ties.

st of all, there is the routine cal stress of combat existence: the ht of the pack and armament, less food, diarrhea, lack of water, less mosquitoes, rain, torrid heat, hid and loss of sleep. On top of this, soldier not only faces the imminut danger of loss of life or limb, but al witnesses combat wounds and dths suffered by his comrades.

h an actual firefight with the eny, the scene is generally one of uost chaos and confusion. Deaden-ifear intermingles with acts of brave and bestiality and, strangely ugh, even moments of exhilaration. Eover, even when not in battle, the ence of booby traps is a constant at (according to Army statistics 65 cent of casualties suffered in Vietare from such devices).

hus the soldier's initial reluctance indanger civilians is overcome by fear that Vietnamese, of any age ex, can be responsible for his own the One hears again and again the ression—and I am sure it is immetial in battle—"It's them or us."

ss Hostility

NE CONSEQUENCE of the American combat soldier's animus toward dread of the Vietnamese was reted in his attitude toward peace nonstrators back home. The soldier lost always perceived the peace monstrations as being directed inst himself personally and not tord the war in general. The only ior exception to the combat solers' general unconcern with political ents was found in his denuncians of peace demonstrators.

Fo a large extent the soldiers' attiles were an outcome of class hostil-. For many combat soldiers—themives largely working and lower-mide class—peace demonstrators were garded as draft-dodging college stuints.

The mutually hostile reaction of accedemonstrators and combat sol-

The Right Wing's Biggest Spender By William Turner

Turner is a former FBI agent who wrote this article for The Progressive magazine, from which it is reprinted with permission.

HE RESEMBLES a detective chief of the New York Police Department: ruddy Gaelic face, glacial blue eyes, graying sandy hair, three-button suit and rep tie. And he is as obsessed with fighting communism as the most relentless member of a police Red Squad.

The difference is that Patrick J. Frawley Jr. uses money as his weapon. As chief executive officer of companies ringing up more than \$200 million a year in sales—Eversharp, Schick and, until lately, Technicolor—he commands a fortune far beyond the dreams of the most venal cop.

Among the recipients of Frawley's largesse are Fred Schwarz and his Christian Anti-Communism Crusade; the hawkish Jesuit the Rev. Daniel Lyons; the American Security Council, a pressure group for the military-industrial complex, and a young man named Edward Scannell Butler, who specializes in breaking up radical and liberal campus groups.

Politicians on the receiving end include Gov. Ronald Reagan and Max Rafferty, California's Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Sens. Thomas Dodd and George Murphy.

Murphy was a Technicolor executive but resigned when he entered the Senate. But it was disclosed recently that for 5½ years he had been receiving an annual \$20,000 "consultant's fee" and credit cards from the firm. In addition, he made "insider" transactions in the company's stock in violation of Securities and Exchange Commission regulations

All told, Frawley's firms subsidize far right causes, through grants and sponsorships, to the tune of an estimated \$1 million a year. Such is his influence that the Institute for American Democracy, a research and reporting organization which keeps tabs on extremist trends, has nominated him "Number One Man on the Right."

Frawley's rise to ideological prominence is relatively recent. Before 1960 he had only a faint interest in politics. But that year, Frawley's Schick Safety Razor Co. properties in Cuba were expropriated by the Castro government. Alarmed by what he read about the Communist menace, Frawley said recently, he began to fear that Communists might begin seizing Schick plants in the United States.

Since the start of his political binge, Frawley has been something of a recluse, preferring to play the role of private angel to right-wing causes rather than public evangelist. His biography in Who's Who in America consists merely of the year of his birth, corporate affiliations and Eversharp's Culver City business address. Off the job, he sticks pretty close to his Beverly Hills mansion, occasionally dining a George Murphy or a Bob Hope.

Frawley was born 47 years ago in Managua, Nicaragua, to an American mother and an Irish father who had prospered as a banker and dealer in heavy construction equipment. Completing high school in San Francisco, young Frawley disdained college. He was only 18 when he swung a \$300,000 deal between the U.S. Rubber Co. and the Panamanian government.

