means of political influence were far from rare for doctors. Sociologist William Glaser observed in a 1960 article that since the medical profession is composed of people who are “male, highly educated, prosperous, and thoroughly integrated in their communities, it seems to have the predispositions (...) associated with the highest rates of political participation and influence”<sup>102</sup>. American doctors voted, contributed to political campaigns, read newspapers and took leading civic roles in much greater proportions than the rest of the population<sup>103</sup>. Doctors’ activism was especially strong with respect to issues associated with their profession: according to a survey, about half of them participated in the late 1950’s in campaigns to influence medical legislation or improve health standards.

This detail is noteworthy, as most medical specialists involved in postwar right-wing activity seem to have been influenced by debates regarding their professional status. As Lipset and Raab noted, the emergence of different forms of state medicine in Europe and Canada alarmed large segments of the U.S. medical profession over the prospect of socialized medicine in America. These fears were confirmed by President Truman’s project to enact a national health insurance system, which was fought against between 1943 and 1950 by the American Medical Association (AMA). Organizing what was at the time the most expensive lobbying effort in American history (\$1.5 million spent in 1949 alone), the AMA campaign successfully turned public opinion against Truman’s plan for national compulsory health insurance by linking it to socialism in a way comparable to what happened to Australia at the same time. This activism against state

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<sup>101</sup> William A. Glaser, “Doctors and Politics”, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 66, No. 3, No. 1960, 233-234.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 234-235.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 235-238.

medicine continued during the two decades following the end of WWII, with the AMA spending an estimated \$50 million in lobbying efforts between 1946 and the enactment of Medicare in 1965.

Despite the Crusade's official lack of position on healthcare, it is hardly coincidental that most medical specialists who collaborated with the Crusade seem to have shared a common abhorrence for state medicine. Ypsilanti Crusade branch director, Dr. George Westcott, claimed that positive reports on the Soviet healthcare system were in fact propaganda set-ups: "In every other country socialized medicine is very poor and I don't see why Russia would be an exception"<sup>104</sup>. In 1964, in a speech before his colleagues of the AMA, Walter Judd said: "We have failed to show the public that our opposition to socialized medicine is not because it would hurt us, but because it would hurt the *public*"<sup>105</sup>.

To be sure, the conservatism of many medical specialists reflected the conservatism of their socioeconomic background. Poll studies during the 1940's and 1950's showed that the best indicator of the level of support for state medicine was social class, with the top 10 percent of the income bracket opposing it by huge margins<sup>106</sup>. Among doctors themselves, opposition to state medicine was strongest among Protestants, self-described conservatives and those who lived elsewhere in the U.S. other than the East Coast, all characteristics of the typical Crusader<sup>107</sup>. Glaser's study showed that physicians' preference for the Republican Party and its candidates exceeded those typical of the upper-class, with more than 70 percent voting for Eisenhower as presidential candidate in a poll by mid-decade, and only 16 percent supporting Stevenson. In another poll of five hundred physicians in 1954, more than 26 percent identified themselves with the political philosophy of Robert Taft, 50 with Eisenhower's and only 17 percent with F.D. Roosevelt's<sup>108</sup>.

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<sup>104</sup> George Westcott to Herbert Philbrick, Feb. 6, 1967, *HPP*, Box 210, "Subject File" Series, F. 8, "Westcott, George, 1963-1974, 1908 n.d."

<sup>105</sup> Walter H. Judd, "The Doctor's Place in Public Affairs: Address of Walter H. Judd, M.D., Arkansas Breakfast, June 22, 1964", *The Journal of the Arkansas Medical Society*, Vol. 61, No. 7, Dec. 1964, 212.

<sup>106</sup> Stephen J. Kunitz, Andrew A. Sorensen and Suzanne B. Cashman, "Changing Health Care Opinions in Regionville: 1946-1973", *Medical Care*, Vol. 13, No. 7, Jul. 1975, 552-556.

<sup>107</sup> John Colombo, "Physicians' Attitude Towards Medicare", *Medical Care*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Jul.-Aug. 1968, 320-326.

<sup>108</sup> William A. Glaser, "Doctors and Politics", *loc. cit.*, 240-242.

Conservative dispositions among medical specialists were reinforced by factors related to their professional background. The role and the culture of the AMA are important. The organization was the dominant voice of American physicians -and thus of the medical establishment- since the 1920's. Until WWI, the AMA had endorsed compulsory health insurance, before the growing pressure from its private fee practice membership induced a reversal of position towards a more conservative stance which continued well into the Cold War years<sup>109</sup>. As Monte Poen observes in his study of the late 1940's clash over national health insurance, the AMA's opposition to all forms of interference with private fee practice reflected the basic professional ethos of American physicians, who, since the earliest days of their profession "had organized their practices in the individualistic, fee-for-service, free-enterprise pattern; they had always been businessmen as well as public servants, and most wanted to keep it that way"<sup>110</sup>. As opposed to medical specialists in teaching, research positions, or those working mainly or exclusively as salaried members of large medical institutions, the private fee practitioner enjoyed "the best of two worlds": pecuniary advantages and professional autonomy denied state employees, while also exercising "an essential, prestigious, and humanistic function"<sup>111</sup>.

The medical establishment's traditional adherence to the ideological tenets of classical liberalism was reinforced by the concrete professional reality of American private practitioners, who framed their medical experience in an entrepreneurial language. By the 1950's, the conception of private practice medicine as a small business enterprise pervaded the AMA literature -journals such as *Medical Economics* or *Prism*-, with articles and themes on "good office management, increasing productivity, gains in earnings by speciality, eliminating procedures that take too much time, developing gimmicks to improve their incomes, etc."<sup>112</sup>. Important to the AMA's ideology were such ideas as professional autonomy -the independence of medical judgement, which many doctors feared was threatened under health insurance schemes- and the need for an open, competitive medical market in which both doctor and patient enjoy freedom of

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<sup>109</sup> Duane F. Stroman, *The Medical Establishment and Social Responsibility*, *op. cit.*, 100.

<sup>110</sup> Monte M. Poen, *Harry S. Truman Versus the Medical Lobby*, Columbia and London, University of Missouri Press, 1979, 13.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> Duane F. Stroman, *The Medical Establishment and Social Responsibility*, *op. cit.*, 104.

choice<sup>113</sup>. To many doctors, and especially private practitioners, recurrent discussions over state medicine were conceived as part of a larger attack on their professional autonomy and their leading cultural, social position<sup>114</sup>. In particular, the intrusion of intermediaries between them and patients (the state, politicians, employers, unions, insurance companies) was a threat to a direct relationship with their clients. This was a relationship of “healers and benefactors”<sup>115</sup>. Worse even, governmental control of medicine was deemed as bringing to the medical field politics and its evils: corruption, partisanship, favouritism. Also, losses of professional autonomy resulting from growing third-party interference in their work were experienced by many doctors as a bureaucratic banalization of their once unassailable status<sup>116</sup>.

In the postwar era, the medical profession had to change several of its practices so as to cope with increasingly popular health insurance systems. As the AMA stood up against the first health insurance proposals at the federal level from 1943 on (the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bills), it also faced the introduction of state compulsory legislation, as well as the growing popularity of massive union-supported prepaid health<sup>117</sup>. It is no coincidence that the AMA’s campaign to win the public opinion to its side began in California, since this state was at the nation’s vanguard in health insurance legislation and policies<sup>118</sup>. The Californian AMA was perhaps the most staunchly convinced that private fee medicine was one of the last ramparts of “individualism against dehumanization by industrial society and totalitarian regimes”, historian Rickey Hendricks notes<sup>119</sup>.

By framing their own fight for professional autonomy within the broader anticommunist struggle, doctors not only found a convenient way to rally public opinion against state medicine projects, but also found a means to refurbish a professional and social status that had been bruised by decades of attacks on the medical establishment

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<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 104-107.

<sup>114</sup> Daniel S. Hirschfield, *The Lost Reform: The Campaign for Compulsory Health Insurance in the United States from 1932 to 1943*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1970, 34-41, 120-130.

<sup>115</sup> Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*, *op. cit.*, 235-236.

<sup>116</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, *The Politics of Unreason*, *op. cit.*, 312.

<sup>117</sup> The first state was California in 1939, followed by Oregon in 1942. Eastern states waited a bit longer, such as New York in 1954. See for instance Jules Joskow, *Organized Medicine and the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York*, *The Social Service Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1, Mar. 1955, 1-13.

<sup>118</sup> For instance, the Kaiser Permanente drawing thousands of members in the 1940’s.

<sup>119</sup> Rocky Hendricks, “Medical Practice Embattled: Kaiser Permanente, the American Medical Association, and Henry J. Kaiser on the West Coast, 1945-1955”, *The Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 60, No. 4, Nov. 1991, 452.

from the part of politicians, journalists and unions in national debates over healthcare<sup>120</sup>. To many doctors, these factors combined in a strong impetus to engage in a social activism which they saw as extending to the public realm their curative powers. In a 1964 lecture before his colleagues of the AMA, Judd claimed that medicine had entered an age where doctors were compelled to play a leading role in public affairs in order to retain their professional freedom, to improve the environmental conditions in which their patients lived, as well as to “ensure our future as human beings”, which included the fight against communism, which “behaves like other malignancies”<sup>121</sup>. This catalyst for activism was well-illustrated than by the message the president of the San Fernando Valley branch of the California Medical Association Dr. Allyn J. McDowell delivered its members in the fall of 1961:

“Our medical association would seem to have every right and indeed a high priority obligation to be concerned, on a non-partisan basis, with the national political picture in these times. The chief domestic issue, which crosses both party lines, is Socialism. America is in the midst of a socialist revolution which, if not reversed, will soon destroy (among other things) our entire framework of the best system of medical practice in the world; and under the resultant socialist system there would be little reason for a County Medical Association to even exist. Thus it seems high time doctors generally recognize socialism for what it is – the Moral Cancer of civilization”<sup>122</sup>.

### 13.7 Political and Ideological Profiles

High levels of education being associated with high levels of civic and political involvement, the Crusaders were predictably more engaged in their community and society than average Americans. Wolfinger asked his respondents how many organizations (church committees, civic clubs, etc.) they belonged to and compared the answers with those of in national sample of business, professional and white-collar respondents to a 1952 poll by the Survey Research Center Study. While 61 percent of Wolfinger’s Crusaders were members of at least two civic organizations, the proportion was 15 points lower in the 1952 poll. As for politics, more than 98 percent of eligible

<sup>120</sup> Walter Judd lamented that people “think we are a closed-shop union that wants to have complete control of medical practice in order to promote our own selfish interests. We have failed to show the public that our opposition to socialized medicine is (...) because it would hurt the *public*.” Walter H. Judd, “The Doctor’s Place in Public Affairs”, *loc. cit.*, 212.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 212-213.

<sup>122</sup> Allyn J. McDowell, “President’s Message: Medicine and Politics”, Nov. 15, 1961, *WCKP*, Binder “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism, Oct. 16, 1961 – 1961 Dec”.

Crusaders surveyed by Wolfinger voted during the 1960 election. Among combined respondents of Wolfinger and Koeppen, more than 30 percent belonged to one political club or organization of some sort, while the proportion was 10 percent among white college-educated Northerners. Two-thirds of Crusaders (64.1 percent) sometimes gave money to political candidates and 61.6 percent went regularly to political meetings, while proportions among white college-educated Northerners were 23 and 13 percent, respectively<sup>123</sup>.

That Crusaders were conservatives is not surprising, but the extent to which they were so might be. Politically speaking, more than 67 percent of the respondents of Wolfinger and Koeppen were registered Republicans, 20 percent Independents and only 9.5 percent were Democrats. But more than nine out of ten (89.5 percent) of those who voted supported Nixon during the 1960 election. Moreover, most of them belonged to the conservative wing of the GOP. At a moment where polls showed that most Republicans nationwide supported the re-nomination of Richard Nixon as presidential candidate in 1964, with Barry Goldwater usually coming a distant second, Wolfinger's Republican respondents supported Goldwater by a two-to-one margin (66 against 34 percent)<sup>124</sup>. This trend was particularly strong considering that California was Nixon's home state, and that in 1962, he had increased visibility due to his unsuccessful gubernatorial bid. There is no doubt this preference for Goldwater was a ideological one, rather than reflecting of a distaste for Nixon: in a comparable proportion (59.1 against 40.9 percent), the Crusaders affirmed that their preference would go to a conservative rather than a moderate Republican candidate in all cases.

Appendix 7 shows the combined answers given to Wolfinger and Koeppen to the same questions asked in a high-sample survey of Americans in early 1954, during Joe McCarthy's televised hearings on Red infiltration in the Army<sup>125</sup>. The Crusaders overwhelmingly considered internal communism as being either a "very great" or a "great" danger to America (85.5 percent combined, with more than 62.8 percent in the

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<sup>123</sup> Raymond E. Wolfinger, Barbara Kaye Wolfinger, Kenneth Prewitt, Sheilah Rosenhack, "America's Radical Right: Politics and Ideology", *loc. cit.*, 56-57. The ANES study similarly showed high levels of political involvement among Crusade mass supporters, though Wilcox's study did not show percentage figures. Clyde Wilcox, *God's Warriors, op. cit.*, 74-76.

<sup>124</sup> Sheilah R. Koeppen, "The Radical Right and the Politics of Consensus", *loc. cit.*, 55-57.; Raymond E. Wolfinger, Barbara Kaye Wolfinger, Kenneth Prewitt, Sheilah Rosenhack, "America's Radical Right: Politics and Ideology", *loc. cit.*, 17.

<sup>125</sup> It is unfortunate that Wolfinger and Koeppen did not use a chronologically closer point of comparison.

“very great” column), twice as much as respondents to the 1954 survey (43 percent). Other questions confirmed the extent to which the Red threat was perceived as a clear and present danger: 91 percent of Wolfinger’s respondents saw the Reds as having “lot of influence” in colleges and universities; 55 percent in the Democratic Party and even 20 percent in the Republican Party. They were nonetheless divided as to whether “Communists live in my neighborhood”: 36 percent agreed, 36 percent disagreed, and 28 admitted not knowing<sup>126</sup>. These answers were consistent with the kind of people Crusaders thought were more likely to be Reds. Among Wolfinger’s respondents, the first group was “youths, students, and “the ignorant” ” (45 percent), followed by professors and intellectuals (29 percent).

Some data shows that the Crusaders were more nuanced in their trust in the government. Koeppen tried to push further this examination of perceptions on the internal Red threat by asking her respondents whether or not they thought the Reds had infiltrated various governmental bodies. The results are shown on Appendix 8. The State Department was the only governmental body which a clear majority of Crusaders (65 percent) believed to be significantly Red-infiltrated and, to a lesser extent, the California State Legislature (43 percent). Only 23 considered that the CIA was Communist-infiltrated. Levels of perceived Red infiltration in the Congress (30 percent), the White House (27 percent) and the Supreme Court (25 percent) were similar. But in all these cases, higher percentages of Crusaders considered that these institutions were either not Red-infiltrated, or “perhaps” infiltrated. Law-enforcing agencies were the most trusted state bodies: only 21 percent of Crusaders thought the Justice Department was Red-infiltrated and 4 percent considered the J. Edgar Hoover’s FBI to be Red-infiltrated, while 79 percent disagreed. While 36 percent had agreed that Reds lived in their neighborhoods, for many this subversive presence did not touch their local city council, which only 18 percent considered Communist-infiltrated.

The Crusaders’ strong anti-statist inclination is revealed by their answers on specific domestic issues. Eighty-six percent of Wolfinger’s respondents agreed that “the American people would have more get up and go if the government would stop giving

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<sup>126</sup> Raymond E. Wolfinger, Barbara Kaye Wolfinger, Kenneth Prewitt, Sheila Rosenhack, “America’s Radical Right: Politics and Ideology”, *loc. cit.*, 21.

them things”<sup>127</sup>. More than 60 percent were opposed to Medicare, 56 percent considered the unions did more harm than good and a sizable minority (43 percent) opposed all form of federal aid to education. More than 79 percent of Koeppen’s Crusaders opposed federal aid to fund public school construction and the exact same percentage concurred with the statement: “Social security should not cover old age medical insurance”<sup>128</sup>. About a third of Koeppen’s Crusaders thought the income tax should simply be abolished, a figure which rose to more than 49 percent among those Crusaders in her study who considered communism to be a “very great danger”, which demonstrates the clear correlation between anticommunism and antistatism<sup>129</sup>.

It is unfortunate that very few questions polled the Crusaders on so-called “moral issues”, many of which (abortion, homosexuality, pornography) were not yet seen as important enough in the early 1960’s to appear on the survey questionnaires. Only a handful of questions concerned such topics and the answers are impossible to compare with larger data from the rest of the American population. About 33.1 percent of Wolfinger’s Crusaders opposed the teaching of Darwin’s theories in schools, a figure that rose up to 52 percent among the minority of Wolfinger’s “church group” respondents. Sixty-nine percent of Koeppen’s respondents were of the opinion that young people needed strict discipline from their parents<sup>130</sup>.

The Crusaders’ opinions regarding the race issue reveal intricate, yet somewhat conflicting details. While Crusaders were rather consistently conservative on most issues, Wolfinger classified their take on the race issue as more liberal. “For instance”, he wrote, “almost two-thirds [62 percent] of them are opposed to the southern position on segregation (...)”, while 35 approved it<sup>131</sup>. Here, the glass can be either seen as half-full or half-empty and Wolfinger saw it as half-full, as did Koeppen: “There is no evidence that Bay Area Crusaders are more prejudiced than other Americans”<sup>132</sup>. She

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<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>128</sup> Sheila R. Koeppen, “The Radical Right and the Politics of Consensus”, *loc. cit.*, 55-57.

<sup>129</sup> Though Wilcox choose to proceed to a bivariate analysis between Crusade supporters and nonsupporters regarding domestic issues (and not using percentages), the ANES study results were similar. Crusade supporters were almost twice as much likely to reject Medicare, and an extended role for the Federal government than nonsupporters. Clyde Wilcox, *God’s Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 77-78.

<sup>130</sup> Sheila R. Koeppen, *Dissensus and Discontent*, *op. cit.*, 62. In the 1964 ANES study, the only real question on those issues was about school prayer, which Crusade supporters unsurprisingly approved more than nonsupporters (here again, Wilcox choose to use bivariate figures rather than percentages). Clyde Wilcox, *God’s Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 77-81.

<sup>131</sup> Raymond E. Wolfinger, Barbara Kaye Wolfinger, Kenneth Prewitt, Sheila Rosenhack, “America’s Radical Right: Politics and Ideology”, *loc. cit.*, 23-24, 40.

<sup>132</sup> Sheila R. Koeppen, *Dissensus and Discontent*, *op. cit.*, 60.



did not ask her respondents about segregation, but included one question taken from a past national poll: “Negroes are intelligent as white people” (yes or no?). While 77 percent of white Northerners answered yes, 73 percent of her Crusaders did the same. Also, according to a 1961 Gallup poll, 66 percent of Americans supported the Supreme Court rulings on desegregation, while only 28 percent opposed them, all figures similar to Crusaders<sup>133</sup>. In sum, the Crusaders reflected national trends on the race question.

However, the figure in the 1961 national Gallup poll without Southern respondents (who disapproved the Court rulings by 66 percent) indicated rather that four out of five people outside the South supported desegregation, 18 points more than in Wolfinger’s sample. Seen in this light, the Crusaders, at least those in California, were in fact perhaps more conservative on the race issue than other non-Southern Americans. Also, the fact that 62 percent of Crusaders rejected segregation hides a certain imbalance. Among Wolfinger’s “church group”, this rejection of segregation reached an impressive 92 percent. However, once this core of conservative Protestants is excluded, the opposition among Crusaders segregation shrank from 65 to 52 percent.

This detail reveals two things. First, while all national polls linked higher education to positive attitudes towards desegregation (in 1954, support for the *Brown* decision was 73 percent among college graduates), the trend applied much less to Crusaders<sup>134</sup>. Even though they overwhelmingly opposed desegregation, Wolfinger’s “church group”, as already seen, constituted the least educated of all Crusaders, with more than 62 percent of them not having completed college. Hence, though Wolfinger’s Crusaders were on the whole opposed to the Southern view on segregation, this anti-segregationist position was mild considering that the Crusaders, as a group, were better-educated than the general population. The second observation is that members of the “church group”, with their 92 percent rejection of segregation, were less likely to originate from the South. Since about 30 percent of them were raised on farms, one possibility is that a sizable share came from the upper Midwest or the rural East.

Like the Wolfinger and Koeppen studies, the 1964 ANES seemed to indicate an overall liberal attitude among Crusade supporters on the race issue. The thermometer-

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<sup>133</sup> George Gallup, “Most for Integration; Many Deplore Riders”, *Los Angeles Times*, Wed., Jun. 21, 1961, 11.

<sup>134</sup> *Id.*, “Segregation Views Divide Sharply by Education”, *Spartanburg Herald-Journal*, Wed., Jul. 14, 1954, 2.

feeling questions suggested that the Crusade constituency did not show signs of bigotry compared to the nonsupporters. Wilcox's bivariate analysis showed Crusade supporters to be slightly cooler than other whites towards civil rights organizations such as CORE or the NAACP, but, on the other hand, slightly warmer towards Blacks in general. "Moreover", Wilcox concluded, "Crusaders were slightly, though not significantly cooler towards the [Ku Klux] Klan. Finally, they were significantly warmer than other whites who knew of the Crusade towards Catholics and not cooler towards Jews"<sup>135</sup>. Support for the Crusade, Wilcox concludes, "was not fed by anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism, or racism. (...) This lack of racism and prejudice among supporters of the Crusade also provides additional evidence against certain personality explanations of support which posit projection of feelings of inadequacy onto out-groups"<sup>136</sup>.

Hence, both the Wolfinger and ANES studies showed Crusaders to be relatively more liberal on race issues than on other domestic ones. Nonetheless, the fact that Wolfinger's respondents seemed less supportive of desegregation than other non-Southerners considering their much higher educational statuses remain noteworthy. This clearly reflects the almost complete absence of visible minorities among Crusade schools attendees. All polls taken during the decade following the Supreme Court's *Brown* decision in 1954 showed that outside the South, the white population was less inclined to oppose desegregation (or at least quick desegregation)<sup>137</sup>. Another plausible factor is that the San Francisco school attendees surveyed by Wolfinger included several expatriated Southerners, undoubtedly, were much more likely than others to support their native region's racial culture despite their higher educational profiles. This theory is supported by the fact that many among the least educated Crusaders were unlikely to be Southern natives, as already seen. At the San Francisco school, for instance, the steering committee's six members included at least one confirmed Southerner, Rear Adm. T. Earle Hipp, a native of Newberry, South Carolina, who had retired to Oakland, where he

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<sup>135</sup> Clyde Wilcox, *God's Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 80. On the specific issues (once again presented by Wilcox through bivariate analysis rather than through percentile data), the same phenomenon applied: Crusade supporters supported school integration in the exact same proportion as nonsupporters and people unaware of the Crusade, and approved of residential desegregation and the providing of fair employment for Black people in slightly higher proportions.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> A May 1962 Gallup poll showed for instance that among Northern whites, more than 27 percent thought the desegregation process was brought about too fast by the Kennedy administration, against only 6 percent among Blacks. American Institute of Public Opinion, "Kennedy Not Pressed on Integration Pace", *The Hartford Courant*, Wed., May 30, 1962, 6.

founded in 1962 an organization designed to fight export taxes levied on urban areas. Though expatriated white Southerners were not as numerous in Northern California as they were in the southern part of the state, they were still present in great numbers in the Bay Area. They were particularly present in suburbs such as Oakland, where the school was held (San Pedro had the highest proportion of Southerners in the area), and in the neighboring San Joaquin Valley, notorious for its high concentration of Arkansas and Oklahoma natives<sup>138</sup>. In any case, both the 1962 and 1964 surveys clearly indicated that the race issue was not an important factor in drawing people to the Crusade, which is quite consistent with the fact that Schwarz and his collaborators routinely turned a blind eye on this topic. To the question: “What kinds of people in our country are most likely to be Communists?”, only 7 percent of both Wolfinger and Koeppen’s Crusaders answered “Minority groups”. Wilcox’s conclusion was the same: “Support [for the Crusade] was emphatically not linked to racism”<sup>139</sup>.

On foreign policy, the Crusaders were predictably hostile to communism, though the data suggests more of an isolationist position than a hawkish one. Only 18 percent among Wolfinger’s respondents thought that the best foreign policy was to fight the Soviet Union, a figure quite comparable to the 14 percent among a national sample. The real difference was in the higher share of Crusaders who thought the U.S. should have nothing to do with the Soviets (37 percent, against 17 percent in the rest of the population) and the much lower share of Crusaders who thought the U.S. should have talks with the Soviets (only 28 percent, against 61 percent nationally)<sup>140</sup>. “We suggest”, Wolfinger commented, “that isolationism, rather than aggressiveness, is the hallmark of many radical rightists’ foreign-policy sentiments”<sup>141</sup>.

The word “isolationism” is perhaps even inaccurate: when Koeppen surveyed her respondents on whether they were concerned that the U.S. was too involved in world affairs, only 35 percent of her respondents answered “yes”<sup>142</sup>. While 60 percent of

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<sup>138</sup> James N. Gregory, *The Southern Diaspora*, *op. cit.*, 160, 209-210.

<sup>139</sup> Clyde Wilcox, *God’s Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 84.

<sup>140</sup> Raymond E. Wolfinger, Barbara Kaye Wolfinger, Kenneth Prewitt, Sheilah Rosenhack, “America’s Radical Right: Politics and Ideology”, *loc. cit.*, 23-24. On this point, the ANES’ findings differed somewhat, since it showed Crusade supporters as being more likely than others to favor military action against the Reds, though this is likely to be related with the moment where the poll was done (1964), which saw the intensification of the Vietnam war.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>142</sup> Sheilah R. Koeppen, *Dissensus and Discontent*, *op. cit.*, 66.

Crusaders considered the United Nations as bad for the U.S., Koeppen asked her respondents if they thought the U.S. should give up its U.N. membership, to which only 41 percent responded “yes”<sup>143</sup>. An even lower figure among the combined Wolfinger and Koeppen respondents (34 percent) considered themselves against foreign aid for poor or neutral countries so as to contain communism<sup>144</sup>. Quite revealing of the Crusaders’ attitude on foreign policy are the three questions Koeppen added to Wolfinger’s questionnaire. She compared these results to those of three AIPO polls from 1961. While only 27 of Americans thought that a peaceful settlement with the Soviets was impossible, the proportion was more than 80 percent of Crusaders. On the other hand, only 8 percent of the Crusaders feared a nuclear war against the Soviets (22 percent in the national sample) and two-thirds (62 percent) considered that the U.S. was spending just about the right amount for national defense, as opposed to 45 percent in the general public<sup>145</sup>.

Taken as a whole, these figures indicate that Schwarz was strikingly in tune with his followers on the question of foreign policy. The Crusaders saw the free world and communism heading towards an inevitable clash, since coexistence, in their view, was not sustainable in the long term. Should this encounter take the form of a military struggle, they were more optimistic than other Americans as to the U.S.’s military capabilities, but they were not convinced that the war would actually take place. In a context of indefinite Cold War, they were part of a minority of the American public who thought the U.S. should cut all trade and even diplomatic ties to the Communist world. They believed that their government should be wary of undertaking foreign aid programs liable to waste money on countries that could eventually turn Red. They had a dim view of the United Nations, though they were unsure as to whether or the U.S. should withdraw from the international body.

All of the above can certainly be qualified as “isolationism”, but only a third of Crusaders considered that the U.S. was too much involved internationally. Thus, “isolationism”, in the case of the Crusaders, should be substituted for terms such as

<sup>143</sup> *Id.*, “The Radical Right and the Politics of Consensus”, *loc. cit.*, 72.

<sup>144</sup> The ANES study’s results (once again in bivariate figures) were similar, with Crusade supporters being surprisingly not significantly less likely than other whites to oppose foreign aid, while being markedly more likely to oppose trade with Communist countries. Clyde Wilcox, *God’s Warriors*, *op. cit.*, 81.

<sup>145</sup> Sheila R. Koeppen, *Dissensus and Discontent*, *op. cit.*, 46.

“sovereignism”, or “unilateralism”. The chapter 14, which focuses on the Crusade’s international projects, uses term “conservative internationalism”, to describe the international outlook of Schwarz and his collaborators.

### 13.8 Conclusion

“The typical supporter of Dr. Schwarz and his Christian Anti-Communism Crusade is a well-to-do businessman or professional man who wants to see Sen. Barry Goldwater in the White House (...). Although a college-trained man himself, he is certain that the main threat to the United States has to do with “communist professors” and other “intellectuals” to mislead (sic) the young (...)”<sup>146</sup>.

This kind of simplistic synopsis characterized newspaper reports on Wolfinger findings, as they were disclosed during the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association at the Commodore Hotel in New York in September 1963. The data presented by Wolfinger, Koeppen (and much later by Wilcox) did not validate any of the social science fashionable theories in early 1960’s to explain right-wing behavior. The Crusaders were not driven by some status anxieties, nor by provincialism, nor by ethnocentrism. In the absence of any major discovery that could unlock the mystery of “radical right” behavior, Wolfinger and Koeppen concluded that Crusaders constituted an emerging conservative wing among the Republican Party that marked its political and ideological territory, but which was largely condemned to remain a minority. “The political strategy of the radical right”, Wolfinger stated, “is limited by its lack of mass appeal”. Granting that more than “5,000 local study groups had been formed under their stimulus”, he nonetheless rightly observed that the Crusade “probably reached the peak of its financial and popular success in the last half of 1961”<sup>147</sup>. Another one of Wolfinger’s correct conclusions was that the noticeable proliferation of right-wing activity nationwide was largely sparked by the coming of a Democratic president in the White House. “Although the John Birch Society was founded in 1958, it was not until 1961 that it grew enough to attract public attention”. Likewise, the Crusade “was an obscure organization for the first seven years of its existence, but, in the first year of the

<sup>146</sup> Quoted in An., “Stanford Survey Depicts Typical Dr. Schwarz Backer”, *Oakland Tribune*, Wed., Sept. 4, 1963, 2E.

<sup>147</sup> Quoted in Peter Kihss, “Rockerfeller Charges Kennedy With ‘Opportunism’ ”, *New York Times*, Thu., Sept. 5, 1963, 22.

Kennedy administration, its income increased 350 percent”<sup>148</sup>. Wolfinger stated that the Crusade’s professions of political neutrality could not be taken too seriously: “The organization has several characteristics that place it on the radical right”<sup>149</sup>.

Schwarz regretted having permitted the study to be conducted. The crusader questioned “the intellectual honesty of the authors”. Wolfinger’s intentions, he stated, were unfriendly from the outset. “The motivation of the researchers”, he said in a press conference, “is suggested by the fact that this report was released to the popular press. They knew that the full report would not be published but the more dramatic and controversial conclusions stressed”. And these conclusions, he added, were “a prostitution of the scientific method”. Schwarz did not deny that his organization received “right-wing support”, but insisted that the Crusade was non-political. Moreover, Wolfinger’s finding that Crusaders were preoccupied by domestic Red subversion was considered biased and skewed. The crusader argued that the fact that the Crusade was active in more than 21 countries refuted by itself the implicit label of McCarthyism which this finding implied. As to the fact that the vast majority of his followers were Republicans, Schwarz ridiculed the value of the “discovery”: “I could have save them a lot of time”<sup>150</sup>. The study, he summed up, “could be described as sick comedy and should have been published in Mad Magazine”<sup>151</sup>.

In 1967, Schwarz returned to the Wolfinger study on William F. Buckley’s *Firing Line* television show. He stated that the obvious fact that his schools attendees were middle-class, conservative Republicans, was not important and was only brought up as a finding to pigeonhole the Crusade as “right-wing”. Had Wolfinger’s team surveyed the audience of the San Francisco Symphonic Orchestra, he added, the researchers would have also noted that the classical music lovers as upper or middle-class bracket Republicans. Buckley clearly found Schwarz’s comments evasive. The TV host suggested that “when one understands the seriousness of the international situation, one

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<sup>148</sup> Raymond E. Wolfinger, Barbara Kaye Wolfinger, Kenneth Prewitt, Sheilah Rosenhack, “America’s Radical Right: Politics and Ideology”, *loc. cit.*, 46.

<sup>149</sup> An., “Conservative Traits Found in Anti-Reds”, *Los Angeles Times*, Thu., Sept. 5, 1963, 32.

<sup>150</sup> An., “Questions Honesty: Schwarz Attacks Stanford Report”, *The Daily Review*, Thu., Sept. 12, 1963, 6.

<sup>151</sup> AP, “Crusader Hits Research Study”, *The Bridgeport Telegram*, Fri., Sept. 20, 1963, 33.

might be prompted to vote Republican”<sup>152</sup>. Buckley’s reply was polite, but revealed his understanding that the study indeed had something interesting to say about the Crusade.

Both the Wolfinger-Koeppen and the ANES revealed that the Crusade appealed to two WASP constituencies. The first group was educated, upper and middle-class and was heavily composed conservative (formerly Taft and now Goldwater) Republicans. This group had always been a source of support for the Crusade, but their percentage in the organization expanded tremendously in the in the late 1950’s and early 1960’s, to the point where this demographic formed the mainstay of Crusade supporters by the time the Wolfinger team conducted its study. The second group, composed of conservative Protestants, constituted Schwarz’s first followers when he stepped onto American soil in 1950. For these rather politically moderate (or otherwise apolitical) Bible-believing Christians, Schwarz’s lectures, and the subsequent Crusade’s mass events, were factors that reconnected them with the larger world, anticipating their political and ideological mobilization as part of a new religious right. For these often rural people, the Crusade facilitated their ideological integration into the cities or suburbs of the West, where they brought their conservative evangelicalism to the nation’s fast-growing military-industrial complex. Brought together in the anticommunism schools were these two constituencies which formed the armature of the future Reagan coalition, united under a broad-based anticommunist message.

In 1987, Clyde Wilcox compared Wolfinger’s data to results of a mail survey of the membership of the Ohio Moral Majority conducted in 1982: “First, both groups appeal to a general disposition we might call ‘Christian Patriotism.’ Both have been headed by charismatic figures with backgrounds in religious revivalism (...)”<sup>153</sup>. Both groups presented in fact strong similarities. “The sex and age distribution of the two groups is almost the same. Like the Crusaders, over 50% of the Ohio Moral Majority activists have completed college. (The national figure for white northerners is 17%)”<sup>154</sup>. Despite their much stronger emphasis on so-called “moral” issues, Moral Majority members were as concerned by communism as the Crusaders. “87% felt that Communists had a

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<sup>152</sup> *Firing Line*, Episode 062, “The Decline of Anti-Communism”, *op. cit.*

<sup>153</sup> Clyde Wilcox, “America’s Radical Right Revisited: A Comparison of the Activists of Christian Right Organizations from the 1960’s and the 1980’s”, *Sociological Analysis*, Vol. 48, No. 1, Spring 1987, 48.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

lot of influence on colleges and universities (roughly the same percentage as among the CAC) (sic)", Wilcox noted, "and nearly three in four felt that Communists had a lot of influence on the Federal Government"<sup>155</sup>. The only real difference was the more intensely religious outlook of the Ohio Moral Majority, the members of which were more faithful in church attendance than Wolfinger's Crusaders. The Moral Majority also attracted a much larger share of ministers (28 percent) and less businessmen than the Crusade<sup>156</sup>. The Crusade had a much greater number of secular conservatives. Wilcox, hypothesized: "Perhaps only communism provides the issue by which the Christian Right might appeal to the secular right without alienating its natural base among the evangelicals and fundamentalists"<sup>157</sup>. Wilcox's only misreading here was probably to have categorized the Crusade too closely as a Christian Right organization. Though the Crusade's religious dimension was still present in the early 1960's, its appeal had largely overflowed the evangelical world.

What prevented the Crusaders from having constituted a more accurate representation of the future Reagan coalition was the absence (or low presence) of some major subgroups, especially blue-collar whites, Catholics and, to a much lesser extent, ethno-cultural minorities. It remains unlikely that the Crusade, or any other popular conservative group of that era, could have had the same broad-based appeal which the American right incrementally built up during the following two decades. What made the transformation of the early 1960's "Radical Right" into the dominant political force of the nation were the shake-ups caused by the collapse of the Democratic South, the backlash against Civil Rights, race riots, the antiwar movement and the counterculture, as well as ceaseless grassroots work on the part of conservative activists.

Demographics and ideology aside, the Crusade provides several hints on the long-term organizational features that allowed the American right to survive the fading of most of its important organizations of the early 1960's (including the Crusade and the JBS) and the crushing defeat by Goldwater at the polls against Johnson in 1964. Important have been the involvement of conservative women, the endless vitality of the right-wing in Southern California, from where the Reagan movement originated and the

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<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*



growing importance of suburbs. Important has been the ongoing support by elites: segments of the country's big business and many of the country's regional small and medium-sized businesses, many prominent members of the nation's military establishment and, also, numerous educated, established citizens (especially from the medical community) who gave their seal of approval to right-wing conceptions.

This dynamic of elite involvement in the popular right-wing is a legacy of groups such as the Crusade. William B. Hixson underlines this point when he criticises social scientists for having turned a blind eye to groups like the Crusade or the JBS after their popularity plummeted in the mid-1960's. For Hixson, a survey of some characteristics of the American right in the 1980's "-the personnel of the Reagan administration, the leadership of various right-wing interest groups and political-action committees, the institutionalization of a right-wing intellectual community- would suggest that in a more profound way the "radical right" of the late 1950's and early 1960's had tremendous durability"<sup>158</sup>.

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<sup>158</sup> William B. Hixson, *Search for the American Right-Wing*, *op. cit.*, 72.

## 14 FOREIGN PROJECTS, 1955-1967

“When will we wake up? When will we realize that we are engaged in a battle for the minds and hearts of the people of the world? When will we awaken to the fact that it is impossible to fight a spiritual and an ideological warfare with material weapons?”<sup>1</sup> – Fred C. Schwarz, 1957.

### 14.1 “Round the World in Twenty-Eight Days”

In November 1959, Schwarz embarked on a 28-day trip that led him first to England, where he spent about a week addressing a number of meetings, the most important of which was an informal lecture at the House of Commons and another one before military officers at the Aldershot training school. Schwarz then flew to the East. His DC 6B plane landed for refuelling in Hong Kong, which the Australian described as “the living proof that the claim of the Chinese Communists to be the legitimate representatives of the Chinese people is a lie”, since about a million refugees from mainland China, all living in “extreme frugality”, had flocked in the tiny peninsula before the Red Chinese sealed the border with the British colony. He then flew to Taiwan with a Civil Aviation Transport where he was met upon his arrival by a small crowd holding a “Welcome Dr. Fred Schwarz” banner, while a musical band played a song of welcome. Kuomintang general and Reverent Andrew K. T. Ming, “president of the Chinese Christian Anti-Communism Crusade”, was Schwarz’s host for the week he spent on the island, where “I had the experience of seeing the true Chinese people of Formosa”<sup>2</sup>.

This tour was the result of the Crusade’s expanding international involvement, as well as its soaring financial resources. In 1958 and 1959, as the distribution of Schwarz’s HUAC testimony was in full swing in the United States, it also began circulating in other countries. Texas oilman Jack Danciger, New Mexico native, former Mexican consul and philanthropist with a particular interest in the development of education and libraries in Latin America, paid thousands of dollars to get the testimony translated into Spanish and

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<sup>1</sup>*Id.*, “Dear Christian Friend”, *CACC Newsletter*, Oct. 1957, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Round the World in Twenty-Eight Days”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jan. 1960, 1-2.

distributed south of the Rio Grande<sup>3</sup>. In Taiwan, the News Services of Free China - Taipei's state information agency- translated the document into Mandarin and distributed it to Taiwanese civic leaders and government officials, before the Taiwanese Air Force dropped thousands of copies over the China mainland in 1959<sup>4</sup>.

The General and Reverent Andrew K. T. Ming belonged to the Taiwan's influential evangelical Christian minority, a group whose traditional anticommunist stance had been reinforced by the Chinese Communists' wiping out of nearly all churches on the China mainland during the decade following 1949. Ming read a copy of Schwarz's HUAC testimony and wrote the crusader that he wished to form a Taiwanese branch of the CACC. Schwarz replied that it was the Crusade's policy that "all national groups are indigenous and not subsidiaries of the American groups"<sup>5</sup>. A Chinese CACC was thus formed around a group of Chinese evangelicals, with Andrew Ming as director, who promptly urged Schwarz to send material which the new branch could translate into Mandarin. Ming also invited him to Taiwan, offering him an "interview with President and Madame Chiang" and a speaking tour of the island "on which I should be glad to be your interpreter"<sup>6</sup>. A few months later Schwarz was informed that the Chinese CACC had organized an evangelical anticommunist conference attended by 200 Taiwanese church leaders and that some CACC writings had already been translated and given to various state agencies for dissemination. Some were to be dropped by air onto the Chinese mainland. Clearly satisfied, Schwarz agreed to visit Taiwan and give \$1,200 to the China CACC to cover further translations and printing of his works<sup>7</sup>.

Schwarz arrived in Taiwan shortly after the Second Taiwan "Strait Crisis" of 1958, which had seen for a few months Chinese Communists on the mainland and Nationalists in Taiwan trading shells and military threats over the control of the small islands Quemoy and Matsu. The crisis had furthered Taiwan's integration into the U.S. strategic defence apparatus in Asia and strengthened the permanent state of emergency on the island, where martial law, imposed in 1949 by the ruling Kuomintang, would only be lifted in

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, "South America", *Ibid.*, Mar. 1959, 5.; Ignacio A. Richkarday, *Jack Danciger: His Life and Work*, Mexico, Jack Danciger (Private Pub.), 1963, 137-326.

<sup>4</sup> Wang Shih-Ping to Fred C. Schwarz, Sept. 5, 1958, Letter published in *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 1958, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Formosa", *CACC Newsletter*, Jul. 1958, 4.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade: Comparative Statement of Income and Expenses For the Years Ended December 31, 1959 and 1958", *GRC*, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade - General and Financial".

1987. Since 1949, when Taiwan was became the only remaining bastion of the Republic of China, an event marked by the arrival of a million and a half Kuomintang-associated mainlanders (military, bureaucrats, businessmen) who ruled as conquerors and occupiers, the island underwent major social and economic transformations favouring the emergence of groups such as the Chinese CACC<sup>8</sup>.

During the 1950's, the Kuomintang, helped with large infusions of U.S. money, reorganized the country's economy and opened it to the West. Among other things, this resulted in what Murray A. Rubinstein calls "a full-scale missionary invasion". In a few years the island welcomed scores of Christian missionaries, many fleeing from the China mainland, while other came directly from America, especially those from conservative denominations such as Southern Baptists and Assemblies of God. The number of foreign missionaries rose to 300 in 1954, and then again to 600 by the time Schwarz visited the island in 1959. By the mid-1950's, 25 "denominations and independent churches that had not been engaged in evangelical and church planting work in Taiwan before 1945 were now represented on the island"<sup>9</sup>. Schwarz's new Taiwanese friends in the late 1950's were themselves members of a conservative Baptist group and worked with the Baptist Evangelization Society. As with other Christian missions in Taiwan, it had kept many ties with Christian mainlanders, whose religious faith had been driven underground. The Society was regularly fed with news from the mainland. The Chinese CACC's secretary, the Rev. Wang Shih-Ping, travelled with other Asian church leaders to Washington in 1959 and testified before HUAC about Peking's antireligious persecutions and how he considered the Communist commune system as designed to break up families<sup>10</sup>.

A close relationship between Taiwan' ruling regime and Christian missionaries sprung up, one strengthened by the Christian faith of Chiang Kai-shek himself, his wife Son Meiling and an influential minority among the Kuomintang establishment. This Christian faith was an unquestionable element in the Taiwan President's superstar status among

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<sup>8</sup> Denny Roy, *Taiwan: A Political History*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2003, 60-77.; Steven E. Phillips, *Between Assimilation and Independence: the Taiwanese Encounter Nationalist China, 1945-1950*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2003, 40-114.

<sup>9</sup> Murray A. Rubinstein, *The Protestant Community on Modern Taiwan: Mission, Seminary, and Church*, Armonk, M.E. Sharpe, 1991, 35.

<sup>10</sup> An., "Asian Clerics Tell Tortures", *The Milwaukee Journal*, Mon., Jun. 1, 1959, 9.

conservative evangelicals and the China Lobby throughout the Cold War<sup>11</sup>. This alliance between the Kuomintang and Christian churches was mutually beneficent: missionaries were welcomed and accommodated everywhere in Taiwan and, in return, their churches, especially those with political conservative leanings, became ardent lobbyists for Taiwan's Nationalist regime and contributed to its presentation as a bastion of freedom against Communist tyranny. Missionaries also played an important role in the island's development, as they supplemented the state's social programs by opening relief agencies, schools, hospitals colleges and even universities<sup>12</sup>. During his guided tour of the island, Schwarz marvelled at the island's healthcare infrastructure, but also at Taiwan's education system which allowed some of Asia's highest rates of school and university attendance. The crusader's visit culminated with a series of meetings with the Kuomintang elite ("the Foreign Minister, the Minister of Education, the Speaker of the Provincial Assembly, the Provincial Governor of Taiwan (...)", including one with President Chiang and his wife, who had perhaps remembered the Australian from the texts Kohlberg had sent her a few years before. Schwarz was moved by the presidential couple: "The President", Schwarz wrote, "appeared serene in his position of great responsibility and his concern for the Chinese people is tempered by a vibrant faith in their future"<sup>13</sup>. Schwarz had always claimed that it was a waste of time visiting the Soviet Union since the Communists could always constraint the visitor's tour to select areas presenting a falsely positive tableau. The crusader's highly uncritical assessment of his journey shows that he was probably deceived to a degree by Kuomintang officials in the same manner. In 1947 an indigenous uprising against the Kuomintang's inept, corrupt management and its exclusion of local elites had been bloodily crushed, causing thousands of civilian deaths<sup>14</sup>.

Despite the eventual cessation of the Chinese CACC's activities for unknown reasons (no mention of the organization exists in Crusade literature and correspondence after 1961), the visit reinforced the Crusade's worldwide network of contacts among

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<sup>11</sup> Chiang converted to Christianity first for political reasons, i.e. to marry his wife and enter in a kin relationship with his predecessor Sun Yat-Sen, but seem to have developed a genuine faith in the 1930's. Bae Kyoungan, "Chiang Kai-shek and Christianity: Religious Life Reflected From His Diary", *Journal of Modern Chinese History*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Jun. 2009, 2-6.

<sup>12</sup> Murray A. Rubinstein, *The Protestant Community on Modern Taiwan*, *op. cit.*, 33.

<sup>13</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Formosa", *loc. cit.*, 2-4.

<sup>14</sup> Min Ye, "China, 1946-1949", in Karl R. DeRoouen and Uk. Heo, eds., *Civil Wars of the World: Major Conflicts Since World War II*, Santa Barbara, ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2007, 251-252.

prominent anticommunist figures, especially the Kuomintang elite which formed the nucleus of the World Anti-Communist League when it was founded in Taipei in 1967. Its first president was Ku Cheng-kang, senior Kuomintang leader and president of the Taiwan National Assembly. Schwarz's Taiwan visit epitomized the development of the Crusade's growing global character through involvement with numerous evangelical churches and groups in several countries. From the mid-1950's onward, the Crusade thus established itself at the center of a loosely-structured international web of faith-based indigenous anticommunist forces.

Developing international projects was part of the Crusade's DNA even before its inception. Schwarz always had a globally-framed perspective in which skin colours and national borders were irrelevant to the larger colliding transnational forces that religion - especially evangelicalism- and communism represented. In particular, as already mentioned, he saw demonstrations of American economic and military power as ridiculously unfit to the task of shielding people against communism while the Reds were successfully wooing hearts and minds of world nations. In 1959, he said: "On the world-scene, the Communists are reaching the *people* of many lands, while our contacts are reserved for the *government*. (...) Suddenly the surge from the grass roots sweeps the government out of power, and in its place we are confronted with a pro-Communist government"<sup>15</sup>. Schwarz was correct on this point and, in effect, prophesied what happened in Vietnam. "It continues to amaze me", he wrote to Judd in 1982, "that so few seem to realize that it is better to prevent the recruitment of communist guerrillas than spend enormous sums to provide weapons and troops to fight them after recruitment"<sup>16</sup>.

Schwarz acknowledged the importance of national cultures, and eagerly recognized patriotism as an effective bulwark against communism. "It would appear", he lamented in 1961, "that in some areas of our present society, old-fashioned patriotism has gone the way of cigar store Indians and unconditional guarantees". For the crusader, love of country had to be instilled by all major institutions of society and "goes deeper than saluting the flag and casting our vote. It's an everyday job for every man, woman and

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<sup>15</sup> *Id.*, *Insurance Against Communism*, Houston, Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1960, 16-17.

<sup>16</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Walter Judd, Feb. 12, 1982, *WHJP*, Box. 226, F. 5.

youth (...)"<sup>17</sup>. However, unlike religion, nationalism could easily be manipulated by communism to advance its own purposes, as evidenced by all “national liberation wars” the Reds supported throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, or by the way the Soviets exploited the Israeli question so as to garner support among Arab-Muslim countries. Patriotism was perhaps a good defence against Communist internationalism, but it was a double-edge sword in the sense that the Reds continuously convinced peoples that their national interest conflicted with capitalism or Western imperialism. What was idiosyncratic about Schwarz was the way he continuously equated nationalism and racism, for both were, he said, force which the Reds could easily turn to their advantage. An observer who attended one of the Crusade’s meetings in 1965 noted: “He continually used the expression, “nationalism and Racism” as though these words were synonyms, interesting in view of the flag-draped stage, the anthem-singing and the pledge of allegiance, etc”<sup>18</sup>. The crusader, in sum, paid lips service to American patriotism, but the truth was that he was lukewarm about nationalisms. In this regard, he was rather unique among U.S. right-wing leaders.

The crusader wished to confront communism on a global scale and, as such, conceived America less as the primary Cold War battlefield and more as the free world’s most solid stronghold. The actual first-line clash took place in world areas targeted by Communists. From 1956 until Schwarz’s retirement in 1998, the CACC newsletter remained packed with news about the ups and downs of worldwide communism and the Crusade’s own contribution. A typical Crusade newsletter from the late 1950’s and early 1960’s would contain as much space devoted to international developments as to the domestic front. For instance, the April 1963 newsletter devoted almost five pages out of seven to the situation in several countries (British Guiana, Cuba, Brazil, India and Haiti), the rest covering a recently-held school of anticommunism in San Diego and lectures by the crusader.

The Crusade thus adhered to and exercised a form of internationalism, albeit a conservative brand, one which showed distrustfulness towards liberal internationalism

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<sup>17</sup> An., “Anti-Communism School Scores – More Old-Fashioned Patriotism Needed , Declares Dr. Schwarz, Noted Red Fighter”, *Van Nuys News*, Fri., Dec. 1, 1961, 2A.

<sup>18</sup> “Confidential – Report on : Meeting of Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Oct. 15, 1965, 8 p. m., Ambassador Residence, St. Louis – Speaker: Dr. Fred Schwarz”, *GRC*, Box 363, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Notes on Individual Meetings” .

and institutions associated with this outlook such as the United Nations. The Crusade did not have an official anti-U.N. policy and denied denigrating the supranational organization<sup>19</sup>. However, the Crusade featured collaborators who outspokenly displayed an anti-U.N. stance, such as Cleon Skousen, who, as already seen, often decried the U.N., calling its veto clauses “legal monstrosity”<sup>20</sup>. A CACC newsletter in 1964 featured an article from Crusade collaborator Robert Morris which contained a full-fledged attack on the U.N. Morris called the U.N.’s programs of disarmament “a transfer of military strength and sovereignty from nations to these international agencies headed in many cases by men who are committed to our destruction”<sup>21</sup>. Schwarz himself, showed apparently little confidence in the organization. He ridiculed proposals for a U.N. supervision of North Vietnam elections in 1966 by reason of the institution’s lack of adequate military force. In 1971, apprehensive of the potential “catastrophe” that would be the inclusion of Red China in the U.N., he wrote that one of options left to the U.S. would be simply to withdraw from the organization. However, the political consequences of such a move would be harsh: “Seeing that 20 years of propaganda by press, radio, and television has presented the United Nations as man’s best hope for peace, this action would be interpreted by millions as abandoning the quest for peace”<sup>22</sup>. Distrust of the U.N.’s liberal internationalism was also in keeping with Schwarz’s tendency for *realpolitik* as far as communism was concerned. Schwarz never had interest for discussions over civil liberties and military dictatorships did not pose problems if they meant stopping the Reds. As he wrote in the wake of the anticommunist coup in Brazil in 1964: “A military coup is like a cut in the abdomen, undesirable in itself, but necessary sometimes to preserve life”<sup>23</sup>.

The Crusade’s opposition to liberal internationalism reflected a common disposition among American conservative Protestants, one which could be traced back before the U.N.’s establishment in 1945. Historian Markku Ruotsila calls attention to how the establishment of the League of Nations after WWI fostered major rifts in each important

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<sup>19</sup> Ivan Bell to Herbert Philbrick, Jan. 27, 1961, *HPP*, Box 243, “Speeches and Writings” Series, F. “Jan.-June 1961”; When asked whether the U.S. should withdraw from the U.N. in 1963 he simply stated “I have no comment on that”. Quoted in Kenneth Woodward, “What qualifications for a crusader?”, *loc. cit.*, 16.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted in An., “Unconscious Surrender to Kremlin Cited”, *Los Angeles Examiner*, Wed., Aug. 30, 1961, 5.

<sup>21</sup> Robert Morris, “The Spirit of Socrates”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jul. 1964, 6-8.

<sup>22</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “The New China Policy”, *loc. cit.*, 1.

<sup>23</sup> *Id.*, Blurb from *CACC Newsletter*, Apr. 1964, 3.



American Protestant denomination, with theologically and culturally conservative evangelicals generally disapproving of “the concepts of modern internationalism on which the League was based and that it followed in practice”: the idea of a supranational authority, the use of secular institutions, multilateralism and the concept of “equality of all nations and religiocultural traditions”. Opposition to liberal internationalism, as it developed after WWII, became a frame of mind which “later generations of American evangelicals perpetuated as a key dimension to their religiopolitical public doctrine”<sup>24</sup>. As the Crusade exemplified, rejection of liberal internationalism never presupposed a lack of interest for world affairs. This was evidenced by the intense involvement of U.S. conservative Protestants in missionary activity and their eagerness to conceive themselves as part of a global community of believers.

This phenomenon was undoubtedly furthered by the Crusade’s heavy reliance on private, faith-based networks to carry aid to foreign countries. Working largely outside government apparatuses, the CACC’s international strategy was to channel resources from America -its only genuine financial base- to local anticommunist forces in Third World countries. While the Crusade’s religious appeal in the U.S. gradually moderated during the decade following its founding, its international projects remained closely associated in many countries with conservative evangelicalism. Its anticommunist seminars, distribution of literature -targeting especially students, ministers, professionals- and radio broadcasts were often executed by people from local Protestant churches with the financial and logistical support of the Crusade. In some countries, such as Costa Rica, El Salvador or the Philippines in the 1980’s, the Crusade also had the backing of government officials (bureaucrats, members of the military-security establishment) to organize its activities. These projects often coupled anticommunism with humanitarian aspects.

These projects came to absorb a substantial part of the Crusade’s financial resources. From 1958 on, they roughly accounted from a quarter to a third of the organization’s yearly expenses. But on relatively modest amounts, the Crusade operated continuously on several continents for decades. This successful frugality was rendered possible by the

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<sup>24</sup> Markku Ruotsila, *The Origins of Christian Anti-Internationalism: Conservative Evangelicals and the League of Nations*, Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press, 2008, 2.

mobilization and extensive use of local church networks. Using locals to vulgarize anticommunism was not only cheap, but also convenient and effective. It avoided the embarrassment of white Crusaders in Third World countries being possibly profiled as interfering and patronizing Westerners, an important consideration in countries with histories charged with colonialism and foreign domination. To be sure, engaging of the terrain had its risks. In one case, important sums were clearly mishandled.

These Crusade's foreign initiatives demonstrate well the dynamics of transnational evangelicalism whereby this force weaved itself into a global network during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It exemplifies the phenomenon described by André Corten and Ruth Marshall-Fratani in their study of world Pentecostalism, when they write that it functioned as "a new vector for the fixing of identity in an exclusive, rigid, almost Manichean vision of the world and the self, which can have the effect of hardening local differences, or creating new ones"<sup>25</sup>.

## 14.2 Andhra

In early 1955, Schwarz received a minutely-written twelve page letter in small handwriting from Ch Devananda Rao, a 22-year old evangelical Baptist from Kristna District in Andhra state, in South India. Rao was recent Christian convert and a teacher in a small school established by the Andhra Baptist mission. Through unknown means, Rao had perused a Crusade newsletter -at the time only available in the U.S.- and he wrote Schwarz about how Communists were attempting to deceive Christians in his home region, notably by promising them freedom of religion. Rao explained to the crusader how he solicited his fellow citizens not to vote for the Reds<sup>26</sup>. Schwarz pledged he would try to find a way to help his correspondent, but the Crusade's resources were paltry at that moment.

The Australian could only have felt that the situation was serious enough, since Andhra -a historical region of India made officially a state in 1953- was at this moment the Indian state where Communists seemed the most solidly implanted. It harboured the largest Communist membership in India (8,000 members out of an estimated total of 50,000 in

<sup>25</sup> André Corten and Ruth Marshall-Fratani, "Introduction", in André Corten and Ruth Marshall-Fratani, eds., *Between Babel and Pentecost*, *op. cit.*, 3.

<sup>26</sup> Passages of this letter were published in an untitled section of the CACC Newsletter, May 1955, 7.

1954) and during the 1951 elections in Andhra, the Communists netted 1,208,656 votes, allowing them to elect 41 members out of 140 at the state legislature and form the main opposition to the ruling Congress Party<sup>27</sup>. Communists present in Andhra since the Depression years, where they had made inroads in the state's agricultural labour movement, but their postwar expansion rested mainly, as Schwarz pointed out during his HUAC testimony in 1957, on their clever exploitation of social tensions, especially their alliance with the Kamma subcaste which composed an important part of the state's agricultural landlords<sup>28</sup>. By the time Rao wrote Schwarz, Andhra Communists had been defeated and had lost almost all their representatives in the state legislature by reason of internal disputes and, also, effective campaign from the Party of Congress, but their votes in absolute numbers had more than doubled to reach the 2-million and a half mark, or 31 percent of the total vote<sup>29</sup>. The future political situation in Andhra thus looked uncertain.

By the end of 1955, Schwarz and his peers were particularly alarmed at the tour Khrushchev and Soviet Premier Nikolai Bulganin undertook in Burma and India -the "B and K show", as some Western journalists called them-. Khrushchev embarked on his Southeast Asia tour to assert his new position as world leader, take diplomatic advantage of the current decolonization process and see for himself the situation in India, a country that had been largely neglected by the Soviets during the Stalin years (Khrushchev admitted in his memoirs that the Soviet knowledge of India "was not only superficial but downright primitive")<sup>30</sup>. "History", Schwarz stated in reference to the "B and K show" in India, "has no record of such triumphal tour by foreigners visiting another country"<sup>31</sup>. Judging solely by the massive Indian crowds gathered to see the Soviet leaders -two million people in New Dehli and Bombay; maybe five million in Calcutta-, the tour was indeed triumphal. Informed by Rao as to the great amounts of Red propaganda flooding his country, Schwarz saw the tour as "the natural result of the tremendous literature

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<sup>27</sup> Marshall Windmiller, "Indian Communism Today", *Far Eastern Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 4, Apr. 1954, 55.; *Id.*, "The Andhra Election", *Ibid.*, Vol. 24, No. 4, Apr. 1955, 57.; Selig Harrison, "Caste and the Andhra Communists", *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 50, No. 2, Jun. 1956, 379.

<sup>28</sup> A. Satyanarayana, "Rise and Growth of the Left Movement in Andhra, 1934-1939", *Social Scientist*, Vol. 14, No. 1, Jan. 1986, 34-41.; Selig Harrison, "Caste and the Andhra Communists", *loc. cit.*, 380-385.

<sup>29</sup> Selig Harrison, "Caste and the Andhra Communists", *loc. cit.*, 379.; Marshall Windmiller, "Indian Communism and the New Soviet Line", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 29, No. 4, Dec. 1956, 354.

<sup>30</sup> Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, Sergeĭ Khrushchev, George Shriver and Stephen Shenfield, *Memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev: Statesman, 1953-1964*, University Park, Pennsylvania University Press, 2007, 723.; William Taubman, *Khrushchev, op. cit.*, 354.

<sup>31</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Fred Schwarz", *loc. cit.*, Jan.-Feb., 1956, 1.

crusade that the Communists have been waging throughout India, Southeast Asia, and the world for many years”<sup>32</sup>. Khrushchev, for his part, was unimpressed by Indian Communists; their hard-line approach against the Nehru government risked undermining emergent Indo-Soviet relationships and he found Indian Communist propaganda to be quite “unappealing and inflexible”<sup>33</sup>.

In 1956, as the Crusade’s financial resources expanded, supporting Indian anticommunist Christians became a possibility. However, training, sending and maintaining missionaries in India was still financially beyond his reach and further posed difficulties: “The missionaries are members of an alien race, speaking the native language with difficulty” and would be easily branded “agents of foreign imperialism” by Communists<sup>34</sup>. The only efficient way to proceed was to send money and provide logistical help to Rao, who would oversee a homegrown Indian project. To avoid wasting money, the Crusade leadership decided that before proceeding, the young Indian would have to be properly vetted. Within a few months, numerous letters of reference arrived at the Long Beach office. The Rev. V.D. John Sundara Rao, Devananda Rao’s pastor from the Andhra Baptist Mission, testified to the “special features and noble qualities in the heart of this young man”. The head of the school where Rao worked claimed him to be “a cultured person both in English and Telugu languages and also in Political and Religious fields”<sup>35</sup>. Rao sent Schwarz a letter telling him that Andhra Communists were currently rebuilding their party after their February 1955 defeat. He envisioned the founding of an Indian Christian Crusade to counter their plans: “Ten evangelical, paid, full-time workers are immediately needed to work in key places”; he also claimed needing bicycles, phonographs, cameras and a few thousand dollars to secure an estate where the Indian Christian Crusade would be headquartered, as well as buying a printing press to “translate, print and publish suitable tracts and books in the Telegu language”<sup>36</sup>. Having already secured \$1,000 for his Indian project, Schwarz brought the matter up at the

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<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 2. Schwarz reflected the broader concern among world anticommunists that the apparent Soviet diplomatic triumph in India made a Communist takeover of India a clear possibility. See for instance R.M. Bennett, “The Soviet Chiefs’ Indian Junket”, *International Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 1, Winter 1955/1956, 55-60.

<sup>33</sup> A. A. Fursenko and Timothy J. Naftali, *Khrushchev’s Cold War: The Inside Story of an American Adversary*, New York, W.W. Norton & Company, 2006, 81.

<sup>34</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Indian Work”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jul.-Aug. 1956, 3.

<sup>35</sup> “Selections from some of the Letters of Reference”, *Ibid.*, 4-5.

<sup>36</sup> Quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, “Our Indian Project”, *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 1956, 1.

meeting of the one and only meeting of the Crusade advisory committee at Winona Lake in 1956, where it was decided that he would visit India by the end of the year to “meet the brethren, establish confidence and fellowship and see what we can do at first hand”<sup>37</sup>.

On November 30, 1956, Schwarz arrived at the Hyderabad airport, where he was welcomed by Rao and two Indian evangelists who took him on a 5-day trip to their Christian Mission near Vijayawada in central Andhra. For a few days, he visited Rao’s Baptist mission and got to meet his host’s siblings (“That such a splendid Christian family could be raised in such unbelievably primitive conditions is a miracle of Grace”, he wrote Pietsch). He attended religious services, was besieged by requests to visit nearby villages and did some preaching<sup>38</sup>. Ch Devananda Rao proved himself to be an intelligent Christian layman who spoke good English and was showing some organizational skills through his involvement in the Baptist mission. The CACC subsidization of an Indian Christian Crusade (ICC) was agreed upon, with the Australian opening an account at the State Bank of India under the ICC’s name where he left \$5,000, 80 percent of which designated to buy a decent building for new organization’s office in Vijayawada. After seeing how “incredibly biased against America” Indian newspapers were, Schwarz authorized the purchase of the appropriate equipment for the establishment of an anticommunist newsletter (a printing press, a camera, a tape recorder...)<sup>39</sup>. Rao’s team of mobile evangelists received each \$15 a month, enough to support an entire Indian family. They would reach out to Andhra villages on bicycles, equipped with gasoline lamps, folding tables and copies of New Testaments. Rao agreed to quit his teaching job and devote himself full-time to the ICC, with his wife Suvarna serving as secretary. Schwarz and Rao agreed the CACC would send \$100 each month to the ICC, a sum to be increased if necessary and if possible. After five days of Indian safari, Schwarz left the country to spend the Christmas season with family in Australia. Though he and Rao would continue their collaboration for nearly four decades continents apart, there is no indication that the two men ever met again.

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<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 132.; *Id.*, “Fred C. Schwarz, M.D. – Managing Director”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jan.-Feb. 1957, 1.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

At the end of 1956, less than a month after Schwarz left India, the CACC reported to the IRS of having sent more than \$6,450 to the ICC<sup>40</sup>. A mere five months later, the monthly amount sent by the CACC to the ICC had increased from \$100 to \$350 and more than eleven full-time workers were now employed by the Vijayawada group (excluding trained evangelists), incurring annual costs of about \$4,000 for the years 1957 through 1959. In 1960, when Crusade finances were soaring, the amount sent to Andhra more than quadrupled to reach \$17,000. In 1961 the sum reached \$21,000<sup>41</sup>. Raising Andhra expenditures resulted from two different factors: first the increase in the number of trained evangelists supported by the ICC. Although their exact number remains unknown from 1957 on, by the mid-1990's more than 350 bicycle-riding missionaries were preaching the Gospel, distributing anticommunist literature and organizing Christian seminars<sup>42</sup>. Schwarz often referred to the ICC in his fundraising pitches: "If you are unable to support an Indian Missionary personally, can you persuade your Church, your Sunday School Class, or your Group to do so?", he wrote in 1957<sup>43</sup>.

The second factor for the sharp increase in expenditures was the inception, in 1960, of a Christian orphanage managed by Rao, a project which allowed Schwarz to counter criticism that the Crusade did not have a positive program.

In 1964, he wrote: "While we do not believe that humanitarian programs are the answer to communism, we do believe it is a Christian responsibility to alleviate hunger and suffering as we have the opportunity"<sup>44</sup>. Returning from his 1956 Indian trip, Schwarz described in his newsletter the extreme poverty he saw: people living in huts, great crowds assailing railway trains, roads being used "day and night as a toilet by old and young". He stated that no person of "Christian compassion and normal understanding

<sup>40</sup> "Extract from I.R.S. – Form 990A : Tax Year Ending 12-31-56 – Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, P.O. 890, Long Beach, California", *GRC*, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial".

<sup>41</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Fred C. Schwarz, M.D. – Executive Director", *CACC Newsletter*, May 1957, 1.; These figures numbers did not appear in available CACC tax returns, but were calculated by subtracting from the overall amount sent by the Crusade to India the amounts sent for its Kerala project, which were respectively (total in brackets): \$4,000 in 1958 (\$11,112), \$70,000 in 1959 (\$74,496), \$70,000 in 1960 (\$87,071), and \$131,221 in 1961 (\$152,615). The amount sent to Andhra in 1957 was deduced from calculating the \$350 costs for twelve months, giving a \$4,200 total that is consistent with those of years 1958 and 1959. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade: Comparative Statement of Income and Expenses For the Years Ended December 31, 1959 and 1958"; "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade: Comparative Statement of Income and Expenses For the Years Ended December 31, 1960 and 1959"; "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade: Comparative Statement of Income and Expenses For the Years Ended December 31, 1961 and 1960", *GRC*, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial". Specific figures on the Kerala expenditures are given in Mitchell Rogovin to Harold T. Swartz, "In Re: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade", Oct. 27, 1965, *WSP*, File "Internal Revenue Service Study of Ideological Organizations, December 31, 1965", F. "G", 5-8.

<sup>42</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 133.

<sup>43</sup> *Id.*, "India", *CACC Newsletter*, Dec. 1957. Available online at < <http://www.schwarzreport.org/> > (accessed March 14, 2010).

<sup>44</sup> *Id.* "Positive Programs", *CACC Newsletters*, Oct. 1964, 8.

could fail to be most profoundly affected. (...) How to give you an idea of the scenes, I don't know"<sup>45</sup>. Orphanage maintenance costs were largely covered by the Crusade's use of child sponsorship, whereby donors could adopt a boy for \$10 a month, covering costs to get him housed, fed, educated, and trained as "a good Christian citizen"<sup>46</sup>. Child sponsorship programs had been set up by Protestant churches in many countries in the 1920's. Being acquainted with Frank Phillips, co-founder of World Vision who pioneered evangelical sponsorship, Schwarz could only have been aware of the advantages of this system of foreign aid which shortened the psychological distance between givers and recipients and strengthened the feeling of belonging to an international Christian community<sup>47</sup>. In 1967, the Indian Christian Orphanage moved into a new building. By then, its provided care for 125 boys; in the mid-1990's, the number had reached 300<sup>48</sup>. The Andhra project also served as a springboard for distributing literature. In 1969, Rao wrote to Schwarz with that the project to distribute 100,000 copies, of a Telugu translation of *You Can Trust* was going very well. "You would be further interested to note that within a couple of months, each book will be circulated among at least five people and thus we are reaching 500,000 people!"<sup>49</sup>

Apart from the orphanage, appraising of the impact of the Andhra projects is rather difficult, as little information exists in English on the ICC, which apparently still existed in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. In the mid-1990's, Schwarz claimed that through its work, thousands had been converted and educated on the evils of communism. Nonetheless, Christians were always tiny minority in Andhra (less than 2 percent of the population) and Telugu Baptist churches like the one to which Rao belonged were a minority among the minority of competing Protestant churches in the Indian South<sup>50</sup>. Rao's father, himself a Baptist, wrote Schwarz in 1958 that his mission's work was being undermined by the Aryasamajists, a radical Hindu sect attempting to root out "foreign" religions from India and to get Christian families to recant<sup>51</sup>. Also, new Christian converts in Andhra rarely

<sup>45</sup> *Id.*, "Fred C. Schwarz, M.D. – Managing Director", *CACC Newsletter*, Jan.-Feb. 1957, 1.

<sup>46</sup> *Id.*, *Beating the Unbeatable foe*, *op. cit.*, 133.

<sup>47</sup> David Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?*, *op. cit.*, 284.

