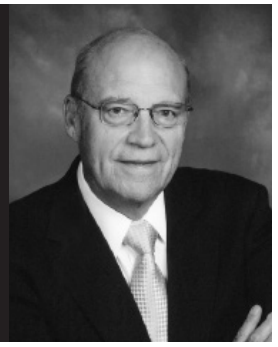




Dr. Fred Schwarz

The Schwarz Report



Dr. David Noebel

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Christians in the Crosshairs

by Raymond Ibrahim

“Two hundred fifteen million Christians experience high levels of persecution” around the world, says Open Doors, a human rights organization. On its recently released World Watch List 2018, which ranks the world’s 50 worst nations wherein to be Christian, 3,066 Christians were killed, 1,252 abducted, and 1,020 raped or sexually harassed on account of their faith; 793 churches were attacked or destroyed.

The Islamic world has the lion’s share of Christian persecution; 38 of the 50 worst nations are Muslim-majority. The report further cites “Islamic oppression” behind the “extreme persecution” that prevails in eight of the top 10 worst nations. In short, the overwhelming majority of persecution that these 215 million Christians experience around the world—especially the worst forms, such as rape and murder—occurs at the hands of Muslims.

These Muslims come from all walks of life and reflect a variety of races, nationalities, languages, socio-economic, and political circumstances. They include Muslims from among America’s closest allies (Saudi Arabia #12 worst persecutor) and Muslims from its opponents (Iran #10); Muslims from rich nations (Qatar #27 and Kuwait #34) and Muslims from poor nations (Afghanistan #2, Somalia #3, and Yemen #9); Muslims from widely recognized “radical” nations (Pakistan #5), and Muslims from “moderate” nations (Malaysia #23 and Indonesia #38).

But if the World Watch List ranks North Korea—non-Islamic, communist—as the number one worst persecutor of Christians, why belabor the religious identity of Muslims? Surely North Korea’s top spot suggests that Christian persecution is not intrinsic to the Islamic world but is rather a byproduct of repressive regimes and other socio-economic factors that especially proliferate throughout the Muslim world?

Here some important distinctions need to be made. While Christians are indeed experiencing a “life of hell” in North Korea, overthrowing Kim Jong-un’s regime could not only lead to a quick halt to this persecution but also to a rise of Christianity—as happened in Russia. Under the Soviet Union, between 12 and 25 million Christians were killed for their faith and approximately 153,000 churches were shut down. Since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, about a thousand churches have been (re)built every year; and according to a 2014 Pew report, between 1991 and 2008, Russians identifying themselves as Orthodox Christian rose from 31% to 72%. And that “South Korea is so distinctively Christian” reflects what could be in store—and creating fear for—its northern counterpart.

In the Islamic world, the fall of dictatorial regimes rarely alleviates the sufferings of Christians. On the contrary; where secular dictators fall—Saddam in Iraq, Qaddafi in Libya, and attempts against Assad in Syria—persecution of Christians rises as a grassroots byproduct. Today, Iraq is the eighth worst nation in the world in which to be Christian, Syria is fifteenth, and Libya seventh. Under dictators, these countries were significantly safer for religious minorities.

Similarly, the only countries that were part of the former Soviet Union that still persecute Christians are, rather tellingly, the Muslim-majority ones of Central Asia. These include Uzbekistan (#16 worst persecutor), Turkmenistan (#19), Tajikistan (#22), Kazakhstan (28) and Azerbaijan (45).

The “extreme persecution” of Christians throughout the Muslim world is part of a continuum—or “tradition”—that started nearly 14 centuries ago. The same patterns of persecution prevalent today—including blasphemy and apostasy attacks, restrictions and/or attacks on churches, and a general contempt for followed by the vile treatment of “subhuman infidels”—are often identical to those from centuries past.

Unlike the persecution of Christians in communist nations which is rooted to a particular regime, the Muslim persecution of Christians is perennial, existential, and far transcends this or that regime or ruler. It is part of the history, doctrines,

and socio-political makeup of Islam—hence its tenacity and ubiquity.

That those persecuting Christians come from a wide variety of racial, linguistic, cultural, and socioeconomic backgrounds—from African, Arab, Asian, and Caucasian nations—and share little in common with one another, except for Islam, further underscores the true source of the persecution.

