

AMERICA'S MODERN DAY MESSIAH: BILLY JAMES HARGIS
AND HIS CHRISTIAN CRUSADE--A CASE STUDY
IN EXTREMISM

By

THOMAS WAYNE DEHANAS

"

Bachelor of Arts

Oklahoma State University

1964

Submitted to the faculty of the Graduate School of
the Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
July, 1966

OKLAHOMA
STATE UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

JAN 26 1967

AMERICA'S MODERN DAY MESSIAH: BILLY JAMES HARGIS
AND HIS CHRISTIAN CRUSADE--A CASE STUDY
IN EXTREMISM

Thesis Approved:

Philip A. T. Rich

Thesis Adviser

Harold K. Lane

J. H. Bazz

Dean of the Graduate School

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to Professors Robert S. Walker and Guy R. Donnell, who had the onerous task of directing this thesis, for their more than able advice and criticism, to Professor Clifford A. L. Rich for his sustaining counsel and to Professor Harold Sare who assisted in the formulation of the questionnaires. I also would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Charles Angeletti who made the use of his extensive files on Christian Crusade available to me. Much indebtedness is also due to Dr. Billy James Hargis and Reverend David Noebel whose kind and courteous assistance was invaluable in writing this thesis. Lastly, acknowledgement is due to my father who financially supported this endeavor.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Scope and Justification of Study	1
Methodology and Chapter Procedure	3
II. BILLY JAMES HARGIS--THE MAN AND HIS THOUGHTS.	7
Biographical Background.	7
Philosophy and Views	14
Analysis of Dr. Hargis' Views	41
III. CHRISTIAN CRUSADE--THE ORGANIZATION AND ITS MEMBERSHIP	48
Beginnings and Scope of Operation	48
Sources of Financial Support	56
Ties with Other Groups	59
Socio-Economic Backgrounds of Members and Supporters	61
IV. CHRISTIAN CRUSADE--GOALS AND TACTICS	73
Stated Goals	73
Propaganda Techniques	74
Agencies and Vehicles of Indoctrination	87
Suggested Avenues of Action	98
V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.	102
BIBLIOGRAPHY	107
APPENDIX	114

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. Comparison of the Income Levels of Christian Crusade Members with the United States Average	65
II. Ethnic and Nationality Backgrounds of Christian Crusade Members	67
III. Comparison of the Denominational Backgrounds of Members of Christian Crusade with the United States Average	69
IV. Other Group Memberships of Christian Crusade Members	71

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Scope and Justification of Study

A current phenomenon in American politics is the existence of several self-styled "patriotic" organizations which have been variously classified as the Radical Right, the Far Right, the Extreme Right, and by several other similar designations. The Anti-Defamation League estimates that in recent years there have been some five hundred of these organizations which have come upon the American scene. Some of these groups have since ceased to function but there are still many which spend an estimated fourteen million dollars annually in their efforts to save America.¹ Dr. Billy James Hargis and his Christian Crusade is one such group. The avowed purpose of Christian Crusade, like that of its fellow groups, is to solve the problems which beset the United States by eradicating what they see as their source--communism. However, Christian Crusade, unlike most other groups of this particular species of political activity, justifies its anti-communism with a religious rationale. Dr. Hargis has stated his position as follows:

¹Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, Danger On The Right, (New York, 1964), pp. xv. & 6.

My personal religious convictions demand that I oppose communism and its allies. I make no apologies for opposing communism or its related organizations because it is definitely a part of my Divine obligation as a minister of the Gospel. Some men may fight communism for political or financial reasons. I fight communism because it is a part of my Divine obligation.²

Therefore, Christian Crusaders believe they are not only doing their own will but also God's Will and thus Christian Crusade is characterized by a more fervent motivation than most other groups of the extreme right-wing.

Although these stated purposes do not seem of themselves to justify the designation of extreme or radical, it is the conclusion of this thesis that these groups constitute a danger to the democratic system of which they are a product. The problem is not the ideas which they espouse, however odd they may seem, because this freedom of ideas is the epitome of a democracy. The threat occurs in the approach these groups take for the implementation of their ideas. It is, at best, a non-democratic one.

The maxim, "In order to fight an enemy, you must know him" is pertinent. To counteract the threat to democratic processes by the extreme right-wing, society must first know and understand the nature of the causal factors of the threat. In the past, most studies of the extreme right-wing have dealt with these groups as though they were a monolith. They have looked from the top down rather than from the

²Billy James Hargis, "A Leftist Dictatorship in the Making," Christian Crusade, January, 1965, p. 33.

bottom up. They have, in short, followed a deductive rather than an inductive approach. If reliance is placed in deduction alone one can only speak and understand in generalities and in these somewhat inconclusively and sometimes inconsistently. An adequate understanding would seem to necessitate a study of these groups individually. Any cursory investigation reveals that although these groups are quite similar, there are significant differences among them. In addition to explaining these differences, a case study approach allows for more accurate generalizations because these can be based upon a firmer foundation than is provided by an approach which takes an overview from above. Such is the rationale and justification for a case study of one such group--Christian Crusade.

Methodology and Chapter Procedure

The methodology used in this case study of Christian Crusade is not original; rather it is a synthesis of other approaches and could be called a descriptive-analytical approach. Each element of this synthetic approach alone is inadequate because each only covers one phase of the group. The descriptive tends to deal with tactics while the analytical involves the sociological and psychological backgrounds and motivations of both leaders and followers of these groups. Together these provide a comprehensive coverage of both sides of the Christian Crusade coin.

A summary of the chapter method follows. Since Christian Crusade seems so much to be an extension of Dr. Hargis' personality the following chapter will be concerned with him. It is divided into three parts. The first part will be a brief biographical sketch of Dr. Hargis with an emphasis upon those factors which were significant in his decision to engage in the Christian Crusade endeavor and those which are pertinent to his role as leader of the group. This sketch will be written in chronological order. Although this method does have the disadvantage of jumping around from topic to topic, it is calculated to give the reader a knowledge of the sequence of events and this is most important. The second part of the chapter will consist of a comprehensive statement of Dr. Hargis' philosophy and views on specific policy or issue areas as gleaned from interviews with him and from various speeches, sermons, pamphlets, books and other writings. The third part will be an analysis of Dr. Hargis' guiding philosophy in an effort to give a perspective view of his ideas in the context of American politics.

The third chapter will be concerned with Christian Crusade as an organization and its membership. It will begin with a brief history of the organization which is designed not to be comprehensive but, rather, to give the reader a background for understanding the scope of the organization's activities and sub-groups which is the subject of the second part of the chapter. A third part will be a discussion of the sources of Christian Crusade's financial support. This will be followed

with a discussion of the relationships of Christian Crusade with other organizations of similar philosophical and tactical bent. The chapter will be concluded with a discussion of the socio-economic backgrounds of the members and supporters of Christian Crusade to give the reader an understanding of the types of persons to whom such a movement appeals. This will be based upon responses obtained from questionnaires.

The fourth chapter will be concerned with the goals and tactics of Christian Crusade and will be divided into four parts. It is in this chapter that the extremist nature of the organization will be most apparent. The first part is a statement of the goals of the group as announced by its leaders. A second part will describe and evaluate the specific propaganda techniques utilized by Dr. Hargis in his quest for supporters and in his efforts to arouse them to action. The third part will be a discussion and analysis of the agencies or vehicles employed by Christian Crusade to indoctrinate persons in an effort to achieve its goals. The last part of the chapter will list the specific avenues of action which Dr. Hargis advocates in order to achieve the goals of the organization.

The fifth chapter will include a summary and conclusions on Dr. Hargis' Christian Crusade and some possible alternatives to remedy the problem posed by the organization to a democratic society.

This descriptive-analytical approach is not purported to be the complete answer to understanding Dr. Hargis and his group. There is a

psychological factor implicit in such an understanding which is quite intricate and which the author is not equipped to answer. In addition, Christian Crusade maintains an air of secrecy about many of the intimate details of the organization and thus there is some information on the group which is impossible to obtain. Other information which can by various means be acquired cannot be documented and thus is of little value. Therefore, there are several voids of information implicit in such a study which are, unfortunately, unavoidable.

CHAPTER II

BILLY JAMES HARGIS--THE MAN AND HIS THOUGHTS

Biographical Background

Dr. Billy James Hargis, who was born in 1925, spent his first eighteen years in Texarkana, Texas.¹ Dr. Hargis feels that because he had no brothers or sisters, he maintained a rather close-knit relationship with his parents. They both were quite devout religiously and Hargis attributes his own religious orientation to them. Dr. Hargis was from what he refers to as a "moderate income family." His father was a truck driver for a transfer company and was paid one dollar a day during the "depression years." Therefore, at an early age Dr. Hargis was forced to work at part-time jobs so that the family could afford to keep him in school.

At the age of sixteen Dr. Hargis was graduated from high school, "by the skin of [his] teeth." He says that his mind was "too energetic" to really study in school. Upon graduation Dr. Hargis obtained a job as an architect's assistant. After two years he gave up this job and enrolled

¹Dr. Fernando Penabaz, Crusading Preacher From the West, (Tulsa, 1965), p. 47. The information on Dr. Hargis' early life is drawn primarily from this book which was written by a staff member of Christian Crusade.

at Ozark Bible College of Bentonville, Arkansas, in 1943. He remained there only one and one-half years.²

In May of 1943, at the age of eighteen, Dr. Hargis was ordained as a Disciples of Christ minister at his home church in Texarkana, Texas. During that summer he conducted several revivals. He was then offered and accepted a pastorate of a church in Sallisaw, Oklahoma. He remained there for two years before assuming the pastorate of another church in Granby, Missouri for another two years.

In 1947 Dr. Hargis became pastor of one of the ten largest Christian Churches in Oklahoma, the First Christian Church of Sapulpa.³ Dr. Hargis explains that some members of the church in Sapulpa were visiting friends in Granby, Missouri, and attended one of Dr. Hargis' services. After the service the man asked Dr. Hargis: "Son, would you like to pastor a real big church--one that is split? I think you could bring it together. You are young. I think the warring factions would agree on you as a neutralizer." Consequently, the church called him and at the age of twenty-two he was the youngest pastor the church had ever engaged.⁴

It was during this pastorate that Dr. Hargis started his Christian Echoes Ministry, the initial name of Christian Crusade. Originally the

²Letter from Dr. Billy James Hargis to author, August 6, 1965.

³The Tulsa World, February 25, 1951, section 3, p. 1.

⁴Penabaz, p. 54.

goal of Dr. Hargis and this organization was to combat what he referred to as "growing apostasy" within his own denomination. However, within several years Hargis decided to broaden his ministry to combat communism in general.⁵ He attributes his decision to enter the anti-communist endeavor to two specific experiences which he had several years earlier. The first occurred in 1947 at an Oklahoma State Disciples of Christ convention. Previous to the meeting Dr. Hargis had read The Road Ahead by John T. Flynn and had also conferred with Senator Joseph McCarthy who gave him "evidence of communist infiltration of churches." Dr. Hargis recited his findings to a fellow minister. The man's reply of "So what?" so infuriated Dr. Hargis that he vowed to dedicate himself to the cause of combatting communism.⁶ The other event occurred one year later when the Reverend A. B. McReynolds told Dr. Hargis:

You know, Billy, God needs a man in America today to lead a TRUTH CRUSADE. . . . The church's number one enemy is communism, yet so few pastors or laymen know it. I think God is going to raise up a Christian movement to awaken God's people to the curse of communism . . . Who knows? Maybe you are God's man to fight this satanic evil that has even gotten into our churches.⁷

Dr. Hargis related that at first he did not want to go into such a ministry but that eventually he knew that it was God's will for his life.

⁵Reconstructed from longhand notes from a speech by Dr. Hargis, Tulsa, Oklahoma, July 8, 1965.

⁶Letter from Dr. Billy James Hargis to author, August 6, 1965.

⁷Penabaz, p. 62.

Dr. Hargis carried on both his pastoral duties and the directorship of Christian Crusade until 1951 when he resigned his pastorate of the church in Sapulpa, Oklahoma, to devote his full time to fighting communism. The first few years of this endeavor were difficult ones for Dr. Hargis and his Christian Crusade. He has written:

After leaving Sapulpa, my world fell apart. As soon as I started fighting communism, churches didn't understand my motivation or my message. Revivals were canceled; speaking appearances were canceled.⁸

In 1953 Dr. Hargis attained nationwide notice for the first time for his role in a "Bible Balloon Project." Dr. Hargis, who was chairman of a "National Committee" to send portions of the Bible into the "Iron Curtain" countries by gas-filled balloons from West Germany, referred to the project as his "biggest break."⁹ Although the project was officially sponsored by the International Council of Christian Churches whose president was Dr. Carl McIntire, Dr. Hargis and his organization, in fact, presided over the fund-raising and launching of what became an annual affair; and he reaped the resulting publicity.¹⁰

⁸Penabaz, p. 55.

⁹Wesley McCune, Dr. Billy James Hargis, his Christian Crusade, his Christian Echoes National Ministry, and connections with other groups, (Washington, D. C., 1962), p. 2.

¹⁰Penabaz, p. 190: "The Bible Balloon launching project organized and directed by Dr. Billy James Hargis was a main factor in making him a well-known national and international personality."

In subsequent years the project was referred to as "Christian Crusade's Bible-Balloon Project."¹¹

In 1954 Billy James Hargis received the first of his several honorary degrees. The Defender Seminary in Puerto Rico bestowed upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Concerning this degree Dr. Hargis has stated:

Words will not express my appreciation to Dr. Rodriques, the President of the Defender Seminary and Dr. [Gerold] Winrod, Chairman of the Board, for this great honor. I sincerely thank this great school for the award.¹²

In 1957 Dr. Hargis embarked on a trip to the Far East and held personal interviews with Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek of Nationalist China and with President Syngman Rhee of Korea. Dr. Hargis feels that this "personal contact with three of the world's most outstanding and famous anti-communist leaders" has aroused in him a "deep feeling of urgency for more effective action against the ever-spreading menace of atheistic Marxist-Leninism."¹³

The same year that Dr. Hargis went to the Far East (1957) he also received another honorary degree. Belin University, then of Chillicothe, Missouri, and now of Manassas, Virginia, granted him a

¹¹Billy James Hargis, "Bible Balloons Help Hungarian Revolt," Christian Crusade, December, 1956, p. 1.

¹²E. L. Murphy, "Christian Echoes Founder Awarded Doctorate," Christian Echoes, August, 1954, p. 3.

¹³Penabaz, p. 165.

Doctor of Laws degree.¹⁴ The school has been listed as a "degree mill" by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.¹⁵ Concerning this degree Dr. Hargis has had little to say except that he "knew nothing about the university." However, he did say that the conferral of the degree "was nice of them, a fine gesture . . ."¹⁶

Earlier in Dr. Hargis' ministry he realized that he "needed a formal education" and after considerable inquiry Dr. Hargis was informed that Burton College and Seminary of Manitou Springs, Colorado would grant him two degrees, a Bachelor of Arts degree and a Bachelor of Theology degree, if he would attend the school for one summer for residence work and write a thesis. He wrote his thesis on the topic of communism and labor from which his book Communism and American Labor was taken.¹⁷ He was awarded these degrees in 1956 and 1958 respectively.¹⁸ The school has also been declared a

¹⁴Forster and Epstein, p. 78, indicate that the president of the university was sentenced to one year in prison on six counts of using the mails to defraud two years after Dr. Hargis received the degree.

¹⁵U. S. , Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Degree Mills, April, 1961, p. 1: "A degree mill is defined as an organization that awards degrees without requiring its students to meet educational standards for such degrees established and traditionally followed by reputable educational institutions."

¹⁶Penabaz, p. 61.

¹⁷Letter from Dr. Billy James Hargis to author, August 6, 1965.

¹⁸Penabaz, p. 60.

"degree mill" by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.¹⁹

In 1960 Dr. Hargis again attracted nationwide attention with what became known as "The Air Force Manual Affair."²⁰ The affair concerned an Air Reserve Center Training Manual which had specifically incorporated some of Dr. Hargis' charges that there was a proximate relationship between international communism and the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States. The two Hargis pamphlets which the Air Force manual used were entitled: Apostate Clergymen Battle for God-Hating Communist China and The National Council of Churches Indicts Itself on 50 Counts of Treason. The National Council of Churches entered a strongly worded objection with the Secretary of the Air Force and a Congressional investigation ensued.²¹ The manual in question was ultimately withdrawn from circulation, but not before Dr. Hargis had reaped a full harvest of publicity in the matter.

The most recent honorary degree which Dr. Hargis has received was a Doctor of Laws degree granted to him by Bob Jones University of Greenville, South Carolina, in 1962. This is the degree of which

¹⁹U. S., Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Degree Mills, April, 1961, p. 1.

²⁰Penabaz, p. 190ff.

²¹U. S., Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Un-American Activities, Hearings, "Issues presented by Air Reserve Center Training Manual," 86th Cong., 2nd. Session, 1960, pp. 1285-1321.

he is most proud.²² Concerning the various degrees which have been awarded to Dr. Hargis he has modestly stated:

I do not feel that I am worthy of any of these doctorates that have been conferred upon me, but I am proud that these men think enough of my ministry that they would try in this way to honor me.²³

Philosophy and Views

Dr. Hargis' philosophy is based upon what he considers to be "truly American." He has stated that "today there are no longer two sides in political controversy; there is only one side, the American side; everything that is not the American way of life we must fight."²⁴

In writing of what constitutes "true Americanism" he has said:

Twenty-five million Americans voted [1964 Presidential election] for what is decent, for what is clean, for what has always been and always will be true Americanism. True Americanism is not found in the opinions of the middle-of-the-roader, or the fence sitter, or of the timid and the weak, but is found in the philosophy of those who sailed thousands of miles through uncharted seas . . . True Americanism today is found in the ideals of a handful of men waging war against the greatest threat ever to confront a free nation--communism . . . and 25 million Americans cannot be wrong when their cause is based on God, Country, and Constitution.²⁵

²²Penabaz, p. 61.

²³Ibid, p. 61.

²⁴Thomas H. Uzzell, "A Pitch for God and Country," The Nation, February 17, 1962, p. 141.

²⁵Billy James Hargis, "Reflections on the November 3rd Elections," Christian Crusade, December, 1964, p. 30.

The logical beginning of such a philosophy would be the nature of the federal union and the relative position of the states vis-a-vis the National government. As Dr. Hargis sees it: "The federal government is a creature of the states. It was created by the states and granted limited powers. The states were supreme and should be supreme today."²⁶ Dr. Hargis even refers to the states as "individual republics that make up this one big republic."²⁷ At another point he has announced that the founding fathers intended final authority to rest with the states because the people speak through their state governments.²⁸ Dr. Hargis is speaking of a National government of very few powers which it exercises at the sufferance of the states whence they came. Yet this is not the National government which he sees in operation in the United States today. On the contrary, he sees a National government which has, in general, usurped its Constitutional authority and has become "totalitarian" in its control over the individual.²⁹ He maintains dogmatically that the National government

²⁶Billy James Hargis, Radio Broadcast, July 4, 1961, published text.

²⁷Billy James Hargis, "A Leftist Dictatorship in the Making," Christian Crusade, June, 1965, p. 25.

²⁸Billy James Hargis, "Usurpation--Undermining our Constitution," The Weekly Crusader, October 9, 1964, p. 3.