<sup>48</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "What a Family?", *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 4, 1967, 7.; *Id.*, *Beating the Unbeatable foe*, *op. cit.*, 133.

<sup>49</sup> Devananda Rao to Fred C. Schwarz, Undated, Letter republished in *CACC Newsletter*, Oct. 1, 1969, 8.

<sup>50</sup> Michael Bergunder, *The South Indian Pentecostal Movement in the Twentieth Century*, Grand Rapids, William B. Eerdmans, 2008, 15.

<sup>51</sup> Ch. D. Pushpanadham to Fred C. Schwarz, Undated Letter, republished in the *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 1958, 5.

drifted away from their Hindu folk religion to embrace completely Christian faith-substance<sup>52</sup>.

The impact of the ICC's anticommunist newsletter, which was distributed to government officials, students and high caste Hindus, remains unknown<sup>53</sup>. Available Crusade financial data for Andhra do not indicate any major expenditure to buy a press in 1957 or 1958, as would be the case for the Indian region of Kerala, suggesting that the press used by Rao and his workers was probably a mimeograph machine. In any case, the fortunes of the Andhra Communist Party declined sharply after its disappointing electoral results of 1955. During India's national elections of March 1957, Communist vote in the state was down to 25 percent and never reached again its high levels of the early 1950's. By the end of the decade, Communist growth in Andhra had subsided<sup>54</sup>.

### 14.3 Kerala

Despite Nehru's Congress Party victory in the March 1957 elections, in the state of Kerala, Communists won a stunning 36.5 percent of the vote, picking 60 seats out of 126 in the state house and allowing them to form with the support of five independents one of the world's few democratically-elected Communist governments. Located at the southern tip of the subcontinent, Kerala was India's smallest state, with the country's highest population density (thirteen and a half million according to the 1951 census, for a territory as large as Switzerland), as well as India's largest Christian community, mostly composed of Syrian Christian churches whose origin can be traced back to the 1<sup>st</sup> century and which comprised about 30 percent of the state's population<sup>55</sup>. As in Andhra, the growth of Kerala's Communist Party, implanted in the state since 1930, was based on the successful outreach to rural areas and the way it took advantage of social tensions linked to ethnicity and the caste system. This phenomenon was furthered by Kerala's higher literacy rates than the Indian average, which facilitated the dissemination of propaganda (52 against 18 percent), the state's greater exposure to Western influences and the

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<sup>52</sup> P. Solomon Raj, *A Christian Folk-Religion in India : A Study of the Small Church Movement in Andhra Pradesh, with a Special Reference to the Bible Mission of Devadas*, New York, Peter Lang, 1986. The author refers expressively to the Indian Christian Crusade as an American-inspired missionary movement.

<sup>53</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Andhra", *CACC Newsletter*, Nov. 1958, 5.

<sup>54</sup> James R. Roach, "India's 1957 Elections", *Far Eastern Survey*, Vol. 26, No. 5, May 1957, 69.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 67-68.



disintegration of the ancestral matrilineal social system creating an ideological filled in part by Marxist ideology<sup>56</sup>. The Kerala election results alarmed most Western capitals and, in Washington, the Eisenhower administration tried to “prevent further Keralas” by raising U.S. assistance to India, as well as mounting an underground CIA operation to dislodge the Reds from power by funding political opposition groups<sup>57</sup>. “Reds Snap Up State in India”, headlined Henry Luce’s *Life Magazine*. For Schwarz, events of Kerala were of the utmost importance for U.S. and the Western world’s security: “The thought of the 400,000,000 of India added to the 900,000,000 already controlled by Communism is nightmarish. (...) The camel has its hoof within the tent”<sup>58</sup>.

The man Schwarz considered up to the task was George Thomas, whom he had met in November 1957. India-born George Thomas was the son of K. G. Thomas, a missionary from the conservative Christian movement, the Plymouth Brethren (or Kerala Brethren) who had arrived in the city of Kottayam, Kerala, in the 1920’s. On his mother’s side, he belonged to the Pakalomattam family, one of the oldest Syrian Christian Kerali families. An intelligent-looking man in his early thirties, George Thomas had been lecturer in history and political science in a small college in Kottayam, before receiving in 1953 a scholarship which permitted him to complete his PhD in political science at the University of Washington in 1957<sup>59</sup>. George Thomas’s Christian group had been established in Kerala since the 1890’s. Among the most active Christian denominations in India in the 1950’s, the Brethren were a radical separatist and anti-clerical group adhering to a premillennial theology pertaining to Christ’s Second Coming<sup>60</sup>. Thomas’ scholarship resulted largely from the help he received from an American branch of the Kerala Brethren with whom his father was contact.

George Thomas attended a lecture by Schwarz in Seattle. According to Schwarz, Thomas had been offered a job at the U.N. “and could have lived like a gentleman”, but

<sup>56</sup> This complicated process is superbly summarized and explained in the article of Robin Jeffrey, “Matriliney, Marxism, and the Birth of the Communist Party of Kerala, 1930-1940”, *The Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 1, Nov. 1978, 77-98.

<sup>57</sup> Howard S. Schaffer, *Ellsworth Bunker: Global Troubleshooter, Vietnam Hawk*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2003, 67.; An., “Reds Snap Up State in India”, *LIFE*, May 6, 1957, 54.

<sup>58</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Fred C. Schwarz, M.D. – Executive Director”, *CACC Newsletter*, May 1957, 1.

<sup>59</sup> Those details can be found in a judgement from the Kerala High Court in a case opposing Thomas from the Kerala Income Tax Commission: *Commissioner Of Income-Tax vs. Dr. K. George Thomas*, [1974] 97 ITR 111 (Ker). Available online at: < <http://indiankanoon.org/doc/1253492/> > (accessed July 15, 2010).

<sup>60</sup> Raymond Brady Williams, *Christian Pluralism in the United States : The Indian Immigrant Experience*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, 82-83. Characterized by intense proselytizing and commitment to missionary work, the Brethren were among the most active of all Christian denominations in Kerala in the 1950’s. Williams write that they had more than 200 assembly missionaries in India in 1950. *Ibid.*, 82.

he decided to return home to manage the India Gospel Mission (IGM), a Brethren-based missionary group he had founded with his father “for the spread of religion and for crusading against the forces of atheism and the political ideologies which favoured atheism”<sup>61</sup>. Upon his return to Kerala the IGM began publishing in 1957 a monthly magazine called *Viswa Deepam* (“The Light of the World”) that published Christian and anticommunist articles in both English and Malayalam languages. In late 1957, Schwarz recontacted Thomas and, by December, he had set aside \$500 to help the Indian. “Although our finances are strained to the limit, we must not miss this opportunity. We have the possibility of delivering a real setback to the enemy”<sup>62</sup>. A month after, in January 1958, the Crusade had already sent \$800. Schwarz and Thomas agreed during the year that the Crusade would send a monthly sum of \$250 to the India Gospel Mission. From this point on, the CACC newsletter published as a fundraising incentive a series of letters from Thomas detailing the chaotic situation in Kerala, where opposition parties were cooperating to dislodge the Reds from power<sup>63</sup>.

Kerala’s Marxist-Leninist Premier E. M. S. Namboodripad committed a series of missteps that doomed this experiment in Indian communism to failure. Kerala’s Communist government started off hard-line and proceeded to implement its socialist program regardless of due constitutional process<sup>64</sup>. The government freed all Communist prisoners and cancelled fines and sentences for their past activities. The Communists also handed over public order to People’s Committees, especially in rural areas, where the Committees’ rule often caused abuse and violence. The Communists went forward with their program of popular education by announcing the nationalization of school textbooks, a measure seen as a direct challenge to educational rights by the important Kerala Christian community, who thus became the government’s staunchest opponents.<sup>65</sup> Kerala Catholics agitated against the government through the international group “The

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<sup>61</sup> Quoted from Commissioner Of Income-Tax vs. Dr. K. George Thomas, [1974] 97 ITR 111 (Ker.); The ICM was headquartered in Thomas’ house in Kottayam, but also had another office in Seattle, probably ran by fellow Brethrens in America. Sentinel, “Christ in Harness: Miracle of Kottayam”, *loc. cit.*, 17.

<sup>62</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “India”, *loc. cit.*, Dec. 1957. He remembered his supporters of the situation in pre-revolutionary China, claiming that never should India be added to the list of missed opportunities. *Id.*, “Dear Christian Friend”, Fundraising Letter, Jul. 15, 1959.

<sup>63</sup> George Thomas to Fred C. Schwarz, Undated, Letter published in *CACC Newsletter*, Jan. 1958, 7.; George Thomas to Fred C. Schwarz, Undated, Letter published in *Ibid.*, Sept. 1958, 4.

<sup>64</sup> Chandrika Singh, *Communist and Socialist Movement in India: A Critical Account*, Dehli, Mittal Publications, 1987, 116.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*; Gene D. Overstreet and Marshall Windmiller, *Communism in India*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1959, 330.; Abraham Vazhayil Thomas, *Christians in Secular India*, Cranbury, Associated University Presses, Inc., 1974, 115.

Christophers”, prompting the Communists to respond with anti-Catholic propaganda and a wave of arrests<sup>66</sup>. Protestant churches were equally involved. One of Thomas’ coworkers wrote Schwarz that “we have organized thousands of volunteers willing and even ready to die, if need be, to withstand any attempt by the government to take the schools by force”<sup>67</sup>.

In early 1958, Thomas wrote to his American sponsor that his weekly magazine *Viswa Deepam* was being sent to each state minister and high government officials, but that a wider circulation would require the acquisition of a second-hand printing press at the cost of \$5,000. The request came at about the same time as the \$10,000-check from the Bradley foundation, allowing Schwarz to send Thomas a cable okaying the buying of an entire printing establishment from a local printer in Kottayam. This permitted *Viswa Deepam* to be printed at a rate of 10,000 copies a month, as well as allowing the printing and distribution of a translated version of Schwarz’s HUAC testimony. By the end of 1958 the monthly sum asked for by George Thomas was now \$400<sup>68</sup>. For 1958, the amount sent to Kerala -\$7,000- by the Crusade had passed the amount allocated to Andhra<sup>69</sup>.

In 1959, the social and political crisis in Kerala deepened. The price of food rose, as did unemployment. The state was affected by multiple strikes and violence between public authorities and the opposition. Indian Prime Minister Nehru visited the state and decided to use his constitutional powers to suspend the Kerala state’s legislature. The Communist government of Kerala thus ended on July 23, 1959, after two years. Kerala was subsequently directly administered by India’s central government, until the special elections of 1960<sup>70</sup>. It was in this context that Thomas envisioned the printing of a daily Christian anticommunist newspaper with the working title: “Truth Newspaper Project “The daily paper”, Thomas wrote Schwarz, “(...) will be the only mouthpiece of Christian

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<sup>66</sup> George Mathew, *Communal Road to Secular India*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1989, 147-149.; Fred C. Schwarz, “Kerala Communists in Trouble”, *CACC Newsletter*, May 1958, 3.

<sup>67</sup> Quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, “Dear Christian Friend”, Fundraising Letter, Jul. 15, 1959.

<sup>68</sup> *Id.*, “Kerala, India”, *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 1958, 4.; *Id.*, “Kerala, India”, *CACC Newsletter*, Nov 1958, 2.

<sup>69</sup> Mitchell Rogovin to Harold T. Swartz, “In Re: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade”, Oct. 27, 1965, WSP, File “Internal Revenue Service Study of Ideological Organizations, December 31, 1965”, F. “G”, 5-8.

<sup>70</sup> Chandrika Singh, *Communist and Socialist Movement in India*, *op. cit.*, 117.

evangelicals in India. The Hindus have their own daily papers. So do the Roman Catholics. The Communists already have 5 papers”<sup>71</sup>.

But the “Truth Newspaper Project” required about \$50,000, which had to be invested quickly if the newspaper was to make some impact before the 1960 elections. While Thomas kept sending to his U.S. sponsor urgent appeals for funds, warning that the Reds were preparing their comeback, “already in the field working, as though the election were to take place tomorrow”<sup>72</sup>, Schwarz tried during the spring and summer of 1959 to find partners who could assist the Crusade in this regard. Schwarz sought help from “one of the very large foundations in New York”, the name of which remains unknown, but which apparently showed interest in India<sup>73</sup>. However, the foundation had no understanding of Schwarz’s grassroots approach:

“ “Can’t you see what you are doing? You have told me yourselves that you have difficulty securing anyone to go to India representing your group unless you increase his salary by twenty-five per cent. When that individual with his increased salary gets to India, what does he do? Does he go out into the villages where the temperature may be 120 degrees in the summer, where the drinking water may be filled with dysentery, bacilli and amoebae? Or does he sit in an air-conditioned room at some hotel and write reports”<sup>74</sup>?

Despite this setback, Schwarz was determined to help Thomas no matter what. In March 1959, the India Gospel Mission acquired a new facility for \$2,500 and planned to buy a rotary press, but lack of funds halted this last acquisition. When the “Truth Newspaper Project” finally published its first issue on August 20, 1959, its daily circulation of 20,000 was the result of two second-hand presses working simultaneously at a rate of 1,500 copies per hour for each machine. “This is very difficult and too much work besides being clumsy in the modern world. But we have to resort to it in order to get the maximum results”, Thomas wrote<sup>75</sup>. The new newspaper was called *Keraladhwani*, or “The Voice of Kerala”. The newspaper, distributed in a few hundred locations throughout Kerala, devoured more than \$5,000 to \$8,000 a month to pay for its staff (ten full-time

<sup>71</sup> George Thomas to Fred C. Schwarz, Undated, Published in *CACC Newsletter*, Jul. 1959, 4.

<sup>72</sup> George Thomas to Fred C. Schwarz, Aug. 13, 1959, Published in “Dear Christian Friend”, Fundraising letter, Aug. 25, 1959.

<sup>73</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *You Can Trust the Communists (to be Communists)*, *op. cit.*, 174.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> George Thomas to Fred C. Schwarz, Aug. 13, 1959, Published in “Dear Christian Friend”, Fundraising letter, Aug. 25, 1959. *Keraladhwani* used the same staff and equipment as did *Viswa Deepam* magazine. See Rev. Keith Wilson to the CACC, Undated, Letter published in *CACC Newsletter*, Apr.-May 1961, 5.

reporters and over a hundred people in the printing plant) and its 25 tons of paper used monthly<sup>76</sup>. In a September 1959 letter to Bill Strube, Thomas claimed that *Keraladhwani*'s circulation of 21,800 made it the most successful kick-off in the history of Malayalm language newspapers. Thomas took no credit for this success, even if it involved sleeping three hours a night since the newspaper began, as "it is undoubtedly the Lord's doing"<sup>77</sup>.

The revenues from advertising and subscriptions to the new newspaper were negligible. For the Crusade, any hope to alleviate the cost of the paper rested on an increase in subscriptions and advertising, particularly on behalf of the Indian government<sup>78</sup>. The paper was an exciting, though expensive, \$50,000-adventure. In a fundraising pitch, Schwarz compared his situation to that of a man expecting a baby, but suddenly "blessed with triplets"<sup>79</sup>. At least the newspaper existed. Thomas and observers sent by the Crusade claimed that *Keraladhwani* was already established as a force to be reckoned with and had begun its campaign against communism with daily articles and editorials. Jim Colbert visited Kottayam in late 1959 and testified as to the high quality of the paper when compared to other Indian periodicals<sup>80</sup>. In January 1960, the Crusade newsletter estimated *Keraladhwani*'s circulation at 27,000. If true, this figure made it Kerala's fourth largest newspaper<sup>81</sup>.

Thomas continued to lobby for a rotary press, which could print as many as fifteen or twenty thousand copies an hour. However, such a machine would require another \$50,000-investment. Thomas' screening of the Indian press market brought no results, meaning that the machine had to be purchased elsewhere, packaged, imported and that a license had to be accordingly obtained. Schwarz agreed, both of out of anticommunist

<sup>76</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Miracle in Kerala", *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 1959, 3.; George Thomas to Bill Strube, Undated, Letter published in "Dear Christian Friend" Fundraising letter, Oct. 2, 1959.; K. Joseph Thomas, "Voice of Kerala: A Modern Day Miracle", *CACC Newsletter*, Jul. 1960, 3.

<sup>77</sup> George Thomas to Bill Strube, Undated, Letter published in "Dear Christian Friend" Fundraising letter, Oct. 2, 1959. A fairer assessment would have also acknowledged the more earthly contribution of the Crusade, which had engulfed an amazing \$50,000 in this project *alone* for the year 1959. This figure reached more than \$70,000 according to available IRS data when the whole amount sent to Kerala is included, accounting for a staggering third of the CACC's overall budget for this year. Mitchell Rogovin to Harold T. Swartz, "In Re: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade", Oct. 27, 1965, *WSP*, File "Internal Revenue Service Study of Ideological Organizations, December 31, 1965", F. "G", 5-8.

<sup>78</sup> Jim Colbert, "India", *CACC Newsletter*, Jan. 1960, 3.

<sup>79</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Kerala, India", *Ibid.*, Nov. 1959, 3.; George Thomas to Bill Strube, Undated, Letter published in "Dear Christian Friend" Fundraising letter, Oct. 2, 1959.

<sup>80</sup> "It cover the spiritual, social and political aspect of life with many columns devoted to practical suggestions to help solve the peoples personal and daily problems". Jim Colbert, "India", *loc. cit.*, 3

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.* Kerala's largest newspaper at the time had a circulation of 70,000, the second one had 60,000 and the third one 32,000. They had been in existence respectively for 70, 37 and 48 years.

dedication as much as practical reasons, since a rotary press would help the paper become self-sufficient: “We will then save \$60,000 a year which can be used in other nearby fields while the newspaper continues to serve Christ and freedom and economically support thousands of Indians”<sup>82</sup>.

On February 5, 1960, the Kerala Communists were defeated at the polls, and would not return to power. The Communist Party actually polled a million votes more than during the preceding election and increased its share of votes (43.3 percent) but lost a substantial amount of seats due to the forming of a united anticommunist front which included the Congress Party, the Muslim League and state socialists<sup>83</sup>. *Keraladhwani* headlined: “Democratic Government Re-Established in Kerala”. The Crusade newsletter read: “From Tragedy to Triumph – Kerala, India”<sup>84</sup>. In addition to the monthly sums it sent, the Crusade finally purchased for Thomas in 1961 a rotary press for more than \$58,000, as well as covering the necessary costs to secure an entire new building to house the new machine and jeeps to transport the paper<sup>85</sup>. The new press enabled the printing of more copies and also provided enhanced quality. It also allowed Thomas to continue producing his magazine *Viswa Deepam*, as well as other anticommunist material in the following years, including a Malayalm translation of Bill Strube’s *Two Sides of Communism*<sup>86</sup>. When George Thomas’ rotary press came into use in November 1961, the CACC had spent \$270,000 on the “Truth Newspaper Project”<sup>87</sup>.

Thomas wrote in late 1960 that *Keraladhwani*’s influence “and the position we have been able to secure in Kerala are far beyond our expectations”, but as in Andhra’s case, the real impact this whole Kerala enterprise could not be gauged conclusively<sup>88</sup>. As other Indian newspapers during the 1950’s and 1960’s, *Keraladhwani*’s readership was greater than what mere circulation figures might tell. A text in the newsletter stated that each copy of *Keraladhwani* was read by about 10 people, which, if true, meant that the

<sup>82</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Anti-Communism Schools Continue its Great Work”, *loc. cit.*, 4.

<sup>83</sup> George Kristoffel Lieten, “Progressive State Governments: An Assessment of First Communist Ministry in Kerala”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 14, No. 1, Jan. 6, 1979, 37.; S. R. Bakshi, *E. M. S. Nambudiripad: The Marxist Leader*, New Dehli, Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1994, 327.

<sup>84</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “From Tragedy to Triumph – Kerala, India”, *CACC Newsletter*, Mar. 1960, 1-3.

<sup>85</sup> Charles Grutzner, “Reports of Dr. Schwarz’s Anti-Communism Crusade”, *loc. cit.*, 9.

<sup>86</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “A Program Against Communism”, *CACC Newsletter*, Apr. 1962, 2-3.

<sup>87</sup> Mitchell Rogovin to Harold T. Swartz, “Study of Ideological Organizations: 1965 (Part I), Appendix F”, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, Oct. 27, 1965, *WSP*, File “Internal Revenue Service Study of Ideological Organizations, December 31, 1965”, F. “G”, 5-8.

<sup>88</sup> George Thomas to Fred C. Schwarz, Undated, Letter published in *CACC Newsletter*, Dec. 1960, 2.

effective circulation oscillated between 200,000 to 300,000<sup>89</sup>. But even if these figures are accurate, *Keraladhwani*'s impact on the 1960 election could not have been very much, considering that more than 8 million cast their ballot<sup>90</sup>. In any case, doubts can be raised regarding *Keraladhwani*'s readership figures. While Jim Colbert affirmed in a 1962 Crusade newsletter that *Keraladhwani* had a readership of about 29,000, the official figures given by George Thomas to the Indian federal authorities were lower: 22,308 readers in 1961 and 21,121 in 1962<sup>91</sup>. In 1964, the Federal Press Registrar ran an investigation to verify *Keraladhwani*'s figures. Thomas was forced to accept an even lower figure of 17,821, which was the official number found in the 1965 Press Registrar's Report of India<sup>92</sup>.

Moreover, little is known as to the nature of *Keraladhwani*'s readership and the extent to which it could have been influenced by the newspaper. Thomas claimed that the paper was "the only mouthpiece of Christian evangelicals in India" suggesting that its readers were mostly evangelical Christians, a minority among the Kerala Christian minority<sup>93</sup>. Since relatively few Christians were Communists, the paper basically preached to the converted. Thus, in terms of its political influence, *Keraladhwani* probably did not swing voters against communism as much as contributed to energizing an already mobilized anti-Red base. The newspaper's most genuine impact was most likely in the way it provided subsistence numerous people, hundreds or thousands when workers' families are included. It can only be presumed that these employees, when the time to vote presented itself, followed the newspaper's editorial line.

The year 1961 marked the high point of Crusade's support to *Keraladhwani* with a help of \$131,221 according to IRS data, or one-tenth of the CACC's overall budget during that year<sup>94</sup>. The paper never became self-sufficient. The Crusade kept on piping money to *Keraladhwani* until at least 1965, at a monthly rate of about \$5,000. This assistance became increasingly burdensome as the Crusade's revenues began dwindling

<sup>89</sup> Rev. Keith Wilson to the CACC, Undated, Letter published in CACC Newsletter, Apr.-May 1961, 5.

<sup>90</sup> Election Commission of India, New Dehli, "Key Highlights of General Elections, 1960, to the Legislative Assembly of Kerala", Available online at < [http://eci.nic.in/eci\\_main/SR\\_KeyHighLights/SE\\_1960/StatRep\\_Kerala\\_1960.pdf](http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/SR_KeyHighLights/SE_1960/StatRep_Kerala_1960.pdf) > (accessed July 20, 2010).

<sup>91</sup> James D. Colbert, "C.A.C.C. Around the World", *CACC Newsletter*, Feb. 1962, 7.; Sentinel, "Christ in Harness: Miracle of Kottayam", *loc. cit.*, 18.

<sup>92</sup> Sentinel, "Christ in Harness: Miracle of Kottayam", *loc. cit.*, 18.

<sup>93</sup> Abraham Vazhayil Thomas, *Christians in Secular India*, *op. cit.*, 142-148.

<sup>94</sup> Mitchell Rogovin to Harold T. Swartz, "In Re: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade", Oct. 27, 1965, *WSP*, File "Internal Revenue Service Study of Ideological Organizations, December 31, 1965", F. "G", 5-8.

in 1962. In 1964, the situation was worsened once again in Kerala with the disintegration of the anticommunist coalition government. The Communists, having retained much of their rural base due to the 1957-1959 land reform, stood a good chance of regaining power<sup>95</sup>.

But at this point, Schwarz had had enough and wished to diminish sharply his subsidy “and ultimately eliminating it altogether”, he wrote. The newspaper having operated so far without any working capital, the only solution was to create a financial fund in hope that the interests it produced would be enough to cover the amounts requested by Thomas. Schwarz thus pleaded his supporters for a \$21,000-contribution, calculating in his fundraising pitch that should this sum be amassed, the savings to the Crusade would be \$94,500 in five years<sup>96</sup>. To this end, Schwarz notably organized a fundraising “Urgent Projects Banquet”, held at the Hollywood Palladium in June 1964 with numerous anticommunist personalities including Herbert Philbrick and Ronald Reagan<sup>97</sup>.

During the elections of February 1967, the Kerala Communists, who had united in a coalition including pro-Moscow and pro-Beijing factions, as well as numerous smaller left-wing parties, returned to power by picking up 117 out of 133 seats at the Kerala legislative assembly<sup>98</sup>. But by this point, the Crusade’s assistance to *Keraladhwani* had stopped. The newspaper ceased publication not long after the election. George Thomas, who had collaborated in October 1964 in founding the Kerala Congress Party -a split from the National Congress Party, supported by Christians and the planters’ class-, was elected in the February 1967 elections as Member of Parliament in the riding of Kallloopara<sup>99</sup>.

It appears that *Keraladhwani*’s unprofitability was not the only reason for the Crusade’s withdrawal of its subsidy. The way the money had been managed by George Thomas seems to have problematic. In 1966, Thomas was arrested and briefly detained

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<sup>95</sup> Patrick Heller, *The Labor of Development: Workers and the Transformation of Capitalism in Kerala, India*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1999, 176.

<sup>96</sup> He wrote: “\$500 monthly reduction for the first three months followed by a \$1,000 reduction for 21 months. There will be a further reduction of \$500 a month at 12 monthly intervals, leading to the complete elimination of the subsidy”. Fred C. Schwarz, “Kerala, India”, *CACC Newsletter*, Aug. 1964, 2.

<sup>97</sup> “The publisher, Dr. George Thomas, has urgently requested extra assistance to wage a powerful campaign of exposure against the Communists and to create unity among anti-Communists” Advertising, “Fred C. Schwarz, M.D. - Announces - The Christian Anti-Communism Crusade’s Urgent Projects Banquet, 1964” – Fundraising Pamphlet, 3.

<sup>98</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Lessons of Kerala”, *CACC Newsletter*, Apr. 3 1967, 2.; Thelma Hunter, “Indian Communism and the Kerala Experience of Coalition Government, 1967-1969”, *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 52.

<sup>99</sup> Secretariat of the Kerala Legislature, “K. George Thomas”, *Legislators of Kerala: Who’s Who of Members, From 1<sup>st</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> Kerala Legislative Assembly*, Thiruvananthapuram, 2006, 71.



for fraud after a series of complaints on the part of *Keraladhwani* employees to the effect that they had not been regularly paid for long periods of time. The plaintiffs claimed that important amounts of money that were supposed to have been deposited in their employee Provident Fund had vanished<sup>100</sup>. It also appeared that Thomas did not declare tax returns for some of the sums he received from the U.S.<sup>101</sup>. An Indian journalist who commented anonymously on the case reported about widespread rumours in Kottayam which claimed that the amount “that falls from heavens every month” on Thomas’ Indian Gospel Mission was actually used for Thomas’ personal use: “(...) a Chevrolet Impala car was negotiating the tortuous roads of Kottayam for some time. I was told that a great deal of landed property, particularly plantations, have changed hands lately in Kottayam”<sup>102</sup>. The same article quoted a newspaper editor who declared that Thomas’ new interest in politics was suspect: “He has got to become Minister in order to survive. Or the income-tax wallahs will get him”<sup>103</sup>. Yet, Indian tax bureaucracies were in no rush to convict him, “because, after all, the man was bringing in foreign exchange. Wonderful are the ways of the Lord!”<sup>104</sup>

If such restraint from the part of Kerala authorities to convict the beneficiary of Schwarz’s generosity ever existed, it had disappeared in the early 1970’s, at a moment where Thomas was no longer member of the Kerala legislature. The former editor-politician was prosecuted for multiple violations of Kerala fiscal laws, notably for not having declared as income revenues the sums deposited in the account of the Indian Gospel Mission used to fund *Keraladhwani*, as well as for having diverted part of the same money for personal use. The examination of Thomas’ use of the bonanza of American money he had received for the fiscal year 1962-1963 revealed that even if most of the funds had indeed been used for *Keraladhwani*, various questionable expenses had been made:

“(...) a sizable portion of household expenses – purchase of cow, payment of house rent of father, personal trips to Bombay, etc., purchase of property by the assessee [Thomas], providing loan facilities to [Thomas’s]

<sup>100</sup> Sentinel, “Christ in Harness: Miracle of Kottayam”, *loc. cit.*, 17.

<sup>101</sup> Commissioner Of Income-Tax, Kerala vs Dr. K. George Thomas, [1977] 108 ITR 1024 (Ker). Available online at: < <http://indiankanoon.org/doc/865855/> > (accessed July 15, 2010).

<sup>102</sup> Sentinel, “Christ in Harness: Miracle of Kottayam”, *Mainstream*, Vol. 4, No. 38, May 21, 1966, 18-19.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

close relatives like father, brothers, etc., without interest. The personal expenses met out of these funds and the amounts utilised for the purchase of properties in the names of [Thomas] and his five brothers are claimed (...) as loans taken by him in his individual capacity to be repaid in subsequent years”<sup>105</sup>.

Thomas claimed at first with success in a series of court cases before the Kerala Income-Tax Appellate Tribunal that the U.S money he had received was not taxable: “The receipts are purely personal gifts and testimonials paid as a token of esteem and regard for the personal qualities of Dr. George Thomas, and is (sic) unconnected with any particular act or service”<sup>106</sup>. Yet, the High Court of Kerala repealed these decisions and ruled against Thomas in two rulings (July 1973 and February 1977) and upheld the tax penalties -unknown, but probably substantial- to which Thomas had initially been sentenced. Justice Govindan Nair from the Kerala High Court dismissed Thomas’ claim that the money was not taxable income:

“As far as we are able to glean from the facts of the case, [Thomas] was very actively, fully, occupied with the activities connected with achieving the objects of strengthening faith in God and fighting against atheism. After his return to India from the U.S.A., he was solely occupied with this affair. The paper which he published for this purpose was a daily coming out with views in support of this mission. There can be various occupations in life. Even religion can be an occupation. It has been so ruled”<sup>107</sup>.

For years, the Kerala project remained Schwarz’s badge of honour. It provided him with an example he could point to in terms of concrete anticommunism from his part, one bearing results and entailing large expenses. The colossal nature of this project pushed back accusations that Schwarz’s involvement in anticommunism was pecuniary in nature. “We can rejoice”, he wrote to Judd in the wake of the Communist electoral defeat of 1960, “in the contribution that was made to this Communist setback by the friends we have been able to help in India and the newspaper established there by George Thomas”<sup>108</sup>. Grilled by Lawrence Spivak and other reporters at NBC’s *Meet The Press* in

<sup>105</sup> Commissioner Of Income-Tax, Kerala vs Dr. K. George Thomas, [1977], *op. cit.*

<sup>106</sup> This was actually Thomas’ argument ever since Income Tax officials began studying his case in the early 1960’s. Quoted in Kerala Income Tax Commission: Commissioner Of Income-Tax vs. Dr. K. George Thomas, [1974], *op. cit.*

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Walter H. Judd, Apr. 26, 1960, *WHJP*, Box 226, F. 4.

1962, the Kerala project was the first example Schwarz gave of one of the CACC's genuine successes in stopping international communism.

Schwarz never commented in available correspondence on the mishandling of some of the money he had sent to India. The names of Fred Schwarz and the CACC do not appear in the Indian tax prosecution case. Kerala tax officials might have never been aware of where the U.S. money Thomas received came from, since the funds were apparently channelled through an American bank account in California under the name of the Indian Christian Crusade (the organization to which Devananda Rao belonged), which probably also served to channel the money to Kerala. George Thomas died at the age of 57 on September 17, 1993.

#### **14.4 South America**

In the early 1960's, the Crusade began being more active in Latin America. Stimulated by the Cuban Revolution and the mounting importance of the Americas as Cold War battlefields, the Crusade's expanding activities in this part of the world reflected a broader phenomenon involving numerous American evangelical churches and groups. In the words of anthropologist David Stoll, Southern California became in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century "the American capital of missions to Latin America", hosting scores of religious groups and institutions which undertook major programs to evangelize countries south of the Rio Grande and the Caribbean, attempting in the process to mobilize populations against communism<sup>109</sup>. Not only was South California geographically close to Latin America, but the region received, from the 1950's on, millions of foreign immigrants, many of them refugees from South American wars<sup>110</sup>. However, the Crusade preceded much of the conservative evangelical mission movement from South California that began to massively interest itself in Latin America in the 1960's and, as such, can be seen as a pioneer of later initiatives such as the Fuller School of World Mission (founded in 1965) or the Voice of the Martyrs (eventually one of Schwarz's collaborators).

The Crusade's direct involvement in Latin America can be traced back to a three-month trip Joost Sluis undertook at his own expenses in 1960. Visiting Mexico,

<sup>109</sup> David Stoll, "Crusaders Against Communism, Witnesses for Peace: Religion in the American West and the Cold War", in Kevin J. Fernlund, ed., *The Cold War American West, 1945-1989*, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1989, 133.

<sup>110</sup> *Id.*, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?*, *op. cit.*, 68-69.

Guatemala, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Panama, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia and Jamaica, Sluis established contacts with educators, churchmen, and businessmen through whom the Crusade disseminated its anti-Red literature over the next decades. Apparently able to speak Spanish and himself a surgeon, Sluis was particularly successful with fellow doctors (“I made rounds and saw patients in nearly every country”<sup>111</sup>). He also managed to speak to student groups in universities (Mexico, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia), where he observed first-hand the important influence of Communist groups on Latin American campuses in the wake of the Cuban Revolution. Sluis attributed this sympathy for communism in part to the poor management of Latin American universities: “(...) academic discipline is often lacking and personal guidance or counselling for students is generally very poor. The university government is often controlled by students, rather than by the faculty or state”<sup>112</sup>. When he returned to the U.S., Sluis reported that the majority of South American students had a very negative view of the United States, and three-fourth of the students he personally met “were opposed to the American free enterprise system. Not all the students were Communists, but they embraced the principles of Marx”<sup>113</sup>.

Another sign of the Crusade’s mounting interest in Latin America was its school of anticommunism in Miami in June 1961. Miami was a growing hotbed of anti-Castrist activity and local anticommunist forces joined the school<sup>114</sup>. The Cuban question, as well as the fear of growing Red power in Latin America, predictably dominated the proceedings. The school’s chairman William Hinson, a former football local star turned pastor of the Wayside Baptist Church, was himself highly preoccupied by the Red progresses in Latin America and later a became collaborator of Billy Graham’s Latin American missions. An effort was made to reach out to the local Cuban exile population

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<sup>111</sup> Joost Sluis, “Joost Sluis Visits Central America”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jul. 1961, 2.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> Quoted in An., “Antipathy for U.S. Among Latins Cited”, *Los Angeles Times*, Fri., Nov. 11, 1960, 30.

<sup>114</sup> The local churches, which were arguably the most reliable benefactors the Crusade counted on during this school. In a rare reminiscence of the Crusade’s roots, in this period where support was widely coming from more secular conservative constituencies (upper-class professionals, businessmen, and grassroots militants), ministers and conservative church leaders proved essential to the Miami school: out of 31 names listed on the organizational committees, 8 were Protestant reverends, including the school’s chairman. An., “Jackson’s Bill Hinson Named All-Southern”, *Miami News*, Sun., Dec. 19, 1948, 6-D.; An., “In Spring: Anti-Communist School Planned”, *Ibid.*, Sat., Nov. 26, 1960, 5A.; Louise Leyden, “Latin Problem: Rev. Hinson Has Look for Himself”, *Ibid.*, Sat., Feb. 17, 1962, 5A. ; CACC leaflet, “Greater Miami School of Anti-Communism”, June 12-June 16, 1961”; The school’s co-chairman, John Fleming, engineer from the Florida Power and Light Company, was as a local conservative Baptist layman and had not long before invested himself for a Republican candidate in a school board battle where the issue of Bible reading in public schools was central. Louise Blanchard, “Churchmen Seek Defeat of Demo Hopeful”, *Miami News*, Wed., Oct. 5, 1960, D1.; An., “Anti-Communism Crusade: Ex-Counterspy To Tell Story”, *Ibid.*, Sat., Jun. 3, 1961, 5A.

in Miami, already numbering 20,000 people and growing in these months of 1961 at a rate of 300 a day<sup>115</sup>. A “Spanish Speaking Committee” was set up, chaired by a local Baptist churchman who had done mission work among Latinos for years. Journalist Jack Oswald, from the *Miami News*, noted a group of anti-Red Cubans, as well as four “delegates representing the Christian Church in Haiti” planning to bring the message back home, though one of them admitted that due to the “anti-Americanism” prevailing in Haiti, “to avoid being called Yankee agents we will be doing this work solely as Christians”. Oswald also noted that the front row of chairs “was furnished with headsets to enable Spanish-speaking people to hear simultaneous translations from the speaker”<sup>116</sup>. Sluis presented his report on Latin America, and Tirso Del Junco, for his first appearance at a Crusade event, spoke on “Fidel Castro: 15 Years A Russian Agent” and “Will Cuba Start the Third World War?”.

The effectiveness of these networking efforts is attested to by a letter Cleon Skousen sent to his son Rick at the end of 1961: “Dr. Schwarz is raising about \$500,000 per year to fight Communism in Mexico, Central and South America. He is working primarily through doctors and other professional people and gradually getting a foothold in some of the universities”<sup>117</sup>. The half-million dollar figure was inflated: the Crusade actually sent \$44,097 to South America in 1961. But this was up from nothing at all the previous year. In 1961, the Crusade invested money in the translation and distribution of Crusade literature in Latin America, beginning with \$4,538 for copies of Schwarz’s book *You Can Trust* in Mexico. The same year, the Crusade spent \$2,492 in various small South American projects. In December 1961 a pastor from the Libreria Escogida, an evangelical mobile bookstore in Peru, wrote to Frank Ranuzzi, owner of a conservative bookstore in Los Angeles:

“Dr. Schwarz (...) is sending much literature to us in English which we are able to place in key hands and in addition will be cooperating with us in printing materials right here in Arequipa in the Spanish language. (...) In addition Dr. Colbert (...) had Mr. Strube send us 15 large long play tapes on Communism for which we truly thank God for. We are gradually

<sup>115</sup> Will Lissner, “Cuba Refugee Aid is Outlined Here”, *New York Times*, Sat., Mar. 25, 1961, 8.

<sup>116</sup> It was the Rev. Milton Leach, from the Miami Baptist Association, since 1954 an important local personality in the local evangelical missions to Latinos. See Louise Leyden, “Pastor Finds Field in Latin Migrants”, *Miami News*, Sat., Nov. 13, 1954, 4A.; Jack Oswald, “Priests, Nun: Haiti, Wisconsin Visitors Attended”, *Ibid.*, Mon., Jun. 12, 1961, C1.

<sup>117</sup> W. Cleon Skousen to Rick Skousen, Sept. 4, 1961, *WCSP*, Binder “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism, Oct. 16, 1961 – 1961 Oct”.

growing in power and ability to combat this terrible foe for as Dr. Schwarz says, KNOWLEDGE IS POWER!”<sup>118</sup>

Two years later, the Crusade paid for the printing of a 150,000 copies of a cartoon titled *Si El Comunismo Llega en Mexico* (“If Communism comes to Mexico”), the drawings of which, the high-quality ink-work of which were apparently done by the same person who did *Two Faces of Communism* in 1961. The cartoon was distributed in the Mexican countryside by a team of Mexican students<sup>119</sup>.

Until 1964, the Crusade showed great interest in Brazil, which Sluis said in a speech, was to Latin America what China is to Asia<sup>120</sup>. Despite the lukewarm relationship Schwarz had with State Department officials, the U.S. Information Agency showed interest in 1962 and 1963 for a project consisting in helping the Crusade distribute free Portuguese translations of *You Can Trust* in Brazil, which at the time was ongoing political instability. In January 1963, Brazilian leader Joao Goulart (moderate left) overwhelmingly won a referendum that instated him at the top a new presidential system, but in the following year his regime could not control the country’s deteriorating economy and Goulart was increasingly alienated from conservative forces in the country, while his pursuit of a foreign policy independent from both Washington and the Eastern Bloc isolated his regime internationally.

The American Embassy in Rio put Schwarz in contact with a Brazilian publisher, Dominus Editora, who showed interest in *You Can Trust* and proposed to print 20,000 copies if the Crusade agreed to send \$6,000<sup>121</sup>. In June 1963, the project was realized and Schwarz showed in his newsletter the Portuguese translation of *You Can Trust*, several thousand copies of which had already been printed<sup>122</sup>. In early 1964, Schwarz announced that *You Can Trust* was being serialized “in the major newspapers of Brazil”, but the situation changed when, in March 1964, the Goulart administration was overthrown by a

<sup>118</sup> Unknown to Frank Ranuzzi, Dec. 26, 1961, *Florence Ranuzzi Papers* Manuscript Collections, Huntington Library, California, Correspondence Folder (hereafter *FRP*).

<sup>119</sup> Extracts re-published in *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 9, 1963, 7.

<sup>120</sup> Quoted in “Notes on School of Christian Anti-Communist (sic) Crusade, Oakland, California, Jan. 31, 1962 (Shover)”, *JLSM*, 2.

<sup>121</sup> Alan E. James to Fred C. Schwarz, Nov. 5, 1962, reprinted in “Fred C. Schwarz, M.D. - Announces - The Christian Anti-Communism Crusade’s Urgent Projects Banquet, 1964”.; Thomas Aquino de Queiroz to Fred C. Schwarz, Letter reproduced in Fred C. Schwarz, “Challenge of Brazil”, *CACC Newsletter*, Feb. 1963, 6.

<sup>122</sup> *Id.*, “Brazil – Land of Destiny for Latin America. Communist of Free?”, *Ibid.*, Jun. 1963, 4. Shortly later, the West Coast’s Communist publication *People’s World* attacked the Crusade’s efforts to meddle into Brazilian domestic policy, ridiculing the crusader for the relative failure of a recent activity aimed at raising funds to distribute literature in Latin America. Sam Kushner, “Schwarz Brags Of New Latin American Plans”, *People’s World*, Vol. 26, No. 29, Sat., Jul. 20, 1963, 1.

coup which installed twenty years of military dictatorship. Schwarz rejoiced over this necessary effort to “preserve the democratic life of Brazil from the spreading infection of Communism”<sup>123</sup>. In the wake of the coup, the Crusade ceased its anticommunism campaign in Brazil<sup>124</sup>. All in all, about 12,000 Portuguese translations of *You Can Trust* were distributed in Brazil, mostly to university students<sup>125</sup>.

The biggest focus of the Crusade’s Latin American activities in the 1960’s was British Guiana, currently called Guyana. With a population at the time of about 600,000, this colony located in the northeastern tip of South America was among the last remnants of the British Empire in the Americas. The Colonial Office in London still managed all Guyanese matters regarding law and order, defence and foreign affairs, but since 1953, elections for a colonial legislative assembly with limited powers had been allowed<sup>126</sup>. However, the situation proved complicated for British authorities, since the colony’s strongest political force was the People’s Progressive Party (PPP), a socialist party led by East Indian Cheddi Jagan, a Marxist-inspired former dentist trained in America who was very popular among the East Indian majority<sup>127</sup>. While British authorities wished to put an eventual end to the colonial rule -they would do this for Jamaica and Trinidad, in 1962-, there was no question for the Colonial Office, nor for the State Department in Washington, of moving forward in this direction with Jagan in power<sup>128</sup>. In 1953, the PPP scored a landslide electoral victory, but Jagan was removed from power after 133 days in office by British authorities, who suspended the constitution and administered the colony directly over the next eight years with the agreement of the Eisenhower administration<sup>129</sup>. New elections were scheduled for August 1961, but it looked like the PPP would be victorious again.

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<sup>123</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Brazil”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jan. 1964, 5.; *Id.*, Blurb from *Ibid.*, Apr. 1964, 3.

<sup>124</sup> *Id.*, “Our Biggest Disappointment fin 1964”, *Ibid.*, Dec. 1964, 4. Schwarz was initially happy that this military coup constituted an “opportunity to increase our distribution of anti-communist literature”, but the subsequent stabilization of Brazil under military rule made this Brazilian project much less of an emergency.

<sup>125</sup> Nathaniel Rangel, “Victory in Brazil”, *Ibid.*, Jul. 1964, 1.

<sup>126</sup> Ernst Halperin, “Racism and Communism in British Guiana”, *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1, Jan. 1965, 95-96.

<sup>127</sup> East Indians, most of whom had arrived as indentured workers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century after the abolition of slavery, were widely dispersed among the coastal sugar and rice plantations, granting the PPP a strong advantage in terms of parliamentary seats. C. Paul Bradley, “Party Politics in British Guiana”, *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 2, A Symposium: The 1962 Elections in the West, Jun. 1963, 353-356.

<sup>128</sup> This view was widely shared among deciders in the British world. Eldegard Mahant and Graeme S. Mount, *Invisible and Inaudible in Washington: American Policies Towards Canada*, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1999, 87-88.

<sup>129</sup> Elections were held also in 1957, but also resulted in a PPP victory despite the gerrymandering of electoral ridings aimed at diluting the political power of the Eastern Indian majority.

This time, however, the British had decided they would allow Jagan, who had in the meantime moderated his socialist program, to form a government should he win. Yet, by this time, the Cuban Revolution had made this transfer of power in British Guiana a preoccupying question in Washington. In March 1961, the CIA fed the Kennedy administration with an alarmist scenario, warning that Jagan might try to portray himself as an “instrument of reformist nationalism which would gradually move in the direction of Castro’s Cuba”<sup>130</sup>. Washington decision-makers feared the prospect of a Red British Guiana, which would offer use of its sea and airport facilities to Cuba Communists and weaken the effects of the U.S. embargo<sup>131</sup>. For these reasons, Washington established a strong CIA presence in British Guiana and followed the situation carefully. Thus, when the Crusade began being active in British Guiana in 1961, it did so in a context where Washington was already deeply enmeshed in the colony’s internal affairs. While the CIA and the State Department were concerned about the situation, they had little interest to see their work in the South American backyard scrambled by groups of out-of-control groups of U.S.-based anticommunist vigilantes.

As it became clear that Jagan’s PPP would win at the polls, the Crusade began commenting on British Guiana in its schools and literature. Schwarz was concerned enough to make a short trip to British Guiana in April 1961 with Sluis. On his return, he stated: “Jagan must be defeated in his bid for total power. The alternative is too terrible to contemplate (...). A message must reach the Indian voters in the sugar and rice fields (...). An investment of \$100,000 now may save millions of dollars later and possibly millions of lives”<sup>132</sup>. The Crusade quickly amassed tens of thousands of dollars for its project. Joost Sluis would transform several trucks into mobile libraries. These vehicles, powered by independent generators, would travel from village to village, enabling the distribution of literature, tape hearings and film showings. Kerala Indians would be asked to assist Sluis. “There is a pool of Indians in Kerala who suffered under the lash of Communist government. They can be transported to tell the story”, Schwarz wrote<sup>133</sup>.

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<sup>130</sup> Quoted in Cary Fraser, “The ‘New Frontier’ of Empire in the Carriibbean: The Transfer of Power in British Guiana, 1961-1964”, *The International History Review*, Vol. 22, No. 3, Sept. 2000, 585.

<sup>131</sup> Ernst Halperin, “Racism and Communism in British Guiana”, *loc. cit.*, 97.

<sup>132</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Dear Christian Friend”, Fundraising letter, May. 23, 1961.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*



During the three months leading up to the British Guiana 1961 election, Sluis, assisted by two other Americans and three Kerala Indians, went into Guyanese rice and sugar plantations, conducted open-air meetings, showed anti-Red propaganda movies, gave talks and distributed hundreds of copies of *You Can Trust*. On August 21, 1961, Jagan's PPP won the election with 42.6 percent of the votes cast and secured 20 out of 35 Parliamentary seats. The urban, African-based People's National Congress gained 11 seats, while four seats were won by the conservative United Force (UF), led by beer brewer Peter Daguilar, who mainly represented the white, anticommunist Portuguese elite. Clearly, American right-wingers were worried about a domino effect. Skousen privately wrote: "Things have certainly been happening down Brazil way. We surely hope it all works out without a revolutionary upset. Most of the Central and South American countries are sitting on a power keg. Now that British Guiana has gone under a Red Regime the fever rash could spread"<sup>134</sup>.

Despite their victory, PPP officials were furious at the Crusade's meddling in the election. Jagan's Deputy Premier, Bradley H. Benn, later reported at the United Nations that Schwarz (whom he incorrectly cited as a U.S. citizen) and Sluis "had openly supported UF and had admitted spending \$BWI 176,000 during the campaign", which was the equivalent of the \$45,000 US dollars the Crusade admitted having spent in British Guiana<sup>135</sup>. Guyanese historian and former Ambassador to the U.S. Odeen Ishmail contends that the Crusade financially backed an anti-Jagan group named "Defenders of Freedom", affiliated with both the UF and the Catholic Church, and which "was widely seen as a CIA front organization (sic) aimed at toppling the PPP Government", though Ishmail brings no clear evidence for his claim<sup>136</sup>. A group of PPP supporters based in London who wrote in May 1963 to President Kennedy in protest against U.S. interference in British Guiana, targeted "Messrs Sluis and Schwarz", whose "propaganda leaflets" and "meetings they held in our country" revealed their "intention (...) to sow 'seeds of

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<sup>134</sup> W. Cleon Skousen to Rick Skousen, Sept. 4, 1961, *WCSP*, Binder "Hollywood's Answer to Communism, Oct. 16, 1961 – 1961 Dec".

<sup>135</sup> This information, apparently reported at first by Benn at the U.N.'s Colonialism Committee, was included subsequently in a report, from where this quote is taken. United Nations, Colonialism Committee, "Chapter X – British Guiana, A. Action Taken by the Special Committee in 1962", *United Nations, Official Records of the General Assembly – Eighteenth Session (Annexes, 17 September-17 December 1963)*, New York, United Nations, 1965, 237.; Phil Kerby, "Anti-Red Crusade Seen Expanding Across U.S.", *loc. cit.*, A4.

<sup>136</sup> Odeen Ishmail, "Establishment of the United Force", *The Guyana Story (From Earliest Times to Independence)*, 2005, Available online at < [http://www.guyana.org/features/guyanastory/guyana\\_story.html](http://www.guyana.org/features/guyanastory/guyana_story.html) > (Accessed Feb. 28, 2011).

dissension' and exacerbate the contradictions among our people, that are inherent in the colonial society in which we live"<sup>137</sup>.

Though admitting the Crusade "spent some money all right", Schwarz denied having meddled in the election itself and declared that the Crusade had only been running a program on communism. In November 1961, after Schwarz had mentioned this involvement in British Guiana to the *Washington Post*, Democratic Senator from Pennsylvania Joseph S. Clark asked the State Department so as to know if the Crusade had violated the Logan Act, which prohibits private interference in relations between the U.S. government and foreign governments. The inquiry was forwarded to the Department of Justice, but no evidence justifying an official investigation was found<sup>138</sup>. It remains possible that both Ishmail and PPP officials confounded the Crusade with another group, "Americans Safe-Guarding Freedom", led by Schwarz imitator, Dr. Carleton Campbell. This group was also present in British Guiana and supported the "Defenders of Freedom"<sup>139</sup>. As the U.S. Consul in Georgetown reported to the Secretary of State Dean Rusk in a secret memo in March 1962: "Sluis is meddling (as other do-gooders have been in British Guiana during past year)"<sup>140</sup>.

After the August 1961 election, the British allowed Jagan to form his government, but due to Washington's pressure, chose to delay Guianese independence, thus retaining military and foreign policy powers. Relations between Georgetown and Washington degenerated quickly. Jagan visited Washington in October 1961, but chose not to denounce the Soviet Union. He tried to remain neutral in the Cold War, thus making him even more suspect for Kennedy, who rejected Jagan's demands for a massive \$40-million aid package, though agreeing to some minimal support, fearing that no aid at all would only increase Jagan's will to get closer to the Soviets<sup>141</sup>. Meanwhile, the Kennedy administration mounted through the CIA a covert operation aimed at destabilizing the Jagan regime by financing the political opposition -especially the People's National

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<sup>137</sup> British Guiana Freedom Association to John F. Kennedy, May 23, 1963, John Fitzgerald Kennedy Papers, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, Boston, Massachusetts, (hereafter *JFKP*), National Security Files Counties Reference Copy, Box 15, F. "General 5-16-63 to 6-63".

<sup>138</sup> Brooks Hays to Joseph S. Clark, Nov. 7, 1961, *NARA*, Rg 59, Stack Area 150, Row 4, Compartment 13, Shelf 4, Box 2319.

<sup>139</sup> Stephen G. Rabe, *U.S. Intervention in British Guiana: A Cold War History*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2005, 72.

<sup>140</sup> Everette Melby to Dean Rusk, Mar. 3, 1962, *NARA*, Rg. 59, Stack Area 250, Row 3, Compartment 1, Shelf 6, Box 41.

<sup>141</sup> Stephen G. Rabe, *U.S. Intervention in British Guiana*, *op. cit.*, 78.

Congress (PNC) - and organizing anti-Jagan strikes unions by channelling money to Guianese unions through the AFL-CIO<sup>142</sup>. In February 1962, strikes against various elements of Jagan's budget (freeze on vacations, compulsory savings plan) began in Georgetown, particularly in Black areas. On February 16, protests turned into riots, and before long several people were killed and a third of the city was burned to the ground. Three days later, London intervened and sent British troops that put an end to the general strike and restored order.

Sluis returned to British Guiana for his fifth trip, but he was asked on February 24, a week after the riots, to leave the colony immediately, on threat that an order of expulsion under "long-standing ordinance on prohibited immigrants" would be issued. In a clear indication that he was already close to UF leader Daguair, Sluis requested help from the U.S. Consulate through Daguair himself. The U.S. Consul, Everette Melby, reported to Dean Rusk in a cable that he had discussed the matter with Jagan's police head, who informed him that the "presence in BG at this time crisis of man who rightly or wrongly had been identified with Daguair, who had instigated arson and looting in effort overthrow govt, was inimical to internal security"<sup>143</sup>. Sluis had been known by State Department officials since his first Latin American tour in June 1960, where they had had provided clearance for him in countries where socialist or labor leaders had considered Sluis' presence suspicious<sup>144</sup>. Melby continued: "Apart from responsibility for Feb 16 riots, however, there was no proof Sluis and his group had backed UF nor contributed to riots". He added that "deportation US citizen openly travelling on anti-communist mission would have immediate and violent repercussions BG-US relations". Rusk clearly approved Melby's handling of the situation, but also recommended him to tell Sluis to be "aware possible consequences his actions and avoid involving USG [U.S. government] officially in advising him what to do"<sup>145</sup>.

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<sup>142</sup> Colin A. Palmer, *Cheddi Jagan and the Politics of Power: British Guiana's Struggle for Independence*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2010, 251-252.; William Blum, *Killing Hope, US Military and CIA Interventions since World War II*, Noida, Gopson Papers Limited, 2004, 108-114.;

<sup>143</sup> Everette Melby to Dean Rusk, Feb. 25, 1962; Dean Rusk to Everette Melby, Feb. 26, 1962, NARA, Rg. 59, Stack Area 250, Row 3, Compartment 1, Shelf 6, Box 41.

<sup>144</sup> U.S. Ambassador to Jamaica (McGregor) to Secretary of State, Jun. 27, 1960; Secretary of State to U.S. Ambassador to Jamaica (McGregor), Jun. 29, 1960, *Ibid*.

<sup>145</sup> Everette Melby to Dean Rusk, Feb. 25, 1962; Dean Rusk to Everette Melby, Feb. 26, 1962, *Ibid*.

This exchange shows that State Department officials were quite irritated by Sluis' presence. Washington had to protect him, not because the Crusade representative was an informal ally of the U.S. government, but rather, as later correspondence showed, because Washington feared the domestic impact his expulsion would have had. At a moment where the counter-attack the Kennedy administration had launched against the American right-wing a few months before was in full swing, the last thing the State Department needed was a series of headlines reporting that a U.S. citizen crusading against the Reds, and member of an organization Washington was fighting against, had been expelled from a Red country. The U.S. Embassy in London reinforced this belief by advising the State Department that "deportation Sluis could hardly escape attention press both in BG and in US and in process possible have some adverse effect on US public attitude towards BG government"<sup>146</sup>. Sluis was thus an irritant in Washington's grand designs. His case was a distraction at a moment where State Department bureaucrats had more urgent matters on their hands. He also risked bringing scrutiny to bear on the ongoing operation to destabilize Jagan. A top secret memo sent to Kennedy by the State Department by that time indicated that Jagan made "private charges that the US caused the disturbances"<sup>147</sup>.

Understanding that his status largely depended on the U.S. Consul's protection, Sluis agreed with Melby's advice and kept a low profile. Sluis even informed the Consul two days after their interview that he tried to persuade an NBC correspondent to whom he had mentioned his case to forget about the story. Nonetheless, Melby reported to Rusk: "Sluis seems well dug in, and rather enjoying role of hunted Galahad", which made the Consul even more anxious to have Guianese authorities realize that the deportation case was a "panicky blunder" and drop it<sup>148</sup>. Yet, the Guianese police head brought the deportation order to the British governor Sir Ralph Grey, who refused to sign it under his constitutional power to disregard ministerial advices in matters pertaining to foreign policy. Melby informed Rusk he would suggest Sluis "winding up his current business in BG in less than six weeks his permit authorizes him remain", an advice rejected by Rusk: "You should take particular care to insure that Sluis will have no basis later to claim that

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<sup>146</sup> "London" to Dean Rusk, Mar. 2, 1962, *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> Anonymous to John F. Kennedy, Undated (Somewhere Feb. 19-25 1962), *JFKP*, National Security Files Counties Reference Copy, Box 15, F. "General 11-61 to 2-62".

<sup>148</sup> Everette Melby to Dean Rusk, Feb. 27, 1962, *NARA*, Rg. 59, Stack Area 250, Row 3, Compartment 1, Shelf 6, Box 41.

U.S. government (...) in any way sought to hamper or interfere with his legitimate activities”<sup>149</sup>.

“L’Affaire Sluis”, as Consul Melby began calling it, was evolving into a constitutional quandary, since this was a first time that the colony’s governor thwarted a ministerial decision. Governor Grey met with the U.S. Consul and admitted that this put him under severe pressure. Though he decided not to sign the deportation order without concrete evidence of subversive actions on Sluis’ part, he expressed, Melby reported, being “concerned at threats Sluis activities (which are directed against Jagan’s government despite all disclaimers) pose for him at this highly critical stage both UK and US relations with Jagan”. Quite significantly, both Grey and U.S. Consul Melby agreed that even if the Crusade’s activities were ultimately in line with the U.S. and British anticommunist positions, in no way should Sluis and Daguiar be allowed to “call shots on US - BG relations”<sup>150</sup>.

Then, in an unexpected turn of events, Sluis acted on his own. On March 2, after a week spend in his hotel room in Georgetown under police surveillance, Sluis departed without notice for the nearby town of Berbice in the vehicle of a UF activist, before returning later that day with East Indians who were “dropped off various points on return to Georgetown”. In the ensuing days, the police-monitored Sluis came and went from the homes of UF supporters, but without carrying out any overt subversive activities. Consul Melby complained about “this absurd situation”. Clearly, Sluis wished to be deported without legal justification, thus creating a scandal in which he could position himself as victim. Jagan considered Sluis’ games with the police as justifying ever more a deportation, while UF leader Daguiar stood by Sluis, whom he considered to be handling a “special project”, and criticized the US for its “alleged support to Jagan”. Rusk instructed Melby to inform him as soon as possible should Sluis be arrested or deported, adding: “Public mail already being received here on this case”<sup>151</sup>.

After a week, the Guianese police, without waiting for the deportation order to be formally signed, asked Sluis to leave the colony immediately for activities “considered

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<sup>149</sup> Everette Melby to Dean Rusk, Mar. 1; Dean Rusk to Everette Melby, Mar. 2, 1962, *Ibid*.

<sup>150</sup> Everette Melby to Dean Rusk, Mar. 3, 1962, *Ibid*.

<sup>151</sup> Everette Melby to Dean Rusk, Mar. 3; Everette Melby, to Dean Rusk, Mar. 5, 1962; Dean Rusk to Everett Melby, Marc. 6, 1962, *Ibid*.

prejudicial” to the “public order”. Feeling that it was safer to do so, Sluis left British Guiana on March 8, 1962, under protests by his UF leader Daguair, who attacked the government for forcing Sluis out of the country while “welcoming communist visitors”<sup>152</sup>.

Without a full deportation act being issued, Sluis retained the right to return in the colony, as the U.S. Consul knew he was planning to do in April or May. On April 17, 1962, Sluis was indeed back in Georgetown. Jagan complained about the Governor’s failure to sign the deportation order. Sluis then did another unexpected gesture: he tried to get into Surinam, at the East of British Guiana, which at the time was still a Dutch colony. Sluis’ intentions were not entirely clear. He perhaps wished to establish a base just on the other side of the border, from which he could carry on his activities unbothered in British Guiana. Sluis claimed he was visiting Surinam as a “former Dutchman” wishing to visit a “Dutch area”, but he also admitted told Surinamese border officers that he wished to report on the Communist progress in Surinam. By the end of April, Surinamese authorities decided not admit Sluis, leaving him with no other option but to carry on his anticommunist activities from British Guiana itself<sup>153</sup>.

Three weeks later, on May 22, Governor Grey informed the U.S. Consul that, “after exhausting every delaying tactic possible, he is today obliged sign order prohibiting entry BG Fred Schwarz and Joost Sluis”. Two days later, the U.S. Consul in British Guiana informed the State Department that even if the order had not been gazetted yet, the *Daily Chronicle*, Georgetown’s newspaper, announced that “Sluis and Schwarz, “internationally known anti-Communist crusaders” had been classified undesirable immigrants by government and forbidden entry”. The U.S. protested and asked Jagan for an explanation, which came after a few weeks, as reported by Melby to Rusk: “Jagan defended ban on Schwarz and Sluis on grounds their association with groups planning overthrow government by force, but under questioning declined give source of information. No reference USIS activities”<sup>154</sup>.

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<sup>152</sup> Everette Melby to Dean Rusk, Mar. 9; Everette Melby, to Dean Rusk, Mar. 11, 1962, *Ibid*.

<sup>153</sup> Everette Melby to Dean Rusk, Apr. 17, 1962; Everette Melby to Dean Rusk, Apr. 18, 1962; Dean Rusk to Everette Melby, Apr. 25, 1962; Mr. Guest (Paramaribo) to Dean Rusk, Apr. 28; Mr. Guest (Paramaribo) to Dean Rusk, Apr. 28, 1962, *NARA*, Rg. 59, Stack Area 250, Row 3, Compartment 1, Shelf 6, Box 41.

<sup>154</sup> Everette Melby to Dean Rusk, Jun. 23, 1962, *JFKP*, National Security Files Counties Reference Copy, Box 15, F. “General 6-62 to 12-62”.

Melby also informed Dean Rusk of the local reaction to the news, which was in fact quite moderate, besides UF leader Daguier protesting and a “number of indignant editorials (...) exaggerating international importance of Schwarz and Sluis”. But the State Department could only have been relieved that also, the story was not picked up by the American press. As Dean Rusk wrote back to Melby: “Department is not aware that any formal protest has been made or any press coverage given to order banning Schwarz and Sluis from British Guiana”<sup>155</sup>. At the moment where the deportation order came into force, Schwarz was in a poor position to publicly protest, being in damage control mode after a series on controversies in the U.S. and, also, while trying to save his planned anticommunism school in New York from disaster. For some reason, he did not comment about being not called “prohibited immigrant” in British Guiana and only three months later did Schwarz write about it his newsletter.

Thanks to Sluis and his fleet of converted trucks, “many thousand Guianese awakened to the imminent danger of Communism. Great quantities of literature have been distributed; anti-Communism study circles established and anti-Communism workers inspired”. That he and Sluis were classified “illegal immigrants” was a “unique honor” conferred by the Reds, one showing that the “truth made them afraid”<sup>156</sup>. Sluis wrote: “I am probably the only Harvard Medical School alumnus to have received that singular distinction and I wear it with pride and honor”<sup>157</sup>. However, the banning of Schwarz and Sluis did not completely stop Crusade activity in British Guiana. From California, Sluis maintained his British Guyana connections, sending them money and literature. The support was channelled through an anti-Jagan labor organizer, who distributed the anticommunism literature with the help of six part-time workers. “On the basis of direct reports, they have been and are continuing to be very effective in reaching especially the negro population and Moslem East Indians”, wrote Sluis to Arthur G. McDowell in 1963<sup>158</sup>. In December 1964, Jagan lost his re-election bid to PNC leader Forbes Burnham,

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<sup>155</sup> Everette Melby to Dean Rusk, May 22, 1962; Everette Melby to Dean Rusk, May 24, 1962; Everette Melby to Dean Rusk, May 31, 1962; Dean Rusk to U.S. Consuls of Georgetown, Paramaribo and the U.S. Embassy of London, Jun. 13, 1962, *NARA*, Rg. 59, Stack Area 250, Row 3, Compartment 1, Shelf 6, Box 41.

<sup>156</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “British Guiana”, *CACC Newsletter*, Aug. 1962, 8.

<sup>157</sup> Joost Sluis, “An Alumnus and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade”, *loc. cit.*, 3.

<sup>158</sup> Joost Sluis to Arthur G. McDowell, Aug. 30, 1963, *MLP*, Box 1, F. 2.

a defeat for which Schwarz partially took credit in the Crusade newsletter<sup>159</sup>. In May 1965, Burnham lifted the ban on Schwarz and Sluis. The fear of a Red takeover of British Guiana having decreased, London granted independence to the colony, which became a sovereign nation on May 26, 1966. In late 1967, Jagan, who had been invited on a speaking tour in the U.S., was denied a visa by the State Department, leading to the tour's cancellation. "Today the tables have turned", Schwarz stated, "and Cheddi Jagan is a prohibited immigrant to the United States"<sup>160</sup>.

#### 14.5 Minor Fields

India and British Guiana were two main focal points of the Crusade's international activities until the mid-1960's, but the organization was also present in other arenas. South Africa was one such fields due to its cultural ties with the English-speaking world and the presence of evangelical churches, notably the South African Pentecostalism, established since first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Crusade established several ties with South African white Protestant churches and other institutions imbued with anticommunism. The situation showed similarities with that of the U.S. South after 1954, in that defenders of South African Apartheid segregation framed their racial outlook in Cold War rhetoric for decades. Segregated until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, most white South African evangelical churches upheld the racial status quo by advocating a general refraining from politics -besides those of the ruling white establishment- and portrayed Black-African nationalism and challenges to Apartheid as " 'Communist' inspired, evil invisible forces, and therefore part of the 'Antichrist' system that would destroy 'genuine' Christianity", Allan Anderson notes<sup>161</sup>.

The Communist Party of South Africa was declared illegal in 1950, but clauses in the "Suppression of Communism Act" were used against opponents of Apartheid, especially since Communists were strongly involved in movements challenging the country's racial status quo<sup>162</sup>. The Crusade displayed its usual caution in avoiding being associated with

<sup>159</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "British Guiana", *CACC Newsletter*, Jan. 1965, 8.

<sup>160</sup> *Id.*, "Cheddi Jagan of Guiana - - Prohibited Immigrant", *Ibid.*, Dec. 11, 1967, 7.

<sup>161</sup> Allan Anderson, "Pentecostals and Apartheid in South Africa during Ninety Years, 1908-1998", *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research*, No. 9, Feb. 2001, Available online at < <http://www.pctii.org/cyberj/cyberj9/anderson.html> > (accessed July 20, 2010).

<sup>162</sup> A. J. Christopher, *The Atlas of Apartheid*, London, Routledge, 1994, 161.



racial segregation. However, as in the U.S. South, the Crusade found itself as an objective ally of upholders of the racial status quo in South Africa. In 1956 the Crusade began requesting financial contributions to from its supporters in order to send tapes and literature to small South African evangelical institutions. The first known instance involves the Pentecostal African Bible Training Institute of Witbank, a pastor of which suggested distributing Crusade material to Government officials and high school or university students in South Africa<sup>163</sup>. This initiative was followed in 1957 by a request for help from R. M Wintchell of the Evangelical Alliance Mission who hoped “South Africa will not be deprived” of Schwarz’s books. By late 1957, copyrights for Schwarz’s *The Heart, Mind and Soul of Communism*, the better-adapted of all his booklets for church audiences, were given to Wintchell along with \$150 in 1957 and \$250 in 1958 to cover publishing costs<sup>164</sup>.

Meanwhile, in the fall of 1957, in Houston, Bill Strube met Don and Faye Smith, missionaries of the South Africa General Mission, an interdenominational missionary body established in 1889 and the work of which extended in numerous African countries, including Belgian Congo and Angola. The Fayes told Strube about their plan for a Christian anticommunist magazine in South Africa. Only as the Crusade’s resources widened in 1958 was the project given serious consideration. That the South Africa General Mission officially opposed Apartheid might have made Crusade officials more comfortable in brining support<sup>165</sup>. In late 1958, the first copies of *Our Africa*, printed in the garage of a missionary in Johannesburg with four staff reporters, were sent to Schwarz, who had invested \$1,000 in this project. “To say that we are astonished by the superb quality is an understatement. The magazine is the size of “Life”. It has 36 pages”<sup>166</sup>. The Crusade’s help to *Our Africa* was mostly Strube’s initiative and proved to be a much less expensive venture than *Keraladhwani* since, this time around, the publication did not depend entirely on its American sponsor, whose help was in fact only

<sup>163</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Africa”, *CACC Newsletter*, Apr.-May 1956, 4.

<sup>164</sup> *Id.*, “Africa”, *Ibid.*, Oct. 1957, 4-5.; *Id.*, “Africa”, *Ibid.*, Dec. 1957.; E.A.M. Assistant General Director to Fred C. Schwarz, Oct. 2, 1958, Letter published in *CACC Newsletter*, Nov. 1958, 5.

<sup>165</sup> A letter from one of the Mission’s members published in the CACC newsletter lamented that: “By subtly and persistently stressing the wrongs of the white government [communism] is twisting a legitimate cause to its own ends. Communism becomes the champion – whites and their Christianity become the oppressor”. Quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, “African Challenge – Out Africa”, *Ibid.*, Oct. 1958, 3. The magazine featured the work of black Christian leader S.E.M. Pheko.