If time is on the side of Christians living under communist regimes, it is not on the side of Christians living under Islam; quite the opposite. Carthage, once a bastion of Christianity—where one of Christendom’s greatest theologians (St. Augustine) was born and where the New Testament canon was confirmed in 397 AD—is today 99 percent Muslim-majority Tunisia. Centuries of persecution and dhimmi status are responsible for the demographic shift it and other former centers of Christianity—such as Egypt (#17) and Turkey (or Anatolia, formerly the great Byzantine Empire, #31)—have experienced.

Long after North Korea’s psychotic Kim Jong-un has gone, tens of millions of Christians and other “infidels” will continue to suffer persecution, till what began in the seventh century reaches fruition and the entire Islamic world becomes “infidel” free, as it is in some regions and on its way to becoming in others (e.g., Iraq). Confronting these discomfiting facts is the first real step to countering the world.

—*FrontPageMag.com*, January 25, 2018

The Great Sexual Harassment Revolution

by J.R. Dunn

The great Sexual Harassment Panic of 2017 is at last dying down. We can safely look at a screen without being overwhelmed by stories in which yet another loser—or more than one—has been outed for mistreating or exploiting women. Resignations have been myriad, careers have been destroyed, and one suicide has occurred. We’re assured that the entire episode has been a watershed, that Things Have Changed permanently. It’s an earthquake, says Meryl Streep. Others hail “a new socio-sexual revolution.”

But what exactly has changed? Earthquakes are noted for massive and universal destruction, revolutions for the guillotine and the firing squad.

In fact, a cursory examination of the scene reveals. . . absolutely nothing. We stand at the same point we were at before it all happened.

A large number of creeps have been outed and ejected, and that’s generally a good thing. These were all trash—Harvey Weinstein, Al Franken, Garrison Keillor, John Conyers. They will not be missed. They should have been nailed a long time ago, and they would have been nailed for something eventually.

But apart from that, nothing. A new day? Where? A new system? In what sense?

By system, I’m not talking about a reporting system, an intervention system, a surveillance system, or any other bureaucratic or ideological structure designed to exert social control. No, I’m speaking here about the kind of social system that, though largely invisible and widely unacknowledged (and nonexistent to feminist scholarship), does in fact exert sanctions and set limits on behavior. This kind of systems, a shadow function of communities and societies, is the only effective method of controlling antisocial activity. They are also the first to be eliminated by ideological liberalism.

The system controlling sexual abuses was clear and well understood. Women had a certain status that was acknowledged and respected by everyone. Their safety was secured by a vast distributed network of males who looked out for the interests of females they did not know personally, in the secure knowledge that other men unknown to them were looking out for the interests of their own sisters, daughters, and wives. If a Weinstein or a Conyers bothered a woman, she could appeal for protection to her brothers, her male friends or coworkers, or even a man walking down the street—and she would get it. The interloper would be sent on his way, the coworker or boss warned. If it didn’t end, then sanctions up to and including physical violence would occur. In more atrocious situations, such as rape or molestation, the solution might even be more drastic. Everyone in my generation heard the story in which the detective took aside a male relative of an assaulted woman and said, “We know who did this, but we can’t prove it. We’ll give you his name, and you take it from there.”

Women set the standards, and men enforced them. That’s how it worked. Again, most men of my generation have stories—in most cases many stories—where a woman appealed for help on such grounds. Once, on a cold winter night in the early ’80s, I was walking down MacDougal Street in Greenwich Village when I noticed a large crowd gathered in front of a brownstone. A girl was

leaning out her window, screaming, “Help me! Someone’s beating on the door. They’re trying to get in. . .”

The crowd, fifty or more, largely male and most likely from the local branch of the Universal Betas Association (more generally known as NYU), were gaping up at her as if she were a TV screen. Pushing through them, I called out, “Throw me your keys.”

I caught them and let myself in, racing upstairs with no idea of what I would be facing. But instead of a gang of Terminators or a Sandinista death squad, it turned out to be a drunk sprawled on the hallway floor, howling and banging on the door. I told him to shut up and dragged him across the hall. Knocking on the girl’s door, I explained the situation to her and handed her the keys. She thanked me and, still nervous, returned to her apartment. I turned to leave, and that’s when the boys in blue, taking only a quarter to half an hour to get there from a precinct house five blocks away, finally appeared.

They looked at me; looked at the drunk; and then, virtually as one, cried out, “Bobby!”