²⁹Billy James Hargis, Communism, The Total Lie, (Tulsa, 1962), p. 64.

has only those powers specifically described in the Constitution. He has on several occasions condemned those activities of the National government commonly associated with the implied powers.³⁰ Thus Dr. Hargis' definition of specific is just that--specific--and his interpretation of the "necessary and proper" clause of the Constitution is probably quite strict. However, he rarely, if ever, mentions that particular clause of the Constitution.

Again the cause of big National government is communism. He has stated that the "movements in recent years proposed to make the government of the United States bigger and bigger have been communist-inspired, so that it will be easier for the communists to control the people once the government is taken over completely."³¹ Correspondingly, he speaks of centralization as a "danger so deadly as to guarantee enslavement of America by the Soviet Union. . . ."³²

The agency of the National government which has come under Dr. Hargis' greatest condemnation for exceeding the power granted by the Constitution has been the United States Supreme Court. A chapter

³⁰For example see: Billy James Hargis, Uncle Sam M. D?, (Tulsa, n.d.), and Forster and Epstein, p. 75.

³¹Hargis, Communism, The Total Lie, p. 63.

³²Ibid.

in one of his books, entitled "A Supreme Court Against America," sets the tenor for this indictment.³³ Dr. Hargis is displeased with several decisions of the Supreme Court, especially since 1954.³⁴

Dr. Hargis has stated:

Another mistaken concept of our Constitution which has invaded American thinking is the idea that the Supreme Court is the final authority on the Constitution and that the Constitution means whatever the Supreme Court of any given time chooses to say it means. This theory is held to be true by many Americans regardless of how completely the Supreme Court's ideas may fly in the face of what our Constitution has been held to mean by previous Supreme Courts.³⁵

Therefore, Dr. Hargis has urged that "something" be done about these Supreme Court decisions "which have almost paralyzed opposition to the conspiracy in America." He says further that "there is more than coincidence in these decisions."³⁶ Dr. Hargis has posed several specific solutions to get "something" done about what he considers to be improper decisions by the Supreme Court. He has written:

³³ Billy James Hargis, Communist America--Must It Be?, pp. 110-118.

³⁴ To illustrate, Dr. Hargis has gone on record as disagreeing with the decisions of the Court in the following cases: *Brown v. Board of Education* 347 U. S. 483 (1954), *Pennsylvania v. Nelson*, 350 U. S. 497, (1956), *Engel et al v. Vitale et al*, 370 U. S. 421, (1962) and *School district v. Schempp*, 374 U. S. 203, (1963).

³⁵ Billy James Hargis, "Misreading the Constitution," The Weekly Crusader, October 9, 1964, p. 4.

³⁶ Billy James Hargis, Counter-strategy for Counter-attack, (Tulsa, n.d.) p. 10.

Now it is my earnest conviction that ever (sic) member of the United States Supreme Court who either voted to outlaw prayer in the public schools, or was a party to this decision by silence should be impeached. Justice demands it.³⁷

He has also urged that all decisions of the Supreme Court since 1954 be reviewed by a Congressional committee and that the Court's review power be sharply curtailed. He has further suggested that the appointment system for justices of the Court be changed to election either directly by the people or by Congress and that they serve a given term of four to six years.³⁸

In similar fashion the President of the United States has also been verbally chastened by Dr. Hargis. Regarding him Dr. Hargis has said:

Nowhere in the Constitution is the President delegated any legislative power whatsoever . . . The concept that the President should lay down a program and then use every means of pressure to acquire adoption by Congress . . . is not the legislative process designed by our nation's founding fathers.³⁹

The only agency of the National government which had much praise heaped upon it by Dr. Hargis has been the House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities. He refers to this

³⁷Billy James Hargis, Six Men Against God, (Tulsa, n.d.), p. 3.

³⁸Ibid, pp. 5-6.

³⁹Hargis, "Misreading the Constitution," The Weekly Crusader, October 9, 1964, p. 2.

committee as one which hunts "rats, not witches--rats who are eating away the foundations of American freedoms, rats who are smearing loyal, Christian patriots, and who are reviling and abusing every American privilege."⁴⁰ To further demonstrate its admiration for this committee the Christian Crusade's annual convention in 1962 adopted a resolution urging the committee to "continue and expand its important investigations" ⁴¹

With the philosophical foundations of Christian Crusade so laid, Dr. Hargis' views in regard to specific policy or issue areas in both the domestic and foreign affairs fields are essential to a competent understanding of the ideology of Christian Crusade.

Dr. Hargis maintains that he is not anti-labor, but he is highly censorious of union leadership. In this regard he has written that the "communists have had little trouble from labor leaders, even in those unions not known to be communist-controlled."⁴² Dr. Penabaz in his biography of Dr. Hargis has stated that Hargis' "deep preoccupation" with groups such as the American Federation of Labor--Congress of Industrial Organizations is due to the manner in "which they are being

⁴⁰ Hargis, Communist America--Must It Be?, p. 44.

⁴¹ "Resolutions Adopted at the Fourth Annual Christian Crusade Convention," Christian Crusade, September, 1962, p. 18.

⁴² Billy James Hargis, Communism and American Labor, (Tulsa, 1962), p. 7.

led by men who in one way or another have fostered or aided the spread of the Socialist-Communist virus."⁴³ Thus, Dr. Hargis has counseled:

When in doubt how to vote in an election, you will probably be right 99 out of 100 times if you vote the opposite of the way advised by union bosses. You will be right 99 out of 100 times if you support legislation opposed by union bosses and oppose legislation supported by these bosses. No small clique of power hungry men should be above the law or our Constitution.⁴⁴

The labor leaders are not, however, the only ones to encounter Dr. Hargis' condemnation. He has written that "the rank and file of American labor, by passive permission to communists to lead their unions must accept responsibility . . ."⁴⁵

The leader of Christian Crusade is also critical of many of the activities of labor unions. Specifically, he has stated that "everyone wants higher wages and shorter working hours, but for labor to seek these things at the instigation of communists is cooperation with treason."⁴⁶ He has also maintained that such activity is contrary to the demands of Jesus when He admonished His followers in Luke 3:14 to ". . . be content with your wages."⁴⁷ In this same vein Dr. Hargis has observed that it is "ironical" that although the labor costs are

⁴³Penabaz, p. 166.

⁴⁴Hargis, Communism and American Labor, p. 13.

⁴⁵Hargis, Communist America--Must It Be?, p. 80.

⁴⁶Ibid, p. 85.

⁴⁷Ibid.

eighty-five percent of the total costs in the production of goods laborers "through coercive unions and legislation are still seeking a greater share of the profits."⁴⁸

In the area of labor legislation, Dr. Hargis is vehemently in favor of so-called "right to work" laws. He asserts that compulsory union membership is inconsistent with the "freedoms established by our founding fathers."⁴⁹ At another point he has asked, "Shouldn't a worker have the right to avoid aiding the communist conspiracy with his union dues?"⁵⁰ Therefore, according to Dr. Hargis, to be against "right to work" laws is to aid and abet the communists. The leader of Christian Crusade is also opposed to the National Labor Relations Act and its emanation, the National Labor Relations Board. Hargis has referred to this board as a "bureaucratic power with a life and death stranglehold on the industrial life of our nation." He has alleged that "Communist penetration of this board has approached control."⁵¹

In the agricultural sphere Dr. Hargis has pointed out that the communists are very much interested in the American farmer as a part of their conspiratorial plan to take over the United States. He

⁴⁸Ibid, p. 86.

⁴⁹Hargis, Communism and American Labor, p. 1.

⁵⁰Ibid, p. 5.

⁵¹Ibid, p. 1.

explains that since 1933 the communists have been making gains in their attempts to pervert the objectives of the American farmer and to infiltrate the United States Department of Agriculture.⁵² The communists' aim, according to Dr. Hargis, is to first bring farmers under complete government control by "giving people something for nothing."⁵³ He has indicated that the communist program includes: cash payments to farmers by the National government, nationalization of food industries, continuation of tax exemption advantages for co-operatives, a national food stamp plan, a broader school lunch program and supervision of the farm program by farmer-elected committees. Dr. Hargis warns that these programs might "help a few temporarily, but in the long run the farmer will suffer just as will all Americans if our nation continues going down the road toward a communist America."⁵⁴

Of business in general, Dr. Hargis has said and written very little. He does speak of "the rights of capital, rights of business, and the rights of industry," but he does not elaborate on these except to say that they do not exist under the communists.⁵⁵ He places complete faith in "America's free enterprise system" as being "the best form of

⁵²Billy James Hargis, The Communist Program for the American Farmer, (Tulsa, n.d.).

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Hargis, Communist America--Must It Be?, p. 86.

industrial and political economy the human mind has ever devised." ⁵⁶

The founder of Christian Crusade has also taken a stand against government subsidies since he feels they mean government control. He once said in a speech:

Some airlines lose money and so the suggestion is made that we subsidize them because they are essential to public transportation. Well, railroads are certainly losing money. Shall we fully subsidize them? Loyal business firms are falling flat. Shall we subsidize them too? If so, then there is nothing left that isn't subsidized and we have complete government control. ⁵⁷

In the area of governmental finance Dr. Hargis is against the progressive income tax, which he says is a "basic tenet of communism." He alleges that it abridges the freedom of the American people "to keep what we have and spend it as we please." ⁵⁸ Further, he has broached that this method of taxation "paves the way in America for a totalitarian slave state after the example of the Soviet Union." ⁵⁹

In the field of education, as elsewhere, Dr. Hargis sees much communist infiltration and as far as he is concerned the curriculum reveals this "fact." He has succinctly stated the problem as follows: "Our schools are in apostacy. The emphasis is now upon internationalism

⁵⁶Ibid, p. 91.

⁵⁷The Tulsa Tribune, January 4, 1962, p. 25.

⁵⁸Hargis, Communist America--Must It Be?, p. 7.

⁵⁹Ibid, p. 69.

and socialism."⁶⁰ The result of all of this, he says, is that children are being inadequately prepared to live in a "competitive world;" rather they are being "adjusted" instead of educated.⁶¹ One of the groups which Dr. Hargis sees as a primary cause in this new trend in education is the National Education Association which he says "decided 47 years ago that so-called social reforms were more important than Constitutional principles."⁶² Hargis recently referred to this organization as "one of the most evil groups in America today."⁶³ This trend which Dr. Hargis sees in education is not merely limited to elementary and high schools but also is occurring in universities at both the graduate and undergraduate level. He has declared that there is no state college or university which has an economics department completely dedicated to the free enterprise system. Nor, he says, is there one law school left in the United States that is totally dedicated to the "teaching of the American concept of States' rights and independent government."⁶⁴

⁶⁰Reconstructed from longhand notes made by the author at a speech by Dr. Hargis in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, on June 10, 1965.

⁶¹National Education Association, Information Bulletin, A bulletin prepared by the Committee on Professional Rights and Responsibilities, (Washington, D. C., 1962).

⁶²National Education Association, Special Report, A report prepared by the Committee for Defense of Democracy Through Education, (Washington, D. C., n.d.).

⁶³Reconstructed from longhand notes from a speech by Dr. Hargis in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, June 10, 1965.

⁶⁴Reconstructed from longhand notes from a sermon by Dr. Hargis at Manitou Springs, Colorado, June 20, 1965.

As regards the role of the National government in this trend, Dr. Hargis in one of his books has quoted a report by Herbert A. Philbrick in which he said that "one-third of the top echelon of the communist conspirators in this country are to be found within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare." Further, the report states that "75-80 percent of the responsible officers in the department are conspirators." To this Dr. Hargis responds: "No wonder American Youth are being subverted and perverted."⁶⁵ (Mr. Philbrick joined the Communist Party in the United States with the knowledge of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in order to infiltrate it. He has written a book on his experiences and is often quoted as an "authority" on all aspects of communism in the United States by extreme right-wing groups.)

Dr. Hargis is also against federal aid to education which he says increases salaries very little but does much to "control our children's minds."⁶⁶

In the general category of social services by the National government, Dr. Hargis usually denounces these programs as being inspired by the communists. In this vein he has damned "Federal control of education, minimum wage and hour laws, socialized medicine, federal housing, government loans and grants, civil rights, human rights, and

⁶⁵Hargis, Communist America--Must It Be?, p. 59.

⁶⁶National Education Association, Information Bulletin.

mental health [programs] " as being "internal traps communists use to shape America after the Soviet pattern." ⁶⁷

The literature of Christian Crusade has included very little about Dr. Hargis' views on the United States Social Security program. He has mentioned it in reference to Mussolini's Italy to prove that Fascism was really on the "liberal left." ⁶⁸ In this context it would not seem to be unfair to assume that Dr. Hargis was unfavorably disposed toward it.

Public housing projects have been labeled by Dr. Hargis as a "part of the communist program . . . to change America into a Soviet America." ⁶⁹ Similarly he has condemned urban renewal projects as being:

. . . another deadly trap by means of which the federal government can force all property owners in designated areas to sell their property to the city. This includes business property as well as private homes. City planners in turn may sell the property for what they can get out of it to private interests who agree to develop the area in accordance with the city planner's ideas of a nice, well rounded neighborhood. This is welfare's state socialism. . . ⁷⁰

Dr. Hargis has declared that the bill before Congress providing medical care for the aged through the Social Security program is but an effort to get "a foot in the door . . . to get the principle of government's responsibility for health established--then to move for expansion--and

⁶⁷Hargis, Communism, The Total Lie, p. 66.

⁶⁸Billy James Hargis, The Far Left, (Tulsa, 1964), p. 112.

⁶⁹Hargis, Communism, The Total Lie, p. 53.

⁷⁰Ibid, p. 66.

finally achieve a fully socialized medical system in America."⁷¹ This, he has pointed out, is a goal of the international communist conspiracy. He has written that the British socialized medicine plan "has been an utter failure and a fraud." The end result of such a plan in the United States, according to Dr. Hargis, would be "to deprive the people of character, liberty, and . . . of efficient medical care."⁷²

Dr. Hargis is also concerned about what he calls the new trend in mental health. He fears that the "political aspects" of this new trend will result in "infringements on freedoms of American citizens."⁷³ This new trend, he says, is evidenced by a statement by Dr. Janet Travel, the late President Kennedy's personal physician, who said that in the future the goal of medical science would be to cure human behavior rather than curing physical illness.⁷⁴ The specific infringement which Dr. Hargis foresees is that:

since those in control in our nation today are generally of the extreme left wing, shouldn't we assume that what they could consider as behavioral patterns which are good for society would be strictly along the lines of left wing welfare state and world government attitudes?⁷⁵

One of the potential dangers observed by Dr. Hargis is that the laws of

⁷¹Hargis, Uncle Sam M. D. ?

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Billy James Hargis, Mental Health, (Tulsa, n.d.), pp. 1-2.

⁷⁴Ibid, p. 7.

⁷⁵Ibid.

some states provide for an exchange of patients between states. Although he says he feels that fears of an "Alaskan Siberia" are unfounded, he does point out that a patient may be "transferred to any state in the union."⁷⁶

In the domain of civil rights, Dr. Hargis and his Christian Crusade have been generally unhappy with the recent course of events and have consequently condemned this trend with much petulance. The decisions of the United States Supreme Court regarding recitation of prayers and Bible reading in public schools⁷⁷ evoked extremely vitriolic criticism from Dr. Hargis. He referred to the prayer decision as "blasphemy against the Holy Spirit." He confided that he feared that the consequence of the decision would be the "destruction of the United States and everything we hold dear."⁷⁸ He also said that "justice" demanded that members of the Supreme Court who voted for that decision be impeached. Dr. Hargis condemns these decisions on what he considers to be Constitutional grounds. In the first place, he argues that the founding fathers did, in fact, intend for the government of the United States to recognize God and Jesus Christ.⁷⁹ His second argument is that the Supreme Court "twisted the First Amendment of our Constitution"

⁷⁶Ibid, pp. 12-13.

⁷⁷Engel et al v. Vitale et al, 370 U. S. 421, (1956) and School district v. Schempp, 347 U. S. 203, (1963)

⁷⁸Hargis, Six Men Against God, p. 3.

⁷⁹Hargis, Communist America--Must It Be?, p. 34.

and based their decision on a "completely erroneous reading" of it.

The First Amendment, he points out, says that "Congress shall make no law . . ." (emphasis added). This, he says, "does not mean state legislatures, local school bodies or the State Board of Regents of New York State."⁸⁰ Therefore, he concludes that it is "not any business of the Supreme Court as to whether or not there is prayer and Bible reading in a public school."⁸¹ In his 1962 "State of the Union Address" Dr. Hargis suggested flouting the "prayer decision of the Supreme Court" by saying:

. . . when we are told that we must bow to the decree of the Supreme Court whether or not we are in sympathy with the Court's decision we well might ask, 'which Supreme Court decision?' Should we accept the decision of the Court of 1962 or cleave to the decision of the Court in 1892 [Church of the Holy Trinity v. United States, 143 U.S. 451] when it declared that America is a Christian nation? As for me and my house, we will go with the Supreme Court before Roosevelt's day.⁸²

Other action urged by Dr. Hargis is a Constitutional amendment to reverse these two decisions of the Supreme Court.

Another aspect of civil rights upon which Dr. Hargis has definite views is the Negro integration problem, although he is not ever sure that a problem does exist. On this point he has written: "If there is a mutual problem which needs solving with respect to the American Negro

⁸⁰ Billy James Hargis, "Misreading the Constitution," The Weekly Crusader, June 7, 1963, p. 1.

⁸¹ Ibid. p. 3.

⁸² Billy James Hargis, "State Of The Union Address," Christian Crusade, September, 1962, p. 19

and the American white people, the patriotic Christian American leaders are quite capable of working it out."⁸³ (emphasis added) Dr. Hargis diagnoses the "problem" as being "artificial" and "instigated by the communists." He states further that "communism is hatred and racial hatred stirred up in America must be attributed to its source, communism."⁸⁴ He does admit that Negroes do have some "justified complaints" but he also argues that there has been "far more hatred on the Negroes' side" than on "the white's side."⁸⁵ But over all Dr. Hargis maintains that the condition of the Southern Negro is one of "blessings."⁸⁶ As evidence of this Dr. Hargis can point to his observation that "nowhere in history has there been a case of a backward people of another race being uplifted so rapidly and so greatly benefitted by the dominant race as has the American Negro."⁸⁷

Regarding the question of segregation Dr. Hargis has written that he feels it is "one of nature's universal laws" and that it was "ordained" by God.⁸⁸ On the Negroes' point of view on this question Dr. Har-

⁸³Hargis, Communist America--Must It Be?, p. 102.

⁸⁴Ibid, p. 97.

⁸⁵Billy James Hargis, Racial Strife and America's Future, (Tulsa, n. d.), p. 4.

⁸⁶Hargis, Communist America--Must It Be?, p. 108.

⁸⁷Hargis, Racial Strife and America's Future, p. 4.