<sup>166</sup> *Id.*, “Africa”, *Ibid.*, Nov. 1958, 4-5.; S. E. M. Pheko, *My Ups and Downs: A Black Christian in Southern Africa*, Nairobi, Daystar Publications, 1976, 71.

peripheral. *Our Africa* was published and distributed on a monthly basis by the South Africa General Mission, allowing its circulation of 37,000 in 1959 to embrace several African countries (Kenya, Uganda, Rhodesia)<sup>167</sup>. All in all, the Crusade devoted \$2,250 to its South African projects in 1958, and in 1961 spent another \$1,757. By all standards, this Crusade venture in the world of Christian periodicals proved far less taxing than the Kerala undertaking.

As the Crusade became known for supporting anticommunist endeavours, it attracted numerous requests for financial and logistical help coming from different missionary fields. Not all projects were deemed relevant or worthy of Crusade support, but some were judged as being serious enough. In February 1960, the Crusade was contacted from the Belgian Congo by members of the Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society, a fundamentalist missionary body established in 1943<sup>168</sup>. Letters brought news of the situation in the Congo, where Belgium had renounced its power and granted independence to its former colony at the January 1960 Brussels Conference. The situation looked increasingly chaotic in the Congo, where bloody riots in Leopoldville in late 1959 had alarmed Western governments and the press, who feared for prospects of Communist exploitation of the crisis. The Baptist missionaries who wrote Schwarz mentioned that the security situation made their work difficult and that Christian missions were beginning to be targeted by violent Communist-inspired groups. Because “Communism teaches all missionaries are agents of American imperialism”, Schwarz accepted to provide them numerous copies of *The Heart, Mind and Soul* and paid for the printing of an unknown number of anticommunist tracts in the Swahili language by their missionary agency at the cost of \$1,120<sup>169</sup>. In 1961, the CACC also received an “urgent request” from Nigeria for thousands of copies of all of its literature (books, booklets, pamphlets) by the Pocket Testament League, another interdenominational evangelical missionary ministry, who planned to “flood an entire nation” with Crusade literature. As one missionary wrote Schwarz his agency would do its best “to see that this material goes into the hands of leaders who will get it to the people. Having worked all over Nigeria for three years we

<sup>167</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Our African Work”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jun.-Jul. 1959, 4.

<sup>168</sup> It was the first American Conservative missionary agency, nowadays called WoldVentures.

<sup>169</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Crisis in the Belgian Congo”, *CACC Newsletter*, Mar. 1960, 1, 3.; “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade: Comparative Statement of Income and Expenses For the Years Ended December 31, 1961 and 1960”, *GRC*, Box 364, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial”.

have a pretty good idea as to whom these people are”. Before the year ended, the Crusade had invested more than \$4,000 in the project<sup>170</sup>.

The Crusade also expanded its activities in the Far East. In 1958 the organization received a request from Bob Rice, head of a missionary agency in South Korea, who proposed to distribute free of charge *The Heart, Mind and Soul* to members of the Korean armed forces, a project for which the Crusade spent \$2,000 in 1958 and 1959<sup>171</sup>. Three years later, in 1961, the U.S. Information Agency showed interest in subsidizing *You Can Trust* in South Korea. The USIA actually paid only \$380 (\$100 for publication rights and \$280 for publication support) to distribute 210 copies to “leading citizens” in South Korea. The agency also put the Crusade in contact with a Korean publisher who eventually produced 5,000 copies of the book<sup>172</sup>. In late 1961, Schwarz launched an appeal to fund a Japanese anticommunist student program. “We have initiated a most exciting project to support a group of educated-freedom-loving, anti-Communist Japanese in a program to reveal the true nature of Communism to the Japanese students. The initial expenditure for this project is \$50,000”<sup>173</sup>. The project fell short of its financial objective, but about \$12,500 was sent between the fall of 1961 and the spring of 1962. The money apparently served mostly for a Japanese translation of *You Can Trust*<sup>174</sup>.

It was to be expected that the Crusade would develop a high interest in Southeast Asia as the conflict in Vietnam intensified in 1963 and 1964. However, because the Crusade’s financial resources had shrunken at this point, but also due to the danger inherent to combat zones work, efforts in this direction were met with difficulties. In December 1965, Sluis departed for a three-month trip to Vietnam, where he worked as a surgeon for the U.S. military. Five months later, he wrote a lengthy report on his experience in the Crusade newsletter. After a few weeks spent as part of a Navy medical team in the Gulf of Siam, Sluis was transferred in the town of Can Tho, in the Mekong Delta, where he practiced medicine on Vietnamese civilians. With almost all of South Vietnam’s medical

<sup>170</sup> Don F. McFarland to Fred C. Schwarz, Undated, Letter published in *CACC Newsletter*, Apr.-May 1961, 2. The figure given in the newsletter is \$5,000, but IRS data mentions \$4,000.

<sup>171</sup> *Id.*, “Korea”, *Ibid.*, Jul. 1958, 2.; “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade: Comparative Statement of Income and Expenses For the Years Ended December 31, 1959 and 1958”, *GRC*, Box 364, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial”.

<sup>172</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 181-182.

<sup>173</sup> *Id.*, “Dear Christian Friend”, fundraising letter, Nov. 11, 1961.

<sup>174</sup> *Id.*, “My Dear Friends”, fundraising letter, Mar. 1962.

doctors having been drafted, Sluis was during this time “the only fully trained orthopaedic surgeon of the entire Mekong Delta” and was, as such, the object of much security, since American civilians were prime targets for Vietcong activists. This first contact with Vietnamese civilians shocked him. With contaminated water supplies everywhere, problems such as ascariasis, worms, typhoid fever and the bubonic plague were common. But in spite of this experience, Sluis returned to the U.S. more convinced than ever that the commonly-held idea that communism was caused by poverty was false, since “in the Mekong Delta, where the Vietcong is quite firmly entrenched, economic well-being is probably more marked than everywhere else in the country”<sup>175</sup>.

Sluis observed what he saw as a clear lacking of understanding of communism on the part of American servicemen in Vietnam. Thus, from 1965 to 1970, the Crusade launched a drive to send copies of *You Can Trust* to the greatest possible number of servicemen in Southeast Asia. With the Crusade having been more or less blacklisted by the U.S. military since the Fulbright memorandum, the only way to access the list of names and addresses of servicemen was to stalk the nation’s newspapers, where such information was often found, for instance, during Christmas, when papers encouraged the public to write to servicemen). In March 1966, the Crusade newsletter announced that these lists had helped send “several thousand books”, and the publication asked its supporters to send lists of servicemen taken from their local newspapers<sup>176</sup>.

Sluis visited Southeast Asia a second time in 1967, arriving in Thailand, where he met the Thai ministers of foreign affairs and the Undersecretary of State (Thonat Khoman and Netr Khemayodhin), whom he convinced to distribute Crusade material. A number of projects to spread literature in Thailand thus appeared in the following two years, but they were probably impaired when Sluis, who oversaw them, withdrew from the Crusade in 1970. In the U.S., this Thailand project led in 1967 to a heated televised exchange between Schwarz and Black journalist Louis Lomax, who told the crusader that “the man in Thailand right now, under his own government, cannot even vote. He does not have a constitution. He cannot sit as you and I are, arguing, and talk publicly on television. (...) In other words, what are you going to do to save him”? Schwarz replied: “If the threat of

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<sup>175</sup> Joost Sluis, “Report on Vietnam”, *CACC Newsletter*, Apr. 4, 1966, 6.

<sup>176</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Operation Vietnam”, *CACC Newsletter*, Mar. 1966, 8.

Communism diminishes, his opportunities will increase. There is not an equality of evil. Some systems are bad, other systems are worse”<sup>177</sup>.

During the same trip, Sluis was introduced to several high-ranking South Vietnamese officials as well, which led a few months later to a talk between James Colbert and the South Vietnamese minister of education. A few months later, the Crusade received a letter from one of minister’s assistants showing great interest for *You Can Trust*. More than 80,000 copies of Schwarz’s book were ultimately distributed to students in the five universities of South Vietnam and U.S. servicemen in 1969<sup>178</sup>. Author Hoa Minh Truong, who had survived the Vietcong re-education camps and who managed to flee in Australia, recalled in his autobiography *The Dark Journey* being given a free copy of Schwarz’s *Ban co the tin duoc nguoi cong san?* (“Do you believe the Communists?”) while attending university in Can Tho in 1969. Forty years Hoa Minh Truong summed up his understanding of Schwarz’s essential message: “So a Communist Party in any free country should be treated like dog droppings to be cleaned up in order to keep the cities tidy and hygienic. In this way there will be no repeat of what happened in Russia, China, Vietnam, and other countries”<sup>179</sup>.

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<sup>177</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 245-246.

<sup>178</sup> Nguyen Van-Tho to James D. Colbert, Jan. 28, 1968, Letter published in *Ibid.*, Jun. 6, 1968.

<sup>179</sup> Hoa Minh Truong, *The Dark Journey: Inside the Reeducation Camps of Viet Cong*, Durham, Eloquent Books, 2010, 29.

## 15 THE LITTLE BROWN SCARE

“Let us be clear about this: the face of America that emerges from the portrait of the Radical Right is *not* the face of fascism as we have known it in Europe. But unmistakably it is a face bearing the marks of a sickness that could develop into fascism”- Leftist journalist Fred J. Cook *The Nation*, 1962<sup>1</sup>

### 15.1 Scares of Different Colors

In December 1961, Schwarz wrote Sluis, warning him that the Crusade was entering a turbulent zone:

“ (...) we are under through investigation by hostile forces desiring to discover something they can use to attack us. The things they are seeking are:

- (1) Links that can tie us to other organizations whom they classify as right-wing.
- (2) Attacks on individuals or other organizations.
- (3) Interference in political issues.
- (4) Over-simplified national programs.

We must be careful to avoid giving them ammunition. If interviewed by a representative of the national press, it is wise to keep a tape recording of the interview. Avoid criticism of all individuals, organizations and government agencies such as the State Department. Please remove from our official recorded list literature of any other organization. Please do not officially show or advocate the films “Communism on the Map” or “Communist Encirclement””<sup>2</sup>.

This was not even two months after Schwarz’s triumph at the Hollywood Bowl, and three months after the “Southern California School of Anti-Communism”. But as the year 1961 closed, the Crusade was increasingly perceived as right-wing lunacy, along the lines of the John Birch Society. The very same day Schwarz wrote Sluis, *Newsweek* published a special issue on the right, with Gen. Edwin Walker on the magazine’s cover. The report “Thunder on the Right” sounded the alarm about the “marked resurgence of ultra-conservatism in the U.S.” and named the JBS and the Crusade as the top “far-right-wing

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<sup>1</sup> Originally from Cook’s report “The Ultras: Aims, Affiliations and Finances of the Radical Right”, in *The Nation*, June 23, 1962, quoted from George Seldes, *Never Tired of Protesting*, L. Stuart, Inc., 1968, 220.

<sup>2</sup> This letter is partly reproduced in Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, *Danger on the Right*, *op. cit.*, 52-53. In spite of the book’s several mistakes, this letter is assumed to be authentic, though the author of the present study did not see it.

organizations that have sprung up recently”. The detailed article listed scores of conservative groups that had appeared in 1961 and, though quickly acknowledging differences among them, emphasized heavily their common denominators so as to make them appear as one single block (“Among all these groups, a rising star is General Walker, who is besieged with speaking invitations from virtually all the right-wing organizations”)<sup>3</sup>.

A short section covering the Crusade indicated that “Dr. Schwarz’s views coincide with many of chief Bircher Welch’s”. The report presented a description of “the fanatic fringe”, describing Robert DePugh’s Minutemen guerilla, the existence of which had been revealed in October when some of its members had attended a guerilla warfare “seminar” in Southern Illinois armed with rifles and mortars. The article ended with a section that established a link between the right-wing of the early 1960’s and that of the 1930’s (Father Coughlin, Gerald K. Smith and German Bund leader Fritz Kuhn). The text included an interview with sociologist David Riesman, an authority on the right-wing since the 1955 *The New American Right*, edited by Daniel Bell, in which he expressed the idea that in terms of sanity, the grassroots right was beyond the pale: “(...) what is lacking is the kind of conservatism for which Senator Taft stood, which is reasonable, which looks at issues with discrimination”<sup>4</sup>. For Riesman, the irrational inconsistency he criticized was illustrated by the conservatives’ wish to weaken the Federal Government in most respects, while strengthening it “as a military power”.

A few weeks before, a similar piece had appeared in the *New York Times Magazine*, by *Washington Post* editorialist Alan Barth. For Barth, terms such as “right-wing”, or “conservative” were inappropriate to describe the current phenomenon. Quoting another contributor to *The New American Right*, this time Richard Hofstadter, Barth qualified right-wingers as “pseudo-conservatives”, since they were “much more in a rage to destroy than fervor to conserve”<sup>5</sup>. Because anger, Barth wrote, was the only program they had, right-wingers could well be labeled as the “Rampageous Right”. As *Newsweek*, Barth identified the JBS and the Crusade as the most “formidable (...) in terms of memberships, money and notoriety” and lumped them in the same category as Gen.

<sup>3</sup> An., “Thunder on the Right: Fear and Frustration...”, *Newsweek*, Vol. 58, No. 35, Dec. 4, 1961, 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 28-29.

<sup>5</sup> Alan Barth, “Report on the ‘Rampageous Right’ ”, *New York Times*, Mon., Nov. 26, 1961, SM25.

Walker or, the Minutemen. Barth stated without evidence that a “close alliance” existed between “the White Citizens Councils on the one hand and the John Birch Society and the Christian Anti-Communist (sic) Crusade on the other”<sup>6</sup>. Meanwhile, investigative liberal journalist Fred J. Cook ran in *The Nation* a special issue on “The Warfare State”. In a long study that covered an entire issue, Cook, drew on the Fulbright memorandum and the growing visibility of conservative groups to emphasize how the growth of the military-industrial complex, coupled with the marriage of the military with right-wing politics, was making possible a military coup by crazy officers who “can look down with equanimity upon the slaughter of the world’s people by the inconceivable millions”<sup>7</sup>.

By the end of 1961, a sleeping giant woke, as the most important forces of American liberalism (the White House, governmental agencies, politicians, journalists, the unions, intellectuals) turned against what they deemed a growing danger for democracy. The fear of homegrown fascism, a phenomenon that had not been widespread since WWII, returned in a milder form and became an element of political debates during the early 1960’s. On the short term, it took a severe toll on most groups of the popular right such as the Crusade, which experienced a sharp reversal of fortunes. On the long term, this fear ended up crippling the political right as well. The Republican Party, incapable of managing the delicate question of the relationship between its conservative wing (which ironically took over the GOP in 1964) and the right-wing groups under attack, suffered setbacks at the polls in 1962 and, most notably, during the presidential election two years later. The Crusade being one of the country’s most heavily targeted organizations, it was dealt a blow from which it never fully recovered.

Between the late 1930’s and the end of WWII, the United States saw a campaign against various fascist-inspired far right movements that grew during the Depression years. Long before Pearl Harbor, the federal government and many segments of the American public had begun stressing the repression homegrown fascism, which, they feared, might evolve into a Nazi fifth column should America enter into the war. At the same time, a campaign was launched by the liberal press against far right figures, isolationists and anticommunists, often pigeonholed as Nazi sympathizers and potential

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, SM130, SM132.

<sup>7</sup> Fred J. Cook, “Juggernaut: The Warfare State”, *The Nation*, Vol. 193, No. 14, Oct. 28, 1961, 334.



Fifth Columnists<sup>8</sup>. Already submitted to heavy state and federal surveillance before Pearl Harbor, most American pro-fascist groups disappeared once the nation entered the war. Fascist sympathizers such as William Dudley Pelley, leader of the Silver Legion, Gerald Winrod, an anti-Semitic fundamentalist preacher from Kansas who published the pro-Nazi *Defender*, or Gerald K. Smith, anti-Semitic editor of *The Cross and the Flag*, were arrested and tried in sedition cases criticized as abusive by some civil libertarians<sup>9</sup>.

This “Brown Scare” has attracted little historiographic attention by itself, especially as compared to the two Red Scares that marked 20<sup>th</sup> century American history. Most of the work dealing with the Brown Scare focuses on the loyalty-security establishment that served to curb the Reds and the American left during the Cold War era, since this apparatus was laid during the campaign against the far right in the 1930’s. The founding of HUAC, in 1938, was in fact initially aimed at monitoring domestic far right activity, long before it became the Congress’ Red-hunting powerhouse. Also in 1938, President Roosevelt gave the FBI extended powers to cope with domestic pro-fascist groups. As Leo Ribuffo writes, some states “required registration of subversive organizations, tried to ban public display of masks and paramilitary regalia, and attempted to outlaw the libel of racial, religious, and ethnic groups. These laws, though subject to constitutional challenge, were nonetheless useful to prosecutors and police”<sup>10</sup>.

The Brown Scare anticipated McCarthyism inasmuch as the extent of the domestic threat was in both cases exaggerated by countersubversive leaders. Nazi spies, like Soviet ones, were undeniably active in the U.S. and, in both cases, the fear was grounded in genuine evidence of domestic subversion. For instance, one espionage ring was disclosed in 1942 when Wilhelm Kunz, leader of the pro-Nazi German Bund (which recruited among German immigrants and was disbanded after Pearl Harbor), was arrested in Mexico, where he had fled in 1941. Yet, racist demagogues such as Pelley and Winrod posed little threat (if any) to national security. They had small followings and their

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<sup>8</sup> John Drabble, “Brown Scare”, in Peter Knight, ed., *Conspiracy Theories in American History: An Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1, Santa Barbara, ABC-CLIO, 2003, 137-139.

<sup>9</sup> William Dudley Pelley’s Silver Legion was a small fundamentalist group based in North Carolina and purporting an Americanized form of fascism. In 1940, he saw several of his supporters arrested by federal agents and his group’s assets seized under national security measures. After Pearl Harbor and America’s entrance into the war, the Silver Legion was disbanded, and Pelley himself arrested and tried in 1942 for high treason (he was paroled a decade later). Gerald B. Winrod, an, almost suffered the same fate: arrested in 1942, his trial for sedition ended in 1944 with the death of the judge, leaving Winrod and his followers free.

<sup>10</sup> Leo Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right*, *op. cit.*, 182.

exchanges with the Third Reich were minimal before Pearl Harbor. Yet, the Roosevelt administration made efficient use of the fear over Brown subversion to prosecute them and, more broadly, level the charge of un-Americanism against the isolationist movement.

By no means did the fear over homegrown fascism in the 1960's reach comparable levels as the Brown Scare of the 1930's and 1940's, whence the name "Little Brown Scare" here used. As opposed to the pro-fascist groups of the wartime era and the Communist Party of the Cold War, the American right of the early 1960's, even in its most extreme forms (for instance Robert Pugh's Minutemen or George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party) was not part of any international movement hostile to the United States. Nobody was arrested, imprisoned or tried for sedition for right-wing extremism. However, never since WWII had the threat of the far right been on the minds of so many people and the object of so many comments and debates nationwide. In an ironic reversal of the McCarthy era, liberal pundits, politicians, unions, churches and other organizations across the country mobilized against the impending threat of homegrown fascism. The Federal government and various state agencies such as the Internal Revenue Service and the Federal Communications Commission were used to undermine the resources and visibility of the "radical right". For a brief period of time, throughout the year 1962, media coverage on the grassroots right reached unprecedented levels. A great deal of it was not only negative in tone, but also sensationalist and inclined to dubious associations, placing in one single group people as different as William Buckley and Billy James Hargis. Terms such as "Far Right", "Extremist Right", "Radical Right", "Ultra Right" became commonly used.

One important legacy of the Brown Scare was the conceptual framework outlined by WWII social scientists to understand fascism, and which academics and pundits applied to the right-wing of the early 1960's. As part of the wartime social science which assaulted racism and ethnocentrism, an influential group of social scientists from the Frankfurt School re-established in America (Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, especially) conducted a series of studies aimed at explaining fascism and the Holocaust. The most important was *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950), a summary of wartime and postwar research conducted by Adorno's team at the University of Berkeley.

Drawing from Freudianism and empirical survey research, Adorno elaborated a theory of the “authoritarian personality”, whereby children raised in exploitive settings later tend to develop into “authoritarian” people highly receptive to fascism. This theory, which turned proponents of right-wing radicalism into an irrational “anthropological species”, provided for many an appealing explanation on the functioning of extremism<sup>11</sup>.

The “authoritarian personality” was the conceptual framework the group of New York intellectuals gathered around Daniel Bell and Richard Hofstadter used in 1955 for their seminal study on the origins of McCarthyism, *The New American Right*, and its 1962 update *The Radical Right*, which added new material in the context of the rise of groups such as the JBS or the Crusade<sup>12</sup>. The influential “status anxiety” theories drew directly from Adorno’s *The Authoritarian Personality* to stress that psychological, not economic factors, were the most important in studying McCarthy’s followers, re-baptized “pseudo-conservatives” since their irrationality set them apart from the older, nobler, conservative tradition. *The New American Right*, and to a lesser extent *The Radical Right*, was the single most influential body of social science on the right-wing during the 1950’s and 1960’s. Its legacy has been palatable in scores of discussions on political extremism and the right-wing ever since. This had a major consequence for the future of scholarship on conservatism, since a theory originally designed to explain fascism was adapted by some of the nation’s most gifted social scientists to explain the phenomenon of the grassroots right-wing, establishing a theoretical continuum between two phenomena that grew out of different circumstances. As demonstrated by the aforementioned articles from *Newsweek* and the *New York Times Magazine*, the authors of *The New American Right* were among the country’s most consulted in terms of things right-wing and their ideas on this matter were undeniably the most fashionable among the American intelligentsia of the time.

Despite its impact and its stylistic brilliance, the work of these New York intellectuals had one main epistemological flaw: it was largely based on assumptions and generalizations rather than genuine, empirical field work. The main studies the present

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<sup>11</sup> Leo Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right*, *op. cit.*, 237-238.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 239. It is hardly coincidental, Leo Ribuffo writes, that more than three out of seven of *The New American Right*’s original contributors (David Riesman, Peter Viereck and Bell) did themselves some Brown-baiting during wartime. Riesman participated in 1942, as a lawyer, to the prosecution of native fascists. Viereck, son of a notorious Nazi sympathizer, repudiated his father’s politics and denounced wartime extremists of the left and right. Bell, in 1944, had argued that the American “populist tradition”, distorted by the likes of Father Coughlin or Huey Long, would generate a new American “Fuehrer”.

research has used to examine the Crusaders (Wolfinger, Koeppen, and Wilcox) were all designed to test status concern theories. Like the studies conducted on the Birchers by Fred Grupp or Barbara Stone, the empirical work done in the early 1960's failed to prove the validity of status concern theories to explain right-wing behavior. As Ribuffo concludes, "sighting primary research, contributors to *The Radical Right* translated into social science idiom Brown Scare themes concerning both the far right and the country's vulnerability to it"<sup>13</sup>. The Brown Scare of the 1930's and 1940's thus provided for long the epistemological matrix of academic discussions, "about such diverse phenomena as McCarthyism, white supremacy, the Christian Right, and the militia movement, contributing to consensus narratives of U.S. history, and the use of psychiatric theory to explain unpopular ideologies and political behaviors", John Drabble writes<sup>14</sup>. Even though *The Radical Right* did not have in 1962 the same groundbreaking impact its first edition had seven years before, it re-actualized this conceptualization of the right-wing as an essentially irrational phenomenon potentially shaped by the same dynamics as fascism.

The John Birch Society was the most heavily targeted group during the "Little Brown Scare", since much of the concern over right-wing activity began with the organization's disclosure. A *Boston Globe* journalist reported in early 1962 that its national membership had dropped from a peak of 100,000 in early 1961 to 29,600. Later in the year, the financial statement submitted to the state of Massachusetts reported only 24,000 active card-carriers<sup>15</sup>. Richard Gid Powers treats the JBS controversy as the most damaging factor in the misfortunes anticommunist activists experienced in the early 1960's. "The Birch disaster", he wrote, "grievously wounded the entire anticommunist movement"<sup>16</sup>. This is only partly true inasmuch as the JBS, despite its contributing to the popular right's bad press, was only the tip of an iceberg. Gid Powers is nonetheless right in stating that the JBS was not as dangerous as many thought: "Robert Welch was far from the devil he

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 239.

<sup>14</sup> John Drabble, "Brown Scare", *loc. cit.*, 139.

<sup>15</sup> Charles Whipple, "Is John Birch Society in Trouble?", *Boston Globe*, Sun., Feb. 11, 1962, 1.

Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism*, *op. cit.*, 70.; The organization's membership grew again to reach an estimated peak of 80,000-100,000 members in 1964, but this growth took place especially in the South amid Welch's embracement of Black-Red theories. Robert A. Goldberg, *Grassroots Resistance: Social Movements in Twentieth-Century America*, Prospect Heights, Waveland Press Inc., 1996, 133.

<sup>16</sup> Richard Gid Powers, *Not Without Honor*, *op. cit.*, 295.

was painted, and the John Birch Society was not the Nazi-style menace it was made out to be". Granted, there were violent groups that deserved attention. The JBS, still, "was nothing like the Klan, American Nazis, and Citizens Councils that *were* a threat to law and order"<sup>17</sup>.

The same can be said of the Crusade. Schwarz and his Crusaders were not the vanguard of a homegrown fascism, as many framed them to be. The Crusade's opponents often exaggerated its influence and often falsified facts. Nonetheless, they could have damaged the Crusade's reputation based on solid facts by bringing to light the segregated anticommunism schools of Louisiana in October 1961.

These schools took place in Shreveport in early October 1961, and New Orleans, three weeks later. In both cases, the schools were held in all-white, fully segregated facilities, the only such instances in the Crusade's history. Schwarz never mentioned either events in his memoir and newsletter, with the exception of a small piece about the Shreveport event in the newsletter. Both schools were organized almost simultaneously. During the end of the summer 1961, members of the Shreveport and New Orleans elites met, organized committees and contacted the Crusade. The Shreveport sessions were held in two segregated locations: the Hirsch Youth Center and the Municipal Auditorium. The Shreveport "Youth Day" was the largest of such events in Crusade history: "With the cooperation of the educational systems of the entire area, hundreds of school buses brought 15,000 Junior and Senior high school students", the newsletter reported<sup>18</sup>. In New Orleans, the school took place at the Jung Hotel, a facility that was racially integrated only two years later, in 1963<sup>19</sup>. As always, the race question was absent from the proceedings and schools' literature<sup>20</sup>. Shreveport was a stronghold of the White Citizens' Council movement in Louisiana. The city saw some of Louisiana's most intense

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 286-287.

<sup>18</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Ark-La-Tex School of Anti-Communism", *CACC Newsletter*, Nov. 1961, 2.

<sup>19</sup> J. Mark Souther, "Into the Big League: Conventions, Football, and the Color Line in New Orleans", *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 29, No. 694, Sept. 2003, 710. Though successful, those schools were, financially speaking, a return to the reality that prevailed a few months before. The schools' expenditures were compensated by the money raised during the event, but both columns were about even. In New Orleans, for instance, the school cost more than \$17,000 to set up, and on the last day about \$18,000 had been amassed through registration and donations. An., "Training to Hit Reds Proposed", *Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), Sat., Oct. 28, 1961, 1.

<sup>20</sup> As always, these events presented themselves as unifying all Americans. In Shreveport, one supporting editorial reported that the school drew support from "Protestant, Roman Catholics, Jews, Legionnaires, members of the V.F.W., the Junior League, the Chamber of Commerce and probably every civic organization in the local area". An., "The Shreveport-Bossier Campaign Against Communism", *The Shreveport Times*, Fri., Sept. 29, 1961, 6A. In New Orleans, organizers were, as always, very careful to enlist the support of multiple confessions, and the advisory committee included a Protestant churchmen, a Catholic priest from the Archdiocese, and a Jewish Rabbi.

clashes over bus segregation in the late 1950's. Its local authorities showed strong resistance to the Freedom Rides of the previous summer and, incidentally, Shreveport was among the last Louisiana cities to fully desegregate its public spaces and transportation<sup>21</sup>. As for New Orleans, until the mid-1960's, segregation applied to most of New Orleans' public spaces, and Blacks could not access employment in various sectors, including the public workforce. In New Orleans, the school was supported by pro-segregationist Mayor Victor H. Shiro, who proclaimed the customarily "Anti-Communism Week", and whose name appears on the event's advisory committee<sup>22</sup>.

Schwarz managed to completely avoid discussion on race by not including a single local personality among the school's "faculty", contrary to the established practice until then, and thus sticking exclusively to the usual list of Crusade collaborators. This move assured that in the schools, there would not be any of the Black-Red connection rhetoric for which the local establishments were hungry (the *Shreveport Journal* once reported that "the CP in NAACP means Communist Party")<sup>23</sup>. Public knowledge of the fact that Schwarz had agreed to hold schools of anticommunism in segregated facilities, and located in some of the nation's most segregationist hothouses, would have undoubtedly been an important liability to the Crusade when it later organized its schools in locations such as San Francisco, Seattle or New York.

### **15.2 Hard Season for "Fearless Frednik"**

In mid-December 1961, Schwarz and his regular collaborators (Schlafly, Skousen, Drakeford, Sluis, Colbert, Westcott, Del Junco and Strube) held the last of their 1961 schools in St. Petersburg, Florida, a retirement haven which was slowly emerging as one of the Sunshine State's solid conservative strongholds<sup>24</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> Adam Fairclough, *Race and Democracy: The Civil Rights Struggle in Louisiana, 1915-1972*, Athens, University of Georgia Press, 2008, 8, 212-215.

<sup>22</sup> The same committee included the name of private detective and local pro-JBS stalwart Guy Banister, whose name became notorious after allegations of involvement in JFK's assassination.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 224.

<sup>24</sup> Shortly before conducting his school in Miami in June 1961, Schwarz had a very warm welcome during a few lectures he delivered in the Suncoast area (west-central Florida), drawing crowds that included some "leaders in industry, education, religion, business and the armed forces", as well as one city manager, one journalist noted. "Give us an invitation and we'll do our best to cooperate in setting up a school here", the crusader said. An., "Dr. Schwarz Warns of Kremlin Danger", *St. Petersburg Times*, Sat., May 20, 1961, 4-C.

But in spite of what a journalist called “good advance publicity with sponsors of prestige, along with generous paid publicity”, as well as “unprecedented TV and radio support”, the turnout was disappointing<sup>25</sup>. The mid-school, free-admittance youth event could not fill more than half of the 5,500 seats of St. Petersburg’s Lang Field<sup>26</sup>. For the first time, some school boards did not cooperate. In Pinellas County, the board, invoking the late request from the Crusade, refused to let high school bands perform at the rally and provide transportation. Superintendent Floyd C. Christian admitted that some parents objected to their children attending an event they considered was “organized for nothing but spreading propaganda and raising money”. The Superintendent also criticized those who were of the view that “just because we didn’t rush down and flap our wings (...) that our school system and students are unpatriotic”<sup>27</sup>. Another precedent was the opposition of members of the local Democratic Party, whose Women’s Club adopted a resolution opposing the school. The club’s president, Mrs. Charles J. Shuh, compared the Crusade to the JBS and accused it of spreading “hatred and fear”. The resolution was supported by one State Representative from Orlando, who warned against the “threat to our freedoms and our priceless heritage”<sup>28</sup>. One major local newspaper dismissed the school, warning Suncoasters against “panic and fear and hysteria” that could “weaken the underlying unity that makes America strong”<sup>29</sup>.

Immediately after ending the St. Petersburg school, without even taking rest after the few hectic months he went through, Schwarz arrived in San Francisco for two months of preparatory rallies for the “San Francisco School of Anti-Communism”, held on January 29-February 2, 1962 at the Oakland Auditorium Theatre (the school the Wolfinger team attended). Meetings were held in churches, local auditoriums and civic clubs, most of them were well-attended. He spoke at some point before 600 American Legionnaires and, a few days before the school began, he addressed before 1,500 people at the Stanford University Memorial Auditorium<sup>30</sup>. As opposed to Florida, where the recent experience

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<sup>25</sup> The exact amount of money netted during the closing fundraising banquet is unknown, but was probably just enough to cover the school’s expenses since Schwarz did not later list this school among those which ran at a financial loss (nor, obviously, among the most profitable ones).

<sup>26</sup> Editorial, “The Suncoast And Anti-Communism”, *Ibid.*, Sun. Dec. 3, 1961, 2E.

<sup>27</sup> Bill Williamson, “ ‘Unpatriotic Charge Makes Christian ‘Sick’ “, *The Evening Independent*, Sun. Dec. 3, 1961, B1.

<sup>28</sup> An., “Demo Women To Observe Anti-Communism School”, *St. Petersburg Times*, Nov. 17, 1961, 20-B.

<sup>29</sup> Editorial, “The Suncoast And Anti-Communism”, *loc. cit.*, 2E.

<sup>30</sup> An., “Supervisor Challenges Mayor: Anti-Red Week Row”, *San Francisco Examiner*, Tue., Jan. 23, 1962, 3.

had been disappointing but where the Crusade did not have any solid base, Schwarz had a lot of contacts in San Francisco and the Crusade had a local branch headed by Sluis.

Still, negative press coverage on the “radical right” had been intensifying in the previous weeks. The West Coast, at the end of 1961, saw the controversies caused by the Project Alert seminar at the Shrine Auditorium and by the disclosure of Minutemen chapters in Southern California. The Crusade was increasingly tossed in with the John Birch Society and right-wing buzzwords (“extremism”, “Radical Right”). In January, Robert Welch came to San Francisco to speak before a luncheon of the Commonwealth Club of California. During the question period that followed his address before 1,000 persons, he was asked his opinion about the Crusade. “Dr. Schwarz”, he said, “is doing a grand job of waking up people to the Communist menace. (...) Many of our members help to set up Dr. Schwarz’s schools (...) and we frankly do our best to take the people who have been stirred up and awakened and alarmed by him to get them together in the John Birch Society (...)”<sup>31</sup>.

Welch’s speech served to intensify questions about the JBS each time Schwarz spoke to the press. As before, the crusader attempted to duck those questions with statements such as “no John Birch Society member has ever been on the faculty of any of our schools. I don’t know much about the society”, but this fence-sitting was more difficult to maintain than before<sup>32</sup>. Only one San Francisco newspaper, the *Oakland Tribune*, owned by the conservative Knowland family (its editor was Joseph R. Knowland, son of former Republican Senator William Knowland) openly supported the school. Dana O. McGaugh, from the *San Leandro Morning News*, took task with the crusader for refusing to answer questions regarding the Crusade’s finances, particularly the amount of Schwarz’s personal expenses covered by the Crusade, as well as his evasiveness towards the JBS. McGaugh also criticized Schwarz’s ambiguity concerning the “academic freedom” policy at his schools, taking notice that in spite of Schwarz’s claim that any lecturer delivering a speech contrary to the Crusade’s policy would not be re-invited, so far “no lecturers have been dropped from the faculty, despite their engagement in political debates and criticism

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<sup>31</sup> Lawrence E. Davies, “Welch Sees Drive Against Military”, *New York Times*, Sat., Jan. 13, 1962, 10.

<sup>32</sup> An., “Schwarz and Mandel in Quiet Debate”, *loc. cit.*, 3.



of the United States government, United Nations, Supreme Court decisions and foreign aid (...)"<sup>33</sup>.

At the *San Francisco Chronicle*, editorialist Herb Caen satirized Schwarz "Fearless Frednik"<sup>34</sup>. The *Chronicle* deemed the school at odds with the city's values: "We regard San Francisco as healthy, tolerant, alert and intelligent, understanding the nature of Communism and unsusceptible to the flimsy blandishments of Marxism; it is a free and confident city, in no need of such salvation as the good doctor now proffers". The paper predicted that "if the present progress of extremism and super-patriotism is not halted", within a decade, freedom would be "erased under a repressive system hard to distinguish from the police state that Dr. Schwarz professes to abhor"<sup>35</sup>. The Alameda County Central Labor Council stated it would have "nothing to do with the "so-called "crusade". Schwarz admitted anticipating "greater opposition than anywhere else"<sup>36</sup>.

For the first time, Schwarz was compelled to debate against a local opponent as to the merit of the anticommunism school idea. The opponent was Urban Whitaker, a liberal-minded Professor of San Francisco State College against whom Schwarz had already publicly debated two years before on whether or not Red China be admitted to the United Nations. This time, the topic was whether the CACC program constituted "an Appropriate One in Combating Communism"<sup>37</sup>. Whitaker's arguments against the Crusade schools were outlined in an article he later published in the *War/Peace Report*. Whitaker charged Schwarz of saying one thing and making the other. The crusader did not attack U.S. foreign aid or the U.N. ("a visitor in this country, he no doubts considers this tactically unwise"), but he "lets others make these demands for him", all the while rounding up support with overheated rhetoric. Schwarz's aim, Whitaker continued, was to "attack schools, churches, labor and liberals in general – in order to get right-wing financial support while at the same time neutralizing opposition from moderates". Not only was the Crusade threatening "world peace", but it causing considerable disruption in

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<sup>33</sup> Dana O. McGaugh, "The Fred Schwarz Story: Crusade for a Million Dollard", *The Morning News* (San Leandro), Wed., Jan. 10, 1962, 3.

<sup>34</sup> "In a column, Caen suggested that the crusader should publicly debate with Harry Bridges, since a "full-fledged public debate between these two poles-apart from Australia (...) could pack Civic Auditorium Herb Caen, "Another World: President Gives the Go Signal", *Los Angeles Times* (republished from the *San Francisco Chronicle*), Thu., Feb. 1, 1962, B5.

<sup>35</sup> Editorial, "Anti-Commie Vigilantes Encourage Police State", *The Vancouver Sun* (*San Francisco Chronicle* Editorial Republished), Mon., Jan. 15, 1962, 5.

<sup>36</sup> Thomas Thompson, "Turnstile", *Amarillo Globe-Times*, Mon. Jan. 15, 1962, 2.

<sup>37</sup> Information sheet on the debate, Jan. 3, 1962, San Joaquin County Anti-Communism Group.

neighborhoods, according to the professor. Each school consisted for the local community in a “triple-barreled assault on their schools, their churches and their pocketbooks. The phenomenon might be written off as a harmless fad were it not for the crusade’s potentially destructive impact on constructive efforts towards peace”. For Whitaker, each school left in its wake “increased right-wing attacks on schools, churches, labor unions and spokesmen for liberal causes”<sup>38</sup>.

Whitaker and others claimed that anticommunism schools sowed dissention. The Glenview school of 1960 was not the only one where local fights erupted in the wake of the event. After the Sports Arena school, one Presbyterian Reverend from the Los Angeles area wrote to Walter Judd, decrying Judd’s participation in what he called a “school of hatred”. The churchman contended that his experience with Crusade schools “consisted chiefly in endeavoring to deal with problems created by people returning from such “schools,” who considered it their duty to ferret out and label as communists those among their church brethren whom they may not like”<sup>39</sup>. Another churchman, this time from San Francisco, wrote similarly to Philbrick in November 1961, airing his discontent with Philbrick’s involvement with the Crusade: “In the work of our Council of Churches, we report to each other and it seems that in following each of the “SCHOOLS” (sic) there is a reaction against these organizations which try to coordinate the work of the churches”<sup>40</sup>.

This growing anxiety from liberal churches as to the effects of Crusade schools broke open two weeks before the San Francisco school began. A press conference was called by eight prominent church leaders (one Jewish and seven Protestants) who voiced their opposition to the school and made public a letter they had sent to churches and synagogues of the Bay Area calling clergymen to oppose the event<sup>41</sup>. The group’s spokesman, Dr. Robert D. Bulkley, from the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., deemed the Crusade guilty of “using anti-Communist motivations to promote specific attitudes which are characteristic of one political point of view” and spreading “suspicion of

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<sup>38</sup> Urban Whitaker, “Medicine Man from Down Under: Fred Schwarz, Detractor of the Peace”, *War/Peace Report*, Vol. 2, No. 4, Apr. 1962, 8-11.

<sup>39</sup> William W. Bartlett to Walter H. Judd, 23 Sept. 1961, *WHJP*, Box 48, F. 4.

<sup>40</sup> Paul K. Shelford to Herbert Philbrick, Nov. 24, 1961, *HPP*, Box 4, “General Correspondence” Series, F. 4, “Nov.-Dec. 1961”.

<sup>41</sup> John McDonald, “Crusader Schwarz Speaks Here: Anti-Red Unites in Business Urged”, *San Francisco Examiner*, Fri., Jan. 8, 1962, 16.

American institutions, particularly the churches and the schools”<sup>42</sup>. Schwarz replied that he had never seen “such cowardice masquerading as Christianity”. To his relief, the day after, representatives of 35 churches of the Bay Area Conservative Baptist association released a statement expressing their “wholehearted support” to the school, followed ten days later by National Association of Evangelicals of the Bay Area, representing about 100 churches<sup>43</sup>.

A week later, the customarily “anticommunist week” was proclaimed by an impressive 55 mayors (in fact, almost all mayors from the Bay Area), including the mayors of San Francisco and Oakland. But in Mill Valley, the City Council, in the absence of Mayor Robert Huber, voted to disclaim the proclamation; in Walnut Creek one city councilor lashed at Mayor Fred Sanders’ “semi-official endorsement” of the Crusade, though the proclamation was not dismissed; in Fairfax, Mayor Kenneth M. Edgar denied he signed the proclamation, but some of the people working for the anticommunism school insisted that he did. Mayor of Fremont George Demmel said he signed it “as a perfunctory matter – the same as I might proclaim Alcoholics Anonymous Week”. In San Rafael, Mayor John F. McInnis told one *San Francisco Examiner* journalist that he signed the proclamation reluctantly after one of the school’s emissaries (he did not say who) came to see him. “He struck me”, McInnis said, “as radically right wing as any of the pinkos I have heard about are radically left wing. But the man told me the mayors throughout the Bay Area were signing and that anyone who didn’t sign obviously had communist leanings”<sup>44</sup>.

The mayors of the largest cities also had second thoughts about the proclamation. San Jose Mayor Paul Moore said his signature had been obtained by “misrepresentation” and that he had no intention of supporting the Crusade. In Oakland John C. Houlihan was angry that the Crusade “commercialized upon the proclamation”. When he learned that he had involuntarily signed a document supporting Schwarz’s actions, San Francisco Mayor George Christopher (GOP) was displeased: “I disavow him. I have no truck with him. I merely signed an Anti-Communism Week proclamation. I did not endorse Dr.

<sup>42</sup> *Id.*, “Clergymen Oppose Anti-Red Crusader”, *Ibid.*, Fri., Jan. 12, 1962, 1.

<sup>43</sup> AP Correspondent, “Mosk, Pike Assail ‘Anti Red’ School”, *The Fresno Bee*, Thu., Jan. 25, 1962, 4-A.; An., “Anti-Red School Supported”, *Ibid.*, Sat., Jan. 13, 1962, 6.; An., “Churches to Support Dr. Schwarz”, *Oakland Tribune*, Thu., Jan. 25, 1962, E5.

<sup>44</sup> An., “Bay ‘Anti-Red Week’ Tiffs”, *San Francisco Examiner*, Fri., Jan. 19, 1962, 4.

Schwarz". Nonetheless, he added that he could not refuse signing an anticommunist document after what the Reds had done two years before through the disruption of the HUAC's local hearings<sup>45</sup>. Shortly after, City Supervisor, Jack Morrison, urged Christopher to "reconsider, nullify and withdraw" the proclamation<sup>46</sup>.

The school's organizers received some help by a blunder on the part of one of California's foremost liberal figures, Attorney General Stanley Mosk, well-known for his one-liner about the John Birch Society being composed of "wealthy businessmen, retired military officers and little old ladies in tennis shoes". Mosk, candidate for reelection as Attorney General, was addressing the American Association of University Women in Hayward, where he described the Crusade as a "travelling circus", congratulated those who were "forthright enough to oppose the promoters" and stated, "I am profoundly shocked that public officials should sign endorsement resolutions for the benefit of flight-by-night school promoters". San Francisco Mayor Christopher George objected to Mosk's remarks, which imputed and other mayors through "guilt by association". Though George considered Schwarz a "right-wing extremist", Mosk's intervention pushed him not to withdraw his signature from the anticommunist proclamation. California Assemblyman Bruce Allen, Mosk's GOP opponent for the Attorney General position, further accused Mosk of "extreme hostility towards anti-Communism" and added that he should have rather attacked Gus Hall, chairman of the CPUSA<sup>47</sup>.

Smaller controversies also affected the school. "There is no doubt about it. The Christian Anti-Communism Crusade (CACC) has stirred up a cauldron of controversy. And its leader, Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, has been in the middle of it all", *Hayward Daily Review* journalist Walt Taylor wrote<sup>48</sup>. As a joke, Schwarz suggested that San Francisco would be probably chosen as headquarters by Khrushchev for a worldwide Communist dictatorship, adding that "the Mark Hopkins Hotel will make splendid offices for him"<sup>49</sup>. But the day after his remark, Robert Welch happened to check into the same hotel. Paul

<sup>45</sup> John L. Shover, "The Christian Anti-Communism Crusade in San Francisco", *loc. cit.*, *JLSM*, 1 portfolio, 2.

<sup>46</sup> An., "Supervisor Challenges Mayor: Anti-Red Week Row", *loc. cit.*, 3.

<sup>47</sup> AP Correspondent, "Mosk, Pike Assail 'Anti Red' School", *loc. cit.*, 4-A.; An., "Mosk Raps School for Anti-Reds", *Oakland Tribune*, Thu., Jan. 25, 1962, 1.; AP Correspondent, "Christopher Hits Mosk on Anti-Red Issue", *Los Angeles Times*, Fri., Jan. 26, 1962, 6.; An., "Christopher Scores Mosk Red Stand", *Oakland Tribune*, Fri., Jan. 26, 1962, E3.

<sup>48</sup> Walt Taylor, "Schwarz Foes Attacking on Grand Scale", *Daily Review* (Hayward), Thu., Jan. 25, 1962, 1.

<sup>49</sup> Herb Caen, "Another World: Right Hotel, But the Wrong Guy", *Los Angeles Times*, Tue., Jan. 16, 1962, B5.

Montauk, leader of the Socialist Worker's Party, launched a vitriolic assault against the Crusade, calling it "ultra-right", "anti-labor", attacking its meddling in the internal affairs of British Guiana. He also made a series of unsubstantiated charges, claiming that Schwarz and his wife made about \$50,000 annually through the Crusade, that Philbrick was a former McCarthy protégé and that the Crusade was actively supported by anti-Semitic fundamentalist Gerald K. Smith. Five days before the school began, Charles A. Russell, secretary of the event's central committee, quit, criticizing Schwarz, whose methods he said "turn citizen against citizen and could pose a great threat to our Democracy as does Communism". To explain his change of mind, Russell underlined that the schools' "implied attack on our liberal legislation such as care for the aged, unemployment insurances, civil rights, leaves me no choice as an American except to dissociate myself in every way possible"<sup>50</sup>. Wishing to cool down controversy, Schwarz ordered films and literature from Harding College and the NEP to be removed from the list of material recommended by the Crusade<sup>51</sup>.

On the eve of the school's opening, Mosk was re-nominated as Democratic candidate for Attorney General. In his acceptance speech, he returned to the Crusade once more ("I don't think we need any Australian to come over and tell us how to better Americans"). While he refrained from criticizing the officials who supported either the school or the "Anticommunism Week", he reiterated his view that the school was moneymaking scam. The *Fresno Bee's* editorial line echoed this comment by questioning the Crusade's educational nature in light of the large sums earned in previous schools and called for an examination of its tax-exempt status<sup>52</sup>. Two days later, Mosk challenged the school's organizers "to produce evidence that their so-called school is qualified under the laws of any city or county or that any of its alleged instructors have teaching credentials issued by the State of California"<sup>53</sup>.

Meanwhile, Minnesota Senator Hubert Humphrey, visiting the Bay Area, weighed in with a statement ridiculing this "strange collection of self-appointed impassioned anti-Communists" who "shout in defiance of Communists and all their kin. Yet, not a single

<sup>50</sup> An., "Anti-Red School Backer Quits, Raps Schwarz", *The Fresno Bee*, Wed., Jan. 24, 1962, 8-A.

<sup>51</sup> Urban Whitaker, "The Right-Wing Goes to School", *The Liberal Democrat*, Mar. 1962, 10-11.

<sup>52</sup> AP Correspondent, "Democratic Council OKs 7 Candidates", *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Jan. 28, D1.; Editorial, "Do Schwarz's Projects Merit Tax Exemptions?", *The Fresno Bee*, Mon. Jan. 29, 1962, 8.

<sup>53</sup> An., "Mosk Challenged On Schwarz Stand: School Aide Asks Proof Of Charges", *Oakland Tribune*, Tue., Jan. 30, 1962, E13.

Communist trembles for fear of their attacks”<sup>54</sup>. Three days after the school began, a full-page advertisement appeared in newspapers, paid by the “Citizen’s Committee to Protest the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade”. Signed by hundreds of names displayed in small print, the document condemned the Crusade for emulating the methods of Joseph McCarthy and the John Birch Society, and affirmed that the survival of civilization depended on “sane” and “rational” solutions. Meanwhile, as the school was underway, Stanford University organized on short notice a conference where liberal intellectuals, politicians and churchmen discussed how to defend democracy against the threat of the “Ultra-Right”. During the school, Judd defended the Crusade against the criticism from Humphrey: “The crusade is a good thing. Don’t let anyone panic you out of it”<sup>55</sup>. Schwarz also replied to Hubert Humphrey’s comment that the Reds could only consider the Crusade as a lightweight: “How does he know? Is he psychic? (...) I’d hate to think that he has such close contacts that he is right in the heart of their – and I wouldn’t suggest it for a minute, you see”<sup>56</sup>. Schwarz said he welcomed any investigation of the Crusade’s books, while challenging Mosk to a public debate<sup>57</sup>.

The San Francisco school fell short of its organizers’ objectives, though it was still successful. Only 300 people showed up at the opening session, but the number increased to about a thousand for most sessions, with a peak of 2,100 during the evening sessions, televised on local stations through a sponsorship by Frawley<sup>58</sup>. Nonetheless, not once were the Oakland Auditorium’s 5,000 seats were all filled. Even the “Youth Night” event could not draw more than half the auditorium’s capacity audience. Though reduced attendance could only have been connected to the controversies of the previous weeks, some people an *Oakland Tribune* reporter randomly spoke to claimed having been attracted precisely by the air of scandal. When the week was over, about 13,600 people had attended at least one school session<sup>59</sup>. The “Design for Victory” Banquet that closed the event netted about \$30,000. One year before, these numbers would have been

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<sup>54</sup> AP Correspondent, “Congressman Defends Schwarz As Bay Anti-Red Crusade Opens”, *The Fresno Bee*, Tue., Jan. 30, 1962, 3-A.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> An., “Organizations: Crusader Schwarz”, *loc. cit.*, 19.

<sup>57</sup> AP Correspondent, “Dr. Schwarz Challenges Mosk To ‘Prove Anti Red School Is Fake’”, *The Fresno Bee*, Wed., Jan. 31, 1962, 7-A.

<sup>58</sup> John L. Shover, “The Christian Anti-Communism Crusade in San Francisco”, *loc. cit.*, *JLSM*, 1 portfolio, 4.

<sup>59</sup> An., “Dr. Schwarz School in San Mateo”, *San Francisco Examiner*, Tue., Sept. 19, 1962, 11.

considered nothing short of miraculous by Crusade officials, but this time they were probably disappointing.

On Tuesday February 2, homemade bombs damaged two residences on the San Fernando Valley. The two targeted persons were the Rev. John G. Simmons from the Lutheran Church of North Hollywood and the Rev. Brooks R. Walker, pastor of the Emerson Unitarian Church of Canoga Park. The bombs, said the *Los Angeles Times* headline, projected “jagged metal chunks” which “gouged holes in the exterior of their houses”, shattering windows and striking a baby’s crib, but did not injure both churchmen or their families, which included five kids<sup>60</sup>. Simmons and Walker were liberal pastors that have been for some time vocal opponents of the right-wing; Walker later wrote a book, *The Christian Fright Peddlers*, which contained a chapter criticizing Schwarz. Both had received threats and anonymous phone calls Simmons had caused a stir within his church (some members tried to have him dismissed) when he publicly opposed *Operation Abolition* at a moment when it was shown throughout the Los Angeles suburbs. Incidentally, the bombings occurred while both men were appearing together in a panel discussion entitled “The Extreme Right-Wing Threat to Democracy” in a Beverly Hills synagogue. The case was made even bigger by the fact that a third person participating in the panel that night was television and film actress Marsha Hunt, a long-time proponent of liberal causes who had been blacklisted in the 1950’s. Member of the “American Association for the United Nations” (AAUN), Hunt told one journalist that her home escaped the bombings “because the terrorists were unable to find out” where she lived. This was plausible, since the police revealed that the bombs were identical to one that failed to explode two months before at the Los Angeles headquarters of the AAUN<sup>61</sup>.

The police investigation never found the bombers, but right-wing groups were quickly put on the defensive. Voicing the opinion of many in the liberal press, Drew Pearson wrote this was perhaps only the beginning of a rash of right-wing violence spreading nationwide, “for when people in high places endorse hate gatherings such as Southern California and Texas have witnessed in recent months, it’s impossible to predict what

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<sup>60</sup> An., “Actress Marsha Hunt Guarded: Terror Bombs, Two Ministers’ Homes Blasted, Families Safe”, *Los Angeles Times*, Sat., Feb. 2, 1.

<sup>61</sup> Bill Becker, “Homes of Critics of Right Bombed”, *New York Times*, Sun., Fe. 3, 1962, 36.

extremists will do in their wake”<sup>62</sup>. The John Birch Society condemned the bombings. Dentist William Brashears, speaking on behalf of Project Alert, offered \$5,000 for arrest and conviction of “those who would do this horrible thing”<sup>63</sup>. “I don’t know what the significance is (...), but we are against it with every breath of our body – whoever did it”, Schwarz said<sup>64</sup>.

The bombings happened to have taken place on the fourth day of the San Francisco school, a fact that made for bad press. Furthermore, the media revealed that while his house was bombed, the Rev. Simmons was speaking against Schwarz and Billy James Hargis, whom he said were a disgrace to the Protestant clergy. Drew Pearson reported that after the bombing, Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty contacted Simmons, asking what he could do for him. “You can take back that statement you made approving Dr. Fred Schwartz and his Christian anti-Communist Crusade. (...) You and 44 other California mayors can take back the blessing you gave this hate movement”. Simmons pressed on: “When hate-rallies like this sow seeds of bitterness in the community, you can’t blame some people for throwing bombs”. “The Birchers, the Schwarzers and their bomb throwing dupes are a far greater menace to this nation than all the evils they profess to oppose”, one *Fresno Bee* reader wrote<sup>65</sup>. The event caught Schwarz off guard. He condemned the bombings and attempted to distance the Crusade from these actions. “They said this is the result of the anti-Communism school, but the people who attend our schools are the finest people you can find everywhere”. He then implied that this was perhaps be a Red plot to discredit anticommunist activists: “Maybe they (the Communists) have found a new approach”<sup>66</sup>.

If Schwarz and his collaborators ever expected that the storm would be gone away in about ten days, just in time for the opening of the next school of anticommunism, the “Puget Sound School”, at Seattle’s Hotel Olympic from February 12-16, 1962, their hopes were trashed. The Crusade had incrementally built a substantial pool of collaborators in the State of Washington since in the early 1950’s. Nonetheless, the controversies of the previous weeks had crippled the efforts of the Crusade’s advance

<sup>62</sup> Drew Pearson, “LA Bombings May Be Only a Beginning”, *The Free-Lance Star*, Mon., Feb. 12, 1962, 6.

<sup>63</sup> An., “Radio Station, Actors’ Home Guarded After Bomb Threat”, *Los Angeles Times*, Wed., Feb. 6, 1962, A1.

<sup>64</sup> UPI Correspondent, “Dr. Schwarz Gives Views on Bombings”, *Humboldt Standard*, Mon., Feb. 5, 1962, 2.

<sup>65</sup> Bob Oakes, “Far Greater Menace”, *Fresno Bee*, Wed., Feb. 7, 1962, 8.

<sup>66</sup> UPI Correspondent, “Dr. Schwarz Gives Views on Bombings”, *loc. cit.*, 2.



team to get “Anticommunism Week” proclamations from the mayors of Western Washington. After Mayor Gordon Clinton, of Seattle, refused to sign the proclamation, the only important name the Crusade was able to interest was Mayor Ben Hanson of Tacoma, who ended up losing his bid for re-nomination (running a distant third) two days after the school began. A few days before the opening of the school, Schwarz was scheduled for a public debate broadcasted on radio with CPUSA leader Gus Hall on the theme: “Whether Communism Is The Enemy of True Peace”. The debate, however, was cancelled on short notice and the broadcasting company gave no reason<sup>67</sup>.

The King County Labor Council adopted a resolution saying “this council is anti-communist 365 days out of the year and we feel the community does not need the direction of Dr. Schwarz”. The *Washington Teamster*, press organ of Seattle’s International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs and Warehousemen, and Helpers, warned about the effects of the school, the “students” of which would afterwards “go out into the world carrying with them tape-recordings, pamphlets and fear. Those who had little faith in the democratic processes when they started the course will have even less faith when they finish”<sup>68</sup>. The labor organizations, much more powerful in Washington State than in Sunbelt States, took offence at the fact that one of the school’s corporate sponsors was Boeing Airplane Co., which had been for years leading anti-union, “right-to-work” campaigns in several states (Boeing also sent William Talbott, one of its officials, to speak during the sessions). Twenty-one leading Protestant and Jewish clergymen condemned the school by raising the “brown shirt” alarm:

“It is not enough to be anti-Communist. Hitler was anti-Communist; so was Mussolini. Each rose to power under the guise of saving his land from the threat of Communism. Each made the same appeal to hysteria and hatred. (...) It is time for patriotic Americans to recognize the threatening likeness between certain anti-Communist movements now in vogue and events which transpired in Germany and Italy incidental to the rise of the Nazi and Fascist regimes”<sup>69</sup>.

As this was not enough, local incidents took place in the context of the school furthering the stigma of divisiveness that the Crusade was beginning to acquire. The press

<sup>67</sup> AP Correspondent, “Radio Debate Cancelled”, *Spokane Daily Chronicle*, Thu., Feb. 8, 1962, 6.

<sup>68</sup> Terry Pettus, “Schwarz Crusade has a rough time at Seattle”, *National Guardian*, Mar. 5, 1962, 5.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.* 5.; AP Correspondent, “Clergy Protest: School is Criticized as Freedom Threat”, *Spokane Daily Chronicle*, Mon. Feb. 12, 1962, 6.

reported that one of the pastors who signed the joint statement opposing the school received a threatening phone call. Then, a day after the school began, a man was arrested for painting “Members of the commie line” on a wall of downtown Plymouth Congregational Church. This put an end to a two-week rash of vandalism that had affected several of Seattle’s churches associated with the National Council of Churches<sup>70</sup>.

All this affected attendance at the school in spite of all the grassroots efforts from about 1,000 people helping the organization. The 1,500 seats of the Hotel Olympic’s grand ballroom were never filled at capacity and the average session crowd was about 500. On the school’s second day, the youth event, which was held in cooperation with the local Youth For Christ, drew a disappointing 1,200 young people, who came to hear Schwarz and George Murphy at Seattle’s Civic Ice Arena. Murphy decried the tendency to portray anticommunist militants as “extreme rightists or John Birchers (...). I’ve never met Welch nor read his Bluebook. But I can say it never would be necessary to have a John Birch Society if we had slowed the Communists down years ago”. He also spoke against those who criticized the show at the Hollywood Bowl as “frogs – those which make a lot of noise but are really small in number”<sup>71</sup>. The school’s closing “Design for Victory” banquet allowed the Crusade to raise about \$10,000, but this was probably just about enough to cover the expenses of the event. After one year of lucrative schools, the Crusade had now twice barely managed to escape financial loss (St. Petersburg and Seattle), which meant that it was probably back to where it was in late 1960 in terms of school financial profitability.

In the weeks that followed, a gaffe came close to worsening the situation for the Crusade. In late February, the Crusade held a small school in Honolulu, Hawaii, the first and only one held outside the American mainland. This school had a small scale: it took place at the Princess Kaiulani Meeting House, which had only a capacity of a few hundred seats. This time, there was no noticeable opposition came from Hawaiian churches, labor or political organizations, nor hostile coverage from the local press coverage. But on the school’s opening day, Dr. Tirso Del Junco delivered his usual testimony about Castro, but then launched an unexpected attack on the State Department.

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<sup>70</sup> Terry Pettus, “Schwarz Crusade has a rough time at Seattle”, *loc. cit.*, 5.

<sup>71</sup> Don Duncan, “Murphy of Films Speaks At Schwarz Anti-Red Rally”, *The Seattle Times*, Wed., Feb. 14, 1962, 10.

Drawing on bogus information from a Senate Internal Security Subcommittee report, Del Junco singled out one of the Department's officials named William Wieland, who was in charge of the Department's Office of Caribbean Affairs when Castro took over Cuba. Voicing a theory in vogue in anti-Castrist circles, Del Junco accused Wieland of being the mastermind of American diplomacy's friendly stance towards Castro before Cuba fell, due to the diplomat's recommendation that an arms embargo be imposed on Batista's regime. However, Del Junco also said that Wieland's identity was false, that he was born in Cuba and his real name was "Arturo Montenegro". The following day, the *Honolulu Advertiser* asked the United Press International for clarifications on the case. The wire service informed the newspaper that Wieland was actually born in New York, though he had used the pseudonym of Arturo Montenegro once during his career as reporter in Cuba before he joined the State Department in 1941. Confronted with the facts by reporter, Del Junco stood by his version, affirming without evidence that "many people in Cuba knew him by the name 'Arturo Montenegro.' Whether his name was originally Wieland and was changed to Montenegro is a detail and I think immaterial"<sup>72</sup>. Del Junco's misperception could have been an embarrassment to the Crusade, but the story remained in Hawaii and was rapidly forgotten.

In April, 1962, Schwarz decided to take some rest in Australia for the first time in almost a year and a half. In a rare Australian interview, he let loose his irritation to Peter Coleman from the *Sydney Bulletin*: "I'm sick of being tied with crazy American right-wing groups (...) I get a very raw deal from the American press. They write their articles -atmospheric pieces about mass 'hysteria' - before they send their reporters out to hear me speak and then they just quote one or two words to make it sound real"<sup>73</sup>.

But the national dispute over the "Radical Right" would not go away. While the school in Seattle was under way, William F. Buckley excommunicated Robert Welch from "responsible" conservatism in a *National Review* editorial. Welch, Buckley wrote, is "damaging the cause of anti-Communism" because "he persists in distorting reality and in refusing to make the crucial moral distinction (...) between, 1) an active *pro-*

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<sup>72</sup> An., "Anti-Red School: Writer Accused of Aiding Castro", *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, Tue., Feb. 27, 1962, 17.; UPI, "UPI Background On Wieland Case", *Honolulu Advertiser*, Wed., Feb. 28, 1962, A9.

<sup>73</sup> Peter Coleman, "Crusader Fred Schwarz", *loc. cit.*, 18.

*Communist*, and 2) an *ineffectually anti-Communist liberal*”<sup>74</sup>. Buckley’s editorial came after other important figures of the right (Russell Kirk, Walter Judd, Fulton Lewis had voiced similar criticism. Thomas Dodd, more criticized than ever by his fellow liberals for his collaboration with the Crusade, said in a speech that responsible anticommunists should distance themselves from “right-wing extremism”, a phenomenon which he said was “national in scope”, and was “potentially dangerous”, though, as a solution, he also called for liberals to provide “leadership and guidance for the grassroots’ anti-Communism movement”<sup>75</sup>. Shortly after, Richard Nixon, whose gubernatorial campaign was increasingly undermined by the extremist issue, took sides by calling Welch dictatorial, anti-Republican and asking conservatives to leave the JBS, because Welch would not<sup>76</sup>. Welch being derided by conservative leaders only put additional pressure on Schwarz to do the same. However, this would have alienated some of his most dedicated supporters.

Throughout late winter and spring 1962, the Crusade continued to be snagged by controversy. Stanley Mosk, who had been challenged by Schwarz to prove his point that the Crusade was not a “promotion”, delivered a reply in the form of a primetime televised broadcast on KTVU/Channel 2. He restated that Crusade schools were not licensed under any state educational law and offered made a long list of the amounts netted by the organization during its school in Los Angeles, Phoenix, Oakland, in order to qualify the Crusade as “patriotism for profit”. He then carefully attacked the Crusade’s message, using selected generalities that blurred the distinction between declarations at anticommunism schools and those by other right-wing spokesmen<sup>77</sup>. Schwarz requested through an attorney to see Mosk’s sources, which ended up being all second-hand reports on the right-wing containing unreliable evidence (and nothing on the Crusade itself). This compelled Mosk to say privately, some weeks later, that he would consider retraction should any statement of his be proven wrong. Negotiations between him and the Crusade

<sup>74</sup> William F. Buckley, “The Question of Robert Welch”, *National Review*, Feb. 13, 1962, 82-87.

<sup>75</sup> Thomas Dodd, “Statement Re: Right-Wing Extremism and the Liberal Responsibility”, *Thomas J. Dodd Papers*, Archives & Special Collections, Thomas J. Dodd Research Center, University of Connecticut, Storrs (hereafter *TJDP*), Box 194, F. “Statement: Right Wing Extremism and the Liberal Responsibility”, 1962, Feb 18, and another speech.

<sup>76</sup> AP Correspondent, “Nixon Blasts Birch Society”, *The Free-Lance Star*, Fri., Mar. 2, 1962, 8.

<sup>77</sup> “It is patriotic to demand that the Chief Justice of the United States being impeached? Is it patriotic to sow dissension by insisting that some of the very highest leaders of the United States are disloyal?” Stanley Mosk, “Broadcast by California Attorney General Stanley Mosk, February 15, 1962, Station KTVU, Oakland, California”, *William F. Buckley Papers*, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library (hereafter *WFBP*), Box 22, F. “Schwarz, Fred (1962)”.

were still ongoing three years later, by which time Schwarz's time limit for legal action expired and Mosk ended all discussion<sup>78</sup>.

Two weeks after Mosk's presentation, CBS broadcasted a telecast called "Thunder on the Right", which focused on thriving "right-wing extremism" across the nation. The one-hour report dedicated ten minutes to the Crusade. The report mixed footage taken at an anticommunism school with extract showing rifle-toting Minutemen searching for Reds boats on the Mississippi river in Missouri. Another passage showed a JBS meeting where discussions mentioned the campaign to impeach Earl Warren and the boycott of Christmas ornaments made by atheists. Other parts showed speeches or interviews with Gen. Walker and Texas oilman H.L. Hunt, who declared Calvin Coolidge to be the best successful U.S. president ever. Robert Welch's interview consisted in Welch refusing to be interviewed<sup>79</sup>. The report put the Crusade solidly inside the lunatic fringe. The material on the Crusade came from hours of films a CBS team had recorded with Schwarz's approval during the Crusade school in St. Petersburg in late 1961. The crusader protested that the footage had been irresponsibly spliced into the documentary, thus producing "the most effective "forgery by film" I have ever seen". He requested to CBS a copy of the documentary, in order to "use it at our anti-Communism schools to illustrate great technical proficiency in the service of dishonesty"<sup>80</sup>. He did not get it.

In March, the ACLU released to its affiliates an internal report on "the activities of ultra-right groups". The Union, which had been amassing data on the Crusade for a year, considered it the vanguard of a "reviving McCarthyism" in the "far West and the Southwest", one which "creates an atmosphere hostile to the exercise of civil liberties" through "attacks on teachers, textbooks, libraries, public officials and the judiciary". The Crusade schools, the report read, created "an emotional setting" which "leaves the local community ripe for attack on "subversives" after Dr. Schwarz's school departs (...)". The Union recommended the establishing of a "clearing house" in order to gather data on the

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<sup>78</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 418-419.

<sup>79</sup> Harriet Van Horne, "T.V. Review: Voices of Moderation Deserved More Time", *The Albuquerque Tribune*, . Fri., 23, 1962, A-11.; Cynthia Lowry, "TV Program On Rightist Called Bland", *Brainerd Daily Dispatch*, Fri., Feb. 23, 1962, 5.

<sup>80</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 284-292.

right and suggested set up a “task force” to “visit communities under attack and to provide guidance and help”<sup>81</sup>.

The ACLU’s suggestion was echoed by an initiative taken at the same time by the United Auto Workers (UAW). In early 1962, Group Research Inc., an investigative organization headquartered in Washington, was established by the UAW. Led by Wesley McCuen, Group Research Inc. tracked down right-wing groups, gathered information (membership, backers, activities) and published monthly reports. For the next three years, Group Research, Don Critchlow writes, “kept the extreme Right in the news by releasing press releases and studies showing the growing strength of the Far Right”<sup>82</sup>. From 1962 on, the Crusade saw most of its activities in the U.S. monitored by this new watchdog group, which sent observers to its meetings, collected press clippings and scrutinized its tax returns. The second full report Group Research published, in May 1962, focused entirely on the CACC.

Schwarz’s associates began feeling the heat as well. While Senator Thomas Dodd’s voting record for the years 1960 and 1961 received high marks on the scorecards of the progressive group Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), the senator was gradually ostracized for his association with anticommunist groups and, more particularly, the Crusade. “As a favorite of the right-wing anti-Communist movement” journalist Robert Novak wrote, “Mr. Dodd is seen by many liberals as a prime enemy”<sup>83</sup>. In February 1962, invited to NBC’s *Meet the Press*, Dodd was asked to justify before a panel of journalists his participation in anticommunist events (“I am happy to receive the invitations from many conservative groups. They are good Americans, they are good citizens”), and defended his call for victory over communism at the Hollywood Bowl rally<sup>84</sup>.

Walter Judd received regular letters from people who disapproved of his participation in Crusade activities. Judd did not abandon Schwarz, but the number of such letters he received compelled his staffers to use generic answer: “I approve completely of Dr.

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<sup>81</sup> Alan Reitman to ACLU Board of Directors, Mar. 21, 1962, “Report on Ultra-Right Organizations”, *ACLUR*, MC001, 1917-, Box 709, Folder 3.

<sup>82</sup> Don Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism*, *op. cit.*, 103.

<sup>83</sup> Robert D. Novak, “What Is a “Liberal”?”, *loc. cit.*, 8.

<sup>84</sup> He later denied rumors whereby the White House had recently compelled him not to address a YAF meeting. *Meet the Press*, (Transcript), Recorded Feb. 25, 1962, Guest: Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Produced by Lawrence E. Spivak, National Broadcasting Corporation.

Schwarz' work as the most effective (...) teacher that we have in America today of the essentials of the Communist movement, the magnitude and nature of its threat, and the methods it consistently uses and which we must understand if we are not to be subverted (...)”<sup>85</sup>. Philbrick received similar letters questioning his association with the Crusade. “The fact is”, he replied to one of these messages, “since I have been working with Dr. Fred Schwarz (...), the demand for both my lectures and book, “I Led 3 Lives”, have increased tremendously. If I were to discontinue lecturing for groups which have been smeared by the communists, then I would be forced to cancel 95% of my lecture dates”<sup>86</sup>.