See FRAWLEY, Page C2, Column 1

world—I look around and see what has happened in my own little community.

One of the main sources for income here (in Bedford) is Crane Naval Base—which gives us proud accounts ment." In other words, it is amazing to me how many people have lost confidence in their own judgment. They are afraid to trust their own reactions.

As I see it, this faith must be re-

Patrick J. Frawley: the

FRAWLEY, From Page C1

Following wartime service in the Canadian Air Force, he returned to San Francisco and set up an export-import house. His coup came when he decided to bankroll an inventor who had formulated an ink that would not leak from ballpoint pens. The product was the revolutionary Paper Mate pen, and it made Frawley a "Boy Wonder" millionaire.

Eventually he sold out to the Gillette Co. for a reported \$15 million. But the restless Frawley later tied up with Eversharp, then bought the Schick Safety Razor Co. Later he added Technicolor to his pyramiding empire, but was ousted from the company's board of directors last June in a stockholders' proxy fight.

Although the firms he heads are publicly held, Frawley has no

compunctions about appointing corrected dilettantes who are political kin men to the boards of directors, such Robert Morris, former chief counsel the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee; Gen. Thomas S. Power, retire chief of the Strategic Air Comman and J. Fred Schlafly of the Defende of American Liberty.

Frawley's companies back right-wir causes through such channels as ta deductible "public service" grants, ac vertising support, and the sponsorshi of programs written off as business expense. For example, the American Scurity Council receives \$250,000 ar nually to defray production costs of daily radio program, "Washington Report," on which Walter Judd, forme Minnesota congressman, is the principal commentator.

Among other sizable grants ar \$150,000 yearly to the "Up With People" singing troupe of God-and-country youths, and the \$100,000 furnished to the Schick Business Citizenship awards contest (past contest winner include Frawley himself and Dr. Jame P. Lucier of Sen. Strom Thurmond's staff).

Frawley's companies have also footed the bills for a number of anti Red extravaganzas, the most memora ble being the 1961 Hollywood Bow rally staged by Fred Schwarz and billed as "Hollywood's Answer to Communism." Schick and Technicolor along with the Richfield Oil Co., spon sored a network videotape of the spec tacle.

In 1966, Schick sponsored the television special "Hitler in Havana" which although The New York Times panned it as "the crudest form of propa



Los Angeles Times

Patrick J. Frawley Jr. . . . "Boy wonder" now a one-man Red Squad.

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ganda," was viewed by millions on the NBC network.

And more recently, Pat Frawley Enterprises was listed as a financial sponsor of the Bob Hope-Billy Graham extravaganza, "Honor America Day," televised nationwide from Washington on July 4.

Religious Base

RAWLEY IS A staunchly orthodox Roman Catholic with nine children, and his anticommunism is infused with a strong strain of theology. Thus it is appropriate that Frawley set up the Twin Circle Publishing Co. for Father Daniel Lyons, a Jesuit on leave from ecclesiastical duties.

Until recently Father Lyons was a columnist for Our Sunday Visitor, the traditional Catholic weekly found in every church vestibule. As a sample of his own views, he signed the Birch Society's "Treason Petition" which demands an end to trade with "our mortal enemy," the Soviet Union.

The Twin Circle Co. formed in 1967 was until recently a subsidiary of the Schick Investment Co., jointly owned by Schick and Technicolor and headed by Father Lyons. It is now owned by Pat Frawley Enterprises. The weekly magazine "Twin Circle" boasts a circulation of 60,000. Twin Circle also broadcasts a radio program over a 21-station hookup. Regular Schick commercials sponsor the programming.

After the Hollywood Bowl telecast of 1961, a surge in Schick sales was claimed.

Frawley termed the "Hitler in Havana" special one of two programming highlights in 1966 that "won the company inestimable customer loyalty." In

1968, on the other hand, Schick complained that the sharp drop in its net profits was due in part to a boycott of its products "in retaliation for our support of political programs."