⁸⁸Billy James Hargis, The Truth About Segregation, (Tulsa, n. d.)

gis has asserted that they do not want "forced integration."⁸⁹ To further augment his point that segregation is of God, Hargis has argued that in areas where integration has been tried the Negroes have not maintained their responsibility and he has pointed to the increased Negro crime rates in those areas to prove his point.⁹⁰ From this, Dr. Hargis' views on Negro integrationist groups are readily apparent. He has written of the "substantial communist front and pro-communist records of some of the members of the Advisory Committee of the Congress On Racial Equality" and has pointed to the "favorable reports" of that organization's activities in the Communist Worker.⁹¹ He has written of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in similar fashion, pointing out that it is a "socialist front and that it too has been infiltrated by the communists."⁹² But Dr. Hargis' greatest condemnation is applied to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. About this man Hargis has written:

. . . it is time to rip off his pious mask and reveal the truth about his activities. Though King has been sainted in many popular magazines, his infamous alliance with communist objectives and personalities has been kept a carefully guarded secret.⁹³

⁸⁹Hargis, Communist America--Must It Be?, p. 105.

⁹⁰Hargis, Racial Strife and America's Future, p. 9.

⁹¹Ibid, p. 18, ⁹²Ibid., ⁹³Hargis, Unmasking the Deceiver, (Tulsa, n. d.) p. 2.

He has also referred to Dr. King as being an "agitator," a "tool of the socialists," and phoney as a three dollar bill."⁹⁴

In the field of civil rights legislation Dr. Hargis has said that "only communism could lead a nation into consideration of a 'civil rights act'." He has also urged that people "take a second look at the civil rights legislation." He continued: If you want to serve nobody but a blue-eyed German at your place of business, that is your right."⁹⁵

Dr. Hargis has also offered his followers:

. . . reports on this Civil Rights Bill [presumably proposed by President Kennedy] which details: (1) the cruel and naked facts concerning this proposal; (2) the similarity of this Bill to the Communist Party platform of 1928; (3) how the Bill fulfills many of the demands of Karl Marx's 'Communist Manifesto'; (4) the pro-communist records of some of the authors and supporters of this Bill . . . ⁹⁶

On the general question of internal communist subversion Dr. Hargis has lamented that "American leaders, for the most part, are naive towards communism."⁹⁷ For Dr. Hargis there is ample proof that the communists are an internal threat. He points to the observation that "there are more God-hating Reds in America today than there were in the Soviet Union when they took over that nation of 150 million

⁹⁴Reconstructed from longhand notes from a speech by Dr. Hargis at Tulsa, Oklahoma, March 13, 1965.

⁹⁵Forster and Epstein, p. 75.

⁹⁶Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, The Strange Tactics of Extremism, (New York, 1964), p. 195.

⁹⁷Hargis, "American Leaders Are Naive Toward Communism," Christian Crusade, June, 1959, p. 1.

people in 1917.⁹⁸ Moreover, he has repeatedly asserted that the assassination of the late President Kennedy reveals the existence of such a threat.⁹⁹ Dr. Hargis feels that he has the answer to this problem. It is to "clean up communism internally and America's problem with communism internationally will be solved."¹⁰⁰ He has repeatedly urged that legislation be enacted to forbid the existence of the Communist Party in the United States. Regarding the legislative inaction on this point, Dr. Hargis has written that the Communist Party "is not a political party, but an army [and] we refused to outlaw an invading army."¹⁰¹ In lieu of direct outlawry of the Communist Party in the United States Dr. Hargis has urged that those laws in force regarding the Communist Party be enforced to the limit of the laws and to this end has requested his followers to initiate a "letter writing and telegram campaign" to the Attorney General of the United States.¹⁰²

Dr. Hargis feels that the United States Supreme Court has improperly held that state enforcement of anti-subversive laws has been preempted by the National government. (*Pennsylvania v. Nelson*, 350

⁹⁸Ibid. p. 3., ⁹⁹Hargis, Sermon, September 20, 1964, published text.

¹⁰⁰The New York Times, August 6, 1961, p. 13

¹⁰¹Hargis, "American Leaders Are Naive Toward Communism," Christian Crusade, June, 1959, p. 4.

¹⁰²Billy James Hargis, "A Report On The Washington Conference," Christian Crusade, April, 1962, p. 15.

U.S. 487 [1956]. Again Dr. Hargis has strongly implied that President Kennedy might not have been assassinated had it not been for Supreme Court decisions in this area.¹⁰³ To reverse this decision Dr. Hargis has called upon Congress to give the states concurrent jurisdiction in the field of sedition.¹⁰⁴

The leader of Christian Crusade believes also that immigration restrictions are essential to prevent internal subversion. He has pointed to the "McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act" as being "the best in our nation's history" and "first line of defense," of the United States.¹⁰⁵ He has pointed out to his followers that one of the main objectives of the act was to prevent "our nation from possibly being flooded with undesirables that (sic) have records of communist activity in other lands."¹⁰⁶

On the topic of general alternatives in the United States foreign policy Dr. Hargis can see only two. He says the United States can "rely on American military strength" or the United States can "rely

¹⁰³ Billy James Hargis, "The Satanic Far Left," letter to Christian Crusaders, January, 1964: "At this point, we should consider another interesting fact relating to the recent death of Mr. Kennedy. Through a decision of the United States Supreme Court headed by Earl Warren, individual states were denied the right to make or enforce laws governing subversion and treason."

¹⁰⁴ Hargis, *Communist America--Must It Be?*, p. 118.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p. 157.

¹⁰⁶ Hargis, Sermon, September 20, 1964, published text.

on communist promises."¹⁰⁷ On the second alternative Dr. Hargis has declared that the "idea of coexisting with the Kremlin and its stooges can only be fostered in the minds of an amoral society."¹⁰⁸ It is, however, this second alternative which he feels has been followed by the United States. The result has been, he says, that the Soviet Union has "broken 50 of 52 diplomatic agreements made in the last 25 years."¹⁰⁹ He refers to summit conferences as being "most surely acts of surrender."¹¹⁰

Hargis' general feeling toward the United Nations can be ascertained from the chapter title of one of his books--"United Nations-The Greatest Hoax Ever Perpetrated on the American Public."¹¹¹ Dr. Hargis has flatly denounced the United Nations by saying that "participation in the U. N. is sin." He has observed that the international organization is "an outgrowth of idle thoughts and mass speculation buried in the minds of would-be statesmen."¹¹² He also alleged that the United Nations charter is "apparently modelled" after the constitution of the Soviet Union.¹¹³ The essential problem with membership in

¹⁰⁷Hargis, "Two Alternatives in Foreign Policy," The Weekly Crusader, October 30, 1964, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸Hargis, Lest We Forget, (Tulsa, n. d.).

¹⁰⁹Hargis, Communism, The Total Lie, p. 44.; ¹¹⁰Ibid, p. 62.

¹¹¹Hargis, Communist America--Must It Be?, p. 119.

¹¹²Hargis, "Weighed and Found Wanting," Christian Crusade, March, 1960, p. 19.; ¹¹³Hargis, Communism, The Total Lie, p. 5.

this organization, he feels, is that it has not served the interests of the United States. In fact, he has referred to it as "nothing but an instrument to tie our hands while the communists continue to conquer the world."¹¹⁴ In this same vein he is dismayed because the U. S. has only one vote in the General Assembly as do many new African nations, which he has referred to variously as "primitive," "semi-civilized," and "only slightly removed from cannibalism."¹¹⁵

Dr. Hargis believes that it is imperative for the survival of the United States that the Soviet Union and its allies be removed from the United Nations and that it be reorganized as an "Alliance of Free Nations against the oppressors and aggressors" or that the United States "permanently lead in abolishing the United Nations."¹¹⁶

Dr. Hargis is also critical of the United States' foreign aid program, especially that part of it which involves "treasonous" aid to what he calls "communist" countries.¹¹⁷ Concerning foreign aid in general, he has written:

Rather than building our reserves, strengthening ourselves and planning a satisfactory military preparedness program, we dissipate our energies and strength to support the nations

¹¹⁴John K. Adams, "Saving America, Inc.," The Nation, September 30, 1961, p. 192

¹¹⁵Billy James Hargis, The United Nations, (Tulsa, n. d.) and Billy James Hargis, We Have Been Betrayed, (Tulsa, n. d.).

¹¹⁶Hargis, Communism, The Total Lie, p. 37.

¹¹⁷Hargis, Communist America--Must It Be?, p. 7.

of the world who haven't the ambition or know-how to finance their own governments.¹¹⁸

Thus, he has categorically stated that "we must bring a stop to this foreign aid spending."¹¹⁹ However, at another point, he amended the above statement by pointing out:

We are obliged to help Free China, Free Korea, and Free Viet Nam, for we are in part to blame for their condition today. But there is absolutely no justification for supporting thankless 'allies' or belligerent enemies.¹²⁰

To bring about this Dr. Hargis has proposed that, if necessary, the National government be "pauperized, stripped of all tax money except that which is necessary for national defense and for other generally recognized legitimate obligations of government--the fewer the better."¹²¹ To this end he specifically recommended that President Eisenhower's proposed budget for fiscal 1959 be reduced by seventy-five percent.¹²²

Dr. Hargis and his Christian Crusade are diametrically opposed to any sort of a disarmament agreement with the Soviet Union. He has compared such an agreement with a city government negotiating

¹¹⁸Billy James Hargis, "The United States . . . Alias the Prodigal Son," Christian Crusade, January, 1957, p. 14. ¹¹⁹Ibid

¹²⁰Billy James Hargis, "Hargis Condemns Foreign Aid; Red China Friendship," Christian Crusade, September, 1957, p. 1.

¹²¹Hargis, Counter-Strategy for Counter-Attack, p. 11.

¹²²Hargis, "Hargis Condemns Foreign Aid; Red China Friendship", Christian Crusade, September, 1957, p. 1.

"with criminals over elimination of the police force."¹²³ He has also referred to nuclear test ban agreements as an "exercise in suicidal nonsense."¹²⁴

Dr. Hargis feels that diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union and other "communist states, such as . . . Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland, and Indonesia" is wrong. Concerning the action of President Roosevelt when he accorded diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union, Dr. Hargis has said that this saved them from "collapse" and "marked America for certain death."¹²⁵ Another result which Dr. Hargis has attributed to this recognition is that following it "one-half the world went communist."¹²⁶ Another danger which Dr. Hargis sees with such diplomatic recognition is that it gives "conspiratorial" agents "diplomatic immunity" in the United States.¹²⁷

The alternative, therefore, which Dr. Hargis sees as the proper one is evident from a question he asked after he condemned the makers of United States foreign policy as "Judas sheep." He asked: "Are we people of America going to remain out of sight and sound of this

¹²³"Convention Resolutions," Christian Crusade, Aug., 1963, p. 14.

¹²⁴Ibid.

¹²⁵Hargis, Communism, The Total Lie, p. 62.

¹²⁶Billy James Hargis, What's Wrong With America?, (Tulsa, n.d.)

¹²⁷Ibid.

evil or are we going to rise up with the sound and fury of our voice in-
to a Christian Crusade?"¹²⁸ He feels that the United States has "no
choice but to fight back or surrender."¹²⁹

Dr. Hargis' version of "fighting back" is a two-fold one which
includes indirect and direct action regarding communism. Several
examples of Dr. Hargis' views will clarify what is meant by indirect
action. He has voiced his support of the "Kersten Amendment" which
would provide money to finance the creation of national military units
of escapees from behind the "Iron Curtain."¹³⁰ He also advocates
the giving of sufficient military aid to Nationalist China and the remov-
al of the United States Navy's Seventh Fleet from the Formosa Straits
so that the forces of Nationalist China may reconquer the China Main-
land.¹³¹ Concerning Cuba under Batista, Dr. Hargis feels that the
United States erred in not assisting Mr. Batista during the Cuban Rev-
olution because in so doing the "United States could have saved the
anti-communist government of Cuba which was very friendly to our
nation."¹³²

¹²⁸Billy James Hargis, "Three Christian Giants in a World of
Dwarfs." American Mercury, December, 1957, p. 19.

¹²⁹Hargis, Your Enemy Means Business, (Tulsa, n.d.)

¹³⁰Hargis, Communism, The Total Lie, p. 41.

¹³¹Interview with Mr. John Chalfant, Special Representative,
Christian Crusade, Manitou Springs, Colorado, June 21, 1965. Mr.
Chalfant indicated several times in the interview that this was the
"official" view of Christian Crusade.

¹³²Penabaz, p. 32.

Concerning Cuba under Castro, Dr. Hargis believes that "with the support of the U. S. A. the people inside Cuba would eventually smash this communist tyranny completely."¹³³ Therefore, in the category of indirect action Dr. Hargis generally advocates United States assistance to any peoples desiring to militarily combat communism.

In the sphere of direct action against communism Dr. Hargis' position can be ascertained from another of his interrogatories. He has asked: "Where is the spirit of Teddy Roosevelt, Abraham Lincoln, the historic spirit of Macedonia that causes men to sacrifice all to help those who quest for freedom?"¹³⁴ Thus Dr. Hargis was in favor of direct military assistance to the Hungarian "freedom fighters" during the 1956 revolution. He has written: "The patriots of Hungary cry, 'come over and help us'. To them we say no. But to our enemies we say yes."¹³⁵ At another point Dr. Hargis has spoken of the Soviet Union's attacks upon United States aircraft and has lamented that "even this does not infuriate our leaders sufficiently to defend our honor." On this same topic and in the same speech Dr. Hargis went on to say:

These are the stark statistics. The crucifixion of honor, the destruction of principle, the annihilation of Christian Constitutional government is too big a price to pay even for peace with the Soviet Union. More and more American people are beginning to realize that it would be far better

¹³³Billy James Hargis, Should We Surrender To Castro Or SMASH Him? (Tulsa, n.d.).

¹³⁴Billy James Hargis, "The Spirit of Macedonia," Christian Crusade, February, 1957, p. 5.

¹³⁵Ibid.

to die as a result of a devastating attack by an atom bomb than to be taken over by the communists, and subjugated to complete slavery.¹³⁶

Lastly, regarding Cuba, Dr. Hargis has specifically advocated invasion. He has urged that the United States "wipe Castro . . . off the face of the earth." He referred to this action as a "Monday afternoon job long past due."¹³⁷ Therefore, Dr. Hargis sees the use of war as the proper instrument of United States foreign policy.

Analysis of Dr. Hargis' Views

Ideologically, Dr. Hargis and his Christian Crusade are classified by themselves and occasionally by others as being close relatives of the conservative because both Christian Crusade and the conservative oppose the general trend of programs and policies which the National government has followed for the past three decades. However, beyond this point the relationship ceases to exist, for Christian Crusade follows the conspiracy theory and attributes this trend to the communists and their sympathizers within the government. In fact, all problems which beset the United States are ultimately traced to the communists, not only without but also within.

The strains of this conspiracy theory run throughout the writings

¹³⁶Billy James Hargis, "The State Of The Union," Christian Crusade, October, 1960, p. 9.

¹³⁷Hargis, Shall We Surrender To Castro Or SMASH Him?

besetting America as follows: "The United States and the free nations of the world are now engaged in a major war, and the communists are winning World War III without firing a single shot . . ."¹³⁸ The literature of Christian Crusade is replete with references to the Trojan Horse and Dr. Hargis has reported that "observers" feel "communist influence in America" is "between 30 and 50% of total control."¹³⁹ Several examples from Dr. Hargis reveal the type of communist influence which he sees in the United States. In the foreign affairs field he says that "Soviet Russia has become able to dictate American foreign and international policies almost to the point of total control."¹⁴⁰ In other areas of the National government Dr. Hargis is not as specific as to the extent of influence of the communists but he is as to their existence in the higher levels--"How can you explain the mistakes of our leaders for the last thirty years, if there aren't communists giving them advice?"¹⁴¹ This communist influence is not concentrated on just the national level of government, but also on the more local levels. In the field of education Dr. Hargis has sounded the ominous alarm: "The American people need desperately to become aware that not only have communists infiltrated their schools, but they have revised and rewritten the school

¹³⁸Hargis, Communist America--Must It Be?, p. 1.

¹³⁹Hargis, Communism, The Total Lie, p. 65.

¹⁴⁰Ibid, p. 44.

¹⁴¹Fletcher Knebel, "Rightest Revival: Who's on the Far Right?" Look, March 13, 1962, p. 27.

textbooks, and are about the labor of completely rewriting American History 'along Marxist-Leninist lines'. "¹⁴²

Christian Crusade recently revealed what is perhaps the most macabre communist conspiracy. Reverend David Noebel, Dr. Hargis' Executive Assistant, has alleged that phonograph record companies which are owned by the communists produce records for children which indoctrinate them by hypnosis. The method by which this sinister plot supposedly operates is as follows: the tempo of the music on the records is the same as the pulse rates of the intended group of listeners, which has a hypnotic effect on the listener and he is then susceptible to indoctrination by the lyrics. These records are intended primarily for young children and are usually purchased unwittingly by school teachers because these records are always more inexpensive than reputable ones. The communists are alleged to be subverting the American teenager by similar methods. The type of music exemplified by the Beatles, an English recording group, is purported to produce "artificial neurosis" in its listeners. Reverend David Noebel has explained that the Russian scientist, Pavlov, discovered the conditioned reflex by experimenting with animals. Mr. Pavlov conditioned animals to anticipate food when they heard a certain tempo and to anticipate punishment when they heard another tempo. By slowly bringing the two tempos together so that the animals could not distinguish between the two, Pavlov had induced

¹⁴²Hargis, Communist America--Must It Be?, p. 70.

artificial neurosis in the animals. The music of such singing groups as the Beatles purportedly accomplishes much the same thing in its listeners. By slowly bringing two tempos together, these singing groups confuse the listeners' "inhibitory and excitatory reflexes" to the point that they become neurotic. This, Reverend Noebel says, causes teenagers to riot, "excites the sex glands of teenage girls" and accomplishes the communist desire of perverting a generation of American youth.¹⁴³

Dr. Hargis' concept of the term communism is an extremely broad one. The Overstreets point out: "He [Hargis] treats the term, communism, as a spacious container that can be made to hold all the religious, social, political, and economic attitudes and policies of which he disapproves."¹⁴⁴ Dr. Hargis has said that the earliest stages of communism are "socialism, social reforms, liberalism, [and] progressivism . . ."¹⁴⁵ He has clarified this statement at another point when he said:

Liberals need not be communists, but some liberals are communists; but, brother, no conservative is a communist . . . Liberals may be innocent; they may be ignorant; but they are wrong. Liberals in religion will damn the church. Liberals in education will destroy the country . . . To be a real good liberal you've got to be 100% stupid.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³Reconstructed from longhand notes from a speech by Reverend David Noebel in Stillwater, Oklahoma, September 21, 1964.

¹⁴⁴The Overstreets, p. 191.

¹⁴⁵Hargis, Communism, The Total Lie, p. 6.

¹⁴⁶The Oklahoma Courier, March 2, 1962, p. 17.

Thus, if liberals are not conscious communists, they are dupes of the communists. Dr. Hargis has also announced that Fascism and Nazism are not really phenomena of the right but are "ideological bedfellows" with communism. Fascism, he said, is a "halfway house to communism."¹⁴⁷ Further, he has observed that racism, Nazism and American Liberalism all have the same appeal.¹⁴⁸ The opposite of these forms of communism, he has said, is "freedom--primarily the type of freedom established by our founding fathers."¹⁴⁹ Thus for Dr. Hargis there is really only black and white or what he calls conservatives and non-conservatives. He has given a thumbnail sketch to differentiate the two in the United States. The conservative is a "well informed person on both national and international affairs," while the non-conservative, "assuming he is a loyal American, is completely uninformed as to the threats and menaces which today have laid seige to our traditional American way of Life."¹⁵⁰ Thus, it would seem that the Overstreet's

¹⁴⁷Hargis, The Far Left, p. 106.