This pressure was also felt by Schwarz's financial backers as well. In mid-March, the Schick sales management received a letter protesting Schick's sponsoring of the Crusade. C. Irving Dwork, president of Franlee Distributors, a furnisher of toiletry based in New York, but also vice chairman of the American Jewish Congress, said he would not contribute to “support such a vicious gospel through the profits on my sales”. Dwork, one *New York Times* journalist wrote, “then began removing Schick razors and blades from the shelves of the 400 supermarkets that Franlee services within fifty miles of New York”. Dwork, along with Irving Feldman, president of the Zelart Drug Company (another toiletry furnisher) proceeded to organize opposition to Schwarz's visit the Toiletry Merchandiser' Association in Miami Beach in April. Schwarz's invitation had been initially voted by the Association in October 1961, undoubtedly the result of Patrick Frawley's ascendancy in the toiletry business through Schick. Dwork sent letters to all members of the Association and exhibitors at the convention, asking them to join him in opposing Schwarz and his “dose of political propaganda”.

The move was unsuccessful, but was enough already to create commotion at Schick-Eversharp. Schick's President Thomas J. Welsh, an Eversharp executive before Frawley took over the business in 1958 and who had always opposed Frawley's ventures in politics, organized a meeting of Schick's board of directors and succeeded, over Frawley's head, of obtaining a resolution stating that Schick had done its part for the “patriotic effort”, and that the company would no longer buy television time for Dr. Schwarz. “We still think very highly of Dr. Schwarz”, the statement read, “but our plans

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<sup>85</sup> Walter H. Judd to Hildegard Hof, Apr. 3, 1962, *WHJP*, Box 226, F. 4.

<sup>86</sup> Herbert Philbrick to A.F. Brux, Feb. 26, 1962, Box 4, “General Correspondence” Series, F. 7.

do not call for sponsoring any such thing in the future". The resolution had the desired effect and Dwork's Franlee Distributors subsequently restored Schick's razors and blades as part of its merchandise<sup>87</sup>. This episode not only disclosed a high level of hostility for the Crusade among prominent members of New York's Jewish community, but also explains how Frawley, Schwarz's most proactive business supporter was forced to eschew his support for an indefinite period.

In late May, during the annual meeting of stockholders and management of Technicolor, Inc., 250 stockholders, one *Times* journalist wrote, "fired a steady barrage of questions at Patrick J. Frawley". The grilling resulted mostly from the 14 percent-drop in the value of Technicolor stock since Frawley had taken over the company a year before, but some questions also concerned right-wing politics and the appointment of George Murphy as vice-president. After the meeting, the reporter continued, "one stockholder cornered George Murphy, (...) and asked him about reports that Mr. Frawley was a member of the John Birch Society"<sup>88</sup>.

The events surrounding the Omaha school of anticommunism, held on May 7- 11, 1962, demonstrate well the extent to which the Crusade was on the defensive. In the wake of the triumphs at the Los Angeles Sports Arena and the Hollywood Bowl, Schwarz had arrived in Omaha for the first time in November 1961 for a rally designed to test the ground for a potential anticommunism school. This gathering was primarily the initiative of local businessman and future Republican Mayor of Omaha, A.V. Sorensen, who wished it to be a "means of acquainting a "cross-section" of Omaha with Dr. Schwarz"<sup>89</sup>. With the Crusade still carrying the momentum it had picked up on the West Coast, the event consisted of a fundraising luncheon with Omaha's most prominent citizens, followed by a free meeting held at the city's Music Hall. For days before Schwarz's visit, Nebraska's largest newspaper, the *Omaha World-Herald*, owned by publisher Henry Doorly, known for his bitterly anti-New Deal and pro-Republican positions, puffed the rally with front-page stories. The event's preparation was under the hands of a committee

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<sup>87</sup> McCandlish Phillips, "Trade Group's Bid to Anti-Red Sets Off a Membership Dispute", *New York Times*, Thu., Mar. 29, 1962, 2.

<sup>88</sup> John J. Abele, "Technicolor Meeting Is Stormy; Projector's Promotion Criticized", *Ibid.*, Wed., May 22, 1962, 49.

<sup>89</sup> An., "Commie Foe Brings His Crusade to City", *Omaha World-Herald*, Fri., Nov. 17, 1961, 1.



of Republican women led by Mrs. Truman Woods, who later directed the local Goldwater movement<sup>90</sup>.

Because of a snow storm, Schwarz's flight was delayed, but happen stance was such that Ronald Reagan was not far away, since he was on a Midwestern promotional tour for General Electric. Reagan agreed on short notice to host the luncheon and share his wit and wisdom in the service of America. Reagan held the fort, before the crusader arrived to address an audience which included James Dworak and Don Lash, respectively mayors of Omaha and Council Bluff, and who had jointly proclaimed the day as "Anti-Communist Day". "I take the pride", Schwarz once wrote, "in recounting that the man (...) who enacted programs that led to the downfall of Soviet Communism (...) once served as a substitute speaker for me"<sup>91</sup>. Later, a crowd filled in 15 minutes the Music Hall's 2,000 seats, forcing city officials to open the doors of the nearby local Assembly Hall to the crowd (900 seats), but with thousands still waiting outside, the manager of the City Auditorium agreed to open the arena, the 3,000 seats of which were quickly filled. Schwarz entered the arena to "a standing ovation which lasted nearly a minute" and thereupon delivered from the auditorium his lecture before three joint crowds (7,000 people at all) who heard him through monitors<sup>92</sup>. Women volunteers passed envelopes for contributions, allowing the Crusade to net \$6,000 in a few hours. The committee, one observer wrote, "ran out of envelopes and Schwarz hastened back to the lectern to advise donors to toss their money into canisters and then write their names and addresses on any available slip of paper"<sup>93</sup>. The crusader described the whole thing as "amazing and unique in my experience for a first visit to any city". Schwarz decided overnight to bring the Crusade to Omaha for an anticommunism school six months later, in May 1962. "I do not normally commit myself to a school on the spur of the moment, he told one journalist. "But the turnout at the meeting was so overwhelming, so unprecedented, that I will break precedent myself"<sup>94</sup>.

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<sup>90</sup> Robert T. Reilly, "Schwarz Was Here", *loc. cit.*, 820.

<sup>91</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Ronald Reagan", *loc. cit.*, 1.

<sup>92</sup> Robert T. Reilly, "Schwarz Was Here", *loc. cit.*, 821.; An., " 'Rally Crowd Fantastic' ", *Omaha World-Herald*, Fri., Nov. 17, 1961, 1, 4.

<sup>93</sup> Robert T. Reilly, "Schwarz Was Here", *loc. cit.*, 822.

<sup>94</sup> An., "7,000 Hear Dr. Schwarz Tell of Peril", *Omaha World-Herald*, Fri., Nov. 17, 1.

Six months later, the school took place as planned. The local organization of the event was solid, more so than in Seattle three months before. More than 22 mayors of Nebraska and Iowa proclaimed the “Anti-Communist Week” and this time the Crusade made sure that none of them would retract their statement. Before the school began, \$10,000 had already been purchased in ticket sales. Though the City Auditorium was only filled to capacity during the free sessions, most sessions were at least well-attended. Doorly’s *Omaha World-Herald* openly promoted the school, earning praise from Schwarz himself, who compared this treatment with the national press’ “parroting the dishonest statements of our enemies, concentrating on condemnation by label (...)”<sup>95</sup>. The school ended up earning about \$20,000. A few hundred people showed up at most audiences, with a peak of about 1,200 for some sessions<sup>96</sup>.

The school’s free sessions did not draw the same overflow crowd that came to see Schwarz six months before. Even after months of preparation, the Crusade netted in a week only three times the amount raised in a single night during the November 1961 rally. This was the result of a general climate that was cooler to the Crusade than before. While in the previous November Richard W. Nisley and Robert Danze, respectively state AFL-CIO President and Omaha Central Labor Union president, had endorsed Schwarz’s visit, no such labor support was offered the school. Many of Omaha area’s Protestant and Catholic churchmen were approached to endorse the school, but most declined<sup>97</sup>. While he had endorsed Schwarz’s rally six months before, this time, Omaha’s Mayor Dworak, after days of dithering, finally issued a statement in which he affirmed refusing to endorse the school<sup>98</sup>.

Local opposition now seemed a permanent feature of the schools, taking this time the form of an organization called “Omahans for Common Sense”, founded in the wake of Schwarz’s first coming in Omaha. The group was organized primarily by intellectuals and churchmen, particularly Catholic priests. Schwarz acknowledged this “unusual

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<sup>95</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Midwest School of Anti-Communism”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jun. 1962, 3.

<sup>96</sup> Murray Kempton, “The Dinkum Oil”, *The Spectator*, Jul. 6, 1962, 7. This article was originally published in the *New York Post*.

<sup>97</sup> Kenneth Woodward, “What Qualifications for a Crusader?”, *loc. cit.*, 16.

<sup>98</sup> Elton L. Berck to Wesley McCune, May 28, 1962, *GRC*, Box 363, F. 435, “CACC Correspondence”. Dworak invoked the fact that the “Christian” aspect of the Crusade and the school, “in the light of our Jewish citizenry”, suggested that opposition to communism was coming from Christian believers only. The *Omaha World-Herald* agreed with Dworak on this point, in spite of its support to the school: “We think Dr. Schwarz made a mistake in choosing the name of his organization. But if so, it was his mistake, not that of the Omaha sponsors of the Midwest school”. Editorial, “The Midwest School”, *Omaha World-Herald*, Sat., May 5, 1962, 6.

feature” in his newsletter: “This is the first time our schools have experienced organized Catholic opposition as far as I know”<sup>99</sup>. The groups held a meeting in February, gathering a local Jesuit philosopher, a history teacher and a rabbi. “The Schwarz book”, one reporter noted, “was labelled a work of careless scholarship, with a total lack of knowledge of the philosophical basis of communism or the historical facts of its foundation”<sup>100</sup>. Despite their small number, “Omahans for Common Sense” coordinated an effective opposition to the Crusade and compelled the *Omaha World-Herald* to cover their releases and activities. In April, Schwarz proposed a public debate on the school to one of the group’s representatives. The offer was rejected with a statement that said the Australian was not part of the community his activities were dividing. “We have found”, the statement added, “[Schwarz’s] published views to be historically distorted, philosophically incompetent, politically irresponsible, religiously divisive and productive only of fear, distrust and suspicious”<sup>101</sup>. In his syndicated column, reproduced in the *Omaha World-Herald*, Crusade supporter Morrie Ryskind wrote to Omahans that “oratorical fireworks in your fair city have reached even to California, interfering no end with my customary afternoon siesta”. Ryskind defended Schwarz against charges of anti-Semitism and recommended people to give the school its chance. “And if it turns out these are hopheads, driven mad by their own shadows, I promise to join the Common Sensers in exposing them”<sup>102</sup>.

### 15.3 The Reuther Memorandum

On December 19, 1961, U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy received from Victor Reuther a memorandum outlining a counter-attack against the right-wing. “We are hopeful that this memorandum”, Reuther stated, “may have some value to you in focusing attention upon possible Administration policies and programs to combat the radical right”<sup>103</sup>. The 23-page “The Radical Right in America Today”, offered a battle plan: it outlined the enemy’s forces, gauged the present situation and made suggestions to

<sup>99</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Midwest School of Anti-Communism”, *loc. cit.*, 3.

<sup>100</sup> Robert T. Reilly, “Schwarz Was Here”, *loc. cit.*, 822.

<sup>101</sup> An., “Dr. Schwarz Debate is Out”, *Omaha World-Herald*, Mon., Apr. 16, 1962, 18.

<sup>102</sup> Morrie Ryskind, “Ryskind Asks: Give Schwarz School Its Chance and Then Form Opinion”, Column Republished in *CACC Newsletter*, Jun. 1962, 4.

<sup>103</sup> Victor Reuther to Robert F. Kennedy, Dec. 19, Joseph L. Rauh Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. (hereafter *JLRP*), Box 41, F. “Reuther, Walter P. – Personal: 1949, 1954-1965, 1970”.

take the offense. “The Radical Right”, the report said, “includes an unknown number of millions of Americans of viewpoints bounded on the left of Senator Goldwater and on the right by Robert Welch”. Even if only a minority among them were active militants, the report stated, right-wing groups which “have sprung up like weeds in the last few years” and were “growing in strength and there is no reason to expect a turning of the tide”. Reuther suggested that the JBS was perhaps the best known, but “others are equally strong and perhaps more influential. Take a look at Schwarz’ Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, for example. In the Anti-Communist School he ran in St. Louis earlier this year he was backed by the St. Louis Globe Democrat and was sponsored by the Mayor and Chief of Police (...)”. Schwarz’s rallies in Los Angeles were “even more disturbing than his St. Louis and other schools” because of the endorsement of popular movie stars and the sponsorship of major corporations.

The report listed other groups the activities of which were deemed preoccupying such as Benson’s NEP or H.L Hunt’s Life Line Foundation. These groups, the report said, might pose a problem for the Republican Party, because they divert money and resources that would otherwise be channeled to the GOP, but the danger “is far worse for the Nation and the Democratic Party -- for it threatens the President’s program at home and abroad”. The report thus called for “deliberate Administration policies and programs to contain the Radical Right from further expansion and in the long run to reduce it to its historic role of the impotent lunatic fringe”. Five recommendations were outlined in this respect. First, root out any “Radical Right” influence in the armed forces, which present “an immediate and special problem requiring immediate and special measures”, a recommendation already made a few months before in the Fulbright Memorandum. Second, use the Attorney General’s list of subversive organizations and see whether some right-wing groups could be added to it alongside far left groups<sup>104</sup>. Two other recommendations were to take immediate steps to disband the Minutemen, which “represent a dangerous precedent in our democracy” and initiate a program to educate the public on domestic communism’s relative unimportance. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover,

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<sup>104</sup> Finding traces of subversive activity among far right groups, the report said, was feasible: the JBS’ secrecy; the announcement by Billy James Hargis that he would create a secret society; the Minutemen’s guerilla activities. “There would thus appear to be adequate grounds for holding a hearing (...) to determine whether they should be listed”.

the report said, “exaggerates the domestic Communist menace at every turn and thus contributes to the public’s frame of mind”.

Another recommendation was to directly attack the flow of money that funded right-wing groups. The best way was to target tax-exempt groups and find proper grounds for revocations. “Prompt revocation in a few cases might scare off a substantial part of the big money now flowing into these tax exempt organizations”. A complete audit of right-wing groups, the report read, should be made to find any violation of tax regulations<sup>105</sup>. The Reuther Memorandum remained secret for years. Part of its contents was leaked to the press in late 1963, but the full report was disclosed only in 1976. Bob Kennedy denied he ever read the document. In 1964 he stated that he and John F. Kennedy never considered the right-wing as anything more than an amusing “pain in the butt”<sup>106</sup>. The very actions of the Kennedy administration, nonetheless, suggest otherwise.

With the Reuther Memorandum began a difficult period for the Crusade with respect to domestic state agencies, especially the IRS, which had been monitoring the Crusade even before the memorandum. During the days that followed the Crusade school at the Los Angeles Sports Arena, letters began pouring into the Exempt Organizations Branch of the IRS in Washington about possible breaches of the exempt-status regulations from the part of the Crusade. “We have received”, an IRS staffer indicated in a memo, “several complaints recently from members of Congress and private individuals to the effect that the Crusade is engaged in “propaganda” activities”. Some of these inquiries came from Congressmen<sup>107</sup>. As John Andrews III writes in his detailed study on the political use of the IRS during the 1960’s: “Nowhere were the pressures from Congress on the IRS with respect to ideology more evident than in its investigation of Dr. Fred Schwarz’s Christian Anti-Communism Crusade”<sup>108</sup>.

In early 1962, the IRS launched in secret its “Ideological Organizations Project” (IOP), which singled out organizations it deemed justified a special tax audit. Until then,

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<sup>105</sup> “The Radical Right in America Today”, *Ibid*.

<sup>106</sup> John A. Andrews III, *Power to Destroy: The Political Uses of the IRS from Kennedy to Nixon*, Chicago, Ivan R. Dee, 2002, 22.

<sup>107</sup> Most of those inquiries remain undisclosed information, though the name of at least one Congressman who contacted the IRS in this regard is known (Democratic Senator from New Jersey Harrison A. Williams, who wrote to the IRS ten days after the school ended). Audit Division, National Office, to District Director of the Los Angeles District Office, Sept. 25, 1961; Chief, Exempt Organizations Branch, Tax Rulings Division T;R:EO:1-CCG, National Office, to District Director, Los Angeles, California, Feb. 2, 1962, *IRS-EOD*, Form 4506-A Request – Requested July 30, 2008..

<sup>108</sup> John A. Andrews III, *Power to Destroy, op. cit.*, 64.

the IRS had almost never conducted such large scale, time-consuming and difficult audits (which in fact rarely added more tax revenues). This caused considerable delay to the operation. As an internal IRS file on the IOP summarized: “These examinations require reorientation of the agent’s thinking and place him into areas fraught with interpretative difficulties. In undertaking such tax audits, agents must look into the various means used by these organizations to express (...) their philosophies”. Agents trained to undertake quantitative examinations had to initiate qualitative ones, involving “an analysis of books and pamphlets published by the organization, but it also means the monitoring of telecasts and broadcasts and the examination of hundreds and in some cases thousands of speeches”<sup>109</sup>. The first phase of the IOP, the audit of the political groups targeted, was only completed in May 1963.

IRS officials were unused to the degree of politicization of their agency (theoretically independent), which led them initially to target left-wing and right-wing organizations with a certain equality. The list of targeted groups the IRS initially submitted to Bob Kennedy thus included some of left-of-center ones, “drawn chiefly from the FBI files because none had received sufficient publicity to come to the attention of the IRS”, Andrews writes<sup>110</sup>. However, no irregularities were found among these organizations. More than 75 percent of the groups that ended up being audited were right-wing ones, including the American Council of Christian Laymen, the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, the CACC, Carl McIntire’s Christian Beacon, Inc., the Foundation for Economic Education, the Freedom Foundation at Valley Forge<sup>111</sup> Apart from the exhausting audit process which they had to go through from 1962 on, leaders of the targeted groups were unaware that they were being scrutinized in view of curtailment. Schwarz later wrote that the “conclusion that a deliberate political campaign was taking place was reached after an accumulation of convincing circumstantial evidence”<sup>112</sup>.

In February 1963, IRS Commissioner Mortimer Caplin received from his assistant a preliminary report: “To date, nine allegedly right-wing organizations have been audited,

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<sup>109</sup> “IRS Memorandum to Regional Commissioners, Aug. 27, 1963, WSP, F. “Internal Revenue Service Study of Ideological Organizations, December 31, 1965”, Section E..

<sup>110</sup> It included groups such as the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the Americans Veterans Committee, the League for Industrial Democracy.

<sup>111</sup> John A. Andrews III, *Power to Destroy*, op. cit., 29-33.

<sup>112</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, op. cit., 280-283, 308.

including four exempt organizations. Revocations of exempt status was recommended by our field offices in two of these cases, Life Line Foundation [H.L. Hunt's right-wing broadcast funder] and Christian Anti-Communism Crusade"<sup>113</sup>. The Life Line's revocation case was grounded in the organization's engagement in activities the IRS judged as propaganda (about 50 percent of its material), which "discussed only one side of an issue and were not consistent with the purpose of an exempt educational organization"<sup>114</sup>.

This examination was based on the Crusade books in 1962, which covered the years 1959 through 1961. An IRS report later revealed that the audit did not find a "prima facie case for denial of exemption" regarding the content of Crusade material, a large part of which "is devoted to the presentation and exposition of factual" aspects on communism. "Opinions are often forcefully expressed but it would be difficult to establish that they are not supported by a sufficiently full factual presentation to qualify as educational under our present regulations". Moreover, the Crusade material was prepared "by persons who could reasonably be said to be qualified to discuss the subject matter" and most of it does "not attack individuals". Granted, some grounds for tax-exempt revocation could be found in "attacks made on individuals in some of the speeches at the schools", but the IRS report mentioned that "we have not had the tapes of the speeches" (a odd detail considering that these tapes were easily purchasable)<sup>115</sup>. In sum, the CACC's tax-exempt status could not be justifiably revoked due to non-compliance with the IRS's anti-propaganda policy for educational organizations.

Rather, the Crusade's potential tax-exempt revocation hinged on a series of infringements on tax regulations. The IRS listed eight problems. Two of them regarded Schwarz's management of literary rights. First, some writings the expenses for which were covered by the Crusade had their rights sold by Schwarz, apparently to his own benefit. Second, the property rights of other writings published at the expense of the Crusade were "retained by Dr. Schwarz. He attempted to escape personal tax liability on royalty income by donating royalties to the Crusade". Two other problems regarded

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<sup>113</sup> Mitchell Rogovin to Malcolm Caplin, Feb. 9, 1963, *WSP*, F. "Internal Revenue Service Study of Ideological Organizations, December 31, 1965", Appendix D.

<sup>114</sup> Attachment to *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> Mitchell Rogovin to Harold T. Swartz, "In Re: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade", Oct. 27, 1965, *WSP*, File "Internal Revenue Service Study of Ideological Organizations, December 31, 1965", F. "G", 4-5.

financial management. First, the Crusade “loaned funds, directly or indirectly, to its officers without adequate security and in some cases without interest”, and unsubstantiated “expenditures for travel, room and board, and office expenses which may have personally benefitted individuals were made”<sup>116</sup>.

The audit located four other types of prohibited transactions, all related to the amounts the Crusade was sending overseas and, particularly, to its Australian branch, headed by Schwarz’s wife Lillian. The IRS considered that the Crusade paid “salaries to Mrs. Schwarz (...) without evidence of substantial services being rendered”; that the income from “sales of rights to publications was diverted to Mrs. Schwarz”; that the Crusade had distributed “substantial sums of money to its officers for use in foreign countries without requiring adequate substantiation of actual expenditures”; and that the Crusade made a contribution to a private individual, George Thomas in India, “for use in acquiring and operating a daily newspaper”<sup>117</sup>. The Crusade’s tax-exempt status could not be automatically revoked on these grounds alone, but the IRS was confident that a revocation could be successfully defended before the Tax Rulings Division.

In July 1963, the White House received the preliminary IOP report and was delighted by the results. “This detailed review of these organizations’ financial and written records”, Andrews notes, “promised to meet the objectives outlined in the Reuther Memorandum and fulfill hopes the president had articulated in his speeches and press conferences”<sup>118</sup>. IRS internal documents reveal that shortly after, “President Kennedy telephoned Commissioner Caplin to ask that the Internal Revenue Service begin a new, aggressive program directed only at exempt organizations, anticipating Congressional hearings on these matters in early 1964”<sup>119</sup>. Hence, a new phase of the IOP thus began, with IRS officials narrowing down their focus to 24 tax-exempt organizations (including the Crusade), but not including organizations such as the JBS, which were not tax-exempt. This time IRS auditors used the publications of liberal groups such as Group Research to help assess whether or not audited organizations were “trying to influence

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<sup>116</sup> Mitchell Rogovin to Malcolm Caplin, Feb. 9, 1963, *WSP*, F. “Internal Revenue Service Study of Ideological Organizations, December 31, 1965”, Appendix D.

<sup>117</sup> Mitchell Rogovin to Malcolm Caplin, Feb. 9, 1963, *WSP*, F. “Internal Revenue Service Study of Ideological Organizations, December 31, 1965”, Appendix D.

<sup>118</sup> John A. Andrews III, *Power to Destroy*, *op. cit.*, 34.

<sup>119</sup> “Introduction - Internal Revenue Service Study of Ideological Organizations, December 31, 1965”, *WSP*, F. (same name), 6.



the legislative process, and also the publicity the organization was getting”<sup>120</sup>. For the next months, the IOP accelerated its pace upon pressure from the White House. Even the assassination of President Kennedy in November 1963 caused no delay in the burdensome project. In early 1964, however, the IOP became snared due to the lack of clear legal parameters to distinguish education, or religion, from propaganda. This fuzziness put the whole project at risk. Yet, by 1964, most of the audits were finished. The IRS named twelve tax-exempted groups which it considered “the anti-communist complex or radical right as it is sometimes known”, including the American Council of Christian Laymen, the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, Christian Echoes Ministry (Billy James Hargis’ media network), Christian Beacon, the CACC, the Church League of America, Four Freedoms Study Group, the Life Line Foundation, and the National Education Program<sup>121</sup>.

After serious allegations of non-compliance to its tax-exempt status had been leveled against the Crusade in the IOP’s initial report in 1963, a more detailed report was filed on the CACC by IRS Assistant Commissioner Mitchell Rogovin in 1964. Several of the initial infringements to tax laws detailed in the first report were no longer addressed: all matters pertaining to the royalties of Schwarz’s writings, as well as the alleged mismanagement of funds sent to the Crusade’s officers and branches<sup>122</sup>. The IRS, however, remained convinced that the Crusade’s international projects contained several grounds for revocation. The large amounts of money sent to “Fred Schwarz’s wife who performed little apparent work for CACC” were deemed suspicious by IRS authorities. Nonetheless, the word “apparent” implies that they were unable to go far in examining

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<sup>120</sup> John A. Andrews III, *Power to Destroy*, *op. cit.*, 35.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 39-40. Other groups included America’s Future, Inc., the Christian Echoes Ministry, the Circuit Riders, and the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the American Economic Foundation, the American Enterprise Institute, the American Good Government Society, the Christian Freedom Foundation, the Foundation for Economic Education, the Freedom Foundation at Valley Forge, and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists.

<sup>122</sup> While no information on the reason of this withdrawal was given, one can suspect that the explanations offered by the Crusade to the IRS were strong enough so as to make the agency think twice about a revocation on these grounds. The first report’s assertion that Schwarz tried to “escape personal tax liability on royalty income” by giving royalties to the Crusade was perhaps premature when it assumed that the crusader had deliberately tried to bypass tax regulations. In his memoirs, Schwarz recalled that he initially thought the law permitted his giving the royalties on *You Can Trust* (about \$20,000 in 1961) to his wife. He gave them to the Crusade instead, still under the impression that this donation was legal. Besides, the second report indicated that in a situation where no profit is made on the sales of literature and tapes, the tax-exempt group in question could rightfully argue that no tax liability applies. However, as already seen, the Crusade did *not* make substantial profits on its literature and tape sales during its biggest years. Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 187.

this matter<sup>123</sup>. Already overwhelmed by the colossal size of the Ideological Organizations Project, the IRS did not send a representative to Australia, nor did it contact the Australian tax authorities for further information on the Crusade's Australian activities. Had they done so, they would have discovered little Crusade activity in Schwarz's native country before 1961. In 1962, when the first audit was conducted, a journalist from Cleveland ran a short investigation of the Crusade's impact in Australia and found almost nothing besides the meetings with Schwarz when he happened to be back home (but IRS auditors apparently did not read the article)<sup>124</sup>.

Many unanswered questions still linger over the money sent to Australia. Between 1958 and 1960, more than \$28,266 was sent by the Crusade to Australia<sup>125</sup>. This money was undoubtedly allocated to the CACC's Sydney branch and its only employee, Schwarz's wife Lillian, who earned a \$450-monthly salary by the late 1950's, for secretarial work. However, the Sydney branch existed since 1954. By adding the \$12,057 it had already received during the 1954-1956 period to the \$28,266 it received between 1958 and 1960 (the figure for 1957 is unknown), about \$40,000 is obtained. This amount had been sent between 1954 and 1960 to an office located in Schwarz's house in Australia, led by his wife, which had no other known employee during that time, and which seems to have had no major recorded activities. The true nature of the CACC in Australia during its seven first years of existence remains an enigma. Therefore, one cannot not dismiss the possibility that this Australian branch of the CACC might have been in its first years nothing other than a means through which substantial sums of money could be brought by Schwarz to his family back home.

The first mention made in available correspondence and literature to a member of the Australian branch other than Lillian was provided in an undated information pamphlet (from 1961 or 1962). Here, a list is offered of the Crusade's offices and their respective directors. The Crusade branch in Sydney was located on 142 Concord Road -the Schwarz

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<sup>123</sup> Mitchell Rogovin to Harold T. Swartz, "In Re: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade", Oct. 27, 1965, *WSP*, File "Internal Revenue Service Study of Ideological Organizations, December 31, 1965", F. "G", 5-8.

<sup>124</sup> "In the country of his birth, education and citizenship Schwarz makes little impact, has no influence and doesn't receive much attention on his visits there". Forrest Allen, "They Don't Think Much of Schwarz Down Under", *The Cleveland Press*, Thu., Jul. 12, 1962, B16.

<sup>125</sup> "Extract from I.R.S. – Form 990A: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Comparative Statement of Income and Expenses For the Years Ended December 31, 1959 and 1958; (...) For the Years Ended December 31, 1960 and 1959", *GRC*, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial".

family's home address- and was led by Elton Wilson, one of Schwarz's former patients and friends in Australia<sup>126</sup>. In February 1963, Wilson was described in the Crusade newsletter as a "successful young businessman" who "surrendered his business to this more important task" (anticommunism). This can only mean Wilson was, by this time, receiving a full-time salary so as to be free to devote himself to the Australian CACC<sup>127</sup>. This mention of Wilson was the first time the newsletter said anything about Crusade activities in Australia.

From this point on, the Australian CACC seems to have truly existed, though it always remained a small-scale, close-knit operation run by the Schwarz family and a few dedicated friends in Sydney and Brisbane. It conducted episodic radio broadcasts, distributed pieces of literature and organized rallies. The Australian CACC was never profitable. In April 1963, Wilson made an appeal for funds where he indicated that "over the last six months there has been a deficit of more than £1,000. The deficit has been met by securing short term loans from some of our friends. These now have to be repaid and we are confident that you will wish to help repay them". By the end of 1963, Schwarz sent a letter to his Australian supporters renewing the plea. "To carry on, it has been necessary in the past year for the American Crusade to subsidise the Australian work to the extent of £3,000-0-0. In addition to this a debt of £1,250-0-0 was incurred. (...) In America the Crusade has 50,000 supporters. Is is (sic) visionary to believe that 1,000 can be found here?"<sup>128</sup>

Other Crusade foreign activities were examined with suspicion by the IRS, especially those in India and British Guiana, which were more political in nature than in other countries. "From letters in the file", an IRS report said about the Kerala project, "it appears that [George Thomas's] newspaper deals with secular and political matters and it was hoped the efforts would lead to the defeat of the Communists in the local elections". As for British Guiana, "important elections were being held between Communist and non-Communist factions, and CACC's efforts may well have directly influenced those

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<sup>126</sup> William P. Strube, *What is the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade?*, *op. cit.*, 4-7.

<sup>127</sup> Picture description in Elton Wilson, "Hierarchy of Danger", *CACC Newsletter*, Feb. 1963, 7.

<sup>128</sup> Elton Wilson, "Dear Christian Friend", fundraising letter, Oct. 27, 1962.; Fred C. Schwarz, "Dear Friend", fundraising letter, Sept. 30, 1963.

elections”, in spite of the Crusade’s denial. All these things justified in the eyes of assistant IRS Commissioner Mitchell Rogovin a potential tax-exempt revocation.

The IRS’ problem, however, was twofold. First, no solid legal precedent existed to assert without doubt that the prohibition against domestic political engagement for tax-exempt organizations also applied outside of the U.S. More seriously, as in the case of Australia, IRS auditors had to work with fragmentary evidence on the Crusade’s international activities, and for the most part had in fact no choice but to rely on information given by the Crusade itself. This is clearly indicated in a passage of Rogovin’s report on the Crusade. He claimed that the CACC’s foreign activities “do raise serious problems with respect to whether the organization’s exemption should be continued”, but yet suggested questioning “the organization about these activities before issuing a notice of revocation”. The following passage is self-explanatory:

“One reason for recommending this procedure is that the organization has not had an opportunity to comment formally on its foreign activities. Although it does not appear likely, CACC may be able to clarify the facts and possibly show that it has not become directly involved in political campaigns in India and British Guiana but has merely distributed the same kind of information about Communism on a continuing basis that it distributes in this country. Furthermore, CACC may have discontinued these activities. If they have been discontinued, as a practical matter, there would probably be little effect on tax revenue if exemption is revoked for the years 1959 through 1961”<sup>129</sup>.

This turn of events served the Crusade well, since by the time this report was filed, the organization had been expelled from British Guiana and was gradually withdrawing its support to George Thomas in Kerala, thus eliminating the most serious problems it faced with the IRS. The Rogovin report makes it clear that what initially appeared a solid case against the Crusade was weakening. The Ideological Organizations Project was ill-conducted, since federal auditors failed to acquire information that would have in fact damaged the Crusade. They did not acquire recordings of Crusade school lectures, nor the proper press clippings that would have brought substance to their case. In their assessment of the Crusade’s involvement in British Guiana and Kerala, they did not

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<sup>129</sup> Mitchell Rogovin to Harold T. Swartz, “In Re: Christian Anti-Communism Crusade”, Oct. 27, 1965, WSP, File “Internal Revenue Service Study of Ideological Organizations, December 31, 1965”, F. “G”, 8.

contact the State Department, indicating a lack of coordination between the different agencies of the Federal Government.

Also, IRS auditors grew increasingly frustrated in 1964 and 1965 with the IOP's reliance on qualitative assessments. "What the IRS discovered", Andrews writes, was that its tests were "rather murky and the standards uncertain; that conclusions often rested on individuals' personal judgments; and that any decision would involve the IRS on political and ideological wrangling". The assumption that had been at the core of the Reuther Memorandum, i.e. that "right-wing anti-Communist groups were almost by definition violating their exempt status", seemed less obvious. In sum, despite the early hopes of the Kennedy administration, the IOP was able to mount a serious case for revocation against only one group: Billy James Hargis' Christian Echoes Ministry. In late 1964, on the grounds that Hargis had used his organization as a front for political activities, the IRS revoked his tax-exempt status, fostering a court battle between Hargis and the IRS that lasted until 1971, when a judge of the U.S. District Court of Oklahoma ruled in Hargis' favor, overruling the IRS' decision<sup>130</sup>. In 1965, the IRS shut down the IOP almost entirely. Andrews suggests that this was perhaps the consequence of a belief that the crushing defeat of Barry Goldwater in the 1964 presidential election had discredited the right-wing groups<sup>131</sup>.

The IOP ultimately failed to dry out the flow of money fuelling the right-wing and the Crusade managed to retain its tax-exempt status throughout the Kennedy and Johnson years. Yet, after Billy James Hargis' Christian Echoes Ministry, the CACC had the group most threatened in terms of a possible tax-exempt revocation. Intense scrutiny from the IRS forced the Crusade to maintain an even stricter nonpartisan stance. In the 1962-1964 period, Schwarz disclaimed continuously that he was right-wing. In an interview in 1963, to the question "Have you read any valid criticism of your schools?", he replied: "Well, yes, I think there's some truth to the criticism that the faculty of my schools doesn't represent a sufficiently wide political spectrum"<sup>132</sup>. The 1962-1964 intensification of IRS curiosity was probably instrumental in compelling Schwarz to build a genuine Australian

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<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 56-57.

<sup>131</sup> John A. Andrews III, *Power to Destroy*, *op. cit.*, 66.

<sup>132</sup> Kenneth Woodward, "What Qualifications for a Crusader?", *loc. cit.*, 17.

CACC and may have been a factor in the low profile the Crusade began to keep regarding domestic policies in the foreign countries where it was active until the late 1970's.

The Internal Revenue Service was not the only federal bureaucracy which confronted the Crusade. The Federal Communications Commission also took issue with Schwarz. The Reuther Memorandum had recommended the curbing of the visibility of right-wing groups by having the FCC eliminate the free (or reduced-rate) radio and television time such groups often got across the country as a public service. Though the Crusade was not using radio or television broadcasting on a regular basis, the Hollywood Bowl rally in October 1961 had apparently alarmed FCC officials, who communicated with the broadcasters with questions. In Seattle, affiliates of the King Broadcasting Corporation received letters from the FCC voicing the concerns of groups such as the American Association for the United Nations, which had complained about the show. The company attempted to justify the airing of the show ("The program in question concerned one of the most important public problems of the day and one of the public problems which is most disturbing to the public"), and bolstered its position by referring to the panel discussion "The Threat", "which discussed Communism and totalitarianism generally and tended to represent opinions and attitudes in sharp contrast with these in the protested program"<sup>133</sup>.

The FCC's concern with offering "differing viewpoints" was rooted in the "Fairness Doctrine", which since its introduction in 1949, had been more a general guideline than a systematic policy. In fact, not until 1969 did the Supreme Court declare the Fairness Doctrine to be constitutional. The Kennedy administration was the first one to politically exploit the doctrine, almost a decade before the Nixon administration similarly used it to its ends. Kennedy's Assistant Secretary of Commerce, Bill Ruder, declared decades later that the doctrine was used "to challenge and harass right-wing broadcasters and hope the challenges would be so costly to them"<sup>134</sup>. An IRS report mentions that at the moment President Kennedy asked IRS Commissioner Mortimer Caplin to step up his campaign against right-wing groups in 1963, he also stated that this request was part of a larger

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<sup>133</sup> KREM Broadcasting Company president (unsigned) to Ben F. Waple, Jan. 2, 1962, *DSBP.*, Box 36, F. 6, "Hollywood's Answer to Communism".

<sup>134</sup> Laurence Laurent, "Far Reaching Decision: FCC Rules Both Sides to Controversy Must Be Heard", Sat., Sept. 27, 1963, D15.; John Chamberlain, "These Days: Enforcement of 'Fairness' Rule Could Result in Chaos", *Park City Daily News*, Wed., Nov. 6, 1963, 4.; Clarence Page, "Fairness Doctrine Works Both Ways", *The Blade* (Toledo), Fri., Sept. 10, 1993, 11.

program. “The President’s interest in combating extremism”, the report read, “apparently also manifested itself in the reemphasis by the Federal Communications Commission of its “fairness doctrine,” requiring broadcasters to afford reasonable opportunities for the presentation of contrasting viewpoints on any controversial matters the broadcasters decide to cover”<sup>135</sup>. Conservative radio broadcaster Fulton Lewis Jr., for instance, saw his radio broadcast threatened to be barred from the air in early 1962 by the Senate Subcommittee on Freedom of Communications due to of violation of the doctrine. In 1963, as the IOP’s second phase was under way, the FCC ruled that H.L. Hunt’s broadcasting empire “Life Line” was compelled to give free time to “bonafide groups that wish to oppose “Life Line” on the air”<sup>136</sup>.

The FCC’s involvement in the content of right-wing television and radio broadcasts, either by questioning directly the validity of the programs or by requesting application of the Fairness Doctrine, increased the burden on broadcasters and sponsors who wished to air this type of material. To be sure, those desiring to curb the visibility of right-wing rhetoric quickly understood how to pressure broadcasters and sponsors. When the Hollywood Bowl rally was aired on the East Coast in early 1962, the ACLU wrote to the FCC and broadcasters to request air time for “representative citizens who believe the country can be better served by an approach to the Communist threat different from the one preached by Dr. Schwarz and his followers”<sup>137</sup>.

A few months later, when the Crusade came to New York to organize a rally and an anticommunism school, Schwarz quickly realized that it was “exceedingly difficult to buy television time”, despite the fact that his record was excellent in terms of television ratings. Five stations refused to sell any time, forcing the crusader to secure three half-hours on the small independent WOR-TV. Two years later, he could not find a single broadcaster from whom air time could be bought for his anticommunism school in Washington. He later accused the FCC of having followed the guidelines of the Reuther Memorandum on the need to dampen right-wing visibility: “(...) when we consider the

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<sup>135</sup> “Introduction - Internal Revenue Service Study of Ideological Organizations, December 31, 1965”, *WSP*, F. (same name), 6.

<sup>136</sup> Many conservative radio personalities such as Clarence Manion qualified this ruling as directly aimed at right-wing broadcasting.

<sup>137</sup> Patrick Murphy Malin to Fred M. Thrower, Feb. 3, 1962, *DSBP.*, Box 36, F. 6, “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism”.

life and death power exercised by the F.C.C. the reluctance of friendly television stations can be understood. The mere hint of official displeasure can be devastating”<sup>138</sup>.

The Reuther Memorandum also recommended the FBI monitoring of right-wing groups, though its authors admitted as unknown “the extent to which the [FBI] has planted undercover agents inside the radical right movement as it has inside the Communist Party and its allied organizations”. In fact, even before the document was drafted, at the White House, one of the administration’s staffers gave monthly confidential reports on the activities of conservative groups. FBI Director Hoover, Andrews writes, “responded to White House concerns by intensifying FBI coverage of right-wing organizations”, even though the monitoring focused much more on the activities of groups such as the Ku Klux Klan than the political organizations<sup>139</sup>.

The FBI had begun following the activities of the Crusade and the John Birch Society even before Kennedy took office in January 1961. Already in 1959, (see chap. 11.2), Philbrick reported to the Bureau about his attendance of JBS’ secret meetings. In contrast, the Crusade’s activities were open to everyone and the FBI never treated the organization as a subversive one, nor attempted to infiltrate it. Nonetheless, the Bureau remained interested in its operations. The exact moment where the FBI began monitoring the activities of the Crusade remains unknown. Yet, the Bureau certainly had files on Schwarz and his organization by the end of 1960. In September 1960, when the Crusade held its Dallas Freedom Forum in collaboration with the local Civil Defense, organizers of the event tried to invite J. Edgar Hoover as speaker, who was unavailable, but offered organizers “best wishes for a most informative session” and sent a lecturer from the Bureau, special agent Arbor W. Gray, who spoke on the role of the FBI in the good fight<sup>140</sup>. What Schwarz and other organizers of the Forum did not know was that Gray reported about the event and its content to his superior W.C. Sullivan, FBI’s Chief Inspector and the main official responsible for the Bureau’s anticommunist affairs.

Six months later, in March 1961, another “Freedom Forum”, was organized in the city of Tyler, located about 100 miles east of Dallas. But this time, the FBI did not permit one

<sup>138</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “The Reuther Memorandum”, *CACC Newsletter*, Nov. 1963, 5.

<sup>139</sup> “The Radical Right in American Today”, *JLRP*, Box 41, F. “Reuther, Walter P. – Personal: 1949, 1954-1965, 1970”, 17.; John A. Andrews III, *Power to Destroy*, *op. cit.*, 22-23.

<sup>140</sup> CACC leaflet, “Dallas Freedom Forum, September 20-24, 1960, Dallas, Texas”; Hoover quoted in “Tyler Freedom Forum, March 14-18, 1961, High School Auditorium, Tyler, Texas”, information leaflet.



of its staffers to speak at the event. In a memo he sent to Hoover's assistant A.H. Belmont, Sullivan wrote that Schwarz was "an opportunist and we are not having anything to do with him and his activities", adding that "people as Dr. Schwarz are largely responsible for misinforming people and stirring them up emotionally to the point that when FBI lecturers present the truth, it becomes very difficult for the misinformed to accept it"<sup>141</sup>. The message was understood. Belmont also turned down by the same time a request from a Crusade representative in Dickinson, Texas, who had contacted the FBI to know if some of the Bureau's publications could be distributed during one of Strube's seminars: "I don't think we should let Schwarz capitalize on the Director's articles. Schwarz is empire building"<sup>142</sup>. Three months later, as the Crusade was preparing its St. Louis school, the Bureau apparently received another request to supply FBI publications to the CACC. Permission was once again denied. An internal two-page FBI memo sent to Hoover's Deputy Cartha DeLoach summarized the argument given by W.C. Sullivan for this policy. Despite Schwarz being "apparently a sincere anti-communist", he and "others like him can only do the country and anti-communist work of the FBI harm". Therefore, the memo read, it was deemed "dangerous to get too close to this group and let them use our material for the distorted campaign they are conducting (...). It is felt we should firmly but politely inform them we can give no approval for the reprinting of our official released data in their booklet nor can we lend any official endorsement to their efforts". Hoover initialled "ok" at the bottom of the memo<sup>143</sup>.

The perception of the Crusade worsened when the Bureau's officials became aware of Skousen's role. After Skousen had been fired from his position as Chief of Police of Salt Lake City in March 1960, he made wide use of his FBI credentials to boost his subsequent activities. For example, to the Bureau's great annoyance, Skousen sought the GOP gubernatorial nomination of Utah in 1960 by presenting himself as "Administrative Assistant to J. Edgar Hoover during World War II, a top assignment". When Hoover received inquiries about this claim, he not only replied that Skousen did not hold the title of "Administrative Assistant", but that such a title never actually existed. One of the Bureau officials stated to Utah Congressman Henry A. Nixon that the FBI had no control

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<sup>141</sup> W.C. Sullivan to A.H. Belmont, Mar. 13, 1961, *FBIF*, File HQ 62-69602, no. 297.

<sup>142</sup> Quoted in D.C. Morrell to Cartha DeLoach, Jan. 13, 1961, *Ibid.* File HQ 94-50868, no. 82.

<sup>143</sup> M.A. Jones to Cartha DeLoach, Apr. 4, 1961, *Ibid.*, File HQ 94-50868, no. 140.

over what former agents did<sup>144</sup>. In 1961, in the wake of Skousen's lecturing activities, the Bureau received several inquiries about his fantasy tale about Harry Hopkins smuggling uranium and the A-bomb secrets to the Soviets. In one reply, Hoover wrote: "Bufiles [the Bureau's files] contain no information to support this charge or to indicate that Hopkins was engaged in subversive activities"<sup>145</sup>.

In late 1961, after Skousen's primetime appearances at the Los Angeles Sports Arena, the Hollywood Bowl and subsequent schools, FBI officials were more displeased than ever with the Crusade and Skousen. "Apparently", Hoover's Deputy C.D. DeLoach wrote to Administrative Affairs handler John P. Mohr, "Skousen, Schwarz et al are becoming more and more irresponsible and have apparently succumbed to the philosophy that the ends justify the means"<sup>146</sup>. In January 1962, the Bureau was contacted by an official of the Florida State Department of Education who expressed doubts about the use of Skousen's *The Naked Communist* in Florida schools. Chief Inspector W.C. Sullivan reminded Hoover's assistant in a memo that "during the past year or so, Skousen has affiliated himself with the extreme right-wing '*professional anti-communists*' such as Fred Schwarz, who are promoting their own anticommunism for obvious financial purposes"<sup>147</sup>. Six months later, unaware of his unpopularity with the Bureau, Schwarz contacted Sullivan himself so as to invite him to appear at the New York anticommunism school in late August 1962 as chief FBI handler of Communist affairs. Sullivan declined the invitation. The crusader then asked if another FBI representative could be sent. J. Edgar Hoover handwrote a reply at the bottom of the memo: "Absolutely no"<sup>148</sup>.

#### **15.4 "Better Red than Fred": A Crusader's Cliff-Hanger in New York**

In April 1962, upon wrapping up the Omaha anticommunism school, Schwarz arrived in New York with his secretary Ella Doorn and Jim Colbert for a three-month stay designed to prepare the Crusade's most ambitious bid yet. The Crusade held in mid-April a free tentative rally at the Manhattan Center to assess the ground and discuss plans for an

<sup>144</sup> J. Edgar Hoover to Rev. Harry C. Carlston, Apr. 19, 1961, *Ibid.*, File HQ 94-47468, no. 28.; J. Edgar Hoover to David A. Moynan, *Ibid.*, File HQ 94-47468, no. 67.; J. Edgar Hoover to A.M. Donaldson, *Ibid.*, File HQ 94-47468, no. 37.; Last quote from memo of C.D. DeLoach to John P. Mohr, 28 Jul. 1960, File HQ 94-4768, serial no. ineligible.

<sup>145</sup> J. Edgar Hoover to David A. Moynan, Nov. 1, 1961, *Ibid.*, File HQ 94-47468, no. 37.

<sup>146</sup> C.D. DeLoach to John P. Mohr, Oct. 24, 1961, *Ibid.*, File 94-47468, no serial.

<sup>147</sup> W.C. Sullivan to A.H. Belmont, Jan. 16, 1962, *Ibid.*, File HQ 67-69602, no serial.

<sup>148</sup> W.C. Sullivan to A.H. Belmont, Jul. 13, 1962, *Ibid.*, File HQ 94-50868, serial unrecorded.

anticommunism school in New York City. The results were encouraging: more than 3,000 people showed up. The Crusade thereupon issued a statement announcing the holding of a bigger rally at the Madison Square Garden two months later, on June 28, and a full-fledged school by late summer. “The New York school”, Schwarz wrote in a letter to his supporters, “could well be the most momentous program ever undertaken in the battle against Communism”. The public announcement of the New York school was first made by Schwarz at the Hollywood Bowl rally in October 1961. It was Frawley who convinced Schwarz that the Crusade was now ready to take on the East now that the West Coast had been stirred up<sup>149</sup>. Skousen noted in his diary after the rally that “Pat Frawley (...), Charlie Jones of Richfield and George Murphy of Technicolor said that they intend to have us in Madison Square Garden with 50 million on TV sometime next year”<sup>150</sup>. For Frawley, such buoyant expectations seemed realistic in the light of the television ratings the Sports Arena school and the Hollywood Bowl rally.

Yet, the degree to which the national mood had changed between the late 1961 and mid-1962 made this New York project a risky idea. Now, even in friendly environments such as Nebraska, the Crusade had to struggle to organize successful schools. The Crusade’s main big business sponsor, Pat Frawley, was being questioned in his own corporations over his support to the Crusade and right-wing activities. Still, Schwarz was convinced that these difficulties were only a temporary turbulence resulting from widespread misunderstanding as to the nature of the Crusade. These setbacks only motivated him to increase the stakes by taking the Crusade to the Big Apple. About this project, he stated in May 1962: “In the life of every man and movement there comes a time when choice must be made. We made a choice which will profoundly affect the entire work of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and can affect the future of mankind”. The crusader chose New York for various reasons. It was the headquarters of the United Nations, where world leaders “receive their impressions of America from the press and news media of New York”; it was the headquarters of the CPUSA; it was the

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<sup>149</sup> Frawley’s right-hand man Ed Ettinger wrote to Judd that he proposed to Schwarz on his boss’ behalf “if he would like to go to the Madison Square Garden next June on a national TV hookup for one of his full week schools such as was held here at the Sports Arena, he said ‘yes’. So now we have a target date”. Ed Ettinger to Walter H. Judd, Oct. 27, 1961, *WHJUP*, Box 70, F. “Judd, Walter H. – Hollywood Bowl, Oct. 16, 1961”.

<sup>150</sup> Personal notes taken by W. Cleon Skousen, Oct. 16, 1961, *WCSP*, Binder “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism, Oct. 16, 1961 – 1961 Dct”.

metropolis where more than hundreds of colleges and universities were concentrated within a short radius. It was also the nerve center of the media and the publishing business: “Although they have combined to present a false image of our Crusade as an “Extremist Right Wing Organization” and have deceived millions, we will meet this challenge by granting the people of the East an opportunity to hear and to see for themselves”, he stated<sup>151</sup>.

Despite his optimism, Schwarz was a hard sale in New York. George Murphy put Schwarz in contact with Marvin Liebman, head of Marvin Liebman Associates, Inc., at the time the nation’s foremost conservative public relations firm. Liebman was a brilliant Brooklyn nerd of Jewish background in his late thirties seen as a pioneer of fundraising and direct mail campaigns. A closeted homosexual discharged from the U.S. Army during WWII when his superiors became aware of his sexual orientation, Liebman had been involved in the 1930’s with left-wing groups before shifting rightward, largely because of the Soviet Union’s treatment of its Jewish population. In the late 1950’s, he had become involved in the China Lobby and served as secretary of the Committee of One Million against Red China’s admittance to the United Nations. “I am certain”, George Murphy wrote to Liebman, “that no one knows more about the habits, reactions, feelings, etc. of the New York people than you do and I am of the opinion that Dr. Schwarz needs a great deal of advice and guidance in certain areas”<sup>152</sup>.

Colbert, who arrived in New York shortly before Schwarz, was invited by Liebman to office on Madison Avenue where the ad man made a big impression on Colbert. Liebman subsequently sent to Schwarz a memo in which he asserted that “my organization have definite talents which might be made available to a national anti-Communist movement”. Liebman praised Schwarz for contributing to the “growing and spontaneous grass roots anti-Communist movement in the United States” and predicted that the “Greater New York Crusade will be as successful as those you held in other areas of the country. However, it is important to recognize that the attacks on the Crusade will be stronger here than, perhaps, any other section of the country”. Liebman thus made a series of recommendations. He suggested dropping the word “Christian” in the Crusade’s name

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<sup>151</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Dear Friend”, fundraising letter, May 1962.

<sup>152</sup> George Murphy to Marvin Liebman, Apr. 19, 1962, *MLieBP*, Box B11, F. Fred Schwarz.

and replace it with “American”, or “national”, emphasizing the “great reservoir of anti-Communist support in the American-Jewish community. This reservoir has not been tapped as yet. It makes it extremely difficult to attract American-Jews to any movement which calls itself “Christian” ”. Liebman also suggested broadening the Crusade’s base by reaching out to all religious and political creeds so as to transform the organization into a truly national movement that would be something else than “an expression of your own individual personality and ideals”<sup>153</sup>. A few weeks later, Schwarz accepted the services of Liebman’s firm for \$3,000 per month during his stay in New York: “providing headquarters space and facilities at 79 Madison Avenue; assigning an executive to work with your colleagues in organizing the rally; handling ticket sales and receipts; organizing lists, and, in general doing all the things necessary to ensure a successful meeting”. Liebman’s Madison Avenue office became the Crusade’s New York headquarters, while Schwarz resided within walking distance at the five-star Prince George Hotel. Until the end of the summer, this New York bid cost the Crusade about \$20,000 a month, without counting such fees as the rent of the Madison Square Garden and the costs involved in maintaining regular Crusade activities<sup>154</sup>.

In view of preparing the June 28 Madison Square Rally, Liebman convinced Schwarz to use the name “Greater New York Anti-Communist Rally”, and “School”, on all letterheads, thereby eliminating the word “Christian” from the event’s literature. The Crusade only had a limited number of supporters in the East. Yet, Liebman claimed having a list of about 100,000 names constituting “National Review’s current and expirée lists; Crusade for America; my own lists; Young Americans for Freedom; and other smaller Conservative and anti-Communist lists”. He also assembled lists composed from specific professions in Eastern states, including “clergymen (approximately 6,000); teachers and educators (approximately 45,000), local clubs and organizations (approximately 2,500)”. Liebman recommended that a “Greater New York Rally Committee” be formed with “various VIPS in this area”, and the “most prominent as Chairman”. With his firm handling the preparations, Liebman stated that such a committee would not take on organizational duties, but would be still necessary “to add

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<sup>153</sup> Marvin Liebman to Fred C. Schwarz, Apr. 4, 1962, *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> Marvin Liebman to Fred C. Schwarz, Apr. 18, 1962, *Ibid.*; Richard P. Hunt, “Anti-Communist Says City’s Hostility Is Easing”, *New York Times*, Thu., Jun. 14, 1962, 2.; Murray Kempton, “The Dinkum Oil”, *loc. cit.*, 7.

local color to our operation”, as well as to contributed to direct fundraising (“the rally Chairman can write personal letters to several hundred New Yorkers, urging that they join a Committee of Sponsors”). As for the program, Liebman gave top priority to the enlistment of a bipartisan roster of speakers. His first suggestion was to have Schwarz and Walter Judd alongside at least two prominent Democratic figures. Apart from Thomas Dodd, he suggested the names of Senator Henry “Scoop” Jackson, one of the most hawkish prominent Democrats, or (quite ironically) Robert F. Kennedy. Four days after, Liebman submitted a second list of Democratic personalities that included George Meany and HUAC Chairman Francis Walter, but none accepted<sup>155</sup>.

As the preparatory period was under way with rallies, radio appearances and costly newspaper advertising was bought in New York newspapers, the crusader could feel that things would not be easy in New York. Upon his first press conference in New York, Schwarz, in addition to the usual questions on the JBS, had to reply to a statement released one week before by the Social Education and Action Committee of the Presbytery of New York that associated him with Bob Welch by emphasizing the “disturbing, if unplanned, relationship between these two men”. Schwarz, as always, dithered on the Birch issue and tried to frame the attack from the Presbytery as free publicity: “It’s easier to go where you’re known than where you’re not known”<sup>156</sup>. Schwarz at first refused an invitation to Princeton University to address a colloquium on the subject of “The Rise of the Right-Wing”, unwilling to be pigeonholed as “right-wing”. He changed his mind when the organizers of the event allowed him to choose his own topic (he limited himself to the Red threat). He was welcomed politely by his audience, but outside, students picketed his appearance with signs such as “Aussie Go Home”, or “Better Red than Fred”<sup>157</sup>.

Schwarz and Colbert arranged a meeting with executives of WPIX/Channel11, which had broadcasted “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism” in the East in late 1961. Both men were well-received and told how great had been the public response to the

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<sup>155</sup> Marvin Liebman to “All Concerned”, Apr. 26, 1962; Marvin Liebman to Dr. Fred C. Schwarz and Colleagues, Apr. 30, 1962, *MLiebP*, Box B11, F. Fred Schwarz.

<sup>156</sup> An., “The Case of Fred C. Schwarz”, *Facts – Published by the Anti-Defamation League of B’Nai B’Rith*, Nov.-Dec. 1962, 258-259.

<sup>157</sup> With his casual optimism, he comforted himself thinking that it showed that “the enemy is being seriously hurt”. Fred C. Schwarz, “The Greater New York School of Anti-Communism”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jun. 1962, 5-6.

Hollywood Bowl show. However, WPIX executives refused to sell any more time to the Crusade for the Madison Square Garden Rally. Schwarz was taken aback and lost his temper badly, particularly when his interlocutors told him they were still his friends. Schwarz left the building saying that with friends like these, “I pray the Lord will give us a few enemies”. Decades later, the crusader affirmed in retrospect regretting “my arrogance and lack of understanding. I failed to realize that they legitimately feared the loss of their license because of the Democratic administration’s hostility. The forces arrayed against us were powerful indeed”<sup>158</sup>. The story repeated itself with four other local TV stations, which all refused to sell air time<sup>159</sup>.

Surprisingly, the *New York Times* showed no outright hostility for the Crusade’s Big Apple project, but no sympathy either. Much more antagonistic was the *New York Post*, which, prior to its acquisition by Rupert Murdoch in 1976, was reputed for its left-wing leanings. The *Post* coverage was systematically negative and its reporters continuously related the Crusade to the JBS. James A. Wechsler, columnist for the *Post*, berated the “futility and irrelevance of much of the frenzy that is organized here in the pious name of “anti-communism” ”, and his attendance of a Crusade event was described by him as “a journey from the real world to a remote universe of fantasy and pathology”<sup>160</sup>. The *Post*’s columnist Murray Kempton ridiculed Schwarz: “If he wants to use the Garden in June, that is his business; but it would be more fun if he would hire a riverboat and three girls with brassieres made out of the American flags”<sup>161</sup>. In May, Liebman agreed to a short interview with a *Post* reporter so as to smooth out relationships with the paper. In an unsigned article, the *Post* reporter quoted Liebman as saying: “Fred Schwarz says everybody will be happy when we kill off all Communists. Lincoln Rockwell says everybody will be happy when we kill off all the Jews”. Liebman claimed this line was a fraud and wrote to the *Post* complaining that had never made this remark “either in or out of context -- either on or off the record. (...) I support Dr. Schwarz’s purposes fully, and do not appreciate being misquoted about his and/or any intimation that I lump Dr.

<sup>158</sup> *Id.*, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 419.

<sup>159</sup> Mary Hornaday, “Anti-Red Crusader in N.Y.,” *Christian Science Monitor*, Sat., Jun. 30, 1962, 5.

<sup>160</sup> James A. Wechsler, “The Have-Nots,” *New York Post*, Mon., Jul. 2, 1962, 28.

<sup>161</sup> Murray Kempton, “The Dinkum Oil,” *loc. cit.*, 7.

Schwarz with any “way out guys”<sup>162</sup>. Alvin Davis, *Post* editor, took ten full days to reply to Liebman, to whom he stated that “the quotes attributed to you, including the ones on Lincoln Rockwell and Dr. Schwarz, were the same in The Post as in the reporter’s notes, which (...) I had occasion to read before the interview was printed”<sup>163</sup>. Schwarz apparently believed Liebman’s explanation, since both men continued their association until the end of the summer, but this incident only deepened the gap between the Crusade and the New York press.

Syndicated columnist George Sokolsky was particularly hostile towards Schwarz. Sokolsky’s attacks took everybody by surprise. A Jewish New Yorker and bitter anticommunist, Sokolsky was well-acquainted with many people associated with Schwarz. Since 1961, he led the American Jewish League Against Communism, the main committee of which included Ida Kohlberg, widow of Alfred Kohlberg who died in April 1960, Los Angeles-based syndicated columnist Morrie Ryskind, and Marvin Liebman as acting secretary. Like other Jewish intellectuals, Sokolsky had been attracted to the left and, in 1917, as a graduate of Columbia School of Journalism, went to Russia. He witnessed Red October first hand and became a rabid anticommunist. Sokolsky had a syndicated column in hundreds of Hearst newspapers and, in the early 1950’s, he extolled the virtues of his close friends Joe McCarthy, Roy Cohn and J. Edgar Hoover (he once praised McCarthy for exposing the State Department as “a nest of homosexuals”)<sup>164</sup>. On almost all possible topics, Sokolsky followed the line of the Republican right. Like Schwarz, he rejected communism because of its atheism: “It denies the existence of God and of moral law. It reduces man to a thing which exists only if environment permits”<sup>165</sup>. At 69 and with declining health, “Sok”, as his colleagues in the conservative world called him, found himself at an increasing number of dinners held in his honor<sup>166</sup>.

Sokolsky began taking on Schwarz in a column in late 1961 where he lamented about what he saw as the climate of hysteria the liberal media was creating regarding the grassroots right-wing. He criticized this way of putting “together items which are occasionally sensational and occasionally exciting, and making “no sharp distinctions of

<sup>162</sup> Marvin Liebman to the *New York Post* Editor, May 16, 1962, *MLieBP*, Box B11, F. Fred Schwarz.

<sup>163</sup> Alan Davis to Marvin Liebman, May 25, 1962, *Ibid*.

<sup>164</sup> George Sokolsky, “Washington is Shaken by McCarthy Noise”, *The Telegraph-Herald*, Sun., Apr. 16, 1950, 12.

<sup>165</sup> *Id.*, “Have We Ganged Up?”, *Rome News-Tribune*, Wed., Feb. 21, 1962, 5.

<sup>166</sup> Eugene Lyons to William F” Buckley, Jan. 17, 1962, *WFBBP*, Box 18, F. “American-Jewish League Against Communism (1962)”.



what is thought by a variety of persons of differing experience”. But for Sokolsky, subjects such as the JBS or the Crusade were basically a waste of ink: “It is not to be assumed that Bob Welch or even Dr. Fred Schwarz, an Australian who operates out of Long Beach, California, could stand up in an intellectual discussion on Marxism”<sup>167</sup>. Sokolsky was one of the first conservative voices who began attacking Welch. However, Sokolsky made no distinction between Schwarz and Welch. In February 1962, he attacked those anticommunists who were out “to enrich themselves. They are the opportunists who find a way of living on other men’s enthusiasms and fears. Every movement has been plagued by them”<sup>168</sup>.

Fusing the respectable Schwarz with the Wild Bill Hickok figure of Welch struck many on the right as incomprehensible. Philbrick wrote to Sokolsky: “For God’s sake, George, why are you attacking your friends? Your February 21 piece (...) plays right into the hands of the enemy and puts yourself in an untenable position”. Schwarz, Philbrick explained, “has raised the level of Anti-Communist activity to a new high, specifically because he has given far more study and attention to communist ideology than the average freedom fighter. I urge that you publish a clarification after reading his book, testimony and speeches”<sup>169</sup>. But Sokolsky was uninterested in Schwarz’s writings. “It angers Dr. Schwarz’s followers to question his intellectual prowess, they believing that he is the greatest living authority on [communism]”, he added in his next column<sup>170</sup>. Sokolsky was further displeased when he learned that his acquaintances George Murphy and Marvin Liebman were collaborating with Schwarz<sup>171</sup>.

Schwarz once wrote that he was often asked: “What has George Sokolsky against you?”, to which he replied that he had no idea at all<sup>172</sup>. An obvious reason for Sokolsky’s attitude was his lifelong friendship with J. Edgar Hoover, who undoubtedly shared with the journalist the low opinion the Bureau had of Schwarz. Also, it is almost for sure that Sokolsky considered Schwarz an anti-Semite. “On my arrival in New York (...)” Schwarz wrote, “I quickly realized that the delusion that I was anti-Semitic was

<sup>167</sup> *Id.*, “Washington is Shaken by McCarthy Noise”, *St. Joseph News-Press*, Wed., Dec. 13, 1961, 8.

<sup>168</sup> *Id.*, “Have We Ganged Up?”, *loc. cit.*, 5.

<sup>169</sup> Herbert Philbrick to George Sokolsky, Mar. 1, 1962, *HPP*, Box 179, “Subject File” Series, F. 5, “Sokolsky, George E”.

<sup>170</sup> George Sokolsky, “The Battle Over Right Wing”, *Rome News-Tribune*, Sun., Feb. 25, 1962, 4.

<sup>171</sup> George Murphy to Marvin Liebman, Apr. 19, 1962, *MLieBP*, Box B11, F. Fred Schwarz.

<sup>172</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Attack to Discredit Dr. Schwarz & C.A.C.C.”, *CACC Newsletter*, Aug. 1962, 3-4.

widespread”<sup>173</sup>. One of the Crusade’s rare corporate sponsors in New York, Chesebrough Ponds, Inc., had one of its representatives interview several members of the Jewish community as to inquire whether its sponsorship would present any problem. Schwarz stated that many “of those interviewed reported that I and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade were anti-Semitic”<sup>174</sup>. This belief not only makes sense of Sokolsky’s opposition to Schwarz, but also explains the boycott organized by Jewish businessmen (including C. Irving Dwork, head of the Jewish American Congress) against Frawley and Schick in Mars 1962.

The first article in which Sokolsky attacked Schwarz in late 1961 indicates that the columnist might also have been displeased with Schwarz’s conservative Protestant creed, which Sokolsky unmistakably associated with anti-Semitism. His column criticized conservative evangelicals, “who do not understand the Hebrew Bible but demand that every word of it translated into post-Elizabethan English be accepted as truth”. These people, he wrote, are “anti-Semites devising numerous concepts to justify their confusions”. Marvin Liebman’s recommendation to drop the “Christian” on the organization’s letterheads showed that the Crusade’s name was also problematic for some, a situation worsened by the similarity of the CACC’s name with Billy James Hargis’ Christian Crusade<sup>175</sup>. Schwarz’s record, however, was clear of any anti-Semitism. He counted several Jews among his collaborators, including Alfred Kohlberg. In a letter to Sokolsky, Liebman wrote: “Before I had the opportunity to meet with Dr. Schwarz, I was inclined to agree with a good deal of your evaluation. However, after meeting with Dr. Schwarz and his colleagues, I find myself in total disagreement with you. Dr. Schwarz is not an anti-Semite. His colleagues are not anti-Semites”<sup>176</sup>. It so happened that around this time, Schwarz had to deal with a real anti-Semite. In August 1961, old white supremacist Gerald K. Smith wrote Schwarz to inquire as to whether he agreed that communism was a Jewish plot. “We must repudiate this concept entirely” Schwarz replied, “Communism is a conspiracy of dedicated atheists and recruits from all

<sup>173</sup> *Id.*, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 324.

<sup>174</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Solomon Andhal Fineberg, Apr. 15, 1963, *MLP*, Box 1, F. 2, General 1928-1986.

<sup>175</sup> Schwarz’s collaborator Arthur G. McDowell also suggested in a letter that the hostility Schwarz faced from Sokolsky and many Jews stemmed from the “prejudices in the Jewish community against “apostates””, which implied that knowledge of the recanting of the Jewish faith by Schwarz’s father Paulus might have been a factor. Arthur G. McDowell to Publisher of News and Views, Jul. 22, 1963, *MLP*, Box 1, F. 2, General 1928-1986.

<sup>176</sup> Marvin Liebman to George Sokolsky, May 2, 1962, *Ibid.*, Box 8, F. “American Jewish League Against Communism”.

racism and nationalities”. The correspondence Smith had with his informers across the country shows that he suspected Schwarz of being a Jew masquerading as a Christian, a view grounded in the delusional fallacies Smith and his followers shared: Schwarz made some big money, like Jews; he had a background in psychiatry, which is “a racket based on antichrist teachings”; he rarely mentioned the name of Jesus Christ; and he “has put out statements so bitter concerning those of us who understand the Jewish question that it is difficult for me to subdue my suspicions”<sup>177</sup>. For similar reasons, Schwarz also incurred the wrath of the “National Renaissance Party”, led by James H. Madole, a proto-fascist group that denounced the so-called “Jewish Leadership of the Conservative Movement” (Barry Goldwater, Roy Cohn, and Schwarz). A few Crusade meetings in New York were thus picketed by Neo-Nazi storm troopers who accused Schwarz of being a “phony Jewish conservative” trying to infiltrate the Gentile ranks<sup>178</sup>.

“Sokolsky”, Liebman wrote to William F. Buckley, “developed a psychotic hatred of Fred Schwarz and his operation. He never quite explained why he hated Schwarz. However, he made his feelings (...) quite obvious both in his columns and to anyone he could talk to”<sup>179</sup>. From the moment Schwarz arrived in New York in April 1962, Liebman understood it was imperative that Sokolsky’s critical voice remain an isolated case. To this end, Liebman contacted the liberal opposition in the form of Benjamin Epstein and Arnold Forster, co-directors of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of the Jewish advocacy group B’nai B’rith. Founded in 1913, the ADL’s mission was originally to protect American Jews from defamation, but through time broadened its mission to include a general fight against bigotry, discrimination and infringements on civil rights. For a long time, the ADL had been monitoring the activity of right-wing groups, weary that the wave of anti-Semitism of the Depression years might return. Liebman suspected that the rumors over Schwarz’s alleged anti-Semitism were fueled by liberal Jewish organizations with strong ties to the Democratic Party such as the ADL. His idea was to confront the problem through a meeting between Schwarz, Epstein and Forster. In

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<sup>177</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Joe H. Garrett, Aug. 23, 1961; Glas B. Hudson to Gerald K. Smith, Jan. 8, 1962; Gerald K. Smith to Caroline B. Riley, Jan. 3, 1962, *GKSP*, Box 55, F. “Schwarz, Fred – Christian Anti-Communism Crusade”.