But what is indisputable is that the use of corporate power has given Frawley considerable personal clout.

A recent flexing of the Frawley muscle involved the nomination of a Republican, Samuel Potter III, for U.S. Attorney in the Los Angeles area. The Nixon administration had submitted Potter's name to the Senate for confirmation, and the customary FBI check had turned up nothing derogatory. Suddenly the nomination was withdrawn. Frawley and his allies had objected to Potter in the strongest possible terms.

The reason for the objection is imbedded in the deep antipathy of the ultra right in California to former U.S. Sen. Thomas H. Kuchel, whom Potter had supported. A moderate Republican, Kuchel had been under unremitting attack by the right wing extremists. In 1965, the feud took a sordid turn when the senator discovered an affidavit was circulating among members of Congress and the press which falsely accused him of being involved in a homosexual incident.

Following an investigation, a Los Angeles grand jury indicted four men for conspiracy to commit criminal libel; all subsequently pleaded no contest. One was John F. Fergus, an Eversharp public relations man. Under oath, Frawley disclaimed any knowledge of the smear attempt, explaining that Fergus had been hired only "to make speeches on free enterprise and against communism at local groups."

In the end, however, Kuchel was dumped, with Frawley's help. In the 1968 Republican senatorial primary Frawley threw heavy support behind Max Rafferty, the state's reactionary Superintendent of Public Instruction, who upset Kuchel, only to lose in the general election to Democrat Alan Cranston.

In 1964 Frawley served as a chairman of American Businessmen for Barry Goldwater and TV for Goldwater-Miller. The television fundraising was notably successful, ending the campaign with a hefty surplus. This was due mainly to a pitch entitled "A Time for Choosing" delivered by Ronald Reagan.

And with that one speech, Reagan had achieved instant political recognition. Frawley perceived this and moved to capitalize on it. Along with three of Southern California's craggiest conservatives — oilman Henry Salvatori, the late A. C. Rubel and auto dealer Holmes Tuttle—he set the stage for the actor's entry into the 1966 gubernatorial race.

that the real Nixon was conservative enough and Frawley started writing checks.

Through his open-handed subsidies to the American Security Council, Frawley has spread his influence to the Pentagon and the military-industrial complex. The ASC roster of officers and advisers includes employees of J. Edgar Hoover. Among the member firms are such blue chip corporations as U.S. Steel, Motorola Illinois-Central Railroad, General Electric and the Honeywell Manufacturing Co

The Council's avowed mission is to ferret out "communism and other statist activities." The ASC also provides a kind of private loyalty review services. As the Council puts it, member firms "use the Council's files as a source of information on their personnel screening programs."

Although the ASC is not registered as a lobby, it maintains a "Congressional Pentagon liaison office" that is a defacto lobby.

This year the ASC has trained its sights on seven senators up for re-election, among them Edward M. Kennedy and Charles E. Goodell, who have taken positions which the ASC says "weaken America in its fight against communism."

The Young Zealot

RAWLEY'S current political protege is the boyish-looking Edward Butler. Butler began his career before the Bay of Pigs by latching onto a reputable New Orleans anti-Castro group called the Free Voice of Latin America, but he was eventually ousted.

A former officer of the group explained why: "This young man's ultraright wing views were not only embarrassing but in my opinion dangerous. He could think of nothing but the danger of some globe-encircling Communist conspiracy..."

Butler formed his own propaganda outfit, the Information Council of the Americas (INCA) and began cranking out "documentaries" called Fact Films, Eyewitness Albums and Truth Tapes. The tapes were beamed over INCA's 130 Latin America radio affiliates to "help deprive the Communist minority of vital mass support."

It was as the producer of "Hitler in Havana," one of the Fact Film series, that Butler came under Frawley's patronage. Soon the industrialist's name appeared on the INCA Advisory Committee alongside those of such anti-Communists as Herbert Philbrick, who spied on Boston Communists for the FBI in the 1940s.

In 1966, Butler left New Orleans for a Beverly Hills bachelor pad close to his patron Frawley. Shedding the con-