¹⁴⁸Ibid, p. 108. Dr. Hargis has listed these similar appeals or aims: (1) Wage rates are raised regardless of productivity. (2) People are given higher pensions at an earlier age. (3) The number of persons holding "soft" government jobs increase. (4) Workers are required to join unions. (5) Union leaders are involved in high government circles.

¹⁴⁹Ibid, p. 111.

¹⁵⁰Hargis, "Reflections on the November 3rd Elections," Christian Crusade, December, 1964, p. 32.

assessment of Dr. Hargis' concept of communism is an especially apt one.

To Dr. Hargis there is no middle ground; there are only absolutes. One is either whole-heartedly with him or else he is considered to be his enemy.¹⁵¹ Dr. Hargis is on a crusade and is a master of what Eric Hoffer calls the art of "religiofication," which is the art of turning practical purposes into holy wars.¹⁵² In fact, to be less than completely aligned with Dr. Hargis is to go against God. In this respect Dr. Hargis has stated:

God cannot bless a 'middle-of-the-roader'--the so-called moderate. He only recognizes those who are extremely dedicated to freedom or extremely dedicated against freedom. There is no middle ground in God's vocabulary . . . Christ undoubtedly taught absolute dedication--not passive response. To be less than extreme in the Cause of Christ and freedom is to be either a coward or a fool. (emphasis supplied)¹⁵³

Thus Billy James Hargis and his Christian Crusade espouse a Weltanschauung-type ideology in that they completely reject society as they see it and substitute their own views. The most concise characterization of the movement has been given by the Overstreets who were speaking of the "extreme right" in general; but what they said is clearly

¹⁵¹Cf, Willie Morris, "Houston's Superpatriots," Harpers Magazine, October, 1961, pp. 49-50: "I find most of those who criticize me are allied with those who follow the [communist] party line."

¹⁵²Eric Hoffer, The True Believer, (New York, 1962), p. 15.

¹⁵³Hargis, Sermon, September 20, 1964, published text.

applicable to Christian Crusade. They characterized the movement as:

anarchic totalitarianism--which is self-contradictory enough to cover both the Rightists' fierce objection to being controlled in any way and their readiness to control and coerce others by all expedient means.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴The Overstreets, p. 268.

CHAPTER III

CHRISTIAN CRUSADE--THE ORGANIZATION AND ITS MEMBERSHIP

Beginning and Scope of Operation

Christian Crusade, which was begun in 1948 as Christian Echoes Ministry, is purported to be the oldest Christian anti-communist movement in the United States. But during its first few years of existence the organization received little public notice. A magazine, Christian Echoes, was published monthly and Dr. Hargis had some speaking engagements and some radio broadcasts on a few stations.

In 1951 Christian Echoes Ministry became Christian Echoes Ministry, Inc., under the laws of the State of Oklahoma as a non-profit religious organization, the purpose of which was to promote the "social and spiritual welfare of the community, state and nation."¹ The next year the charter was amended the the word "national" was inserted into the name and this remains the official corporate name of Christian Crusade. That same year the group applied for and was granted tax exempt status by the Internal Revenue Service as an educational group.²

¹State of Oklahoma, Secretary of State, "Articles of Incorporation of Christian Echoes Ministry, Inc., of Sapulpa, Oklahoma," 1951.

²McCune, p. 5.

By 1952 Christian Crusade was sponsoring a youth camp and a National Christian Americanism Convention in addition to its other activities listed above.³ But still Dr. Hargis' Christian Crusade was making little headway toward its goal of eradicating the "communist menace" from the United States. This is revealed from its meager income of eighteen thousand dollars for that year. Such an amount indicates a rather small group of followers.

For the years of 1953 and 1954 the major new activities of Christian Crusade revolved around the "Bible Balloon Project"⁴ and a trip to the Holy Land by Dr. Hargis, which was referred to as his "holy pilgrimage."⁵

Even in light of its broadening activities, Christian Crusade experienced little growth until 1960. At that point Christian Crusade began to enlist new supporters and to grow like the proverbial weed, as did other groups of similar ideological position. Evidence of this spectacular growth can be ascertained from the increase in the number of radio stations which aired Christian Crusade broadcasts. As late as May, 1957, Dr. Hargis had broadcasts on only five stations.⁶ Within

³"National Christian Americanism Convention to be Held at Sagmount," Christian Echoes, August, 1952, p. 1.

⁴Page 10 above.

⁵"Christian Echoes in Pictures," Christian Echoes, August, 1954, pp. 8-9.

⁶Radio Log, Christian Crusade, May 1957, p. 6.

three years Christian Crusade had broadcasts on some sixty stations.⁷

By 1961 Christian Crusade was well on its way to becoming an organization of major proportions. The income for that year was over 800,000 dollars.⁸ The next year was a disappointing one for Christian Crusade. However, this was only a temporary setback and by 1964 Christian Crusade's income was again over 800,000 dollars and for the first time income exceeded expenses.⁹

Members of Christian Crusade are to be distinguished from supporters of the organization. In fact, the majority of people who support Christian Crusade are not members.¹⁰ Membership fees are ten dollars for one year for the first member of a family and five dollars for any other member of the family. Life membership may be obtained for one thousand dollars. Membership in the organization carries the following benefits: Christian Crusade monthly magazine, an identification card "to signify official member status," a membership certificate "suitable for framing" and four full-length books per year.¹¹

⁷International Radio Network, Christian Crusade, May, 1960, p. 17.

⁸Forster and Epstein, p. 81.

⁹"Statement of Income and Expense," Christian Crusade, April, 1965, p. 14.

¹⁰Interview with Dr. Maylon D. Watkins, National Membership Secretary, Manitou Springs, Colorado, June 16, 1965.

¹¹Billy James Hargis, "Instructions for the Organization and Regulation of Christian Crusade Home Bible Chapters," Christian Crusade, August, 1963, p. 7.

Today Christian Crusade is leading its members and supporters in a many-faceted ministry of combating communism. The group utilizes the whole spectrum of printed media. Christian Crusade has published several full-length books by Dr. Hargis and others. The books written by Dr. Hargis have proved to be quite popular. The sales of all but one of them have exceeded fifty thousand copies according to official figures released by the organization.¹²

Periodicals of Christian Crusade include Christian Crusade, a monthly magazine which is edited by Mr. L. E. White, Director of Public Relations for Christian Crusade.¹³ The thirty-six page magazine is purported by its editor to be "the most complete and widely circulated Christian patriotic magazine in America."¹⁴ Although it has a monthly circulation of 110,000 copies, Mr. White claims that Christian Crusade has a "total readership" of approximately five hundred thousand people.¹⁵

¹²Penabaz, p. 224. The official figures released in May, 1965, indicate that Christian Crusade sold the following number of copies: Communist America--Must It Be? --176,000 copies; The Far Left --112,000 copies; The Facts About Communism and Our Churches --50,000 copies; and Communism, The Total Lie --10,400 copies.

¹³The Overstreets report on page 190 that Mr. White, who operates an advertising agency in Tulsa, was the individual who directed public relations for evangelist Oral Roberts beginning when Roberts had but twenty-five dollars and parleyed it into a multi-million dollar operation.

¹⁴Penabaz, p. 225.

¹⁵L. E. White, "Continued Growth in Communications," Christian Crusade, April, 1965, p. 16.

The other periodical of Christian Crusade is The Weekly Crusader, which is an eight-page publication on current events. During 1964 its circulation was increased twenty-eight percent.¹⁶ Figures other than this on its present circulation are not available.

Christian Crusade also produces a veritable flood of tracts and pamphlets on a correspondingly large number of topics. Many of these pamphlets, sold at prices of five to thirty-five cents, are reprints of articles which have appeared in the monthly and weekly publications.

In the broadcasting field Christian Crusade has radio programs aired on over three hundred stations in some twenty-nine states, in addition to three "super-power" stations in Mexico and one station in Canada.¹⁷ From these the organization claims a listening audience in forty-four states.¹⁸ These stations run either a fifteen-minute daily program or a thirty-minute weekly program, all of which are recorded by Dr. Hargis in Tulsa.¹⁹

Christian Crusade also produces and sells phonograph records

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ "Crusade Adds New Stations To Radio Network," Christian Crusade, February-March, 1964, pp. 1-2.

¹⁸ Dr. Hargis indicated in a letter to the author on July 9, 1965, that Christian Crusade does not make public a current list of radio stations which broadcast Christian Crusade programs. He stated that the reason for this was to protect those stations from harrassment by "liberals."

¹⁹ In an interview with the author on May 6, 1965, Dr. Hargis stated that on the day of the interview he had recorded all of the radio programs for the next month.

by Dr. Hargis. These are usually recordings of his favorite songs or readings of chapters from books he has written.

Another phase of Christian Crusade activity is the many rallies and crusades held throughout the country. There are almost always at least two teams on the road and sometimes as many as five teams conducting meetings at various locations. These teams are usually made up of two or three persons--a main speaker, an introductory speaker, and a person who sells literature and assists in the collections of offerings.

A new type of meeting is the "God and Country Forums" which are held weekly only in Tulsa as of August, 1965. However, future plans call for these to be held in other cities also. These are general discussion-type meetings with a specified topic each week.

In 1959 Christian Crusade held the first of its annual conventions in Tulsa, Oklahoma. In later years other cities were selected as sites for the convention. Several well-known speakers of similar ideological inclination address the various sessions. The list of speakers for the 1965 convention was typical. It included Robert Welch, General Edwin Walker, Tom Anderson, Dr. Charles Poling, Reverend Bill Bowler, Dr. Bob Jones, Jr., Dr. Marion McKee, and members of the Christian Crusade staff. In addition to the speeches and seminars, various resolutions on national and international affairs are debated and voted upon by the delegates. Any person who pays his registration fee is considered

to be a delegate and is eligible to vote on the resolutions.²⁰

Another facet of Christian Crusade activity is the various "Leadership Schools." A school usually lasts for five days for which a fee of one hundred dollars is charged. A characteristic list of "faculty" members would not be unlike the list of speakers for the annual convention listed above.

Christian Crusade places considerable emphasis upon what it considers to be the proper education for youth. To this end the organization operates an "Anti-communist Youth University." The school, which was initiated in 1963, is conducted throughout the summer months in a hotel owned by Christian Crusade in Manitou Springs, Colorado.²¹ There are six two-week sessions, the first and last of which are "post-graduate" sessions. The number of students per session varies between twenty-five and fifty and is equally divided between males and females. Any young person fourteen or older, who is a believer in God and who is a sincere anti-communist is eligible to attend. The total cost for the session is one hundred dollars. However, scholarships are available and approximately one-half of the students who attend do so with scholarships. The "university" has been self-sustaining since its

²⁰Letter from Dr. Hargis, July 9, 1965.

²¹Most of the information on the Youth University was gathered by the author when he visited the school during a post-graduate and a regular session from June 15-21, 1965.

initiation and in 1964 its income exceeded the cost of operation.

The faculty of the university consists of individuals who volunteer their services without financial compensation. Their occupational backgrounds are quite varied. Past faculty members have been university professors, retired military officers, former Congressmen, authors, publishers, professional patriots, clergymen, and employees of Christian Crusade.²²

Christian Crusade also operates a membership organization for youth called Torchbearers. As of April, 1965, there were forty-three chapters in seventeen states.²³ Chairmen of the local chapters must be graduates of the Anti-communist Youth University and are appointed by the "home office" on a permanent basis.²⁴ Membership is limited to twenty persons per chapter. Annual dues are five dollars and this entitles a member to a Torchbearer identification card, a membership certificate and an anti-communist book of the quarter.²⁵

As to the future, in regard to youth, Christian Crusade plans to initiate a full-time college by 1967. Prospective names include "The

²²The credentials of some of the faculty members are somewhat questionable. The author interviewed a Dr. R. J. Brown who operates a correspondence school which teaches practical nursing, criminology, and watchmaking. Dr. Brown stated that he had obtained the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from an unspecified institution by authoring a ten-page thesis.

²³Beverly Slade, "Torchbearers Chapters Reaching Young People of America," Christian Crusade, April, 1965, p. 21.

²⁴Interview with Watkins, Manitou Springs, Colorado, June 16, 1965.

²⁵Billy James Hargis, Torchbearer Manual, (Tulsa, n.d.) p. 2.

Christian Crusade University" and "The Christian University of the Americas."²⁶

Another area of endeavor is the Holy Land tours which are conducted by Dr. Hargis. These serve two functions as far as Dr. Hargis is personally concerned. First, they provide a source of income for the organization, since the airlines pay a fee to Christian Crusade for every person who goes on the tour. The other function is that they provide a brief respite for Dr. Hargis from the constant criticism which he encounters in his ministry.²⁷

Sources of Financial Support

Christian Crusade's income is derived from three sources: (1) sales, (2) fees, and (3) contributions. Sales include income derived from subscriptions to the periodicals and from the sale of books, pamphlets, records, pins and other such items. The precise part of total income obtained from this source is impossible to ascertain from the financial statements of Christian Crusade. However, there is sufficient data to allow at least an estimate. An estimate of the gross income from the sale of books published by Christian Crusade can be obtained

²⁶David Noebel, "The Summit Continues To Serve Youth," Christian Crusade, April, 1965, p. 16.

²⁷Interview with Hargis, Tulsa, Oklahoma, May 6, 1965.

from the figures released by Christian Crusade on the number of books sold. The maximum possible income from the sale of books is as follows:

Hargis	Communist America--Must It Be?	1960	\$ 44,000
Hargis	The Facts About Communism and Our Churches	1962	50,000
Hargis	Communism, The Total Lie	1963	20,800
Hargis	The Far Left	1964	112,000
Noebel	Communism, Hypnotism and the Beatles	1965	<u>15,000</u>
			\$ 241,800

It must be emphasized that these figures are probably somewhat greater than the actual income since these books are also offered in volume at lower prices. It must also be remembered that the above figure involves income received over a period of years. In 1964 the income from Christian Crusade publications was listed at \$126,582.98. But this figure is also deceiving because both books and periodicals are "given" to those who pay their membership dues. This is demonstrated by the fact that Christian Crusade, which has a subscription rate of two dollars per year, has a circulation of 110,000 copies. This would initially indicate an annual income of 220,000 dollars from this publication alone. This amount is one hundred thousand dollars greater than the total income of all publications of Christian Crusade in 1964 as listed in the financial statement. Taking all of these factors into consideration it would appear that income from sales constitutes approximately fifteen to twenty percent of the total annual income of Christian Crusade.

Fees arise from charges for membership and from tuition charged for the schools conducted by Christian Crusade. That part of

total income derived from fees may be ascertained from the financial statement. The itemized sources and amounts are as follows.²⁸

Membership Fees and Pledges	\$ 75,920.92
Christian Crusade Schools	12,608.20
Christian Crusade Youth University	34,210.36
	<u>\$ 122,739.48</u>

This amount constitutes approximately fifteen percent of total annual income.

There are primarily five sources of contributions: gifts from radio and television listeners, collections at rallies and meetings, appeal letters to supporters, requests for gifts from business corporations and endowment funds subscribed to by supporters. Although these are the major sources of contributions, the financial statement does not list them in this way. Therefore, while the total amount of contributions can be estimated, the itemized source of all of them cannot. The financial statement for 1964 indicates the following amounts:²⁹

Tours and Rallies	\$ 194,934.19
Special Gifts and Contributions	184,966.90
Monthly Newsletter Offerings	182,290.26
	<u>\$ 562,191.35</u>

Contributions constitute approximately seventy percent of Christian Crusade's 1964 income of \$834,779.22.

²⁸ "Statement of Income and Expense, Christian Crusade, April, 1965, p. 14.

²⁹ Ibid.

Ties With Other Groups

Dr. Hargis has stated that one of the primary failures of past "conservative" movements has been caused by a "lack of mutual understanding, appreciation, and cooperation between the groups."³⁰ In an effort to counteract this void Dr. Hargis in 1962 called an "exploratory meeting of representatives of some seventy-five grassroots conservative movements . . ." to establish a coalition of conservative groups.³¹ The representatives agreed to meet each quarter and a permanent steering committee was established. However, the newly organized group ceased to function almost immediately. Before the meeting occurred Dr. Hargis referred to the proposed coalition as a "necessity."³² In 1965 Dr. Hargis admitted that this effort had been a failure because "conservatives are very individualistic." He quickly added, however, that such a formal organization was not important as long as there was cooperation among the groups. He asserted that such cooperation did exist.³³ Thus Christian Crusade's relationships with other groups of similar ideological inclination are informal.

³⁰Hargis, "A Report on the Washington Conference, "Christian Crusade, April, 1962, p. 10.

³¹Ibid.

³²The Oklahoma Courier, February 16, 1962, p. 1.

³³Interview with Hargis, Tulsa, Oklahoma May 6, 1965: "Everybody helps out one another. I can call Robert Welch (founder, John Birch Society) and say, 'Bob, I need your help' and he can call me."

One of the primary ways in which these informal relationships manifest themselves is in the "interlocking directorates" of many right-wing groups. Included in the latest available list (1964) of Christian Crusade's National Advisory Committee are at least twelve persons who are members of the Executive Committee, National Council, Committee of Endorsers, or the Editorial Advisory Committee of the John Birch Society.³⁴ Other members of Christian Crusade's National Advisory Committee who also hold positions in other right-wing groups are:³⁵

Mrs. Mary D. Cain, Chairwoman, Congress of Freedom
 Brigadier General William Campbell, Vice-President,
 National Education Program
 Harry T. Everingham, Executive Secretary, We The People
 Milton M. Lory, President, American Coalition of Patriotic
 Societies
 Clarence E. Manion, Moderator, The Manion Forum
 Miss Betty McConkey, Director, Wide-Awake Anti-
 Communist Crusaders

Dr. Hargis has been President and President Emeritus of We, The People, a member of the Board of Policy of Liberty Lobby and a member of the Committee of Endorsers of the John Birch Society.³⁶

Another example of informal cooperation between Christian Crusade and other groups of like philosophical bent is the interchange of

³⁴This is Christian Crusade, (Tulsa, n. d.)

³⁵See Appendix B, Page 116 for a list of the members of the National Advisory Committee.

³⁶McCune, pp. 15-16.

speakers for meetings and conventions. Kent Courtney, founder of the Conservative Society of America, and Myers Lowman, Director of the Circuit Riders, were members of the "faculty" of Hargis' 1964 Leadership School. Willis Cato, who is Treasurer of Liberty Lobby; Clarence Manion; and Harry Everingham addressed the 1961 Christian Crusade National Convention. Dan Smoot, writer of the Dan Smoot Report, was a major speaker at Hargis' 1964 National Convention. Robert Welch, founder of the John Birch Society, was the featured speaker at the 1965 National Convention. Dr. Hargis addressed the Congress of Freedom in 1960 and the National Indignation Convention in 1962, in addition to his activities stemming from his position as President of We, the People.³⁷

This enumeration of connections between Christian Crusade and other groups is by no means exhaustive. It does sufficiently demonstrate that even though a coalition attempt was not successful, there does exist a rather elaborate, but informal network of cooperation among these groups.