<sup>178</sup> Later during the year, U.S. Nazi Party George Lincoln Rockwell himself confronted Schwarz during a meeting in Los Angeles. Schwarz remains a rare case in American history of a public figure afflicted with the dual stain of being seen as an anti-Semite, while being at the very same time under attack by neo-Nazis.

<sup>179</sup> Marvin Liebman to William F. Buckley, May 9, 1962, *MLiebP*, Box B11, F. Fred Schwarz.

Liebman's view, such an encounter would clear up misunderstandings and shield the Crusade from either liberals or antagonistic Jews. At first sight, the strategy might have worked. After all, though Liebman probably ignored it, a 1959 report from the ADL on Schwarz stated: "Schwarz has never engaged in harmful activities. (...) On a few occasions when disreputable groups or individuals attempted to attach themselves to his coattails, he has completely ignored them"<sup>180</sup>.

However, the meeting was never to be and the idea backfired badly. Epstein and Forster were not conservatives like Sokolsky, but they were close friends and their view of Schwarz was no different than that of the columnist<sup>181</sup>. Moreover, Epstein and Forster considered Liebman's proposed meeting as a deliberate public relations trap: "A favorable expression becomes an endorsement to be spread by advertising. An unfavorable expression can be dramatized as persecution. (...) Schwarz and his advisers chose the Anti-Defamation League as the target of their strategy"<sup>182</sup>. The ADL did not answer the request and gave no explanation. During the following weeks, Schwarz tried to set the record right by sending a letter to 600 New York rabbis in which he denied charges of anti-Semitism, emphasizing the attacks he sustained from the racist right and explaining his personal Jewish ancestry. But not a single rabbi replied<sup>183</sup>. A permanent whisper campaign settled in, made worse by the misperception that the ADL had accused Schwarz of being an anti-Semite, which it never did.

In early May, Liebman tried for a second time to bring together Epstein, Forster and Schwarz so that the latter could clear himself. "I earnestly believed", Liebman wrote, "that such a meeting would be (...) a fair and honest way of discussing a situation openly rather than resorting to rumors, inuendos (sic) and assumptions". Forster informed George Sokolsky of Liebman's move and Sokolsky phoned Liebman. "For half an hour", Liebman wrote to William Buckley, "he berated me as I have never been berated. Among other things, I was a crook, dishonest, disloyal, a potential anti-Semite, and "with no

<sup>180</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 321. Schwarz continued in fact this policy of staying clear of anti-Semitism throughout his entire career. In 1963, for instance, one of Schwarz's friends told him about one of his contacts in Australia which had "become quite friendly with a neighborhood farmer who puts out some anti-Communist material under the title of the Victorian League of Rights", Schwarz quickly warned him that the said group "has had anti-Semitic tendencies" Arthur G. McDowell to Fred C. Schwarz, Apr. 17, 1963; Fred C. Schwarz to Arthur G. McDowell, Apr. 25, 1963, *MLP*, Box 1, F. 2.

<sup>181</sup> A few weeks later, Sokolsky wrote a column promoting a book both Epstein and Forster wrote. George Sokolsky, "Some of My Best Friends..."", *St. Joseph News-Press*, Fri., Jun. 15, 1962, 8.

<sup>182</sup> An., "The Case of Fred C. Schwarz", *Facts – Published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith*, Nov.-Dec. 1962, 259.

<sup>183</sup> Richard P. Hunt, "Anti-Communist Says City's Hostility Is Easing", *loc. cit.*, 2.

authority to telephone Forster”<sup>184</sup>. Liebman submitted to Sokolsky his resignation as executive secretary of the Jewish League Against Communism (AJLAC), led by Sokolsky, and terminated the contract whereby Marvin Liebman Associates, Inc., handled the AJLAC’s public relations. This withdrawal badly hurt the organization, which was still reeling from an incident of a few months before. Sokolsky had learned that the AJLAC’s Los Angeles chapter, led by Schwarz backers Morrie Ryskind and Rabbi Max Merritt, had accepted \$10,500 from Pat Frawley. Sokolsky first fired Rabbi Merrit. He then wrote Frawley, stating that the League did not “accept money from non-Jews” and that he would report him to the IRS. This dissention, which the AJLAC never revered from, was caused mostly by Sokolsky’s hostility towards Schwarz<sup>185</sup>.

New York’s prime conservative personality, William F. Buckley, weighed in at this point in Schwarz’s favor, perhaps feeling that a debacle for the Crusade would impact negatively on the broader conservative movement. Buckley informed Sokolsky that the *National Review* has “come to the conclusion that Dr. Fred Schwarz has been doing a very good job of anti-communist education. Our intention is to applaud publicly his endeavors (...), in part because we are anxious to show that we are aware that highbrow commentary is not all that is needed to save the world”. Sokolsky replied: “I do not believe that the use of baby-talk will influence many Americans. I believe in your highbrow commentary. I think it has done infinitely more good than Dr. Schwarz’s evangelism”<sup>186</sup>. Buckley also contacted Forster at the ADL to ask for an explanation as to their refusal to meet Schwarz. “I have no need to meet with Dr. Schwarz”, Forster replied, “nor any sense of obligation to respond as to the reason”<sup>187</sup>.

Buckley lamented the whole situation in a *National Review* editorial entitled “The Impending Smear of Fred Schwarz”, against whom there was “more anxiety, more resentment, more animosity, than was when Khrushchev came to town”. Buckley criticized this tendency to “brand as anti-Semitic anyone associated with an explicitly Christian undertaking who is also a though anti-Communist or conservative” and took

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<sup>184</sup> Marvin Liebman to William F. Buckley, May 9, 1962, *MLiebP*, Box B11, F. Fred Schwarz.

<sup>185</sup> Marvin Liebman to George Sokolsky, May 2, 1962, *Ibid.*, Box 8, F. “American Jewish League Against Communism”.

<sup>186</sup> William F. Buckley to George Sokolsky, May 10, 1962; George Sokolsky to William F. Buckley, May 29, 1962, *WFBBP*, Box 22, F. “Sokolsky, George E. (1962)”.

<sup>187</sup> William F. Buckley to Arnold Forster, May 10, 1962; Arnold Forster to William F. Buckley, May 17, 1962, *Ibid.*, Box 18, F. “Anti-Defamation League (1962)”.

offense at Forster for his refusal to meet the crusader. The ADL, “staffed by political Liberals”, was in effect smearing Schwarz by encouraging the “continued circulation of invidious rumors about him”. Buckley was followed by two other prominent conservative Jews. Eugene Lyons, senior editor of *Reader’s Digest*, wrote the ADL that he “found nothing that would even remotely justify the implications of the “thumbs down” by the ADL. I can only suppose, therefore, that you know something about him that nobody else seems to know. I do believe, both as a Jew and as a journalist, that you ought share the information with me”<sup>188</sup>. In his *Newsweek* column, Ralph De Toledano wrote that “Dr. Schwarz may or may not be many of the things he is accused of being. But he is not an anti-Semite (...), Perhaps Mr. Forster does not like Dr. Schwarz’s evangelical manner of fighting Communism. (...) But to leave the charges of anti-Semitism hanging is not his right”<sup>189</sup>.

The “is he anti-Semitic?” debate badly was hurting any momentum the New York project may have had. On May 23, only a few weeks after 3,000 people had come to hear Schwarz at the Manhattan Center, not more than 200 persons showed up to volunteer for the Madison Square Garden rally. Schwarz and Colbert implored their supporters to help them mail the envelopes for the meeting, otherwise the Crusade would have to rely on a company and pay out \$3,000. “If you can come”, Colbert said, “we’ll have cookies, coke, and we’ll have fellowship while you’re working”<sup>190</sup>. Schwarz criticized the “insincerity of many professed Christians” who failed to see that the Red threat was dangerous and stated that New Yorkers had been outrageously unresponsive to his project: “If it wasn’t for the money that the people in the Midwest contributed for our New York operation, we’d be starving”<sup>191</sup>. The financial difficulties of the Crusade were due to the Crusade’s inability to attract local business support, a problem Schwarz attributed to the opposition, “in the shadows, operating in semi-secret. Private meetings were held where innuendo and slander was passed from group to group and plans were laid to organize and extent the boycott”<sup>192</sup>. A few days later, on May 29, came another blow. Prentice-Hall, under

<sup>188</sup> Buckley text reproduced in Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 325-330.; Eugene Lyons to Arnold Forster, Jun. 7, 1962, *MLieBP*, Box B11, F. Fred Schwarz.

<sup>189</sup> Ralph de Toledano, “Choosing Up Sides On Communism”, Jun. 6, 1962, *RDTP*, Box 10, “Printed Matter – 1962”.

<sup>190</sup> Murray Kempton, “The Dinkum Oil”, *loc. cit.*, 7.

<sup>191</sup> An., “Anti-Communist Crusader Hits ‘Insincere’ Christians”, *New York Times*, Thu., May 24, 1962, 30.

<sup>192</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Dear Friend”, fundraising letter, Jun. 1962.

“terrific pressure from their school textbook costumers, stirred up by the liberalist campaigners” requested that all mentions to its collaboration with the Crusade being removed from the CACC material, besides the publication of *You Can Trust*<sup>193</sup>. “This includes specifically”, Schwarz notified his staff, “any mention of the donation of 200,000 paperback copies of “You Can Trust the Communists” and the participation of Mr. John Powers as a speaker at past schools of anti-Communism”<sup>194</sup>.

In early June, three weeks before the Madison Square Garden rally, speaking a B’nai B’rith event, Arnold Forster attacked the “extreme right-wing” and, in particular, took on Schwarz, “one of today’s foremost practitioners of a philosophy of despair and gloom”. Speaking publicly for the first time on the request for a hearing between Schwarz and the ADL, he affirmed that “we will not permit ourselves to be used in this way” and dismissed William Buckley as an “eighteen-century egg-head and a quixotic beatnik in a Brooks Brothers suit”<sup>195</sup>. Meanwhile, the *ADL Bulletin* ran a piece on Schwarz by ADL collaborator Morton Puner, who had followed Schwarz in a few rallies in and around New York and portrayed the crusader as a dangerous demagogue whose systematic use of calculated ambiguities played on his audiences’ most despicable traits. Puner did not accuse Schwarz of anti-Semitism, but described a “use of words and terms that have some special meaning to the initiate. Schwarz doesn’t have to make any specific charges. He just has to mention a name to fit the key (...) and a portion of his audience comes back roaring”. Puner criticized Schwarz for letting his “faculty” members do the dirty job of attacking the U.N. and the Supreme Court. “Schwarz”, Puner wrote, “may or may not like the John Birch Society. He may or may not support foreign aid or consider it Marxist. He may or may not believe in the fight against racial discrimination. He may or may not have faith in the Supreme Court”. But in any case, the author concluded, he “had used his oratory to establish rapport with the uninformed and the bewildered in his audience”<sup>196</sup>. The ADL’s *Bulletin* readership was limited, but influential. This piece on Schwarz’s coded language did much damage.

<sup>193</sup> Arthur G. McDowell to Wm. R. Kintner, Mar. 28, 1963, *MLP*, Box 1, F. 2, General 1928-1986.

<sup>194</sup> *Id.*, Inter-Office Memo, May 29, 1962, *MLieBP*, Box B11, F. Fred Schwarz.

<sup>195</sup> Jo-Ann Price, “B’nai B’rith Officer Rips Far Right”, *New York Herald Tribune*, Wed. Jun. 6, 1962, 11. Forster did not level the anti-Semitic charge, but contended (inaccurately) that the Crusade called for the U.S.’s withdrawal from the U.N. William F. Buckley, “‘He Shall Not Be Heard’: The Anti-Defamation League”, *National Review*, Jun. 19, 1962, Vol. 12, 433-434.

<sup>196</sup> Morton Puner, “The Language of Fred C. Schwarz”, *ADL Bulletin*, Vol. 19, No. 6, June 1962, 3, 6-7.

After a series of Schwarz rallies in New Jersey, Nathan Mironov, county commander of the Jewish War Veterans, called for the boycott of the Crusade, claiming that the crusader was carrying on “where McCarthyism left off”<sup>197</sup>. In Minneapolis, a week before the Garden rally in New York, more than 800 rabbis from the Central Conference of American Rabbis (Reform Judaism) issued a pronouncement against the “radical and rampageous Right”, in which the Crusade was described as having taken up the slack from the discredited JBS. Extreme rightists, the statement said, “reflect a syndrome of extremist political and economic views which always in the past have sooner or later embraced anti-Semitism”<sup>198</sup>. Three days before the Garden rally, ADL’s Benjamin Epstein spoke before 1,500 delegates of the B’nai B’rith and called upon American Jews to mobilize against the threat of “anti-democratic radical right groups, which is also a threat against the Jewish community”. Without mentioning Schwarz by name, Epstein stated that the new right-wing eschewed anti-Semitism from its rhetoric, but held had ideas that were “congenial” to anti-Semitism<sup>199</sup>. This markedly contrasted with his statement of six months before, when Epstein reassured ADL members during a convention that: “(...) all the new [right-wing groups] deny any motivation of anti-Semitism (...)”, adding that their proliferation did not seem to stimulate anti-Semitism, which had become “a political kiss of death in the United States today”<sup>200</sup>.

The Crusade’s New York project seemed doomed. A week before the rally, the IRS announced it would investigate the tax-deductibility of the contributions to the Garden rally and the school. The investigation never came, but the timing was disconcerting<sup>201</sup>. An internal memo from Group Research stated that audiences of his rallies were dwindling and that his soliciting of local groups for endorsements “have been no more successful”. The report stated that most local religious bodies refused to associate with him in any way: “Schwarz has been making a particular effort to disarm prospective Jewish opposition to his crusade and even to gain the active support of Jewish groups, for he must realize that a cold shoulder from New York’s large Jewish population would materially damage the chances for the success of his school”. Group Research noted his

<sup>197</sup> Quoted in William F. Buckley, “‘He Shall Not Be Heard’”, *loc. cit.*, 434.

<sup>198</sup> George Ducan, “Aged Aid Backed by Reform Rabbis”, *The New York Times*, Fri., Jun. 22, 1962, 16.

<sup>199</sup> An., “Extreme Right Accused of Anti-Semitism Tinge”, *Los Angeles Times*, Mon. Jun. 25, 1962, 28.

<sup>200</sup> Irving Spiegel, “B’nai B’rith Is Told Rightists Avoid ‘Line’ of Anti-Semitism”, *New York Times*, Sat., Jan. 13, 1962, 12.

<sup>201</sup> An., “Tax Query is Sent to Anti-Red School”, *The New York Times*, Wed., Jun. 20, 1962, 22.



difficulty in buying any air time and his efforts to turn this stonewalling into martyrdom, “Schwarz seems to have realized that he is in danger of being a colossal flop in New York”<sup>202</sup>. In a letter Schwarz sent to his supporters nationwide before the Garden rally, he admitted that “we did not really understand the magnitude of the obstacles that would confront us. These had to be experienced to be believed. New York was a city of bigotry, boycott and fear”. He mentioned that any businessman showing support to the Crusade was threatened with “financial strangulation”. He made an urgent plea for funds given the fact that the week of the Garden rally alone would cost \$20,000. The crusader asked his supporters to come to New York “if it is humanly possible” and help fill up the seats of the upcoming anticommunism school, since “many across the country (...) could take a vacation to New York City at this time and thus combine service with personal enjoyment”. For the first time, the Crusade could not rely on local supporters to sustain itself. At least, Schwarz had been able to secure some television time -three half-hour segments- on the independent WOR/Channel 9<sup>203</sup>. Ten days before the school began, one newspaper, the conservative *New York Daily News*, agreed to editorially plug the show.

On June 28, 1962, the Crusade held its “Greater New York Anti-Communism Rally” at the Madison Square Garden. After three months of preparation, the only big names the Crusade could find to fill the event’s sponsoring committee were those of Adm. Arleigh Burke, a former chief of naval operations under Eisenhower, Henry B. Sargent, president of the American & Foreign Power Company, and Charles Edison, former New Jersey Governor. A fourth person, Gene Tunney, former boxing champion and prominent sports figure, was announced as co-chairman, but he requested that his name be withdrawn from the list of rally sponsors shortly before the event began. Other sponsors included William Buckley, conservative author John Chamberlain, and Adm. Thomas C. Hart. This list of sponsors contained few surprises and the Crusade completely failed to reach beyond its traditional professional and ideological bases of support. Efforts to gather fresh names failed. Ten days before the rally, the Crusade contacted Herbert Hoover, Harry Truman, Douglas MacArthur, Charles Lindbergh, Norman Vincent Peale, the Rev. Fulton Sheen, but none replied. Schwarz even wrote a personal letter to Bob Kennedy, emphasizing the

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<sup>202</sup> “Fred Schwarz in New York”, 6/12/62, *GRC*, Box 364, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – New York School, June 1962”.

<sup>203</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Dear Friend”, fundraising letter, Jun. 1962.

nonpartisan and nondenominational aspect of the rally, but needless to say, the offer was turned down. Only eight mayors of the New York suburbs agreed to endorse the school, and one of them, Mayor Sirignano of Mount Vernon, withdrew his support one week before the rally<sup>204</sup>. Furthermore, the list of speakers fell short of expectations. Adm. Burke, announced as a speaker, did not appear. Neither did Judd nor Dodd, both being taken by their Congressional duties in Washington. Schwarz had to rely on himself, Philbrick, Eugene Lyons, singer Pat Boone, and a new contact friend he had recently made: Arthur G. McDowell, long-time executive of the Upholsterers' International Union and a rare outspoken anticommunist among political liberals.

Two hundred people from the "Anti-Fascist Youth Committee" picketed a Madison Square Garden which was not even half-full: more than 10,000 of its 18,000 seats were empty. Almost nobody sat on the balcony and mezzanine, as was the case for half of the corporate boxes (18 seats for \$250). Granted, there was an admission, but many had benefitted at the last moment from free entry when organizers became desperate to fill up the place. After the usual patriotic kickoff (pledge of allegiance and raise of the colors), a representative from the Catholic Archdiocese gave the invocation, standing in for Cardinal Spellman, who was unable to make it. Colbert, acting as moderator, introduced first Philbrick, "one of the nicest guys I know", who received a standing ovation as he entered to deliver a moderate attack on those who had criticized Schwarz (the name of Drew Pearson generated booing).

He was followed by *Reader's Digest's* Eugene Lyons, stressed the importance of distinguishing the Russian and Chinese people from their Red rulers. The Upholsterer's Union Arthur McDowell, who proved to be an awful speaker, began by saying that this was "the largest anti-slavery movement" since Lincoln's address at Cooper Union. He then discussed slavery, freedom, his anticommunist stance despite being a union man, King George II, Edmond Burke, Hitler, Lenin, Mussolini and concluded that: "If we can't achieve Lincoln's spirit and principles, I'd rather be assassinated on the spot rather than surrender". An observer noted that McDowell "was clearly boring the large majority of the audience. His frame of reference was too general, too shrouded in history to convey a

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<sup>204</sup> The list telegrams sent to those personalities are found in *MLiebP*, Box B11, F. Fred Schwarz.; An., "Mt. Vernon Mayor Quits Anti-Red Unit", *The New York Times*, Thu., Jun. 21, 1962, 13.

sense of urgency -- or even concern (...)"'. His delivery, moreover, was poor: "faltered, misplaced emphasis, and vacillated between shouting and whispering". People began shouting "We want Schwarz!", as McDowell was still speaking<sup>205</sup>.

More than two hours had passed since the beginning of the rally and Schwarz was unable to fully reawaken the crowd. He equated the quality of the Crusade with the lineup of enemies the organization had been gathering over the last six months: the Reds, but also the fascists, the anti-Semites. He announced that the Greater New York School of Anti-Communism would take place at the Carnegie Hall by late August, two months later. Pat Boone wrapped the show up to loud cheers. He told of how his business pals had warned him not to "type" himself and appear alongside Schwarz, but "there comes a day when we must all put the interest of our beloved country above personal interest". He then repeated the same thought that he had expressed at the "Youth Night" of the Los Angeles school: he would rather see his four little girls "lined up against a wall and shot than for them to grow up in a communist America"; also, he would rather "see those poor kids blown in hell by nuclear weapons than taught into hell by communism".

The rally was a bust experienced before the eyes of the whole nation. The lineup was unspectacular, but what made the rally a failure was the poor attendance. McDowell consoled Schwarz up by telling him that he was actually lucky to get the turnout he got "in the imperial Babylon of Communist and ultraliberals strength after less than two months of preparation"<sup>206</sup>. A report from the Jewish Labor Committee, which monitored the event, attributed the flop to the bad publicity of the previous weeks, but also to the approach of the Crusade, which moderated its message so as to avoid further controversy: "The program did not excite the extremists, the college conservatives had left for their summer vacation and most New Yorkers couldn't care less"<sup>207</sup>. For his part, Sokolsky continued with delight his series of tirades against the "Schwarzites", this time emphasizing the "small audience" at the Garden, the "dull and uninspired" speeches and Pat Boone, whose "greatest contribution to the cause of anti-Communism was his

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<sup>205</sup> Eric Reuther, "Report on Christian Anti-Communist Crusade of New York City"; Jacob Schlitt to JLC Field Staff, NTUC, Out-of-Town Vice Chairman, GRC, Aug. 23, 1962 – Fred Schwarz's New York Anti-Communist Rally", GRC, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – New York School, June 1962".

<sup>206</sup> Arthur G. McDowell to Stanley McNail, Jul. 11, 1962, MLP, Box 1, F. 2, General 1928-1986.

<sup>207</sup> Jacob Schlitt to JLC Field Staff, NTUC, Out-of-Town Vice Chairman, GRC, Aug. 23, 1962 – Fred Schwarz's New York Anti-Communist Rally", GRC, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – New York School, June 1962".

promise to blow up his four daughters if the Communists captured them”<sup>208</sup>. In another column, Sokolsky dismissed Schwarz from another angle: “Dr. Schwarz is an Australian”, Sokolsky wrote. “(...) Therefore, before I can pay the slightest heed to his discussion of an American problem, I want to know why, if he lives here, earns his living here, works here and only visits Australia occasionally, he does not become an American citizen”<sup>209</sup>.

Schwarz put on a brave face in the face of the rally’s results. He framed the event as a victory achieved in difficult circumstances. There was no question cancelling the school planned in late August, all the more so since Carnegie Hall had already been booked for a week. Though the New York project was “far in the red”, as a journalist reported, Schwarz, described the project as mere “investment”: “Ours is like a business that’s in the process of building”<sup>210</sup>. Admittedly, it was true that around the time of the rally, the hostile climate began to ease a little. Also, Schwarz was encouraged “by speaking with the unsung philosophers of New York City – the taxi drivers. I was impressed by their friendship and common sense, unlike the intelligentsia’s pretensions”<sup>211</sup>.

Schwarz and Liebman spent the rest of the summer trying to pick up the pieces and recover some momentum. However, coverage on the New York project greatly receded in July and August, except for the paid advertising for the school by the Crusade. Also, even before the Garden rally, the financial reserve the Crusade had accumulated since the “Southern California School of Anti-Communism” had evaporated. The Crusade now faced a situation where almost no money was raised in New York, while the weeklong rent of the Carnegie Hall would incur huge costs of about \$200,000. Even if the school could gather 1,000 students a day for five consecutive days, Schwarz admitted the project would still be \$75,000 in the red<sup>212</sup>. The initial 2,000 to 3,000 student a-day estimates now appeared as unrealistic. Throughout July and August, the Crusade repeated fundraising pleas to its supporters and the Schwarz himself was compelled to make a series of impromptu round-trips in a desperate search for money. In mid-August, he took the plane and toured through Tyler, Dallas, Los Angeles and St. Louis, all placed where

<sup>208</sup> George Sokolsky, “What is the Compulsion”, *Washington Post*, Wed., Jul. 6, 1962, A15.

<sup>209</sup> *Id.*, “Questions Raised About Dr. Schwarz”, *The Evening Independent*, Tue., Jul. 3, 1962, 6-A.

<sup>210</sup> Mary Hornaday, “Anti-Red Crusader in N.Y.”, *loc. cit.*, 5.

<sup>211</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 339.

<sup>212</sup> An., “Anti-Red School Due Here Monday”, *New York Times*, Sat., Aug. 25, 1962, 3.

for the first time in a while he spoke to overflowing halls, allowing him to return to New York with \$10,000<sup>213</sup>.

To prepare the school, Liebman tried to obtain the list from the National Association of Manufacturers, but this was a closed list, “not available to anyone – even a Director or Member of NAM”. The only option was to return to the lists he previously had (*National Review*, *Young Americans for Freedom*, etc.), or to solicit Crusade supporters elsewhere in the country to either come personally or nominating an individual to attend<sup>214</sup>. The situation was bad enough that experimental tricks were tried to stimulate interest in the school. Given the Crusade’s popularity among physicians, Schwarz sent a letter to New York doctors, requesting their help in the fight against communism. When, in late July, Senator Fulbright charged Schwarz with teaching that America was “permeated with communists and with disloyal school teachers, ministers and public officials”, Schwarz sent him a telegram of protest, but also invited him to speak at the school. The Senator did not reply to what he (rightfully) saw as Schwarz’s attempt to buttress up a flaccid project<sup>215</sup>.

Schwarz’s last gamble was his appearance at NBC’s “Meet the Press” the day before the school began. The crusader was to be interviewed on primetime national television by Richard Clurman (*Time Magazine*), William Rusher (*National Review*), James Wechsler (*New York Post*), and Lawrence Spivak, who produced the show. Problem was, there was only one potential ally among the press panel (Rusher) and he only asked three questions in all. Most of the show was actually Schwarz being grilled by Spivak, Wechsler and Clurman. The tone was set by Spivak who picked up a prior statement by Schwarz on the need to achieve a “miracle” for freedom: “What kind of a miracle do you think you can achieve teaching or speaking to maybe 500, 600 or 1,000 people?”, to which Schwarz answered that disseminating knowledge on communism in New York, “the center of communication media for the United States and the world” could indeed produce a miracle for freedom. Spivak then pressed Schwarz as to what his organization concretely did for the anticommunist fight. When Schwarz gave the example of the Kerala newspaper, Spivak brushed the argument aside: “Dr Schwarz, you have been going for

<sup>213</sup> An., “The Case of Fred C. Schwarz”, *Facts – Published by the Anti-Defamation League of B’Nai B’Rith*, loc. cit., 261.

<sup>214</sup> Marvin Liebman to James Colbert, Jul. 6, 1962, *MLieBP*, Box B11, F. Fred Schwarz.

<sup>215</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Sen. J. William Fulbright, Jul. 30, 1962, *Ibid*.

almost ten years. Is this the most thrilling story that you can find after ten years? You have gotten off a printing press for someone in India?”

Wechsler, who had already criticized the Crusade in his *Post* column, pounded his guest about the JBS: “I have read your comments and in many places; it seems to vary depending on what city you are in”. The crusader gave his usual answer: “I don’t feel competent to sit in judgment on the John Birch Society because I don’t know too much about it. I am not a member. I have never been a member, I have never met Robert Welch, and if as many inaccuracies have been printed about them as have been printed about us, maybe my information is inadequate for sound judgment”. Expecting this answer, Wechsler asked him if he agreed that it would be consistent on Schwarz’s part to inform himself on the JBS, then, prompting Schwarz to answer unconvincingly that the CACC’s mission “was a very limited one (...) we don’t claim to be experts in every area”. Clurman picked up where Wechsler stopped. He listed some of those who had condemned the JBS, including Buckley and the *National Review*, and asked his guest to comment once more on the JBS’ work, since “as a teacher of how to effectively fight anti-Communism, you must have a clearer view”, but he got a similar answer as Wechsler did, though Schwarz added: “If you would like to ask whether I think President Eisenhower is a Communist, I think that is a totally inaccurate and ridiculous statement”. Clurman then confronted Schwarz with Bob Welch’s statement that the crusader was a good recruiting agent for the JBS. Schwarz alluded again that he was not “in a position to adjudicate every organization that has members attending our schools”. This led to the following:

“Mr. Clurman: Sir, we are not asking you to adjudicate every organization. The John Birch Society has been virtually drummed out of respectable political conservatism. It has been renounced and denounced by the most distinguished Americans. Yet you equivocate on the question.

Dr. Schwarz: I am not in the drumming-out business, and I have enunciated a principle. I propose to stand by that principle. I think it is important.

Mr. Clurman: May we assume that you welcome John Birch members –

Dr. Schwarz: No, you may not assume. That is a totally false assumption. You may assume that we have a principle that I do not sit in judgement of other organizations or individuals”.

Spivak confronted Schwarz with two of his own previous statements: first, one whereby he said he did not “welcome” the JBS support -taken out of context, according to Schwarz-, and the one from the April 1961 *New York Times* article where Schwarz said Welch “follows me around the country signing up the people after I work them up”. “This”, Schwarz said, “was a false statement made by Cabell Phillips in an article for which I received an apology from the *New York Times*”. The *Times*, as mentioned, had only apologized for the delay it took in answering Schwarz’s protest. Nonetheless, this was enough to switch the discussion on other issues than the JBS, where exchanges remained confrontational<sup>216</sup>.

Press reactions to the interview were essentially negative. Television commentator Harriet Van Horne said this was not the crusader’s finest hour: “Though he maintained the pious air of the one who has sown wheat and somehow reaped thorns, the Australian spellbinder was repeatedly thrown off side. He squirmed, he equivocated – and now and then he snarled”<sup>217</sup>. Len Chaimowitz, of *Newsday*, thought that the crusader seemed hard-put on numerous moments, even if he had “prepared answers – almost identical to his talks on TV made without the benefit of cross-examination”<sup>218</sup>. The only one who thought Schwarz did excelled was gossip guru Walter Winchell, who wrote that the press panel “were demolished from start to finish” and “looked like jurqs (sic)”. Schwarz, he wrote, “was articulate, confident, knowledgeable and backed up everything he said in reply to their needling... He must have won over many people who call Commie-detesters “witch-hunters” ”<sup>219</sup>. Ever since “Meet the Press” began, only the appearance of Soviet official Mikoyan in 1959 generated as many letters (a few hundreds) from the audience<sup>220</sup>. The great majority of the letters, even from those who claimed not supporting the Crusade, criticized Spivak and his team for what was generally considered a rude and unfair treatment of their guest. Nonetheless, most of the letters came from the

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<sup>216</sup> *Meet the Press*, (Transcript), Recorded Aug. 26, 1962, Guest: Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, Produced by Lawrence E. Spivak, National Broadcasting Corporation.

<sup>217</sup> Harriet Van Horne, “NBC Presents A Professional Enemy of Reds”, *New York World-Telegram and Sun*, Mon., Aug. 27, 1962, photocopied press clipping taken from *LSP*, Box 217, “Program Transcripts and Related Material” Series, F. “Schwarz, Fred C. – 8/26/62”.

<sup>218</sup> Len Chaimowitz, “Schwarz’s Alarm Just Didn’t Ring the Bell”, *Newsday*, Mon. Aug. 27, 1962, photocopied press clipping taken from *LSP*, Box 217, “Program Transcripts and Related Material” Series, F. “Schwarz, Fred C. – 8/26/62”.

<sup>219</sup> Quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 13-14.

<sup>220</sup> Those letters can be accessed in all seven folders of *LSP*, Box 217, “Program Transcripts and Related Material” Series, F. “Schwarz, Fred C. – 8/26/62”.

Crusade's geographical bases (California, Texas, Missouri), rather than from New York and its surrounding states. Basically, the part of the country from which he needed the most help was the least interested.

When the school began at the Carnegie Hall on Monday morning, August 28, only 250 people showed up. The attendance increased a little throughout the week and, especially for evening sessions, as for any previous school. But these meager numbers could not begin to cover the event's cost. With no possible collaboration from local school boards, no free event for the youth was planned. After a week, Schwarz and his collaborators closed the gathering with a fundraising banquet at the Commodore Hotel attended by only 500 people. The hat was passed, allowing for a collection of \$12,210. In a bitter mood for his closing speech, the crusader stated: "New York can be proud – they did two third as well as Omaha", before he took task with New York businessmen, "who said they opposed communism but weren't willing to help pay for the fight against it"<sup>221</sup>. The whole New York project resulted in a monumental deficit of about \$75,000. Still, the crusader claimed, the New York school had been "a great school" despite the financial fiasco. "But we've had to spend western money to do it – and Midwestern money". He finally announced that the Crusade would go back to the West Coast, "where we've got our friends"<sup>222</sup>.

In reference to the Crusade, the *New York Post's* Murray Kempton wrote: "Plainly, we have a phenomenon only to be dismissed"<sup>223</sup>. The *Village Voice's* Stephanie Gervis noted: "The only thing more embarrassing than for a professional showman to flop is for a professional anti-Communist to find himself in the red"<sup>224</sup>. George Sokolsky blamed both the product and the marketing strategy.

"This is a lot of money to lose. Dr. Schwarz was apparently poorly advised. New York is no place to hold such meetings in August. It is too hot, too humid, too sticky. Secondly, an anti-Communist school implies that the folks need to be taught. New York includes some 60 institutions of higher education, including Columbia, New York, Fordham, St. John's, Yeshiva, universities, to mention only a few"<sup>225</sup>.

<sup>221</sup> An., "Schwarz Report Cites \$75,000 Loss", *Los Angeles York Times*, Sat., Sept. 1, 8.

<sup>222</sup> AP Correspondent, "Anti-Red Crusade in the Red", *Oakland Tribune*, Sat., Sept. 1, 1962, 20-B-E.

<sup>223</sup> Murray Kempton, "Schwarz Prep", *New York Post*, Thu., Aug. 28, 1962, 45.

<sup>224</sup> Stephanie Gervis, "Schwarz's NY Junket Goes Into Red (Ink)", *The Village Voice*, Thu., Sept. 6, 1962, 3, 13.

<sup>225</sup> George Sokolsky, "Dr. Schwarz's Difficulty", *The Washington Post*, Thu., Sept. 13, 1962, A23.



This five-month New York venture was the multi-layered disaster which put a definite end to Schwarz's hope of building a truly national movement, or of becoming part of the cultural and political mainstream. The aura of efficiency and respectability Schwarz had cultivated carefully over a decade's time had been tarnished. New York marked the end of the Crusade's prominence on the American public scene.

On December 14, 1962, Sokolsky died of a heart attack in Manhattan.

### **15.5 "Danger on the Right"**

On the evening of November 6, 1962, as the results of the U.S. Congressional elections came in, most pundits agreed that the situation was quite good for the Kennedy administration. The Democrats were able to protect themselves from the losses every administration was supposed to experience during midterm elections. The number of Democratic Representatives dropped by only four, allowing the party to retain a comfortable majority (258 out of 435) in the House. In the Senate, gains were even made, resulting in a net increase of three new Senators, bringing the total of Democratic Senators to 66 out of 100. This was probably the result of the U.S. economy's good standing, as well as the consequences of the Cuban missile crisis, which took place at the end of the campaign (October 15-28) and led a substantial portion of the uncommitted electorate to award the Kennedy administration for its handling of the crisis.

Nonetheless, a year and a half of controversy over right-wing extremism across the country had several repercussions on the results. While groups such as the JBS had hoped that their letter-writing campaigns would translate into electoral support, the 1962 midterm elections saw the defeat of H.L. Richardson (future founder of Gun Owners for America in 1974), and Jack Seale, former Mayor of Amarillo, Texas, at the hands of their Democratic foes. The Society also lost its two strongest supporters in the House: Representative John H. Rousselot, from Southern California, and Edgar Hiestand, from Illinois, saw their districts gerrymandered against them and both lost their reelection bids after hard campaigns where their opponent hammered them over their Birch ties. Richard Nixon lost his gubernatorial bid against Pat Brown after his campaign had been crippled by the division within the California GOP over his condemnation of the JBS. Two opponents of right-wingers nationwide were easily reelected: Senator Thomas Kuchel,

moderate GOP Senator of California, and J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, whom Billy James Hargis and others had tried to unseat. One exceptional right-wing success was the election in the State of Washington of K.W. Stinson, a conservative Republican who had endorsed the CACC's school of Puget Sound, against Democratic Senator Warren Magnusson. More than 12 of all 19 Senatorial candidates endorsed by the political conservative group Americans for Constitutional Action were defeated. Walter Lippman commented that the election showed there was nothing "to suggest that there is a Republican majority, much less a popular majority, for Sen. Goldwater and those to the right of him"<sup>226</sup>.

The most consequential race for anticommunist militants and for the Crusade, was the reelection bid of Walter Judd in Minnesota. Judd was the strongest seal of political respectability the Crusade possessed and, on a broader level, maybe the most prestigious advocate of Taiwan's Nationalist regime in Washington. In the spring of 1962, Judd's Congressional District was gerrymandered to include the heavily Democratic city of Minneapolis, making his reelection unlikely. He announced that he would not seek reelection, appalling conservatives nationwide. "Perhaps the politicians of the Minnesota legislature do not appreciate that their state is honored by such a representative as Walter Judd, whose reputation is international and whose standing in the Congress exceeds the size of his district or the function of his office", George Sokolsky wrote in his column<sup>227</sup>. Judd's office received calls and letters from people across the country imploring him to seek reelection.<sup>228</sup> Judd tried at first to reassure his supporters. "(...) my decision to retire from this office does not mean retirement from crusading for the great causes that have motivate all my years in Congress", he wrote in a letter to J. Edgar Hoover<sup>229</sup>.

Under heavy pressure to run again, Judd changed his mind. While this was welcomed by his supporters across the country, his opponents accused him of having associated himself with the creepy far right. The *Christian Century* came out against him notably for his unyielding support for Taiwan and his "identification with the political revivalism of

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<sup>226</sup> Walter Lippmann, "The Dominant American Majority", *The Montreal Gazette*, Fri., Nov. 9, 1962, 8.

<sup>227</sup> George Sokolsky, "Victim of Redistricting, Walter Judd Quits House", *The Evening News*, Wed., May 16, 1962, 6A.

<sup>228</sup> "We are all trusting and praying that you will reconsider running again", CACC Philadelphia branch director Dick Hightower wrote him. Richard Hightower to Walter H. Judd, May 7, 1962, *WHJP*, Box 226, F. 4.

<sup>229</sup> Walter H Judd to J. Edgar Hoover, May 23, 1962, *Ibid.*, Box 30, F. 12.

Frederick Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communist Crusade"<sup>230</sup>. This was the beginning of a long series of attacks over Judd's association with the Crusade, which increasingly drowned his campaign. To one elector voicing criticism about the Hollywood Bowl rally, he replied: "Naturally, I did not agree with everything said by everyone of the six speakers, and I am sure none of them agreed with everything I said". Yet, Judd did not turn his back on Schwarz, "a person above reproach personally, perhaps the most thorough student of Communism as a disease of human behavior. I only wish I might have the time and opportunity to participate more often in the schools he is holding"<sup>231</sup>.

Judd's Democratic opponent Donald Fraser made great use of his association with Schwarz. Linking Judd to Schwarz was convenient in a mostly Democratic district, since it allowed, by extension, to associate Judd with the JBS, despite the fact that he had criticized the Society quite early on when it began making the headlines. Judd's biographer Lee Edwards mentions that some of Judd's advisers recommended that he discharge himself from Schwarz, or at least tried to keep a low profile in relationship to the Crusade, but Judd did not budge: "A lesser man and more ambitious politician would have quickly severed all ties to Schwarz. But Judd would not sacrifice someone he respected for political gain". In late August, during a Congressional recess, Judd came back to campaign in Minnesota, but quickly found himself besieged with questions over his association with Schwarz. What made the situation particularly hard for Judd was the ACLU's decision to disclose the full transcript of the Crusade school in St. Louis of April 1961, providing his opponent with an series of fiery statements made by the school's "faculty" members. Judd wanted to set the record straight and took each opportunity to defend Schwarz and his reputation, but the strategy, Edwards writes, "helped keep the accusations alive as the newspapers and other media dutifully reported the charge and counter-charge"<sup>232</sup>. By late October, Judd even had to defend himself from accusations of anti-Semitism, indicating that he was tarnished by the Crusade's experience in New York. On November 5, on the eve of the vote, Judd was still defending his ties to Schwarz. "Show me one bit of evidence against him", he said in a stump speech, "and I

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<sup>230</sup> See his letter of reply in Walter H. Judd to the Editor, *Christian Century*, Jul. 2, 1962, *WHJuP*, Box 5, F. 409, "Campaign Files – Corresp. Misc Papers, Oct. 11, Nov. 2, 1962".

<sup>231</sup> Walter H. Judd to E. Beardslee Smith, Aug. 1, 1962, *WHJP*, Box 226, F. 4.

<sup>232</sup> Lee Edwards, *Walter H. Judd: Missionary for Freedom*, *op. cit.*, 270-271.

will not be associated with him”<sup>233</sup>. Given the circumstances, Judd did relatively well at the polls, but narrowly lost by a 52-48 percent margin against his opponent. The day after, he began receiving numerous grieving messages from his supporters. “In one word”, wrote Henry Luce, “one group of voters did an outstanding disservice to the United States when they failed to return you to Congress”<sup>234</sup>. Judd’s defeat highlights how much of a bogeyman the Crusade had become in less than a year. Before the New York fiasco, anticommunism schools had been planned already in San Mateo and Cleveland in the fall of 1962, but money reserves were shrinking and the costs of maintaining the large staff the Crusade hired in 1961 put a permanent strain on the organization’s expenses. Also, the midterm election campaign made the timing poor for holding any school. In a climate of heightened partisanship, any Crusade activity risked being easily associated as a tool for the GOP. Also, the elections monopolized the press’ attention, as well as the energy of most of the Crusade’s ardent supporters.

Moreover, after the controversies of San Francisco, Seattle and New York, the Crusade’s opponents had worked out the formula. In San Mateo and Cleveland, the ADL, the American Jewish Committee and Group Research traded data and fed the local opposition information weeks in advance of the opening of the schools<sup>235</sup>. They also began filing requests for the Crusade’s tax returns so as to get the names of local corporate sponsors on whom some pressure could be applied. They sent local media lists of questions they could ask Schwarz (ex.: “Why do you try to disassociate yourself from extremists on your program by saying that your so-called “faculty” has academic freedom when you know that your so-called “schools” are not accredited schools and can have no faculty?”)<sup>236</sup>. Two weeks before the school began in Cleveland, Ohio Church Federation, uniting Catholics, Protestants and Jews, organized a seminar on “Intelligent Anti-Communism”, where an FBI agent lectured on “Vigilance, not Vigilante-ism”<sup>237</sup>.

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<sup>233</sup> Willmar Thorkelson, “Fraser Urges ‘Peace Drive’; Judd Defends Schwarz Ties”, *Minneapolis Star*, Mon., Nov. 5, 1962, 15-A.

<sup>234</sup> Henry Luce to Walter H. Judd, Nov. 9, 1962, *WHJuP*, Box 5, F. 409, “Campaign Files – Corresp. Misc Papers, Oct. 11, Nov. 2, 1962”.

<sup>235</sup> One of the ADL’s affiliates in Cincinnati arranged a meeting with local clergymen should Schwarz bring one of his schools around.

<sup>236</sup> Correspondence between the Jewish Community Relations Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Congress and Group Research, *GRC*, Box 364, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade –Correspondence”.

<sup>237</sup> The Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland to Oct. 11, 1962, Report on the school, *GRC*, Box 363, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – Notes on Individual Meetings”.

Both the San Mateo and Cleveland schools suffered from reduced audiences and ran at a financial loss. In San Mateo, there was very little coverage on the school and only 70 people had registered when the event began. Despite Schwarz's prediction that attendance would rise up to 1,000, it never surpassed a few hundreds<sup>238</sup>. The only moment when the school that attracted some level of press attention was when labor leader Harry Bridges presented himself at the school, where he denounced Schwarz as "a fraud and a charlatan". Schwarz challenged the fellow Aussie him to a debate, which took place in the latter part of October after long negotiations as to the debate's location and theme. The event took place at the San Francisco Commonwealth Club, crowded with 1,250 people. The topic of the debate, "Are the Dr. Schwarz's anticommunism Schools good for students of this community?", was quickly left to the side, as the two men traded insults, charges and countercharges, with the word "liar" thrown in at every turn. Bridges accused Schwarz of being a racketeer, a union-buster, race-hater and, about Schwarz's medical background, accused him of being a quack. When Bridges suggested that Schwarz sue him, the crusader replied: "The statements are utterly false, completely false, totally false, and you don't sue a skunk for stinking"<sup>239</sup>.

The school in Ohio, in October 1962, was in Schwarz's own words, "the worst of all"<sup>240</sup>. The local press was either uninterested or hostile. A *Cleveland Press* journalist, in Australia two months prior to the school, reported that in Australian newspaper circles, Schwarz was described sarcastically as "Australia's gift to America – in return for Harry Bridges". The report noted that in his native country, "Schwarz makes little impact, has no influence and doesn't receive much attention on his visits there"<sup>241</sup>. Fed by Group Research and the ADL, the local Community Federation of Cleveland disseminated a fact sheet about the Crusade to most of the city's civic institutions and churches, resulting in almost none of them endorsing the school. Clearly identified with the GOP, the Crusade faced the open hostility of the political machine of Democratic Senator Stephen Young of Ohio, who made sure that the Cleveland school board refused cooperation with Schwarz, who had submitted the regular request that students might be excused from their classes

<sup>238</sup> An., "Dr. Schwarz's School in San Mateo", *San Francisco Examiner*, Sept. 12, 1962, 11.

<sup>239</sup> AP Correspondent, "Schwarz, Bridges, Zing Fiery Words", *The Daily Review* (Hayward), Tue., Oct. 23, 1962, 13.; Dave Hope, "Bridges-Schwarz Meeting a Brawl", *Oakland Tribune*, Tue., Oct. 23, 1962, E13.

<sup>240</sup> Quoted in Irving Leibowitz, "Dr. Schwarz Takes the Stand", *loc. cit.*, 17.

<sup>241</sup> Forrest Allen, "They Don't Think Much of Schwarz Down Under", *loc. cit.*, B16.

to attend the school. The school board head confirmed to Young that “the school board is going to say ‘no’ in very emphatic terms. The schools will not close. Keep up the good work”<sup>242</sup>. On the U.S. Senate floor, Young affirmed that school children should not “waste valuable time listening to an Australian demagog (sic), a Fascist-minded leader of the lunatic rightwing fringe, now in this country playing his profitable rabble-rousing”<sup>243</sup>.

On Monday morning, October 1, not more than 50 people were scattered among the hundreds of seats in Cleveland’s Hanna Theatre<sup>244</sup>. On the same day, Young delivered another Senate speech, asserting that the Crusade’s prosperity was on the wane and ridiculing Schwarz’s statement that the New York failure was the result of a plot against him. “Are we to assume that Khrushchev, Mao Tse-tung, and their Communist colleagues took time out from their aggressive activities (...) to prevent the citizens of New York from hearing Fred Charles Schwarz?”<sup>245</sup>. Schwarz replied during the same evening before 150 persons, calling Young an irresponsible disgrace to the U.S. Senate. Referring to the Crusade’s child sponsorship program in Andhra, he added that it was tragic that “a Senator of the United States tries to take food out of the mouths of Indians”<sup>246</sup>.

The failures of New York, San Mateo and Cleveland, the growing effectiveness of the opposition and the Crusade’s declining financial situation compelled Schwarz to put a halt on anticommunism schools for five months, the longest of such periods since 1959. Schwarz began spending more time in Southern California, where his support was still strong. In November 1962, after holding a few events in California, Schwarz wrote Philbrick that he was “delighted with the great interest and enthusiasm prevailing. Where our roots are deeply established the stream of slander has not been very effective”<sup>247</sup>. Arthur McDowell told Schwarz he was reassured to see the “continuing support and enthusiasm in your base in Southern California”<sup>248</sup>. Schwarz initially thought holding a school of anticommunism in Southern California in late 1962, but because of the

<sup>242</sup> Drew Pearson, “McCormack and JFK on Cordial Terms”, *Palm Beach Post-Times*, Sun., Sept. 9, 1962, 6.

<sup>243</sup> Stephen Young, “They Don’t Think Much of Schwarz Down Under”, *Congressional Record*, U.S. Senate, Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 87<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, Aug. 7, 1962, 14732.

<sup>244</sup> Julian Krawcheck, “Schwarz School Draws Less Than 50 Listeners”, *Cleveland Press*, Mon., Oct. 1, 1962, B-13.

<sup>245</sup> Stephen Young, “Dr. Fred Charles Schwarz – Profiteering Purveyor of Hate”, *Congressional Record*, U.S. Senate, Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 87<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, Oct. 1, 1962, 20296.

<sup>246</sup> Hugh J. Brown, “Schwarz Called ‘Hate Vendor’”, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, Thu., Oct. 4, 1962, 5.

<sup>247</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Herbert Philbrick, Nov. 2, 1962, *HPP*, Box 15, “Subject File” Series, F. 18, “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1960-1962”.

<sup>248</sup> Arthur G. McDowell to Fred C. Schwarz, Nov. 15, 1962, *MLP*, Box 1, F. 2, General 1928-1986.

midterms and the “general political climate”, the idea was dropped<sup>249</sup>. The Crusade organized a major fundraising rally in December at Los Angeles’ Shrine Auditorium hosted by Roy Rogers and Dale Evans, where 5,000 people came, allowing the Crusade to net \$10,000. In late 1962, the Crusade fundraising pitches were facilitated by the Cuban missile crisis, which put the Red issue back in the news for a while. For the crusader, the missile crisis confirmed the Soviet strategy for the conquest of America. Soviets wished to use the missiles as leverage so as to obtain an American promise not to invade Cuba and, also, to instill fear of the nuclear war. In sum, the crisis only illustrated Schwarz’s theorem: “External encirclement plus internal demoralization plus thermonuclear blackmail equals progressive surrender.”

By the end of 1962, the Crusade had raised \$633,207, making this year the second highest-grossing year in its history, but with expenditures amounting to \$748,762, the net loss was \$115,364. The revenues, though still impressive, were down by almost half of what they were in 1961. The Long Beach office staff was reduced from its peak of thirty by late 1961 to only a few people by the end of 1962. The same shrinking occurred at the Houston office. In the Christmas postcard he sent to his acquaintances in 1962, Strube wrote: “The anti-anti-communism smear has taken its toll on Crusade activities. The Houston staff was 15 one year ago. Now, it is less than five”<sup>250</sup>.

This first extended school break gave Schwarz the opportunity to distance himself from Skousen, whom he probably felt had become a liability. Already in June 1962, Schwarz had not invited Skousen at the Madison Square Garden rally, despite the fact that he had initially planned Skousen’s participation when the New York project was laid out in the fall of 1961<sup>251</sup>. Skousen appeared in San Mateo and in Cleveland schools, but these would be his last collaborations. In November 1962, McDowell, acting as Schwarz’s eyes and ears in the liberal world, warned him that a “close friend of mine in the International Rescue Committee” insisted that “one of your regular associates, whom he has heard on other platforms, namely, Skousen, is the sort of person who does the disruptive job of polarizing the community on the Communist issue, therefore destroying

<sup>249</sup> Bill Becker, “Schwarz Says ‘Crusade’ Will Gross Million in ‘62”, *New York Times*, Thu., Dec. 13, 1962, 1.

<sup>250</sup> Bill Strube, Family Postcard, Christmas 1962, HPP, Box 185, “Subject File”, F. 3, “Strube, William P., General, 1959-1973”.

<sup>251</sup> W. Cleon Skousen to Rick Skousen, Dec. 12, 1961, WCKP, Binder “Hollywood’s Answer to Communism, Oct. 16, 1961 – 1961 Dec”.

the solid middle ground of opposition which is essential”<sup>252</sup>. When anticommunism schools resumed in February 1963, Skousen was no longer present<sup>253</sup>. In 1965, Wes McCune, from Group research had an exchange with Joost Sluis in which he inquired about Skousen’s association with the Crusade. The conversation summary reads: “Said Skousen has not been used by Schwarz for several years and implied it was because Skousen was too far out”<sup>254</sup>. Skousen pursued for decades his career as a prominent spokesman of right-wing causes. In the 1970’s, he was one of one main the bridge-builders between Mormons and the broader religious conservative movement, while continuing to influence scores of conservative activists with his prolific writing, such as radio and TV host Glenn Beck who acknowledges having been deeply moved by Skousen’s books<sup>255</sup>.

Only four anticommunism schools were organized in 1963 and 1964 combined (San Diego, February 1963; Sacramento, June 1963; Indianapolis, October 1963; Washington, June 1964), and all resulted in financial losses for the Crusade.

In October 1963, an anticommunism school organized in Indianapolis was supposed to allow the Crusade to regain its momentum. The Lilly Endowment, headquartered in Indianapolis, granted \$5,000 to organize his school. Indianapolis had a Crusade branch, led by Floyd Burroughs, a good field organizer. Schwarz was confident that there would be little opposition this time. “The only opposition thus far is from labor, and we hope to break it down”, he wrote to Philbrick<sup>256</sup>. But several problems appeared. Walter Judd cancelled his appearance at the school, disappointing the Lilly Endowment officials who

<sup>252</sup> Arthur G. McDowell to Fred C. Schwarz, Nov. 15, 1962, *MLP*, Box 1, F. 2, General 1928-1986.

<sup>253</sup> “(...) haven’t heard from you for some time, and wondering what you are up to these days”, Philbrick wrote to Skousen in February 1963. “Since we don’t all get together at the Schwarz schools any more it is hard to keep up one another”, Skousen replied. Herbert Philbrick to W. Cleon Skousen, Feb. 5, 1963; W. Cleon Skousen to Herbert Philbrick, Feb. 8, 1963, *HPP*, Box 178, “Subject File”, F. 4, “Skousen, W. Cleon, 1960-1966, 1972, 1982-1986, n.d.”

<sup>254</sup> “Christian Anti-Communism General, 8/17/65, WMc”, *GRC*, Box 364, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial”.

<sup>255</sup> Anson Shupe and John Heinerman, “Mormonism and the New Christian Right: An Emerging Coalition”, *Review of Religious Research*, Vol. 27, No. 2, Dec. 1985, 146-153.; See also Merlin B. Brinkerhoff, Jeffrey C. Jacobs and Marlene M. Mackie, “Mormonism and the Moral Majority Make Strange Bedfellows? An Explanatory Critique”, *Review of Religious Research*, Vol. 28, No. 3, Mar. 1987, 236-251.; David Horowitz and Glenn Beck, *The Glenn Beck Program*, Interview, Nov. 13, 2007, Available online at < <http://www.glennbeck.com/content/articles/article/196/2071/> > (accessed July 25, 2010).; Nigel Hannaford, “The 5,000 Year Leap”, *Calgary Herald*, Mon., May 11, 2009, Available online at < <http://communities.canada.com/calgaryherald/blogs/hannaford/archive/2009/05/11/the-5000-year-leap.aspx> > (accessed July 25, 2010). In a 2010 pamphlet against Beck, Alexander Zaitchik contended that traces of Skousen’s *The Naked Capitalist* “can be found all over Glenn Beck’s historical interests”, with each one of Skousen’s prime targets in this book (Walter Lippmann and Woodrow Wilson, in particular) becoming later on Beck’s favourite schmucks. Alexander Zaitchik, *Common Nonsense, op. cit.*, 210-234.

<sup>256</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Herbert Philbrick, Sept. 10, 1963, *HPP*, Box 66, “Subject File” Series, F. 1, “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1963-1964”.



betted on his appearance<sup>257</sup>. The school met the strong opposition of the Catholic diocese of Indianapolis, the newspaper of which, *The Criterion*, criticized Schwarz as a patriot for profit in an editorial: “He just says everything is a mess, collects a lot of money from the well-to-do, and hurries on to the next town”<sup>258</sup>. The AFL-CIO came out against the school: “It is about time somebody or some organization in Indiana starts to expose these so-called right-wingers (fascists)”<sup>259</sup>. The school’s first session was attended by only 160 people, a number that never grew to more than 400 throughout the week. The school ended with a deficit of \$4,000<sup>260</sup>. “Fred was completely unprepared for it (...)”, McDowell wrote to one of his correspondents. “I believe that this is more or less a sign of the times”<sup>261</sup>.

With anticommunism schools becoming less frequent and harder to organize given their costs, Schwarz gradually fell back on touring. The successful period of 1960-1961 had given the Crusade a solid base of supporters that almost guaranteed yearly revenues of \$400,000 to \$500,000, which were maintained up until the 1980’s. With this financial cushion and the demand for anticommunist speakers decreasing, Schwarz cut back to an average of about 200 lectures a year, which was still a high figure<sup>262</sup>.

In February 1963, the Crusade was assailed by the AFL-CIO and, more exactly, by its Committee on Political Education (COPE), as part of the unions’ counter-campaign against initiatives to implant “right-to-work”, anti-union legislation in many states. Fed in part by Group Research data, AFL-CIO’s COPE published leaflets and information sheets in which the Crusade was directly targeted. McDowell, already under attack among labor circles for his support to the Crusade, informed Schwarz that one of the AFL-CIO’s pamphlets, called “Don’t Be Fooled: The Target Is YOU”, placed Schwarz aside Billy James Hargis, and more broadly among the “1,000 right wing organizations” the aims of which were described as: repealing all forms of social legislation, impeaching Earl Warren, wrecking the U.N., and maintaining racial segregation.

<sup>257</sup> John S. Lynn to Walter H. Judd, Sept. 11, 1963, *WHJUP*, Box 69, F. “Judd, Walter H. – Correspondence, 1963”.

<sup>258</sup> Editorial, “Holy Gum-Smoke”, *The Criterion*, Vol. 4, No. 4, Oct. 25, 1963, 4.; An., “Schwarz Raps Catholic Newspaper”, *The Indianapolis News*, Tue., Oct. 29, 1963, 17.

<sup>259</sup> An., “Who is Dr. Fred C. Schwarz?”, *News and Views (Indiana State AFL-CIO)*, Vol. 5, No. 14, Jul. 15, 1963, 1.

<sup>260</sup> James Rourke, “Anti—Red School is \$4,000 in the Red”, *Indianapolis Times*, Wed., Oct. 30, 1963, 7.

<sup>261</sup> Arthur G. McDowell to Marx Lewis, Oct. 30, 1963, *MLP*, Box 1, F. 2, General 1928-1986.

<sup>262</sup> An., “Dr. Fred Schwarz In Seattle For Anti-Red Rally Tonight”, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Fri., Jan. 23, 1965, 18.

McDowell wrote Schwarz: “The job of aligning the entire labor movement against your work requires nothing further than tying you up with the network of reactionary and employer forces (...)”. This was perhaps true, but the Crusade had indeed received support from proponents of “right-to-work” laws such as Boeing and Allen-Bradley. McDowell recommended that Schwarz contact the AFL-CIO and emphasize his neutrality on domestic issues<sup>263</sup>. Schwarz followed the advice and wrote to the AFL-CIO’s in a polite manner, stating that the charges contained in COPE’s pamphlet were untrue<sup>264</sup>. The reply from AFL-CIO’s COPE was that Schwarz had “misunderstood the pamphlet” and that the goals he thought were attributed to him were only an outline of general right-wing goals. Nonetheless, COPE considered that there was one passage in Schwarz’s *You Can Trust* tainted by an anti-labor bias<sup>265</sup>. COPE’s representative thus wrote: “While I regret your belief that the leaflet has misrepresented you and your organization, I feel no retraction or further explanation is in order”<sup>266</sup>. The pamphlet was published and distributed as planned by the AFL-CIO. “The building of hostile stories on Schwarz seems to have become a nationwide industry”, McDowell commented<sup>267</sup>. Once again, Schwarz was lumped with extremists: “I have confidence that in due course the truth will be told, but meanwhile it is a little hard to bear. My present emphasis is to kill the anti-Semitic smear”<sup>268</sup>.

What the crusader referred as the “anti-Semitic smear” was his ongoing battle against the ADL and other Jewish groups throughout 1963. Just after the New York fiasco in the summer of 1962, any hopes that the opposition from the Jewish community might cool off were dashed when George Sokolsky, in one of his last columns on Schwarz (and indeed in this world), claimed that Schwarz had done an anti-Semitic rant that during his speech in Tyler, where the crusader made a speech in August 1962. Sokolsky quoted one

<sup>263</sup> Arthur G. McDowell to Fred C. Schwarz, Feb. 20, 1963, *MLP*, Box 1, F. 2, General 1928-1986.

<sup>264</sup> He emphasized “the long and honored record of fighting Communism earned by the AFL”. Fred C. Schwarz to William F. Schnitzler, Feb. 27, 1963, *Ibid.*

<sup>265</sup> The section deals with means whereby Communists seize power, and in which Schwarz draws from many examples of Communist-controlled industrial strikes in Australia and America between the 1930’s and the 1950’s. “Though it has not as yet fully succeeded in taking over a country, any person of intelligence has great reason for concern when workers can be compelled to join organizations, contribute their money, and obey the leadership imposed by a small group”. The passage also warns against the danger to “republican, democratic government” when the said money “can be used for political purposes by a constant propaganda campaign by the press, radio and television so that the public may be influenced to elect legislators under obligation to the union leadership”. Fred C. Schwarz, *You Can Trust the Communists*, *op. cit.*, 83.

<sup>266</sup> Al Barkan to Fred C. Schwarz, Apr. 1, 1963, *MLP*, Box 1, F. 2, General 1928-1986.

<sup>267</sup> Arthur G. McDowell to Colonel Wm. R. Kintner, Mar. 28, 1963, *Ibid.*

<sup>268</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Arthur G. McDowell, May 22, 1963, *Ibid.*

man who attended Schwarz's lecture: "Boy, I tell you, (Schwarz) spells out a death struggle with the Jews. (...) Schwarz said 'New York is controlled by them,' that is, by Jews. He said the thing is divided down in the middle, Christians and Jews"<sup>269</sup>. This testimony confirmed the misgivings Sokolsky, the ADL and the American Jewish Congress had against Schwarz. The ADL dedicated its entire late 1962 report sheet to Schwarz and described this Tyler speech as Schwarz spelling out "in meeting halls, crowded with rightwing extremists, his battle with the Jews of New York"<sup>270</sup>. In a private exchange, Schwarz affirmed that he had a tape recording of the complete speech and that the ADL had misunderstood it. He claimed that his speech did not contain anti-Semite attacks, though he had criticized the Jewish War Veterans and the ADL for their campaign against him. He also took on American Jewish Congress president C. Irving Dwork for his boycott of Schick's products during the previous spring. About this speech, Schwarz said: "All I did was reveal facts that can be easily sustained by subpoenaing persons involved"<sup>271</sup>. In its report sheet, the ADL was cautious enough not to level a direct charge of anti-Semitism, thus offering Schwarz little substance for a potential libel lawsuit. "I now find myself", he wrote, "in the position where the most powerful organization in the Jewish community, which specializes in Anti-Semitism, has projected an image of me which conveys the definite impression of Anti-Semitism"<sup>272</sup>.

Schwarz sought advice from William F. Buckley: "They have tried to build a case of anti-Semitism against me, and I am considering suing for libel. Do you know any Jewish lawyer who can take the case?" Buckley advised him against such an action. "My preliminary judgment", he wrote, "is that it is not libelous. I certainly believe that in moral terms it is defamatory, but I am also quite certain that it was very, very carefully handled in such a way as to render them immune from any possible libel consequences"<sup>273</sup>. McDowell, for his part, pushed for legal action, emphasizing that "this cannot be tolerated any longer without disaster to your own work", making necessary "an approach be made to financial supporters for a legal battle to really call the Anti-

<sup>269</sup> George Sokolsky, "Dr. Schwarz's Difficulty", *loc. cit.*, A23.

<sup>270</sup> An., "The Case of Fred C. Schwarz", *loc. cit.*, 261.

<sup>271</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Arthur G. McDowell, *MLP*, Box 1, F. 2.

<sup>272</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Solomon Andhal Fineberg, Apr. 15, 1963, *MLP*, Box 1, F. 2, General 1928-1986.

<sup>273</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to William F. Buckley, Feb. 20, 1963; William F. Buckley to Fred C. Schwarz, *WFBBP*, Box 27, F. "Schvettinger, Robert S. - Schwalbe, A.- Schwarz, Fred C."

Defamation League into account”. Perhaps influenced by Buckley, Schwarz hesitated: “I have always detested the thought of a lawsuit and resent the time and energy I would have to expend. (...) However, I must consult with Patrick Frawley and a few others involved”<sup>274</sup>. Schwarz considered he had four choices. The first was to ignore the whole issue and hope that it would die out, but this was problematic since the ADL’s report “will have preceded me to every community in the United States and since it has never been retracted, it can be used against me at any time”; the second was to sue the ADL, but “I would do this with the greatest reluctance. I have never been sued and have never yet sued any individual or organization. My time is the most valued possession”. The third option was to try to embarrass the ADL by sending the “defamatory document” to its potential funders. The fourth choice, apparently, was to “write a book on “Techniques of Slander” and use the document as illustrative material”<sup>275</sup>.

Dr. Solomon Andhil Fineberg, a prominent Reform rabbi and member of the American Jewish Committee, convinced Schwarz not to take legal action against the ADL. Himself an ardent anticommunist and a rare case of prominent Jewish personality who openly disagree with the ADL’s treatment of Schwarz, Fineberg preferred not risking seeing one of his letters to the crusader becoming public record among his community. Fineberg communicated his advice to Schwarz through McDowell, who informed the crusade in March 1963 that Fineberg “has the ADL pledged that they will keep the peace from this moment forth”. Schwarz would do well not to aggravate with a suit. Schwarz was not entirely convinced: “It is a little difficult to ignore a raging fire in hope that it will go out”<sup>276</sup>. Fineberg finally took the risk to write him directly. “I believe it is much wiser for you to minimize the charges and say, “I’m sorry the ADL does not think as well of me as millions of others do, but I have not been accused (...) of being anti-Semitic or of promoting anti-Semitism” ”<sup>277</sup>.

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<sup>274</sup> Arthur G. McDowell to Fred C. Schwarz, Mar. 5, 1963; Fred C. Schwarz to Arthur G. McDowell, Mar. 8, 1963, *MLP*, Box 1, F. 2, General 1928-1986.

<sup>275</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Solomon Andhal Fineberg, Apr. 15, 1963, *Ibid*.

<sup>276</sup> Arthur G. McDowell to Fred C. Schwarz, Mar. 14, 1963; Fred C. Schwarz to Arthur G. McDowell, Apr. 10, 1963, *Ibid*. Fineberg also tried to convince McDowell, who had sent an angry letter to the ADL requesting retraction over, to cool off. McDowell changed his mind and suggested to “follow Fineberg’s hunch as far as the ADL is concerned”. Solomon Andhal Fineberg to Arthur G. McDowell, Apr. 25, 1963.; Arthur G. McDowell to Fred C. Schwarz, Apr. 30, 1963, *Ibid*.

<sup>277</sup> Solomon Andhal Fineberg to Fred C. Schwarz, Apr. 28, 1963, *Ibid*.

Schwarz did not sue the ADL, but he decided to take legal action against whomever would openly call him an anti-Semite. On April 15, 1963, columnist James F. Droney, from *Boston Herald*, wrote a column containing the following words: “On March 27 at John Hancock Hall, the Forum sponsored the appearance of Cleon Skousen, a close associate of Fred Schwarz, another of the nation’s top anti-Semites”<sup>278</sup>. This time, Schwarz decided to sue. He contacted the Boston firm Hale and Dorr, which requested first a \$500 fee before they would even consider taking the case or not. Boston lawyer C. Keefe Hurley took the case and contacted Schwarz: “I will require a \$5,000 retainer to carry this case through the retraction stage. If we succeed in obtaining the desired retraction there will be no further charge for legal services. However, if we fail to obtain a retraction and if litigation thereby becomes necessary, I will require an additional \$25,000 (...)”<sup>279</sup>. The costs were so prohibitive that Schwarz ceased legal proceedings at this point. Pat Frawley came to the rescue, hired the firm Malloy, Sullivan & Sullivan, and paid legal expenses for the Crusade in the ensuing battle<sup>280</sup>. The five years it took for the court to hear the case ultimately destroyed the Crusade’s case against the *Herald*. In the meantime the U.S. Supreme Court delivered its *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan* ruling, which established the standard regarding libel. According to the “new” rule, a plaintiff in a libel suit who was a public figure had to prove that the defendant knew that his libelous statement was false. When a Massachusetts court finally heard the case in October 1968, Schwarz and his attorney Ralph Warren Sullivan thus had to prove that journalist James F. Droney knew the statement to be unfounded. The ruling predictably went in favor of the *Herald* after its publisher had convinced the court that he did not know exactly who Schwarz was by the time the article was published. After the trial, Schwarz’s attorney discussed with the judge, who said the crusader’s case could have been solidified if he had appeared in the courtroom looking far more upset than he did<sup>281</sup>.

During the summer of 1963, books on the right-wing appeared, usually devoting much space to Schwarz and the Crusade. *The Far Right*, by journalists Donald Janson and

<sup>278</sup> Quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 332.

<sup>279</sup> C. Keefe Hurley to Fred C. Schwarz, Jun. 5, 1963, *HPP*, Box 175, “Subject File” Series, F. 6, “Schwarz, Frederick C. - General - 1957-1995, n.d.”

<sup>280</sup> “(...) if you should run into the slightest evidence that the Herald attack generated ill-will in Boston, I would use it to sue not for \$25,000, but at least \$250,000.00”. Herbert Philbrick to Fred C. Schwarz, *HPP*, Box 66, “Subject File” Series, F. 1, “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1963-1964”.

<sup>281</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 334.

Bernard Eismann, had a chapter on Schwarz between one on the John Birch Society and another on Billy James Hargis and the Christian Crusade. Schwarz was called “ ‘Enry ‘Iggins of the Right’”, referring to the English professor in *My Fair Lady*. The comparison, however, was hardly to Schwarz’s benefit: “Schwarz is, essentially, a peddler of phrases. He has perfected the use of ambiguity”. The article, which had a few mistakes -Schwarz did not have a theology degree from Bob Jones University- showed him to be more calculating than other conservative figures and more dangerous as a result: “Although Schwarz speaks most, he says least. He talks of Christian morality and details the struggle for power within the Communist Party. He is anti-Communist, pro-American and in favor of good as opposed to evil. He carefully avoids name-calling”<sup>282</sup>. *Men of the Far Right*, by Richard Dudman, placed Schwarz alongside Strom Thurmond, Barry Goldwater, Robert Welch, Gen. Walker, Billy James Hargis and the military-industrial complex, all of which formed a dangerous apparatus that risked actualizing Sinclair Lewis’ 1935 novel *It Can’t Happen Here*, which told the story of the United States turning fascist<sup>283</sup>. Those two books were the first on a series published by various muckrakers of the right-wing until the end of 1964.