Racing to the drunk, they bent over him, anxiously asking him, “Did that man knock you down, Bobby?” “Did he hit you?”

Great, I thought. The beloved precinct drunk.

The older cop turned to me and shouted. “You just stand right there, fella.”

At that moment, two other cops appeared. “Is that Bobby?” “My God, what happened to Bobby?”

Taking advantage of the confusion, I slipped around the corner and snuck downstairs and out the door. The mob was dispersing, and several other cops were piling out of their cruiser to Bobby’s rescue. I ran down to Bleecker and then slowed to a self-consciously casual stroll.

That’s the way it works. The betas will not help you. The cops will be late and, likely as not, useless when they appear. What is required is somebody who, despite his sporting a biker jacket, earring, and a spiked punk haircut, still lives under the old dispensation, according to the old rules.

That’s the way it was. Informal yet effective. Were there errors? Certainly. But there wasn’t much in the way of Weinstains, Frankens, and certainly Kevin Spaceys.

Because the trash understood the rules as well.

It doesn’t work that way anymore. That system has been dismantled. Weinstein and the rest took advantage of the fact that there were no longer any rules and simply imposed their own. The eradication of the gentleman – which most people don’t know evolved from the role of the knight (that is, someone who lived by a code of honor), the sanctification of the beta male (Anybody with questions as to what I mean by that term need merely look at [this video]—the betas are the ones sitting in the background, silently gazing off into space with blank looks on their faces while the ladies slug it out.), and the feminist discouraging of women turning to males for anything at all marked the end of general protection of females as a way of life. As that way of life has receded, we have, naturally enough, seen an upsurge of violence and exploitation of women. If unchecked, it will eventually reach the point that it did in Montreal on December 6, 1989, when a slug named Mark Lépine entered a classroom at the École Polytechnique with a rifle and a blade. He ordered the men to leave, and all those staunch betas got up, left, and then stolidly waited outside while Lépine murdered fourteen helpless girls (and yes, ladies, they were college students, so they were girls). That’s how it is in Quebec. That wouldn’t happen even today in many areas of the U.S. But a generation ago, it wouldn’t have happened at all—and the areas where it could happen are spreading.

They’re spreading because, with the old system largely destroyed apart from Cro-Magnons like myself, no other system has been created to replace it. This is typical of postmodern liberal ideology, which is unparalleled at destroying things but has no skill at construction. Obama completed the demolition of the US health care system and “replaced” it with Obamacare, which is being put out of its misery at the hands of Donald Trump. Obama’s sideshow foreign policy team destroyed the *modus vivendi* prevailing in the Middle East, resulting in the deaths of hundreds of thousands in a cataclysm that has still not been completely extinguished. It has become a cliché—pulling down is one thing, but when it’s time for the real work, they’re nowhere to be found.

And that is the story with sex. The old method of do-

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ing things is verboten, nothing has replaced it, and our ladies are suffering as a result. Meryl and her girlfriends are whistling in the dark.

Just look at whom they hired to run the inquiry: Anita Hill, a gibbering neurotic whose sole claim to fame is accusing a great man of telling risqué jokes. Sheer empty symbolism, with nary an iota of substance behind it.

Hill's "commission" will emerge with some kind of Code of Behavior that they will insist that men obey, a code that will effectively eliminate banter, flirting, jokes, compliments, even eye contact, while leaving the actual problem untouched. The world at large will shrug it off as an asinine extension of P.C. The Weinsteins and Lauers will simply maneuver around it, choosing their targets more carefully and honing their tactics. Men who brutalize women are psychically twisted. Unless physically restrained, they are not going to stop. Certainly not at the behest of a tag team run by Anita Hill.

Regardless, this new Code of Conduct will become the Thing. It will be posted in offices and public places. H.R. personnel will be required to memorize it, workers forced to sign copies, which will be kept on file. It will be enforced among the more ethereal levels of society—the media, large corporations, academia. Much will be made of it.

And it will fail. It will not halt a single case of sexual exploitation, for the simple reason that it will be not be backed up by social consensus in any tangible way whatsoever.

It will have no effect on sexual harassment in the real world, any more than the tens of thousands of reports, articles, learned papers, and studies have in the past.