Socio-Economic Backgrounds of Members and Supporters

In an effort to ascertain the socio-economic backgrounds of the supporters and members of Christian Crusade, a fifteen item ques-

³⁷Ibid.

was employed. Ideally the recipients of the questionnaire would have been selected at random from a copy of the mailing list of the group. However, this was impossible since such information is a highly guarded secret.³⁸ In lieu of this method of distribution several alternatives were selected which had the official sanction of Christian Crusade. Questionnaires were distributed to the students attending the Anti-communist Youth University during four sessions. These students represented as adequate a cross-section of the membership as was possible to obtain. The school did not present an economic barrier to lower income supporters because scholarships which covered all expenses were provided. In addition, these persons represented various sections of the country rather than only one. This means of distribution also has its inherent disadvantages. It is impossible to ascertain any competent data on the ages of Christian Crusaders. The students were primarily fourteen to eighteen years old and their parents would all fit into a similar but wider age group. To illustrate this difficulty, a substantial segment of those persons who attend Christian Crusade meetings are older, retired persons. Yet the questionnaires distributed to students at the university indicated that less than two percent of their parents were retired. In an effort to surmount this difficulty, question-

³⁸Dr. Hargis on May 6, 1965 refused such a request of the author on the grounds that the "liberals" might obtain the list and harass his followers. He was especially fearful of the Internal Revenue Service doing this.

naires were also distributed to persons attending several Christian Crusade meetings, although the response obtained from this means was substantially smaller than that obtained from the Anti-communist Youth University. This latter means of distribution indicated that approximately thirty percent of those who responded were retired persons.

There were actually two questionnaires used in the survey.³⁹ One type was distributed to students and the other type to adults. The one distributed to students was so phrased that it sought data on their parents' socio-economic background rather than only that of the students. Thus the information from both types of questionnaires was essentially the same and comparable. A response was obtained from a total of 114 persons.

Educationally, supporters and members of Christian Crusade are above the national average. Only about eight percent of the Christian Crusaders have not completed high school compared to a national average of fifty-nine percent of persons over twenty-five years old who have not.⁴⁰ Approximately forty percent of Dr. Hargis' followers have college degrees while only 7.6 percent of persons over twenty-five

³⁹See Appendix C, Page 120 for copies of the questionnaires.

⁴⁰Edwin D. Goldfield, ed., Statistical Abstract of the United States--1963, (Washington, D. C., 1963, p. 119.)

in the United States have completed four years of college.⁴¹ Of those persons who indicated that they had completed college only nine persons, or about eight percent of the total membership, stated that they had majored in the liberal arts. This high education level is due, in part, to the number of medical doctors, executives, and engineers who support Christian Crusade. These three categories comprise over one-half of the college graduate members of Christian Crusade.

There are four occupational groups which make up seventy-eight percent of the membership of Christian Crusade: professional and executive, 23 percent; persons who own business, 19 percent; skilled laborers, 19 percent; and white collar workers, 17 percent. This seemingly high percentage of skilled laborers seems odd in light of Dr. Hargis' position on labor unions and labor legislation, which is in opposition to the views of most skilled laborers in the United States. This group is not a representative sample of skilled laborers in the United States as far as political party membership is concerned. Of those skilled laborers responding, fifteen out of nineteen indicated that they usually supported the Republican Party and only two indicated support of the Democratic Party. A possible explanation is that the skilled laborers who support Dr. Hargis represent a disident faction who are anti-union and thus Dr. Hargis' views appeal to them. Other occupations listed in descending order are: clerical/sales, 8 percent;

⁴¹ Ibid.

farming, 5 percent; and unskilled labor, 4 percent.

Since farmers comprise only five percent of Dr. Hargis' followers it is not surprising that members of Christian Crusade are primarily urban rather than rural. They are, in fact, much more urban than the national average. In the United States some thirty-five percent of the population lives in areas of 5,000 population or less while only nineteen percent of Christian Crusaders do. At the other extreme thirty-nine percent of the members of Christian Crusade live in cities of over 100,000 population compared to twenty-eight percent on the national average.⁴²

In regard to their income levels Christian Crusaders are again above the national average. The comparable income levels are listed in Table I:

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF THE INCOME LEVELS OF CHRISTIAN
CRUSADE MEMBERS WITH THE UNITED STATES AVERAGES⁴³

	United States Average	Christian Crusade Average
Under \$4,000	31%	12%
\$4,000 - \$7,000	32%	31%
\$7,000 - \$10,000	21%	33%
Over \$10,000	16%	24%

⁴²Ibid, p. 21.

⁴³United States Average Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States--1963, p. 339.

There are two possible explanations for the substantial disparity between the national average and Christian Crusaders in the under \$4,000 income level. One reason may be because of retired persons with characteristically low incomes who are members of Christian Crusade but who did not participate in the response in numbers comparable to their size. The other explanation may be that the higher education level of Christian Crusaders allows them to earn higher incomes and thus not so many fall into this bracket. The differences found in the top two categories may be caused by the disproportionate number of professional people who are members of Christian Crusade.

Christian Crusaders may have a higher income level than the national average but they also have a larger family, on the average, to support. In the United States the average number of children per family is 1.65; whereas, the average Christian Crusade family has 2.88 children.⁴⁴ This difference may be due to the income factor. Christian Crusade families appear to be financially able to raise more children.

Although there is no similar data on the national average with which to compare, Christian Crusaders, on the whole, do not seem to be a very geographically mobile group. Out of 109 responses to the question: "How long have you lived in the state in which you presently

⁴⁴Ibid, p. 43.

live?" fifty-five or about one-half indicated that they had lived all of their life in one state. The average age of those who responded to this question was 21.2 years. They have lived in the state in which they presently live for an average of 15.4 years or about seventy-two percent of their lives.

The overwhelming majority of Christian Crusaders come from two ethnic or nationality groups. Anglo-Saxon or German nationality backgrounds comprise eighty-five percent of the membership of Christian Crusade. The nationality or ethnic backgrounds of those surveyed appears in Table II.

TABLE II
ETHNIC AND NATIONALITY BACKGROUNDS
OF CHRISTIAN CRUSADE MEMBERS

	Number	Percent
Anglo-Saxon	91	60
English	40	26
Scotch	15	10
Irish	36	24
German	35	25
Scandinavian	10	7
American Indian	4	3
French	4	3
Slavic	3	2
Jewish	1	x
Negro	1	x
Italian	0	-
	149 *	99 +
x - indicates less than one percent		
* - Some respondents checked more than one category and hence the larger number of backgrounds than respondents.		

Although similar data on the nationality and ethnic backgrounds of persons other than Negroes is not available on the national level, it would seem that this is not a representative sample of the United States in that the upper groups seem to be over-represented and the lower groups to be under-represented. Negroes, which are the only category that can be definitively compared, comprise about 10.5 percent of the population of the United States and less than one percent of the membership of Christian Crusade.⁴⁵ This disparity is probably due to Dr. Hargis' views on civil rights legislation and on integration in general, which would seem to be contrary to those of the overwhelming majority of Negroes.

In answer to the question: "What is your denominational preference?", ninety-seven percent of those responding indicated preference for what are commonly referred to as Protestant groups and only three percent preferred Roman Catholicism. On the national average 34.5 percent of the population are Protestant and twenty-three percent are Roman Catholic.⁴⁶ Not only is there a substantial variance with the national average in terms of Protestant members, but the majority of members of Christian Crusade prefer Protestant groups which are commonly referred to as "fundamentalists." The specific responses are compared with the national averages in Table III.

⁴⁵Harry Hansen, ed., The World Almanac and Book of Facts, (New York, 1964), p. 255.

⁴⁶Ibid, p. 625.

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF THE DENOMINATIONAL BACKGROUNDS
OF MEMBERS OF CHRISTIAN CRUSADE
WITH THE UNITED STATES AVERAGE

	Christian Crusade Percentage	National Average Percentage
Baptist	28	12
Christian	14	1
Fundamentalist/Nondenominational	13	n. a.
Presbyterian	9	3
Methodist	9	7
Church of Christ	6	n. a.
Episcopal	3	2
Evangelical	3	*
Salvation Army	2	*
Latter Day Saints	2	1
Assembly of God	2	*
Seventh Day Adventist	1	*
Brethren	1	*
Lutheran	1	5
Roman Catholic	3	23
* Less than one percent		
n. a. Not available		

There are several factors which seem to cause this great variance from the national average. The primary reason seems to be that Dr. Hargis, an ordained minister, purports his movement to be a religious one and his theology is fundamental Protestantism. Thus Christian Crusade appeals especially to persons of similar theological persuasion. Since this movement is a religious one it would seem to act as a deterrent to membership by Roman Catholics. Another probable factor which makes for this disproportion is that Dr. Hargis' primary support is from the traditional "Bible-belt" of the United States in which lives a preponderant number of fundamentalist

Protestants.⁴⁷

Politically, Christian Crusaders are predominately supporters of the Republican Party. Approximately seventy-four percent of the respondents stated that they usually supported the Republican Party, seven percent usually supported the Democratic Party and seventeen percent listed themselves as independents. This rather substantial support of the Republican Party is probably due to the fact that these people refer to themselves as conservatives, who tend to identify with the Republican Party.

The final question on the questionnaire asked to what other patriotic, civic, or social organizations the respondents belonged. Since this question required that the respondent write out his answer rather than merely placing a check mark on the sheet, the response was low. The results appear in Table IV.

⁴⁷ Interview with Hargis, Tulsa, Oklahoma, May 6, 1965.

TABLE IV

OTHER GROUP MEMBERSHIPS OF CHRISTIAN CRUSADE MEMBERS

Veteran Groups

Disabled American Veterans	1
Veterans of Foreign Wars	4
American Legion	6
World War One Veterans	1
Reserve Officers Association	1

Patriotic Groups

Daughters of the American Revolution	1
The Mayflower Society	1
Marine Corps League	1
Christian Anti-Communist Crusade	2
John Birch Society	22

Fraternal, Social or Service Groups

Masonic Order	9
Kiwanis	1
Lions	3
Elks	3
Christian Businessmen's Clubs	5
Parent-Teacher Organizations	3
Boy Scouts of America	3

Political Groups

Conservative Clubs	5
Americans for Constitutional Action	1
Republican Party Organizations	5

The primary purpose of this question was to ascertain whether there was any significant cross-membership in right-wing extremist groups. Out of sixty-eight persons who responded to this question, including those who wrote "none," the only significant cross-membership revealed was with the John Birch Society. Approximately one out of three members of Christian Crusade are also members of the John Birch Society on the basis of this limited response.

Another purpose of this question was to determine the group activity of members of this group. Of those who responded to this question, thirteen persons or only twenty percent listed "none." This would seem to indicate that four out of five members of Christian Crusade are also active in one or more other patriotic, civic, or social organizations.

A composite picture of the "average" Christian Crusader would probably reveal a person who was a white Anglo-Saxon fundamentalist Protestant. He would be married, have three children and have lived in the state in which he presently lives most of his life. He and his family would live in a city of approximately 100,000 population. He is above average in educational qualification and his income would probably be in the professional or skilled labor fields or he might own his own business. He would probably be a member of the Republican Party and a member of some other organizations, perhaps the John Birch Society.

CHAPTER IV

GOALS AND TACTICS OF CHRISTIAN CRUSADE

Stated Goals

The stated goals of Christian Crusade are somewhat vague. The Director of Public Relations, Mr. L. E. White, has written that the group has but two goals: ". . . to defend America's freedoms--including private enterprise--from left-wing socialist and communist encroachments; and to defeat the continued rise of world communism"¹ Dr. Hargis has written that the primary objectives of Christian Crusade are:

. . . to win souls for Christ and to bring about an awakening in the United States . . . Furthermore, I hope to influence people to get interested in the eternal affairs of their country and fight as Christian conservatives to save this nation. I feel that only the conservatives of the United States have the solutions to our problems and that if America is saved, conservatives will save it.²

To accomplish these, Dr. Hargis has stated that the "tactics and strategy of communism must be opposed with the tactics and strategy of Christ."³

¹L. E. White, "The Liberal Smear," Christian Crusade, May, 1964, p. 16.

²Letter from Dr. Hargis to Mr. Charles Angeletti, June 12, 1963.

³Hargis, Counter-Strategy for Counter-Attack, p. 7.

Propaganda Techniques

The method utilized by Christian Crusade in order to achieve these goals is, first, to inform the citizenry of the United States of the danger they face and to arouse them to become supporters and members of Christian Crusade; second, to inculcate in these followers the "proper" doctrines and philosophy; and lastly, to provide specific avenues of action for its followers.

Although Dr. Hargis addresses himself to the American public in general, he appeals to a particular segment of that group. Persons who are susceptible to the Hargisian explanation of the problems besetting society are persons who feel left out and unable to participate in the decision-making process of government. The fact that there are no apparently easy and quick solutions to the political tensions implicit in a bi-polarized world in which both poles are capable of annihilating one another results in much frustration and anxiety. Movements such as Christian Crusade provide an escape and the desired "solution."⁴ From the point of view of analyzing the techniques used by Dr. Hargis, the important consideration with respect to his followers or prospective followers is that he is working with a "downhill" audience. In other words, the audience is strongly inclined or favorably predisposed to

⁴The author has interviewed many supporters and members of Christian Crusade throughout this study. With no exceptions, all expressed with relief a satisfaction that now they could do "something" about communism.

accept the propaganda arguments of Dr. Hargis.⁵ Therefore, when Dr. Hargis tells his listeners that "communism is winning World War Three without firing a single shot or losing a single soldier," he exploits feelings which already exist within his audience.⁶

The specific propaganda techniques utilized by Dr. Hargis to win adherents to the cause and to inspire them to action are legion. Throughout Dr. Hargis' writings and speeches is a pervasive forecast of impending doom and a corresponding urgency to do "something." At various times Dr. Hargis has announced:

Frankly, I am more upset and disturbed over the future of our beloved America as I write this letter than I have ever been.⁷

Within ten years you will have lost your freedom.⁸

The United States may well be on the threshold of enslavement and persecutions such as the world has never seen . . . I am not so sure today that we will ever have a free election again. I have no reason to believe that the growing 'welfare state dictatorship' will countenance voices of resistance or opposition for very long.⁹

⁵William Hummel and Keith Huntress, The Analysis of Propaganda, (New York, 1949), p. 88.

⁶Hargis, Communist America--Must It Be?, p. iii.

⁷Letter from Dr. Hargis to Christian Crusaders, January, 1964.

⁸Reconstructed from longhand notes from a sermon by Dr. Hargis, Manitou Springs, Colorado, June 20, 1965.

⁹Hargis, "Reflections on the November 3rd Elections," Christian Crusade, December, 1964, p. 29.

These ominous predictions, which are typical of extremist movements of both the left wing and the right wing, are in contrast to the vague but happy potentialities of the Hargisian solution. There are advantages for Hargis in operating in this permanent state of emergency. The prospect of such a Gargantuan danger complicated and intensified by the conspiratorial nature of the foe produces in his listeners a desire to gather under Hargis' protective umbrella of wisdom, for he not only sees the extent of the imminent catastrophe but also the solution to it.¹⁰ Another advantage of the technique of urgency for Hargis is the feeling among the followers of the necessity to sacrifice much in order to obtain deliverance. Among other things this involves a financial sacrifice which Dr. Hargis exploits to the fullest extent.

A second technique employed by Dr. Hargis is his ability to successfully combine evangelistic religion with anti-communism. The actual amount of fundamental religion involved in his speeches and writings is minimal. Brooks R. Walker describes Dr. Hargis' speeches as a "one-to-five mix, giving them about ten minutes of fundamentalist Christian doctrine and fifty minutes of the 'truth' about communism."¹¹ The name of God is often invoked in a Hargis speech and every meeting

¹⁰Cf. Leo Lowenthal and Norbert Guterman, Prophets of Deceit, (New York, 1949), pp. 33-37.

¹¹Brooks R. Walker, The Christian Fright Peddlers, (New York, 1964), p. 89.

he conducts is opened and concluded with a prayer, but even his "sermons" are rarely wholly devoted to preaching religion, rather to preaching anti-communism. In fact, Dr. Hargis reportedly admits this himself.¹² Even though Dr. Hargis makes only allusions to religion, the fact that the group is purported to be a religious one and that Dr. Hargis is an ordained minister makes it easier for his followers and prospective followers to give credence to what he has to say. Moreover, Dr. Hargis uses religious terms to denounce those things he is against. Thus he refers to United States foreign aid to "communist" countries and United States participation in the United Nations as "sin".¹³ The effect of this technique is to attach a greater stigma to those things which he is against than would be the case if he merely asserted that they were improper. Therefore, the intermixture of religion with Hargis' political views serves the integral and very valuable function of equating the religious concept of heresy with those political and social ideas which Hargis wishes to damn, while it also gives the movement the appealing status of being of God.

The manner of Dr. Hargis' delivery is patterned on the "Hell-fire and Brimstone" revival tradition. In his meetings he effectively creates an air of electricity which permeates the audience. His decision to become what he calls an "anti-communist evangelist," to fuse evangelistic

¹²Forster and Epstein, p. 69: "Billy James admits frankly that he seldom preaches on religion now; the concentration is on communism and how it has boldly infiltrated all aspects of American life."

¹³Billy James Hargis, This I Believe, (Tulsa, n.d.)

style with anti-communism, has become a Hargis trademark. He affirms that he "dramatizes this Americanism idea." He explains that "you've got to be on a crusade to get these people interested."¹⁴ Dr. Hargis has several methods by which he dramatizes his anti-communist message in such a way as to evoke an emotional response from his audience. Throughout his speeches and writings there is much oversimplification with strong exaggeration. To illustrate, he has declared that the solution to the threat posed by communism is to "clean up communism internally and America's problem with communism internationally will be solved."¹⁵ He has also recommended that the Berlin problem be solved merely by a policy of firmness backed up by military power.¹⁶ On this point the Overstreets have written:

Every subject with which he elects to deal has to be oversimplified to the point where it can be shouted to a mass audience. It has, in brief, to be made as over-simple as the Christian doctrine is made at a revivalist meeting.¹⁷

Another emotion-evoking device employed by Dr. Hargis is the use of catchwords and positive and negative epithets. One can seldom go to a Hargis meeting without hearing at least once Dr. Hargis use the somewhat redundant phrase, "Godless atheistic communism."

¹⁴Interview with Hargis, Tulsa, Oklahoma, May 6, 1965.

¹⁵The New York Times, August 6, 1961, p. 13.

¹⁶Hargis, What's Wrong With America?

¹⁷The Overstreets, p. 192.

Another adjective used much by Dr. Hargis is "satanic" which he applies liberally. In describing the past Premier of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev, Hargis has used the following terms: "merciless slavemaster," "mass-murderer," "international liar and thief," "archmurderer of all recorded history" and "hero of Hell."¹⁸

It is apparent that Dr. Hargis' message is primarily one which is calculated to appeal to emotion rather than reason. This is to his advantage because a critical audience would not accept many of Hargis' generalizations without question. For example, Dr. Hargis offers no evidence to attest to the accuracy of his statement that "observers" believe "communist influence in America is between 30 and 50 percent of total control."¹⁹ An emotional audience does not question that statement; rather they use it to add to their emotionalism. The same thing is true with another Hargis statement: "So effective has the communist infiltration become that anti-communist movements actually have been stopped as a result of White House interference."²⁰ In the text preceding and following the above statement not one iota of any evidence is offered to substantiate the rather serious charge. Yet he is believed.

¹⁸Hargis, Communism, The Total Lie, pp. 54-56.