At the end of 1963, the Crusade’s activities were brought to a halt by the assassination of President Kennedy. The event put the American right on the defensive. The Democrats benefitted from the wave of sympathy that ensued, and the fact that the assassination took place in the right-wing hotbed of Dallas was an embarrassment for conservative leaders, who were accused of having created the climate in which the assassination took place. Many on the right took comfort when it was discovered that Lee Harvey Oswald had been an avowed Marxist and that he had attempted to kill Gen. Edwin Walker shortly before shooting the President. Despite the hard time the Kennedy White House had given him, Schwarz expressed in his newsletter his “shock, sadness, horror and anger”. Nonetheless, he added that the “assassin’s accomplice” was Marxism-Leninism. He also shrugged off any relationship between right-wing extremism and the assassination: “The attempt of the Communist press to continue the libel and to blame the assassination on

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<sup>282</sup> Donald Janson and Bernard Eismann, *The Far Right*, *op. cit.*, 55, 67.

<sup>283</sup> Richard Dudman, *Men of the Far Right*, New York, Pyramid Books, 1963, 180.

the right wing is understandable, but a similar attitude on the part of responsible American leaders appears inexplicable”<sup>284</sup>.

The year 1964 saw only one anticommunism school being held. All Crusade activities were scaled down, as Schwarz stepped up his touring. While lecturing in Columbus, Ohio, he met a businessman called David Greenroos, who talked to him about his wife Janet, a popular television and music personality. In a subsequent Crusade event, Janet Greenroos, known by the stage name of Janet Greene, came to hear the crusader. Greene recalls: “I thought he [Schwarz] was an excellent speaker. In fact, he was comedic, too. He was a very colorful and interesting speaker. You know, I had never even been to high school or college, so I was taken in by that”<sup>285</sup>. Schwarz watched her local TV show *Cinderella*, where she played and sang. She recalled that Schwarz made her a proposal: “He said their (CACC) programs lacked music, they didn't have that and he said it would help to get their message across a lot better if they had music. And I had written songs before. I had written commercials and things like that”<sup>286</sup>. Greene accepted his offer of becoming the Crusade’s new “Musical Director”, with a move of the Greenroos and their three kids to Long Beach, a new rented house and a \$500-weekly package.

Born Janet Marcum in a poor family in Ohio, Greene had studied at the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music thanks to the financial assistance of a neighbor impressed by her voice. Married at 17, she began performing folk music in Cincinnati clubs and eventually got a job at WCPO television portraying Cinderella on a weekday musical morning show. She was fired after refusing the sexual proposals from the TV station’s manager. The Greenroos relocated to Columbus, where WTVN, a local station, put her in their own *Cinderella* show. In 1964, she was a local celebrity in Columbus and was often seen on other television shows with her downhome charm. Janet Greene’s main motivation in taking up Schwarz’s offer had to do with the prospect of living in Southern California. Nonetheless, she released a statement of belief when announcing her intent to join the Crusade: “Our American heritage and Christian religion are in great jeopardy. The enemy is Communism. Communism denies the existence of God, the individual right to freedom

<sup>284</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “The Assassin’s Accomplice: Marxist Ideology”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jan. 1964, 1-3.

<sup>285</sup> Quoted in Bill Geerhart, “Anti-Baez: The Ballad of Janet Greene”, *Conelrad: All Things Atomic*, Available online at: < <http://www.conelrad.com/greene/index.php> > (accessed Jan. 26, 2010).

<sup>286</sup> Quoted in “The Freewheelin’ Janet Greene: The Conelrad Interview” (Interview between Bill Geerhart and Janet Greene, from *Ibid.*

of choice and woman's right to raise her own family as God intended. The Communists plan to take our children away from us”<sup>287</sup>. In Long Beach, David Greenroos became a staffer for the organization and Janet Greene became the CACC “Musical Director”. In a press conference to introduce her on the West Coast, Schwarz said that he had “taken a leaf out of the Communist book”. The Reds, he stated, were “undoubtedly involved in folk singing, but by all means that does not mean all folk singers are Communists”. Schwarz’s aim was to create anticommunist folk music. “You’d be amazed”, he said, “at how much doctrine can be taught in one song”<sup>288</sup>. In his newsletter, Schwarz added: “Every great movement throughout history has expressed its inspiration in music”<sup>289</sup>. For the next years, Greene would live on the West Coast and sometimes depart with Schwarz for long periods of touring. During Crusade rallies, her main function was to warm up the crowds by singing the national anthem and a few satirical, folky anticommunist tunes which she composed based on Schwarz’s writings. Greene’s sometimes drew more applause than Schwarz. Her presence balanced out Schwarz’s cut-and-dry lectures, making Crusade rallies more family-friendly (Schwarz wrote that Greene’s songs “have a particular appeal to children and youth”). Her songs also tapped into the growing popularity of folk music in America<sup>290</sup>. One Group Research infiltrator to a Crusade meeting in 1965 mentioned in his report: “Mrs Greene is very pretty and sings well. Her presence considerably enlivens the meeting (...). She left the stage and the room (...), returning only for one song at the end, plus some singing during the collection taking. Schwarz exhorted the audience to buy records of these songs, discounted in large amounts (...), and suggested to disseminate them to teenagers and college students<sup>291</sup>”.

In 1965, eight of Greene’s songs were included in a four-record package of lectures by Schwarz titled “What is Communism?”. One song titled “Commie Lies”, based on the melody “Jimmy Crack Corn”, went like this:

“When I was young, I seemed to me,  
The whole wide world would soon be free.

<sup>287</sup> Quoted in Bill Geerhart, “Anti-Baez: The Ballad of Janet Greene”, *loc. cit.*

<sup>288</sup> An., “Tuned for Americans: Crusader’s Anti-Red Folk Songs Pay Off”, *Los Angeles Times*, Wed., Oct. 14, 1964, A8.

<sup>289</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “New Crusade Dimension: Music”, *CACC Newsletter*, Oct. 1964, 3-4.

<sup>290</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Walter H. Judd, Nov. 28, 1966, *WHJP*, Box 226, F. 4.; Richard Corrigan, “Cold War Crusade Comes to Virginia”, *Washington Post*, March 8, 1966, S 7.; Jane Clark, “A Girl, A Guitar, And a Message”, *St-Louis Globe-Democrat*, Fri., Apr. 8, 1966, 12A.

<sup>291</sup> “Confidential – Report on : Meeting of Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Oct. 15, 1965, 8 p. m., Ambassador Residence, St. Louis – Speaker: Dr. Fred Schwarz”, *GRC*, Box 363, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Notes on Individual Meetings” .



But communism is on the rise,  
 And Satan has a new disguise  
 Be careful of the commie lies,  
 Swallow them and freedom dies,  
 The U.S.A. must realize,  
 That she is the biggest prize”.

Another song, “Inch by Inch”, defended the Vietnam War by arguing that the Red strategy of world conquest was based on the belief that the U.S. would not step up to defend small nations threatened by the Red strategy. “The Hunter and the Bear” told of the pitfalls of negotiating with the Reds, illustrated by the tale of a hunter who succumbs to a bear’s soft soap in the forest. “No matter what you say”, Greene said, “if it has a beat people will listen and not feel resentful”. This was illustrated once when a few beatnik-styled young people who picketed a Crusade meeting sent a note to Greene telling her that her singing was “the best”. “They have nothing against me as long as I sing”<sup>292</sup>.

Greene was part of the magic of a reduced Crusade show, centered on the trio composed of Schwarz, Greene and Philbrick, the latter reluctantly back on the lecturing trail after an unsuccessful attempt to launch his own newsletter. This reduced line-up was convenient and relatively inexpensive. Greene warmed up the audiences, Schwarz made the connection between Marxist-Leninist theory and the Reds’ ominous intentions, Philbrick the action man told his infiltrator’s tales. The event wrapped up with Schwarz making his fundraising pleas over Greene’s songs. This trio toured the nation’s cities and small towns, in meetings that attracted relatively little press attention, despite the fact that audiences sometimes numbered a few thousand people (the average was a few hundred).

In 1964, the Schwarz-Greene-Philbrick triad began touring in the context marked by the Goldwater movement. During the Republican primaries of 1964, the Goldwater campaign saw the coalescing of most right-wing and anticommunist militants into a major national movement, particularly rooted in the West and Southwest, while its main opposition within the GOP came from the Northeast moderate-centrist establishment from the old Northeast that had dominated the party since the 1940’s. After a hard-fought campaign coordinated by the Goldwater for President Committee, the movement won the primaries in a cluster of big states (Florida, Illinois, Texas), where the primary election

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<sup>292</sup> Jane Clark, “A Girl, A Guitar, And a Message”, *loc. cit.*, 12A.

system made it easier to defeat, through a grassroots effort, the opposition of the Republican establishment (New York Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, Ohio Governor James A. Rhodes, and Nixon's 1960 running mate, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr). The single most important moment of the Republican nomination process came in early June, when an unprecedented grassroots mobilization secured for Goldwater the victory in the California primary over Rockefeller by a thin margin (51-49 percent), thus eliminating the only remaining serious contender Goldwater faced. Still, dark clouds were looming over the GOP, as the primaries saw most of Goldwater's opponents attacking him as a war-mongering and radical extremist, thereby reinforcing the image of lunacy around him and his followers. The disastrous GOP Convention of July that nominated Goldwater exposed the bitter divisions among Republicans, with Rockefeller being booed as he implicitly took on the Birchites by denouncing the subversion of the party by "a minority wholly alien to the sound and honest conservatism". In his acceptance speech, Goldwater delivered the infamous words that subsequently haunted him: "I would remind you that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. And let me remind you also that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue"<sup>293</sup>.

Though committed to a non-partisan stance, the Crusade was unavoidably pulled into the Goldwater campaign, if only because its supporters were overwhelmingly Goldwaterites and belonged to the same Western/Southwestern middle and upper class demographic. As in 1962, the electoral context presented a problem for the Crusade, since it diverted resources and energy from its core supporters, as well as politicizing the Schwarz-Greene-Philbrick rallies. In 1964, George Murphy ran as a Republican Senator against incumbent Pierre Salinger in California. As soon as Murphy announced his candidacy, pundits rightly predicted that his association with Frawley and Schwarz would be a liability. During a debate with Salinger, Murphy was questioned on the issue by his opponent and did not disavow his participation in Crusade events<sup>294</sup>. Salinger criticized Murphy's association with "the notorious Dr. Schwarz" during a Crusade event where "a plea was made for either the impeachment or hanging of Earl Warren, chief justice of the

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<sup>293</sup> Mary C. Brennan, *Turning Right in the Sixties*, *op. cit.*, 69-81.

<sup>294</sup> Gladwin Hill, "Salinger Faces Formidable Foe", *New York Times*, Sun., Jun. 7, 1964, 78.; Kimmis Hendrick, "Murphy on GOP Stage", *Christian Science Monitor*, Fri., Jun. 12, 1964, 1.; Editorial, "Salinger and Murphy", *The Press-Courier*, Wed., Oct. 7, 1964, 12.

United States”<sup>295</sup>. Salinger was actually confounding Schwarz’s schools with the Project Alert seminar of December 1961 where extreme remarks were made on Earl Warren and other topics. Schwarz requested a retraction by Salinger. The retraction never came, but Salinger lost to Murphy’s fund of goodwill among the public.

But 1964 was different from 1962 for the Crusade. The new surge of conservative mobilization created a wave of popular enthusiasm on which Schwarz, Greene and Philbrick surfed. Already in March 1964, Schwarz agreed to let Greene participate in some Goldwater events, such as the one held in Knott’s Berry Farm where she sang the anthem before a few thousand people, with Ronald Reagan and John Wayne acting as master of ceremonies. In the electoral context of the late summer and fall of 1964, attendance for the Schwarz-Greene-Philbrick rallies was high. In August, the trio came to Indianapolis, where a crowd of 1,000 greeted them at the Clowes Memorial Hall. Schwarz told a local journalist that the mere mention of the Arizona Senator’s name generated spontaneous applause from Crusade crowds. Already noticeable during the earlier anticommunism schools, the phenomenon reached an unparalleled level in 1964. “I’ve never seen anything to equal this pure devotion to a candidate”, he said. He then came as close as he ever did to endorsing Goldwater: “The Communists are hysterically afraid of Senator Goldwater. They believe he is a threat to their plans of world conquest and they will do anything to attempt to defeat him”. He also went on to defend Goldwater in the face of criticism for his remarks over extremism at the GOP convention by saying that his comments were widely misunderstood by the press: “Extremism in itself is neither good or evil. The extreme sensitivity of a surgeon’s fingers in an operation is good but the extreme sensitivity of the burglar’s fingers on the combination of a safe is bad”<sup>296</sup>. However, Schwarz’s positive regard towards Goldwater was apparently not reciprocated. Whereas Goldwater had praised the Crusade school of Phoenix and had good words privately for Schwarz in 1961, he was less enthusiastic a few months later. In February 1962, at a moment where press coverage of the Crusade was increasingly negative, Goldwater replied to a question about the Crusade during a meeting: “Schwarz

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<sup>295</sup> AP Correspondent, “Schwarz Hits Salinger, Seeks Equal TV Time”, *The Fresno Bee*, Sun., Oct. 10, 1964, 3-A.

<sup>296</sup> An., “Dr. Schwarz Tells of Cheers for Goldwater”, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Thu., Aug. 6, 1964, 3A.

is in this to make a buck... This is business for him... I don't associate these groups with the conservative movement"<sup>297</sup>. Luckily for Schwarz, no journalist was present.

Through the fall of 1964, the Schwarz-Greene-Philbrick trio toured in California, where their meetings were infused with the energy of the election. In September, the trio held a series of eight successful rallies in Northern California which looked like campaign rallies. A few days before the election, the Crusade got a boost from Frawley, who had managed to defeat his opponents within Schick, thus allowing him to once again openly support Schwarz. Frawley paid in various major newspapers a full page promotion on Schwarz's views on the Sino-Soviet split, deemed by the crusader as being real, but changing nothing in the basic configuration of the anti-Red struggle. Yet, the Crusade's implicit association with the Goldwater movement was also proving problematic. In October 1964, ADL figures Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein released a 283-page study titled *Danger on the Right* which was a more sophisticated version of the new genre of muckraking studies on the right-wing. "*Danger on the Right*", Richard Gid Powers writes, "tied one organization to the next until it created an overall impression of an unbroken network of dangerous right-wingers ranging from anti-Semites, racists, Birch Society paranoids to mainstream figures like Barry Goldwater and William F. Buckley, Jr."<sup>298</sup>. In this book, the chapter on the Crusade nudges against the chapter on the JBS and on Billy James Hargis, though the book makes it clear that Schwarz is one of a kind: "Like all Radical Rightists, Schwarz disseminates fear – but he has been perhaps the most influential practitioner of that speciality, and he has had an undeniable impact on a large number of Americans"<sup>299</sup>. *Danger on the Right* contains a full-blown, point-by-point attack on the Crusade, its leader and his personality. It implied that Schwarz had "made" millions of dollars in the early 1960's, while in fact it was the organization which netted the money, not its leader. It ridiculed the Crusade's program for orphans in Andhra as a scam, and even contained a purely fictional passage, where the crusader is being described at a 1963 rally as openly endorsing Barry Goldwater.

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<sup>297</sup> Norman J. Rubin to Barry Goldwater, Feb. 26, 1962, *BMGP*, MF 45 Box 012\_REEL021\_0002, pdf. 532.

<sup>298</sup> Richard Gid Powers, *Not Without Honor*, *op. cit.*, 294.

<sup>299</sup> Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, *Danger on the Right*, *op. cit.*, 47.

Thirty years later, Schwarz was still objected to *Danger to the Right*, which he wrote “remains an eternal disgrace to both the authors and the organization”<sup>300</sup>.

Though the ADL declared that the book was not “an attack on the GOP and its candidate”, its release amid the presidential campaign was hardly incidental. “The coincidence that the candidate nominated has the unpleasant support of the radical right”, the ADL’s national chairman Dove Schary said, “is a problem for the GOP, not for us”<sup>301</sup>. The book added to the woes of the Goldwater campaign, which suffered from the outset from several problems: the inexperience of its organizers, a very well-planned campaign by the Democrats, Goldwater’s opposition to civil rights legislation, which undermined his support among many moderates, Johnson’s status as the incumbent, the wave of sympathy Democrats experienced in the wake of Kennedy’s death and almost three years of controversy over right-wing extremism that had most Americans fearing the worst should Goldwater get elected. On November 3, 1964, Johnson was re-elected in a landslide, winning in all the states, except Goldwater’s homestate of Arizona and the Deep South (Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South California), where the GOP elected its first Congressmen since the Reconstruction, laying the groundwork for the South’s realignment in the Republican fold in the following decades.

By contributing to reorient the national conversation away from the topic of communism, the Goldwater defeat was a factor in the Crusade’s ongoing marginalization and, ultimately, its eventual reduction to a mere footnote in U.S. historiography.

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<sup>300</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 315.

<sup>301</sup> David K. Willis, “Study Details Far-Right Activities”, *Christian Science Monitor*, Mon., Sept. 21, 1964, 4.

## 16 RESILIENCE

“Developments within the communist world are fascinating. I see hope on the horizon if we can survive the present demoralization”. - Fred C. Schwarz to William F. Buckley, Jr., 1968<sup>1</sup>.

### 16.1 Out of Sync

During the decade that followed the Goldwater debacle, America underwent fundamental changes. It was not in the first, but rather in the second half of the 1960's that most of the developments that earned this decade the name “Turbulent Sixties” took place: the counterculture; the race riots; the splintering of the Civil Rights movement with the emergence of the Black Power culture and the assassination of Martin Luther King; the large-scale American presence in Vietnam and the growth of the antiwar movement; the student unrests; the founding of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the emergence of the feminist movement; the rise of the gay rights movement; the stormy 1968 presidential election, marked by Bob Kennedy's assassination and the George Wallace campaign. In sum, the late 1960's and early 1970's saw a transformation of America unseen since the Great Depression. “In race relations, religion, family life, politics, and popular culture”, Bruce J. Schulman writes, it “marked the most significant watershed of modern U.S. history, the beginning of our time”<sup>2</sup>.

Such a context increasingly condemned to irrelevance the Cold War, East vs. West paradigm and the rhetoric associated with it. This situation, as well as the Goldwater defeat of 1964, carried at least one advantage for the Crusade and other anticommunist groups: the national mood shifted away from the concern of homegrown fascism, as the right-wing seemed much less threatening now that it had been exposed and defeated. During the 1966 gubernatorial race in California, Ronald Reagan's opponent Pat Brown tried to use Reagan's ties to Schwarz, Frawley and the right-wing organizations to discredit the former actor, but the attack fell flat, leading journalists Robert Novak and

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<sup>1</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to William F. Buckley, Jr., Jul. 27, 1968, *WFBP*, Box 54, F. “Schwarz, Fred”, along with many other names.

<sup>2</sup> Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies, op. cit.*, xii.

Rowland Evans to proclaim that “the Birch issue is dead”<sup>3</sup>. The monitoring of right-wing activities by groups such as the ADL and Group Research continued, but their releases attracted less attention than before. In October 1965, Group Research was even put on the defensive when it was accused of reverse blacklisting and smear tactics for its attempts to tie Republican personalities to right-wing groups<sup>4</sup>.

For the Crusade, the years following the Goldwater campaign were marked a permanent struggle for public visibility. At the same time, the organization’s base was shrinking. Many supporters were turning their attention to other, more immediate issues than the anti-Red fight, while others were demobilized by the easing of Cold War tensions, illustrated in the 1970’s by the dual process of *Détente* between the U.S. and the Soviets, and the U.S. recognition of Red China. In the wake of Nixon’s trip to China in 1972, Schwarz lamented to Judd that the “anti-communist constituency is being eroded”, notably because many believed “that the President has initiated an era of cooperation and peace with the communists so that there is no longer any need to expose the errors of communist doctrine”<sup>5</sup>.

One of the marked changes after the Crusade had recessed from its early 1960’s peak was the gradual decline in church support. “The Crusade owes its existence, particularly in its early years, to the support received from individual Christians and individual churches (...). Regrettably, as the Crusade has grown, we seem to have become more isolated from the churches”, Schwarz wrote. Individual believers continued to support the Crusade, but support from churches themselves declined to almost nothing. This development was in part due to the overall changing context that made the worldly engagement of conservative churches more inclined to focus on culture wars than communism. However, the Crusade’s brief, but real romance with the mainstream had rendered it less attractive to church bodies. In 1968, Schwarz expressed his dissatisfaction. “I am puzzled by the apparent lack of concern on the part of convinced Christians over the advances of Communism and the consequences of this advance”<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> Gladwin Hill, “Reagan Accused of Bircher Links”, *New York Times*, Fri., Aug. 12, 1966, 15.; Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, “Extremist Issue Nil in California”, *The Boston Globe*, Wed., Sept. 23, 1966, 13.

<sup>4</sup> AP Correspondent, “‘Blacklist’ Charge Kicks Up GOP Storm”, *The Telegraph-Herald*, Fri., Oct. 15, 1965, 3.

<sup>5</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Walter H. Judd, Jun. 13, 1972, *WHJP*, Box 226, F. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, “The Churches and Communism”, *loc. cit.*, 6.

One by one, Schwarz lost some of his most important collaborators, beginning with the Crusade's two prominent liberal allies. In October 1966, Arthur G. McDowell died in a car crash on the Pennsylvania turnpike. For his part, Senator Thomas Dodd had been re-elected in 1964, but sustained continuous criticism for his regular appearances at Crusade events. Columnist Jack Anderson, pointing out that Schwarz paid Dodd up to \$1,000 per appearance, wrote that Dodd "has discovered how to make a profit out of patriotism"<sup>7</sup>. In 1967, Dodd was the first U.S. Senator since Joe McCarthy to be censored by the Senate after revelations that he had channelled some of his campaign funds to his bank account. Disgraced, Dodd saw his political career brought to an end when, in 1970, he lost the nomination for his Senatorial seat to an opponent endorsed by the Democratic machine. He died one year later from a heart attack.

In 1966, Bill Strube closed the Houston Branch of the CACC, the activities of which had been moribund for a while, and retired (though he still remained a financial backer of the Crusade). He and his wife bought a former gambling casino in Missouri City, Texas, which became their 7,200 square feet retirement house and a Christian Youth and Conference center. The Strubes switched from one crusade to another and became involved in their spare time in Bill Bright's Campus Crusade for Christ, as well as several other Christian groups such as Gideon International. Strube also became a writer of Christian comic books and, in the late 1970's, began publishing works on health self-improvement, sold in Christian bookstores and grocery stores, that proposed a blend of evangelicalism, esotericism and alternate body detoxification therapies. In 1980, he took the pen name of "Mark Twain III" and affirmed to a journalist: "My great aspiration is that my writings will produce far greater eternal impacts than those of Mark Twain"<sup>8</sup>.

Another CACC branch closed (San Francisco) when Joost Sluis left the Crusade in 1970, though, he wrote to Philbrick, "I (...) continue to support its work"<sup>9</sup>. Sluis came back to his private practice as orthopaedic surgeon. In 1972, he tried to launch his own Christian activist group, "Christian Cause International", aimed at keeping America's Christian foundations alive and disseminated information on the threat of secular

<sup>7</sup> Jack Anderson, "Weakness Seen in Nike X System", *Washington Post*, Sat., Feb. 12, 1966, E19.

<sup>8</sup> An., "Hannibal Has New Author", *Hannibal Courier-Post*, Fri., Nov. 18, 1977, 1.; Gene Hoenes, "Mark Twain III Goes on the Road", *Ibid.*, Fri., May 23, 1980, 1.

<sup>9</sup> Joost Sluis to Herbert Philbrick, Sept. 27, 1971, *HPP*, Box 178, "Subject File" Series, F. 6, "Sluis, Joost - 1962-1973, n.d."



totalitarianism. The influence of Schwarz continued to be present in most of Sluis' writings. He wrote in a 1973 pamphlet that the "Communist program for world conquest" consisted in "internal demoralization (...) coupled with external encirclement", leading to "our progressive, step by step, surrender"<sup>10</sup>. In the late 1970's, he was still a subscriber of the Crusade's newsletter, which he sent to his own contacts, but he had ceased to appear publicly with Schwarz<sup>11</sup>. Christian Cause International never made it big, and Sluis ended his career as an activist in complete oblivion.

In mid-1967, the "anti-Joan Baez" Janet Greene left the Crusade in spite of Schwarz's protest. She had developed touring fatigue and considered that the time had come to move on in terms of her career: "I was tired from all of the traveling (...). It's strange because sometimes I'd be in Detroit one night and then I'd be in Denver the next night and I'd forget where I was (laughs)". Moreover, her husband "would try and tell people how to do their jobs and that would not go far with Dr. Schwarz"<sup>12</sup>. Greene remained on the West Coast, where she was a nightclub performer for decades. She divorced her husband in 1979 and returned to her native Ohio in the late 1990's. Schwarz's friend, Dr. George Westcott, who oversaw much of the organization's tape-recording activities, closed the CACC branch of Ypsilanti in the early 1970's, shortly after his wife died from cancer; Westcott thereupon left America to resume his activities as medical missionary in the Congo<sup>13</sup>. In 1981, he died of cancer.

The Crusade's important financial backers also disappeared. F. Gano Chance retired in 1971; Charles Stewart Mott died in February 1973. Walter Knott, afflicted with the Parkinson disease, died in 1981 at the age of 91. Pat Frawley passed away in 1998, but his association with Schwarz was severed long before. In 1970, Frawley faced a scandal when it was disclosed that his crony George Murphy had been on Technicolor's payroll for the previous five years (at \$20,000 a year), despite his election as Senator in 1964. Before long, Frawley faced an all-out revolt from Technicolor's shareholders, who

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<sup>10</sup> Joost Sluis, "Dead Men on Furlough", *Christian Cause*, Series 1973, Vol. 5, 2.

<sup>11</sup> See the interesting correspondence between Sluis and William C. Norris, head of the Control Data Corporation, which Sluis unsuccessfully tried to prevent from making business with Communist countries, *WCNP*, CB180, Box 19, Series 9, F. 293 "Joost Sluis".

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in "The Freewheelin' Janet Greene: The Conelrad Interview" (Interview between Bill Geerhart and Janet Greene, from *Conelrad: All Things Things Atomic*, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>13</sup> George Westcott to Herbert Philbrick, Apr. 9, 1972, *HPP*, Box 20, "Subject File" Series, F. 8, "Westcott, George, 1963-1974, 1980 n.d."; Herbert Philbrick to George Westcott, May 29, 1974, Box 7, "General Correspondence" Series, F. 6, "1974".

managed to oust him from the control of the company. The scandal cost Murphy his Senate seat, which he lost later in the year to Democratic candidate John V. Tunney<sup>14</sup>. Frawley later also resigned as the head of Schick and gradually lost interest in right-wing politics, as he became absorbed in the fight against alcoholism, which had afflicted him since he was young. Growingly convinced that his new mission was to cure America from alcohol addiction, he founded the Schick Alcoholic Treatment Clinic, which promoted a “new” type of treatment based on Frawley’s conviction that alcohol consumption is connected to the control of bodily fluids. One journalist wrote in 1973: “It sounds like Dr. Strangelove – or worse. Frawley also believes that some racial or ethnic groups are more susceptible to alcoholism, depending on whether their ancestors come from wet climates or dry ones”<sup>15</sup>.

J. Howard Pew passed away in 1971, though this had no immediate effect on Glenmede Trust Company’ support to the Crusade. Glenmede remained under control of Allyn Bell, Pew’s long-time aide. Described by Schwarz as “a Christian gentleman” and “a close friend”, Bell was the subject of the Australian’s admiration and gratitude<sup>16</sup>. Bell had served in 1960 as chairman of the Philadelphia’s anticommunism school and always supported the Crusade until his retirement in 1978<sup>17</sup>. A “rigid, vehemently conservative individual”, philanthropy expert Waldemar Nielsen notes, Bell appeared “to be more Presbyterian than even the Pews”<sup>18</sup>. Bell was widely known in the philanthropic world for his consistent refusal to disclose any information on Glenmede’s gifts or giving policies. During Congressional hearings about the 1969 Tax Reform Act, which imposed new regulations so as to restrict the possibility of private foundations channelling money into private or ideological projects for charity purposes, Bell came out as one of the most virulent opponents of the idea. After the law had passed, he complied only “minimally with its requirements for public disclosure”, Nielsen writes<sup>19</sup>. During the last years of his

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<sup>14</sup> Wallace Turner, “Coast Millionaire Upset By Publicity and Politics”, *New York Times*, Tue., Jul. 14, 1970, 39.

<sup>15</sup> Charles T. Powers, “Behavior Modification Treatment Used Successfully on Alcoholics”, *Lakeland Ledger*, Wed., Nov. 21, 1973, 1C.

<sup>16</sup> Shirley Philbrick, Philbrick’s second wife, wrote to Bell in 1969: “I know that you personally are a great inspiration to our mutual friend, “Dr. Fred”. He has spoken of you often”. Shirley Philbrick to Allyn R. Bell, Mar. 4, 1969, *HPP*, Box 55, “Subject File” Series, F. 11, “Bell, Allyn R., Jr. – 1969”.

<sup>17</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 190.

<sup>18</sup> Waldemar A. Nielsen, *Golden Donors: A New Anatomy of the Great Foundations*, New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 2009, 174. The book was originally published in 1985.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

tenure at Glenmede, Bell surged the support to the Crusade to a peak of about \$100,000 in 1977. The Pew Freedom Trust provided what was apparently the last financial help ever received from Glenmede foundations to the Crusade, a \$15,000 gift in 1978<sup>20</sup>. Bell retired shortly after and all financial help ceased. Two decades later, shortly before he retired himself, Schwarz wrote: “It is worth noting that the Pew Charitable Trusts now contain over \$3 billion?”<sup>21</sup>

These big backers were not replaced by new ones. The only new major business sponsor the Crusade had during the three decades prior to Schwarz’s retirement was Harry Casey, brother of United Parcel Service (UPS) founder James Casey. The octogenarian Casey once came to one of Schwarz’s meetings in Seattle. Before long, Casey frequently made \$1,000 contributions to the Crusade and, in 1984, he gave a \$100,000 check, the single largest personal donation in the Crusade’s history. In 1990, Harry Casey accepted to be the honorary chairman of the fiftieth wedding anniversary of Schwarz and his wife in Los Angeles. He died in 1992 at the age of 101<sup>22</sup>.

While the Crusade managed to keep its annual revenues to about half a millions dollar each year throughout the 1960’s and 1970’s, the skyrocketing inflation rates that afflicted the U.S. economy during this period, especially after the first oil crisis of 1973, decreased the value of the organization’s assets. This problem compelled Schwarz to raise his own salary: in 1976, it had mounted to \$25,000, up from \$5,000 ten years before<sup>23</sup>. From the mid-1960s on, the Crusade’s financial situation was a constant theme in the newsletter. In October 1967, Schwarz sent a letter to his supporters, informing them that the Crusade’s income was running about \$60,000 lower than at the same time the previous year. “I appeal to you for a special donation to rectify this ominous situation. This is no time for retrenchment”. However, with no financial response, he sent his supporters a stronger statement. “My natural desire to return to my home and family is strong and growing. My wife is paying a high price and finding the burden heavier all the time. Does the magnitude of the communist danger and the effectiveness of the Crusade ministry merit

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<sup>20</sup> Deborah Huntington and Ruth Kaplan, “Whose Gold is Behind the Altar”, *loc. cit.*, 84.

<sup>21</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 192.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 386-390.

<sup>23</sup> Brad Altman, “Dr. Schwarz’s Bank Roll Has Red Lining”, *The Independent Press-Telegram*, Sun., Sept. 12, 1976, B-1.

continued family separation?”<sup>24</sup> This reference to self-sacrifice apparently worked, since the financial situation improved somewhat in the months that followed.

Schwarz and his wife managed through the years to remain close despite permanent separation. “Nobody’s closer than we are... we write every day”, he told a journalist in 1976<sup>25</sup>. By this time, all his kids had grown into married adults, three of them -including his foster son John Whitehall- becoming medical doctors and one becoming an airliner pilot. In the early 1980’s, the crusader and his wife had seventeen grandchildren, about whom Schwarz wrote in the Christmas cards he sent his supporters, but whom he could normally see only during his stays in Australia. Over the years, he continued to affirm that this self-inflicted absence from his relatives was worth it. He once wrote that when he and Lillian looked back, “both of us affirm without hesitation that we would make the same decisions if we were faced with the same choices again. God has been good to us and sustained our love and unity in a remarkable way”<sup>26</sup>.

Amid the growing marginalization of the Crusade, some of Schwarz’s close collaborators thought the organization’s name was perhaps outdated. In late 1965, after a newspaper from Oregon had published a text confusing Schwarz’s group with that of Billy James Hargis, McDowell pushed for a name change. “This is a real problem”, he wrote to Sluis. “Despite all logic, which, after all, is a pretty scarce commodity after all, the title of the Crusade is still a disability in certain quarters and I don’t know how to mend it (...)”. The name, he added, was especially off-putting to Jews, even anticommunists among them, who “simply bogle at everything in connection with communism that uses the word Christian, because it has been so typically exploited by the racists and other extremists along the line”<sup>27</sup>. Philbrick argued that a name change would be justified on the grounds that the Crusade “is international in scope and (...) it has grown far beyond its original support”, but also because it would distinguish the Crusade “from the many wild groups and individuals today parading under the banner of “Christian” ”. Philbrick suggested names such as the ‘International League of Freemen’, or the “World Alliance of Freemen (WAF) for Peace with Liberty”, while McDowell

<sup>24</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Dear Friend”, Oct. 2, 1967, and Nov. 20, 1967, fundraising letters.

<sup>25</sup> Brad Altman, “Dr. Schwarz’s Bank Roll Has Red Lining”, *loc. cit.*, B-1.

<sup>26</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Dear Friend”, Christmas Card, Dec. 2, 1968.

<sup>27</sup> Arthur G. McDowell to Joost Sluis, Nov. 3, 1965, *HPP*, Box 175, “Subject File” Series, F. 6, “Schwarz, Frederick C. – General – 1957-1995”.

suggested keeping the original name while adding a subname such as "...and The International Alliance for Civil and Religious Liberty", or "... and International Alliance for Peace With Freedom"<sup>28</sup>. However, Schwarz refused to change the name. In fact, in the early 1960's, the crusader declined an offer from "a sincere and generous friend to donate \$100,000 if the word "Christian" was dropped from the Crusade name"<sup>29</sup>. As late as 1979, leading Jewish anticommunist intellectual Sydney Hook also voiced criticism of the CACC's name, raising the point that Muslims, Hindus, Confucians or Jews could be dedicated anticommunists just as well as Christians. Schwarz offered Hook his standard reply: "However, when a movement is founded, motivation is important and motivation is usually very specific"<sup>30</sup>.

In any case, the Crusade's problems went deeper than its name. The polarization between the world's two superpowers had stabilized itself in a context where the nation was confronted with new problems. These could not be properly addressed through the bipolar vision of the world the Crusade proposed. Schwarz nonetheless kept hammering that his Manichean vision was still fit to the era.

A good example was the issue of moral decline, to which the crusader devoted an ever-increasing amount of energy. The first salvo Schwarz fired in the "culture wars" was in March 1965, when he decried a "ball for homosexuals" that had been held in San Francisco by liberal Protestant clergymen to promote dialogue between church bodies and the local gay community, before it was broken up by the local police. "The historic mission of the church has been to reprove evil and promote righteousness, not to engage in "dialogue" with evil", Schwarz wrote<sup>31</sup>. In 1972, he went against decriminalization of marijuana, which "will be followed by an orgy of commercialization and epidemic usage"<sup>32</sup>. In 1975, as the national campaign led by Phyllis Schlafly and the her group of conservative women against the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) was in full swing, Schwarz took on "women's libbers", whom he claimed, promoted an agenda that took the

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<sup>28</sup> Herbert Philbrick to Fred C. Schwarz, Nov. 9, 1965, *MLP*, Box 1, F. 2.; Arthur G. McDowell to Joost Sluis, Nov. 3, 1965; Handwritten note, Nov. 5, 1965, by McDowell following the later letter, *HPP*, Box 175, "Subject File" Series, F. 6, "Schwarz, Frederick C. – General – 1957-1995".

<sup>29</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "The Name and Nature of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade", *CACC Newsletter*, Oct. 1, 1997, 1.

<sup>30</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Sydney Hook, Aug. 10, 1979, *Sydney Hook Papers*, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University -unique reference.

<sup>31</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "A Ball for Homosexuals", *CACC Newsletter*, Mar. 1965, 3.

<sup>32</sup> *Id.*, "Drug Addiction, Demoralization and Communist Conquest", *Ibid.*, Jan. 15, 1972, 1.

male away from “his role as provider for the family”, and therefore causing a regression to “the primitive masculine role of “hunter and fighter” ”:

“Many who have been working for the Women’s Liberation Movement have advocated sexual permissiveness and external employment for mothers. They have pictured the role of homemaker as restrictive and despicable. By doing so, they have worked against the true welfare of women and left them prey to the violence of the desocialized males. One result is the dramatic increase in the numbers of the victims of rape. To improve the welfare of women and children, the family must be strengthened, not weakened. This must be done by reversing tide of permissive sex with its pornography, sodomy, abortion and delinquency”<sup>33</sup>.

Around the same time, a journalist who attended a meeting of Republican women in California where Schwarz delivered the keynote address reported that during the ensuing question period, the crusader identified the ERA as part of the effort to “demoralize America”. “I’m an unabashed, unashamed male chauvinistic male supremacist who believes in the absolute superiority of women”, he declared, to the enthusiastic applause of the female audience<sup>34</sup>. This emphasis on moral issues situated the Crusade among the rising religious right, after a period in the late 1950’s and early 1960’s where its leader rather sought to be part of the American mainstream.

Though Schwarz never went as far as to claim that culture wars were masterminded by the Reds, a threefold connection existed for him between communism and moral decline: first, internal demoralization was aiding the Reds. “Much of this cannot be blamed on the Communists, but they must laugh with satanic glee as they observe this suicidal development within our free and Christian society”<sup>35</sup>. Second, communism and moral degeneracy shared a common root in Godlessness<sup>36</sup>. Atheism generated communism, but was also the cause of this great “social pathology that is threatening the existence of free society” (sexual promiscuity, drug and alcohol consumption, family disintegration, the “sanctification of sodomy”, individualistic hedonism and so forth)<sup>37</sup>. In a text Schwarz and other social conservatives liked to quote (*Tasks of the Youth Leagues*:

<sup>33</sup> *Id.*, “How “Women’s Lib” Promote Rape”, *Ibid.*, Aug. 15, 1975, 1.

<sup>34</sup> Brad Altman, “Dr. Schwarz’s Bank Roll Has Red Lining”, *loc. cit.*, B-1.

<sup>35</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “A Ball for Homosexuals”, *loc. cit.*, 419..

<sup>36</sup> *Id.*, “The Deadly Disease: Communism”, *CACC Newsletter*, Dec. 1, 1997, 3.

<sup>37</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 419.

*Bourgeois and Communist Morality*, from 1920) Lenin wrote: “In what sense do we reject ethic, reject morality? In the sense given to it by the bourgeoisie, who based ethics on God’s commandments”<sup>38</sup>.

Thirdly, immorality, Schwarz taught, was clearly prescribed by Communist authors themselves in their analysis of the superstructure (the institutions) that accompanied capitalist modes of production. Here, Schwarz drew primarily on Marx’s and Engels’ call to abolish the “bourgeois family” (understood by Communist thinkers in its nuclear form established in Western societies during the industrial revolution) in the Communist *Manifesto*<sup>39</sup>. Similar ideas were found in Engels’ *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, in which the author attempted in a historical materialist perspective to explain how the institution of family (as well as private property and the state) was not rooted in the state of nature, but resulted from a specific evolution starting from the time of primitive-farmer societies. Engels predicted that during a future proletarian revolution, monogamy would be unburdened from the “characteristics stamped on it in consequence of having arisen out of property relationships. These are, first, the dominance of the man, and secondly, the indissolubility of marriage”<sup>40</sup>. For Schwarz, these views evidenced the ignominious Communist disrespect for the traditional family and its established gender roles.

The truth was, actually existing communism tended to advocate rather conservative morals. One of the key features of Communist propaganda and policy throughout the Cold War was how it portrayed the Soviet Union and other Communist regimes as bulwarks against the “decadent West” and its corrupt morality. Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the West’s higher levels of moral permissiveness, as well as its culture (consumerism, the entertainment industry, pop culture), were customarily represented in

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<sup>38</sup> Vladimir Lenin, “Tasks of the Youth Leagues: Bourgeois and Communist Morality”, in William G. Rosenberg, ed., *Bolshevik Visions: First Phase of the Cultural Revolution in Soviet Russia*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1990, 21.

<sup>39</sup> “Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists. On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie”.

Frederick Engels and Karl Marx, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, *op. cit.*, 67.

<sup>40</sup> Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Chippendale, Resistance Books, 2004, 86. Hence, as other elements of the capitalist superstructure (religion, morality, science, law), Marx and Engels theorized that the nuclear family would be destroyed by the abolition of private property and the coming of socialism. It would be substituted by a higher form of organization in which children would cease to be exploited, and would be taken in hand by national, collective education and communal care. R. Weikart, “Marx, Engels and the Abolition of the Family”, in Bob Jessop, Russell Weathley, eds., *Karl Marx’s Social and Political Thought: Critical Assessments of Leading Political Philosophers*, London, Routledge, 1999, 573.

Communist rhetoric as symbols of decadence<sup>41</sup>. Established from the 1950's to the end of the Soviet regime, sexual education in the Soviet Union inculcated conservative views on sexuality and established traditional gender roles as the only acceptable norm<sup>42</sup>. While it became widespread in the West by the early 1970's, the production and consumption of pornography remained forbidden by Soviet authorities until the regime's meltdown in 1991 and was still forbidden in the years 2000 in China<sup>43</sup>. In the 1960's, the designer of American anticommunist containment policy, diplomat George Kennan, lamented: "(...) I can see very little merit in organizing ourselves to defend from the Russians the pornoshops in central Washington. In fact, the Russians are much better in holding pornography at bay than we are"<sup>44</sup>.

Schwarz tried to fit the fact that Communist countries were old-fashioned into his analysis by arguing that such display of morality was phony, and a case of applied dialectics. The Reds were sheltering themselves from cultural degeneracy, while letting the West self-implode. "That's why Khrushchev could really feel disgusted and offended when they took him to see "Can-Can" being made", he once said. "Because in the present moral phase of the Communist dialectic, continence and faithfulness is the virtue of the day"<sup>45</sup>. Commenting on the news that the Cuban government would not provide sex education courses and made it an official state policy to consider homosexuality a pathology that should be "discouraged in any way", Schwarz had this reflection: "Communists have a double moral standard. They desire to strengthen the character of the community they control and weaken the moral fibre within the areas under capitalist control so that conquest may be easier"<sup>46</sup>.

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<sup>41</sup> On the "proletarian morality" sought by Soviet authorities after 1917, see David Lloyd Hoffman, *Stalinist Values: The Cultural Norms of Soviet Modernity, 1917-1941*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2003, 93-97.; Frances Lee Bernstein, *The Dictatorship of Sex: Lifestyle Advice for the Soviet Masses*, DeKalb, Northern Illinois University Press, 2007, 148-150.; Goodwin Watson, *Youth After Conflict*, New York, Muschamp Press, 2007, 28. On the Stalinist morality, see Rosamund Shreeves, "Sexual Revolution or 'Sexploitation'? The Pornography and Erotica Debate in the Soviet Union", in Shirin Rai, Hilary Pilkington and Annie Phizaclea, *Women in the Face of Change: The Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China*, London, Routledge, 1992, 133. As Rosalind Rosenberg wrote, the economic Depression and the coming of Stalin in the USSR "killed off the last vestiges of feminism, as concern over industrial production supplanted any interest in consumer goods or women's rights". Rosalind Rosenberg, "The "Woman's Question"" in Richard W. Bulliet, ed., *The Columbia History of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, New York & Cichester, Columbia University Press, 1998, 67.

<sup>42</sup> Edward Kostyachkin, "Sex Morality and Sex Education in the Soviet Union", *Impact of Science on Society*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1968, 249-251.; Rosamund Shreeves, "Sexual Revolution or 'Sexploitation'?", *loc. cit.*, 136.

<sup>43</sup> Though the Perestroika years saw a dramatic drop in the number of prosecutions over pornography issues. Rosamund Shreeves, "Sexual Revolution or 'Sexploitation'?", *loc. cit.*, 138.; Harman Ermolaev, *Censorship in Soviet Literature, 1917-1991*, Lanham, Rowan & Littlefield Pub., 1997, 228.

<sup>44</sup> Quoted in Martin F. Hertz, ed., *Decline of the West? George Kennan and His Critics*, Washington DC, Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1978, 33.

<sup>45</sup> St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee, *Communism on the Map*, *op. cit.*, 17.

<sup>46</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Cuba, Sex Education, and Homosexuality", *CACC Newsletter*, Jun. 1, 1971, 6.



Schwarz found the missing link connecting communism and moral degeneracy in the writing of Herbert Marcuse, which became popular among the New Left by the mid-1960's. Schwarz centered his analysis on Marcuse's synthesis of Freudian and Marxist philosophies in the 1955 book *Eros and Civilization*. Built on the assumption that capitalist societies successfully domesticated their working classes through consumption, thus impeding all revolutionary sentiment, Marcuse's theories sought to "deenergize" their superstructure through a countercultural transformation in which repressed sexual energy would be unleashed<sup>47</sup>. In Marcusean appeals for a sexual revolution that would tear down the bourgeois society that held capitalism, the linkage of Marxist-Leninism and immorality came full circle. "Herbert Marcuse", Schwarz wrote, "is a remarkable hybrid, a Freudian Marxist. Marx has given him the imperative to destroy society; Freud has shown him a practical method by which to do this. (...) It is not surprising that he is the idol of great numbers of radical youth. He harmonizes their emotions and their intellect"<sup>48</sup>. That Marcuse had denounced the Soviet Union and accused its leaders of having betrayed the principles of Marxism was of little importance to Schwarz. The crusader elaborated a theory of the "Revolutionary Bomb": "The Marcusians, the anarchists and the Communists -with about 30,000 hard-core members altogether- are at the heart of forces threatening this country"<sup>49</sup>. While their numbers were limited, he asserted, these groups were comparable to an explosive device forming the core of a bomb. Around them, comparable to the mass of flammable material, lied the "surrounding body" of the "bomb", those "3 million needy individuals who may be stimulated to violence" given the proper circumstances (student organizations, radical civil rights groups, hippies)<sup>50</sup>.

In 1970, an opportunity for Schwarz to confront the "guru of the New Left", as Marcuse was often called, presented itself. The crusader received a letter from the University of California at San Diego, where Marcuse was professor, inviting him to

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<sup>47</sup> "Freed from this enslavement, productivity loses its repressive power and impels the free development of individual needs. Such a change in the direction of progress goes beyond the fundamental reorganization of social labor which it presupposes. (...) The more complete the alienation of labor, the greater the potential of freedom: total automation would be optimum". Herbert Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry Into Freud*, Milton Park, Routledge, 1998, 156.

<sup>48</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "The Cause of the Campus Revolt", *CACC Newsletter*, Apr. 1, 1969, 4.

<sup>49</sup> An., "Anti-Red Leader Hits 'Marcusians'", *The San Diego Union*, Fri., Apr. 3, 1970, article republished in *CACC Newsletter*, Apr. 15, 1970, 5.

<sup>50</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "The Campus Revolt – Part III", *CACC Newsletter*, May 1, 1969, 2.

participate in a debate with Marcuse as part of a credited course, “Conservative and Traditional Views on Contemporary Issues”. However, Marcuse sent an open letter to the University which decried the University’s “official sponsorship of hate propaganda”. Marcuse drew mainly on information taken from the ADL’s *Danger on the Right* to castigate Schwarz as an irresponsible rabble-rouser and qualified his appearance in a university class as “an insult to the intelligence of any serious audience, a mockery of genuine education and a mockery of conservative thought”<sup>51</sup>.

Marcuse’s refusal to debate was scorned by many, including some who had little appreciation for Schwarz. A cartoon from a San Diego University student newspaper ridiculed Marcuse. Columnist Eric Sokolsky, son of George Sokolsky, wrote: “Dr. Schwarz may be somewhat of an extremist in his views which are very right-wing”, but he added: “If I have to choose between Marcuse and Schwarz, I’ll take Schwarz any day of the week”<sup>52</sup>. Conservative columnist Jack O’Brian noted that Marcuse had fought to “permit racist Elridge Cleaver and admitted Communist Angela Davis to teach and lecture at the U. of Calif. – but fought even more ardently to keep conservative Dr. Fred Schwarz from being granted his right to speak”<sup>53</sup>. The *Los Angeles Times* editorial asserted that “Marcuse’s right to teach (...) has been nobly defended by the university (...), but it was not at all surprising that Marcuse would deny to another man the privilege he himself has been afforded”<sup>54</sup>. In a radio interview, Marcuse defended his position by saying that this was not a denial of freedom of speech on his part: “It seems to me there’s an essential difference between freedom of speech and academic freedom, and I do not believe that the principles of academic freedom apply to Dr. Schwarz”<sup>55</sup>.

Marcuse’s crusty reaction provided Schwarz with the moral higher ground. Responding on the radio to Marcuse’s accusation that he was a rabble-rouser, Schwarz stated: “I certainly do seem to arouse some people. I appear to have aroused Herbert Marcuse”<sup>56</sup>. The crusader showed up at the University of California at San Diego, where Marcuse’s absence turned his visit into a one-man show that benefitted from high

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<sup>51</sup> Herbert Marcuse to Dr. Martin N. Chamberlain, Mar. 13, 1970. Letter reproduced in *CACC Newsletter*, Apr. 1, 1970, 6.

<sup>52</sup> Eric Sokolsky, “Marcuse vs. Schwarz”, *The News* (Van Nuys), Sun., Apr. 5, 1970, 15A.

<sup>53</sup> Jack O’Brian, “The Voice of Broadway”, *The San Antonio Light*, Tue., May 26, 1970, A21.

<sup>54</sup> Editorial, “Sauce for Marcuse is Sauce for...”, *Los Angeles Times*, Mon., Mar. 30, 1970, A8.

<sup>55</sup> Quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, “Herbert Marcuse Answers”, *CACC Newsletter*, Apr. 15, 1970, 1-2.

<sup>56</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, op. cit., 375.

attendance due to its controversial nature. An analysis of the episode published in the *Los Angeles Times* read: “One imagines Dr. Schwarz, whose appearance at San Diego was not likely to have been a *cause célèbre*, is happy that Marcuse took him on. You don’t get enemies like that everyday”<sup>57</sup>. Two hundred students picketed outside the Scripps Auditorium in protest against Schwarz, but also in protest of the \$4 admittance fee most of them could not afford. Schwarz announced that the Crusade would cover as many individual entrances the remaining number of empty seats would allow and forty-four picketers were thus admitted. The violence which was feared did not occur and the crusader got to lecture to a surprisingly attentive audience. “Most seemed friendly. The only hostility was shown by professors. Even radical students can be reached provided we are reasonable and courteous and willing to listen as well as talk”, Schwarz wrote in a letter to his supporters<sup>58</sup>. The non-encounter with Marcuse was told a certain pride in Schwarz’s second book, *The Three Faces of Revolution*, published in late 1972. The book consists primarily of several texts he had published in the late 1960’s and early 1970’s. Central to the work’s argument, as its title shows, is Schwarz theory of the threefold “revolutionary bomb” constituted of the ideologies of communism, anarchism and Marcuseanism, re-baptised “sensualism”<sup>59</sup>. *The Three Faces of Revolution* sold enough to go through several editions, but as opposed to *You Can Trust* a decade before, was almost completely ignored by the press.

In July 1964, race riots erupted in Harlem after a Black teenager had been shot dead by an off-duty police officer. In August 1965, riots burst out in Los Angeles ghetto of Watts, leaving, after a week, 34 people dead and more than 1,000 injured. In 1966 and 1967, the disturbances spread to Newark, Oakland, Cleveland, Atlanta, Chicago and Seattle (among others) and more notably Detroit, where ill-conducted police raids in a predominantly Black neighbourhood led to America’s worst urban rioting in a century, with 43 deaths and thousands injured after a week. While the gradual collapse of

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<sup>57</sup> William S. Banowsky, “Topical Comment: Marcuse Misses - An Unwitting Score for Tolerance”, *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Apr. 5, 1970, E7.

<sup>58</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Dear Friend”, fundraising letter, Apr. 15, 1970.

<sup>59</sup> A noteworthy part of the book constitutes an uncommonly dispassionate analysis of the concept of American economic imperialism often used by the left and anti-colonization movements. Drawing on figures on U.S. foreign investment and economic growth in underdeveloped countries, the crusader tries to show that the concept of U.S. economic imperialism is a myth and that, in fact, underdeveloped countries benefit much more than American foreign investment than otherwise. The argument for U.S. economic imperialism, he concludes, is fallacious, but nonetheless quite convenient to those who wish to turn the U.S. into a scapegoat. See *Id.*, *The Three Faces of Revolution*, Falls Church, The Capitol Hills Press, 1972, 75.

Southern resistance to desegregation, as well as the passage of the Civil Rights (1964) and Voting Rights (1965) Acts, had given the momentary impression that race relations were going in the right direction, the riots exposed the deep-rooted problems that afflicted Afro-Americans and other racial minorities: housing, employment and school discrimination, the existence of ghettos and the bad relationship with law-enforcement authorities. Confronted to these challenges, the Civil Rights movement fractured. The mainstream movement, led notably by Martin Luther King, the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), promoted an incremental approach based on the eradication of poverty. Another wing, centered on groups such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Black Panthers, took a radical path. Meanwhile, a growing weariness about the civil right issue was perceptible nationwide, as revealed in the midterm elections of 1966, where the Democrats experienced severe losses and, in particular, the presidential election of 1968, marked by the George Wallace campaign and the election of Richard Nixon.

The Crusade's office was located only a few miles from the Watts neighbourhood where the riots erupted in August 1965. The havoc that took the whole South Central Los Angeles area by storm extended for a brief period to Long Beach. Though a predominantly white flight city, Long Beach had Black and Hispanic minorities that were the first to suffer when the deindustrialization process began to affect Southern California. Many stores were burned or looted in downtown Long Beach<sup>60</sup>. Schwarz wrote that the Crusade "is grateful for the protection provided by the police and takes pleasure (...) in expressing our devotion to the rule of the law. (...) Civil disobedience is the thin edge of the wedge that leads to the rupture of society, rioting, revolution and tyranny"<sup>61</sup>. Schwarz maintained this "law-and-order" stand throughout the years and praises for law enforcement authorities drew spontaneous applause at his meetings<sup>62</sup>. Some Crusade fundraising events were organized on this "support the police" theme.

While Schwarz had turned a blind eye on the race issue from the outset of his crusading career, including his tours in the South in the 1950's and the schools of

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<sup>60</sup> Dan Wallace, *Two Teams, One Great Game: Two Dreams, in the First Ever National Championship High School Football Game*, New York, Atria Books, 2003, 28-39.

<sup>61</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Thank God for the Police", *CACC Newsletter*, Aug. 24, 1965, 3.

<sup>62</sup> An., "Schwarz Cheered As He Praises Police, Warns of Red Infiltrations", *The Milwaukee Journal*, Wed., Oct. 13, 1965, 2-18.

anticommunism of Louisiana of 1961, the Watts riots incited him to speak on the issue, which he predictably did from a Cold War perspective. A few days after the Watts riots ended, he wrote in a text titled “Reds, Race, Riots, and Revolution”:

“The general conditions in these so-called ghettos is housing standards are low, houses are overcrowded, and employment is substantial. Vice and crime are rife and there is a great deal of illegitimacy and breakdown of family life. These frustrations generate hostility and it is human nature to blame nature for whatever predicament prevails. While others may be partly to blame, there is always an area of individual responsibility and individual failure. The trick of the demagogue is to direct the attention of the people away from their own responsibility and focus the blame upon someone else”<sup>63</sup>.

This passage encapsulates the elements that constituted in coming years Schwarz’s position on racial strife. Poverty problems, he said, were real and needed to be addressed. “To reduce the chances of fomenting a Negro rebellion, Dr. Schwarz suggested programs to eradicate slum conditions and alleviate employment, such as the antipoverty program”, a journalist reported about one of the crusader’s speeches in the wake of the Watts riots<sup>64</sup>. Two years later, after the Detroit riots, he restated in his newsletter that it was “imperative that injustice be fought and that every effort should be made to provide employment, decent housing, adequate education, and physical security for all citizens including the Negroes”<sup>65</sup>. These declarations, especially Schwarz’s support for an ill-defined “antipoverty program”, almost suggest that the crusader implicitly approved of the war on poverty, which was one of the cornerstones of President Johnson’s Great Society program. This consent for state intervention was quite uncommon for Schwarz and, indeed, for any conservative personality. It was probably not a great source of popularity for Schwarz among his supporters: an observer affiliated with a liberal group who attended one of his meetings in 1965 noted that the audience remained still during his entire lecture on the theme of racism and that the first applause of the evening came when the crusader said: “Thank God for the Police!”<sup>66</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Reds, Race, Riots, and Revolution”, *CACC Newsletter*, Aug. 24, 1965, 2.

<sup>64</sup> An., “Dr. Schwarz Says Anarchy is Red Anarchy is Red Aim”, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Sat., Oct. 16, 1965, press clipping found in GRC, Box 364, F. “CACC, News Clips – 1966-1967”.

<sup>65</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Communism and Race Riots”, *CACC Newsletter*, Aug. 24, 1967, 4.

<sup>66</sup> “Confidential – Report on : Meeting of Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Oct. 15, 1965, 8 p. m., Ambassador Residence, St. Louis – Speaker: Dr. Fred Schwarz”, GRC, Box 363, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Notes on Individual Meetings”.

Schwarz, however, could ground this opinion in an unchallengeable source of authority among the right-wing, the FBI and, more particularly, a late 1964 Bureau report on the Harlem riots that had exonerated civil rights groups from any responsibility and had affirmed that “poverty and discrimination” were the “principal causes of unrest”<sup>67</sup>. Still, the crusader remained cautious not to give too much detail as to what kind of legislation was needed to eradicate poverty (“I can’t say exactly what sort - that’s for Congress to decide”).

Yet, addressing racial minorities’ material needs, Schwarz warned, would not root out racism, for this was an impossible task. “It should be now clear that race consciousness has its roots deep in human nature and not merely in the external economic environment”, he wrote. This was nowhere better illustrated, he argued, than by the riots in Detroit, which was considered as the “model city” in the war of poverty. “The mayor of Detroit, Jerome P. Cavanagh, was elected with large Negro support. (...) 28 redevelopment projects were underway at a cost of \$180 million of which \$112 million is Federal funds. (...) Nevertheless, this holocaust hit Detroit with hurricane force”<sup>68</sup>. True to his pessimistic, faith-based conception of human nature, he reminded his readers and audiences that evil was inherent to human beings and that racism was one among many human flaws. God gave us the opportunity to choose between good and evil, but because evil was easier, racism was universal and permanently anchored in human nature. Racism would always appear wherever people of different ethnicities or nationalities were “living in quantity and proximity”<sup>69</sup>. Since the social and economic conditions prevailing in the riot areas had existed for decades, the only logical explanation for the riots was that a new factor was at play. “The new element is the professional agitator urging violence and rebellion to the Negro youth. These agitators are usually influenced, if not fully controlled, by the Communists”<sup>70</sup>.

A few days after the Watts riots ended, the crusader wrote in his first comments on the issue: “At this moment, it is impossible to specify the direct part that was played by

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<sup>67</sup> Kenneth O’Reilly, “The FBI and the Politics of the Riots, 1964-1968”, *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 75, No. 1, Jun. 1988, 97.

<sup>68</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Communism and Race Riots”, *loc. cit.*, 1.

<sup>69</sup> “Confidential – Report on : Meeting of Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Oct. 15, 1965, 8 p. m., Ambassador Residence, St. Louis – Speaker: Dr. Fred Schwarz”, *GRC*, Box 363, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Notes on Individual Meetings” .

<sup>70</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Communism and Race Riots”, *loc. cit.*, 1.

Communists in these riots. (...) While making no claim to the gift of prophecy, I venture to predict that it will be revealed that activists of the Progressive Labor Party have played a substantial role". The organization referred to was a group born in Brooklyn in 1961 out of a splinter from the CPUSA. Decrying what they conceived as the Soviet Union's forsaking of the Marxist-Leninist ideal, members of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) promoted a radical and aggressive strategy loosely inspired by Maoism (though it was not officially aligned to Beijing) and aimed at the immediate waging of class war. In 1964, the PLP made headlines when some of its members defied the travel ban on Cuba and when the FBI indicated that it bore responsibility in encouraging (but not in igniting) the Harlem riots<sup>71</sup>. For a while, the PLP became Schwarz's prime target on the race issue.

Three months after the Watts riots, he told one journalist that he was now convinced that the PLP, and behind them the Chinese Reds, were involved. To be sure, Mao Tse-tung did not mastermind the trouble, he said, since the outburst of violence on the riots' first day was spontaneous. But the Reds were probably involved somehow from the second day on. After all, the official propaganda of the Chinese Reds had been devoting an increasing amount of space to the Black issue in the U.S. and tried, in particular, to draw a parallel between the Civil Rights movement and the Viet Cong. Moreover, Schwarz added, whereas the Soviets were applying a strategy aimed at "sedating" the West, the Chinese were actively promoting "internal disruption leading to anarchy"<sup>72</sup>. Schwarz's theory became more complex after a conference had been organized by Black nationalists at Lincoln University, during which members of the PLP and from the Nation of Islam (the "Black Muslims") discussed how to overthrow capitalism, colonialism and "the white supremacy system"<sup>73</sup>. This convinced Schwarz that Communists and Black Muslims were forging an alliance "for the purpose of promoting a racial war within the United States". A common front between devout Muslims and atheists perhaps went against common sense, but for Schwarz, it fitted a longstanding pattern whereby the Reds exploited to their ends any potential group or grievance<sup>74</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> An., "Orders FBI Harlem Probe", *Chicago Tribune*, Wed., Jul. 22, 1964, 1-2.;

<sup>72</sup> An., "Red, Watts Link Seen by Schwarz", *Press-Telegram* (Long Beach), Thu., Sept. 16, 1965, B-1.

<sup>73</sup> John Roberts, "Overthrow Whites, 60 Told at Lincoln U.", *The Evening Journal* (Wilmington, Delaware), Sat., Nov. 20, 1965, 22.

<sup>74</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "The Unholy Alliance", *CACC Newsletter*, Jan. 10, 1966, 1-2.

During the summer of 1967, the idea of Red-induced riots became clearer for him, as he saw his theory confirmed by selected facts. Past SNCC president, radical Black leader Stokely Carmichael, traveled to Cuba to participate in a “Latin American Solidarity Organization” conference and *The Worker*, the CPUSA’s weekend paper which had replaced the *Daily Worker*, published articles that celebrated the riots as an experience of “liberation” for the American proletariat. Schwarz described the forces which “plan, promote, and maintain” the rioting as follows: “The guerrilla forces are made up of the criminals, the fanatical black nationalists, the Black Muslims, and the Communists. The Communists seek the positions of leadership”. That the evidence was scarce to demonstrate the existence of a coordinated effort to organize the riots did not disprove his theory: “Because no evidence of conspiracy may be found in an individual riot, it is often argued that these riots are not part of a larger conspiracy. This is not true”. Though the ultimate objective of the Reds remained revolution, he added, the immediate goal of rioting was to “terrorize the majority of Negro citizens and to convince them that the law cannot protect them from the groups of violent and criminal extremists so they had better pay up and keep their mouths shut”.

While he put responsibility for the riots on radical groups and individuals, Schwarz praised the “moderate Negro civil rights leadership” (Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, A. Phillip Randolph), who condemned the riots<sup>75</sup>. Though he never commented on it, the crusader seems to have considered that the mainstream Civil Rights movement had an important role to play in keeping the Black population at a distance from radical groups. It was along these lines that the Crusade, by late 1967, raised money to send a free copy of *You Can Trust* to “every Negro minister (...) in the United States”<sup>76</sup>. When news of King’s assassination came out in 1968, he wrote to Philbrick that this was “a tragedy” that was “the sort of spark that could ignite the whole country”<sup>77</sup>.

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<sup>75</sup> *Id.*, “Communism and Race Riots”, *loc. cit.*, 1-3.

<sup>76</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Dear Friend”, fundraising letter, Oct. 2, 1967.

<sup>77</sup> When an editorial from the *Oregonian* accused the Crusade of suggesting that “communism is the main force behind the civil rights movement”, Philbrick protested in letter to the paper by denying this charge, indicating that “it is impossible to avoid the civil rights issue since one of the major current Communist goals has been to infiltrate and exploit the militant forces in the civil rights struggle”. Fred C. Schwarz to Herbert Philbrick, Apr. 5, 1968, HPP, Box 66, “Subject File” Series, F. 5, “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1968-1969”. Editorial, “All Shades”, *The Oregonian*, Sat., Oct. 15, 1965, 14.; Herbert Philbrick to Herbert Lundy, Oct. 26, 1965, HPP, Box 66, “Subject File” Series, F. 2, “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1965”.



Schwarz was far from alone in believing that some sinister force was behind the riots. In 1967, J. Edgar Hoover, testifying before the Congress, claimed that “Communists and other subversives and extremists” had been active in riots in Chicago, Harlem, Watts and Cleveland. HUAC chairman, Louisiana Representative Edwin E. Willis, affirmed that the Reds were undoubtedly behind the riots, as well as behind the student demonstrations and the whole anti-war movement. Dwight Eisenhower came out from his retirement to declare that “it looks like there is some kind of pattern” to the riots, which perhaps resulted from a “national planning system”<sup>78</sup>. Moreover, opinion polls during the second half of the 1960’s showed a sizable share of the American public receptive to the Black-Red connection theory. In 1965, in the wake of the Watts riots, 28 percent of California’s white respondents to a Gallup poll blamed “outside agitators” for the turmoil. Two years later, this theory seemed to have picked up steam, as more than 40 percent of respondents to a nationwide Harris poll blamed the riots on “outside agitation”<sup>79</sup>. The same year, a *Congressional Quarterly* poll had 40 percent of Southern Democrats thinking that “Communist agitation” was at play in the riots, while 20 percent of Republicans nationwide thought the same. Both groups also blamed by 2-to-1 margins “negro agitators” for the riots. As Jeff Woods explains, the race riots accelerated the emerging alliance between Republicans and Southern Democrats and guaranteed that, by the late 1960’s, Southern segregationists “no longer had to fight to have their claims taken seriously”<sup>80</sup>. To borrow Dan Carter’s expression, Schwarz’s new “law and order” emphasis and his discussion of the Red connection in race riots was the crusader’s own contribution to the “Southernization” of American society.

To be sure, radical leftist groups and individuals seem to have been involved in some of the riots. Apart from FBI and HUAC material, Schwarz’s main source of evidence for Red involvement in the riots was Philip Abbott Luce, a former PLP leader who had once organized illegal student trips to Cuba before he broke with the radical left and turned conservative. Schwarz met him through his contact with the Young Americans for Freedom (YAFs), for which Luce had become a campus representative. Luce appeared a

<sup>78</sup> David Lawrence, “Evidence of Planning is Detected as Race Riots Sweep the Nation”, *The Day* (New London), Thu., Jul. 27, 1967, 14.; *Id.*, “House Group Says Reds Stir Riots”, *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, Sat., Mar. 22, 1968, 6.

<sup>79</sup> Including 45 percent among whites and 10 percent among Blacks. Hazel Herskine, “The Polls: Demonstrations and Race Riots”, *loc. cit.*, 664-665.

<sup>80</sup> Jeff Woods, *Black Struggle Red Scare*, *op. cit.*, 98-99.

few times at Crusade events and published a few texts in the CACC newsletter, where he testified, as he had done elsewhere, that the PLP had been stockpiling arms and actively promoting race riots by sending its members into the ghettos of Los Angeles, New York and New Jersey “in an attempt to inflame the black people to generate guerrilla warfare in this country”<sup>81</sup>. One of the PLP leaders, a Harlem Black Maoist named Bill Epton, was arrested and eventually sentenced to prison for having incited violence during the Harlem riots of 1964<sup>82</sup>. Also, the heated rhetoric of some radical Black leaders openly advocating violence stoked the racial strife of these days.

Still, the combined action of all radical groups and individuals was at best a marginal factor in the 1960’s racial riots. Moreover, the existence of a coordinated apparatus behind the rash of rioting was simply improvable. Schwarz’s bête noire, the PLP, could not be conceived as part of a coherent bloc due to its increasingly bad relationships with other radical groups in the late 1960’s over its rejection of nationalist struggles<sup>83</sup>. The 426-page report of the Kerner commission, mandated by President Johnson to examine the causes of the 1967 riots, gave minimal space to the subversive issue and concluded that the primary causes of the disorder were the social and economic conditions in which Black people lived, recommending “sweeping reforms in the areas of employment, education, welfare, housing reforms, news reporting, and law enforcement”<sup>84</sup>.

Nonetheless, the emergence of the Black Panther Party (BPP) gave Schwarz the missing link he had been looking for between racial strife and communism. Founded in 1966, the BPP espoused a radical agenda openly influenced by Communist theories, especially Maoism. The BPP reached the height of its influence during the 1969-1970 period, with a presence in most major American cities, its magazine *The Black Panther* having a circulation of 100,000 and polls showing it had widespread support in Black communities<sup>85</sup>. Until the BPP began collapsing in 1970 due to internal splits, incarceration of its leaders, involvement in illegal activities and defections, it substituted for the PLP as the crusader’s prime target on the racial front. In 1969, he wrote that the

<sup>81</sup> Philip Abbott Luce, “The New Left”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jul. 24, 1967, 4.

<sup>82</sup> Jack Roth, “Epton Gets Year in Anarchy Case”, *New York Times*, Fri., Jan. 28, 1966, 31.

<sup>83</sup> Laura Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2006, 165.

<sup>84</sup> Kenneth O’Reilly, “The FBI and the Politics of the Riots, 1964-1968”, *loc. cit.*, 108..

<sup>85</sup> Jeffrey Ogbonna Green Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004, 121.

prospect of “no-go zone” Black ghettos policed by BPP armed members was one of the greatest threats to America. “Through their association with the Black Panthers, the white communists will be able to operate freely within these areas, store arms within them, and use them as bases from which to launch civil war”<sup>86</sup>.

Despite its use of the Black-Red rhetoric, the Crusade did not seriously attempt during these years to establish a presence in the South. Schwarz’s almost complete muting of the Crusade’s dual anticommunism schools in Louisiana in 1961 shows that his Southern experience did not incite him to make any further attempts to reach out to this part of the country, despite the opportunity that it represented as a stronghold of conservative, “law-and order” and anti-Red rhetoric. The only exception to this rule was an anticommunist rally the Crusade organized in Virginia Beach in the summer of 1966. Among Sunbelt’s cities, Virginia Beach was a rare example of racial peace. Its public facilities and school system had been smoothly integrated, and the infusion of a new Black middle-class attracted by employment opportunities in the growing local military and resort sectors had not been accompanied by notable trouble. In 1966, the head of a fair housing group called the city “the model community in the South in integration”<sup>87</sup>. Group Research showed interest for the rally after an article from a local labor newspaper had affirmed that the event’s sponsors had ties with the JBS or the KKK, but an examination found “no Birch or Klan connections”<sup>88</sup>.