This won't continue. It's one of that class of things that can't go on and won't go on. Men want to be heroes to their women, and women want their men to be heroes. If a woman had complained to any normal male outside of the Quebecois system of higher education, somebody would have clocked Lauer or Weinstein or Franken, and that would have ended it. But they didn't, out of fear, or ambition, but also because we don't live in that world anymore. We live in a world that has deliberately been made more complex and at the same time more stupid. We will remain on cruise control until the next blowup.

A lot of people will suffer before it ends. As is always and ever the case, liberalism, the ideology of neurotic females and beta males, degrades everything it touches.

—*American Thinker*, January 2, 2018

Roe v. Wade

by James C. Dobson

A new year has begun, and with it comes a national remembrance marked by sorrow and shame. On January 22, 1973, the Supreme Court handed down two rulings that would change our country, and the world, forever. I'll never forget that day. At that time, I was a professor at the University of Southern California School of Medicine, and I had spent the day on campus. I was driving home and listening to the radio when I heard a tragic announcement. Those two decisions were *Roe v. Wade* and *Doe v. Bolton*. Seven justices had voted to legalize abortion throughout nine months of pregnancy, for any reason (or for no reason). America had declared war on its unborn babies and vulnerable mothers. Now, 45 years later, more than 58 million preborn babies have been murdered in hospitals and clinics all over the country.

My father and I grieved that night over this brutal assault on human life. The following Sunday morning, Shirley and I waited to see what our pastor would say from the pulpit. He was a good man and a great minister, but he was silent on that day. Most of Protestant America reacted with the same disinterest. It was a non-issue in most churches. The exception was the Catholic leadership, which understood the significance of the Supreme Court's decisions. Many of its priests spoke out against the carnage.

It would be 11 years before a president of the United States, Ronald Reagan, spoke up in defense of unborn babies. His predecessors, Gerald Ford and his wife, Betty, and Jimmy Carter and his wife, Rosalynn, were all avid supporters of abortion on demand. But on January 13, 1984, Ronald Reagan issued a presidential proclamation designating January 22, 1984, as National Sanctity of Human Life Day. It stated the following:

The values and freedoms we cherish as Americans rest on our fundamental commitment to the sanctity of human life. The first of the "unalienable rights" affirmed by our Declaration of Independence is the right to life itself, a right the Declaration states has been endowed by our Creator on all human beings—whether young or old, weak or strong, healthy or handicapped.

Reagan went on to say:

Since 1973, however, more than 15 million unborn children have died in legalized abortions—a tragedy of stunning dimensions that stands in sad contrast to our belief that each life

is sacred. These children, over tenfold the number of Americans lost in all our Nation's wars, will never laugh, never sing, never experience the joy of human love; nor will they strive to heal the sick, or feed the poor, or make peace among nations. Abortion has denied them the first and most basic of human rights, and we are infinitely poorer for their loss.

We are poorer, not simply for lives not led and for contributions not made, but also for the erosion of our sense of the worth and dignity of every individual. To diminish the value of one category of human life is to diminish us all.

Thank God for Ronald Reagan! I believe he would have ended the carnage of abortion if he had had the Congressional votes to pass his legislation. Unfortunately, Reagan nominated two Supreme Court Justices who turned out to support abortion.

As the 1980s passed, the pro-life movement gathered momentum. Activist Phyllis Schlafly took on the cause and convinced millions of American conservatives to become involved in the battle to save babies. She had a major impact on me, personally.

On April 28, 1990, National Right to Life organized an incredible rally in Washington, D.C., on behalf of pre-born children. I have never seen anything like it. The event was held at the Washington Monument in the nation's capital, and a crowd estimated to exceed 400,000 participants completely surrounded the monument. It extended down the mall and up each side street.

I was one of the speakers that day. My son, Ryan, and I were wearing bulletproof vests as I stepped to the platform. I don't remember everything I said, but I do recall saying with passion, "I will NEVER cast a single vote for any candidate who will kill one innocent baby." The crowd roared in agreement. (If you were there, I wish you would write and share your thoughts with me.)

We come now to our day and to the president who may turn out to be the most pro-life chief executive of them all. He is Donald Trump, who, in one year in office, has done more to protect unborn babies than any of his predecessors. Consider what he has accomplished for that cause in his first year in power:

1) One of the first actions by President Trump after the inauguration in January 2017 was to reinstate the Mexico City Policy that bans U.S. funding for non-governmental organizations that promote abortions overseas. Trump sent Vice President Mike Pence and presidential counselor, Kellyanne Conway, to speak at the March for Life in Washington on January, 22, 2017.