¹⁹Ibid, p. 65.

²⁰Hargis, Communist America--Must It Be?, p. 47.

This unsophisticated acceptance of Dr. Hargis' statements on the part of his audience reveals a characteristic of both Dr. Hargis and his followers. Their thinking is what the Overstreets aptly call "compartmentalized."²¹ Dr. Hargis' message is replete with inner contradictions and neither he nor his audience are apparently aware of them, or, if they are, they ignore them. For example, Dr. Hargis has written that "conservatives stand for law" and further that he "preaches obedience to the law."²² Yet Dr. Hargis, himself, has advocated ignoring a decision of the United States Supreme Court in favor of abiding by a prior decision of the Court.²³ To further illustrate, Dr. Hargis has referred to "progressivism" as but an early stage of communism.²⁴ Yet he has written of his desire for a return to the spirit of Theodore Roosevelt, a Progressive.²⁵

A related illogical phenomenon of Dr. Hargis and yet one which his audience does not challenge is his use of non-sequitur arguments. In a statement quoted above²⁶ Dr. Hargis has counseled that one would be correct "99 out of 100 times" if he opposed legislation

²¹The Overstreets, p. 269.

²²Hargis, The Far Left, p. 147.

²³See pp. 33 and 34 above.

²⁴Hargis, Communism, The Total Lie, p. 6.

²⁵See page 40 above.

²⁶See page 20 above.

avored by "union bosses" and vice versa. Immediately following this statement is the declaration: "no small clique of power-hungry men should be above the law or our Constitution." The implication which does not logically follow from his argument is that the support for or opposition to legislation by union leaders is contrary to the law and the Constitution of the United States.

Another technique which Dr. Hargis uses with success is a double-standard. There are certain liberties which he allows himself, but which he condemns in his opponents. Dr. Hargis declares that he deplores "character assassination" and associates such tactics with the communists. He has written of the "terrible character assassination of one of America's great patriots, Senator Joseph McCarthy."²⁷ However, he, himself, indulges in such activities. He has written of Carey McWilliams, editor of The Nation, as having a "record of supporting 56 communist front activities . . ."²⁸ He does not bother to define what constitutes "support" or "communist front." Hargis has referred to Walter Reuther, President of the United Automobile Workers, as an "ardent pro-communist."²⁹ Reference has been made³⁰ to the derisive terms he has used in regard to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

²⁷Hargis, Communist America--Must It Be?, p. 47.

²⁸Ibid, p. 45., ²⁹Ibid, p. 60., ³⁰See page 31 above.

Dr. Hargis' double standard operates on other levels also. Christian Crusade is merciless in its denunciation of other groups set up in opposition to itself. Group Research, Inc., is a group that has come under vicious attack. The organization uses tactics similar to those employed by Christian Crusade in that it compiles and maintains dossiers on the activities of extremist groups. Christian Crusade published a pamphlet on this group entitled, Group Research, Inc., A New American GESTAPO? Between the lines of the title is a Nazi swastika. The group is referred to as a "fascistic/communistic--nazi-type--organization." Readers are encouraged to use "every possible way" to combat this group.³¹ Another group which comes under much condemnation is the Americans for Democratic Action. In a pamphlet by Dr. Hargis on this organization he quotes a statement of the late Kit Clardy, Congressman from Michigan, who referred to the Americans for Democratic Action as a group which had "probably done more than any other group on the nation to foster and promote many of the aims of the Communist Party . . ."³²

However, when Dr. Hargis' group is the object of criticism the immediate response is "smear." In the February 7, 1964 issue of Life magazine there appeared an article entitled "Fearmongers"

³¹Edward Hunter, Group Research, Inc., A New American GESTAPO?, (Tulsa, n.d.).

³²Billy James Hargis, Radicalism of the Left--Americans for Democratic Action, (Tulsa, n.d.), p. 2.

in which Dr. Hargis' group was so designated. Within a short time an article appeared in Christian Crusade magazine which denounced the Life article as "careless, vicious slanders." The Christian Crusade article also included a suggested letter for readers to send to advertisers in Life. The letter said in part:

. . . you should be aware of the untruths, halftruths, insinuations and distortions of one of the articles in that issue, aimed indiscriminately at some of America's most reputable and respected anti-communist organizations. . . .³³

Apparently Dr. Hargis fails to see his own inconsistency.

Another device used by Hargis, and this is one which especially reveals the extremist nature of his movement, is to impugn the integrity of the highest elective officials of the United States. By innuendo or other means Dr. Hargis has implied that several Presidents of the United States have consciously aided the "communist conspiracy." In writing of the visit of former Premier Khrushchev to the United States, Dr. Hargis was highly critical of former President Eisenhower for allowing the visit to take place. Dr. Hargis quoted a verse from the book of Amos in the Bible which said: "Can two walk together except they be agreed?" Then Hargis asked the pointed question: "If the President of the United States did not agree with the ruler of Soviet

³³L. E. White, "The Liberal Smear," Christian Crusade, May, 1964, p. 16.

Russia and international communism, why did he walk with him?"³⁴ Similarly, Dr. Hargis has referred to the action in which former President Truman relieved General Douglas MacArthur of his military command as "one of the major objectives of the communists."³⁵

Finally, another technique used by Dr. Hargis to win followers is his own self-portrait. He conjures up images of himself as being just "plain folks" and yet while being one of them his picture shows that he is, at the same time, above them. Dr. Hargis is ever willing to indulge in homey intimacy with his followers. Much of the biography on Hargis by Dr. Penabaz consists of extended quotations by Dr. Hargis. In the book he reveals that he was an only child from a family of moderate means. He confides to the listener about many of his youthful quixotic adventures and even of his errors.³⁶ The overall picture of Hargis is one of the "average" American person. In speeches he often makes reference to his wife and family and his wife frequently accompanies him on speaking tours. He recently told his audience that he had been so busy that he had not "kissed [his] wife in over a month."³⁷ Christian Crusade magazine periodically includes a Hargis family picture "in response to many requests."³⁸

³⁴Hargis, Communism, The Total Lie, p. 59.

³⁵Ibid, p. 66.

³⁶Penabaz, p. 36ff.

³⁷Reconstructed from longhand notes from a speech by Dr. Hargis, Tulsa, Oklahoma, July 8, 1965.

³⁸See Christian Crusade, June, 1965, p. 21.

Yet at the same time the Hargis self-portrait reveals a person who is called by God and who reluctantly answered that call. In speaking of this call he has revealed:

Like Moses, I tried to run away from these new found truths--because I was smart enough to know the trials and heartaches that lie ahead of a crusader--and God's call.³⁹

This expressed reluctance on the part of Dr. Hargis has the effect of reinforcing his claim of leadership for it shows more vividly to his listeners that his movement was not his own idea. The self-portrait of Dr. Hargis also reveals a martyr but one who is willing to endure the tribulations of his calling. In building up this image of persecuted innocence Dr. Hargis has used a religious symbol. He has spoken of having "Gethsemanes that [he] had never dreamed of." (sic)⁴⁰ Dr. Hargis has also disclosed that he will continue in his ministry even if it means the loss of his own life. In a recent speech he divulged: "My own life may be in danger."⁴¹ This was not the first time Dr. Hargis has felt that his life was in danger. In 1959 headlines in red ink in Christian Crusade magazine announced: "Dr. Hargis' Life Threatened in Minneapolis." The story which was labeled as a "Bulletin"

³⁹Penabaz, p. 63.

⁴⁰Ibid, p. 55.

⁴¹Reconstructed from longhand notes from a speech by Dr. Hargis, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, June 10, 1965.

spoke of "this shocking persecution of a Christian leader."⁴² Lowenthal and Guterman of the Institute of Social Research in writing of this type of martyrdom point out:

By symbolically taking upon himself all the burdens of social suffering he creates unconscious guilt-feelings among his followers, which he can later exploit by demanding their absolute devotion as recompense for his self-sacrifice.⁴³

Thus by picturing himself as both a part of the people and at the same time above the people, Dr. Hargis can cement his position of leadership and create a feeling of obligation in his followers.

Although not precisely a propaganda technique, it is appropriate to point out that Dr. Hargis is endowed with an intangible magnetism which seems to draw people to him. His mere presence seems to exude a sense of leadership. He is, in short, what has been described as a charismatic leader. His listeners, who are already concerned, confused, and disenchanted with the world as they see it, are shown how they can transform their own frustrations into gratification. His followers who previously felt themselves to be on the losing side suddenly are on the winning side and they know and he knows that he is their omnipotent leader.

This summary of propaganda techniques utilized by Dr. Hargis to win followers and arouse them to action does indeed reveal the

⁴²"Dr. Hargis Life Threatened in Minneapolis," Christian Crusade, June, 1959, p. 1.

⁴³Lowenthal and Guterman, p. 129.

nature of Dr. Hargis' tactics, but it is only a partial explanation of them. These followers, to be of any value, need to be "properly" indoctrinated so that their actions may be channeled in the desired direction and Christian Crusade provides a full host of agencies or vehicles of indoctrination.

Agencies or Vehicles of Indoctrination

A primary vehicle of reaching people and inculcating in them the Christian Crusade philosophy is the use of radio. Christian Crusade broadcasts always include a "sermon" by Dr. Hargis and some sort of an offer of literature to listeners at a low price. Those people who are interested enough to write in are placed on a Christian Crusade mailing list and are apt to receive correspondence for a long time. There is no way of precisely determining the effectiveness of the radio broadcasts because Christian Crusade does not make this information public. However, its general value can be ascertained from the financial statements. It constituted the largest single category of expense--\$221,370.02--in 1964.⁴⁴ This is approximately twenty-eight percent of total expense. Since Dr. Hargis insists that every department of Christian Crusade must "pay its own way" it may be safely assumed that the response from the radio listeners

⁴⁴Statement of Income and Expense, Christian Crusade, April, 1965, p. 14.

more than offsets the cost and therefore that radio is a most effective means of indoctrination.

Another primary means of introducing and recruiting people for Christian Crusade is the crusades and rallies. Hargis has pointed out:

This is the way we have built Christian Crusade. We have literally fulfilled the commandment of Christ . . . to go out and bring them in . . . into the folds of Christian conservatism. This is the only way it can be done. You can't sit behind a polished desk and expect people, seeking guidance and counsel, to beat a path to your door. You must go where the people live and bring the message to them. This is what I have done.⁴⁵

Dr. Hargis claims that he, himself, has conducted rallies in a majority of cities in the United States which have a population of 25,000 or more and he is only one of five Christian Crusade teams.

Persons who attend these rallies, which are usually "one night stands," are "requested" to make a "donation" of one dollar in order to gain admittance. The purpose of this is twofold. One is to underwrite the basic expenses of the meeting and the other is to "weed out the leftist college students who only come to make trouble and destroy the spirit of the meeting."⁴⁶ This latter purpose is typical of all Christian Crusade activities. Any persons who might challenge Dr.

⁴⁵ Billy James Hargis, "Founder's Column," Membership Bulletin, June, 1965, p. 3.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 1.

Hargis are persona non grata at his meetings. The most famous series of these rallies occurred in 1963 when Dr. Hargis and General Edwin A. Walker conducted their "Operation: Midnight Ride." These men took a six-week tour from coast to coast and spoke in 29 cities in nineteen states.⁴⁷ The newest promotional device for these rallies is "Christian Crusade Chicken Suppers." Invitations are sent to Christian Crusade supporters in the area where the meeting is to be held with a return card for reservations for the nominally priced meal. The main speaker for these meetings is Dr. Hargis, who "gives a personal report of Christian Crusade activities and gets a chance to visit personally with supporters and friends in every area."⁴⁸ Since these suppers are promoted by letter, their purpose is not to enlist new followers. It is, rather, to serve as an inspiration and stimulus to supporters to continue in their work and devotion to Christian Crusade.

Christian Crusade Home Bible Chapters are the primary means of indoctrination for adult members on a continuing basis. Although the word "Bible" is used to designate the groups, the home office, in reality, discourages Bible teaching. These chapters stress "citizen

⁴⁷Billy James Hargis, "Daily Diary," Christian Crusade, March, 1963, p. 1.

⁴⁸"Fellowship . . . Inspirations . . . Challenge . . . Fun," Christian Crusade, December, 1964, p. 8.

responsibility from a Christian standpoint."⁴⁹ These chapters are not to replace a local church, but to augment it, unless that church is not a "Bible-believing" one. If this be the case, then the home chapters "will become an 'oasis in the desert'."⁵⁰

The complete program for the monthly meetings is prepared by Christian Crusade headquarters and local leadership in the area of program material preparation is discouraged. Dr. Hargis has written:

This is a LAYMAN movement. It is all right (sic) to have a local minister who is thoroughly in accordance with the pro-American, as well as Scriptural views of Christian Crusade to offer a prayer, but the meeting should be presided over by the chapter leader. The entire program will be on tape recordings sent from the Tulsa headquarters each month to these local chapters . . . It is not necessary for you [Chapter Chairmen] to be a good speaker. The Bible lesson is on the tape recording. All you have to do is use your phone and remind the people prior to each meeting of the night of the meeting and the time of the meeting and invite them to attend. The tape recording will do the rest.⁵¹

In addition, a complete agenda is provided for the meetings and a monthly Membership Bulletin, which is described on the cover as "A Confidential Mailing to Christian Crusade Members Only," lists the projects for the coming month.

⁴⁹Interview with Watkins, Manitou Springs, Colorado, June 16, 1965.

⁵⁰Hargis, "Instructions for the Organization and Regulation of Christian Crusade Home Bible Chapters," Christian Crusade, August, 1963, p. 7.

⁵¹Ibid, pp. 7, 34.

The purpose of these explicit instructions is to ensure that only information deemed pertinent by Christian Crusade headquarters is presented at meetings. Christian Crusade wants indoctrination of its members to be accomplished by itself and by no one else. It wants no competition. For similar reason the meetings are not open to the general public. Although members are urged to bring visitors, they are warned not to bring "liberals," since they "will only be divisive and cannot add anything worthwhile to the meetings."⁵² In addition, persons may be invited to join only on approval of the chapter chairman, who is appointed by the headquarters on a permanent basis. The reason for this requirement is to prevent "infiltration or sabotage by some liberal."⁵³ This emphasis upon "liberal infiltration" can serve two related functions. It makes the idea of conspiracy more real in that it is not just something that one hears about occurring in some office in Washington, D. C., but it may also be a thing which the individual members experience firsthand. This, in turn, justifies the rather autocratic nature of the Home Bible Chapters even though the ostensible purpose of these chapters is the promulgation of "Constitutional concepts."

Followers and supporters can acquire intensified indoctrination at the annual leadership schools and at the annual convention, although

⁵² Billy James Hargis, Manual for Chapter Chairmen, (Tulsa, n.d.), p. 10.

⁵³ Ibid.

the latter is not solely devoted to this end. The annual leadership school is billed as a place where "students are trained to return to their respective areas and share their information with others through tape recordings, printed materials and extensive notes taken during the lecture periods."⁵⁴ There are approximately thirty-one speeches given during the five-day school which is held in various cities. Typical speeches include "Oswald: A Castro Agent in the United States," "Which Way America--Socialism or Freedom?", "The Communist Plans for the 1964 Elections," and "Communist War on American Industry."⁵⁵ The annual convention includes not only speeches similar to those listed above, but also sermons, movies, reports, and the annual "State of the Union Address" by Dr. Hargis. Thus it is aimed not only at indoctrination but also at inspiration.

Christian Crusade has become increasingly concerned with the trend which they feel American youth have been following in recent years. Reverend David Noebel expressed this concern when he stated:

Young people might grow up with the healthiest of bodies but if we allow the pseudo-liberals and Marxists to implant their ideas of statism and atheism into their heads--their bodies will count for little.⁵⁶

⁵⁴"The Annual Leadership School," Christian Crusade, April, 1965, p. 22.

⁵⁵L. E. White, "Christian Crusade's Third Annual Leadership School," Christian Crusade, February-March, 1964, p. 16.

⁵⁶David Noebel, "Parents on a Precipice," Christian Crusade, June, 1965, p. 9.

It is to prevent such a thing from occurring that Christian Crusade operated the Anti-communist Youth University and the Torchbearers. The Youth University is purported to be "raised up by God and given to our [Christian Crusade's] trust to train young people in the most vital areas of life." ⁵⁷

The curriculum, which is supposed to teach youth those things they would not learn in "nine months of liberal confusion," includes:

Biblical teaching; free enterprise economics, strong Constitutional training; basic truths concerning the Marxist twins: communism and socialism; and other subjects dealing with current issues, e.g., the Marxist United Nations, unilateral disarmament, United States State Department, and the National Council of Churches. ⁵⁸

The atmosphere of the "university" is made as much like a regular public or private school as possible, although the resemblance is only superficial. ⁵⁹ Classes are conducted throughout the day and evening with intermittent and ample periods devoted to study and preparation. The first class of the day, which is always "Bible," is begun with a prayer and the "Pledge of Allegiance." The schedule for the rest of the classes varies from day to day. Every evening an "anti-communist" movie is shown such as Operation Abolition and Communism on the Map. Attendance at all classes is compulsory and the roll is usually

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸David Noebel, "The Summit Continues to Serve Youth," Christian Crusade, April, 1965, p. 15.

⁵⁹The data on the Anti-communist Youth University was gathered by the author when he visited the school from June 15-21, 1965.

taken before each class.

In order to graduate the students are required to attain a passing grade on an examination or examinations.⁶⁰ If a student fails to receive a passing grade he must retake the exams until he does so. Students enrolled in the regular sessions must take a "Bible Quiz and an "Anti-communist Quiz." Post-graduate students take a quiz on "Communism, Socialism and Keynesianism." These examinations were written by Reverend David Noebel who is Dean of the school and Dr. Hargis' top assistant. Therefore, they may be regarded as accurately mirroring the true political position of Christian Crusade. The questions, many of which are "loaded," also reveal the extremist nature of Christian Crusade. Approximately one-half or more of the questions are concerned with individuals and their allegedly pro-communist or anti-communist affiliations or inclinations as determined by Christian Crusade. Thus many of the questions are nothing more than character assassinations. To illustrate, one question asks: "What name does not belong in the sellout to Castro?" The list of choices is Ed Murrow, Herb Matthews, Ed Sullivan, Jules Dubois and Earl Smith. Another question concerns how Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., obtained his full professorship at Harvard University. The student is to choose the "correct" answer from among the following

⁶⁰ See Appendix D Page 124 for selected questions from the examinations.

alternatives:

- a. He earned his Ph. D. at Harvard.
- b. His daddy was head of the history department.
- c. His mother knew the President of the school.
- d. Schlesinger wrote a true account of General MacArthur.
- e. None of these.

Other questions serve to augment the contention of Christian Crusade that many American universities are riddled with communists. Thus one question asks which of a list of five "communists" did not graduate from an American University. Other questions are not so general and include specific schools. For example, one question asks: "Which communist picked up his communism at Union Theological Seminary?" Several questions have not so veiled anti-Negro overtones. One question asks the number of Negroes "lynched" since 1900 in the United States. The highest number listed in the alternatives is 3,195. The next question asks for the number of "whites" who have been "killed" by Negroes over the same period. The lowest number listed is 3,195 and the highest is 100,000. The unmistakable intention of these two questions is to instill in the students an anti-Negro orientation. The questions which most clearly point out the extremism of Christian Crusade are those which by innuendo or direct allegation imply that several Presidents have directly aided the communist cause in the United States. Thus one question asks: "Who was the communist in the White House during F. D. R. 's administration?" Another asks which president appointed Felix Frankfurter to "his Bolshevik place." Regarding later presidents, one question asks which of a list of

persons graduated from the "Fabian London School of Economics."