Schwarz, along with Philbrick and Janet Greene, came to Virginia Beach in the context of a “pilot project”. “If it is a success”, said a local organizer to a journalist, “the principals would be willing to come back later with a full week of anti-Communism school”. Recalling the early 1960’s, the event enjoyed the widespread support of the local elite. Among supporters of the rally were Mayor of Virginia Beach, Frank A. Dusch, prominent local churchmen, civic personalities and two retired admirals<sup>89</sup>. “An all-white crowd showed up for the two-hour event”, a *Washington Post* reporter noted. Before the 2,000 people present, Schwarz stated. “We’ve done practically nothing in the South, (...)

<sup>86</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “The Black “Ghetto” -- A Communist Sanctuary”, *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 1, 1969, 1.

<sup>87</sup> Amy Waters Yarsinske, *Virginia Beach: A History of Virginia’s Golden Shore*, Charleston, Arcadia Publishing, 2002, 193-198.

<sup>88</sup> The only possible link between the rally and segregationist forces, not noted by Group Research for some reason, was a telegram of endorsement to the rally by Democratic Senator A. Willis Robertson, signer of the Southern Manifesto and father of evangelist Pat Robertson. GR note, *GRC*, Box 363, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – Notes on Individual Meetings”.

<sup>89</sup> Frank Blackford, “Crusade Comes to Tidewater: An Anti-Communist ‘Pilot Project’ ”, *The Virginian Pilot*, Wed., Jul. 31, 1966, press clipping found in *GRC*, Box 364, F. “CACC, News Clips – 1966-1967” .

maybe this is a good base, judging by the crowd here tonight, to come and start”<sup>90</sup>. The crowd reacted well to Schwarz’s speech on race, including when he criticized “people in the white race who turn to violence and hate”. Greene drew the largest applause when she sang a song with the lyrics “I’m just a poor left winger... duped by a bearded singer”. Nonetheless, the financial response was disappointing. The money the Crusade earned during the rally was \$2,000, while an “offering” of \$3,000 would have been sufficient to bring the Crusade for a weeklong school in Virginia Beach. Schwarz also admitted to a reporter that the Crusade did not wish to be associated with people or groups promoting racism or anti-Semitism, but that he had “encountered some people here who haven’t grasped that point”<sup>91</sup>. Ultimately, no Crusade school was organized in Virginia Beach, nor in any other part of the South. The crusader tried to stay away from the region across the rest of his career.

## 16.2 Anti-Subversive Seminars

In late 1964 and early 1965, student protesters, under the banner of the “Free Speech Movement”, clashed with the direction of the University of California at Berkeley -and, ultimately, with the local police- over the institution’s policy prohibiting advocacy of political causes on the campus. In March 1965, the “teach-in” movement began, the first major manifestation of the antiwar movement, which rapidly spread across the nation’s campuses, most notably at the Michigan University in Ann Arbor and in UC Berkeley. Coupled with the continuing involvement of students in civil rights demonstrations, these campus activities signalled the coming of age of the baby-boom generation, the greatest student body increase in history. The organization that became iconic of 1960’s student activism, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), originally founded in 1962, expanded substantially until 1968, before a series of internal splits brought it to a quick collapse in 1969. Like most student organizations, SDS members did not invest themselves in a single cause, but rather militated on different fronts, most notably civil rights, the antiwar movement and the campaign against the military draft.

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<sup>90</sup> Richard Corrigan, “Cold War Crusade Comes to Virginia”, *Washington Post*, Sat., Sept. 3, 1966, S7.

<sup>91</sup> Wayne Woodlief, “Schwarz May Return: Enthusiasm High, But Cash Low”, *The Ledger-Star*, Sat., Sept. 3, 1966, press clipping found in *GRC*, Box 364, F. “CACC, News Clips – 1966-1967” .

“The well-organized and sustained campaign of mass demonstrations and civil disobedience of the so-called Free Speech Movement is a new phenomenon in American University Life. Communists have been active as participants and leaders”, Schwarz wrote in January 1965<sup>92</sup>. As he did with other social movements, Schwarz saw the participation of a few Marxist-influenced groups and individuals as evidencing serious Red involvement. Though the bulk of student activists were not Communists, they were being used by the Reds so as to cripple America from within. Of course, he wrote, participants in student demonstrations “would deny this statement vehemently (...) but this does not lessens its truth”<sup>93</sup>.

His response to the rise of radical student activism was swift. For years, the Crusade had been trying to woo students, both in the U.S. and in its international programs. Because the University campus “has always served as the best Communist recruiting ground”, and because the increase of the student body was observable all around the world, the Crusade doubled its efforts. Already six months before the Berkeley confrontations, Schwarz had developed a new type of Crusade school formula, initially tested in June 1964, in Washington. Because it was primarily aimed at a student audience, the family-oriented and religious elements were toned down. The format was modified in a more academic-looking direction. Individual lectures were followed by panel discussions, where the public was invited to participate and ask questions. Besides Schwarz and Philbrick, the speakers were the Crusade collaborators who had an extensive academic background, such as Eugene Lyons, Edward Rozek or John Drakeford. This switch was noticed by Group Research, one contact of which based in Washington told the organization that Schwarz “is not going to stress the religious viewpoint. So he is turning interest to college professors and college people”<sup>94</sup>.

The objective was no longer to attract as many people as possible, as was the case in previous schools. Rather, the Crusade solicited its supporters to help finance the new formula and, more particularly, to cover the “tuition” fees, so that a large number of young people could attend free of charge. After sending advertising to the mailing lists of

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<sup>92</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “An Analysis of Rebellion at the University of California as Applied Marxism-Leninism”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jan. 18, 1965, 1-4.

<sup>93</sup> *Id.*, “Viet Nam”, *Ibid.*, Jun. 25. 1965, 3.

<sup>94</sup> LMC to Welsey McCune, Apr. 22, 1964, *GRC*, Box 365, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade - Washington School June 64”.

young conservative groups, the Crusade received 1,100 replies showing interest, from which about half were selected for the “scholarship”<sup>95</sup>. A *Washington Post* journalist who came to the school in Washington in June 1964 reported that about 500 student “from 49 states and five countries” followed a “no-nonsense 12 hour daily schedule” in a studious atmosphere: “The key was low, the interest was intense and the intelligent quotient was high and ivy-clad (...)”<sup>96</sup>. The infiltrators sent by Group Research and the ADL to monitor the event concurred. “The audience”, one observer noted, “(...) was almost entirely made up of young people -- probably college students, with a number of young adults. There were a great many YAF and Goldwater buttons in evidence”. Another commented in his report: “The turnout was disgustingly good, and the audience not the senile, retired folksy types one would expect from the previous TV programs about the Far Right; this audience was comprised (...) of fresh-faced, alert college students who seemed to know what they wanted for themselves and for the country (...)”<sup>97</sup>. The only moment where things became topsy-turvy was when 40 enthusiastic young Crusaders organized an impromptus demonstration before the Soviet Embassy. Schwarz later scolded his students, explaining that the Crusade remained non-political and that such actions put the organization at risk of seeing its tax-exempt status removed.

In December 1964, as the confrontation was ongoing on the campus of Berkeley, Schwarz announced in the newsletter that the Crusade would launch a “great offensive” for 1965: “We are planning a series of anti-Communism schools specifically oriented towards college and university students. The first of these will be held in Berkeley, California, February 1-5”<sup>98</sup>. Being a response to what the crusader deemed an urgent situation, the holding of this Berkeley school was put on a fast track, with a reduced team of local volunteers and no formal assurance that expenses would be covered (it ultimately cost \$15,000, all was paid for by Crusade supporters). The event took place at the Berkeley House, a few minutes from the University campus and was attended by more than 2,000 students, half of whom were students admitted free. Schwarz was especially

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<sup>95</sup> Edwin A. Davis to David Brody, Jun. 2, 1964, *Ibid*.

<sup>96</sup> Jack S. Landau, “High IQ Student Group Low on ‘Red Menace’”, press clipping (perhaps *Washington Post*) from *Ibid*.

<sup>97</sup> Nancy Green, Report, “Washington School of Anti-Communism – Tuesday Afternoon, June 16, 1964 session”, and Anonymous report, *GRC*, Box 365, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade - Washington School June 64”.

<sup>98</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Future Plans”, *CACC Newsletter*, Dec. 3, 1964, 4.

proud to note his newsletter that several attendees were members of the Free Speech Movement who seemed to him to have been actually listening to the Crusade message<sup>99</sup>.

With the dual successes of the Washington school of June 1964 and Berkeley school of February 1965, the Crusade took a turn towards youth and student outreach. This resulted in the abandonment of the anticommunism school concept and the emergence of a new idea, the “Anti-Subversive Seminar”. The transition from one formula to the other was not immediate. The Crusade continued to organizing events holding the title of “School of Anti-Communism”, with more than a dozen held between 1965 and 1968<sup>100</sup>. Yet, these Crusade schools of the second half of the 1960’s were all characterized by the move towards the new formula which marked the abandonment of mass rallies similar to those of the early 1960’s. Expenses on advertising were usually minimal, if not non-existent. Nonetheless, there was a five-year transition period from the “regular” school formula to the one specifically designed to attract students<sup>101</sup>. In July and September 1968, two student-aimed schools in San Diego and Berkeley, both attended by hundreds of college and high school students, had both the title of “Leadership Training School of Anti-Communism”<sup>102</sup>. It was finally in 1969 that two student-oriented schools, respectively at Fordham University in New York and at the Hotel America in Washington, were advertised in the CACC newsletter as “Anti-Subversive Seminars”. “School of Anti-Communism” were not held passed this point. As Schwarz wrote in his memoirs: “Schools of Anti-Communism were replaced by Anti-Subversive Seminars. Special efforts were made to recruit college and university students through “scholarships” which provided them with a minimal sum for their accommodation and food in hotels in which the seminars were held”<sup>103</sup>.

For eight years, Crusade seminar-type events were “Anti-Subversive Seminars” (ASSs). “We must try to increase the frequency”, Schwarz wrote Philbrick about these

<sup>99</sup> *Id.*, “Mixed Emotions”, *CACC Newsletter*, Feb. 11, 1965, 1-4.

<sup>100</sup> Detroit (twice), Sacramento, Boston, New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, San Diego, Washington, San Francisco and Orange County.

<sup>101</sup> For instance, the school of Detroit in June 1965 was in the latter category, as explained by the crusader to his supporters: “The year will be over for many colleges and universities when this school takes place so we are hoping an excellent registration from students and teachers. Many may come from a considerable distance”. Fred C. Schwarz, “The Greater Detroit School of Anti-Communism, June 7-11, Statler-Hilton Hotel – Washington and Park”, *CACC Newsletter*, May 17, 1965, 5.

<sup>102</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Dear Friend”, fundraising letter, Aug. 5, 1968.

<sup>103</sup> *Id.*, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 382.

seminars in 1970, “as I don’t know anything more effective that we can do”<sup>104</sup>. Between 1969 and 1976, about twenty ASSs were held, at a yearly rate that varied from one (in 1974) to six (1972). These events followed the pattern that had gradually been established through the second half of the 1960’s. While former Crusade events lasted a week, the new formula was shorter, lasting in general three or four days. In part because the Crusade paid for the admission and accommodation of many attendees, these seminars were designed to attract not more than a few hundred people. A rare member of the media who attending these seminars, investigative journalist Bob Greene, present at the ASS of Chicago in February 1974, reported: “There were about 250 persons there. In the early 1960’s, Schwarz used to rent Madison Square Garden for his talks, but he seemed pleased to come into the room and see this turnout”<sup>105</sup>.

Apart from Schwarz, Philbrick, Colbert and Judd, the Crusade seminars featured across the years people such as political scientists Henry Paolucci, David N. Rowe , Joseph Dunner and James David Atkinson, respectively from St. John, Yale, Yeshiva and Georgetown universities; Oxford-trained philosopher Charles Lowry; Raymond Alcide Joseph, anthropologist from the University of Chicago who later became Ambassador of Haiti in Washington; Richard M. Bertsch, attorney and member of the Presidential Commission on Obscenity and Pornography; Charles E. Rice, Professor of Law at Notre-Dame University; columnist and author Rus Walton and *Human Events* editor M. Stanton Evans. The only speakers who broke this academic-oriented pattern were people such as George Benson, Juanita Castro, Phyllis Schlafly and Reed Irvine (founder of *Accuracy in the Media*). Speaking honorariums paid by the Crusade had doubled and were now established at \$200 per lecture per lecturer (plus covering of travel and accommodation expenses), but inflation rates of the late 1960’s and 1970’s were such that this sum was worth considerably less than in the Crusade’s old days. As before, Walter Judd never accepted honorariums and, at least in one case, paid half of his travel expenses<sup>106</sup>.

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<sup>104</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Herbert and Shirley Philbrick, Jun. 30, 1970, *HPP*, Box 66, “Subject File” Series, F. 6, “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1970-1972”.

<sup>105</sup> Bob Greene, “Red Menace Fading”, *The Billings Gazette*, Feb. 21, 1974, page unknown – press clipping sent to the author by a correspondent.

<sup>106</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Herbert Philbrick, Mar. 22, 1972, *HPP*, Box 66, “Subject File” Series, F. 6, “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1970-1972”; Walter Judd to Fred C. Schwarz, Mar. 15, Apr. 9, 1970, *WHJP*, Box 226, F. 5.



Participants were probably present more for ideological and intellectual reasons rather than financial ones.

The themes addressed during ASSs were roughly similar as before, though a greater emphasis was put on some issues. One was the theme of moral decline, present in such lectures as Drakeford's "The Great Sex Dwindle" and "Sex, Education and Morality", Schwarz's "Marcuse and the Politics of Sex" and "The War on the Family", or Richard Bretsch's "The Presidential Commission on Obscenity and Pornography... Magna Carta for the Pornographer". A greater emphasis was also put on the extolling of the American constitutional and economic system, with lectures such as Benson's "The Wealth Machine" or Paolucci's "Government and the Constitution". A film often presented during ASSs was the half-hour NEP production *Republic of Apathy*, which an attendee described as lampooning "a nation under the influence of apathy (...) with not-so-subtle mocks of taxes, bureaucratic structures and, of course, welfare. The net result of the film was a round of applause for the narrator's final warning against the destroying of all "heritage and moral fibre"<sup>107</sup>. The ASSs were thus not exclusively focused on communism. Once replying to an inquiry about the ASSs, Schwarz described their goal as articulating "(...) the positive qualities of free enterprise, limited constitutional government and personal responsibility, and expose the methods by which the communists, anarchists and sensualists seek to subvert and destroy the American heritage"<sup>108</sup>.

One notable curricular difference between Crusade schools and ASSs laid in the more practically-oriented training the latter provided, with many addresses such as: "How to Speak", "How to Organize Campus Discussion", "Organizing on Campus". In 1977, the last recorded Crusade seminar took place in Washington under a new appellation, the "Washington, D.C. Conference of Workers Against Communism". This event focused almost entirely on practice as opposed to theory, with workshops such as "Selecting the Aspects of Communism to be Emphasized", "How to Gain Access in the Media", "How to Write Effectively", "How to Form and Finance an Organization and Secure Tax Deductible Status for It" or "How to Secure Speaking Engagements". The pioneer of

<sup>107</sup> "Student editor's notes of Washington Meeting of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, June 12-15, 1970", GRC, Box 365, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Washington Anti-Subversive Seminars, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972".

<sup>108</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Richard Maass, Nov. 17, 1972, GRC, Box 363, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade -- Correspondence".

direct mail fundraising, Richard Viguerie, came to participate in sessions on the topics: “The Message Via the Mails”, “How to Use the Mails” and “How to Be Effective in Politics”.

A good number of students who attended the ASSs were selected from mailing lists of conservative organizations. Before the first official ASSs were held in 1969, Jim Colbert initially wished to advertise the seminars in student newspapers from institutions around the location where the event was being held. Philbrick sent him the addresses and advertising rates for several student newspapers, but Colbert later told him “Dr. Schwarz and I have discussed what might be the potential results of advertising in the universities’ newspapers and have decided against it”, probably so as to limit the number of hostile infiltrators<sup>109</sup>. The idea became to offer scholarships to three people in each college present in the area around the seminar’s location: one to the president of the student body, one to the editor of the student newspaper and one to the head of the political science department<sup>110</sup>.

This decision compelled the Crusade to use its own mailing lists, the list from the YAFs, or to rely on word-of-mouth. When, at the end of one seminar, attendees were asked to raise their hands so as to indicate how they had learned about the event, a quarter knew through the YAFs, another quarter from word-of mouth and another quarter from a lecture Philbrick had given at a Catholic University (the rest came through miscellaneous means)<sup>111</sup>.

Due to the conservative nature of these mailing lists, many attendees had previous affiliation with the right-wing. Observers at ASSs pointed out that a good deal of participants wore YAF, patriotic or “Jesus Saves” pins. “Some small number represented groups at home”, an ADL observer noted, such as this “teenager who won a scholarship to attend from his church in Kentucky. A few were recruiting for their own churches or groups. A representative from “The United Family” was recruiting interested people. The organization is in D.C. and wants to put “Christ back into family life” ”<sup>112</sup>. A

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<sup>109</sup> Jim Colbert to Shirley Philbrick, Apr. 21, 1969, *HPP*, Box 66, “Subject File” Series, F. 5, “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1968-1969”.

<sup>110</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “The Exciting Seminar”, *CACC Newsletter*, Aug. 1, 1972, 2.

<sup>111</sup> Only one attendee came as a result from a newspaper ad. Report on the Washington D.C. Anti-Subversive Seminar, (ADL), *GRC*, Box 363, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – Notes on Individual Meetings”.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

*Washington Post* journalist present at a seminar in Washington interviewed a husband and wife from Philadelphia who came with their son, a Notre Dame University student, because, as the father said, the professors “are too liberal-minded and are advocating socialism to be perfectly honest. (...) The boys don’t get both sides”<sup>113</sup>. A majority of seminar attendees were YAFer type (described by a reporter as “neatly-dressed, with short, well-combed hair”), though the crowd also contained a mishmash of elderly Republican ladies, foreign students from the Carriibbean, Asia or Africa whom the Crusade wished to train against communism or simply the curious<sup>114</sup> In 1972, many participants at an ASS in Washington were a group of liberal students who attend primarily, Schwarz wrote, “to have a weekend at a hotel in Washington with their living expenses paid”, but, he added, most “who came to scoff remained to listen with interest and respect”. To Schwarz’s displeasure, the *Washington Star* reported the event under the title “Student Ringers Attend: Subversion Talks ‘Infiltrated’ ”<sup>115</sup>.

A letter from the Crusade inviting YAF members the Washington ASS in June 1971, indicated: “A substantial number of scholarships for college and high school students who wish to attend are available. Each scholarship will be worth \$60. \$20 of this will be for tuition. \$40 will be for the individual to cover the cost of rooms and meals”<sup>116</sup>. The switch from a policy of charging fees for each individual admission, as was the case during 1960’s Crusade schools, to a policy of paying each attending individual made holding ASSs a costly proposition for the Crusade. At a rate of 60\$ per scholarship, organizing a seminar with 500 students cost \$30,000 to the Crusade. When the costs of paying the “faculty”, renting a hotel hall for a few days and other logistical elements were added, an ASS could cost as much as \$50,000, as did the one held in Hotel Sonesta in Washington in June 1970, though most ASSs cost somewhere in the \$25,000-30,000. In 1972, a few weeks before the last of six costly seminars held throughout the year, Schwarz wrote Philbrick: “Financial income has taken a plunge during the last couple of months and I considered cancelling the Philadelphia seminar, but I confidently hope

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<sup>113</sup> Sanford J. Ungar, “Crusade Hears Opening Attack on Communism”, *Washington Post*, Sat., Jun. 13, 1970, B6. In 1970, a journalist reported a high number of “love beards, long sideburns and (...) young men with shoulder-length hair”. Martin Weil, “Anti-Subversive Seminar Opens”, *Washington Post*, Sat., Jun. 21, 1969, B3.

<sup>114</sup> Sanford J. Ungar, “Crusade Hears Opening Attack on Communism”, *loc. cit.*, B6.

<sup>115</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “The Exciting Seminar”, *loc. cit.*, 2.

<sup>116</sup> An., “Dear YAF member”, Undated Letter (1971).

income will improve during the remainder of the year”<sup>117</sup>. In 1975-1976, during the last seminars, attendance was reduced to about 300 to 400 people, with the Crusade not spending more than \$10,000-12,000 in “scholarships”, and each student receiving \$35. “Dr. Schwarz”, Philbrick wrote to one of his contacts, “spends a goodly part of the year soliciting funds for the seminar”<sup>118</sup>. The seminars absorbed about half of the Crusade’s yearly finances as long as they were held.

The small-scale formula of these seminars, in contrast to the schools of the preceding decade, facilitated their organization, which most observers described as efficient. An ADL infiltrator sent to the first ASS in 1969 noted in his report:

“I have never seen as fine a presentation. Every speaker was magnetic and his information presented both clearly and emotionally. The schedule was followed and all sessions were recorded for sale after the seminar. The propaganda skill that was used in preparing this seminar is beyond equal. There was not a single word said that could be used by a critic to show that the group is anti-Semitic or antidemocratic”<sup>119</sup>.

The ASSs were also tightly-controlled. Entering the seminar room, participants were given a copy of *You Can Trust*, the *What is Communism? Study book*, as well as a pen and a pad. The same ADL observer told of the impressive “seriousness” of young participants. Another from Group Research, in 1970, mentioned the “non-humor, intent listening, determination in the faces of everyone”<sup>120</sup>. Attendance was compulsory for those on a scholarship. In fact, they had to punch a card<sup>121</sup>. At the end of a first seminar day, Schwarz insisted “that there be no partying that night, that everyone keep quiet, and preferably go to bed early. Everyone, he stated, must arrive promptly for seminars”<sup>122</sup>. During the breaks, groups such as the YAFs were allowed to distribute their literature to participants who were not affiliated with them, but the seminar organizers remained careful to supervise disseminated material.

<sup>117</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Herbert and Shirley Philbrick, Sept. 22, 1970, *HPP*, Box 66, “Subject File” Series, F. 6, “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1970-1972”.

<sup>118</sup> Herbert Philbrick to S.A. Wm. Nicholson, Jun. 21, 1975, *Ibid.*, Box 7, “General Correspondence” Series, F. 7, “1975”.

<sup>119</sup> Report on the Washington D.C. Anti-Subversive Seminar, (ADL), *GRC*, Box 363, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – Notes on Individual Meetings”.

<sup>120</sup> “Student editor’s notes of Washington Meeting of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, June 12-15, 1970”, *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> Donald P. Baker, “Old Pros of Anti-Communism Lecture on ‘Real Enemy’”, *loc. cit.*, B9.

<sup>122</sup> “The 1971 Washington Anti-Subversive Seminar”, *GRC*, Box 365, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Washington Anti-Subversive Seminars, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972”.

Because they were held on a much smaller scale than the schools, and because they largely preached to the converted, ASSs seem to have been less influential on the long-term. In a text about Ronald Reagan, Schwarz wrote that some former ASS attendees, as was the case in his schools, “came to occupy responsible positions in government, education and religion”<sup>123</sup>. This applies to Dana Rohrabacher and Anthony Dolan, both of whom became followers of Schwarz during the seminar years. Dana Rohrabacher, a young libertarian and president of the California chapter of the YAFs, later became one of Reagan’s speechwriters and was, in 1988, elected Republican representative for California’s 42<sup>nd</sup> District, which encompasses Orange County. Schwarz, Rohrabacher said, “had a major impact on the American conservative movement, giving substance and depth to anti-communist activists that were such an important part of that movement. (...) The education he gave me was invaluable”<sup>124</sup>. Anthony Dolan, another YAF member, became a journalist and, from 1981 on, President Reagan’s main speechwriter. In March 1983, Dolan wrote the presidential speech where Reagan famously referred to the Soviet Union as “the evil empire”. “Dear Tony”, Schwarz wrote, “I trust I may be forgiven a surge of pride and exaltation when I read the speech”, prompting Dolan to reply: “You should have liked it. I took it all from you”. He later sent the crusader a copy of the speech with the note: “I thought you might like to see the oak tree that has grown from the acorn which you planted so many years ago”<sup>125</sup>.

### 16.3 “The Age of Confusion” (and Beyond)

In November 1964, a few days after L.B. Johnson’s landslide victory over Barry Goldwater, Schwarz, Philbrick and Janet Greene were touring in Michigan. The trio began a series of gigs with a stop before a capacity crowd at the Erickson Hall of the Michigan State University. As he spoke, Schwarz collapsed and was brought to a nearby hospital where Dr. George Westcott came to see him. The crusader was diagnosed with tachycardia, a cardiac deficiency caused by nervous tension<sup>126</sup>. He was quickly released

<sup>123</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 467.

<sup>124</sup> Dana Rohrabacher, “Honouring Cold War Warriors”, *Congressional Record*, Vol. 159, No. 44, 12 March 2009, House, H3394.

<sup>125</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Anthony Dolan, Mar. 24, 1983, *Anthony R. Dolan Files, Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation & Library, Simi Valley, California*, 1981-1989 Box 76, - Series IV - Correspondence, March-September 1982 to April 1983 (Part I), F. 2.

Fred C. Schwarz, “Ronald Reagan”, *The Schwarz Report*, Vol. 44, No. 8, Aug. 2004, 1.

<sup>126</sup> An., “Philbrick Colleague Collapses”, *Lansing State Journal*, Wed., Nov. 11, 1964, A-8.

from the hospital, but the heart problem reappeared sporadically during the following decade, in particular when he gave public addresses, and imposed a greater restraint than before on his lecturing activities. Schwarz continued to deliver numerous individual talks before small or medium-sized audiences between the mid-1960's and the mid-1970's, but his pace slowed down. The crusader's noteworthy public appearances, such as the one he almost had with Herbert Marcuse, became increasingly rare.

In 1967, Schwarz appeared on William F. Buckley's *Firing Line* television show to discuss "The Decline of Anti-Communism". Though the one-hour exchange remained cordial and the crusader delivered his message with his usual aplomb, it was obvious that he had difficulty in convincing Buckley that his ideology-stressing analysis of communism was in sync with the mood of the day. Both men were in basic agreement in their anticommunist stance, but the crusader only minimally acknowledged that there were some differences between Stalin, Khrushchev and Alexei Kosygin (Khrushchev's successor and the top Soviet leader until the early 1970's), stating that they were all united by the basic doctrines of Marxism-Leninism and only differed as to the means whereby they wished to apply them for world conquest. As to the fact that Kosygin was trying since 1965 to implement economic reforms based on the introduction of some elements of market measures so as to stimulate the Soviet economy, Schwarz, as always, saw the initiative as a mere dialectical sidestep. He added that the Sino-Soviet split risked not to weaken but to make the global Red movement stronger since competition always encourages innovation and resourcefulness.

In May 1972, Schwarz participated in the last important public debate of his career at the College of the Sequoias, in Tulare, California. His opponent was Roger McAfee, a raisin farmer who had made the headlines when he paid the \$102,000 bail to release from prison Angela Davis, a Black Power militant and former UCLA instructor who had been arrested for her alleged involvement in the abduction and murder of a California judge. Before a gymnasium crowded with 3,000 people, McAfee, a Communist sympathizer, pointed out that Schwarz had never travelled in any Communist country and challenged the crusader to disclose the source of his information on communism. "I studied at the University of Queensland in Australia, and they taught me to read", Schwarz replied, generating laughs. McAfee defended the building of the Berlin Wall on the ground that it

was designed to “keep the Western criminal out of West Berlin”. As the debate ended, a journalist reported, “it was evident McAfee came out on the short end. Against the advice of the panel moderator and Schwarz, he demanded a “demonstration vote of confidence” by a show of hands - it was a handsdown victory for the anti-communist crusader”<sup>127</sup>.

In 1974, Schwarz made his last appearance before a Congregational committee, this time the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws, led by Southern stalwarts James O. Eastland (Chairman) and Strom Thurmond. The crusader appeared in the context of the events in early 1974 that saw a new left-wing urban guerrilla group, the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), making headlines for its kidnapping of 19-year old media heiress Patty Hearst, who announced in an audiotape two months after her abduction that she had joined the SLA. Schwarz testified as an expert witness on the radical left. He also lectured on the issue of brainwashing, which he considered pertinent to the case of Patty Hearst (Sen. Thurmond raised the idea that perhaps that the young woman “had made up her life was dull” and simply “wanted to do something different”). A moment of agreement between Schwarz and Thurmond came when the crusader emphasized how much the work of Reds and radicals was facilitated by the dismantling of anti-subversive laws in the name of civil liberties (“The press is strangely silent about Communist involvement in agitation for civil liberties”, Schwarz said).

Schwarz gave a detailed description of the ideology and tactics of several radical groups such as the SLA and the Weathermen (a group resulting from a split with the SDS in 1969), in his view, all linked to Marxist-Leninist ideology one way or the other. The testimony ended on Schwarz’s recommendations to curb radical violence in America. These included a vast program of education aimed at exposing the falsity of anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist rhetoric in order to halt the recruitment of guerrilla members on university and college campuses, as well as an initiative aimed at educating members of the police radical leftist ideologies. The crusader also requested that laws be re-written so as to make them effective against subversion: “Freedom can only exist in a society of laws. Every law restricts a freedom. Thus we have the paradox that the

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<sup>127</sup> Eva Smith, “McAfee no Match for Schwarz in ‘Big Debate’ ”, *Visalia Times-Delta*, Tue., May 2, 1972, 1-B.

restraint of freedom is essential to the life of freedom”<sup>128</sup>. As compared to Schwarz’s HUAC appearance 17 years before, this testimony drew almost no media attention. Copies of the text were made available by the Crusade, but distribution remained limited.

In May 1976, after an ASS in Indianapolis, Schwarz’s tachycardia problem reappeared on a graver scale, compelling the crusader to largely reduce his speaking engagements. In early 1978, Schwarz wrote Judd that he was taking Inderol. This medication keeps the problem under control, but has the side effect of greatly reducing the patient’s energy<sup>129</sup>. Schwarz’s heart condition was undoubtedly one of the main factors that compelled him to almost totally stop organizing seminars and lectures by the late 1970’s. The crusader abandoned the speaking trail after almost three decades and thousands of talks (the number of 20,000 was once suggested during a testimonial dinner in 1987)<sup>130</sup>. In late 1982, Schwarz received a letter from Carl McIntire who invited him to address the delegates of the next Congress of the International Council of Christian Churches. “We will provide you a round-trip ticket, non-stop from L.A. to Philadelphia, if you are able to arrange to come. Fred, you have been completely vindicated because you stand for the truth. (...) Please give it your prayerful consideration (...)”. Schwarz wrote back that he was forever be grateful to McIntire “for your visit to Australia which opened the door to the ministry I have conducted for the past 33 years”, but declined the invitation: “My present ministry is primarily writing and research. I am doing very little speaking these days. One of the reasons for this is that I have been subject to recurring attacks of Tachycardia which sometimes occur while speaking”<sup>131</sup>.

In 1977, as he was preparing his last seminar, Schwarz wrote to Philbrick: “I have an apprentice working with me at present. His name is Dr. Marvin Olasky, Ph. D. (...) You will meet and hear him in Washington, D.C.”<sup>132</sup>. Marvin Olasky, 27 at the time, was the first person ever conceived by the crusader as an “apprentice”. Born in Boston and raised

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<sup>128</sup> Committee On the Judiciary, *Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws*, U.S. Senate, Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 93<sup>rd</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, Part 3, July 15, 1974, 155-176.

<sup>129</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Walter H. Judd, Aug. 14, 1978, *WHJP*, Box 226, F. 5.

<sup>130</sup> The figure comes from a speech made at the ceremony awarding Schwarz organized by the Council for National Policy. A low-quality videotaped copy of the ceremony was provided to the author by Political Research Associates. Many thanks to Chip Berlet.

<sup>131</sup> Carl McIntire to Fred C. Schwarz, Dec. 20, 1982; Fred C. Schwarz to Carl McIntire, May 13, 1983, *CMP*, F. ‘Fred C. Schwarz – Christian Anti-Communism Crusade’.

<sup>132</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Herbert and Shirley Philbrick, Jun. 14, 1977, *HPP*, Box 246, “Speeches and Writings” Series, F. 6, “1977-1979”.



in the Jewish faith, Olasky studied journalism at Yale University and embraced communism, which led him to visit the Soviet Union in the mid-1970's. He attended the University of Michigan, where he earned his PhD in American culture in 1976. By this time, Schwarz wrote, "he commenced to read the Bible, and he became progressively disenchanted with communism. Finally he met and surrendered his life to Jesus Christ and renounced Communism completely"<sup>133</sup>. Olasky got a teaching job at the University of San Diego, but after attending a lecture by Schwarz in Long Beach, he decided to leave San Diego to become a full-time crusader. Schwarz considered Olasky's story "informative, entrancing, and frightening". Olasky himself states that Schwarz "liked the bio: from Judaism to Atheism to Communism to Christ"<sup>134</sup>. For a few months, Olasky gave lectures in a few Crusade activities and wrote in the Crusade newsletter. Schwarz may have seen Olasky as a possible successor, but in October 1977, after only five months, the "apprentice" left the crusader to become public relations handler for Du Pont, before accepting the position of professor of journalism at Texas University at Austin in 1983. "I was a baby Christian then and saw something of the strengths and weaknesses of the Christian right", Olasky writes about his experience with Schwarz<sup>135</sup>. Olasky later became a prolific author and one of America's influential social conservatives. Olasky had an important impact on Republican public policies in the 1990's and 2000's due to his 1992 book *The Tragedy of American Compassion*, where he argued that the churches and private charities should reclaim the responsibility of welfare from the government. Schwarz never mentioned him in his writings passed his departure from the Crusade.

Schwarz also continued to follow scrupulously the international scene, which monopolized a substantial amount of space in the Crusade newsletter. From the early 1970's on, there was hardly any development pertaining to Cold War politics on which the crusader did not comment. He demonstrated his disposition for *realpolitik* in supporting the September 1973 the military coup in Chile which overthrew the elected government of socialist Premier Salvador Allende, on whose policies the Australian had already devoted much space in his newsletter. Schwarz justified the coup by stating that Chile was on the edge of a civil war, as evidenced by the fact that revolutionaries from all

<sup>133</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Marvin Olasky, Ph. D.", *CACC Newsletter*, Jul. 1, 1977, 3.

<sup>134</sup> Email from Marvin Olasky, Jan. 25, 2008.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*

over the world “had flocked to Chile in the expectation of serving in an “International Brigade” similar to the one that was fought in the Spanish Civil War”. In this context, he hailed the “courageous” resistance of the Chilean Armed forces to tyranny and concluded that: “It is tragic that many have died and that the democratic process in Chile has been temporarily destroyed. However, the people of Chile, like most people everywhere, prefer security and prosperity to strife and chaos”<sup>136</sup>. Following the coup, he published in the newsletter letters from Chilean correspondents supporting the Pinochet regime.

The same logic led Schwarz to look with great concern at the almost bloodless overthrow of the conservative autocracy that had ruled over Portugal until 1974, under the grounds that it would probably pave the way for a Communist coup (which it did not). When he looked at South Africa, he did so mainly to lament that the Reds were exploiting Black discontent over the Apartheid regime and to condemn Nelson Mandela’s left-wing African National Congress (ANC) because of its Communist affiliation. Though he deplored Apartheid, he found much graver the fact that Communists, through the ANC (“their controlled movement”), were exploiting the issue<sup>137</sup>. The crusader maintained this stance across the 1980’s, a period when the South African question was becoming a burning one worldwide.

For militant and hard-line anticommunists who, such as Schwarz,, the 1970’s were difficult times, apart from a few clear cases of Communist evil such as the atrocities of the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia (“The Communist rulers of Cambodia surpassed Stalin and Hitler in barbarism, cruelty and genocide”), or the mass exodus of Vietnamese in the late 1970’s (the “boat people” phenomenon)<sup>138</sup>. In 1971 and 1972, Schwarz, as most anticommunists, was shocked by Nixon’s policy of rapprochement towards Mao, which led to the U.S.’s diplomatic recognition of China. He compared it to British Premier Chamberlain’s Munich agreements with Hitler in 1938. While Schwarz and his collaborators were restrained in their public comments of Nixon’s China policy, things were different in their private exchanges. Schwarz wrote Philbrick:

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<sup>136</sup> *Id.*, “Chile – Lenin’s Tragic Triumph”, *CACC Newsletter*, Oct. 1, 1973, 1-4.

<sup>137</sup> *Id.*, “Russia 1917 -- Portugal 1974”, *Ibid.*, May. 15, 1974, 1-2.; *Id.*, “Soviet Strategy in Southern Africa”, *Ibid.*, Nov. 1, 1976, 8.; *Id.*, “Communist “Science” in South Africa”, *Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1986, 2.

<sup>138</sup> *Id.*, “The Vietnamese Conquest of Cambodia -- Evil or Good”, *Ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1979, 1-2.

“As you often say, Herb, this is the age of confusion. What could be more confusing than President Nixon’s planned visit to Communist China? It could hardly be more surprising if a reversal of the law of gravity was announced. We are already beginning to hear the glories of Chinese Communist Medical treatment, which consists of the ancient art of sticking needles into various parts of the body, named acupuncture”<sup>139</sup>.

Judd expressed his disgust to Schwarz when Nixon announced his new China policy: “One can only wonder if the President has lost his mental balance (...) Has he developed delusions of grandeur that he has become the Almighty? (...). If so, it is hard to see how the U.S. can ever be trusted again, or persons like myself, who worked for his election, ever to hold up their heads again”<sup>140</sup>. In the mid-1970’s, the crusader criticized the process of *détente* between the U.S. and the Soviets, begun under Nixon with the SALT agreements and continued under Gerald Ford with the Helsinki Accords. He quoted several Communist authors who approved of the easing of Cold War tensions so as to back his contention that America was falling into a trap: “Détente is designed to secure the communist victory without the destruction of Thermonuclear war”<sup>141</sup>. Equally preoccupying as the *détente* policy itself was the support it had among the public, a public which was turning dovish, evidenced by the widespread rejection of President Ford’s last-minute request to the Congress for funds to stop the collapse of South Vietnam in 1975.

Amid these troubled times, Schwarz gave a no-confidence vote to the entire U.S. political class, criticizing the growing number of elected officials who approved of *détente* solely due to the concept’s popularity in the public mind: “Drown the voice of conscience and morality in demagogic rationalizations!”<sup>142</sup> Commenting on the televised debate of the 1976 presidential campaign, the crusader criticized both Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. The former was blamed for his controversial statement whereby the Soviet Union did not control Eastern Europe and the latter for his desire to see a regime change in Chile. “The debate provided convincing evidence of the success of the communist

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<sup>139</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Herbert and Shirley Philbrick, Sept. 22.1970, *HPP*, Box 66, “Subject File” Series, F. 6, “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1970-1972”.

<sup>140</sup> Walter H. Judd to Fred C. Schwarz, Feb. 28, 1974, *WHJP*, Box 226, F. 5.

<sup>141</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Delusions of Detente”, *CACC Newsletter*, Aug. 1, 1975, 1-4.

<sup>142</sup> *Id.*, “The Paper Tiger”, *Ibid.*, May. 1, 1975, 1-3.

campaign to deceive American leaders”<sup>143</sup>. Even the most popular political figure among anticommunists during this time, Democratic Senator Henry “Scoop” Jackson, was not beyond reproach. Jackson, around whom had gathered several second-generation neoconservatives such as Richard Perle and Paul Wolfowitz, had become famous for his hardline stance on the Vietnam War, his rejection of *détente* and his lobbying against any improvement of U.S.-Soviet relations until basic civil liberties were granted to Soviet citizens and Soviet Jews allowed the right to emigrate. However, Jackson’s relatively soft position on China and his trip to this country in 1974 were akin to a “moral schizophrenia” for Schwarz: “Senator Jackson has destroyed the moral foundation on which he has based his opposition to concessions to the Soviet Union”<sup>144</sup>. The American political class seemed equally hopeless regarding the domestic anti-Red fight. In February 1976, in an unprecedented move that clearly broke the IRS’ regulations regarding the prohibition of activities aimed at influencing legislation, Schwarz requested that his supporters write their legislators in order to block the plan of the Democratic Congress to defund the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee<sup>145</sup>.

The only leader the crusader found trustworthy was Ronald Reagan, though Schwarz waited until his arrival in the Oval Office after his presidential victory to comment in this regard, a cautiousness perhaps resulting from his desire not to attract the IRS’ attention as long as the new president had not made his inaugural address. In January 1981, Schwarz ridiculed pollsters for not having predicted the GOP victory. Even those who did, he added, “were surprised in most cases by the ease and magnitude of that victory, and I know of no professional pollster who predicted the defeat of so many “liberal” Democratic senators that the control of the Senate will pass to the Republicans. This fulfilled the hopes of many, but the expectations of few”. Their predictions were wrong, he wrote, because they could not understand “the intensity of the sense of moral outrage many Americans have felt as they have observed a liberal elite dominating the political process and destroying traditional moral values”. With optimism, he added: “A new era of opportunity has opened, but the opportunities must be seized. The communists remain

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<sup>143</sup> *Id.*, “The Ford-Carter Foreign Policy Debate”, *Ibid.*, Nov. 1, 1976, 1-2.

<sup>144</sup> *Id.*, “The Moral Schizophrenia of Senator Henry M. Jackson”, *Ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1974, 7.

<sup>145</sup> *Id.*, “Operation Blindfold”, *Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1976, 1.

immensely powerful in the military, economic and propaganda realm. The liberal elite continue to dominate in educational and judicial realms”<sup>146</sup>.

Reagan’s first foreign policy statements, where he outlined the new confrontational approach towards communism, were deemed realistic and “refreshing” by Schwarz, who began from this point on to praise the president on a regular basis and denounce its critics, both in the U.S. and abroad. “The American people can thank God that their president, Ronald Reagan, (...) possesses the courage to tell the truth. It requires courage because telling the unpalatable truth makes him the object of a storm of criticism and abuse from many in the news media, the universities, and the political opposition”<sup>147</sup>. Schwarz never wavered from its support to Reagan, even when the latter agreed during his second term to engage into talks over peace and arms control with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who assumed supreme powers in U.S.S.R. by 1985. Schwarz never trusted Gorbachev, whom he saw as another totalitarian leader committed to the goal of world Communist conquest, despite his program of liberalization of the Soviet society through economic and political reforms. In light of his lifelong opposition to any diplomatic relationships with the Communist world, Schwarz might have been disappointed by Reagan’s decision to conduct talks with Gorbachev, but never voiced criticism of the president’s foreign policy.

During the two last decades of his career, pursuing a trend that began in the mid-1960’s, the crusader often commented on moral issues, in particular on abortion and homosexuality. Schwarz first saw an abortion performed in medical school in Queensland in 1943, at a time when this operation was allowed in the British world if the mental or physical health of the mother was deemed threatened by the pregnancy. A group of students were permitted to watch a surgeon perform the operation by Caesarean section on a six-month pregnant mother: “We watched as the surgeon incised the abdomen and the uterus and removed the writhing, crying child. He handed it to an attendant to dispose of it in the trash. Since that day I have never doubted that an abortion terminates a human life”<sup>148</sup>. From the moment abortion was decriminalized in the U.S., with the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court ruling, Schwarz published several texts expelling from the realm of

<sup>146</sup> *Id.*, “Morality, Communism and Politics”, *loc. cit.*, Jan. 1, 1981, 1-4.

<sup>147</sup> *Id.*, “The Primary Objective of the Soviet Union”, *Ibid.*, Apr. 15, 1983, 2.

<sup>148</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 467.

sanity those who considered the procedure to be acceptable: “Most normal and decent people regard the newborn baby with deep affection. Those who maltreat little babies are regarded as the lowest of the low. How can this attitude harmonize with contempt for the little body which contains the new life within the womb?” he stated one year after *Roe v. Wade*<sup>149</sup>. Voicing the prevailing opinion of most social conservatives on the issue, he qualified as an “insane system” the legal framework which made it possible to “maim, mutilate and destroy the beautiful and healthy baby while it is in the body of its mother; but it becomes a capital crime to fail to take every possible measure to preserve the life of the mutilated infant if it breathes after it emerges from the maternal nest”<sup>150</sup>.

Among all morality-related issues the crusader addressed in his later years, the topic of homosexuality held a disproportionate part of his attention. His voluminous writing on homosexuality in the last decades of his career is marked by utter contempt. In 1977, his praise of singer and activist Anita Bryant, famous for her opposition to a law in Florida banning discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, became the springboard for a discussion on homosexuality and the right to discriminate in certain situations.

“By any rational standards, homosexuality is an undesirable life style; by Christian standards, it is an abomination. One method of determining the quality of an attitude is to consider that would happen if that attitude became universal. In the case of homosexuality, the answer is clear: It would mean national suicide. A world without children would be a horrible place. Children are the crowning joy and the glory of life. Homosexuality is the ultimate immorality”<sup>151</sup>.

This attitude increased with the outbreak of AIDS from the early 1980’s on. AIDS, Schwarz theorized, “has been in existence for an indefinite period of time” but its epidemic resulted from “the development of conditions that facilitate its spread. These conditions are the direct result of the legality, respectability and growth of the homosexual movement”. The emergence of tolerated environments of “male promiscuity” thus created the first pool of infection. Sodomy, he wrote, was “comparable to swimming in water containing raw sewage. Indulgence for this conduct often causes

<sup>149</sup> *Id.*, “Sadistic Abortion”, *CACC Newsletter*, Feb. 15, 1974, 5.

<sup>150</sup> *Id.*, “Morality, Communism and Politics”, *loc. cit.*, Jan. 1, 1981, 1-2.

<sup>151</sup> *Id.*, “Homosexuality, Discrimination, and Communism”, *Ibid.*, Jul. 15, 1977, 1-3.

debilitating and deadly diseases”<sup>152</sup>. The crusader concluded that sodomy “is wrong and dangerous to society and that it should be illegal”<sup>153</sup>.

From the mid-1960’s to the mid-1990’s, the international projects became gradually the focus of Crusade activities. In September 1967, Schwarz announced in his newsletter: “An Anti-Communist International has been formed to coordinate plans to fight communism throughout the world. It is called “The World Anti-Communist League,” and its first conference will be held in Taipei, Formosa (...). Rev. Jim Colbert, (...), will represent the Crusade at this conference as an observer”<sup>154</sup>. In Taipei, Colbert was part of a delegation which represented a handful of U.S.-based organizations (it included regular Crusade collaborators Walter Judd and David Rowe). About 250 delegates from 72 countries participated in the conference, half of them from Asia, “where, at the present, communist aggression and subversion are in full swing”, Colbert wrote, adding that Chiang Kai-shek, 80-year old, delivered the “soul-stirring” keynote address<sup>155</sup>.

The World Anti-Communist League (WACL), which quickly expanded with chapters on all continents, was an outgrowth of the Asian People’s Anti-Communist League (APACL), a web of anticommunist Asian forces coordinated by the Kuomintang in the mid-1950’s with the help of the China Lobby and the CIA. Like its predecessor, the WACL was neither entirely a private nor a state organization. The South Korean and Taiwanese states were highly involved in its founding, with representatives of the political and military establishments of both countries holding key positions. The WACL’s first president and leader of the Taiwanese chapter, Ku Cheng-kang, was one of the Kuomintang’s top leaders. Authors Scott and John Lee Anderson, in their study of the WACL, write that other Asian anticommunist regimes such as Thailand and the Philippines participated in the WACL and that the U.S. might have played a role as well. For their part, private groups were highly varied and came from several countries. Apart from anti-Red organizations such as the Crusade, there were conservative businessmen and bankers from Hong Kong, Macao, Singapore, and various anticommunist church groups, including the Unification Church of South Korean guru Sun Myung Moon, the

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<sup>152</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 421-432.

<sup>153</sup> *Id.*, “Understanding AIDS?”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jul. 15, 1988, 1-4.

<sup>154</sup> *Id.*, “An Anti-Communist International”, *Ibid.*, Sept. 4, 1967, 3.

<sup>155</sup> James Colbert, “An Anti-Communist International”, *Ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1967, 3-6.

help of which was notable in the WACL conference in Japan in 1970<sup>156</sup>. The goal of the WACL, as stated in its name and constitution, was to fight communism on a global scale and coordinate the efforts of all those who worked towards that end.

The WACL's activities had a public facet, which mainly involved the holding of conferences once or twice a year, based on the model of the one in Taipei in 1967, where representatives of various state and private bodies could meet and network. This was apparently the only facet in which the Crusade was involved. The Crusade participated in a few WACL conferences. In December 1968, the WACL's second conference was held in Saigon, where representatives of about 50 countries and 30 organizations met. Colbert forged new contacts among high-ranking representatives of South Vietnam, Thailand and Indonesia who showed interest for the local publication of Crusade literature. These contacts became springboards through which the Crusade disseminated its material in all three countries<sup>157</sup>. In July 1971, Schwarz went to Manila, Philippines, where he addressed the WACL convention and established solid contacts among the local churches and national security agencies<sup>158</sup>. In August 1972, Judd invited the Schwarz to participate in the 6<sup>th</sup> WACL conference in Mexico, but the crusader could not attend and, instead, sent some money and Colbert<sup>159</sup>.

During the first WACL conference in Taipei in 1967, the U.S. delegation, which included Colbert and Judd, was mistakenly conceived as a WACL chapter in the U.S., which caused some problem since the WACL leadership initially thought that the presence of a due-paying U.S. chapter would be a huge asset to the League's worldwide respectability. With the U.S. government wishing in no way to affiliate itself with the WACL, a 4-day meeting of American WACL supporters was held in late February 1970 at Washington's Mayflower Hotel. The main force behind this meeting was Lee Edwards, a former YAF member and energetic fundraiser who managed to gather for the occasion an impressive list of some of the most prominent U.S. anticommunist leaders. Among

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<sup>156</sup> Scott Anderson and Jon Lee Anderson, *Inside the League*, New York, Dodd, Mead & Company, Inc., 1986, 54-70.

<sup>157</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "S.E. Asia and the World Anti-Communism League", *CACC Newsletter*, Feb. 1, 1969, 2-3.

<sup>158</sup> "The CRC Summary File on Church Co-Optation (Draft)" – Report prepared for GRC by the National Council of Churches in the Philippines, *GRC*, Box 363, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial".

<sup>159</sup> Walter H. Judd to Fred C. Schwarz, Jun. 9, 1972; Fred C. Schwarz, Jun. 16, 1972, *WHJP*, Box 226, F. 5. Considering the costs incurred by participating in these events (the WACL generally covered accommodation of delegates, but not travel expenses), it seems that many organizations, including the Crusade, considered participating in them an asset. Judd, who attended several of them, rather thought them to be useless.



participants with some Crusade affiliation were Schwarz, Philbrick, Judd, Benson, Anthony Bouscaren, Robert Morris, Stefan Possony, David Rowe and Fred Schlafly<sup>160</sup>. As the meeting got under way, it became clear that most attendants were reluctant to become affiliates of an international organization controlled by foreigners, as most participants “stressed the importance of having an American organization to deal with a multitude of problems in our own country”. The American Council for World Freedom was thus formed, the official goal of which was to facilitate the “communication and cooperation” of anticommunist organizations “active in the field of international affairs”<sup>161</sup>. It was as a member of the American Council for World Freedom that the Crusade, as well as other U.S. organizations and individuals, participated in the WACL conferences and activities from 1970 on.

However, beneath its institutional front, the WACL had another side that had little in common with academic conference-style networking. Quite early on, the League became the mechanism through which much of the financial and material support to right-wing anticommunist groups worldwide was channelled. The WACL evolved into an employer and dispatcher of graduates of the Political Warfare Cadres Academy, an institution based in Taipei founded in 1951 and originally designed to train Kuomintang military officials, but which in the 1970’s turned into a supplier of mercenaries for various anticommunist movements around the globe. A multitude of right-wing groups, many of which were fascist and anti-Semitic, or had ties with organizations with such tendencies, associated themselves with the WACL. The entire Latin American branch of the League, the Confederation Anti-Communita Latino Americana (CAL), connected with a web of right-wing paramilitary groups in multiple Latin American countries, sprung up largely through the effort of the “Tecos”, a Mexican ultra-Catholic and anti-Semite secret society with neo-Nazi ties<sup>162</sup>. In 1972, in reaction to ongoing rumours of extremism in the Mexican Anti-Communist Federation (FEMACO), which was the Mexican branch of the

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<sup>160</sup> The complete list was: George Benson, Anthony Bouscaren, Dumitru Denielopol, Lev Dobriansky, Lee Edwards, Dan Flood, John Fisher, Kurt Glaser, Howard Handleman, Anthony Harrigan, Walter Judd, Raymond de Jaeger, David Keene, Thomas Lane, Fulton Lewis III, Fred Schwarz, John Lewis, Ivan London, Daniel Lyons, David Martin, Ross McKenzie, Robert Morris, Gene Methvin, Herbert A. Philbrick, Stefan Possony, David Rowe, William Rusher, Fred Schlafly, Paul Scott, Mike Thompson, Allan Ryskin, and Marx Lewis.

<sup>161</sup> John Fisher to Herbert Philbrick, Mar. 11, 1970; H.A.P. to S.A. Edward Rudiger, Mar. 17, 1970, *HPP*, Box 33, “Subject File” Series, F. 4, “American Council for World Freedom, The, 1969-1971”.

<sup>162</sup> Scott Anderson and Jon Lee Anderson, *Inside the League*, *op. cit.*, 71-81.

WACL, the American Council for World Freedom sent a representative, Stefan Possony, to investigate in Mexico. His report confirmed that FEMACO was a smokescreen for the “Tecos”. “Tecos is not only anti-Semitic, it is also anti-American and opposes most of the goals of the [American Council for World Freedom] stands for, e.g., freedom”<sup>163</sup>. Possony’s report prompted the American Council for World Freedom to hold a special meeting in Washington, attended by most of those who had participated in the Council’s founding two years before.

According to the minutes of the meeting, Schwarz’s first gesture was to step down from the Council’s board of directors. “Dr. Fred Schwarz asked that he be excused from serving as a director due to his very busy schedule with the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. After several members tried to persuade Dr. Schwarz to change his mind, Dr. Schwarz nominated Reed Irvine to fill the remaining vacancy on the board”. After a discussion on a few technical details, Schwarz told the meeting participants that it was essential for the survival of the WACL that “something be done about any anti-semitism in the organization”. This generated an extended discussion that ended on the adoption on a resolution presented by Reed Irvine stating that “Anti-Semitism is incompatible with enlightened, civilized conduct, and we condemn the communist states for the practice of it”<sup>164</sup>.

Schwarz’s stepping down from the Council’s board did not mean that he instantly left the WACL. In April 1974, he attended the League’s conference in Washington, where his participation was apparently noteworthy, though its exact nature remains unknown (a watchdog group report reads: “A rival faction in the WACL clearly noted that Schwarz’s role in the 1974 WACL Convention (...) was a leading one and counter to their interests”)<sup>165</sup>. However, Schwarz never disclosed publicly in his literature his work in the WACL after the 1972 controversy. In all likelihood, he severed ties with the organization. The decision was wise insofar as the League would become increasingly embroiled in controversial covert anticommunist activities. By the mid-1980’s, it had become one of the world’s largest weapon suppliers to right-wing paramilitary groups. It constituted, as

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 85-86.

<sup>164</sup> “MINUTES- Annual Meeting of American Council for World Freedom, Inc. – Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C., April 7, 1973”, *HPP*, Box 33, “Subject File” Series, F. 5, “American Council for World Freedom, The, 1972-1975”.

<sup>165</sup> “The CRC Summary File on Church Co-Optation (Draft)” – Report prepared for GRC by the National Council of Churches in the Philippines, *GRC*, Box 363, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial”.

Scott and John Lee Anderson describe it “an instrument for the practice of unconventional warfare – assassinations, death squads, sabotage- throughout the world”<sup>166</sup>.

In the late 1970’s, for the first time in almost two decades, the Crusade’s financial resources began to improve, despite the loss of many of its former big money providers. The organization’s tax returns are unavailable for these years, but the factors explaining this improvement Crusade finances can be deduced. The political and cultural setting of the 1980’s, with its reinvigorated conservatism and Cold War polarization, created a wave of anticommunism which pushed the Crusade out of the doldrums. With the Republican Party’s fortunes increasing substantially, several former Crusaders reached prominent positions in conservative politics. In 1982, the crusader wrote that he often received calls at his office from the White House. “Mind you”, he added, “it is never the President personally, but one of his staff. Or the introduction may be: “*I am calling from the office of Senator \_\_\_\_\_. The Senator asked me to call and see if you can help us secure authentic information on \_\_\_\_\_*”<sup>167</sup>. If accurate, this account means the Crusade benefitted during this era from increased respectability among the political establishment, which translated into more contributions. It is also likely that the Crusade, as was the case with other established conservative groups, benefitted from the rise to social and economic prominence of many of its lifelong supporters, even perhaps from inheritances of some of them who were passing away. In 1980, for instance, Royden L. Lebrecht, a successful real estate entrepreneur who had made a fortune amid the Sunbelt residential boom in the 1960’s and 1970’s, donated the Crusade a 20-acre property in Pima County, Arizona<sup>168</sup>.

In October 1980, Schwarz wrote in his newsletter that with \$510,000 earned, the amount netted by the Crusade was \$90,000 higher than the amount in the corresponding period in 1979. By 1982, the revenues had reached \$883,799<sup>169</sup>. Confident that the objective was now possible, Schwarz began pleading his supporters for a one million dollar sum. The following year, 1983, was the first time since 1961 that the Crusade’s earnings hit a seven-digit figure, \$1,060,417, with expenditures of \$1,005,264<sup>170</sup>. To be

<sup>166</sup> Scott Anderson and Jon Lee Anderson, *Inside the League*, op. cit., 11.

<sup>167</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Dear Friend”, fundraising letter, Jul. 1, 1982.

<sup>168</sup> Donation Act, State of Arizona, Dec. 31, 1980, *IRS-EOD*, Form 4506-A Request – Requested July 30, 2008.

<sup>169</sup> *Id.*, “The Immediate Need -- One Million Dollar”, *CACC Newsletter*, Nov. 15, 1980, 4.; *Id.*, “Dear Friend”, Fundraising Letter, Feb. 15, 1983.

<sup>170</sup> “News Notes from the Organizations”, 6-84, *GRC*, Box 363, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial”.

sure, this sum was worth less than twenty years back, but a symbolic threshold had been reached. The Crusade's revenues remained approximately in the same zone throughout the rest of the decade, before they began decreasing sharply with the end of the Cold War.

With the reduction and, ultimately, termination of the Crusade's domestic projects, apart from the publishing of written material, much of these sums were invested in international projects, making the 1975-1990 period the one where the organization became largely an international body. In 1982, for instance, more than \$698,940 were spent overseas, a proportion of more than 75 percent of the Crusade's total expenditures of \$928,825 for the year, a significant increase of more than 40 percent of the international budget when compared to the organization's prime years in the early 1960's<sup>171</sup>. The Crusade did not initiate other large-scale projects such as the newspaper in Kerala or Sluis' mobile library in British Guiana, and never participated again in the activities of other international bodies such as the WACL. Rather, the Crusade operated a cluster of small-scale initiatives that were less ambitious, but which allowed the organization to spread out its resources more efficiently. As Colbert once wrote, the Crusade applied a strict policy whereby no Crusade branch should be formed in Third World countries. Rather, he continued, "we encourage the formation of local organizations with which we cooperate by providing teaching, training, literature and whatever financial support we are able to give"<sup>172</sup>.

The Crusade became part of a complex web of private agencies that were active in the worldwide anticommunist fight through the use of "low intensity conflict" (LIC) strategies, which were increasingly prominent in the U.S.' foreign policy in the wake of the Vietnam debacle. In the words of a commander of the U.S. Special Forces and military adviser to El Salvador, LIC strategies were "total war at the grassroots", meaning the use of economic, political and psychological warfare rather than pure military force to run effective countersubversive measures<sup>173</sup>. During the 1980's, LIC strategies involved the use of "groups and individuals unaccountable (...) through constitutionally mandated

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<sup>171</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Dear Friend and Colleague", fundraising letter, Jun. 1, 1983.

<sup>172</sup> James Colbert, "African Seminar Safari", *CACC Newsletter*, Jan. 15, 1987, 1-4.

<sup>173</sup> Kermit D. Johnson, *Ethics and Counterrevolution: American Involvement in Internal Wars*, Lanham, University Press of America Inc., 1998, 2-3.

channels” and, in particular regarding propaganda activities, religious groups meshing humanitarian and evangelistic objectives with an aggressive anticommunist agenda. As it expanded its involvement in the proxy wars of the Third World in the 1980’s, the Crusade was part of a network of Western religious groups the presence of which was a strong asset in the countersubversive activities of foreign governments. Some were Catholic (such as the Knights of Malta), some were Protestant (the Crusade, Brother Andrew’s Open Door, Wycliffe Bible Translators/Summer Institute of Linguistics), but all were conservative and anticommunist in outlook. A report on the most active Protestant groups in the Philippines during the 1980’s noted that many came from Southern California and “shared a common ideological stress” on Biblical inerrancy, born again experience and a fundamentalist theology<sup>174</sup>.

This “privatization” of U.S. foreign policy became, in the words of sociologist Sara Diamond, one “of the hallmarks of the Reagan era”<sup>175</sup>. Questions were once raised as to the existence of joined efforts between the Crusade and U.S. covert operations, especially the illegal help to Nicaragua’s Contras led by Lt.-Col. Oliver North -Schwarz defended publicly the Contras and hailed North as a “patriotic”, “courageous” and “brilliant mind” after the Iran-Contragate scandal broke out-, but the Crusade’s operations remained apparently confined to the realm of education and propaganda<sup>176</sup>. Nonetheless, the participation of the Crusade in LIC strategies contrasts markedly with the apprehension of the U.S. State Department about Sluis and his mobile library in British Guyana two decades before. As it became an informal element of the American Cold War strategy, the Crusade found as never before an easy access to the resources of the local military and political establishments in the countries where it operated. Here, the case of Taiwan - where the Crusade’s continued its long-lasting relation with the Kuomintang, which

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<sup>174</sup> “The CRC Summary File on Church Co-Optation (Draft)” – Report prepared for GRC by the National Council of Churches in the Philippines, GRC, Box 363, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial”.

<sup>175</sup> Sara Diamond, *Spiritual Warfare: The Politics of the Christian Right*, Boston, South End Press, 1989, 160-161.

<sup>176</sup> “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade”, article compiled by IRC GroupWatch (12/91, last updated 10/05), Available online at < <http://www.scribd.com/doc/33421393/IRC-Group-Watch-Christian-Anti-Communism-Crusade> >, (Accessed March 4, 2010). This article, for instance, mentions that the Crusade promoted the work of Nicaraguan scholar Humberto Belli, who was “reputed” to have relied on CIA assistance.; Fred C. Schwarz, “Salute to Oliver North”, *CACC Newsletter*, Aug. 1987, 7.

allowed the mass distribution of translated Crusade material in schools and universities through the 1980's- was no longer the exception, but became in many cases the rule<sup>177</sup>.

From the mid-1970's on, one of the leading operatives in the Crusade's international projects in Asia was paediatrician John Whitehall, Schwarz's foster son. Following the family vocation, Whitehall became a medical missionary and had done humanitarian work in South Vietnam, South Africa and Rhodesia, before developing a particular interest in East Timor, for which he founded the Australian Society for Inter-County Aid-Timor. Part of the Indonesia archipelago, East Timor was one of the last remnants of the disintegrated Portuguese empire, where a brief civil war in 1975 resulted in the victory of the Fretilin, a socialist-inspired party popular among the Timorese minority. During the trouble, Whitehall went twice to East Timor to conduct humanitarian work.

In December 1975, under the pretext of preventing a Communist takeover, the Indonesian army invaded East Timor, shutting down the island to outsiders. Having forged relations with the Fretilin leaders, Whitehall told Schwarz that "most of the leaders of Fretilin were simple and untutored nationalists and that there was a good chance of removing the Communists from power and influence within the movement"<sup>178</sup>. While Schwarz would have perhaps been inclined to support Indonesia's invasion of East Timor in light of his ongoing hardline approach to communism, Whitehall's involvement prevented this. This was just as well for the Crusade, considering that the Indonesian army committed acts of genocide on the Timorese resulting in between 100,000 to 200,000 deaths during the 1976-1980 period. Upon his return from East Timor, where he revealed himself an effective field worker, Whitehall envisioned the founding of an organization that would "provide medical and dental services to the underprivileged -- both abroad and within the U.S.-- in association with an anticommunist educational program". In a letter to Judd, Schwarz explained that no existing organization providing humanitarian aid to Third World countries had a coherent anticommunist vision. This was a problem, he wrote, inasmuch as communism "usually advances wearing a humanitarian mask. The Canadian surgeon, Norman Bethune, served with the Chinese

<sup>177</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Walter H. Judd, Feb. 12, 1983, *WHJP*, Box 226, F. 5. For instance, in 1982-1983, the Crusade was allowed to distribute the pamphlet "Why I am Against Communism" to all Taiwanese students, if the Crusade was able to finance the project (which entailed costs of \$76,000).

<sup>178</sup> Elton Wilson's report was reproduced in *CACC Newsletter*, Oct. 15, 1975, 1-7.; Fred C. Schwarz, "The Impossible Dream", *CACC Newsletter*, Feb. 1, 1976, 1-4.

Red Army and his example recruited many for communism”<sup>179</sup>. The projected organization never came into being, but Whitehall’s vision was rather incorporated in Crusade activities as time unfolded.

In 1980, Whitehall made his first trip to the Philippines, where he was invited to address two Filipino theological colleges which held lectures on communism<sup>180</sup>. This marked the beginning of the Crusade’s interest in the Philippines, an area which became the focal point of its activities in the Pacific and Asia (Whitehall made at least fifteen visits to the country between 1981 and 1987). The Philippines were governed by President Ferdinand Marcos’ authoritarian regime. While Marcos’ first term (1965-1969) had been relatively liberal, his regime drifted towards authoritarianism after his 1969 re-election. In 1972, in order to avoid stepping down after two mandates as requested by the constitution, Marcos proclaimed martial law, allowing him to rule by decree for the rest of the decade. During this period, the Philippines underwent rapid economic growth, particularly due to the rise of its tourist industry and foreign investments, but lack of civil liberties, wealth redistribution imbalances and endemic corruption fuelled the growth of Communist movements, the most important of which was the New People’s Army (NPA), a Maoist guerrilla group formed in 1969. Recruiting its cadres mainly on the country’s university campuses, but established in the rural areas of the largest Philippine islands (Luzon, Mindanao), the NPA reached the height of its power during the first half of the 1980’s, when it had between 15,000 to 25,000 fighters and had established a presence in most of the country’s 73 provinces<sup>181</sup>. In such a context, the Crusade found in the Philippines a climate of receptiveness to its projects. In 1981, Whitehall and David Schwarz “surveyed communist activity” in the archipelago and met with “a wide spectrum of Filipino anticommunists, including high government officials, the Archbishop of Manila, Cardinal Sin, and humble Baptist pastors in isolated rural areas”<sup>182</sup>. During this visit, Whitehall organized an anticommunist seminar in Iloilo (Panay Island), where he met Jun Alcover, Baptist pastor and member of the Armed

<sup>179</sup> Fred C. Schwarz to Walter H. Judd, Nov. 3, 1975, *WHJP*, Box 226, F. 5.

<sup>180</sup> John Whitehall, ““Black is Beautiful””, *Ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1989, 4-5.

He also came with his brother David Schwarz, who benefitted to airline flights at low cost due to his job as pilot. *Id.*, “Dear Friend and Colleague”, *Ibid.*, Dec. 15, 1985, 2. Whitehall came first to the Philippines in 1980, to address two theological colleges who were

<sup>181</sup> Michael Leifer, “New People’s Army”, *Dictionary of the Modern Politics of South-East Asia*, New York and London, 1995, 120.

<sup>182</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Communism in the Philippines”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jul. 1, 1981, 1-5.

Forces of the Philippines (AFP), who became the Crusade's main Filipino contact. A former Communist, Alcover had been commander in the NPA before his conversion to Christianity led him to embrace anticommunism and become in 1976 an AFP agent<sup>183</sup>.

Developing contacts with the local public authorities and, in particular, the AFP forces, allowed the Crusade to benefit from a level of intelligence and protection it did not enjoy in other parts of the world. While in several countries the Crusade operated by subsidizing its operations to local church bodies and individuals who handled the field work, in the Philippines its involvement was more direct. In 1981, Whitehall, accompanied by Jim Colbert and Australian CACC director Elton Wilson, returned to the Philippines so as to organize a series of seminars, each attended by a few hundred people. While no reference was made to army involvement Whitehall's account in the newsletter, the observation that there "was danger to those who attended these conferences" due to potential NPA intimidation or violence indicated that the Crusade enjoyed a certain level of security in conducting its operations<sup>184</sup>. During another tour he made in 1983, Whitehall conducted 9 seminars in 14 days, speaking to about 2,000 people in Luzon and Mindanao. The seminars were advertised on the radio and took place in many of the areas where the NPA was active. Whitehall mentioned some that meetings had "plain clothes guards", while others were directly under the army's protection, with one being guarded by more than 70 soldiers, three of whom "made decisions for Christ" thereupon<sup>185</sup>. A picture in the Crusade newsletter showed Whitehall addressing a crowd of Filipino soldiers in a tent during a 1986 tour. The same tour saw him addressing thousands of people, including "governors, mayors, trade union officers, government employees, nuns, seminarians, students and soldiers"<sup>186</sup>.

This relationship between the Crusade and the AFP, as well as other law enforcement authorities, was mutually beneficent. In 1987, a report on the CACC's Philippine activities indicated that the organization's goals included "reviving the credibility of the AFP propaganda". Also, the appearance of indigenous anticommunist groups that grew out of CACC activity facilitated the AFP's mission. Whitehall reported in 1986 that as a

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<sup>183</sup> Sara Diamond, *Spiritual Warfare, op. cit.*, 189.

<sup>184</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Training Anti-Communist Workers in the Philippines", *CACC Newsletter*, Feb. 15, 1982, 1-5.

<sup>185</sup> John Whitehall, "The White Harvest Fields of the Philippines", *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1983, 1-5.