2) In April 2017, Trump signed a resolution that overturned former President Barack Obama's end-of-tenure rule that forced states to provide family planning grants under Title X to Planned Parenthood and other abortion providers.

3) Also in April 2017, the State Department announced it would withhold federal funding from the U.N. Population Fund because of its support of Chinese agencies that perform forced abortions and sterilizations.

4) Trump also began leaving a potentially significant pro-life mark on the judicial branch, with his nominations of new judges for the federal courts. The most significant appointment so far has been naming Neil Gorsuch to the Supreme Court as successor to the late Associate Justice Antonin Scalia. Gorsuch was approved by the Senate on April 7, 2017.

5) President Trump nominated Amy Barrett to the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago. She was confirmed by the U.S. Senate on October 31. "Judge Amy Barrett's confirmation is a victory for the pro-life movement as well as for the fundamental freedom of all Americans to live out their faith in the public square. We thank President Trump for keeping his promise to nominate judges who will respect the Constitution and not impose a pro-abortion agenda from the bench," said Susan B. Anthony List president Marjorie Dannenfelser.

6) The House did approve the Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act to prohibit abortions after 20 weeks—but the bill remains stalled in the Senate. Trump promised his pro-life supporters he would sign the bill into law if it reached his desk.

7) In October, Trump also officially reversed the Obama administration's HHS contraceptive mandate for employers with religious and moral objections. The provision forced most employers to provide free birth control, sterilization procedures, and abortion-inducing drugs to employees through health insurance plans.

8) On December 12, the Senate approved a pro-life appellate court nominee and pro-life groups are celebrating the confirmation of Steve Graszo to the United States Court of Appeals for the 8th Circuit Court. (While serving as Nebraska's Chief Deputy Attorney General, Judge Graszo authored nine briefs in the US Supreme Court and defended the state's ban on partial-birth abortion before the Supreme Court in *Stenberg v. Carhart*.)

A Final Word

For those of us who believe that all human life is a gift from God and worthy of protection, our mission will remain clear regardless of the shifting tides of public opinion. We at Family Talk will stay the course to pro-

mote legislation that preserves and defends the sanctity of life at every stage, from conception to the grave. With the elections coming up later this year, I hope you will do everything you can to stay informed on this issue. Family Talk will be tracking important developments as election season draws near. You can keep updated by logging on to our website at drjamesdobson.org. And by all means, see that you are properly registered to vote in November. Not one citizen can afford to sit out on that day of decision!

I hope you will join me in praying that, regardless of our laws, and regardless of who is in office at any given time, Americans would once again embrace the biblical values upon which our belief in the sanctity of human life is based. As more and more people come to realize that every life is important and worthy of protection—whether a developing baby in the womb, a conflicted woman facing a choice, or an elderly hospice patient who can no longer care for himself—may they gain a newfound awareness of the loving Creator of all life. It's up to us, by our words and deeds, to help make sure that happens. May God grant us strength and resolve for the challenges that lie ahead.

Thank you for your ongoing support for Family Talk as we look forward to 2018. This ministry will continue to fight for the sanctity of human life as long as we have a voice with which to speak. We appreciate you all.

—January 2018 *Familytalk* Newsletter

CAIR's Terrorist

by Lloyd Billingsley

On Monday a federal court in Sacramento will hold an evidentiary hearing on Hamid Hayat, 35, currently serving a 24-year sentence on terrorism charges. Hayat's legal team will attempt to vacate the 2006 conviction, with support from the northern California division of the Council on American Islamic Relations.

"We welcome the court's decision to hear new evidence in this case and hope that Mr. Hayat will be given a fair chance to present his appeal," said CAIR executive director Basim Elkarra in a statement. "With Mr. Hayat's case, there are legitimate concerns that he did not receive a fair trial."

The Muslim Legal Fund of America "began funding the expenses for this case in 2014 because representatives were deeply concerned over growing evidence that

Hayat was convicted largely on the basis of his religious identity rather than any evidence of wrongdoing." According to MLFA executive director Khalil Meek, "Hayat was essentially convicted for possessing a prayer written on paper that asked God for protection. Imagine what impact this will have on everyone's First Amendment rights if this conviction stands."