The answer is John F. Kennedy. There are two questions regarding President Johnson. The first utilizes the innuendo by inquiring which "Fabian socialist" wrote a book entitled The Great Society. The other question is also guarded but the intention is clear. It asks: "What probable communist espionage agent was given \$50,000 by President Johnson?" Whether these latter questions are intended to imply that these several American Presidents intentionally aided the communists is a matter of conjecture. However, it is not conjecture that they are clearly calculated to create in the students a feeling of mistrust of the highest elective officials of the United States.

At the conclusion of the session a graduation ceremony is conducted and the students receive diplomas. Joe McCarthy and Matt Cvetic Awards are also bestowed at this time for the most outstanding anti-communist speeches delivered by the students. The recipients of the awards are entitled to attend the Christian Crusade National Convention in competition with each other for the national award.

This means of youth indoctrination is apparently a successful one. The students appear to be genuinely interested in the courses and, with the exception of one, those interviewed indicated that they were satisfied with Christian Crusade's explanations of America's problems and their "solutions." Reverend Noebel has also pointed out that most students return home to initiate Torchbearer chapters.

The Torchbearer organization was established to provide an opportunity for young people "to learn a portion of that which is taught at The Summit [The Anti-communist Youth University] and to intrigue them on to further study." ⁶¹

The organizational structure of the group is essentially the same as that for the adult Home Bible Chapters. Chapter meetings are conducted once a month, preferably in private homes. The format of the meetings is determined by the Youth Department of Christian Crusade which also supplies all of the material to be used in the meetings. Any variation from the prescribed program must be approved in advance by the Youth Department. ⁶²

Other functions, in addition to the monthly meetings, include the distribution of "anti-communist, pro-American, and Christian literature," not only to individual persons but also to local libraries, and to sell subscriptions to Christian Crusade's periodicals. In addition, local chapters are also charged with the responsibility of defending the "rights of conservative young people" and participating in "local, pro-American causes." ⁶³

⁶¹Beverly Slade, "Torchbearer Chapters Reaching Young People of America," Christian Crusade, April, 1965, p. 21.

⁶²Billy James Hargis, Torchbearer Manual, (Tulsa, n.d., p. 4.

⁶³Ibid, pp. 11-12.

Although not an agency of Christian Crusade in the exact sense of the word, the literature does play a role in the indoctrination of followers. All of the activities and organizations of Christian Crusade make use of the highly versatile literature. Thus it serves as the nexus of all Christian Crusade endeavors of indoctrination.

Suggested Avenues of Action

Once persons have been recruited and have been educated in the ideals and philosophy of Dr. Hargis and his organization, the next step is for them to begin their crusade. Dr. Hargis has met this challenge and has drawn up the battle plans for his followers in order to achieve their aforementioned goals. He calls his blueprint for action "Counter-strategy for Counter-attack."

Dr. Hargis urges his followers, first, to pray--for America's "deliverance from communism," for the "victims of communism," and even for "the enemy that he may repent."⁶⁴ Such an activity is in keeping with Christian Crusade and again provides a religious rationale by identifying Christianity with Hargis' brand of Americanism.

The second avenue of action is, like the first, one which is in keeping with Hargis and his organization. He declares that persons must "counter-attack with organization"--an organization such as

⁶⁴Hargis, Counter-strategy for Counter-attack, p. 6.

Christian Crusade which is "giving national leadership along this line." Dr. Hargis warns that the communists are not divided while the Americans are and the result, he says, is defeat. But it is a defeat he believes can be reversed if conservatives unite.⁶⁵

Another method of combating the enemy is a financial one. Dr. Hargis has written: "Ministries like Christian Crusade that are fighting to save this country, far too often are suffering because of a lack of finances."⁶⁶ This is an activity which Dr. Hargis incessantly urges.

Dr. Hargis has also suggested that Americans can defeat the enemy with literature. One way, he suggests, is by distributing "vast quantities" of literature. He also points out: "Christian Crusade, Box 977, Tulsa 2, Oklahoma, the largest anti-communist Christian ministry in the nation, always has available the best of anti-communist literature, carefully screened. Send for it."⁶⁷ He has told followers in this respect not to "waste time on those who . . . will not listen to the truth." In this category of literature Dr. Hargis also suggests that his followers check their libraries, bookstores and newsstands to assure that they have anti-communist material and

⁶⁵ Ibid, pp. 7-8.

⁶⁶ Billy James Hargis, What Can You Do To Save Our Country?, (Tulsa, n.d.).

⁶⁷ Hargis, Counter-strategy for Counter-attack, p. 12.

that it is not "stuffed back in the corner" while pro-communist books are "prominently displayed." He also urges followers to check their children's school books to make sure that they are the "right kind of books for the young."⁶⁸

Another means of achieving the goals of Christian Crusade prescribed by Dr. Hargis is to write letters to public officials and to editors of periodicals. He points out that much of the success of the communists in the United States has been due to their letter-writing. He has warned that if his followers do not write letters, "congressmen will think that what the communists want is the will of the American people."⁶⁹

Dr. Hargis has also suggested that Americans "counter-attack at the polls." He has written that the "crying, desperate need of the nation" is an "informed and intelligent vote."⁷⁰ In another publication Dr. Hargis revealed what he means by "informed and intelligent." He wrote: "The only thing that will bring sanity back to Washington, D. C., is to elect a Christian conservative Congress. . . ."⁷¹ A related proposal of Dr. Hargis is for his followers to become involved in politics on the precinct level. He points out that the "liberals" control them

⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 12.

⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 13.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 14.

⁷¹ Billy James Hargis, If Our Foundations Be Destroyed, (Tulsa, n.d.), p. 8.

now but believes that the "Christian-American patriots" can by hard work capture them.

Lastly, Dr. Hargis counsels that Christian Crusaders can attain their goals by protesting. He explains:

Protest every move the communists make. Protest every move our leaders make which is not right. Protest the lies, the Communist Party Line, and the insidious mixing of truth and untruth in the American Press. Protest against modernism and apostasy in the churches. Protest "Mother Goose rhymes" instead of the Bible in the American Sunday Schools. Protest the loss of freedom and the concessions to the communists. Protest the invitations to the Mikoyans and the Krushchevs, and the state visits to anti-Christ communist strongholds by high American officials and other American citizens.

Protest, protest, protest.⁷²

These last three words constitute perhaps the most concise statement of the goals and tactics of Christian Crusade.

⁷²Hargis, Counter-strategy for Counter-attack, p. 8.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent that Dr. Hargis and his Christian Crusade are inseparable from one another. The two seem to live in a symbiotic relationship. Although Dr. Hargis has named a successor in the event anything should happen to him, it is difficult to conceive of a Christian Crusade without Billy James Hargis.¹ It is not difficult to foresee a John Birch Society without a Robert Welch, but the same thing is not true of Christian Crusade. Dr. Hargis is Christian Crusade. He has built an organization which revolves about himself. It is impossible to construct a "chain-of-command" type of organization chart of the group. Dr. Hargis, with his apparently limitless energy, runs the whole organization. Yet there are benefits from this hard work of an ego-building nature which Hargis seems to thrive upon. He revels in being before a worshipful audience. His pictures and his name in bold block letters adorn his publications and his meeting rooms. Not only do his followers have an ideological attachment to what Hargis has to say, but they also

¹Interview with Hargis, Tulsa, Oklahoma, May 6, 1965.

have an emotional attachment to the man himself; and through the use of demagogic techniques, he exploits this relationship to the fullest possible extent. The existence of such a relationship is evident from the rather uncritical acceptance on the part of Hargis' followers of what he has to say. He poses extremely simplistic solutions to complex problems and his followers laud him. He makes statements which are based only on speculation as though they were fact, and he is not challenged. Many of his statements contradict previous ones, but he is not questioned. Such acceptance on the part of his followers can only be explained by an emotional attachment to Dr. Hargis. The existence of an emotional basis of appeal can also be seen from the overwhelming sense of urgency which surrounds every Hargis speech or writing. He is, in short, a modern day messiah to his followers.

Ostensibly Dr. Hargis and his Christian Crusade are motivated by a desire to perpetuate those American freedoms which they feel are in danger of being permanently abridged. Yet in their crusade they themselves negate many freedoms of the American heritage for which they are fighting. This is the irony of the whole movement--in militantly fighting communism they use authoritarian tactics. The group operates on the assumption that it has a monopoly of patriotism and it challenges the integrity of all with whom it disagrees, including the leaders of government. To the Christian Crusade there are only two sides to an issue--its side and the communist side. Although Christian Crusaders claim that as conservatives

they follow the law, Dr. Hargis has urged his followers to flout the law as pronounced by the United States Supreme Court because it is contrary to what Christian Crusade believes.² They use intimidation as a tool in their zealous endeavors. On only the flimsiest bits of evidence they have branded their opponents as conscious agents of the communist conspiracy, or else as communist dupes. They have been merciless in their demands that "communists" be arrested and deported. Dr. Hargis has told his followers to "make the communists prove their innocence."³ Such activities are not conducive to the perpetuation of democracy but, rather, to its decline. Christian Crusade represents, in short, the antithesis of democracy. Christian Crusaders negate by their actions the very foundations of democracy while espousing its principles with their lips.

Only in a democracy could such alien ideas and actions be tolerated, but a democratic system is only viable so long as all participants follow its rules. The breakdown of democracy comes when one group tries to force all others to comply with its desires. When a democracy is threatened by such a breakdown, the system must try to alleviate the problem. This is the real test of a democracy, for the temptation is great to react against Christian Crusade in much the same manner in which Christian Crusade has reacted. The democratic system must guard against this and, rather, work out the

²See page 28 above.

³Hargis, Counter-strategy for Counter-attack, p. 9.

problem through the use of democratic processes. The answer to the threats posed by Christian Crusade to a democratic society is not to scorn them. These groups seem to thrive on opposition. Dr. Hargis often tells his followers that they are "God's remnant" and must suffer and sacrifice much so that God may triumph. Nor is the answer to ignore them and hope that they will go away, for this can well result in their maneuvering themselves into greater numerical and tactical strength. One of the activities which Dr. Hargis suggests for his followers is to become active in politics at the precinct level.⁴ By ignoring extremist groups such as Christian Crusade, society would resemble the proverbial ostrich with its head in the sand.

The key would seem to be education, and not just education on the anti-democratic nature of the group, but also education on the nature of communism. Christian Crusade has thrived on the limited factual knowledge of its followers. It has built up an extremely distorted view of communism. The image it has created of Karl Marx is one of an ogre who gained much pleasure from making mankind suffer. Hargis has pictured the communist as a man of superhuman qualities who is lurking everywhere. There is no doubt that international communism poses a genuine threat to democratic society, but Dr. Hargis and his Christian Crusade have built up a view that this

⁴See page 73 above.

threat will mean certain disaster for the American people unless they follow Hargis' directives. The distorted view of the nature of communism, which is calculated to create hysteria in his listeners, is not unlike the view of American life conjured up by the propagandists in the Soviet Union. Because Americans have not been adequately educated on the nature of communism, but have been content to simply condemn it as bad, it has been possible for men like Dr. Hargis to effectively propagate their slanted views. Dr. Hargis is not dealing with an ignorant group. On the contrary, its members are above the average in terms of formal education. However, he is dealing with a group which knows little about communism other than what he has told them.

By the same token, the people of the United States have tended to take their democratic society for granted and have failed to become acquainted with the operation of all of the ground rules of such a system. Few people have had more than an elementary and superficial course in civics in their formal educational experience. To gain an understanding of anything beyond this, most Americans have been left to fend for themselves. Some have gained an adequate understanding in this way, but too many others are ripe for Dr. Hargis' harvest because he has filled the gap created by an inadequate education on both democratic and communist principles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books:

Forster, Arnold and Benjamin R. Epstein, Danger On The Right, New York: Random House, 1964.

Hansen, Harry, (ed.), The World Almanac and Book of Facts--1964, New York: The New York World Telegram and Sun, 1964.

Hargis, Billy James, Communism and American Labor, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, 1962.

_____. Communism, The Total Lie, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, 1963.

_____. Communist America--Must It Be?, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, 1960.

_____. The Far Left, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, 1964.

Hoffer, Eric, The True Believer, New York: Mentor Books, 1962.

Hummel, William and Keith Juntress, The Analysis of Propaganda, New York: William Sloan Associates, Inc., 1949.

Lowenthal, Leo and Norbert Guerman, Prophets of Deceit, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949.

Overstreet, Harry and Bonaro, The Strange Tactics of Extremism, New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1964.

Penabaz, Fernando, Crusading Preacher From The West, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, 1965.

Walker, Brooks R., The Christian Fright Peddlers, Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1964.

Government Publications:

Goldfield, Edwin D., (ed.), Statistical Abstract of the United States--1963, U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1963.

State of Oklahoma, Secretary of State, Articles of Incorporation of Christian Echoes Ministry, Inc., of Sapulpa, 1951.

U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Degree Mills, April, 1961.

U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Un-American Activities, Hearings--Issues Presented by Air Reserve Center Training Manual, 86th Congress, 2nd Session, 1960.

Pamphlets:

Hargis, Billy James, Apostate Clergymen Battle for God-Hating Communist China, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, n. d.

_____. If Our Foundations Be Destroyed, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, n. d.

_____. Lest We Forget, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, n. d.

_____. Mental Health, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, n. d.

_____. Racial Strife and America's Future, Tulsa, Christian Crusade, n. d.

_____. Radicalism of the Left--Americans for Democratic Action, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, n. d.

_____. Shall We Surrender to Castro or SMASH Him?, Tulsa, Christian Crusade, n. d.

_____. Six Men Against God, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, n. d.

_____. The Communist Program For The American Farmer, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, n. d.

_____. The National Council of Churches Indicts Itself on 50 Counts of Treason, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, n. d.

- _____. The Truth About Segregation, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, n. d.
- _____. The United Nations, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, n. d.
- _____. This I believe, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, n. d.
- _____. Uncle Sam M. D., Tulsa: Christian Crusade, n. d.
- _____. We Have Been Betrayed, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, n. d.
- _____. What Can You Do To Save Our Country, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, n. d.

- _____. What's Wrong With America, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, n. d.
- _____. Your Enemy Means Business, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, n. d.

Hunter, Edward, Group Research, Inc., A New American GESTAPO?, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, n. d.

This Is Christian Crusade, Tulsa: Christian Crusade, n. d.

Articles:

Adams, John K. "Saving America, Inc.", The Nation, September 30, 1961, pp. 191-195.

"Christian Echoes in Pictures," Christian Echoes, August, 1954, pp. 7-8.

"Convention Resolutions," Christian Crusade, August, 1963, p. 14.

"Crusade Adds New Stations to Radio Network," Christian Crusade, February-March, 1964, pp. 1-2.

"Dr. Hargis' Life Threatened in Minneapolis," Christian Crusade, June, 1959, pp. 1-3.

"Fellowship . . . Inspiration . . . Challenge . . . Fun," Christian Crusade, December, 1964, pp. 8-9.

Hargis, Billy James, "A Leftist Dictatorship in the Making," Christian Crusade, June, 1965, pp. 24-27.

- _____. "A Report on the Washington Conference," Christian Crusade, April, 1962, pp. 15-16.
- _____. "American Leaders Are Naive Toward Communism," Christian Crusade, June, 1959, pp. 2-4.
- _____. "Bible Balloons Help Hungarian Revolt," Christian Crusade, December, 1956, p. 1.
- _____. "Daily Diary," Christian Crusade, March, 1963, p. 1.
- _____. "Founder's Column," Membership Bulletin, June, 1965, p. 3.
- _____. "Hargis Condemns Foreign Aid; Red China Friendship," Christian Crusade, September, 1957, pp. 1-3.
- _____. "Instructions for the Organization and Regulation of Christian Crusade Home Bible Chapters," Christian Crusade, August, 1963, pp. 7-11.
- _____. "Misreading the Constitution," The Weekly Crusader, October 9, 1964, pp. 1-4.
- _____. "Reflections on the November 3rd Elections," Christian Crusade, December, 1964, pp. 28-32.
- _____. "State of the Union Address," Christian Crusade, September, 1962, pp. 16-20.
- _____. "The Spirit of Macedonia," Christian Crusade, February, 1957, pp. 4-5.
- _____. "The State of the Union," Christian Crusade, October, 1960, pp. 6-9.
- _____. "The United States. . . Alias the Prodigal Son," Christian Crusade, January, 1957, pp. 13-14.
- _____. "Three Christian Giants in a World of Dwarfs," American Mercury, December, 1957, pp. 16-21.
- _____. "Two Alternatives in Foreign Policy," The Weekly Crusader, October 30, 1964, pp. 1-5.

- _____. "Usurpation--Undermining Our Constitution," The Weekly Crusader, October 9, 1964, pp. 1-5.
- _____. "Weighed and Found Wanting," Christian Crusade, March, 1960, pp. 13-19.
- "International Radio Network," Christian Crusade, May, 1960, p. 17.
- Knebel, Fletcher, "Rightist Revival: Who's On The Far Right," Look, March 13, 1962, pp. 21-31.
- Morris, Willie, "Houston's Superpatriots," Harpers Magazine, October, 1961, pp. 49-55.
- Murphey, E. L., "Christian Echoes Founder Awarded Doctorate," Christian Echoes, August, 1954, p. 3.
- "National Christian Americanism Convention to be Held at Sagmont," Christian Echoes, August, 1952, p. 1.
- Noebel, David, "Parents On A Precipice," Christian Crusade, June, 1965, pp. 9-10.
- _____. "The Summit Continues to Serve Youth," Christian Crusade, April, 1965, p. 16.
- "Radio Log," Christian Crusade, May 1957, p. 6.
- "Resolutions Adopted at the Fourth Annual Christian Crusade Convention," Christian Crusade, September, 1962, p. 18.
- Slade, Beverly, "Torchbearers Chapters Reaching Young People of America," Christian Crusade, April, 1965, p. 21.
- "Statement of Income and Expense," Christian Crusade, April, 1965, p. 14.
- "The Annual Leadership School," Christian Crusade, April, 1965, pp. 21-22.
- Uzzell, Thomas H., "A Pitch For God And Country," The Nation, February 17, 1962, pp. 140-142.
- White, L. E., "Christian Crusade's Third Annual Leadership School," Christian Crusade, February-March, 1964, p. 16.

_____. "Continued Growth in Communications," Christian Crusade, April, 1965, p. 16.

_____. "The Liberal Smear," Christian Crusade, May, 1965, pp. 16-17.

Newspapers:

The New York Times, August 6, 1962.

The Oklahoma Courier, February-March, 1962.

The Tulsa Tribune, 1951-1965.

The Tulsa World, 1951-1965.

Speeches:

Hargis, Billy James, Radio Broadcast (published text), July 4, 1961.

_____. Sermon (published text), September 20, 1964.

_____. Tulsa, Oklahoma, March 13, 1965.

_____. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, June 10, 1965.

_____. Tulsa, Oklahoma, July 8, 1965.

Noebel, David, Stillwater, Oklahoma, September 21, 1964.