<sup>186</sup> *Id.*, "The Past, Present and Future of the Philippines", *Ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1986, 1-4.



result of Crusade seminars, “numerous anti-communist groups have formed throughout the country. These groups are autonomous and not branches of the Crusade, but we do help, guide, and support them in every possible way”<sup>187</sup>. The report on Crusade activities in the Philippines affirmed that the organization’s partners “have participated directly in AFP operations, as informants, guides, and even combatants. (...) It is a matter of public record that Jun Alcover carries arms issued by the Region 7 Command, and that he is a member of the AFP, working to build anti-Communist and vigilante groups”<sup>188</sup>. The Crusade also began forming anticommunist Filipino workers in the same way as in Andhra, India. Each was given minimal equipment: a motorcycle to transport their film projectors, tapes and literature.

The Crusade’s literature acknowledged the corruption and human rights abuse that crippled the Marcos regime’s legitimacy, but due to its collaboration with the country’s establishment, this criticism was mild. In 1985, Schwarz criticized the tendency in the U.S. media “to concentrate upon the sins of the Marcos regime (...) and to assume that any regime that replaces it will be an improvement for the Filipino people and the U.S.A.”<sup>189</sup>. When, in early 1986, a peaceful revolution forced Marcos into exile and installed Corazon Aquino, who lifted the martial law, adopted a new constitution, freed political prisoners and liberalized the regime, the Crusade stated in its newsletter that its programs had to continue in order to prevent the Filipino Reds from taking advantage of the situation. The Crusade was not alone: the early Aquino years saw the peak of the involvement of U.S.-based private groups in countersubversive activity in the Philippines, and the 1986-1987 period saw the greatest Crusade activity in the area<sup>190</sup>.

Due to its AFP contacts, the Crusade was well-positioned to continue its programs. The AFP’s role in Marcos’ ousting had been central and its role in the Aquino regime was strong. In July 1986, a conference was held with Whitehall and Gen. Fidel Ramos, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and, from 1992 on, future president of the country. According to the aforementioned report on the CACC in the Philippines,

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<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>188</sup> “The CRC Summary File on Church Co-Optation (Draft)” – Report prepared for GRC by the National Council of Churches in the Philippines, *GRC*, Box 363, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial”.

<sup>189</sup> *Id.*, “The Danger in the Philippines After Marcos – The Deluge?”, *Ibid.*, May 1, 1985, 3.

<sup>190</sup> Whitehall, whose work as paediatrician had allowed him to cover his own expenses until then during his visits, was financially backed by the Crusade during this period.

this conference “co-ordinated the later activities of Whitehall and the CACC in the country in the coming months. These include a total of seven visits to the Philippines by CACC teams led by Whitehall – four in 1986, and 3 in the first semester of 1987”. In February and March 1987, the Crusade organized a speaking tour for Alcover in the U.S., where the AFP operative went to Washington to address the Heritage Foundation and met the staff of conservative North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms, senior Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee. Alcover also went to the Pentagon, where he met generals and CIA officials. In Colorado, he also met retired general John L. Singlaub, a strong proponent of LIC strategies and, since 1981, director of the U.S. Council for World Freedom, which had replaced the American Council for World Freedom as the U.S. affiliate to the WACL. Singlaub’s group was probably the main U.S. private group involved in the Iran-Contragate<sup>191</sup>.

In early 1987, the Crusade established a new branch, the “Pacific Christian Anti-Communism Crusade”, based in Toongabbie a Sydney suburb, under the directorship of Whitehall. This “PCACC” published its own newsletter in English specially aimed for the Philippines. The PCACC newsletter had a circulation of about 20,000 copies a month and was distributed to selected people in the Philippines within the military, the press, academia and church bodies<sup>192</sup> According to the Human Rights desk of the officials of the National Council of Churches of the Philippines, the PCACC newsletter was published in the Philippines “with the backing of businessmen from the Visayan city of Cebu. They are linked to CACC through Pastor Jun Alcover”<sup>193</sup>. That Whitehall and the Crusade had managed to draw the support of conservative Filipino businessmen might account for the presence in the newsletter of criticism directed towards some labor unions in the Philippines. In 1986, Whitehall made a presentation before the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defense of the Australian Parliament, where he claimed the Kilusang Mayo Unio (KMU) trade union to be a Communist front. Founded in 1980, the KMU had been active against the Marcos regime and proposed a militant, anti-U.S. agenda which set it apart from larger unions such as the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines

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<sup>191</sup> “The CRC Summary File on Church Co-Optation (Draft)” – Report prepared for GRC by the National Council of Churches in the Philippines, GRC, Box 363, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial”.

<sup>192</sup> Interview with Tom Marty, *Asia-Pacific Background: A Publication of Third World Reports*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Jun. 1989, 1-4.

<sup>193</sup> Peter Brick to Wes McCune, Nov. 9, 1987, GRC, Box 363, F. “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial”.

(TCUP), which was affiliated with the AFL-CIO. KMU membership grew rapidly to reach 8 percent of unionized Filipino workers, or 650,000 people in 1987<sup>194</sup>. Whitehall's evidence in support of his argument against the KMU was largely circumstantial (presence of a KMU leader in an organization controlled by Communists, declarations of some KMU leaders, apparent Marxist influences in a study course given to KMU members). Whitehall's testimony before the Australian Parliament was printed in a booklet that closely resembled an official Australian publication and distributed by Philippine Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, who "gave copies of Whitehall's report to the leaders of the Personnel Management Association of the Philippines (PMAP), an organization of corporate industrial relations and personnel officers", Sara Diamond writes. The PMAP later held a meeting in Manila where Whitehall and Alcover addressed 300 personal managers<sup>195</sup>.

While the last years of the Marcos regime had seen the NPA's greatest expansion, the Aquino years (1986-1992) saw the Philippine government regain ground over the insurgency. Internal splits within the NPA weakened the organization, which was losing popularity among the Filipino population due to the civilian massacres committed by its members (such as in Digos in 1989). Initiated under Marcos, the AFP completed a revamping of its strategy centered on the dismantlement of the Communist political infrastructure through civic actions and propaganda. With strong U.S. assistance, military intelligence improved, resulting in the capture of several NPA leaders by the late 1980's. The Aquino government initiated Peace and Order Councils (or committees), designed to allow cooperation between civilian and military leaders. In 1986, when these councils were created, Whitehall was invited to a series of meetings "arranged in cooperation with the Defense Ministry of the Philippines, and the audiences consisted primarily of the Committees for Peace and Order which have been established in all the military districts of the Philippines"<sup>196</sup>. By late 1987, Whitehall noted in a text that the Filipino masses

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<sup>194</sup> Lois A. West, *Militant Labor in the Philippines*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1997, 45.

<sup>195</sup> John Whitehall, "Communism in the Philippines", *PCACC Newsletter*, Apr. 1987, 6-7.; Sara Diamond, *Spiritual Warfare*, *op. cit.*, 190-191.

<sup>196</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Opportunity and Danger in the Philippines", *CACC Newsletter*, Oct. 1, 1986, 2-3.

were turning against the Reds, that the popularity of Aquino was “unshakable” and that the economy, which had stagnated during the last Marcos years, was improving<sup>197</sup>.

These developments might explain Whitehall’s winding down of the Philippine projects in the late 1980’s. In January 1989, Whitehall, his wife and their three kids moved from Australia to Kingston, Canada, where the paediatrician established the short-lived Canadian Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, which apparently ceased its activities after a year of activity. While the impacts of the Crusade’s international projects are often hard to assess, there is much to suggest that the CACC’s contribution to the anticommunist fight in the Philippines was far from marginal. Despite limited means, Whitehall mounted over the years an model countersubversive operation that reached out both to the elites and the grassroots. It is no small wonder that in January 1988, it was announced that the NPA had put Whitehall on its list of targets to be assassinated and that representatives of Australia’s Department of Foreign Affairs contacted him to warn him of the danger<sup>198</sup>. In 1989, replying to an article by Canadian liberal church group that accused him of having been part of the Low Intensity Conflict dirty war in the Philippines, Whitehall stated that his Philippine initiatives had been a “privilege” and that the Reds were to be blamed for sparking the LIC war when they embraced guerrilla tactics in the first place<sup>199</sup>.

The Crusade’s operation in the Philippines was the most important international undertaking during the 1980’s and early 1990’s. However, the organization’s increased resources allowed for others initiatives as well. Throughout this period, as part of what Schwarz called the “worldwide truth campaign”, and for which the Crusade raised a million-dollar “truth fund” in the early 1980’s, the organization shipped large quantities of anticommunist material to distributors around the globe, particularly in the Caribbean and Latin America (Belize, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Jamaica, Mexico, Panama, Argentina, Dominican Republic, Brazil, Ecuador), but also in a few African countries (Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana, Tanzania, Cameroon, South Africa and

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<sup>197</sup> John Whitehall, “Cory, Karl and the Colonels”, Private draft by Whitehall, Nov. 1987, sent by Whitehall from Toongabbie, Australia.

<sup>198</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Sentenced to Death”, *CACC Newsletter*, Feb. 15, 1988, 1-3.

<sup>199</sup> John Whitehall, ““Black is Beautiful””, *loc. cit.*, 5.

Uganda)<sup>200</sup>. The Crusade sent numerous tapes and films, but most of this material consisted of literature, including the crusader's last pamphlet "Why I am Against Communism" published in 1981. Jim Colbert became during this period a permanent anti-Red globe trotter. From the early 1980's on, Colbert, in his mid-sixties at the time, embarked on a series of travels designed to supervise these propaganda-dissemination programs, but also to organize anticommunist seminars targeting mostly the local elites. Until his declining health compelled him to halt his travels in the early 1990's, Colbert organized each year dozens of events in Third World countries.

Colbert travelled several times in African countries, most notably in Kenya and Nigeria, both countries where the presence of well-established Christian evangelical churches provided the Crusade with an important pool of local supporters. For instance, when Colbert arrived in Kenya in late 1986, he was greeted by the national director of the Kenya National Evangelism Fellowship and an Anglican priest, both of whom had arranged his complete itinerary in rural Kenya, where he spoke before hundreds at each seminar<sup>201</sup>. In 1988, Colbert's trip in Nigeria, during which he had an interview with the Nigerian king Eze R.O. Okwale, enjoyed the collaboration of several churches and pastors. Colbert wrote that each meeting had "overflow crowds which ranged from 1,000 to 1,600. After the meetings, the people almost mobbed us. They flocked around, and each was eager to get near to shake hands or just to touch us"<sup>202</sup>.

Latin America, where the Crusade was the most active apart from the Philippines, was the focus of Colbert's work. Between 1981 and 1990, Colbert travelled to conduct seminars and oversee Crusade activities at least nine times to El Salvador and Costa Rica, six times to Honduras, five times to Mexico, four times to Guatemala, Belize and Peru, three times to Venezuela, twice to Bolivia, Argentina, and Panama, and once to Chile, Paraguay, Colombia, Uruguay, Ecuador and the Dominican Republic. This emphasis on Latin America is hardly surprising in an era where this region became one of the world's most intense zones for proxy wars between the West and the Communist world, with the Nicaraguan Revolution of 1979, the short-lived Communist takeover of Grenada in 1983

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<sup>200</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, "Deeds and Vision", *loc. cit.*, 1-4.

<sup>201</sup> James Colbert, "African Seminar Safari", *loc. cit.*, 1-4.

<sup>202</sup> *Id.*, "Seminars in Nigeria and Ghana (Feb. 18-Mar. 31)", *Ibid.*, 3-6.

and leftist insurrectional movements struggling against U.S.-supported governments in almost all other countries.

As elsewhere, the Crusade worked primarily through evangelical networks. It rode the wave of the spectacular growth of the evangelical population in all Latin American countries between 1960 and 1990. El Salvador and Costa Rica, the two countries most visited by Colbert, were also the most affected by this growth, with a quintupling of their evangelical population during those three decades<sup>203</sup>. In all visited countries, evangelical churches, as well as their mainly middle-class constituency, provided the Crusade's primary allies, informers and organizers, while the organization offered them resources. Incidentally, a good number of the seminars Colbert held during these years targeted specifically evangelical pastors whom the Crusade wished to train and spiritually "equip" against communism. For instance, a seminar held in San Jose, Costa Rica, in October 1983, was attended by 250 pastors, "including international evangelists and Catholics", representing thirty denominations<sup>204</sup>. In 1984, the Crusade even held in Los Angeles a seminar "for Spanish-speaking pastors" attended by about thirty people<sup>205</sup>.

Most of Colbert's operations in Central America were made by a team consisting of himself, the Rev. John Korszyk, a Paraguayan native and graduate from the Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, and a reverend, Peter (Pedro) Padro. Since Colbert never learned to speak Spanish, these two collaborators had to act as translators during seminars, or else deliver a good portion of the speeches themselves. Nonetheless, the Crusade never seems to have had any problem with its outreach, partly because it had such an easy access to prominent personalities among Latin American Protestantism. In 1983, in Honduras, Colbert met Miguel Alvarez, president of the National Evangelical Ministerial Alliance, who guaranteed him hours of speaking time before an upcoming national conference of the country's various denominations<sup>206</sup>. In 1984, Colbert and Padro were given the opportunity to address the largest evangelical church in El Salvador, which had a total attendance of 7,500<sup>207</sup>. To be sure, not all of Colbert's meetings targeted church groups. In October 1985, Colbert reported about a series of

<sup>203</sup> David Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?*, *op. cit.*, 8-9.

<sup>204</sup> James D. Colbert, "Attitudes, Activities, and Opportunities in Central America", *CACC Newsletter*, Dec. 1, 1983, 1.

<sup>205</sup> An., "Seminar for Spanish-Speaking Pastors", *Ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1985, 6.

<sup>206</sup> James D. Colbert, "Attitudes, Activities, and Opportunities in Central America", *loc. cit.*, 3.

<sup>207</sup> *Id.*, "Battle for the Minds in El Salvador", *Ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1984, 6-8.

meetings in six Costa Rican cities attended by large numbers of *campesinos* (agricultural workers). “There was also”, he added, “a substantial number of doctors, lawyers and city officials in the classes. The unusual feature was the number of communists who were present also. The attendances were large, reaching 1500 in Guapiles”<sup>208</sup>.

While evangelical churches remained the Crusade’s primary foothold in any particular country, the organization often achieved in Latin America the same success in collaborating with local public authorities as it did in the Philippines around the same time. In 1983, the governments of Guatemala and El Salvador agreed to distribute Crusade literature to school, college and university students, and subsequently to the personnel of their respective armed forces. “The military is using the Crusade study course in their training programs”, Colbert wrote in 1988 in a report on El Salvador, “and the Bishop of San Miguel has distributed 250,000 copies of the booklet, ‘The Heart, Mind and Soul of Communism’, which was the first publication written by Dr. Schwarz”<sup>209</sup>. In 1984, in Costa Rica, Colbert’s team spoke “in churches and on the radio and visited the General Director of Presidential affairs (sic) of the Republica of Costa Rica, the Minister of Education, and the Archbishop of Nicaragua in exile in Costa Rica”<sup>210</sup>. In the same country, where an important portion of the anti-Sandinista exiles were established, Colbert met Contra leaders and set up anticommunist study programs to be followed by the local security forces<sup>211</sup>. In Honduras, the commander of a military zone showed up at one of Colbert’s seminars and, two years later, the Crusade organized a series of lectures at the Honduran Air Force Aviation Military Academy, the cadets of which, “are selected from those with high academic achievements, and they are some of the finest young men in Honduras”, Colbert wrote<sup>212</sup>. In Paraguay, in 1985, the Ministry of Education helped organize a seminar by Colbert’s team attended by “teachers, professors, professionals, army officers, government legislators, the governor of the state, the Minister of Education, students, and the news media”<sup>213</sup>. In 1989, in Colombia, the

<sup>208</sup> *Id.*, “Teaching Anti-Communism to Campesinos in Costa Rica”, *Ibid.*, Dec. 1, 1985, 1-3.

<sup>209</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Dear Friend and Colleague”, fundraising letter, Apr 1, 1983.; *Id.*, “Dear Friend and Colleague”, fundraising letter, Jun. 1, 1983.; James D. Colbert, “Attitudes, Activities, and Opportunities in Central America”, *CACC Newsletter*, Dec. 15, 1983, 1-3..

<sup>210</sup> James D. Colbert, “Attitudes, Activities, and Opportunities in Central America”, *loc. cit.*, 2.

<sup>211</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Confronting Communism in Central America”, *Ibid.*, Marc. 15, 2-5.

<sup>212</sup> James D. Colbert, “The Trail of Truth in Honduras and Belize”, *Ibid.*, May 15, 1983, 4..

<sup>213</sup> *Id.*, “Anti-Communism Seminars in Mexico, Paraguay, and Argentina”, *Ibid.*, Jun. 1, 1985, 6.

team addressed the senior officers of the Colombian armed forces at their National War College. “The response”, Colbert wrote, “was positive, and they asked us to adjust our schedule so that we could return the next day to address 500 officers from the lower ranks who were training at the college”<sup>214</sup>. The Crusade had recreated in Third World countries the broad alliance among the elites that it had enjoyed in the United States during its prime years.

In 1990, while Communist regimes were collapsing in Eastern Europe, Schwarz celebrated the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his crusading life during at a banquet at the Wilshire Hotel in Beverly Hills, where his 50<sup>th</sup> wedding anniversary and his 77<sup>th</sup> birthday were also honoured. This was not the first time the crusader’s life and work were celebrated with pomp. In March 1979, a “Silver Jubilee” Banquet had been held in Los Angeles, where present and past Crusade collaborators came to testify to the good doctor’s accomplishments, with Philbrick acting as master of ceremonies. This event was sponsored by the National Coordinating Council for Constructive Action, a California-based right-wing group led by a Frank Rogers, a M.D. known for his bitter opposition to state healthcare<sup>215</sup>. A few months later, the Council for Communist Aggression (CACA), an anticommunist educational and lobbying group of which Schwarz had been individual member since the mid-1960’s, offered Schwarz a life achievement award. Afflicted by a burst of shingles, Schwarz could not attend the ceremony organized by the CACA and Dr. Fritz Kraemer, former Pentagon advisor, accepted the award on the crusader’s behalf<sup>216</sup>. In November 1980, another testimonial dinner was organized, this time in Indianapolis by an M.D. named Robert Heimburger, another long-time CACC supporter<sup>217</sup>. In 1987, Schwarz was honoured by the Council for National Policy, an exclusive organization that regrouped some of the country’s most influential conservative business people and religious right leaders (it included Nelson Bunker Hunt, brewer Joseph Coors, Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson)<sup>218</sup>. Yet, more than the other events, the 1990 banquet looked like a career-ending commemoration. Schwarz’s relatives,

<sup>214</sup> *Id.*, “Seminars and Terrorism in Colombia”, *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1989, 2.

<sup>215</sup> Frank A. Rogers to Herbert Philbrick, Nov. 27, 1978, *HPP*, Box 66, “Subject File” Series, F. 8, “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1975-1979”.

<sup>216</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “Dear Friend”, fundraising letter, Jul. 1, 1979.

<sup>217</sup> Robert F. Heimburger to Walter H. Judd, Aug. 26, 1980, *WHJP*, Box 226, F. 5.

<sup>218</sup> Amateur videotape of the CNP award Ceremony, 1987, obtained by the author through Political Research Associates.



conservative personalities (Bill Buckley, James Dobson, Eleanor Schlafly, Reed Irvine, Dale Evans, Roy Rogers, Patrick Frawley Fred Rogers, John Stormer) and politicians (Jack Kemp, Dana Rohrabacher, Bob Dornan, Steve Simms) presented testimonies on how the good doctor affected their lives and/or American politics. Ernie Kell, Mayor of Long Beach presented a honorary plaque with the seal of the city. Ronald Reagan sent a letter: “Fred, you’re to be commended for your tireless dedication in trying to ensure the protection of freedom and human rights, and I know you join me in special satisfaction in the recent events in Eastern Europe”<sup>219</sup>.

Schwarz continued his work as head of the Crusade for eight more years. Whereas the massive political and economic liberalization of the Soviet Union during the Gorbachev years (1985-1991) did not impede his anticommunist determination, the end of the Cold War and the quick disintegration of the Eastern bloc were of such proportions that the crusader had to take notice of the changing situation. “We have cause”, he wrote in August 1990, “for great rejoicing because the Berlin Wall has been shattered, and Gorbachev has introduced positive changes involving democracy, personal freedom, and a market economy in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, it is vital to (...) judge wisely. Overconfidence generates confusion and apathy”<sup>220</sup>. Only a month after writing this, he admitted in his newsletter that the Crusade’s financial resources had greatly diminished<sup>221</sup>. Still, the crusader remained convinced he had a role to play in a changing world. Three years before, in December 1987, he had mailed a questionnaire to his supporters, asking whether or not they wished him to retire “because I am aware that some people suffer from gradual diminution of their intellectual powers without being aware of it”. The response reassured him: 1817 respondents urged him to continue his leadership, while 55 advised retirement. “I regard this vote of over 97 percent for my continued leadership as a mandate, and I am simultaneously elated and humbled”<sup>222</sup>.

When the Soviet Union collapsed in late summer 1991 after a coup by Communist hardliners against Gorbachev had failed, Schwarz predictably expressed his satisfaction: “The lesson of the collapse of the Soviet Union is that Marxism is an unstable edifice of

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<sup>219</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, xx.

<sup>220</sup> *Id.*, “My Dear Friends”, fundraising letter, Aug. 6, 1990.

<sup>221</sup> *Id.*, “To Be Or Not To Be”, *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 1, 1990, 1-4.

<sup>222</sup> *Id.*, “Dear Friends and Colleagues”, fundraising letter, Feb. 15, 1988.

deadly delusions, while Leninism is maniacal banditry”<sup>223</sup>. But with over a billion people still living under Red regimes, with communism still an appealing ideal to many and with the Western world being confronted to the consequences of moral degeneracy, there was no question he would stop. As he stated in his Christmas 1991 newsletter issue: “My own health has been very good throughout the year. (...). I look forward to continuing leadership of the Crusade as long as God gives me strength and competence”<sup>224</sup>. He was encouraged by Philbrick, who wrote him that the work of the CACC should not only continue, but expand so as to carry on the fight against “the left-wing, pro-Soviet, hate-America establishment”<sup>225</sup>.

Schwarz’s last years as head of the Crusade were mainly devoted to the publishing of his newsletter, in which he warned incessantly that communism, far from being dead, was a “lively corpse”. He continued to monitor the activities of radical left groups (the agonizing CPUSA still retained a good part of the crusader’s attention), as well as following those of Communist parties worldwide. Moral issues such as abortion, homosexuality and AIDS remained uppermost in his thinking. Meanwhile, the Crusade saw its supporters and collaborators vanishing. In May 1992, George Murphy died, followed by Fred Schlafly and Herbert Philbrick, both in August 1993. In February 1994, Walter Judd passed away at the age of 95. In 1996, Jim Colbert, Schwarz’s collaborator of 43 years, died at the age of 79. “Every day the mail contains the sad news that some of our friends and supporters have died. This places an added responsibility upon us who remain”, Schwarz wrote<sup>226</sup>. Colbert’s death put a definite end to the Crusade’s international activities, reducing its operations to Schwarz’s writings. In 1996, the crusader published his memoirs *Beating the Unbeatable Foe: One Man’s Victory Over Communism, Leviathan, and the Last Enemy* (Regnery).

In April 1998, Schwarz informed his supporters that he was resigning from the leadership of the Crusade and returning to Australia, where he and his wife “plan to spend time together with our children and grandchildren as we welcome and embrace our

<sup>223</sup> *Id.*, “The Collapse of the “Evil “Empire””, *CACC Newsletter*, Oct. 1, 1991, 1.

<sup>224</sup> *Id.*, “Christmas News”, *Ibid.*, Dec. 15, 1991, 1.

<sup>225</sup> Herbert Philbrick to Fred C. Schwarz, Dec. 16, 1991, *HPP*, Box 67, “Subject File” Series, F. 5, “Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1991-1992”.

<sup>226</sup> Fred C. Schwarz, “The Life and Death of Rev. James Colbert, 1917-1996”, *CACC Newsletter*, Jun. 1, 1996, 2.

great-grandchildren”<sup>227</sup>. For some time, despite his general good health, the 86-year old crusader had short-term memory difficulties. “I can quote from memory hundreds of poems, including some that I learned in grade school. Sadly, when I now learn a new poem, I have forgotten it within 15 minutes”. Schwarz announced that the Crusade would continue its work under the leadership of his “spiritual son”, the Rev. David A. Noebel, president of Summit Ministries, located in Manitou Springs.

David Noebel, in his early 60’s at the time, had first met Schwarz four decades before during his junior year at Hope College, Michigan, where the crusader had been invited to deliver a sermon before the students. For the next two years, influenced by this encounter, Noebel led a campus study group on communism<sup>228</sup>. In the early 1960’s, after his graduation, Noebel founded Summit Ministries, an evangelical leadership center the goal of which was to train conservative Christians against such modern trends as secularism, humanism and atheism. Noebel remains famous for his works of the 1960’s *Communism, Hypnotism, and the Beatles* (1965) and *Rhythms, Riots, and Revolution* (1966), both published with the help of Billy James Hargis’ Christian Crusade, where Noebel tried to argue that rock music had a Communist origin and may have well been designed by Communists so as to condition American teenagers to riot and, ultimately, to rebel against and destroy American society’s constitutional government and its Christian principles. “Throw your Beatle and rock and roll records in the city dump. We have been unashamed of being labeled a Christian nation; let’s make sure four mop-headed anti-Christ beatniks don’t destroy our children’s emotional and mental stability and ultimately destroy our nation”, Noebel wrote in *Communism, Hypnotism, and the Beatles*<sup>229</sup>.

Announcing that he would take over the Crusade, the headquarters of which were moved to Manitou Springs, Colorado, Noebel told the magazine *Human Events* that the CACC newsletter would be renamed *The Schwarz Report*:

“Schwarz’s offensive against anti-communism will continue with articles targeting “the Cultural Left, the Environmental Left, the Radical Feminist Left, the Radical ‘Gay’ Liberation Left and the Religious Left.” Finally,

<sup>227</sup> *Id.*, “Reasons for Resigning”, *CACC Newsletter*, Apr. 1, 1998, 2.

<sup>228</sup> Elton Wilson, Obituary Speech at Fred C. Schwarz’s Funeral Ceremony, Jan. 29, 2009, private DVD recording Sent to the Author by the Schwarz family.

<sup>229</sup> Donald T. Critchlow, John Korasick and Matthew C. Sherman, eds., *Political Conspiracies in America: A Reader*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2008, 130.

Nobel promises to carry on Schwarz's call to crusade by speaking out against all "enemies of God, truth, freedom and justice"<sup>230</sup>.

The *Schwarz Report* continues to this day.

Schwarz returned to Australia and spent his last days in the Sydney suburb of Elderslie. Schwarz ended his life surrounded by his family, which, aside from himself, now included more than seven medical doctors. His "personal" physician was his son John who ran the Schwarz Family Practice, a large clinic nearby the family house<sup>231</sup>. As time went on, Schwarz's memory deteriorated to the point where he could not recognize people or recall his own identity. His amnesia cleared occasionally, notably when he was able to recite long verses of poetry. He also suffered from speech difficulties, which sometimes left him wordless for days.

On January 24<sup>th</sup> 2009, Frederick Charles Schwarz died not long after his 96<sup>th</sup> birthday, after a stroke. Very little information was found in the local media concerning his death. He had a sober funeral, attended solely by family and friends. However, the Schwarzes received, in the following weeks, scores of letters of sympathy from people around the world, mostly Christian leaders who testified to the influence Schwarz had had on their lives. Bill Muehlenberg, columnist for the online Australian evangelical magazine *Christian Today*, lamented: "While Australia has many heroes -especially sporting figures and movie stars- perhaps the greatest hero to arise from Australia in recent times has been totally overlooked by our secular, leftist media"<sup>232</sup>.

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<sup>230</sup> An., "Conservative Forum", *Human Events*, Jul. 10, 1998, Available online at < [http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_qa3827/is\\_199807/ai\\_n8800191](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3827/is_199807/ai_n8800191) > (accessed Jan. 10, 2008).

<sup>231</sup> *Id.* Christmas letter attachment from *Ibid.*, Dec. 1998, 2.

<sup>232</sup> Bill Muehlenberg, "Fred Schwarz, RIP", *Christian Today Australia*, Fri., Jan. 30, 2009. Available online at < <http://au.christiantoday.com/article/fred-schwarz-rip/5234.htm> > (accessed February 3, 2009).

## EPILOGUE

The Christian Anti-Communism Crusade was a minor organization in the history of U.S. conservatism. Nonetheless, during its heyday in the late 1950's and early 1960's, it anticipated many features that later came to dominate conservative political discourses for decades: patriotism, distrust for intellectual elites, antistatism, anticollectivism, muscular foreign policy, moral conservatism, individualism, all packaged in a color-blind fashion.

This was so because opposition to communism swept across the whole right-of-center ideological spectrum, inspiring activists of all stripes to unification and mobilization. It spurred a generation of postwar conservative militants to engage themselves in promoting and defending their values, regardless of creed or social standing. This movement cut across classes and united grassroots activists, medium and large-size businessmen, professionals, military personnel, churchmen and movie stars, in what was a dress rehearsal for the Reagan years. Many of those who constituted the backbone of the American right during the 1980's and 1990's underwent their political awakening through their experience in the anticommunist subculture, before maturing towards whatever issues spoke most to them. Their consequent involvement in right-wing politics often grew out of their youthful anti-Red convictions. The anticommunism of their formative years never left them and continued to tint the glass through which they viewed reality. In effect, what was once dismissed as the "Radical Right" became with time the American right.

"Isn't our choice really not one of left or right, but of up or down?", Ronald Reagan asked during his speech at the Republican National Convention which re-nominated him for the presidency in 1984. "Down through the welfare state to (...) more government largesse accompanied always by more government authority, less individual liberty and, ultimately, totalitarianism, always advanced as for our own good. The alternative is the dream conceived by our Founding Fathers, up to the ultimate in individual freedom

consistent with an orderly society”<sup>1</sup>. Eight years later, during his 1992 Republican convention speech, fundamentalist leader Pat Robertson linked the “dark cloud” of communism to this “more benign but equally insidious plague [that] has fastened itself upon the families of America” called bureaucratism, regulation and centralized government<sup>2</sup>. In the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, the Red bogeyman was still uppermost in the rhetoric of figures of the “Tea Party” movement, which conceived as Marxist-inspired all forms of state intervention. The persistence of the same themes in the conservative imagination demonstrates that the American right is characterized by an ongoing dynamic of continuity.

Conservative historian and activist Lee Edwards stated that the personalities who built the contemporary American right-wing can be categorized in the one of the “four P’s”. There were the “philosophers”, such as Russell Kirk, who conferred the movement its intellectual respectability; the “popularisers” such as William F. Buckley, who spread conservative ideas; the “politicians” such as Goldwater or Reagan, who attempted to actualize these ideas in the political realm; and the philanthropists such as J. Howard Pew, whose wealth made the other categories possible.

To Edward’s “four Ps” the category of “propellers” should be added, for which Fred Schwarz was an excellent example. Propellers do not provide long-term guidance. Rather they are catalysts and teachers of political involvement. While it remains true that “ideas have consequences”, as the maxim states, the way ideas are presented, argued and experienced matters as much as their actual content. In this regard, Fred Schwarz’s contribution to four decades of conservative mobilization is worthy of reflection. His actions have tended to fall below the radar of pundits and historians, as decried his successor David Noebel: “As I have said numerous times Dr. Schwarz should be an authentic American hero, but alas the liberal/leftist/humanistic forces in place in this nation can not afford a Christian anti-Communist hero”. However, obscurity is the fate of most grassroots workers.

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<sup>1</sup> Ronald Reagan, quoted in Jim Hayes, *The Original Reagan Conservative: Ronald Reagan’s Conservative Ideas in His Own Words*, Self-Publication by Jim Hayes, Createspace, 2008, 68.

<sup>2</sup> Pat Robertson, “Speech: 1992 Republican Convention”, *The Official Site of Pat Robertson*, available online at < <http://www.patrobertson.com/Speeches/1992GOPConvention.asp> > (accessed October 9, 2009). It should be noted that Robertson, who had supported Jimmy Carter during the 1976 election as most conservative evangelicals, broke with Carter primarily on the issue of communism more than on any other. See John David Marley, *Pat Robertson: An American Life*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007, 42.

Rooted in evangelicalism and its emphasis on a personal encounter with the truth, Schwarz's projects were permeated by the conviction that only direct experience could provide the foundation for meaningful commitment. Schwarz once stated: "Theoretically, all Americans are anti-Communists, but they don't practice it in their daily lives"<sup>3</sup>. Thus, for Schwarz, battling communism was a cause to which more was due than lip service. He set an example in this regard through his own dedication to the cause as well as by spending large amounts of money overseas with little in return for his organization.

Through his rallies, schools, study groups and seminars, he had the capacity to transform anticommunism from an abstraction to a concrete reality in a manner that left a permanent impression on many people. He was a dynamo of ongoing projects whose uneven writings and rhetoric were combat material. But due to his individual-based conception of social action, Schwarz provided little direction as to what the born again anticommunist should do once he or she had been enlightened to the dangers of the Red threat. Moreover, since he understood that communism meant many things to many people, he always kept an ambiguous posture so that many people could read many things into his words. As a result, his followers tended to go off in different directions. Nonetheless, a good number of his more "talented" students went off in enough of the same direction so as to contribute to reshaping American politics.

Upon his retirement in 1998, Schwarz received this note from Tom Phillips, publisher of *Human Events*: "You educated both the leaders and the grassroots. You taught all ages from young to old your message about freedom, Communism, and God. Many of this youth you taught in the 1950s and 1960's have become the intellectuals and political leaders of the 1990's, and they are carrying on your work and your message"<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> An., "Crusader Blasts Apathy In Anti-Red Fight", *Desert News*, Sat., Dec. 16, 1961, 1961, B-1.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Fred C. Schwarz, "Dear Crusade Friend and Colleagues", fundraising letter, Nov. 1998.

## APPENDIX 1

### DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO FRED SCHWARZ'S ADDRESSES, 1953-1960, ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY<sup>5</sup>

- An., "Australian Doctor Will Speak In City on Communism", *The Fresno Bee*, Sat., May 30, 1953, A4.
- An., "Communism Lectures At Foursquare Church", *The Cedar Rapids Gazette*, Sat., Jun. 4, 1953, 3.
- An., "Ant-Red to Speak Monday at Churches", *Waterloo Daily Courier*, Thu., Aug. 19, 1953, 5.
- An., "Dr. Schwarz of Australia to Be Guest Speaker", *Waterloo Daily Courier*, Fri., Aug. 14, 1953, 9.
- An. "Anti-Communist Slated for two Lectures Sunday", *The Independent*, Sat., Aug. 22, 1953, 4.
- Ad, "North Long Beach Nazarene: Techniques of Brainwashing: Dr. Schwarz of Sydney, Australia", *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, Sat., Aug. 22, 1953, A5.
- An., "What Ministers Say in Long Beach Pulpits", *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, Sat., Aug. 22, 1953, A4.
- Ad, "South Gate Municipal Auditorium: Guest Speaker – Dr. Fred Schwartz, In Person", *Los Angeles Times*, Sat., Aug. 29, 1953, A3.
- An., "Asia Sees Korea as Victory for China, Says Red Expert", *Long Beach Independent*, Saturday, Sept. 3, 1953, 6.
- Ad, "Revival Center Church – Dr. Fred Schwarz of Australia, Outstanding Authority on Communism", *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, Sat., Sept. 2, 1953, A4.
- An., "Luncheon and Service Clubs", *Independent Press-Telegram*, Sun., Sept. 6, 1953, A9.
- Robert A. Reynolds to Fred C. Schwarz, Sept. 2, 1953, reproduced in Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 205., indicating numerous lectures Schwarz recorded for the Christian Far Eastern Broadcasting Co.
- An., "Australia Speaker Says U.S. Sole Bar to Red World Rule", *The Independent*, Thu., Sept. 10, 1953, 26.
- An., "Dr. Schwarz Speaks", *The Independent*, Sat., Sept. 12, 1953, 6.
- An. "Dr. Schwarz is Guest Speaker Sunday Evening", *Waterloo Daily Courier*, Fri. Sept. 13, 1953, 13.
- An., "Clubs This Week", *Waterloo Daily Courier*, Sun., Sept. 20, 1953, 22.
- An., "Youth to Be Spotlited at Services", *The Independent*, Sat., Sept. 26, 1953, 4.
- An., "What Minister Say in Long Beach Pulpits", *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, Sat., Sept. 26, 1953, A4.
- An., "Missionary Student to Be Heard at Rally", *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Oct. 4, 1953, 35.

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<sup>5</sup> Latin abbreviations (ex.: "*Id.*, *Ibid.*") were not used in this list, except "*op. cit.*".



- An., "Charges Reds Mark 33 1/3% in U.S. for Death", *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Fri., Nov. 20, 1953, 2.
  - Ad, "Religious Services", *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Sat., Nov., 21, 1953.
  - An., "Brain Washing Topic at Forum", *Independent Press-Telegram*, Sun., Nov. 29, 1953.
  - An., "Forum Told of Red Plot", *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, Thu., Dec. 3, 1953, B15.
  - An., "Anti-Red Crusader to Talk to L.B. Clergy", *The Independent*, Mon., Dec. 7, 1953, 2.
  - An., "Rule of World by Reds Seen : Chances Are 100-1", *The Milwaukee Journal*, Tue., Dec. 29, 1953.
  - Ad, "The Moody Church", *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Sat., Jan. 2, 1954, 6.
  - An., "Officers to be Installed in L.B. Churches Sunday", *The Independent*, Sat., Jan. 9, 1954, 4.
  - An., "D.A.R. Groups to Hear Talk on Communism", *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Sun., Feb. 21, N1.
  - Times County News Service Corresp., "Anti-Communist Speaker for S.S.F.", *San Mateo Times*, Wed., Mar. 3, 1954, 5.
  - An., "Anti-Communist Speaks at Baptist", *The Daily Review*, Sat., Mar. 6, 1954, 9.
  - An., "Aussie Doctor to Speak Here on Red Menace", *Oakland Tribune*, Fri., Mar. 12, 1954, E31.
  - An., "Expert on Communism to Speak on Wednesday", *Oakland Tribune*, Sun., Mar. 14, 1954, A59.
  - An., "Rotarians Hear World Lecturer", *Oakland Tribune*, Mon., Mar. 15, 1954, E5.
  - An., "What's Up in the Bay Area", *Oakland Tribune*, Tue., Mar. 16, 1954, E9.
  - An., "What's Up in the Bay Area", *Oakland Tribune*, Wed., Mar. 24, 1954, E37.
  - An., "Anti-Communist Group Sponsors Two Speakers", *Waterloo Daily Courier*, Sun., Mar. 28, 1954, 1.
  - Courier Special Service Corresp., "Anti-Red Rally Sunday at Junior High Auditorium", *Waterloo Daily Courier*, Thu., Apr. 1, 1954, 19.
  - Ad, "Christian Anti-Communism Rally: Local Churches – Youth for Christ- Citizens Cooperating", *Waterloo Daily Courier*, Fri., Apr. 2, 1956, 9.
  - Ad, "Tonight Hear Dr. Fred Schwartz of Sydney, Australia", *Muscatine Journal and Daily News-Tribune*, Fri. Apr. 30, 1954.
  - An., "Men's Club Will Hear Expert on Communism", *Oakland Tribune*, Sun., Jun. 6, 1954, A62.
  - Ad, "Foothill Blvd Baptist Church", *Oakland Tribune*, Sat., Sept. 25, 1954.
- Fred C. Schwarz, "Fred C. Schwarz, M.D. – Managing Director", *CACC Newsletter*, Nov. 1954, Available online at < <http://www.schwarzreport.org/> > (accessed March 14, 2010). This newsletter indicates that in the fall of 1954 Schwarz went to Minneapolis, Portland and Detroit where he delivered talks in Bible schools and seminaries, including the Western Baptist Bible College in Oakland, the Western Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary of Portland, the Detroit Bible Institute, and was guest of Rev. R. F. McIlroy, "Pastor Mack", of Spiritual Clinic. The tour also included a speech at the Minneapolis Calvary Temple, visits in many "secular high school", a visit at the Fourth Baptist Church.

- Fred C. Schwarz, "Fred Schwarz, M.D. – Managing Director", *CACC Newsletter*, Jan., 1955. This newsletter mentions that Schwarz spoke at the University of California at Berkeley, the Vallejo College, delivered a few lectures in Sacramento (unspecified number and locations), at the Downtown Management Club of Detroit, and contains the exact dates and locations of 16 lectures done by Schwarz in the Minneapolis/St. Paul region.
- An., "Psychiatrist to Speak on Reds", *Lodi News-Sentinel*, Sat., Dec. 18, 1954, 6.
- An., "Dr. Schwarz to Talk in Lodi", *Lodi News-Sentinel*, Fri., Dec. 24, 1954, 8.
- An., "Dr. Schwarz Will Talk Here Tonight on Communism", *Lodi News-Sentinel*, Tue., Dec. 28, 1954, 8.
- An., "What Ministers Say in Long Beach Pulpits", *The Independent*, Sat., Jan. 1, 1955, 4.
- An., "What Ministers Say in Long Beach Pulpits", *The Independent*, Sat., Jan. 8, 1955, A4.
- An., "Nazareres to Hear Expert on Commies", *Press-Telegram*, Sat., Jan. 8, 1955, A5.
- An., "Attended the Farm Bureau Institute", *Fergus Falls Daily Journal*, Thu., Jan. 20, 1955, 9.
- Fred C. Schwarz, "Fred Schwarz, M.D. – Managing Director", *CACC Newsletter*, Feb., 1955. This newsletter evidences one talk before CIO representatives in Minneapolis, one in Edinburg for the American Legion, and 25 other specific locations and dates.
- Ad, "First Brethren Church", *The Independent*, Sat., Mar. 26, 7, 1955.
- An., "Director of YFC Speaking in Texas", *The Independent*, Sat., Apr. 2, 1955, 6.
- An., "CIC Agents Alumni to Hear Dr. Fred Schwarz", *San Mateo Times*, Mon., Apr. 25, 1955, 4.
- Ad, "Praise the Lord, for the Lord is Good", *Oakland Tribune*, Sat., Apr. 30, 1955, 9.
- Fred C. Schwarz, "Fred Schwarz, M.D. – Managing Director", *CACC Newsletter*, Apr., 1955, Available online at < <http://www.schwarzreport.org/> > (accessed March 14, 2010). This newsletter indicates that Schwarz participated to several meetings in Minneapolis and St. Paul and to the University of Minnesota College of Agriculture's Crookston meetings.
- Fred C. Schwarz, "Fred Schwarz, M.D. – Managing Director", *CACC Newsletter*, May, 1955, 1-8. This newsletter indicates lectures at the California Congress, in a series of Sacramento colleges and high schools (number unspecified), at the Freedom Forum in Searcy, and 8 other meetings with exact dates and locations.
- An., "Her Children Rise Up and Call Her Blessed", *Oakland Tribune*, Sat., May 7, 1955, 9.
- An., "Let the People Praise Thee, O God", *Oakland Tribune*, Sat., May 14, 1955, 11.
- Fred C. Schwarz, "Fred Schwarz, M.D. – Managing Director", *CACC Newsletter*, May, 1955, 1-4. This newsletter indicates that Schwarz gave a daily address at the Summer School of Multonah School of the Bible and a religious rally at the Portland Civic Auditorium.
- An., "Club Speaker Tells of Commie Threat", *Eugene Register-Guard*, Wed., Jul. 6, 1955, A8.
- Connie Gee, "Auxiliary Warns Music Publishers", *The Miami Daily News*, Wed., Oct., 12, 1955, C2.

- Fred C. Schwarz, "Fred Schwarz, M.D. – Managing Director", *CACC Newsletter*, Nov., 1955, 1-4. This newsletter indicates the holding of many lectures in high schools in Hawaii during the "Education for Freedom Week", as well as several civic clubs and churches (number and locations unspecified), as well as 17 other lectures with exact dates and locations in California.
- Ad, "First Assembly of God", *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, Sat., Nov. 12, 1955, A5.
- An., "World Authority on Communism To Lecture Here", *Albuquerque Journal*, Fri., Jan. 6, 1956, 25.
- Ad, "Untitled", *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Jan. 15, 1956, A12.
- Ad, "Untitled", *Los Angeles Times*, Wed., Jan. 18, 1956, 10.
- An., "Youth Rally to Hear Doctor", *Oakland Tribune*, Fri., Jan. 20, 1956, D23.
- An., "Schedule Set for Australian", *Spokane Daily Chronicle*, Sat., Jan. 28, 5 (this article mentions eight lectures).
- An., "City News in Brief", *Fresno Bee*, Tue., Jan. 31, 1956, B6.
- An., "Books, Comics Red Weapons", *The Spokesman Review*, Sat., Feb. 4, 1956, 5.
- An., "Schwarz Warns of Red Hordes: Speaker Says Commies Plans to Conquer U.S.", *The Spokesman Review*, Mon., Feb., 6, 5.
- Ad, "Christian Anti-Communism Rally", *Waterloo Daily Courier*, Fri., Apr. 4, 1956.
- Fred C. Schwarz, "Fred Schwarz, M.D. – Managing Director", *CACC Newsletter*, Jan., 1956, 1-6. This newsletter indicates that in 10-22-55 Schwarz delivered a speech before the Federal Civil Defense Administration, on 12-20-55 another one before the Altaneda Rotary Club.
- Fred C. Schwarz, "Fred Schwarz, M.D. – Managing Director", *CACC Newsletter*, Apr.-May-Jun. 1956. This newsletter indicates an address before the Congress of Georgia and 30 other addresses with locations. George Rucker, "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – Notes on Tax Exemption Application File – Inspected by Rucker 10/17/62", *GRC*, Box 364, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – General and Financial", 3, indication that Schwarz addressed the Berkeley Public School Teachers' Conference on 12-9-54; the University of St. Thomas in Houston on 04-05-55. This document also confirms the exact dates of several other meetings.
- Fred W. Kern to Fred C. Schwarz, Oct. 22, 1955, letter reproduced in *CACC Newsletter*, Jan.-Feb. 1956, 2-3.
- Fred C. Schwarz, "Fred C. Schwarz, M.D.", *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 1956, 1.
- Fred C. Schwarz, "Winona Lake School", *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 1956, 1.
- An., "Anti-Communist Rally to Hear Dr. Schwarz", *Washington Post*, Sat., Jun. 9, 1956, 26.
- An., "Bethel Conservative Church", *Walla Walla Union Bulletin*, Fri., Aug. 24, 1956, 2.
- Fred C. Schwarz to Alfred Kohlberg, Undated, *AKP*, Box 155, F. "Fred C. Schwarz, 1956-1957".
- L. L. Smith to Fred C. Schwarz, Jun. 11, 1956, letter reproduced in *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 1956, 2.
- Richard Philbrick, "Notes on News in Religion", *Chicago Tribune*, Sat., Jul. 14, 1956, 16.
- Marshall S. Roth to Fred C. Schwarz, Aug. 10, 1956, letter reproduced in *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 1956, 2.

- Dr. John S. Wimbish to Fred C. Schwarz, Sept. 24, 1956, letter reproduced in *CACC Newsletter*, Jan.-Feb. 1957, 2.
- Merlin G. Smith to Fred C. Schwarz, Oct. 1, 1956, letter reproduced in letter reproduced in *CACC Newsletter*, Jan.-Feb. 1957, 2.
- An., "Psychiatrist Preaches: Calls Communism 'Disease of Mind, Body and Spirit' ", *New York Times*, Mon, Oct. 1, 1956, 22.
- An., "Activities in Brief", *The Fresno Bee*, Sat., Mar. 16, 1957, A4.
- An., "Australian Plans Three Talks In Fresno Churches Tomorrow", *The Fresno Bee*, Sat., Mar. 23, 1957, A5.
- An., "Will Address Optimists", *Fresno Bee*, Sun., Mar. 24, 1957, A15.
- An., "Psychiatrist Will Address Harbor Club", *Los Angeles Times*, Mon., Mar. 26, 1957, A2.
- An., "Australian Warns on Reds in Hawaii", *New York Times*, Wed., Apr. 17, 1957, 17.
- An., "Dr. Schwarz's Itinerary", *CACC Newsletter*, May 1957, 2-3.
- John R. Pillion to Fred C. Schwarz, Jun. 4, 1957, letter reproduced in Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 156.
- Fred C. Schwarz, "Dear Member and Friend", *CACC Newsletter*, June 1957, 1-5 (this last article provides Schwarz's entire itinerary during the months of June and July 1957).
- Ad., "Immanuel Baptist Church", *Pasadena Star-News*, Sat., Jul. 20, 1957, 4. Fred C. Schwarz, Untitled, *CACC Newsletter*, Oct. 1957, Available online at: < <http://www.schwarzreport.org/uploads/schwarz-report-pdf/schwarz-report-1957-10.pdf> > (accessed June 15, 2009).
- An., "Communism Talks Set", *Eugene Register-Guard*, Sat., Oct. 19, 1957, 3.
- An., "Missionary to Speak", *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., Dec. 8, 1957, 37.
- Ad., "8-Solid Hours Radio Marathon by Dr. Thos. Wyatt", *Fresno Bee Republican*, Fri., Mar. 28, 1958, 11-A.
- Fred C. Schwarz to Alfred Kohlberg, Mar. 25, 1958, *AKP*, Box 155, F. "Fred C. Schwarz", 1958-1960.
- Kenneth Dole, "News of the Churches", *Washington Post*, Sun., Apr. 12, 1958, C9.
- Fred C. Schwarz to Alfred Kohlberg, Feb. 2, 1958, *AKP*, Box 155, F. "Fred C. Schwarz", 1958-1960. The same archive fund contains the list of guests for the evening reception organized by Alfred Kohlberg, Apr. 21.
- Fred C. Schwarz, "Bob Siegrist and the News, WLS - WGEZ", *PSC*, Box 9, F. 16.
- An., "Returned Missionaries Will Report on Work", *Washington Post*, Sat., May 3, 1958, A13.
- An., "Should Teach Red Creed in Schools", *El Paso Herald-Post*, Tue., May 6, 1958, 10.
- An., "To Address Exchange", *The Bridgeport Post*, Thu., Jun. 12, 1958, 31.
- An., "Baptists Will Hear Dr. Fred Schwarz", *The Bridgeport Post*, Sat., Jun. 14, 1958, 6.
- Stanley R. Allaby, "Local Group Formed to Combat Communism", *CACC Newsletter*, Mar. 1959, 3-4.
- Fred C. Schwarz to Alfred Kohlberg, Jun. 4, 1958, *AKP*, Box 155, F. "Fred C. Schwarz", 1958-1960.
- Joost Sluis, "An Alumnus and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade", Independent reprint from the *Harvard Medical Alumni Bulletin*, Spring 1963, 1.
- An., "Doctor to Tell Communism Ills", *Star-News*, Mon., Jul. 21, 1958, 1.

- Ad., "Speaks Tomorrow", *Star-News*, Tue., Jul. 22, 1958, 24.
- An., "Leader of Anti-Red Crusade Will Speak", *Los Angeles Times*, Sat., Jul. 26, 10.
- Fred C. Schwarz, "Future Schedule", *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 1958, 6.
- Ad., "Eagle Rock Baptist Church", *Los Angeles Times*, Sat., Sept. 6, 1958, 10.
- An., "Communism To Be Topic of Lecturer", *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern*, Tue., Sept. 30, 1958, 3.
- An., "Australian to Give Talk on Communism", *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern*, Thu., Oct. 9, 1958, 5.
- Ad., "Hear Dr. Fred Schwarz", *Chicago Tribune*, Fri., Oct. 10, 1958, E7.
- An., "Speaker Says Complacency Hurst Nation", *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern*, Thu., Oct. 16, 1958, 33.
- An., "Truth Urged To Combat Red Threat", *The Hartford Courant*, Mon., Oct. 27, 1958, 4.
- An., "Future Schedule", *CACC Newsletter*, Nov. 1958, 6 (this contains a list of 23 different lectures).
- An., "Dr. Fred Schwarz to Preach Friday", *The Norwalk Hour*, Thu., Nov. 6, 1958, 7.
- An., "Group Sends Thanks for Lecture Coverage", *The Bridgeport Post*, Thu., Nov. 20, 1958, 24.
- An., "Correction", *The Bridgeport Post*, Fri., Nov. 21, 1958, 14.
- An., "Lutheran Speaker", *Oakland Tribune*, Thu., Nov. 27, 1958, 44.
- Ad., "Melrose Baptist", *Oakland Tribune*, Sat., Nov. 29, 1958, B-9.
- An., "Dr. Fred Schwarz to Discuss Communism at Church Here", *Van Nuys News*, Thu., Dec. 4, 1958, 18-D.
- An., "Dr. Fred Schwarz to Be Speaker at Church in Valley", *Van Nuys News*, Thu., Feb. 5, 1959, 12-B.
- An., "Dr. Schwarz, Foe of Reds, Speaks Sun", *Long Beach Independent*, Sat., Feb. 7, 1959, A-8.
- An., "Schedule", *CACC Newsletter*, Mar. 1959, 6 (this contains a list of 23 different lectures).
- Fred C. Schwarz., "Universities and Colleges", *CACC Newsletter*, Apr. 1959, 5 (this contains a list of 11 different lectures in academic institutions in February and March 1959).
- An., "Notes on the News in Religion", *Chicago Tribune*, Sat., Mar. 14, 10.
- Fred C. Schwarz, *Address on the Disease of Communism, Given to the Texas Legislature by Dr. Fred Schwarz*, Houston, Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1959.
- An., "Communists Are Madmen Speaker Tells Students", *Hartford Courant*, Tue., Apr. 7, 1959, 32.
- Fred C. Schwarz to J. Howard Pew, Mar. 29, 1959, *JHPPP*, Box 3, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, 1959".
- Jay Hanlon, "1,500 Told Magnitude of Red Menace", *Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader*, Wed., Apr. 8, 1, 7.
- Fred C. Schwarz, "The University Front", *CACC Newsletter*, Jun. 1959, 2.
- Fred C. Schwarz, "Schedule", *CACC Newsletter*, Apr. 1959, 6.
- Hedda Hopper, "Chimp Will Monkey Around Disney", *Los Angeles Times*, Tue., Apr. 21, 1959, C7.

- Mary McNair, "Town Topics: 'Labor' Prevents A Party Quorum", *Washington Post*, Mon., Apr. 27, 1959, B3.
- "Itinerary for Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 28, 1959, through May 12, 1959", *JHPPP*, Box 3, F. "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade – Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, 1959" (this list has numerous lectures).
- An., "Expert on Communism Faith Baptist Speaker", *Chester (P.A.) Times*, Sat., May 2, 1959, 5.
- Ad., "Religious Services", *New York Times*, Sat., May 16, 1959, 15.
- An., "Anti Communist Doctor Will Be Local Speaker", *The Modesto Bee and News Herald*, Thu., Jun. 11, 1959, B-1.
- An., "Dr. Fred Schwarz Will Speak Here", *Van Nuys News*, Thu., Jun. 11, 1959, 27-D.
- An., "Foe of Reds Will Speak Here Sunday", *Long Beach Independent*, Sat., Jun. 13, 1959, A6.
- An., "Australian Will Deliver Anti-Red Talks", *Oakland Tribune*, Wed., Aug. 5, 1959, S-3.
- An., "Dr. Schwarz's Schedule", *CACC Newsletter*, Sept. 1959, 4.
- Fred C. Schwarz, *Beating the Unbeatable Foe*, *op. cit.*, 137-139 (mentions the date and some details related to the debate between Schwarz and Otis Archer Hood).
- An., "Foe of Reds Will Speak at Assembly", *Long Beach Independent*, Sat., Oct. 24, 1959, B-5.
- Fred C. Schwarz to Alfred Kohlberg, Apr. 2, 1960, *AKP*, Box 155, F. "Fred C. Schwarz", 1958-1960.
- An., "Dr. Fred Schwarz to Speak at Open Meeting on Monday", *The Independent Record (Helena)*, Wed., Dec. 9, 1959, 4 (mentions four different lectures).
- An., "Dr. Schwarz's Schedule", *CACC Newsletter*, Jan. 1960, 4 (mentions eleven different lectures).
- An., "Crusade Speaker to Appear Here", *Odessa American*, Wed., Feb. 17, 1960, 23.
- An., "Anti-Red Crusader to Speak", *Long Beach Independent*, Sat., Feb. 27, 1960, A-7.
- An., "Dr. Schwarz's Schedule", *CACC Newsletter*, Mar. 1960, 4.
- Fred C. Schwarz to Herbert Philbrick, Apr. 11, 1960, *HPP*, Box 65, "Subject File" Series, F. 10 "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, 1960-1962".
- Ad., "Manhattan Baptist", *New York Times*, Sat., Apr. 16, 1960, 21.
- An., "Speaks Here", *Hobbs Daily News-Sun*, Tue., May 10, 1960, 1.
- An., "Psychiatrist to Discuss Communism", *Los Angeles Times*, Sun., May 1960, WS3.
- An., "Dr. Schwarz's Schedule", *CACC Newsletter*, Apr. 1960, 6.
- An., "NGDW Will Open 74<sup>th</sup> Convention", *Oakland Tribune*, Wed., Jun. 15, 1960, 30.

**APPENDIX 2:**  
**CACC LIFE MEMBERS (Jan. 1956 – Dec. 1960),**  
**DISTRIBUTION BY STATE**

State	Number	Percentage (%)
California	180	33.3
Southern California* (*taken separately)	139	25.7
Texas	75	13.8
Washington State	42	7.7
Northern California* (*taken separately)	41	7.6
Indiana	29	5.3
Illinois	29	5.3
Oregon	21	3.8
Michigan	20	3.7
Wisconsin	19	3.5
Louisiana	15	2.7
Missouri	15	2.7
New York	13	2.4
Pennsylvania	12	2.2
Arizona	10	1.8
Montana	9	1.6
Georgia	6	1.1
Connecticut	6	1.1

Florida	5	0.9
Idaho	4	0.7
Oklahoma	4	0.7
Washington	3	0.5
Colorado	3	0.5
Minnesota	3	0.5
Tennessee	2	0.3
Maryland	2	0.3
Massachusetts	2	0.3
Iowa	1	0.1
Hawaii	1	0.1
New Mexico	1	0.1
South Carolina	1	0.1
Nebraska	1	0.1
New Hampshire	1	0.1
Canada	1	0.1
Kentucky	1	0.1
New Jersey	1	0.1
North Carolina	1	0.1
North Dakota	1	0.1
Maine	1	0.1
<b>Total:</b>	<b>540</b>	<b>100%</b>



**APPENDIX 3:**  
**INDIVIDUAL DONORS TO CACC OF \$100 OR MORE**  
**DURING FISCAL YEAR 1966, BY NUMBER OF DONORS**

State	Donors	Percentage%
California	393	47.4
South California* (taken separately)	320	38.6
North California* (taken separately)	73	8.8
Indiana	58	6.9
Washington State	38	4.5
Texas	36	4.3
Ohio	30	3.6
Michigan	28	3.3
Tennessee	26	3.1
New York	25	3.0
Missouri	17	2.0
Illinois	17	2.0
Arizona	16	1.9
Louisiana	15	1.8
Wisconsin	14	1.6
Florida	12	1.4
Pennsylvania	11	1.3
New Jersey	10	1.2
Georgia	8	0.96
Oregon	7	0.84
Nebraska	6	0.72
Massachusetts	5	0.60
Connecticut	5	0.60
Idaho	5	0.60
South Carolina	4	0.48

Virginia	4	0.48
Oklahoma	4	0.48
Mississippi	3	0.36
Washington DC	3	0.36
Hawaii	3	0.36
Colorado	3	0.36
Kansas	3	0.36
Arkansas	3	0.36
Iowa	3	0.36
Alabama	2	0.24
North Carolina	2	0.24
West Virginia	2	0.24
New Mexico	2	0.24
Montana	2	0.24
Maryland	1	0.12
Rhode Island	1	0.12
Canada	1	0.12
Alaska	1	0.12
Utah	1	0.12
Wyoming	1	0.12
Minnesota	1	0.12

**Total:****824****100%**

**APPENDIX 4:**  
**DONATIONS FROM INDIVIDUALS TO CACC OF \$100 OR MORE**  
**DURING FISCAL YEAR 1966, BY AMOUNT GIVEN**

State	Amount (\$)	Percentage%
California	77,306.58	41.9
South California* (taken separately)	61, 630.94	33.4
North California* (taken separately)	15,675.43	8.5
Indiana	13,590.46	7.3
Texas	13,032.47	7.0
Pennsylvania	11,117	6.0
Missouri	9,634.72	5.2
Michigan	9,159.64	4.9
Washington State	4,687.87	2.5
Ohio	4594	2.4
Wisconsin	3,906.35	2.1
South Carolina	3,737.07	2.0
Tennessee	3,542.95	1.9
New Jersey	3,165	1.7
Illinois	3,089	1.6
Oregon	2,868	1.5
New York	2,763.90	1.5
Louisiana	2,422.44	1.3
Arizona	2,312.50	1.2
Nebraska	2,254	1.2
Florida	1905.50	1.0
Georgia	1312.50	0.7
Virginia	840	0.4
Oklahoma	810	0.4
Connecticut	615	0.3
Massachusetts	610	0.3
Idaho	540	0.29

Washington DC	515	0.27
Hawaii	417.74	0.22
Kansas	365	0.19
Mississippi	308.90	0.16
Arkansas	300	0.16
Utah	300	0.16
Alaska	242	0.13
Iowa	222	0.12
New Mexico	220	0.11
Colorado	209	0.11
North Carolina	180	0.09
Maryland	160	0.08
Minnesota	135	0.07
Wyoming	125	0.06
West Virginia	125	0.06
Rhode Island	125	0.06
Canada	124.95	0.06
Montana	100	0.05
Alabama	100	0.05

**Total:                                    \$184,091.55                                    100%**



Louisiana	15	3	<b>9</b>	<u>3</u>
Wisconsin	14		<b>12</b>	<u>2</u>
Florida	12	3	<b>6</b>	<u>3</u>
Pennsylvania	11	4	<b>2</b>	<u>4</u>
New Jersey	10	1		<u>9</u>
Georgia	8	3	<b>3</b>	<u>2</u>
Oregon	7	3	<b>2</b>	<u>2</u>
Nebraska	6	3	<b>3</b>	
Massachusetts	5			<u>5</u>
Connecticut	5*	3		
Idaho	5	5		
South Carolina	4*	2		
Virginia	4*		<b>1</b>	<u>1</u>
Oklahoma	4	2		<u>2</u>
Mississippi	3	2		<u>1</u>
Washington DC	3		<b>3</b>	
Hawaii	3		<b>3</b>	
Colorado	3		<b>1</b>	<u>2</u>
Kansas	3	2	<b>1</b>	
Arkansas	3	3		
Iowa	3	3		
Alabama	2		<b>2</b>	
North Carolina	2			<u>2</u>
West Virginia	2	2		
New Mexico	2	2		

Montana	2	<i>1</i>
Maryland	1	<i>1</i>
Rhode Island	1	<u>1</u>
Canada	1	<b>1</b>
Alaska	1	<u>1</u>
Utah	1	<b>1</b>
Wyoming	1	<i>1</i>
Minnesota	1	<b>1</b>

**Total:**                      **824\***                      *126*      **280**      418

\* Does not include Crusade donors living on military bases.

**APPENDIX 6:  
OCCUPATIONAL, INCOME AND EDUCATIONAL  
CHARACTERISTICS OF CRUSADER'S SAMPLES (WOLFINGER  
AND KOEPPEN) AND WHITE BAY AREA POPULATION<sup>1</sup>**

Occupational of head of household      Wolfinger and Koeppen samples combined      White residents of the Bay Area (in percent)

(in percent)

Professional and technical	32.5	14
Businessmen, managers & officials	29	12
Clerical and sales personnel	15	17
Skilled, semiskilled, unskilled and service workers	9.5	50
Other	4	1
No answer	10	6

Annual family income before taxes      Wolfinger and Koeppen samples combined      White residents of the Bay Area (in percent)

(in percent)

\$15,000 and over	20.6	8
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<sup>1</sup> Sheila R. Koeppen, "The Radical Right and the Politics of Consensus", *loc. cit.*, 53-54. Oakland figures are based on the U.S. 1960 Census. Bay Area occupation data "are for the employed males, including nonwhites". Regarding education, "normative data are for persons 25 years and older".



\$10,000 to \$14,999	23	18
\$7,000 to \$9,999	23	28
\$4,000 to \$6,999	18	30
Below \$4,000	7.6	16
No answer	7.6	16

Education                      Wolfinger and Koeppen  
samples combined              White residents of the  
(in percent)                      Bay Area (in percent)

Completed college	50.6	13
Some college	27.8	14
Business or trade school	3.2	n/a
Completed high school	9.6	29
Some high school	4.2	19
Grammar school or less	2.6	25
No answer	2	n/a

**APPENDIX 7:  
CRUSADER SAMPLES (WOLFINGER AND KOEPPEN) AND  
WHITE BAY AREA POPULATION<sup>1</sup>**

Think internal Communist threat is:      Wolfinger and Koeppen samples combined (in percent)      National sample, 1954

A very great danger	62.8	19
A great danger	22.7	24
Some danger	11	38
Hardly any danger	2	9
No danger	-	2
Don't know	0.6	8
No answer	1	-

<sup>1</sup> Sheila R. Koeppen, "The Radical Right and the Politics of Consensus", *loc. cit.*, 54-55. The 9154 national sample is taken from Samuel Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties*, New York, Doubleday, 1955, 199-200.

**APPENDIX 8:  
PERCEPTIONS ON COMMUNIST INFILTRATION  
OF GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS, KOEPPEN  
RESPONDENTS<sup>1</sup>**

Institution (Percentage)	“No” (percentage)	“Maybe” (percentage)	“Yes”
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The State Department	9	27	65
California State Legislature	15	42	43
Central Intelligence Agency	33	44	23
Congress	36	34	30
The Justice Department	37	42	21
The White House	41	32	27
Supreme Court	48	27	25
Your City Council – Local Government	52	31	18
Federal Bureau of Investigation	79	17	4

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid*, 54-55. Figures for “The State Department” and “Your City Council – Local Government” amount to more than 100 percent because of rounding.

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Note: Manuscript collections used for this study are abbreviated as follows. Locations of library and archival centers are listed, with the exception of those belonging to, or affiliated with, universities.

ACCC-ICCC Col.	American Council of Christian Churches & International Council of Christian Churches Collection, Manuscript Collections, Presbyterian Historical Center, St. Louis, Missouri
ACLUR	American Civil Liberties Union Records, 1947-1995 (bulk 1950-1980), Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University
ACAC	Americans for Constitutional Action Correspondence, Archives Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin
AKP	Alfred Kohlberg Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University
ACAR	Americans for Constitutional Action Records, Archives Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin
BGEAR	Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Illinois
BJHP	Billy James Hargis Papers, Special Collections, Mullins Library, University of Arkansas
BMGP	Barry M. Goldwater Papers, Arizona Historical Foundation, Tempe, Arizona
CMP	Carl McIntire Papers, Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary
CWCP	Conservative Women of California Project (Directed by Michelle Nickerson) Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton

DMP	Donald McNeil Papers, Archives Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin
DSBP	Dorothy Stimson Bullitt Papers, Special Collections, Allen Library South, University of Washington
EPAEC	Evelyn Phillips Anti-Communist Collection, Personal Paper Collections, Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation & Library, Simi Valley, California
FCF	Freedom Center Collection, University Archives & Special Collections Unit, California State University, Fullerton
FRP	Florence Ranuzzi Papers, Manuscript Collections, Huntington Library, California
GHGHC	Gordon Hall and Grace Hoag Collection of Dissenting and Extremist Printed Propaganda, 1926-1996 (bulk 1960-1990), Brown Archival and Manuscript Collections, John Hay Library, Brown University
GLKSP	Gerald K. Smith Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan
GRC	Group Research Collection, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Butler Library, Columbia University Library
HPP	Herbert Philbrick Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
HQ-FBI	Headquarters Files, Attn: FOIPA Request, Record/Information Dissemination Section, Federal Bureau of Investigation Files, Winchester, Virginia - Material retrieved and made accessible by Ernie Lazar. Available online at < <a href="http://sites.google.com/site/ernie124102/home">http://sites.google.com/site/ernie124102/home</a> >
HRP	Henry Regnery Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University
IRS-EOD	Internal Revenue Service – Exempt Organization Determination, Department of the Treasury, Cincinnati, Ohio (Form 4506-A Request)
JDKP	John Daniel Kraus Papers, National Radio Astronomy Observatory Archives, Charlottesville, Virginia

JFKP	John Fitzgerald Kennedy Papers, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, Boston, Massachusetts
JHPPP	J. Howard Pew Personal Papers, Manuscript and Archives Department, Hagley Museum Library, Wilmington, Delaware
JLRP	Joseph L. Rauh Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
JLSM	“John L. Shover’s material relating to his article on Fred Schwarz’ Christian Anti-Communist (sic) Crusade”, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley
JWFP	James William Fulbright Papers, Special Collections, Mullins Library, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville
LNBP	Lemuell Nelson Bell Papers, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Illinois
LSP	Lawrence E. Spivak Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
MKP	Mary Koenig Papers, Manuscript Collections, Huntington Library, California
MLP	Marx Lewis Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University
MLiebP	Marvin Liebman Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University
NARA	National Archives and Record Administration, College Park, Maryland
PJSP	Peter J. Stram Papers, Manuscript Collection, Presbyterian Historical Center, St. Louis, Missouri
PRAA	Political Research Associates Archives, Political Research Associates Library, Somerville, Massachusetts
PSC	Phyllis Schlafly Collection, Communism Series, Eagle Forum Library and Archives, St. Louis, Missouri
QSA	Queensland State Archives, Runcorn, Brisbane, Australia

RDTP	Ralph de Toledano Papers, Howard Gottlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University
RKHC	Rosalynd Kree Harley Collection, Eagle Forum Library and Archives, St. Louis, Missouri
RNTC	Robert N. Thompson Collection, Archives and Special Collections, Trinity Western University, Langley, Canada
TJDP	Thomas J. Dodd Papers, Archives & Special Collections, Thomas J. Dodd Research Center, University of Connecticut, Storrs
TTSP	T.T. Shields Papers, Jarvis Street Baptist Church Archives, Toronto
WCNP	William C. Norris Papers, Control Data Corporation Records, Charles Babbage Institute, University of Minnesota
WCSP	W. Cleon Skousen Papers, Private Collection, Skousen Family, Salt Lake City
WFBP	William F. Buckley Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library
WHJP	Walter H. Judd Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University
WHJuP	Walter H. Judd Papers, Collections, Minnesota Historical Society
WSP	William Simon Papers, Lafayette College Archives, Easton, Pennsylvania

Unabbreviated- Single references

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-Geoffrey White Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University

-Sydney Hook Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University

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