Hayat's lawyer Dennis Riordan, one of the top appeal attorneys in the nation, told the MLFA, "We believe that this is the most important legal case involving Muslim interests currently in courts of this country. This motion to vacate Hayat's conviction is currently the best vehicle for exposing the harmful effects of anti-Muslim bias in American courtrooms." Last June, Riordan told the *Intercept*, "It's going to be obvious that, not only should he have prevailed at trial, but that he's factually innocent."

The January 29 hearing was ordered by federal judge Deborah Barnes, a relative newcomer to California's Eastern District bench and a veteran of the California attorney general's office. So Hayat's CAIR and MFLA-backed legal team had done some judge shopping and it paid off. Barnes' June 7, 2017 order raised "serious questions concerning the competency of the defense."

Hamid Hayat was convicted in 2006 on four counts of terrorism and lying to the FBI. In 2013 the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld his conviction and in 2014 US District Judge Garland Burrell denied Hayat's motion for summary judgment to vacate his conviction. Following that ruling former US Attorney McGregor Scott, who headed the Hayat's 2006 prosecution, told reporters it was "a righteous prosecution and a just result."

In 2007, federal authorities argued against a new trial for Hayat, and as their legal brief noted, Hayat claimed that jihad was the duty of all Muslims. In recorded interviews, Hayat gleefully stated he was "so pleased" that jihadis had cut *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl "into pieces." Hayat said Pearl "was Jewish" and that as a result of this "good job," now "they can't send one Jewish person to Pakistan."

The brief noted that from 1990 to 2000, Hayat was raised by his grandparents in Rawalpindi, Pakistan, where Hayat attended a madrassa run by his grandfather. The California-born Hayat explained that the United States was his country "in name only," that his "heart belongs to Pakistan," and that he "never, ever considered himself American."

Hayat and his father Umer Hayat, who also served time for lying to the FBI, sent money to the Sipah-e-Sahaba (SSP) jihadi group. After initial denials, Hayat told FBI agents, "he attended a jihadi camp both in 2000 and

2003-4, that he received training, and that he returned to the United States with an intent to commit jihad here.”

Hayat’s 2006 attorney Wazhma Mojaddidi served as president of CAIR in Sacramento and conducted the defense in concert with former federal prosecutor Johnny Griffin III. Hayat’s current attorney Dennis Riordan now claims the defense was defective. For his part, federal prosecutor Andre Espinosa contended that “Hayat’s chosen counsel provided him with independent, zealous, and competent representation,” and that “any purported deficiencies did not legally affect his representation or prejudice him.”

Mojaddidi denies she was to blame for losing the case and she may appear as a defense witness in the January hearing. In that proceeding, family members and other witnesses will reportedly testify that Hamid Hayat was not abroad long enough to have attended a terrorist training camp.

His supporters claim Hayat’s April 2003 trip to Pakistan was to get married and help his mother obtain medical care. According to the *Sacramento Bee*, “some of that testimony is expected to take place in unusual nighttime court sessions via live video-conferencing with four witnesses in Pakistan.”

Even with sympathetic judge Deborah Barnes, the outcome of the proceedings remains uncertain. It has been established, on the other hand, that while in prison Hamid Hayat has not been able to carry out any acts of terrorism against the United States.

The same is true for California Muslim convert Nicholas Teasant, who aspired to blow up “Zionist” day-care centers and was arrested en route to Syria where he planned to fight with the Islamic State.

In June, 2016, U.S. District Judge John Mendez sentenced Teasant to 12 years in prison followed by 25 years of supervision. With offences related to terrorism, Mendez said, “There is no room for error. The risks are too high.”

—*FrontPageMag.com*, January 29, 2018

The Frankfurt School

by Paul Gottfried

Franklin Einspruch, a commentator in *The Federalist*, describes me as a “circumspect conservative” scholar who has written responsibly about Cultural Marxism. I’m also deemed to be a conservative who agrees with other conservative critics of the Frankfurt School on the harmful effects of this group’s radical ideas. But I must part ways with Mr. Einspruch when he tells us: “It’s plain fact that political correctness and multiculturalism derive from notions hailing from the Frankfurt School, which in turn took most of its cues from Karl Marx.” Although I can discern a connection between feminist attacks on inherited gender roles and Frankfurt School views on sexual liberation, I’d have to question whether the present war against Christian, bourgeois institutions can be traced back in any meaningful way to traditional Marxism.

Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer (my teacher), Herbert Marcuse, and other members of the Frankfurt School in interwar Germany worked to fuse Marx’s theory of class struggle and the contradictions of capitalism with a Freudian-based vision of erotic pleasure. In this remarkable fusion, it is hard, at least for me, to recognize Marx’s socioeconomic critique. Marx was concerned about man’s alienation from his own work as a result of productive forces over which he had no control. The father of “scientific socialism” never focused on abetting sexual revolt or fighting the emotional repression created by sharp gender distinctions or the failure to give proper social recognition to homosexuals. Orthodox Marxists and Marxist Leninists from the 1920s on vigorously denounced the Frankfurt School and its exponents as social decadents posing as Marxist revolutionaries. Communist regimes would later engage in similar attacks on representatives and sympathizers of

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the Frankfurt school, such as the Hungarian radical literary figure Georg Lukacs.

They accused their targets of attack of subverting orderly human relations and would have nothing to do with their forced marriage of Marxism and eroticism. Not surprisingly, it was Communist regimes and Communist parties in post-World War II France and Italy that were among the harshest critics of what we now call “Cultural Marxists.” The term “Cultural Marxist” was meant to express derision for this sect; and Orthodox Marxists as well as the European Right seized on it to discredit the Frankfurt School.

In my studies I examine how Cultural Marxists acquired respectability in the US, once they set up shop here. They gained recognition for fighting fascism as a cultural and emotional danger and for advocating for a progressive democratic society. Since the Nazis were violently anti-Semitic and since most of the Frankfurt School’s representatives in the US were Jewish, much of the School’s energies after 1933 were focused on “preventing” the eruption of anti-Jewish “prejudice” in their adopted land. But the School also castigated prejudice against other groups, such as blacks, social revolutionaries, homosexuals, and women who were revolting against what they viewed as the patriarchal family.

The best known English work written in this vein, *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950), an anthology of polemics warning against “prejudice” in American life, was sponsored by an emphatically liberal but also anti-Soviet sponsor, the American Jewish Committee. The same patrons also sponsored *Commentary* magazine. Among many others, distinguished sociologist Seymour Morton Lipset hailed TAP (and the series to which it belonged, *Studies in Prejudice*) as a blueprint for rebuilding American society. Contrary to what some may believe, Lipset was only slightly left of center politically. Even more interestingly, as cultural historian Christopher Lasch points out, Lipset praised the work spearheaded by Adorno in the US as a means of fortifying the US internally to fight Communism as well as the ideological vestiges of Nazism.

Despite the anti-Communist mood in the US at the outset of the Cold War, in the 1950s an Americanized and mainstreamed form of Cultural Marxism made powerful inroads here. Leaders of the Frankfurt school were sent back to Germany by the American State Department to “reeducate” the former subjects of the Third Reich and to make them “good antifascists.” Meanwhile psychological tests were devised for private jobs, government

employment, and educational institutions to determine the “f scores” of applicants (as indications of pro-fascist leanings). Equally noteworthy, Frankfurt School pioneers like Eric Fromm became popular authorities on psychological well-being and had their works distributed through Book of the Month clubs.

This was only the initial phase in an Americanizing process for Cultural Marxists that would continue down to the present. Since the 1960s a political and social struggle has been waged here and in other “liberal democracies” to empower disadvantaged minorities in the name of fairness and human rights. Here too the plans and proposals of *The Authoritarian Personality* are easily discernible: e.g., combatting through sustained political indoctrination antifeminist and homophobic prejudice and isolating the putative Christian poison that has infected the body social. These now familiar initiatives are driven not so much by the claim to be protecting us against mental sickness (although that too has been advanced) as they are by the themes of fairness and “fundamental rights.”

Even self-described conservatives now deplore the unwillingness of the Russian and Serbian governments to allow gay pride parades to take place in their cities, a civic event that I could hardly imagine having been encouraged in the America I grew up in sixty years ago. And I couldn’t imagine even the founders of the Frankfurt School going quite so far in their embrace of “gay rights” as to welcome what we now hail as part of a new political consensus, including the affirmation of gay marriage as a human right and family value. These ideas are admittedly derivative from an older Cultural Marxism, but I can’t find anything here that I would pin specifically on Marx.

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