Letters and Interviews:

Chalfant, John, (Special Representative, Christian Crusade), Personal Interview Manitou Springs, Colorado, June 21, 1965.

Hargis, Billy James, Letter to Mr. Charles Angeletti, June 12, 1963.

_____. "The Satanic Far Left," Letter to Christian Crusaders, January, 1964.

_____. Personal Interview, Tulsa, Oklahoma, May 6, 1965.

_____. Letter to author, July 9, 1965.

_____. Letter to author, August 6, 1965.

Unpublished Materials:

Hargis, Billy James, "Manual for Chapter Chairmen", Tulsa, n.d.
(Mimeographed)

_____. "Torchbearer Manual," Tulsa, n.d. (Mimeographed)

McCune, Wesley, "Dr. Billy James Hargis, his Christian Crusade, his
Christian Echoes National Ministry, and connections with other
groups," Washington, D. C., 1962. (Mimeographed)

National Education Association, "Information Bulletin," Committee on
Professional Rights and Responsibilities, Washington, D. C., 1962.
(Mimeographed)

_____. "Special Report," Committee for Defense of Democracy
Through Education, Washington, D. C., n.d. (Mimeographed)

APPENDIX A

KEN BLACKBURN
Public Accountant
American National Bank Building
Sapulpa, Oklahoma

Baldwin 4-2878

CHRISTIAN ECHOES MINISTRY, INC.

TULSA, OKLAHOMA

STATEMENT OF INCOME & EXPENSE

JANUARY 1, 1964 TO DECEMBER 31, 1964

Resources:

Christian Crusade Tours & Rallies --	
Offering for General Funds	106,977.99
Offering for Radio Broadcasts	87,956.20
Special Gifts & Contributions	184,966.90
Christian Crusade Publications	126,582.98
Monthly Newsletter Offerings	182,290.26
Membership Fees & Pledges	75,920.92
Christian Crusade Schools	12,608.20
Christian Crusade Youth University	34,210.36
Christian Crusade--Building Fund	12,827.00
Miscellaneous Income	10,438.41
Gross Receipts	<u>834,779.22</u>

Gross Receipts 834,779.22
deduct,

Religious Promotional Expenses:

Salaries & Wages (66 Employees)	144,285.01
Radio & Television Expense	221,370.02
Printing & Publications	141,884.44
Crusades (Auditorium Rental, Advertising, Etc.)	69,221.82
Convention & Leadership School Expense	5,883.28
Postage & Mailing Expense	51,008.15
Office Expenses	25,245.62
Freight & Transportation	6,885.08
Equipment Repair & Maintenance	3,377.37
Telephone Expense	7,222.48
Insurance Expense	13,913.63
Rent	13,901.33
Parsonage Expense	4,350.97
Legal & Accounting Departments	8,840.97
Interest on Loans	4,770.20
Depreciation	15,551.00
Contributions	1,390.92
Christian Crusade Youth University Expense	30,380.36
Christian Crusade Building Reserve Fund	<u>12,827.00</u>

Total Expense 782,309.65

Net Income - General Fund (Used to Reduce Past
Indebtedness) 52,469.57

The above statement is presented to indicate the source of incomes and the related distribution of expenses for the period, January 1, 1964, to December 31, 1964.

Ken Blackburn
Auditor & Accountant

APPENDIX B

Christian Crusade National Advisory Committee

- Thomas J. Anderson--Publisher, "Farm and Ranch Magazine,"
Nashville, Tenn.
- T. Coleman Andrews--Richmond, Virginia; Insurance Executive,
conservative leader, former Director of Internal Revenue
under President Dwight Eisenhower.
- Bryton Barron--Springfield, Virginia; former head of Treaties of
the United States State Department; the man who exposed the
sell-out of American interests at the Yalta Conference; famous
author and lecturer.
- Rev. Bill Bowler, Pastor Metropolitan Baptist Church--Tucson,
Arizona; outstanding anti-communist clergyman, author and
long-time friend of Christian Crusade's founder, Dr. Hargis.
- Donald E. Bruce--Manufacturer's Representative, St. Paul, Minn.
- Colonel Laurence E. Bunker--Former aide-de-camp to General
Douglas MacArthur, Wellesley, Mass.
- Julius Butler--nationally known business and Christian leader of
Chicago, Illinois.
- Mrs. Mary D. Cain--Publisher, "Summit Sun;" (Miss.) Chr.,
"Congress of Freedom," Summit, Miss.
- Miss Taylor Caldwell--Noted author of "Pillar of Iron."
- Layman W. Cameron--Veteran radio and television personality, who
now devotes his full time to fighting communism, San Antonio, Tex.
- Brigadier General William P. Campbell--Vice President, "National
Education Program," Searcy, Ark.
- F. Gano Chance--Distinguished Libertarian Industrialist, Centralia,
Missouri

Honorable James H. R. Cromwell--Industrialist; Former Ambassador to Canada, New York, N. Y.

James C. Davis--Publisher, Atlanta Times, Atlanta, Ga.

Robert C. Dilley--Des Moines, Iowa business man and ardent patriot. Author of "Message for America."

Dr. John Dunn, M.D.--Richardson, Texas; outstanding anti-communist and the man who exposed Billie Sol Estes.

Harry T. Everingham--Executive Secretary of "We, The People!" A national conservative leader. Chicago, Ill.

Honorable Hamilton Fish--Former Congressman from New York.

Dr. George Hess--Practicing physician of Bunker Hill, Illinois; past President Association of American Physicians & Surgeons.

Dr. Bob Jones, Jr.--President, Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina.

Calvin K. Katter--Patriotic business man from Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Joe L. Keyes--Prominent Phoenix Accountant. Outstanding patriot and Anti-Communist leader.

Walter Knott--Knott's Berry Farm, Buena Park, Calif.

Fred C. Koch--President, Rock Island Oil Company, Wichita, Kansas.

Honorable J. Bracken Lee--Mayor, Salt Lake City, Utah.

D. B. Lewis--President, Dr. Ross Pet Food Company; T. V. sponsor of Dan Smoot, Los Angeles, Calif.

Milton M. Lory--President American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, Past Pres. Gen'l, S.A.R.

Lieut. General Sumter L. Lowry--U. S. Air Force, Retired, Tampa, Florida.

W. D. Malone--Chairman of the Board, First National Bank, Dothan, Alabama, whose untiring effort for truth has made his city a stronghold of freedom.

Clarence E. Manion--Former Dean, Notre Dame Law School, Moderator,
"The Manion Forum," South Bend, Indiana.

Miss Betty McConkey--Director, Wide-Awake Anti-Communism Crusaders, Des Moines, Iowa.

Thurman H. McCoy--Patriotic Retail Merchant, Atlanta, Georgia.

Carroll D. McQueen--President, McQueen Foundry & Supply Co of
Irondale, Alabama.

A. B. McReynolds--Brandon, Florida; founder-director Kiamichi
Christian Missions of Eastern Oklahoma, the man who inspired
Billy James Hargis to begin Christian Crusade.

Pete Mokszycki--Steel executive and leading Texas Conservative, Ft.
Worth, Texas.

Brigadier General Richard B. Moran--Distinguished Patriot and military
man, decorated by governments of five countries, Kerrville, Texas.

R. D. Munger--Business executive of Little Rock, Ark. Militant
Christian patriot.

R. J. Muscardini--Texas contractor and outstanding patriot, active in
local and national anti-communist activities, Ft. Worth, Texas.

Robert E. Nesmith--Patriotic Industrialist, Houston, Tex.

Dr. Revilo P. Oliver--Professor, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

D. C. Parks--Bakersfield, California; dedicated anti-communist
lecturer of Southern California and outstanding Church of Christ
layman.

Mrs. Jessica Wyatt Payne--W. Va. Americanism Chairman, American
Legion Auxiliary, Huntington, W. Va.

Dr. Charles Poling, Pastor, Church of All Christian Faiths--Phoenix,
Arizona; outstanding Protestant clergyman and member of famous
Protestant family.

Hugh S. Ramsey, M.D.--Conservative Crusader, Bloomington, Ind.

John H. Rousselot--Division Coordinator, John Birch Society.
Distinguished speaker and patriot.

Edgar A. Scheubert--Oak Park, Illinois; prominent Chicago Investor
and real estate promoter; long time friend of pro-American
activities.

Dr. George H. Sciaroni, M.D.--An outstanding leader in the conserva-
tive ranks of Fresno, California.

John Scott--Farmer, business man, conservative leader in "Plains
States," Gilbey, North Dakota.

Paul E. Smith--Pastor of the Concho Baptist Church of Coleman, Texas,
who has taken an exemplary stand for conservative Christianity.

R. B. Snowden--Distinguished Arkansas Planter, Memphis, Tenn.

Frank Spaulding--Well known Texas business man and Christian patriot
of Odessa, Texas.

Lieutenant General George S. Stratemeyer--U. S. Army, Retired,
Winter Park, Fla.

Julius A. Stubbs--Businessman of Sumter, South Carolina. Active in
local and national conservative and patriotic activities.

J. Lloyd Suttie--Albuquerque businessman and avid Anti-Communist.

Neil Thackaberry--Pasadena, California; conservative Industrial leader
and chief donor of the Christian Crusade Anti-Communist Youth
University in Colorado.

John W. Unger--Attorney of Danville, Illinois, great champion of free-
dom and conservatism.

W. H. Vickers--Pueblo restaurant owner and one of the most dynamic
young patriots in Colorado.

Major General C. A. Willoughby--Chief of Intelligence for General
MacArthur during World War II and the Korean War, Washington,
D. C.

APPENDIX C

This questionnaire is a part of a thesis being written on Dr. Hargis and Christian Crusade. You will note that your identity is not revealed on the questionnaire. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

1. Age _____
2. Sex: Male _____ Female _____
3. Check the highest education level which your father has attained:
Elementary school _____, Jr. High _____, High School _____,
College _____, Graduate School _____. If you checked college what
was his major? _____.
4. What is your father's occupation?
Own Business _____, Small Farmer _____, Larger Farmer _____,
Professional _____, Executive _____, White Collar _____,
Clerical/Sales _____, Skilled Labor _____, Unskilled labor _____,
Retired _____, Other _____.
5. What is the approximate annual income of your family?
Under \$4,000 _____, \$4,000-7,000 _____, \$7,000-10,000 _____,
\$10,000-20,000 _____, Over \$20,000 _____.
6. What was the approximate amount of your family contribution to
Christian Crusade last year? _____.
7. How many children are in your family?
1 _____, 2 _____, 3 _____, 4 _____, 5 _____, 6 _____, 7 _____, 8 _____,
9 _____, Over 9 _____.
8. What is your church affiliation or preference? _____.
Member? Yes _____, No _____.
9. What is the predominant national origin of your family?
English _____, Scotch _____, Irish _____, German _____, French _____,
Scandinavian _____, Italian _____, Slavic _____, Jewish _____, Negro _____,
American Indian _____, Other _____.
10. What Political Party does your father usually support?
Democratic _____, Republican _____, Independent _____, None _____.

11. What is the approximate size of the community in which you live?
Under 1,000 _____, 1,000-5,000 _____, 5,000-20,000 _____,
20,000-50,000 _____, 50,000-100,000 _____, Over 100,000 _____.
12. How long have you lived in the state in which you presently live?
_____.
13. Does your family read a daily newspaper? Yes _____, No. _____.
14. Has your father served in the Armed Forces? Yes _____, No _____.
15. To which patriotic, civic, or social organizations does your father belong?

This questionnaire is a part of a thesis being written on Dr. Hargis and Christian Crusade. You will note that your identity is not revealed on the questionnaire. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

1. Age _____
2. Sex: Male _____ Female _____
3. Check the highest education level which you have attained:
Elementary school _____, Jr. High _____, High School _____
College _____, Graduate School _____. If you checked college what was your major? _____.
4. What is your occupation?
Own Business _____, Small Farmer _____, Large Farmer _____,
Professional _____, Executive _____, White Collar _____,
Clerical/Sales _____, Skilled Labor _____, Unskilled Labor _____,
Retired _____, Other _____.
5. What is your approximate annual income?
Under \$4,000 _____, \$4,000-7,000 _____, \$7,000-10,000 _____,
\$10,000-20,000 _____, Over \$20,000 _____.
6. What was the approximate amount of your contribution to Christian Crusade last year? _____
7. What is the size of your household, including married children?
1 _____, 2 _____, 3 _____, 4 _____, 5 _____, 6 _____, 7 _____, 8 _____,
9, _____, Over 9 _____.
8. What is your denominational preference? _____
9. What is your predominant ethnic background?
English _____, Scotch _____, Irish _____, German _____, French _____,
Scandinavian _____, Italian _____, Slavic _____, Jewish _____,
Negro _____, American Indian _____, Other _____.
10. What Political Party do you usually support?
Democratic _____, Republican _____, Independent _____, None _____.
11. What is the approximate size of the community in which you live?
Under 1,000 _____, 1,000-5,000 _____, 5,000-20,000 _____,
20,000-50,000 _____, 50,000-100,000 _____, Over 100,000 _____.
12. How long have you lived in the state in which you presently live?
_____.
13. Do you read a daily newspaper? Yes _____, No _____.

14. Have you or your spouse ever served in the Armed Forces?

Yes _____, No _____.

15. To what other patriotic, civic, or social organizations do you belong?

APPENDIX D

Selected Questions from the Anti-Communist Youth University Examinations

"ANTI-COMMUNIST QUIZ"

1. Which of the following men influenced the thinking of Karl Marx:
a. Bauer b. Stalin c. Lenin d. Hiss e. Kaganovich
2. Who helped Marx write the Manifesto:
a. Lenin b. Stalin c. Grandma Moses d. Engels e. Feuerbach
3. When Marx died, his funeral was attended by _____ people:
a. 3 b. 6 c. 26 d. 36 e. none
4. Fabian Socialism was introduced into government and the press by:
a. Ed Murrow b. Walter Lippmann c. John Abt d. Bridges
e. none of these
5. Who was with President Roosevelt at the Yalta Conference:
a. Alger Hiss b. Dean Acheson c. Harold J. Laski d. Jesse James
e. Eleanor Roosevelt
6. Pick out the State Department employee who wasn't a communist:
a. Glasser b. Perlo c. Durrie d. Gus Hall e. Silvermaster
7. Alger Hiss, Nathan Witt, Harry Dexter White, John Abt, Currie all graduated from: a. Columbia b. University of Wisconsin
c. Yale d. Princeton e. None of these
8. The following communist did not graduate from an American university:
a. Jagan b. Hiss c. Castro d. Currie e. Pressman
9. Which communist picked up his communism at Union Theological Seminary:
a. Hiss b. Rauschenbusch c. James Domorowshi d. Carl Broden
e. Frank Wilkinson

10. What probable communist espionage agent was given \$50,000 by President Johnson:
a. Alger Hiss b. Owen Lattimore c. Joseph Barnes
d. Robert Oppenheimer e. David Hawkins
11. Who lost a federal job for writing an anti-communist column in a weekly newspaper:
a. Fulton Lewis, Jr. b. Fulton Lewis, III c. Don Caron
d. Orville Freeman e. Adlai Stevenson
12. What communist came out of the woodwork to unofficially represent the U. S. A. in outer Mongolia:
a. Alger Hiss b. John Abt c. Jagan d. Lattimore e. Uphaus
13. Who was the communist in the White House during F. D. R.'s administration:
a. Harry White b. Lauchlin Currie c. Tom Dewey d. Martin Dies
e. None of these
14. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., received his full professorship at Harvard because:
a. He earned his Ph.D. at Harvard b. His daddy was head of the history department c. His mother knew the President of the school
d. Schlesinger wrote a true account of General MacArthur
e. None of these
15. What name does not belong in the sell-out to Castro:
a. Ed Murrow b. Herb Matthews c. Ed Sullivan d. Jules Buboiss
e. Earl Smith
16. One of the three men who sold the U. S. out at Yalta was:
a. F. D. R. b. Truman c. Ike d. Harry F. Ward e. Harry Hopkins
17. Who applied for membership in the American Civil Liberties Union shortly before he died?
a. Lee Harvey Oswald b. W.E.B. DuBois c. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
d. Joe Hill e. Pete Seeger

"COMMUNISM, SOCIALISM AND KEYNESIANISM"

1. The American Broadcasting Company allowed _____ to sit in judgment of Richard Nixon:
a. Drew Pearson b. Nikita Khrushchev c. Alger Hiss
d. Lester Pearson e. Dick Tracy
2. Mark Van Doren influenced the thinking of _____ to a point where _____ joined the Communist Party.
a. Alger Hiss b. Whittaker Chambers c. Elizabeth Bentley
d. Gus Hall e. William Z. Foster
3. Personalities in CBS, LOOK Magazine, and THIS WEEK Magazine have been traced to activities in:
a. CPUSA b. Tamiment Institute c. Jefferson School
d. Group Research e. Christian Crusade
4. The University in America which perpetrated radical socialism through its graduate department and hence to other schools was:
a. Yale b. Harvard c. Johns Hopkins d. Wisconsin e. Columbia
5. The prominent American who graduated from the Fabian London School of Economics was:
a. Harry Truman b. Eisenhower c. John F. Kennedy
d. Lyndon Johnson e. Eleanor Roosevelt
6. Contrary to common belief, the movement against slavery was not a movement for:
a. integration b. segregation c. apartness d. separateness
e. none of these
7. How many Negroes have been "lynched" in America since 1900?
a. 25 b. 100 c. 500 d. 1797 e. 3195
8. Over the same period, how many whites have been killed by Negroes?
a. 3195 b. 6,000 c. 10,000 d. 25,000 e. 100,000
9. Sociology was "born" in the deranged minds of:
a. Comte and Darwin b. Saint-Simon and Comte
c. Darwin and Lamarck d. none of these

10. The head of the Department of Philosophy at CCNY where Morris Cohen perverted our legal system through "legal-Philosophy" was"
 - a. John Dewey b. Harry Overstreet c. Felix Cohen
 - d. Arthur Schlesinger, Sr. e. Oliver W. Holmes
11. What U. S. President roundly put Felix Frankfurter in his Bolshevik place?
 - a. Truman b. FDR c. Kennedy d. Johnson e. Teddy Roosevelt
12. What fabian socialist wrote the book The Great Society?
 - a. Graham Wallas b. Walter Lippmann c. Stuart Chase
 - d. Bertrand Russell e. Bernard Shaw

VITA

Thomas Wayne DeHanas

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Thesis: AMERICA'S MODERN DAY MESSIAH: BILLY JAMES
HARGIS AND HIS CHRISTIAN CRUSADE--A CASE STUDY
IN EXTREMISM

Major Field: Political Science

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Tulsa, Oklahoma, May 24, 1942, the
son of Everett M. and Wyota L. DeHanas.

Education: Attended grade school in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and
Wheaton, Maryland; graduated from Frankfurt American
High School, Frankfurt, Germany, in 1960; attended
Northeastern A&M College, Miami, Oklahoma, in 1960-
1961; received the Bachelor of Arts degree from Oklahoma
State University, with a major in Political Science, in
May, 1964; completed requirements for the Master of
Arts degree in May, 1966.

Professional experience: Graduate Teaching Assistant, Depart-
ment of Political Science, Oklahoma State University,
1964-1965.

Professional Organization: Member of Pi Sigma Alpha.